



The Science and Global Politics of Climate Change

*A Special Report for Heads of State and Government,
Cabinet Officials, and National Legislators*

Lord Christopher Monckton of Brenchley

*“The Armageddon scenario that he [Al Gore] depicts
is not based on any scientific view.”*

Mr. Justice Burton, High Court, London, October 2007

This Special Report on “global warming” gives a pragmatic, factual insight into climate science, economics and policy, and offers sensible, straightforward, affordable answers to the key questions now before the international community.

The world faces many real environmental problems. In any view, however, “global warming” is not one of them. Science shows that the world will not warm dangerously. Even if warming were to prove severe, focused adaptation to its consequences would be the most cost-effective approach.

Taxing or regulating carbon – however profitable it might be for the Armageddon industry and for cash-hungry governments – would make little measurable difference to the climate, and at a disproportionately extravagant cost – all pain, no gain.

The science is in, the truth is out, the game is up, and the scare is over.

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Lord Christopher Monckton of Brenchley

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Since 1985, the Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT) has been working to enhance the fruitfulness of the earth, and all of its inhabitants. CFACT is recognized as an exempt 501(c)(3) organization under the Internal Revenue Service Act of 1954.

The United Nations: One world, or one-world government?

On 15 September 2009, the Secretariat of the United Nations' Framework Convention on Climate Change quietly issued a 186-page draft Treaty of Copenhagen, proposing to turn itself into an unelected world government with unlimited powers to impose direct taxation on member nations without representation, recourse or recall; to interfere directly in the environmental policies of individual nations; and to sweep away all free markets worldwide, replacing them with itself as the sole rule maker in every marketplace (treaty draft, annex 1, articles 36-38). Some quotations from the draft reveal the UN's ambition:

"The scheme for the new institutional arrangement under the Convention will be based on three basic pillars: **government**; facilitative mechanism; and financial mechanism ... The **government** will be ruled by the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change with the support of a new subsidiary body on adaptation, and of an Executive Board responsible for the management of the new funds and the related facilitative processes and bodies." (Copenhagen Treaty draft of September 15, 2009, para. 38).

The three central powers that the UN had hoped to grant itself under the guise of "Saving The Planet" from alleged climate catastrophe were as follows:

"Government": This use of the word "government" is the first time the term has been used to describe a world government in any international treaty draft.

"Financial mechanism": The "financial mechanism" was a delicate phrase to describe a new power of the UN to levy unlimited taxation directly on the peoples of its member states: taxation without representation, and on a global scale.

"Facilitative mechanism": This facilitative mechanism would, for the first time, have given the UN the power directly to coerce and compel compliance on the part of its member states, by force if necessary. The Treaty draft describes it as –

"... a facilitative mechanism drawn up to facilitate the design, adoption and carrying out of public policies, as the prevailing instrument, to which the market rules and related dynamics should be subordinate."

In short, there was to be a New World Order, with a "government" having at its command a "financial mechanism" in the form of unlimited rights to tax the world's citizen's directly, and a "facilitative mechanism" that would bring the rules of all formerly free markets under the direct control of the new UN "government," aided by an already expanding series of bureaucracies.

At no point anywhere in the 186 pages of the Treaty draft do the words "democracy," "election," "ballot," or "vote" appear. As the European Union has already demonstrated, the transfer of powers from sovereign democracies to supranational entities brings those democracies, for all intents and purposes, to an end. At the supranational level, in the UN, in the EU and in the proposed world government, decisions are not made by anyone whom we, the voters, have elected to make such decisions.

The exposure of the draft treaty in major international news media panicked the UN into abandoning the draft before the Copenhagen conference even began. Instead, the UN is now legislating crabwise, as the EU does, with a series of successive treaties, each one transferring more power and wealth from individual nations to its supranational bureaucracy. The latest of these treaties is the Cancún agreement, which creates hundreds of new bureaucracies and de-

mands ever larger sums from the once wealthy West in the name of “reparation for climate debt” to poorer countries, none of which will see very much of the money once the UN and poor-country elites have taken their usual cut.

