

GREENPEACE

KOCH INDUSTRIES SECRETLY FUNDING THE CLIMATE DENIAL MACHINE

greenpeace.org/kochindustries

21

\$ 205,000

GREENPEACE

Greenpeace is an independent campaigning organization that acts to expose global environmental problems and achieve solutions that are essential to a green and peaceful future.

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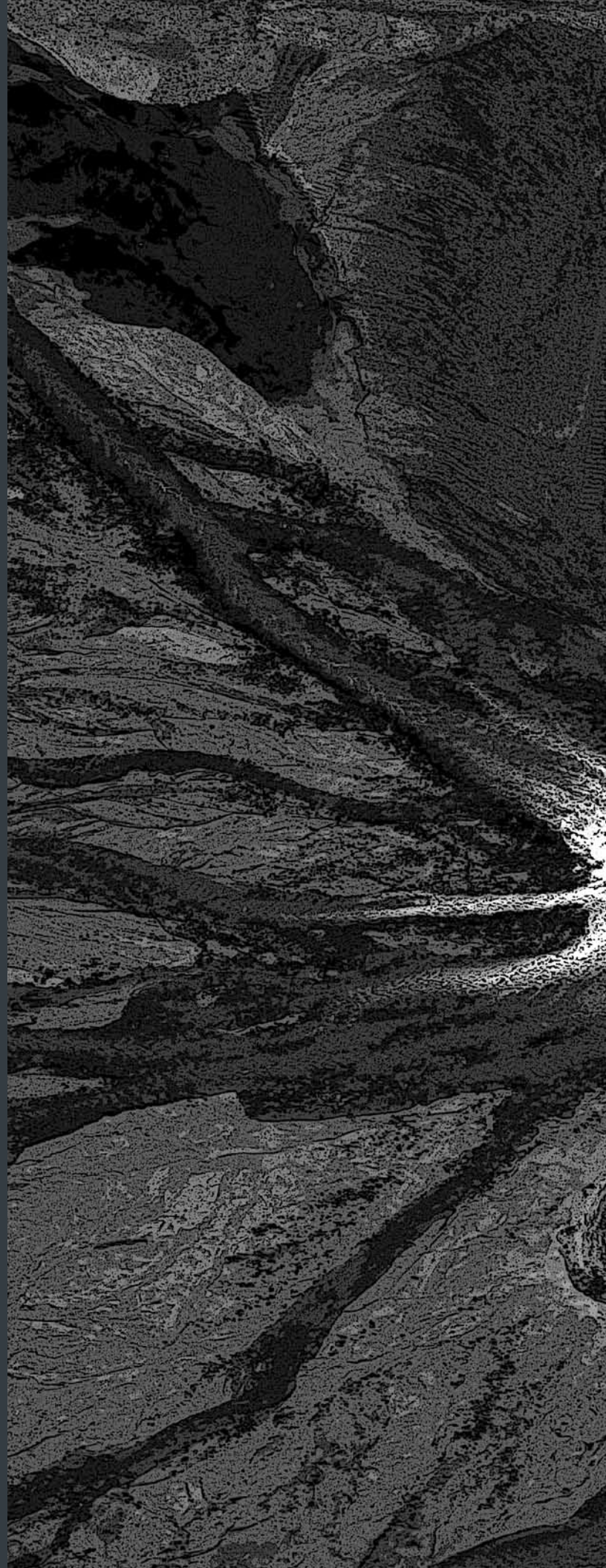


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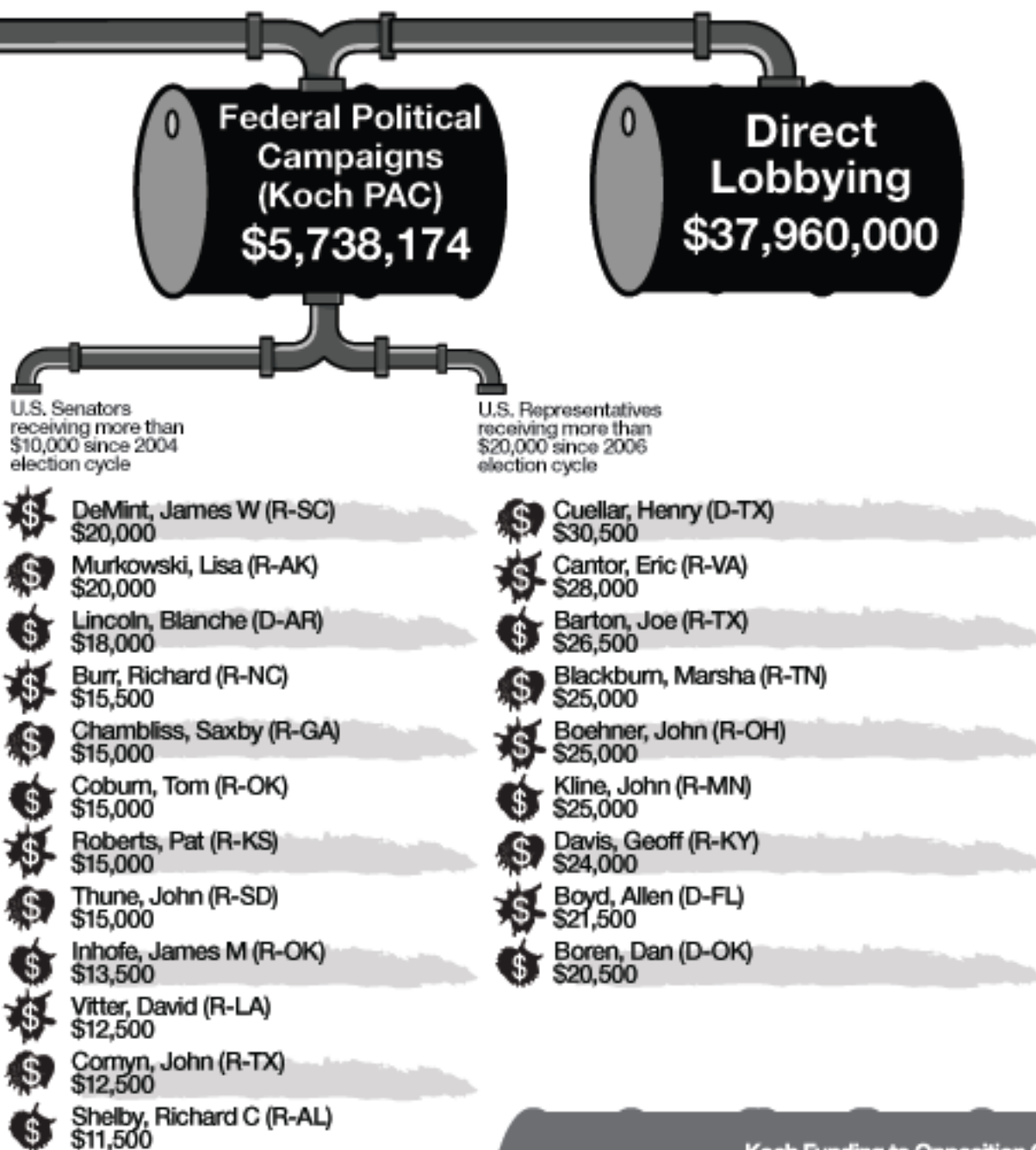
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- \$9,247,500 **Mercatus Center**
- \$5,176,500 **Americans for Prosperity**
- \$1,967,000 **Institute for Humane Studies**
- \$1,620,000 **Heritage Foundation**
- \$1,028,400 **Cato Institute**
- \$800,000 **Manhattan Institute for Policy Research**
- \$655,000 **Washington Legal Foundation**
- \$542,500 **Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies**
- \$365,000 **Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment**
- \$360,000 **Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy**
- \$325,000 **Tax Foundation**
- \$290,000 **Independent Women's Forum**
- \$283,125 **Texas Public Policy Foundation**
- \$215,000 **American Council for Capital Formation**
- \$210,000 **George C. Marshall Institute**
- \$205,000 **Reason Foundation**
- \$175,000 **Fraser Institute**
- \$175,000 **Institute for Energy Research**
- 150,000 **Frontiers of Freedom**
- \$130,000 **National Center for Policy Analysis**
- \$125,000 **American Council on Science and Health**
- \$113,800 **Atlas Economic Research Foundation**
- \$110,000 **Capital Research Center**
- \$100,000 **American Enterprise Institute**
- \$85,000 **Independence Institute**
- \$75,000 **American Legislative Exchange Council**
- \$70,427 **Goldwater Institute**
- \$70,000 **Property and Environment Research Center**
- \$60,000 **Mackinac Center for Public Policy**
- \$60,000 **Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change**
- \$40,000 **Americans for Tax Reform**
- \$30,000 **State Policy Network**
- \$14,030 **Media Research Center**
- \$10,000 **John Locke Foundation**
- \$5,000 **National Taxpayers Union Foundation**

Koch's Web of Dirty Money and Influence



Koch Funding to Opposition Groups

IRS 990 Tax Forms, Data compiled from years 2006 to 2008

Charles G. Koch Foundation, Claude R. Lambe Foundation, David H. Koch Foundation

<http://www.greenpeace.org/kochmoney>

Campaign Contributions and Lobbying Expenditures:

Center for Responsive Politics. <http://www.opensecrets.org/>

Executive Summary

Most Americans have never heard of Koch Industries, one of the largest private corporations in the country, because it has no Koch-branded consumer products, sells no shares on the stock market and has few of the disclosure requirements of a public company. Although Koch intentionally stays out of the public eye, it is now playing a quiet but dominant role in a high-profile national policy debate on global warming. Koch Industries has become a financial kingpin of climate science denial and clean energy opposition. This private, out-of-sight corporation is now a partner to ExxonMobil, the American Petroleum Institute and other donors that support organizations and front-groups opposing progressive clean energy and climate policy. In fact, Koch has out-spent ExxonMobil in funding these groups in recent years. From 2005 to 2008, ExxonMobil spent \$8.9 million while the Koch Industries-controlled foundations contributed \$24.9 million in funding to organizations of the ‘climate denial machine’.

The company’s tight knit network of lobbyists, former executives and organizations has created a forceful stream of misinformation that Koch-funded entities produce and disseminate. This campaign propaganda is then replicated, repackaged and echoed many times throughout the Koch-funded web of political front groups and think tanks. On repeated occasions documented below, organizations funded by Koch foundations have led the assault on climate science and scientists, “green jobs,” renewable energy and climate policy progress.

This report focuses on activities by Koch Industries and its affiliates, as well as the family—and company—controlled foundations which fund organizations that spread inaccurate and misleading information about climate science and clean energy policies. Included is research on the company and the Koch brothers, two of the top ten richest people in the United States. The Koch brothers own the corporation and control its political spending. Also included are newly compiled funding connections from Koch foundations to a vast array of conservative and libertarian organizations and front groups. The report documents the Koch-funded funded groups’ actions and the Koch legacy of climate denial and obstruction of environmental policy. Case studies contained in this report include:



- **ClimateGate Echo Chamber**—At least twenty Koch-funded organizations have repeatedly rebroadcast, referenced and appeared as media spokespeople in the story, dubbed “ClimateGate,” of supposed malfeasance by climate scientists gleaned from a cache of stolen emails from the University of East Anglia in November 2009. These organizations claim the emails prove a “conspiracy” of scientists and casts doubt on the scientific consensus regarding climate change.
- **Polar Bear Junk Science**—In a 2007 published ‘junk science’ article on polar bears and Arctic climate impacts, the author acknowledged receiving research funding from ExxonMobil, American Petroleum Institute and the Charles G. Koch foundation. The paper, which appeared in the journal *Ecological Complexity*, was published as a “Viewpoint” piece, rather than new scientific research. It was not peer-

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reviewed and was criticized by leading polar bear and Arctic ice scientists for containing “no new research” and drawing unfounded conclusions. Regardless, multiple Koch and Exxon-funded groups rebroadcast the article’s conclusions that polar bears were not endangered by climate change, through their websites and other media outlets. Additional Koch-funded groups and industry groups threatened to sue the Federal government for listing the polar bear.