The pretext for the UN’s rapidly developing bid for absolute centralized power, safely beyond the reach of any electorate, is the imagined – and, as we shall show, imaginary – need to “Save The Planet” from the “threat” of “global warming.” The prolonged and costly treaty process is the latest and costliest in a series of attempts by the UN to enrich and empower itself by ruthlessly exploiting misplaced post-colonial self-guilt on the part of the West’s *classe politique*.

“The Process”: Jobs for life at the IPCC and UNFCCC

In the words of one of the UN’s most distinguished former ambassadors:

“The UN now exists for one purpose and one purpose only: money. Money not for the developing nations but for itself alone. The Third World is not and has never been the objective of the UN: it is the mere pretext for the UN’s self-enrichment and self-aggrandizement.”

No fashionable political topic has proven so profitable to the UN as the “global warming” scare. Brilliantly exploiting the near boundless scientific ignorance of today’s political class worldwide, and artfully playing upon the West’s misplaced regret at its own success in a world of failure, the UN has at last found in “global warming” the cash cow for which its overpaid and underworked bureaucrats have long prayed.

Year by year, the vast, ever multiplying, ever expanding bureaucracies of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate change grow larger and costlier. However, their size, cost and rapid rate of expansion are carefully kept secret from the Western taxpayers who are compelled to foot the bill.

Financial questions in the Parliaments of that minority of member nations that are fortunate enough not to be ruled by dictators are deftly sidestepped. For instance, a question asked in the UK House of Lords at the instance of Lord Monckton, asking HM Government to admit how much money it had spent on the IPCC, whose Technical Panel it had paid for in secret and in full for many years, received the flatly mendacious reply, “We do not have that information.”

Why this official coyness? The answer is that the cost of the climate boondoggle is absurdly heavy, in both financial outlays and the effects on the British energy users and economy, whereas the climatic benefit from all that extravagant spending is – and will remain – nil.

It is not only the UN’s hundreds of bureaucratic bodies that are gaining from what national delegates to UNFCCC conferences have come to know and love as “The Process.” The Process is a continuing, expanding, jobs-for-life activity that enables diplomats, politicians and bureaucrats from around the world to travel every few months to a new, exotic location, there to deliberate – at great cost to taxpayers worldwide – on how to make the UN ever richer and more powerful, in the name of Saving The Planet.

“The Process,” therefore, may well continue indefinitely and expensively, though it has no legitimate purpose and will have no measurable climatic outcome.

The UNFCCC gravy-train

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change now has almost 200 countries as signatories. This has become the most powerful bureaucracy on Earth. Its approach is simple. Ask no questions about the science or economics of climate. Instead, demand ever-larger sums and ever-greater powers from Western nations. Until recently, vast international conferences were held in expensive hotels at exotic locations all around the world no more often than every three months. Now The Process has gathered cash and hence momentum, and these costly meetings have become near-continuous since the spectacular failure of the Copenhagen climate conference in December 2009.

The UN was determined not to fail a second time at Cancún, and thus carefully managed global expectations so that no one expected much of anything to emerge. However, there were so many meetings of the UNFCCC since Copenhagen, most of them under the well-organized German authorities, that an agreement almost unavoidably did indeed emerge from Cancún. I now summarize the main points, so that governments and officials will have fair warning of what is to come, how much it will cost, and how little they can do to stop it.

The Cancún agreement

Finance: Western countries will jointly provide \$100 billion a year by 2020 to an unnamed new UN Fund. To keep this sum up with GDP growth, the West may commit itself to pay 1.5% of GDP to the UN each year. That is more than twice the 0.7% of GDP that the UN has unsuccessfully recommended the West to pay in foreign aid for the past half century. Several hundred of the provisions in the Cancún agreement will impose huge additional financial costs on the nations of the West.

The world-government Secretariat: In all but name, the UN Convention's Secretariat will become a world government directly controlling hundreds of global, supranational, regional, national and sub-national bureaucracies. It will receive the vast sum of taxpayers' money ostensibly paid by the West to the Third World for adaptation to the supposed adverse consequences of imagined (and largely imaginary) "global warming."

Bureaucracy: Hundreds of new interlocking bureaucracies answerable to the world-government Secretariat will vastly extend its power and reach. In an explicit mirroring of the European Union's method of enforcing the will of its unelected *Kommissars* on the groaning peoples of that benighted continent, the civil servants of nation states will come to see themselves as servants of the greater empire of the Secretariat, carrying out its ukases and diktats whatever the will of the nation states' governments. Many of the new bureaucracies are disguised as "capacity-building in developing countries." This has nothing to do with growing the economies or industries of poorer nations. It turns out to mean the installation of hundreds of bureaucratic offices answerable to the Secretariat in numerous countries around the world. The box on page 5 lists some of them.

The world government's powers: The Secretariat will have the power not merely to invite nation states to perform their obligations under the Climate Change Convention, but to compel them to do so. Nation states are to be ordered to collect, compile and submit vast quantities of information, in a manner and form to be specified by the Secretariat and its growing army of subsidiary bodies. Between them, they will be given new powers to verify the information, to review it and, on the basis of that review, to tell nation states what they can and cannot do.

Bureaucratic mechanisms of the emerging global government

In addition to multiple new bureaucracies in every one of the 193 states parties to the Convention (almost 1,000 new official bodies worldwide), the Cancún Agreement establishes the following new bureaucratic entities:

An Adaptation Framework Body; a Least Developed Countries' Adaptation Planning Body; an Adaptation Committee; Regional Network Centers; an International Center to Enhance Adaptation Research; National Adaptation Institutions; a Body to Clarify Assumptions and Conditions in National Greenhouse -Gas Emission Reductions Pledges; a Negotiating Body for an Overall Level of Ambition for Aggregate Emission Reductions and Individual Targets; an Office to Revise Guidelines for National Communications; a Multilateral Communications Process Office; a Body for the Process to Develop Modalities and Guidelines for the Compliance Process; a Registry of Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions by Developed Countries; a Body to Supervise the Process for Understanding Diversity of Mitigation Actions Submitted and Support Needed; a Body to Develop Modalities for the Registry of Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions; an Office of International Consultation and Analysis; an Office to Conduct a Work Program for Development of Various Modalities and Guidelines; a network of Developing Countries' National Forest Strategy Action Plan Offices; a network of National Forest Reference Emission Level And/Or Forest Reference Level Bodies; a network of National Forest Monitoring Systems; an Office of the Work Program on Agriculture to Enhance the Implementation of Article 4, Paragraph 1(c) of the Convention Taking Into Account Paragraph 31; one or more Mechanisms to Establish a Market-Based Approach to Enhance the Cost-Effectiveness Of And To Promote Mitigation Actions; a Forum on the Impact of the Implementation of Response Measures; a Work Program Office to Address the Impact of the Implementation of Response Measures; a Body to Review the Needs of Developing Countries for Financial Resources to Address Climate Change and Identify Options for Mobilization of Those Resources; a Fund in Addition to the Copenhagen Green Fund; an Interim Secretariat for the Design Phase of the New Fund; a New Body to Assist the Conference of the Parties in Exercising its Functions with respect to the Financial Mechanism; a Body to Launch a Process to Further Define the Roles and Functions of the New Body to Assist the Conference of the Parties in Exercising its Functions with respect to the Financial Mechanism; a Technology Executive Committee; a Climate Technology Center and Network; a Network of National, Regional, Sectoral and International Technology Centers, Networks, Organization and Initiatives; Twinning Centers for Promotion of North-South, South-South and Triangular Partnerships with a View to Encouraging Co-operative Research and Development; an Expert Workshop on the Operational Modalities of the Technology Mechanism; an International Insurance Facility; a Work Program Body for Policy Approaches and Positive Incentives on Issues Relating to Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries; a Body to Implement a Work Program on the Impact of the Implementation of Response Measures; and a Body to Develop Modalities for the Operationalization of the Work Program on the Impact of the Implementation of Response Measures.