For years, both openly and behind the scenes, ExxonMobil dominated the voice of climate science denial in the national global warming dialogue. However, after a decade of reputation-damaging public disclosures, as well as pressure from scientific organizations, shareholders and senators, ExxonMobil implemented a new public relations strategy under a new CEO, and has begun to moderate its public statements on climate change. ExxonMobil’s website declares:¹ “We have discontinued contributions to several public policy research groups whose position on climate change diverted attention from the important discussion on how the world will secure the energy required for economic growth in an environmentally responsible manner.”

In spite of publishing this statement and reducing funding to a number of prominent climate denial organizations over the past few years, ExxonMobil continues to support dozens of organizations who are part of the climate denial movement with millions of dollars in annual funding.² ExxonMobil has responded to public scrutiny by slightly reducing their support of climate denial, and Koch Industries is outpacing ExxonMobil’s funding activities while drawing very little public attention. As ExxonMobil’s silent partner in funding the climate-denial machine, Koch Industries often uses similar and sometimes more aggressive tactics.

Kansas-based Koch Industries is a conglomerate dominated by petroleum and chemical interests with approximately \$100 billion in annual sales, operations in nearly 60 countries and 70,000 employees. Most of Koch’s operations are invisible to the public, with the exception of a handful of retail brands such as Brawny® paper towels and Dixie® cups, produced by its subsidiary Georgia-Pacific Corporation. Koch Industries has been ranked as the first- or second-largest privately-held company in the United States in recent years, currently ranked second behind Cargill corporation.

Two brothers, Charles and David Koch, each own 42 percent of the company. Part of Koch Industries’ influence is channeled through three foundations, also controlled by the two brothers. This report documents roughly 40 climate denial and opposition organizations receiving Koch foundation grants in recent years, including:

- More than \$5 million to Americans for Prosperity Foundation (AFP) for its nationwide “Hot Air Tour”³ campaign to spreading misinformation about climate science and opposing clean energy and climate legislation.
- More than \$1 million to the Heritage Foundation, a mainstay of misinformation on climate and environmental policy issues.
- Over \$1 million to the Cato Institute, which disputes the scientific evidence behind global warming, questions the rationale for taking climate action, and has been heavily involved in spinning the recent ClimateGate story.
- \$800,000 to the Manhattan Institute, which has hosted Bjorn Lomborg twice in the last two years. Lomborg is a prominent media spokesperson who challenges and attacks policy measures to address climate change.

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- \$365,000 to Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment (FREE) which advocates against taking action on climate change because warming is “inevitable” and expensive to address.
- \$360,000 to Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy (PRIIPP) which supported and funded An Inconvenient Truth...or Convenient Fiction,⁴ a film attacking the science of global warming and intended as a rebuttal to former Vice-President Al Gore’s documentary. PRIIPP also threatened to sue the US Government for listing the polar bear as an endangered species.
- \$325,000 to the Tax Foundation, which issued a misleading study on the costs of proposed climate legislation.

This is only part of the picture, because the full scope of direct contributions to organizations is not disclosed by individual Koch family members, executives, or from the company itself.

Contributions through Koch’s political action committee (PAC) are a matter of public record. Since the beginning of the 2006 election cycle, Koch’s PAC spent more on contributions to federal candidates⁵ than any other oil-and-gas sector PAC. For that period, Koch Industries and its executives spent \$2.51 million compared to next three biggest contributors: Exxon (\$1.71 million), Valero (\$1.68 million), and Chevron (\$1.22 million).

Koch executives and their families wield political influence in other ways too, including direct federal lobbying and campaign contributions. Over the last few years, Koch Industries, Koch employees, and Koch family members:

- Spent \$37.9 million from 2006 to 2009 for direct lobbying on oil and energy issues, outspent only by ExxonMobil (\$87.8 million) and Chevron Corporation (\$50 million).
- Spent \$5.74 million in PAC money for candidates, committees, and campaign expenditures since the 2006 election cycle.
- Contributed at least \$270,800 to federal political party committees since the 2006 election cycle.

The combination of foundation-funded front-groups, big lobbying budgets, PAC donations, and direct campaign contributions makes Koch Industries and the Koch brothers among the most formidable obstacles to advancing clean energy and climate policy in the US.

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE 2006 ELECTION CYCLE, KOCH’S PAC SPENT MORE ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES THAN ANY OTHER OIL-AND-GAS SECTOR PAC.



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Case Studies:

How does Koch Industries Influence the Climate Policy Debate?

Case Study 1: The Koch-funded “ClimateGate” Echo Chamber

In November 2009, anonymous hackers illegally obtained and disseminated thousands of personal emails from climate scientists housed on the server of the University of East Anglia. The emails spanned 13 years of correspondence and a handful of selected emails were taken out of context by a number of climate-denier organizations. These organizations, many funded by Koch, claim the emails prove a “conspiracy” of scientists and cast doubt on the scientific consensus on human-caused climate change.

This incident, dubbed “ClimateGate” by climate-denier groups, has been distorted and repeated many times by conservative media and blogs since late November 2009. Twenty organizations, roughly half of the Koch-funded groups profiled in this report, have contributed to the “ClimateGate” echo chamber. Among the most vocal groups are organizations that received over \$1,000,000 from Koch foundations since 2005, including Americans for Prosperity, the Heritage Foundation, and the Cato Institute.

1) Americans For Prosperity (received over \$5 million from Koch since 2005) hosted a live webcast from Copenhagen⁶ on Dec 9th as part of their “Hot Air Tour,” using the “ClimateGate” emails as a reason to prevent passage of any progressive global warming policy. During the webcast, Steve Lonegan, AFP’s New Jersey Director, said “ClimateGate” could have uncovered “the biggest hoax our world has ever seen” and vowed not to allow any climate bill to pass the US Senate. Several members of the Copenhagen youth delegation crashed the AFP event and were angrily called “Hitler Youth” by AFP guest speaker and well known climate denier Lord Christopher Monckton. In addition to the Copenhagen webcast, AFP mentions “ClimateGate” in many⁷ blog⁸ posts, including in their protest of the Environmental Protection Agency CO₂ regulations, known as the endangerment finding.⁹

2) The Heritage Foundation (received over \$1 million from Koch since 2005) has posted several articles on its website regarding “ClimateGate.” The blogs run the gamut of possible climate-denier angles on the incident, ranging from conspiracy accusations¹⁰, to a history of imagined climate scandals¹¹, to effects on world politics¹², to supposed negative economic consequences from climate legislation.¹³

3) The Cato Institute (received over \$1 million in grants from Koch since 2005) is the front-group for climate-denier Patrick Michaels¹⁴, who has been a vocal spokesperson regarding “ClimateGate”. Within two weeks following the email breach at East Anglia University, Patrick Michaels had appeared in over twenty media interviews¹⁵ on shows including CNN’s Anderson Cooper 360, NBC’s Nightly News, FOX’s Fox & Friends, C-SPAN’s Washington Journal, and BBC’s Have Your Say. Michaels, taking one line of an illegally-obtained email out of context, has claimed the scientists have committed a “capital crime”¹⁶ and their actions are “akin to filtering what goes in the bible.”¹⁷

Case Studies:

How does Koch Industries Influence the Climate Policy Debate?

In addition to AFP, the Heritage Foundation, and the Cato Institute, about half of the Koch-funded climate denial groups detailed in this report contributed to the “ClimateGate” misinformation echo chamber, including:

American Enterprise Institute¹⁸
Americans for Tax Reform¹⁹
Capital Research Center²⁰
Fraser Institute²¹
George C Marshall Institute²²
Goldwater Institute²³

Independent Women’s Forum²⁴
John Locke Foundation²⁵
Mackinac Center²⁶
Media Research Center²⁷
Pacific Research Institute for
Public Policy²⁸

Reason Foundation²⁹
State Policy Network³⁰
Texas Public Policy Foundation³¹
Competitive Enterprise Institute³²
FreedomWorks³³
Heartland Institute³⁴

Case Study 2: Polar Bear Junk Science

In 2007, several prominent climate denial scientists published a non-peer reviewed article,³⁵ (Dyck, Soon et al, 2007 “Polar bears of western Hudson Bay and climate change: Are warming spring air temperatures the “ultimate” survival control factor?”) concluding that polar bears are not being threatened by anthropogenic global warming. One of the paper’s authors, Dr. Willie Soon, disclosed in the acknowledgements section that he had received direct corporate funding for the work, stating “W. Soon’s effort for the completion of this paper was partially supported by grants from the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, American Petroleum Institute, and Exxon-Mobil Corporation.” (Exxon grants to Soon’s organization are detailed below. The exact amount received from the Koch foundation was not found on its 990 forms. The American Petroleum Institute does not disclose the multiple grants it has made to such climate denial organizations over the years.)

The paper, which did not include any new scientific research, but drew from other published work, appeared in the journal *Ecological Complexity* as a “Viewpoint” piece. This article declared Arctic sea ice decline was less severe than recent well founded conclusions in peer-reviewed literature.³⁶ The authors question the climate science of Arctic warming and the scientific modeling that indicates climate change as a threat to polar bear populations. Leading polar bear and Arctic ice scientists criticized the article for containing “no new research” and drawing erroneous conclusions from existing research. Two polar bear experts, Dr. Ian Stirling³⁷ and Dr. Andrew Derocher³⁸, published a response to the paper, stating that the 2007 article did not adequately support the claim that non-climate factors were causing the polar bear population decline. Stirling and Derocher wrote,

“[The article’s authors] suggest that factors other than climate warming are responsible for a decline in the polar bear population of Western Hudson Bay... In our examination of their alternative explanations, and the data available to evaluate each, we found little support for any.”³⁹

Oil interests and their allies likely realize that polar bear protections might hinder oil exploration in the Arctic. In addition, because polar bear decline is an iconic symbol of the climate crisis, undermining the scientific proof of polar bears in peril would potentially delay overall climate policy measures that will reduce oil consumption.

The co-authors of the paper include long time climate deniers: Sallie Baliunas,⁴⁰ David Legates⁴¹ and Tim Ball⁴². Willie Soon and Sallie Baliunas have a documented history of receiving money from oil interests. ExxonMobil Foundation tax records and company documents confirm a series of grants to the Center for Astrophysics, which employs both Soon and Baliunas. In 2008, ExxonMobil contributed \$76,106⁴³ to Soon and Baliunas’ institute, the Smithsonian Astrophysics Observatory, with funding totalling over \$340,000 in four grants since 2005.

Soon and Baliunas were the authors of another controversial climate “junk science” report in 2003, funded by the American Petroleum Institute. The paper, “Lessons & Limits of Climate History: Was the 20th Century Climate Unusual?”, published by another industry-funded think tank, the George Marshall Institute,⁴⁴ attacked the research of climate scientist Michael Mann, who has also been a prominent target in the “Climategate” controversy detailed above. Soon, Baliunas and Legates teamed up on a version of the same paper, published in a small journal *Climate Research*, which generated

Case Studies:

How does Koch Industries Influence the Climate Policy Debate?

such an uproar that the Editor in Chief and several others resigned in protest.^{45,46} Both Soon and Baliunas have been associated as spokespeople, advisors and board members of multiple Koch-funded climate denial groups over the past decade.

The 2007 polar bear junk science paper prompted a letter to ExxonMobil from North Carolina Representative Brad Miller,⁴⁷ Chair of the US House Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight, which raised a key question about Exxon's funding, which could well have been asked of Koch and API:

"To people outside the scientific community, one PhD may seem like another. Certainly Exxon knows better, however. Yet according to Dr Soon, an astrophysicist by profession, ExxonMobil funded the development of his "opinions" on global warming and its potential impact on polar bear populations...The Congress and the Public have a right to know why ExxonMobil is funding a scientist whose writing is outside his area of expertise to create the impression that expert scientists have conducted vigorous, peer reviewed work that says the problems with polar bears [and climate change] are unproven or unserious."⁴⁸

Exxon responded,⁴⁹ denying responsibility for Soon's research and claiming that the paper had undergone a "lengthy peer review process."

The Koch-funded climate denial groups kicked into gear before the paper was published. Regardless of the non-peer reviewed status of the Ecological Complexity paper, it gave the appearance of a peer reviewed paper. Multiple Koch and Exxon-funded groups rebroadcast the story through their websites and other media outlets, emphasizing the paper and its 'findings' that polar bears are not endangered by climate change. When the Bush Administration was forced to consider listing the polar bear under the Endangered Species Act (by a lawsuit brought by Greenpeace and other environmental groups), Sarah Palin and her officers in the Alaskan government referenced the 2007 Dyck, Soon et al. polar bear paper in its formal protest of government action to protect the polar bear, even before the paper was even published.⁵⁰

Additional Koch-funded groups and industry groups threatened to sue the Federal government for listing the polar bear under the Endangered Species Act, including the American Enterprise Institute⁵¹, the Heritage Foundation⁵², and National Association of Manufacturers.⁵³



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Case Studies:

How does Koch Industries Influence the Climate Policy Debate?

Case Study 3: The “Spanish Study” on Green Jobs

Since the creation of new clean energy jobs is a critical benefit of climate and energy policy, opponents have focused on discrediting ‘green’ jobs. A report appeared on this subject in spring of 2009 called the “Study of the effects on employment of public aid to renewable energy sources”⁵⁴ by Gabriel Calzada Alvarez, an economics professor at King Juan Carlos University in Madrid. According to Dr. Alvarez’s study, Spain’s policy commitments to renewable energy development had actually cost Spain jobs—2.2 jobs lost for each clean energy job created.

The study became a favorite talking point for opponents of clean energy, who seized on the study when it was released in March—coinciding with the House Energy and Commerce Committee discussions on the American Clean Energy and Security Act. The study was trumpeted by opposition groups, covered by reporters, and repeated in congressional testimony by US Representatives opposed to clean energy policy and climate mitigation measures.

Despite the fact that the conclusions and methodology of the study by Alvarez have been repeatedly proven unworkable⁵⁵ (most recently by the US’s own National Renewable Energy Laboratory⁵⁶, in addition to ministers with the Spanish government⁵⁷ and independent experts⁵⁸), the ‘study’ continues to be trumpeted. The study recently made its way into fact sheets circulated by clean energy opposition group Americans for Prosperity,⁵⁹ which is founded and chaired by David Koch.

Where did the “Spanish study” come from, and who promoted it? Several organizations and individuals—each supported through the Koch web—have played key roles in supporting, disseminating and promoting the research.

- March 2009: The Institute for Energy Research (IER) supported⁶⁰ and disseminated⁶¹ the “Spanish study,” released in March of 2009.
- April 2009: Patrick Michaels was an early commenter on the study⁶², saying in April 2009 that he wasn’t surprised by the findings and that the U.S. should expect similar results from stimulus funding on renewable energy.
- May 2009: The Heritage Foundation promoted the report in a variety of ways⁶³, including a May 2009 Washington, DC briefing.

- July 2009: Americans for Prosperity’s Colorado⁶⁴ chapter promoted the study through its blog.
- July 2009: Americans for Prosperity’s policy director Phil Kerpen repeated the study’s findings in July 2009 testimony⁶⁵ to the Western Caucuses Bicameral Hearing on Cap & Trade.
- August 2009: American Energy Alliance (AEA), IER’s advocacy arm, incorporated the report’s findings into fact sheets that it disseminated⁶⁶ during its “American Energy Express” bus tour in August 2009.
- September 2009: Americans for Prosperity’s Texas⁶⁷ chapter posted comments repeating the study’s faulty conclusions.
- September 2009: Americans for Prosperity’s policy director Phil Kerpen repeated the study’s findings in online⁶⁸ comments.

Case Study 4: The “Danish Study” on Wind Power

A similar play was conducted a few months later with another study linked to the Koch web. The “Danish study,”⁶⁹ prepared by Danish think-tank CEPOS, provides clean energy opponents a means of raising questions about the viability of renewable energy and a means of directly criticizing President Obama for his statement that Denmark produces almost 20% of its electricity through wind power.

However, the study contains factual errors,⁷¹ its conclusions have been misrepresented⁷² and to boot, its findings are not particularly relevant to the US.⁷³ The study includes errors such as a miscalculation of the electricity production from wind in Denmark (they claim 5% of total production in Denmark though the real percentage is 20%). In addition, the study does not take into account the differences between the European and North American electric grids.



Case Studies:

How does Koch Industries Influence the Climate Policy Debate?

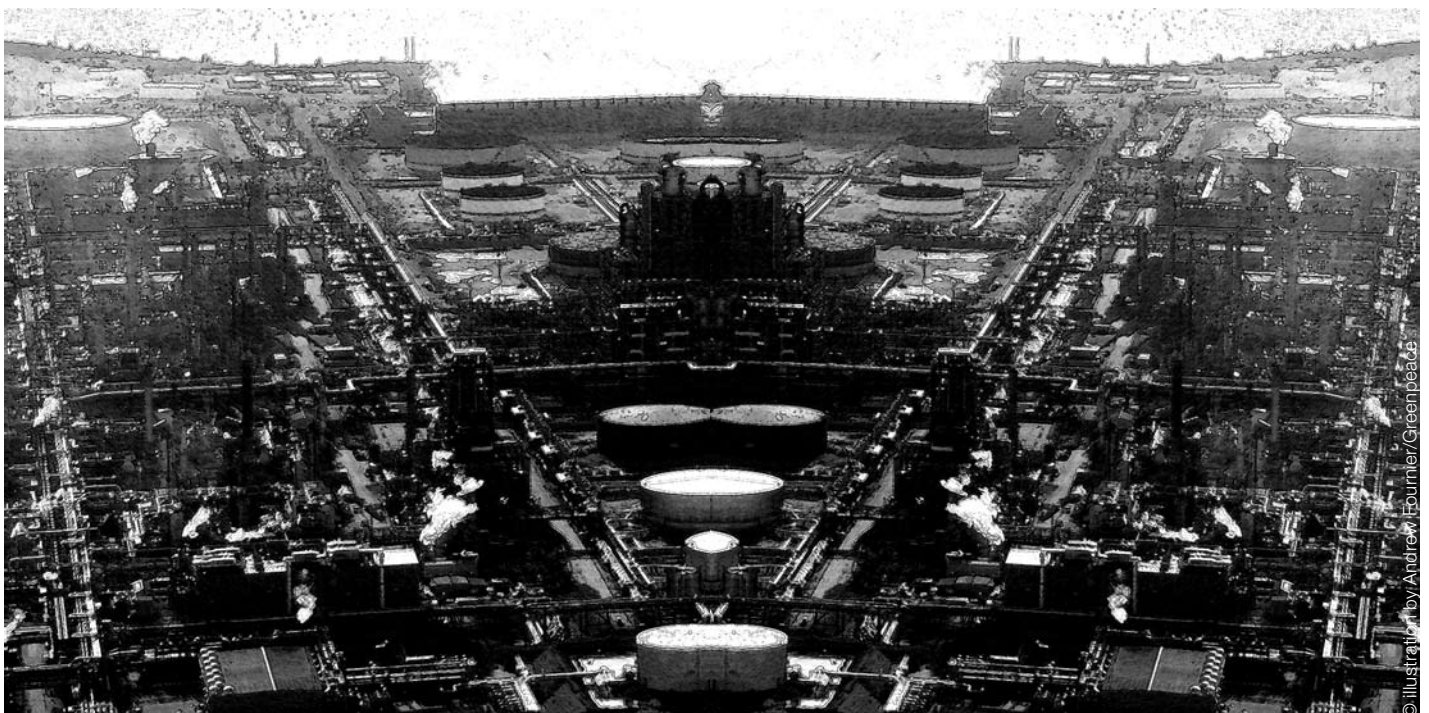
Nevertheless, like the study from Spain, the CEPOS study is being promoted and disseminated through many of the same organizations in Koch's web. The "Danish Study" appears to follow a similar pattern.

- CEPOS was recently awarded⁷⁴ a \$100,000 grant from the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, which has given CEPOS "several awards."⁷⁵ The Charles G. Koch Foundation and the Claude R. Lambe Foundation both support the Atlas Economic Research Foundation.
- The Institute for Energy Research is promoting the study among its members and Hill staff, as well as online.⁷⁶ IER organized a three-day tour in September 2009 to bring the report's co-author Hugh Sharman and CEPOS chief executive Martin Agerup to Washington D.C. to explain the study to a "wider American audience." The organization also created fact sheets⁷⁷ that promote the study's findings and claim President Obama is misusing the Danish example.
- Heritage Foundation promoted the study⁷⁸ on their website.

Case Study 5: Koch Organizations Instrumental in Dissemination of ACCF/NAM Claims

The Koch web is also playing a role in promoting other studies that exaggerate the costs of climate policy. In 2008, the Koch-web-funded American Council on Capital Formation's (ACCF) teamed up with the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) to sponsor and disseminate a study of the economic impact of the Lieberman-Warner Climate Security Act. Every step of the way, Koch-funded anti-clean energy groups played a key role in moving the NAM/ACCF study in the media and at the grassroots level.

- ACCF funded and co-released the study with NAM.
- ACCF disseminated the results in presentations at over a dozen "Climate Dialogues"⁷⁹ organized by the U.S. Chamber's Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG).⁸⁰
- The (AEEG) "climate dialogues" involved other organizations funded through the Koch web, including:
 - » The Heritage Foundation which provided speakers for some events⁸¹
 - » Frontiers of Freedom staff and scholars participated in some of the dialogues.⁸²



What is Koch Industries?