Continuous expansion: The verb “enhance,” in its various forms, occurs at least 28 times in the Cancún agreement. Similar verbs, such as “strengthen” and “extend,” and adjectives such as “scaled-up,” “new” and “additional,” are also frequently deployed, particularly in relation to funding at the expense of Western taxpayers. If all of the “enhancements” proposed in the note were carried out, the cost would comfortably exceed the annual \$100 billion (or, for that matter, the 1.5% of GDP) that the note mentions as the cost to the West over the coming decade.

Intellectual property in inventions: Holders of patents, particularly in fields related to “global warming” and its mitigation, will be obliged to transfer the benefits of their inventiveness to developing countries without payment of royalties. This is nowhere explicitly stated in the Cancún agreement, but the transfer of technology is mentioned about 20 times in the draft, suggesting that the intention is still to carry out the explicit provision in the defunct Copenhagen Treaty draft of 15 September 2009 to this effect.

Insurance: The Secretariat proposes, in effect, to interfere so greatly in the operation of the worldwide insurance market that it will cease to be a free market, with the usual severely adverse consequences to everyone in that market.

The free market: The failed Copenhagen Treaty draft stipulated that the “government” that would be established would have the power to set the rules of all formerly free markets. There would be no such thing as free markets any more. The Cancún agreement merely says that various “market mechanisms” may be exploited by the Secretariat and by the parties to the Convention, but references to these “market mechanisms” are frequent enough to suggest that the intention remains to stamp out free markets worldwide.

How the EU took absolute power on a once-free continent

The EU accreted power to itself from the member states in four successive stages:

Stage 1: European Coal and Steel Community. The officials of various European nations acted merely as a technocratic secretariat to ensure stable supplies of coal and steel to rebuild Europe after the Second World War.

Stage 2: European Economic Community. The officials of the six founder nations established a statistical registry requiring member states to supply them with ever more information. At first sight, the resultant loss of national independence and sovereignty seemed small and harmless.

Stage 3: The European Community, as it then began to call itself, dropped the word “Economic” from its title as it drew closer to its aim of political union. It did not merely receive the member states’ information passively. It turned itself into a review body with power to determine, on the basis of the information that it had compelled the member states to supply, whether they were complying with their obligations on the ever-lengthier and more complex body of European treaties.

Stage 4: The European Union became the ultimate law-making authority, to which all elected parliaments, explicitly including the European “Parliament” (which does not even have the right to table bills for new laws), were and remain subject.

Knowledge is power: The Cancún agreement contains numerous references to a multitude of new as well as existing obligations on nation states to provide information to the Secretariat, in a form and manner which it will dictate. The hand of the EU is very visible here. The box above describes how the EU extended its powers in stages. Under the Cancún proposals, the Secretariat is following the path that the plague of EU officials attending the climate conferences have no doubt eagerly advised it to follow. The Secretariat is now taking numerous powers not merely to require information from nation states but to hold them to account for their supposed international obligations under the Climate Change Convention on the basis of the information the nations are now to be compelled to supply.

Propaganda: The Cancún agreement contains several mentions of the notion that the peoples of the world need to be told more about climate change. Here, too, there is a parallel with the EU, which administers a propaganda fund of some \$250 million a year purely to advertise its own wonderfulness to an increasingly sceptical population. The IPCC already spends millions every year with PR agencies, asking them to find new ways of making its blood-curdling message more widely understood and feared among ordinary people. The Secretariat already has the advantage of an uncritical, acquiescent, scientifically illiterate, economically innumer-

ate and just plain dumb news media; now it will have a propaganda fund to play with as well. As the climate scare descends ever more deeply into outright farce, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon has recently been spotted in Hollywood, talking to ideologically reliable and politically correct film producers about making blockbusters intended to spread still further, by covert insertions into film scripts, the IPCC's now-discredited message of climate alarm.