Company History and Background

“My joke is that we’re the biggest company you’ve never heard of.” —David Koch.⁸³

Koch Industries is present in nearly **60 countries**. Some company locations include:

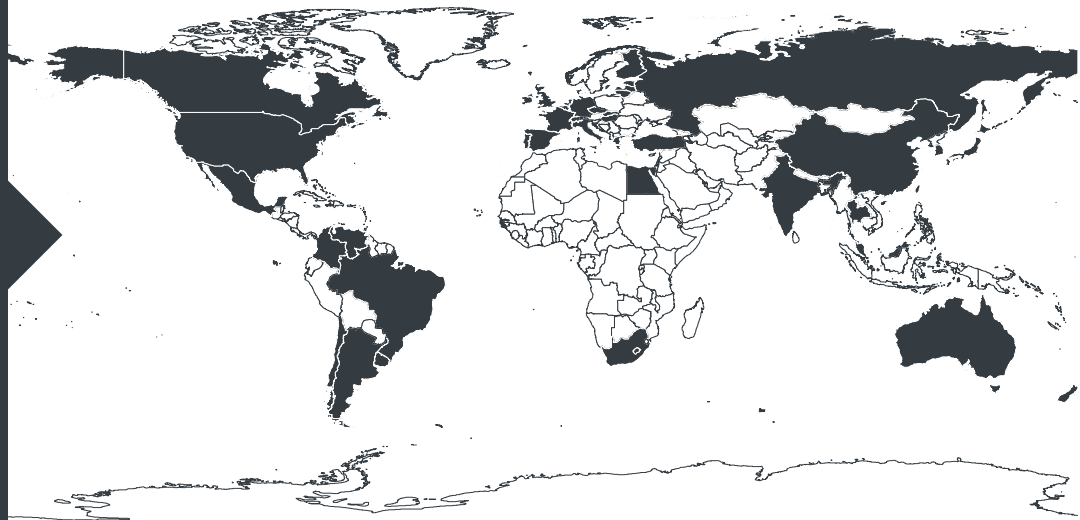
Argentina
Australia
Belgium
Brazil
Canada
Cayman Islands BWI
Chile
China
Colombia
Czech Republic
Egypt
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
India
Italy
Japan
Korea
Luxembourg
Mexico
New Zealand
Russia
Singapore
South Africa
Spain
Switzerland
Taiwan
Thailand
Netherlands
Turkey
United Kingdom
Uruguay
United States of America
Venezuela

Koch Industries⁸⁴ is the second-largest⁸⁵ privately-held company in the United States, a conglomerate of more than twenty companies with \$100 billion in annual sales, operations in nearly 60 countries⁸⁶ and 70,000 employees.⁸⁷ Koch’s industry areas span petroleum refining, fuel pipelines, coal supply and trading, oil and gas exploration, chemicals and polymers, fertilizer production, ranching and forestry products.

Koch operates crude oil gathering systems and pipelines across North America. Its Flint Hills Resources subsidiary owns refineries in Alaska, Minnesota, and Texas that process more than 800,000 barrels of crude oil daily. The company owns a 3% stake in the Trans Alaska Pipeline System, 4,000 miles of oil and products pipelines in the US, and an 80,000 barrels-per day refinery in Rotterdam.⁸⁸ In addition, Koch Industries has held multiple leases on the polluting tar sands of Alberta, Canada since the 1990s and the Koch Pipeline Company operates the pipelines that carry tar sands crude from Canada into Minnesota and Wisconsin where Koch’s Flint Hill Resources owns oil refineries.⁸⁹

The vast majority of Koch Industries assets are controlled by Charles G. and David H. Koch, two of four sons of the company’s founder, who each own 42% of the company stock. According to 2009 Forbes rankings, the Koch brothers are tied for the 19th richest person⁹⁰ in the world, and for ninth richest American,⁹¹ each worth between \$14 and \$16 billion.

The corporation’s history dates back to the 1920s when Fred Koch, father to Charles and David Koch, developed a process to refine more gasoline from crude oil. When he tried to market his invention, the major oil companies sued him for patent infringement. Koch eventually won a 15 year legal battle, but the controversy made it tough to attract many US customers.⁹² Fred Koch went to



What is Koch Industries?

Company History and Background

the Soviet Union in 1929, where he persuaded Josef Stalin's authoritarian government to pay him \$5 million to build oil refineries.⁹³ Koch eventually grew disenchanted with Stalinism and returned to the United States and helped found the libertarian John Birch Society. Over time, Koch developed US and global pipeline and drilling equipment businesses that profited handsomely by servicing the major oil companies. Fred Koch launched Wood River Oil & Refining in Illinois (1940) and bought the Rock Island refinery in Oklahoma (1947). He folded the remaining purchasing and gathering network into his company, Rock Island Oil & Refining.⁹⁴

Charles Koch renamed the company Koch Industries after his father's death in 1967. As the new CEO and chairman, Charles began a series of acquisitions, adding petrochemical and oil trading service operations. Koch Industries purchased a Corpus Christi, Texas, refinery in 1981.⁹⁵ It expanded its pipeline system, buying Bigheart Pipe Line in Oklahoma (1986) and two systems from Santa Fe Southern Pacific (1988). In 1991 Koch purchased the Corpus Christi marine terminal, pipelines, and gathering systems of Scurlock Permian (a unit of Ashland Oil). In 1992 the company bought United Gas Pipe Line (renamed Koch Gateway Pipeline) and its pipeline system extending from Texas to Florida. Koch Industries also acquired USX-Delhi Group, a natural gas processor and transporter.

Koch Industries also diversified its industry areas under the leadership of Charles Koch. Currently, the company owns cattle ranches with a total of 15,000 head of cattle in Kansas, Montana, and Texas. In 1998 Koch bought Purina Mills, the largest US producer of animal feed. Lethargic energy and livestock prices in 1998 and 1999, however, led Koch to lay off several hundred employees, sell its feedlots, and divest portions of its natural gas gathering and pipeline systems. Purina Mills filed for bankruptcy protection in 1999 and was acquired by US dairy co-op Land O'Lakes in 2001.

Koch acquired INVISTA, creators of Lycra[®] fiber and Stainmaster[®] carpet, in 2004 for \$4.2 billion from DuPont Corporation.

In 2005, Koch paid over \$13 billion for the Georgia-Pacific Corporation, one of the world's largest manufacturers and distributors of tissue, pulp and paper, packaging, dimensional lumber and plywood. The acquisition gave Koch Industries its only recognizable retail products including Quilted Northern[®], Angel Soft[®], Brawny[®], Vanity Fair[®] and Dixie[®] cups.

Dixie[®]



QUILTED NORTHERN[®]



CoolMax[™]

STAINMASTER[®]

CARPET

LYCRA[®]

What is Koch Industries?

Company History and Background

Record of Environmental Crimes and Violations:

The Koch companies have a notorious environmental record. Some of the more egregious examples include:

- In 2009, the US Justice Department and EPA announced that Koch Industries' Invista subsidiary would pay a \$1.7 million penalty and spend \$500 million¹¹⁶ to fix environmental violations at facilities in seven states, in an agreement with the US EPA and Department of Justice.¹¹⁷

- Leaks on Koch-operated oil pipelines have resulted in major spills in Minnesota in recent years. In December 2009, a Koch pipeline spilled 210,000 gallons of crude oil in Philbrook, MN¹¹⁸ and another in 2005 spilled over 100,000 gallons in Little Falls, Minnesota.¹¹⁹

- In May 2001, Koch Industries paid \$25 million to settle with the US Government¹²⁰ over a long-standing suit brought by Bill Koch—one of the brothers bought out in 1983—for the company's long-standing practice of illegally accounting for the amount of oil removed from federal and Native American lands.

- In late 2000, the company was charged with covering up the illegal releases of 91 tons of the known carcinogen benzene from its refinery in Corpus Christi. Initially facing a 97-count indictment and potential fines of \$350 million, Koch cut a deal with then-Attorney General John Ashcroft to drop all major charges in exchange for a guilty plea for falsifying documents, and a \$20 million settlement.¹²¹

- In 2000, the EPA fined Koch Industries \$30 million for its role in 300 oil spills¹²² that resulted in more than three million gallons of crude oil leaking into ponds, lakes, streams and coastal waters.

- In 1999 a Koch subsidiary pleaded guilty to charges¹²³ that it had negligently allowed aviation fuel to leak into waters near the Mississippi River from its refinery in Rosemount, Minnesota, and that it had illegally dumped a million gallons of high-ammonia wastewater onto the ground and into the Mississippi.

- Koch's negligence toward environmental safety has led to tragic losses of life. In 1996, a rusty and corroded Koch pipeline¹²⁴ leaked flammable butane near a Texas residential neighborhood. Warned by the smell of gas, two teenagers drove their truck toward the nearest payphone to call for help, but they never made it. Sparks from their truck ignited the gas cloud and the two burned alive. The National Transportation Safety Board determined¹²⁵ that "the probable cause of this accident was the failure of Koch to adequately protect its pipeline from corrosion" and the ineffectiveness of Koch's program to educate local residents about how to respond during a pipeline leak.

IN 2000, THE EPA FINED KOCH INDUSTRIES \$30 MILLION FOR ITS ROLE IN 300 OIL SPILLS THAT RESULTED IN MORE THAN THREE MILLION GALLONS OF CRUDE OIL LEAKING INTO PONDS, LAKES, STREAMS AND COASTAL WATERS.



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The Koch Brothers



© illustration by Andrew Fournier/Greenpeace

Charles G. Koch. Chief Executive Officer, Koch Industries. Ranked as 9th richest American, worth \$16 billion. Born in 1935. Lives in Wichita, Kansas. Co-founder of the Cato Institute.



© illustration by Andrew Fournier/Greenpeace

David H. Koch. Executive Vice-President, Koch Industries. Ranked as 9th richest American, worth \$16 billion. Born in 1940. Lives in New York City. Co-founder and chairman of Americans for Prosperity.

Charles G. Koch⁹⁸, born in 1935, is the CEO and Chairman of Koch Industries. His father, Fred Koch, was a staunch libertarian and a founder of the John Birch Society.⁹⁹ Like his father, Charles is also an ardent supporter of libertarian and conservative organizations. He is a co-founder of the Cato Institute¹⁰⁰, the Chairman of the Institute for Humane Studies¹⁰¹, and has sponsored multiple conferences¹⁰² for entrepreneurs to encourage them to fund free-market groups. Charles has even applied his libertarian ideology to the structure of Koch Industries, using his own trademarked “Market Based Management”¹⁰³ to run the entire company. “Just as central planning is a failure in running government, so it is at the level of the firm,” says Charles.

The U.S. Senate investigated¹⁰⁴ Charles Koch for his alleged role in funding so-called “issue ads” that violated campaign law by helping conservative Republican congressional candidates in 1996. Koch Industries has been the largest oil and gas industry contributor to electoral campaigns since the 2006 election¹⁰⁵ cycle. During the 2008 elections, Koch Industries contributed over \$1.8 million¹⁰⁶, 88% to Republican candidates.

The Koch Brothers

Charles and his brother David were involved in a decades-long family dispute¹⁰⁷ with their brothers, Bill and Fred, regarding a buy-out of company shares. Bill and Fred claimed that Charles and David shortchanged them by \$340 million. The vicious lawsuits began in the early 1980s and continued for nearly two decades.

David H. Koch¹⁰⁸, born in 1940, is Executive Vice-President of Koch Industries, and the CEO of the subsidiary Koch Chemical Technology Group. According to the 2009 Forbes ranking, he is the second-richest¹⁰⁹ person living in New York City, following Michael Bloomberg. In addition to his Park Avenue residence, he has homes in Aspen, CO; Southampton, NY; and Palm Beach, FL.¹¹⁰ Although he's donated millions to conservative, libertarian organizations, David Koch has only garnered public attention for his non-political philanthropy. Regarding a \$100 million naming gift to the New York City Opera and Ballet, he explains "I could afford it...And, of course, there are beautiful girls."¹¹¹ A few of his namesakes include the new David H. Koch Theater at New York's Lincoln Center, the David H. Koch Dinosaur Wing in New York's American Natural History Museum,¹¹² and the new David H. Koch Hall of Human Origins¹¹³ at Smithsonian's Natural History Museum in Washington D.C.

David Koch was the 1980 Vice Presidential candidate¹¹⁴ for the anti-regulatory Libertarian Party. Currently, David Koch is on the Board of Directors for the Cato Institute as well as the Reason Foundation, two right-wing, climate-denier think-tanks. He is also a founding member and Chairman¹¹⁵ of the Americans for Prosperity Foundation, an astroturf group that opposes climate solutions and clean energy.

The Koch Brothers are the 9th Richest Americans

http://www.forbes.com/lists/2009/54/rich-list-09_The-400-Richest-Americans_Rank.html

William Gates III	\$50.0 bil	Medina, WA	Microsoft
Warren Buffett	\$40.0 bil	Omaha, NE	Berkshire Hathaway
Lawrence Ellison	\$27.0 bil	Redwood City, CA	Oracle
Christy Walton & family	\$21.5 bil	Jackson, WY	Wal-Mart inheritance
Jim Walton	\$19.6 bil	Bentonville, AR	Wal-Mart
Alice Walton	\$19.3 bil	Fort Worth, TX	Wal-Mart
S Robson Walton	\$19.0 bil	Bentonville, AR	Wal-Mart
Michael Bloomberg	\$17.5 bil	New York, NY	Bloomberg
Charles Koch	\$16.0 bil	Wichita, KS	Koch Industries
David Koch	\$16.0 bil	New York, NY	Koch Industries
Sergey Brin	\$15.3 bil	Palo Alto, CA	Google
Larry Page	\$15.3 bil	San Francisco, CA	Google
Michael Dell	\$14.5 bil	Austin, TX	Dell
Steven Ballmer	\$13.3 bil	Seattle, WA	Microsoft
George Soros	\$13.0 bil	Westchester, IL	Hedge funds

Koch Climate Opposition Funding:

The Koch Web

“Koch’s chief political influence tool is a web of interconnected, right-wing think tanks and advocacy groups funded by foundations controlled and supported by the two Koch brothers.”—Center for Public Integrity¹²⁶

The Koch brothers, their family members and Koch Industries employees direct a web of financing that supports conservative and libertarian special interest groups and think-tanks, with a strong focus on fighting environmental regulation and easing limits on industrial pollution.¹²⁷

This web is currently fueling a campaign to oppose clean energy and climate legislation, by funding organizations that generate, disseminate and repeat inaccurate and misleading information about climate science, clean energy and climate policies. This information is then provided to astroturf groups (fake grassroots organizations that are created or sponsored by industries)—some of which are also funded by Koch interests—which use the misinformation to increase opposition to clean energy policies and climate solutions.

Koch foundations contributed over \$48 million to climate opposition groups from 1997 to 2008. The climate debate heated up in 1997 around the Kyoto Protocol international negotiations, galvanizing corporate opposition to climate policy. The volume of funding has increased significantly in recent years as climate policy has gained momentum in the United States. One half of the Koch grants since 1997 were dispersed in recent years, between 2005 to 2008. As a rough indicator of the scale and significance of this investment, the Koch foundations surpass ExxonMobil and the ExxonMobil Foundation as a funding source to organizations that generate and disseminate misinformation on the science of and solutions to global warming. From 2005 to 2008, the Koch Foundations provided \$24.9 million in funding to such groups; during the same time ExxonMobil provided about \$8.9 million to groups with similar activities.

The Koch web spans beyond clean energy and climate concerns, and beyond connections plainly visible through publicly available funding trails and records. Many of the organizations funded by Koch are also working against health care reform. Koch’s interests are also advocated through dozens of trade associations (501-C-6’s). Koch Industries nor its owners or officers are required to report potentially millions

of dollars of contributions to these groups, such as U.S. Chamber of Commerce, state Chambers of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and its state affiliates, the American Petroleum Institute and others. Comprehensive examination and research of the entire Koch web is ongoing.

Sources of data for Koch Foundation grants

Foundations disclose major recipients of grants on their IRS 990 forms (tax returns). The data cited in this report comes from the foundations’ IRS 990 tax forms, accessed through the GuideStar database and from data available on the Media Matters Action Conservative Transparency Project:

[<http://www2.guidestar.org/Home.aspx>]

[<http://mediamattersaction.org/transparency>]



Koch Climate Opposition Funding:

The Foundations

Climate denial organizations receive millions of dollars in grants made by three Koch-controlled foundations: the Claude R. Lambe foundation; the Charles G. Koch foundation; and the David H. Koch foundation.

Claude R. Lambe Foundation

The Claude R. Lambe Foundation is the financier of organizations taking a more visible, active role in day-to-day efforts to oppose clean energy and climate policy. The Foundation contributed \$12.2 million to climate opposition groups since 2005.

The Board of Directors is comprised entirely of Koch family members, senior Koch executives and staff who serve Koch foundations.¹²⁸

- Richard Fink — President
- Logan Moore — Secretary
- Vonda Holliman — Treasurer
- Charles G. Koch — Director
- Elizabeth B. Koch — Director
- Elizabeth R. Koch — Director
- Charles C. Koch — Director

Charles G. Koch Foundation

The Charles G. Koch Foundation tends to fund institutes that broadly support efforts to oppose clean energy and climate legislation. The Foundation contributed \$11.7 million since 2005 to such climate denial organizations and front groups.

The Board of Directors¹²⁹ of the Charles G. Koch Foundation is nearly identical to that of the Claude R. Lambe Foundation:

- Richard Fink — President
- Kevin Gentry — Vice President
- Logan Moore — Secretary
- Vonda Holliman — Treasurer
- Charles G. Koch — Director
- Elizabeth B. Koch — Director
- Elizabeth R. Koch — Director
- Charles C. Koch — Director

David H. Koch Foundation

The David H. Koch Foundation historically had a wide array of conservative, anti-environmental grant recipients. From 1997 to 2008 the foundation contributed over \$9 million to climate opposition groups. Since 2005, the Foundation has contributed \$1 million to the Americans for Prosperity Foundation (AFP). AFP is the only climate denial organization to recently receive money from the David H. Koch Foundation. David Koch is a co-founder and chairman of AFP.

The small staff of the David H. Koch Foundation includes:¹³⁰

- David H. Koch — President/Director
- Ruth E. Williams — Secretary
- Vonda Holliman — Treasurer



Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

For this analysis, Koch foundation grants were tabulated from 1997 to 2008 (the most recent year of available contribution information). To simplify the presentation, all grants from the three Koch Foundations have been totaled for each organization. Specific donations from each foundation to each organization are detailed at www.greenpeace.org/kochmoney. The list below includes contributions to those organizations that have been documented to be propagating misinformation about clean energy policies and climate science.

Since 1997, the Koch foundations have contributed over \$48 million in grants to climate opposition groups.

More than half that total, almost \$25 million, was given since 2005.

Total Koch foundation funding

\$24,888,282—Recently contributed to climate opposition groups, between 2005–2008

\$48,510,856—Total contributed to climate opposition groups, between 1997–2008

Combined grants from Koch foundations (Claude R. Lambe, Charles G. Koch, and David H. Koch Foundations) to climate opposition groups (sorted in descending order by total funding):

Mercatus Center

\$9,247,500 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$9,874,500]

The Mercatus Center¹³¹ is a conservative think-tank at George Mason University, in which Charles Koch sits on the Board of Directors.¹³² The Mercatus Center suggested in 2001 that global warming would be, “beneficial, occurring at night, in the winter, and at the poles.”¹³³ In 2009, they conceded that global warming is man-made and problematic but recommend doing nothing to cut emissions, instead promoting “work to facilitate movement of people from areas likely to be harmed by climate change.”¹³⁴

Americans for Prosperity Foundation (AFP)

\$5,176,500 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[No Koch foundation grants received prior to 2005]



Beginning in 2008, Americans For Prosperity¹³⁵ organized astroturf “Hot Air Tour” with a hot air balloon¹³⁶ local events across the country to build opposition to clean energy and climate legislation. This astroturf campaign has been repeatedly exposed by the media, including the Wall Street Journal’s blog¹³⁷, Environmental Capital. AFP also runs the “No Climate Tax”¹³⁸ campaign and helped organize the “Tea Parties” tax protests.¹³⁹ Koch executives Richard Fink and Wayne Gable have strong interconnections with AFP.

Institute for Humane Studies (IHS)

\$1,967,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$3,923,457]

The Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University offers scholarships and career training to libertarian students. Charles Koch is the chairman of the IHS board of directors.¹⁴⁰ In a recent article, Mother Jones called the Institute for Human Studies a “haven for climate change deniers.”¹⁴¹ Several climate deniers have prominent positions at IHS, including: Robert Bradley¹⁴², member of the Academic Review Committee and author of *Climate Alarmism Reconsidered* (2003)¹⁴³; and Fred Singer¹⁴⁴, Research Professor at IHS. A number of climate deniers are guest lecturers for IHS, such as Bruce Yandle¹⁴⁵, Senior Associate¹⁴⁶ with Political Economy Research Center, and Kenneth Green¹⁴⁷, Resident Scholar¹⁴⁸ with American Enterprise Institute.

Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

The Heritage Foundation

\$1,620,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$3,358,000]

The Heritage Foundation is a conservative think tank¹⁴⁹ that misinterprets science and policy regarding the climate¹⁵⁰ and uses their conclusions to argue against action on global warming. Recently the Heritage Foundation has: misinterpreted the impacts of global warming¹⁵¹ on the US economy; twisted news reports to justify claims about ‘climate taxes’¹⁵²; issued deceptive economic analyses and presentations¹⁵³; and released allegations about economic ruin and job losses¹⁵⁴ from green stimulus investments by Congress. Heritage Foundation also teamed up with Institute for Energy Research (IER¹⁵⁵) to promote the widely debunked “Spanish” study.¹⁵⁶



Cato Institute

\$1,028,400 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$5,278,400]

The Cato Institute is focused on disputing the science behind global warming and questioning the rationale¹⁵⁷ for taking action. The organization’s 2009 “Handbook for Policymakers”¹⁵⁸ on global warming begins with the suggestions that Congress should “pass no legislation restricting emissions of carbon dioxide” and “inform the public about how little climate change would be prevented by proposed legislation.” Robert Bradley, an adjunct scholar at the Cato Institute, is also a founder and the CEO of the Institute for Energy Research. In 2007 the Cato Foundation gave \$120,000¹⁵⁹ to New Hope Environmental Services, an “advocacy science consulting firm” founded and run by long-time climate science denier Patrick Michaels¹⁶⁰, who uses New Hope to publish his World Climate Report, a sort of ongoing journal of denial of climate science. Michaels is also a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, which paid him \$98,000¹⁶¹ to write a book “The Satanic Gases” with fellow climate denier Robert Balling. Over the years, Michaels’ work has been financed by a number of coal and polluter interests¹⁶², including the Western Fuels Association, the Intermountain Rural Electric Association, and others.



The Manhattan Institute

\$800,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$1,325,000]

The Institute publishes climate science denials¹⁶³ and has hosted Bjorn Lomborg¹⁶⁴, a prominent spokesperson against addressing climate change, at Manhattan Institute events¹⁶⁵ several times over the last two years.