Damage caused by The Process: At the insistence of sensible nation states such as the United States, the Czech Republic, Japan, Canada, and Italy, the Cancún outcome acknowledges that The Process is causing, and will cause, considerable economic damage, delicately described in a note by the Executive Secretary of the Cancún meeting, Ms. Christiana Figueres, as “unintended side-effects of implementing climate-change response measures.” The solution? Consideration of the catastrophic economic consequences of the Secretariat's insanely costly, scientifically baseless decisions will fall under the control of – the Secretariat itself. Admire its sheer gall!

Damage to world trade: As the power, wealth and reach of the Secretariat grow, it finds itself rubbing uncomfortably up against other supranational organizations. In particular, the World Trade Organization has expressed concern about the numerous aspects of the Secretariat's proposals that constitute restrictions on international trade. At several points, the Chairman's note expresses the “decision” – in fact, no more than an opinion and a questionable one at that – that the Secretariat's policies are not restrictive of trade.

The Canute provision: The conference will reaffirm the decision of its predecessor in Copenhagen in 2009 “to hold the increase in global average temperature below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels,” just like that. The oldest regional instrumental temperature record in the world is that of central England, which commenced in 1659. The record shows that temperature in central England, and by implication globally, rose 2.2 °C in the 40 years 1695-1735, as the Sun began to recover from its 11,400-year activity minimum, and rose again by 0.74 °C in the 20th century. There has been no warming in the 21st century, but we are already close to being 3 °C above pre-industrial levels. The Canute provision, as some delegates have dubbed it (after the Danish king of early England who famously taught his courtiers the limitations of his power and, *a fortiori*, theirs when he set up his throne on the beach and commanded the sea level not to rise, whereupon the tide came in as usual and wet the royal feet), illustrates the disconnect between The Process and reality.

Omissions: There are several highly significant omissions from the Cancún agreement, which jointly and severally establish that the central intent of The Process no longer has anything to do with the climate, if it ever had. The objective is greatly to empower and still more greatly to enrich the international *classe politique* at the expense of the peoples of the West, using the climate as a pretext, so as to copy the European Union by installing in perpetuity what some delegates here are calling “transnational perma-Socialism” beyond the reach or recall of any electorate. The box on the next page shows what was left out.

Verification: The parties agree that any successful energy and climate program requires verification that CO₂ and pollution levels are actually being reduced by asserted amounts. However, actually creating, monitoring and enforcing a workable verification system remains elusive. Moreover, China and India would be required merely to verify those emission reductions that are paid for by the United States and other developed countries; emissions and reductions associated with power generation financed by China and India would be “off the books.”

Forests are formally identified as “carbon sinks,” and a new Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) program is established to fund improved forestry practices

Revealing omissions from the Cancún agreement

The science: The question whether any of this vast expansion of supranational power is scientifically necessary is not addressed, and the supposed central purpose of The Process – setting binding limits on nations’ CO₂ emissions – was deferred to the South African conference in 2011. Instead, the Cancún agreement merely makes a pietistic affirmation of superstitious faith in the IPCC, where the conference will “recognize that deep cuts in global [greenhouse-gas] emissions are required according to science, and as documented in the [IPCC’s] *Fourth Assessment Report*.”

The economics: There is no assessment of the extent to which any of the proposed actions to mitigate “global warming” by cutting emissions of carbon dioxide or to adapt the world to its consequences will be cost-effective. Nor, tellingly, is there any direct comparison between mitigation and adaptation in their cost-effectiveness: indeed, the IPCC was carefully structured so that mitigation and adaptation are considered by entirely separate bureaucracies producing separate reports, making any meaningful comparison difficult. Though every economic analysis of this central economic question, other than that of the now-discredited Lord Stern, shows that mitigation is a pointless fatuity and that focused adaptation to the consequences of any “global warming” that may occur would be orders of magnitude cheaper and more cost-effective, the Cancún agreement continues to treat mitigation as being of equal economic utility with adaptation.

Termination: Contracts have termination clauses to say what happens when the agreement ends. Nothing better illustrates the intent to create a permanent world-government structure than the absence of any termination provisions whatsoever in the Cancún agreement. The Process, like a diamond, is forever.

Democracy: Forget government of the people, by the people, for the people. Forget the principle of “no taxation without representation” that led to the very foundation of the United States. The provisions for the democratic election of the new, all-powerful, legislating, tax-raising world-government Secretariat by the peoples of the world may be summarized in a single word: None.

in the developing world – with the US and other developed nations shouldering the costs. This is likely to become a bottomless well for rent-seeking corporations and environmental activist groups hoping to reap billions of dollars, in the name of preventing “global climate disruption,” preserving biodiversity, developing renewable energy resources, and promoting “sustainable” energy, agriculture, forest management and economic growth.

Geologic carbon sequestration (carbon capture and storage in subsurface rock formations) is formalized as a “clean development mechanism.” However, the concept has yet to be demonstrated on a commercial basis; sequestering, pipelining and storing billions of tons of carbon dioxide annually will likely increase electricity costs by 50% to 100% and require one-third or more of the electricity generated by a coal-fired power plant; and fear of CO₂ leaks has already generated NIMBY (not-in-my-back-yard) opposition in German communities where demonstration projects were proposed.

The Process and the poor

Developing nations will continue to be discouraged from building coal or gas-fired power plants, and instead urged to focus on wind, solar and biofuel power. What seems to have escaped notice (or acknowledgement) is that these “sustainable” and “environment-friendly”

energy sources require extraordinary amounts of land, must be heavily subsidized through taxes and “feed-in tariffs,” provide expensive and unreliable power, involve burning food for fuel, and will enable poor countries to rise barely above the poverty line.

If and when these realities begin to sink in, reactions to these promises are likely to become increasingly negative – by developed and developing countries alike. The next round of global climate negotiations, in South Africa in 2011, promises to be as interesting as it will be pointless.

In an environment of prodigious personal profit to all participants, anyone who dares to point out that there is no climate problem – or that, even if there is a climate problem, curbing carbon emissions will make no real or measurable difference to global temperatures – is sidelined as a party-pooper. Salaries and, effectively, now-continuous holidays in lavish luxury at taxpayers’ expense are at stake.

Few participants in the UNFCCC’s protracted and purposeless deliberations, then, are willing to put The Process at risk by asking, as honest enquirers should, whether any of this expensive activity will have any result that can be measured by even the most sensitive of the instruments that monitor the world’s climate.

Nor will they ask whether we can expect any result that the world’s poor would actually want if they were presented with other options and given an honest assessment of the costs, benefits and probabilities of manmade climate change actually happening; of these CO₂-reducing actions actually preventing “climate disruption;” of these “green” fuels coming anywhere close to providing the energy they need; or of grossly indebted formerly rich nations actually providing the promised financial aid and technology transfers.

Third-world delegates at these Lucullan feasts cannot believe their good fortune. They are paid generous *per-diem* allowances on top of all expenses, at no cost to their own governments. The West’s taxpayers splash out for everything. Yet there is growing concern among the recipients of this enforced *largesse* that, in effect, The Process is an engine of neo-colonialism.

The developing nations have come to suspect, with some justification, that the West, whose governments have largely been supine in their pathetically complacent acquiescence in the climate boondoggle, is trying to tell them that, for the sake of Saving The Planet, they cannot be allowed to develop by using fossil fuels as the West itself did.

The canner developing countries, however, are looking upon The Process as a way to transfer vast amounts of wealth from the productive West to the unproductive South. That economically self-defeating redistribution of national wealth is, of course, one of the declared aims of the UN. However, some 90 cents on every dollar paid to the UN stays there, and somehow fails to find its way into the pockets of the people of the third-world countries whose champion the UN pretends to be.

The IPCC: Bad science, bad policy

Sir Maurice Strong, the multi-millionaire Canadian bureaucrat who invented the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the IPCC, has publicly admitted – indeed, boasted – that he deliberately established it as an *intergovernmental* rather than a *scientific* panel, with the stated objective of using its reports as the pretext for establishing an unelected world government.