Washington Legal Foundation (WLF)

\$655,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$1,255,000]

WLF publishes articles on the business threats posed by regulation of global warming pollution, such as vulnerability to tort claims.¹⁶⁶

Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies

\$542,500 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$1,750,700]

The Federalist Society advocates for inaction on global warming: “Global warming is nothing more than an educated guess by many of the same scientists who are still arguing about what happened to the dinosaurs. Perhaps we should think carefully before putting blind faith in people who cannot explain the simple disappearance of tens of millions of creatures, many of which were the size of locomotives.”¹⁶⁷

In a Federalist Society Newsletter from 2000, they claim: “The science is not settled (as claimed by Vice President Gore), that it is not “compelling” (as claimed by President Clinton), and that there is certainly no scientific consensus favoring global warming. If anything, the largest number of scientists, some 17,000, signed a petition against the Kyoto Protocol in 1998.”¹⁶⁸

Federalist Society
for Law and Public Policy Studies

Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment

\$365,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$1,460,000]

Peter Geddes¹⁶⁹, Executive Vice President of FREE¹⁷⁰, has advocated against taking action¹⁷¹ on climate change because warming is “inevitable” and expensive to address. In addition, FREE sponsors seminars for federal judges¹⁷² that have been criticized for creating judicial conflicts of interest. FREE states¹⁷³ it only takes money for judicial seminars from foundations whose founder is deceased (termed “dead-man foundations” by FREE), and that corporate funding does not fund judicial seminars. However, the Claude R. Lambe foundation has been listed as a funder of at least six seminars since 1997. A 1999 Koch Foundations report questions this rationale, stating “Charles Koch’s control of Koch industries...calls into question the relevance of this term, as defined by FREE, if not the accuracy of the disclosure.”¹⁷⁴

Foundation for Research on
FREE
Economics & the Environment

Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy (PRIPP)

\$360,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$1,100,000]

PRIPP supported and funded *An Inconvenient Truth...or Convenient Fiction*¹⁷⁵, a film attacking the science of global warming and intended as a rebuttal to former Vice-President Al Gore’s documentary. The film was produced by PRIPP Senior Fellow Steven Hayward and promoted¹⁷⁶ by the Heritage Foundation. Hayward is also an IER board member and a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. Hayward and another AEI colleague were exposed¹⁷⁷ two years ago for offering to pay IPCC scientists \$10,000 for critiques of the IPCC findings.

Tax Foundation

\$325,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$525,000]

The Tax Foundation opposed American Clean Energy and Security Act¹⁷⁸ and issued a study¹⁷⁹ on the costs of climate change legislation. Wayne Gable, a former Managing Director of Federal Affairs at Koch Industries, served as President of the Tax Foundation from 1989–1991.

Independent Women’s Forum (IWF)

\$290,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$335,000]

IWF has spread misinformation on climate science and touts the work of climate deniers.¹⁸⁰ IWF was run by Nancy Pfothenhauer¹⁸¹ (formerly Nancy Mitchell), who was Koch Industries’ chief in-house lobbyist¹⁸² from 1996 to 2001. In 2003, IWF affiliated itself with Americans for Prosperity¹⁸³ (AFP), a group that split from Citizens for a Sound Economy. Pfothenhauer served as president and CEO of AFP until 2005¹⁸⁴. Pfothenhauer left IWF to work on the McCain presidential campaign. More recently, IWF soft-launched a project called Mothers for Educating with Sound Science (MESS)¹⁸⁵ including radio appearances questioning the science of global warming and warning of dire impacts of global warming pollution regulation.

Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF)

\$283,125 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$393,999]

TPPF fellows recently wrote on why reducing global warming pollution won’t work¹⁸⁶ and the devastating impact the American Clean Energy and Security Act¹⁸⁷ would have on all aspects of American life.

Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

American Council for Capital Formation (ACCF)

\$215,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$225,000]

ACCF has partnered twice with the National Association of Manufacturers to produce and disseminate distorted economic analyses¹⁸⁸ that overstate the costs of climate legislation and have been prominently featured at US Chamber of Commerce-organized “forums”¹⁸⁹ on climate over the past year. The ACCF/NAM studies have been credibly debunked¹⁹⁰ more than once.¹⁹¹

George C. Marshall Institute

\$210,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$240,000]

The George C. Marshall Institute¹⁹² has a long history of global warming denial, including publication of junk science reports funded by the American Petroleum Institute and authored by Sallie Baliunas¹⁹³, a scientist affiliated with several organizations¹⁹⁴ receiving money from oil corporations. The Marshall Institute also produced a “Cocktail Conversation Guide”¹⁹⁵ with suggestions for denying the dangers of global warming in any social setting.

GEORGE C.
Marshall
I N S T I T U T E

The Reason Foundation

\$205,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$1,706,200]

The Foundation promotes the tenets of “Free Market Environmentalism (FME)”¹⁹⁶ to argue that those who suffer from the effects of global warming have little legal or moral claim for compensation from GHG emitters.

Institute for Energy Research (IER)

\$175,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$235,000]

IER supported and promoted the “Spanish”¹⁹⁷ and “Danish”¹⁹⁸ studies critical of clean energy jobs, both of which have been debunked by credible sources. IER also argues that efforts to curb global warming would accomplish little at too great a cost¹⁹⁹, promotes ACCF/NAM and Heritage Foundation studies²⁰⁰ that exaggerate the costs of climate policy, and discourages U.S. leadership²⁰¹ on the international stage. Robert Bradley, a former Enron executive, is the CEO of IER and one of its founders. Thomas Pyle, a former Koch and oil-industry lobbyist, is the President of IER and the American Energy Alliance (AEA), the 501c4 counterpart to IER. AEA was founded by the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Petroleum Institute²⁰² to fight the BTU tax proposal in 1993, and in recent years funded by ExxonMobil and Koch Industries.²⁰³ AEA has been active in the climate debate, from running ads repeating false claims about the costs of climate legislation to trashing clean energy at town halls²⁰⁴ around the US.

IER INSTITUTE FOR
ENERGY RESEARCH

Fraser Institute

\$175,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[No Koch foundation grants received prior to 2005]

The Fraser Institute²⁰⁵ publishes in-depth critiques of climate science, including a 110-page report attacking the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change’s Fourth Assessment report. They also offer lesson plans²⁰⁶ and educational materials²⁰⁷ designed to encourage children to be skeptical of mainstream climate science.

Frontiers of Freedom

\$150,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$175,000]

Frontiers of Freedom²⁰⁸ has actively opposed global warming action for over a decade. As Director of Policy with Frontiers of Freedom, Myron Ebell²⁰⁹ assisted in the development of the American Petroleum Institute’s Global Climate Science Communi-

Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

cations Plan²¹⁰, leaked to the public in 1998. Currently, FF hosts dozens of studies²¹¹ on its website focusing on climate science denial and high estimates of the cost of climate policy. FF reinforced the Tax Foundations' characterization of climate regulations as a tax on the poor and middle class.²¹² FF also smears²¹³ climate science and spreads typical climate disinformation.²¹⁴

National Center for Policy Analysis (NCPA)

\$130,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$570,000]

NCPA disseminates climate science denials²¹⁵ and exaggerates the economic costs²¹⁶ of emissions mitigation.

American Council on Science and Health (ACSH)

\$125,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[No Koch foundation grants received prior to 2005]

In 1997, ACSH released a position paper²¹⁷ titled, “Global Climate Change and Human Health,” which claims that cutting green house gas emissions, because it would hurt the economy, would be more detrimental to public health than global warming. “...policymakers can safely take several decades to plan a response, and scientists will have enough time to develop cost-effective and anti-climate-change strategies.” Among the reviewers of the report were famous climate deniers Sallie Baliunas²¹⁸ and Fred Singer.²¹⁹

Atlas Economic Research Foundation

\$113,800 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$122,300]

Atlas has cosponsored Heartland Institute events²²⁰ dedicated to the proposition that climate change is not a crisis and has supported organizations such as the John Locke Foundation²²¹ which has attacked efforts by state elected officials working on climate solutions with the Center for Climate Strategies.

Capital Research Center

\$110,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$640,000]

CRC's GreenWatch.org²²² website collects information on non-profit environmental advocates, and is heavily biased against climate science.

American Enterprise Institute (AEI)

\$100,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$150,000]

AEI has a long track record²²³ of distorting the science and solutions of climate change. Its arguments²²⁴ tend to de-emphasize the environmental and economic risks of climate change, exaggerate the costs of addressing the problem and question the value of putting a policy in place at all, as illustrated by a recent Wall Street Journal oped²²⁵ by AEI fellow Steven Hayward.



Independence Institute

\$85,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$291,000]

The Colorado-based Independence Institute has hosted events dismissing the “Cult of Climate Change”²²⁶ and featuring Cato Institute fellows.²²⁷

Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC)

\$75,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$408,000]

The logo for the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) features the word "ALEC" in a large, blue, serif font. The letters are stylized, with the 'A' and 'E' having a classic, slightly ornate appearance.

ALEC is one-stop shopping²²⁸ for elected officials interested in perusing the wares of an array of Koch-funded opposition organizations including IER, ACCF, Mercatus and other sources. ALEC publishes its own materials as well, including a “Climate Change Overview for State Legislators”²²⁹ which downplays the science and risks of global warming and exaggerates the costs of addressing it. The Overview was written by Daniel Simmons, who moved from ALEC to become AEA’s Director of State Affairs. Simmons was at the Mercatus Institute before ALEC and is a graduate of the George Mason University School of Law.

Goldwater Institute

\$70,427 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$75,000]

The institute is fighting against passage²³⁰ of a renewable energy standard in Arizona.

Property and Environment Research Center (PERC)

\$70,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$174,500]

PERC touts the potential economic benefits²³¹ to American farmers as a reason not to act against climate change. Richard Stroup²³² is a Senior Fellow²³³ at PERC and an adjunct scholar²³⁴ at the Cato Institute.

Mackinac Center for Public Policy

\$60,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$65,000]

The Michigan-based Mackinac Center spreads climate change denials²³⁵ and smears²³⁶ prominent climate policy consultants.

Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change

\$60,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$85,000]

The Center is run by Sherwood Idso²³⁷ and his sons Craig²³⁸ and Keith²³⁹, long-time climate science deniers. The Center runs the climate science denial site <http://co2science.org>.²⁴⁰

Americans for Tax Reform (ATR)

\$40,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$60,000]

ATR denies the science of global warming and opposes federal policies to address it.²⁴¹ ATR focused on costs and denial in their 2008 “Cost of Government”²⁴² report.

State Policy Network (SPN)

\$30,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$39,000]

SPN spreads the climate science denials²⁴³ and misinformation²⁴⁴ of the Heartland Institute.

Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

Media Research Center (MRC)

\$14,030 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$15,005]

The Media Research Center²⁴⁵ is a conservative news organization that analyzes and spins mainstream news content in order to counter an alleged “strident liberal bias”.²⁴⁶ MRC has several projects that analyze various types and angles of media. These projects, such as the “Business and Media Institute” and “Free Market Project,” have released several reports that claim the national media favors²⁴⁷ the environmental view on global warming and excludes climate deniers in their coverage.²⁴⁸ The Media Research Center has also contributed to the “ClimateGate” echo chamber²⁴⁹, criticizing national media outlets for a lack of “ClimateGate” coverage.

John Locke Foundation (JLF)

\$10,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$85,000]

The John Locke Foundation²⁵⁰ is a conservative think-tank based in North Carolina, focused on local and state issues. JLF advocates for inaction on global warming, stating in a 2005 policy brief²⁵¹ that “a green house gas reduction policy would have only costs and no benefits.” In 2007, JLF released a policy report²⁵² that publishes several climate denier myths, intended to instruct average North Carolina citizens on refuting global warming. On JLF’s “Right Angles” blog, the “ClimateGate” coverage²⁵³ calls for a “reconsideration of ‘green’ efforts” and notes that some have tried to rescind the Oscar Vice President Al Gore received for An Inconvenient Truth.