The Process, therefore, is at root a direct, deliberate, long-planned and fundamental threat to the survival of democracy itself, worldwide. Already, politicians on the Left – such as Lord Mandelson in the United Kingdom – are openly and shamelessly calling this the “post-democratic age.” Voters – in those countries that have them – can elect whomever they like, but increasingly the real decisions are made in secret by supranational bureaucracies.

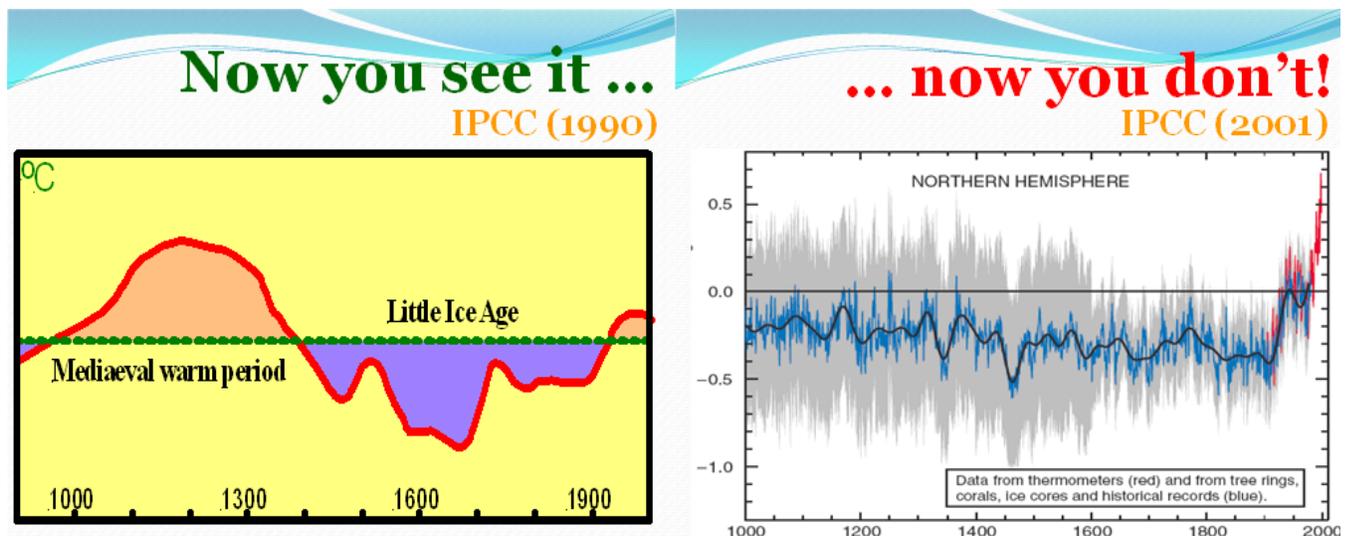
Not one of these supranational entities that increasingly wield real power in the world is elected by anyone, from the *Kommissars* who rule the EU by directive and have the sole power to propose its laws to the participants in The Process who are busily transmogrifying themselves into a Planet-Saving world government. Not the least of the questions now faced by the peoples of the world is this: Can democracy survive the globalization of government?

Have the climate assessment reports been fair?

It is scientifically unqualified and often scientifically illiterate government representatives, not qualified scientists, who have the final say on the wording of the *soi-disant* “scientific” climate assessment reports of the IPCC, whose current science chairman is, rather improbably, a multi-millionaire Indian railroad engineer with a painfully inadequate grasp of climate science and an *embarras* of serious conflicts of interest that the world’s governments unwisely find it expedient studiously to overlook.