National Taxpayers Union Foundation (NTUF)

\$5,000 received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$32,500]

In an open letter to Representative Mary Bono-Mack²⁵⁴ and to Representative Walt Minnick²⁵⁵, the National Taxpayers Union advocates against the carbon regulatory measures in the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009 as a “tax hike” without acknowledging the environmental or economic benefits. “If Congress deems carbon dioxide emissions to be a problem worthy of attention, then it should confront them without raising taxes on struggling American families in the process.”

Citizens for a Sound Economy (now FreedomWorks)

No grants received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$6,510,375]

Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE)²⁵⁶ was founded by David Koch in 1984, which split in 2003²⁵⁷ into Americans For Prosperity and FreedomWorks.²⁵⁸ FreedomWorks is an astroturf group led by former U.S. Representative Dick Armey, with a mission of promoting a conservative agenda. The astroturf group tries to cast doubt on the need for climate legislation²⁵⁹, declaring: “organizations pushing action on global warming – such as the United Nations, the environmental movement, and former Vice President Al Gore – have substantial institutional, ideological, and financial stakes in creating a restrictive new layer of global warming regulation.” FreedomWorks also participates in the echochamber²⁶⁰ around the “ClimateGate” story.

Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI)

No grants received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$471,420]

CEI, among many other statements denying the seriousness of global warming, has argued that climate change would create a “milder, greener, more prosperous world” and that “Kyoto was a power grab based on deception and fear.” CEI maintains a website²⁶² as part of their aggressive campaign to convince the public that global warming is uncertain, and has spent considerable time and effort adding to the echo chamber around “ClimateGate.”



Koch Foundations and Climate Denial

Center for the Study of Market Processes

No grants received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$50,000]

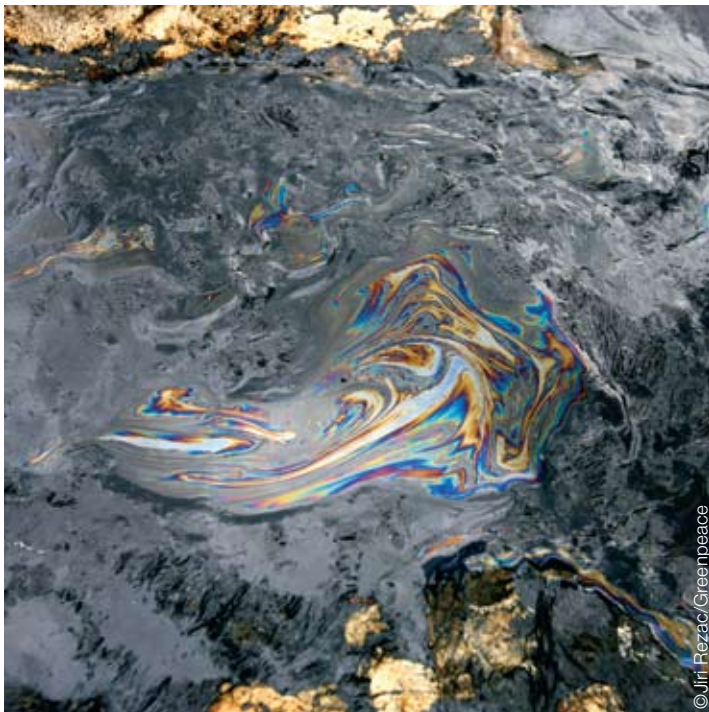
Pre-cursor²⁶³ organization to Mercatus Center.

Heartland Institute (HI)

No grants received from Koch foundations 2005–2008

[Total Koch foundation grants 1997–2008: \$30,000]

The Heartland Institute²⁶⁴, a Chicago-based, industry-funded conservative think-tank, has had a long history of climate denial that continues today. Since 2007, HI has hosted their annual International Conference on Climate Change²⁶⁵, where dozens of climate deniers converge²⁶⁶ to discuss issues and strategies to oppose climate action. On their global warming website, HI has dozens of articles²⁶⁷, dating back to 1996, documenting their perspective that the Kyoto Protocol is unnecessary because “greenhouse gas (GHG) levels will unlikely ever pose a problem.”²⁶⁸ The Heartland Institute has also been a major part of the “Climategate” echo chamber. The Institute has posted dozens of blogs to exaggerate the significance of the incident, claiming “the global movement to ‘do something’ about global warming...stands discredited”²⁶⁹ and “the IPCC should be disbanded as a threat to mankind.”²⁷⁰ In addition to blogs, spokespeople from the Heartland Institute²⁷¹ have commented on “ClimateGate” several times in the media as well.



Lobbying and Political Spending

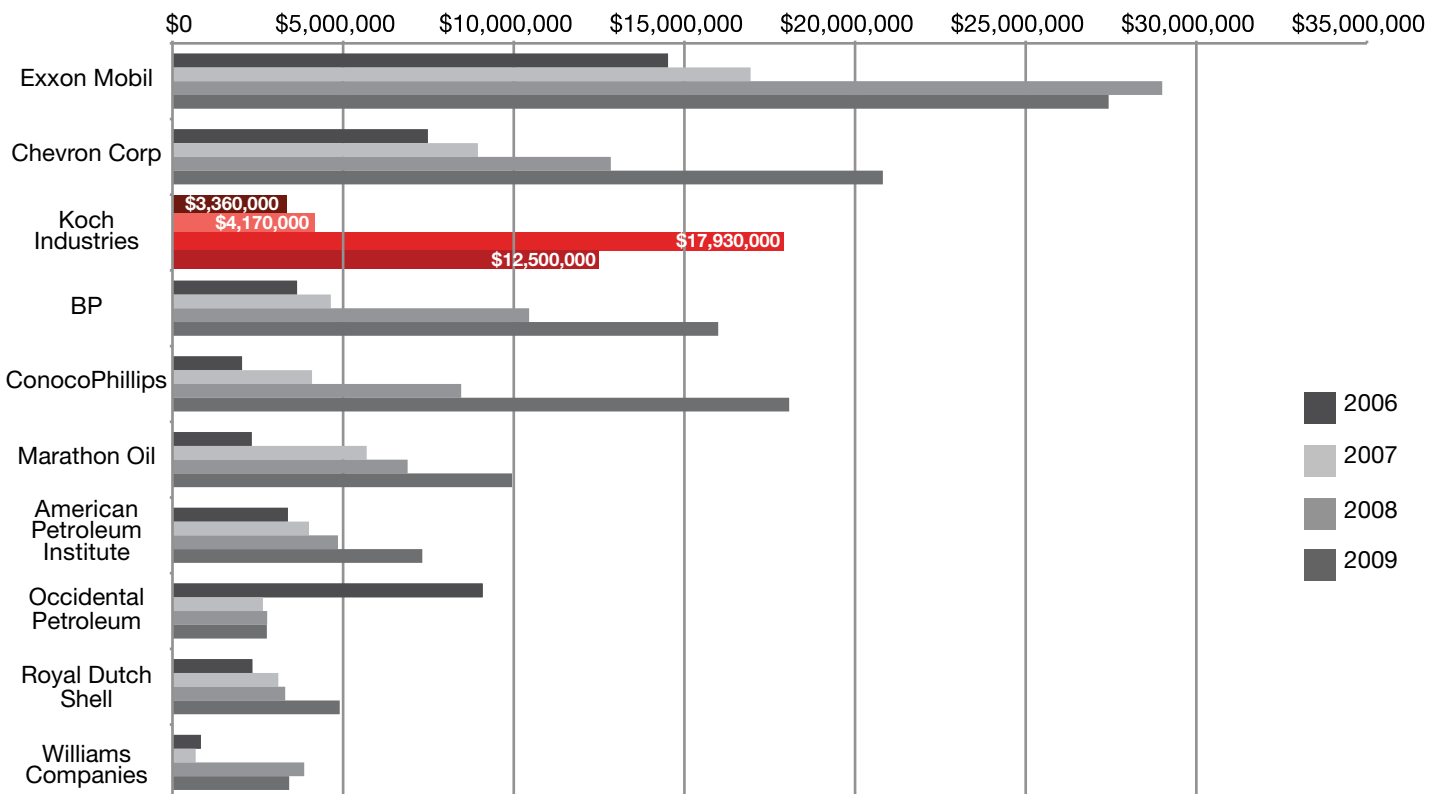
Note on Sources: Lobbying expenditures as well as federal PAC and individual contributions to federal candidates are disclosed on Opensecrets.org. Additional lobbying data can be found at the Senate's Lobbying Disclosure site.²⁷²

1. Federal Direct Lobbying²⁷³

Lobbying Summary: Koch Industries spent a total of \$37.9 million on oil and gas lobbying from January 2006 to December 2009. During this period in the oil and gas sector, Koch Industries was outspent only by ExxonMobil (\$87.8 million) and Chevron Corporation (\$50 million).

- 2009: \$12.5 million total,²⁷⁴ \$9 million spent on in-house lawyers.
- 2008: \$17.93 million total,²⁷⁵ \$15.3 million spent on in-house lawyers
- 2007: \$4.17 million total,²⁷⁶ with \$40,000 to Pyle and Associates and \$100,000 to the Rhoads Group (Thomas Pyle worked at Rhoads Group before starting Pyle and Associates and is now President of IER and AEA).²⁷⁷
- 2006: \$3.36 million total,²⁷⁸ with \$140,000 to Rhoads Group.

Koch Industries has Spent \$37.9 Million on Oil and Gas Lobbying Since 2006



Lobbying and Political Spending

It is worth noting that Koch also hires outside lawyers to lobby on its behalf, in some cases the same firms that lobby for other groups of which Koch is a member. For example:

- Siff and Lake, \$190,000 (2009), \$220,000 (2008), \$200,000 (2007), which also lobbies for Western Fuels Association.
- Mehlman/Vogel, \$200,000 (2009), \$120,000 (2008), \$20,000 (2007) which also lobbies for API (2009, 2008), Business Roundtable (2009, 2008), EEI (2009, 2008) and Energy Future Holdings (2009).
- Pyle and Associates, \$40,000 (2007), which also lobbied for the National Petrochemical and Refiners Association²⁷⁹, of which Koch is a member.
- The Rhoads Group, \$100,000 (2007) which also lobbies for the National Petrochemical and Refiners Association²⁸⁰ of which Koch is a member.
- Hunton and Williams, \$60,000 (2009), \$150,000 (2008), \$80,000 (2007), which also lobbied for National Association of Manufacturers (2009, 2008) and Americans for Affordable Climate Policy (2009), Edison Electric Institute (2009, 2008, 2007), Gas Processing Association (2009, 2008) and the Foundation for Environment and Economic Progress (2009, 2008, 2007))
- Capitol Tax Partners, \$30,000 (2009), \$240,000 (2008), \$220,000 (2007), which who also lobbies for Edison Electric Institute (2009, 2008, 2007) and National Electrical Manufacturers Association (2008, 2007)

In addition, Koch executives serve on the boards of other organizations wielding influence against clean energy and climate policy. The Executive Vice President for Operations Excellence & Compliance at Koch Industries, James Mahoney, is also a vice-president of the National Petrochemical & Refiners Association (NPRA). NPRA significantly increased its lobbying budget in 2009, reporting \$1.68 million in direct federal lobbying expenses.¹⁸¹ This more than doubled the lobby spending of the organization from 2008, when its total lobbying budget was \$810,000.



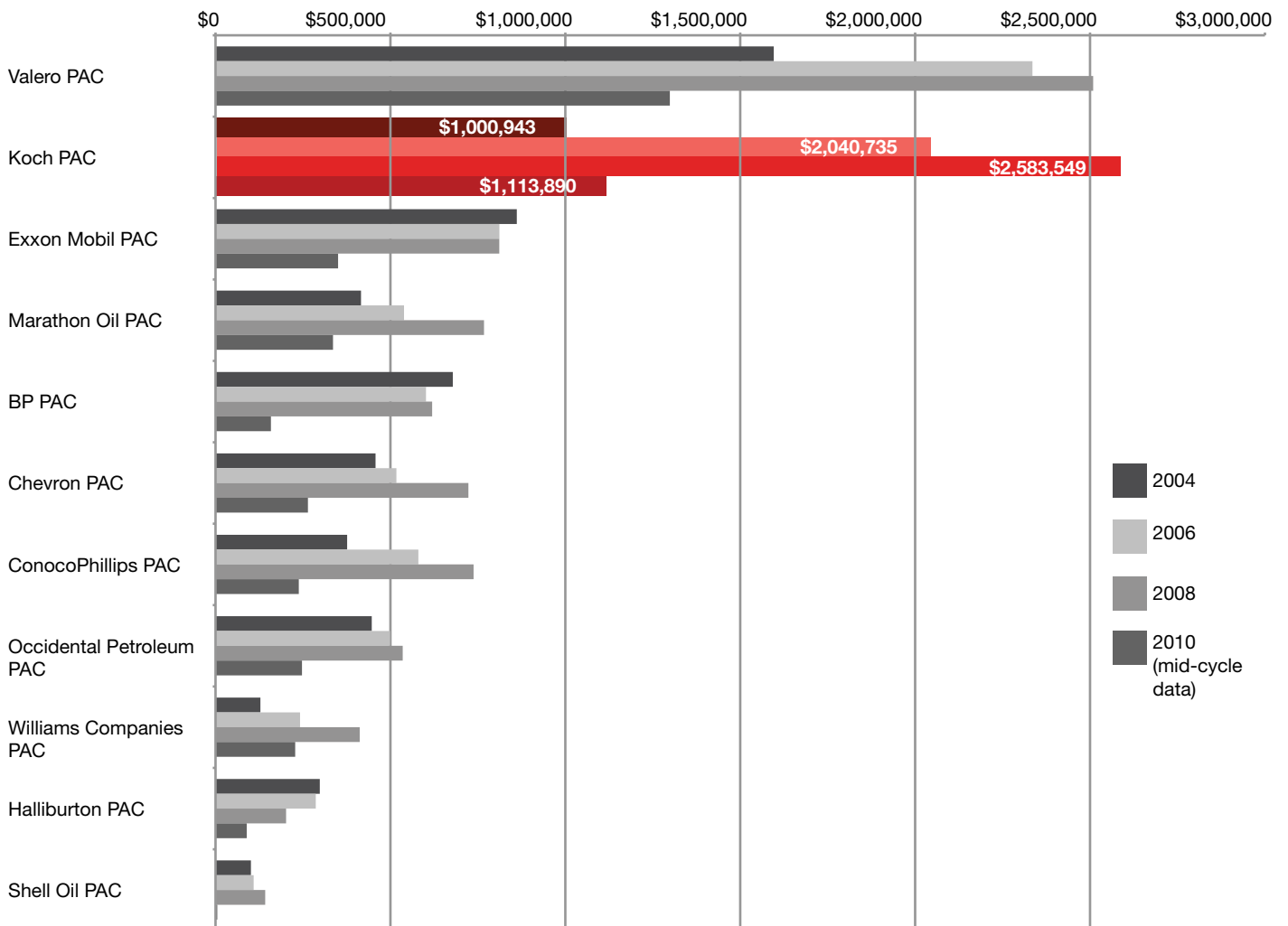
Lobbying and Political Spending

2. Koch PAC²⁸²

Koch's political action committee bundles contributions from Koch employees and their spouses. Koch's PAC spent a total of \$5.74 million since 2006: \$2.04 million in the 2006 cycle, \$2.6 million in the 2008 cycle and \$1.1 million during the first year of the 2010 cycle.

From the beginning of the 2006 election cycle, Koch's PAC spent more on contributions to federal candidates²⁸³ and committees than any other oil-and-gas sector based PAC. For that period, Koch Industries and its executives spent \$3.55 million compared to next three biggest contributors: Exxon (\$2.6 million), Chevron (\$2.08 million), and Valero (\$2.03 million).

Koch PAC outspent the PACs of ExxonMobil, Chevron, ConocoPhillips and BP since 2004



Lobbying and Political Spending

Koch's PAC heavily favors Republicans: 88% of its contributions went to Republicans during the 2008 election²⁸⁴ cycle; 86% went to Republicans in the 2006 cycle.²⁸⁵ Koch's PAC also heavily favors Republican Party committees and leadership. In 2009, Koch's PAC gave

- \$15,000 to the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), and \$15,000 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC).
- \$5,000 to Restore America PAC (founded by U.S. Senator Sam Brownback R-TX); \$5,000 to Freedom Project (founded by U.S. Rep John Boehner R-OH); and \$10,000 to Cantor For Congress (founded by U.S. Rep. Eric Cantor R-VA)

U.S. House Members receiving more than \$20,000 from Koch Industries PAC since 2006 election cycle

KochPAC Recipient (House)	Total
Cuellar, Henry (D-TX)	\$30,500
Cantor, Eric (R-VA)	\$28,000
Barton, Joe (R-TX)	\$26,500
Blackburn, Marsha (R-TN)	\$25,000
Boehner, John (R-OH)	\$25,000
Kline, John (R-MN)	\$25,000
Davis, Geoff (R-KY)	\$24,000
Boyd, Allen (D-FL)	\$21,500
Boren, Dan (D-OK)	\$20,500

U.S. Senate Members receiving more than \$10,000 from Koch Industries PAC since 2004 election cycle

KochPAC Recipient (Senate)	Total
DeMint, James W (R-SC)	\$20,000
Murkowski, Lisa (R-AK)	\$20,000
Lincoln, Blanche (D-AR)	\$18,000
Burr, Richard (R-NC)	\$15,500
Chambliss, Saxby (R-GA)	\$15,000
Coburn, Tom (R-OK)	\$15,000
Roberts, Pat (R-KS)	\$15,000
Thune, John (R-SD)	\$15,000
Inhofe, James M (R-OK)	\$13,500
Vitter, David (R-LA)	\$12,500
Cornyn, John (R-TX)	\$12,500
Shelby, Richard C (R-AL)	\$11,500

In addition, Koch owns Georgia Pacific and Flint Hill Resources, employees of which now give money to Koch PAC; e.g., Georgia Pacific CEO Patrick Boushka gave \$25,000 to Koch PAC in 2008 cycle.

3. Family and Individual Political Contributions

Charles and David Koch, along with their wives, have contributed substantial amounts to federal GOP party committees. Since the 2006 election cycle, Koch family members contributed at least \$270,800 to the Republican National Committee (RNC), NRSC, and NRCC.

- 2006 election cycle: \$101,400
- 2008 election cycle: \$139,000
- 2010 election cycle (through end of 2009): \$30,400

No donations to the Democratic National Committee, National Democratic Senatorial Committee, or the National Democratic Congressional Committee were found from these individuals.

Key Individuals in the Koch Web

Fred C. Koch. Founder of Koch Industries (d. 1967)

Charles G. Koch.²⁸⁶ Chief Executive Officer, Koch Industries. Ranked²⁸⁷ as 9th richest American (tied with his brother David.) Born in 1935. Lives in Wichita, Kansas.

- Co-founder of the Cato Institute
- Chairman, Board of Directors, The Institute for Humane Studies
- Member, Board of Directors, The Mercatus Center

David H. Koch.²⁸⁸ Executive Vice-President, Koch Industries. Ranked²⁸⁹ as 9th richest American (tied with his brother Charles.) Born in 1940. Lives in New York City.

- Member, Board of Directors, The Cato Institute, Washington, D.C.
- Member, Board of Directors, The Reason Foundation, Santa Monica, Calif.
- Chairman, Board of Trustees, Americans for Prosperity Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Richard Fink.²⁹⁰ Executive Vice-President and member of the board of directors of Koch Industries.

- Board member of Koch subsidiaries Georgia-Pacific Equity Holdings, LLC and Flint Hills Resources, LLC.
- First President²⁹¹ of Citizens for a Sound Economy, the forerunner of Americans for Prosperity
- Co-founder and board member of Americans for Prosperity (AFP) Foundation
- Former board member of Americans for Prosperity 501(c)4 organization
- Director of the Claude R. Lambe Foundation
- Co-Founder and Director at the Mercatus Center
- Director of the Institute for Humane Studies
- Fink was formerly a professor at George Mason University, which the Koch web also funds generously.

William Koch.²⁹² Bought out by brothers Charles and David.

- *Co-chair of the Alliance to Protect Nantucket Sound, formed to fight the Cape Wind offshore wind farm project.*²⁹³

Frederick Koch.²⁹⁴ Bought out by brothers Charles and David.

Logan Moore.²⁹⁵ Secretary of the Claude R. Lambe Foundation. Also serves as Director of Operations for the Charles G. Koch Foundation.

Wayne Gable. Former Board of Directors at Americans for Prosperity.²⁹⁷

Gable was Managing Director of Federal Affairs at Koch Industries and lobbied on Koch's behalf as recently as 2004.²⁹⁸ He worked at Citizens for a Sound Economy from 1986 to 1991, serving as president from 1989 to 1991. He has also served terms as the president of the Tax Foundation, the Charles Koch Foundation, and the Center for Market Processes.

Robert Bradley.²⁹⁹ CEO of Institute for Energy Research (IER). Bradley also holds positions at the Cato Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, and the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University.

Daniel Simmons.³⁰⁰ Former Director of the Natural Resources Task Force at American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC).

Simmons is now AEA's Director of State Affairs. Simmons was at the Mercatus Institute before ALEC and is a graduate of the George Mason University School of Law. ALEC, which also receives funding from the American Petroleum Institute, was critical of President Bush's climate proposals.³⁰¹

Kevin Gentry.³⁰² Vice-President, Strategic Development³⁰⁴ for Charles G. Koch Foundation; Director, Strategic Development for Koch Industries.

Between 1997 and 2003, he served as vice president of the Institute for Humane Studies and the Mercatus Center, both located at George Mason University.

Steven Hayward.³⁰⁵ Board Member at IER; Scholar and fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

Hayward produced *An Inconvenient Truth... or Convenient Fiction*³⁰⁶ for PRIPP, a film attacking the science of global warming and intended as a rebuttal to former Vice-President Al Gore's documentary. Hayward is also an IER board member and a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

SOURCES:

Financial information for this report was drawn from primary sources including:

GuideStar—<http://www2.guidestar.org/Home.aspx>

a website containing details on hundreds of foundations, their IRS 990 form submissions.

Media Matters Action Conservative Transparency project <http://mediamattersaction.org/transparency/>

Conservative and corporate foundation grants are cross-referenced with recipients in a searchable format.

OpenSecrets—<http://www.opensecrets.org/>

A “nonpartisan guide to money’s influence on U.S. elections and public policy” contains campaign contribution, PAC and lobbying data compiled per donor, per sector and per candidate.

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