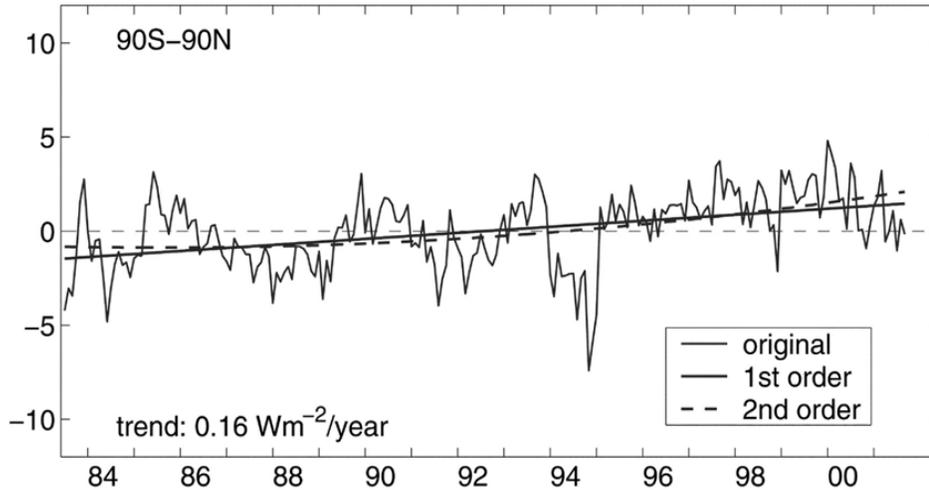
Here are just a few highlights from the catalogue of errors in the IPCC’s reports:

- **The 1990 First Assessment Report** made wildly exaggerated projections of how global temperature would rise. Yet for the past 15 years there has been no statistically significant “global warming” at all, as Professor Phil Jones, a leading scientist known to support the IPCC, has now admitted. None of the IPCC’s computer models predicted that stasis.
- **The 1995 Second Assessment Report**, in the scientists’ final draft, said five times there was no discernible human influence on climate. Yet one man rewrote the report, replacing all five statements with a single statement saying precisely the opposite. He later said IPCC processes permitted this single-handed rewrite, which has been the official policy ever since.
- **The 2001 Third Assessment Report** contained a graph contradicting the *First Report* by falsely abolishing the medieval warm period, which, like the Roman, Minoan, and Holocene optima, and 7500 of the past 11,400 years, and each of the four previous interglacial warm periods, and most of the past 600 million years, was warmer than today. Some 800 scientists from more than 460 institutions in 42 countries over 25 years have written peer-reviewed, learned papers providing evidence that the Middle Ages were warmer than today; the IPCC ignored all of them.



How the IPCC attempted to wipe out the Medieval Warm Period in its 2001 report.

- **The 2007 Fourth Assessment Report** presented a key conclusion that, with 90% confidence, most of the warming since 1950 was manmade. However, this conclusion is disproven by measurements. A natural decline in global cloud cover from 1983-2001 (Pinker *et al.*, 2005), probably associated with naturally occurring changes in the system of ocean currents known as the Pacific Decadal Oscillation, is now known to have caused most of that warming.



A globally-averaged $+0.16 \text{ W m}^{-2} \text{ yr}^{-1}$ trend in the short-wave solar surface radiative flux anomaly, 1983-2001, after removal of the mean annual cycle. From Pinker *et al.*, 2005, Fig. 1.

The box on the next page shows just a few more of the serious errors in the IPCC's *Fourth* (and most recent) *Assessment Report*.

Given the scientifically inadequate, intellectually defective and politically predetermined leadership and ultimate authorship of the IPCC's documents, it is no surprise that just about the only people who now say they believe in the IPCC's luridly alarmist, quasi-religious message of woe are the governments who profit by using the IPCC's documents as the chief pretext for swinging increases in taxation and regulatory intervention. Ordinary people have long become disenchanted with The Process, as opinion polls in the US, Australia, Canada, and the UK have repeatedly demonstrated.

Likewise, the unscientific approach taken by the IPCC has led it to make a number of embarrassing and fundamental mistakes. Headline catching items such as the IPCC's sullen refusal to admit it was wrong to say that the Himalayan glaciers would all melt away within 25 years are bad enough. It is also disgraceful that scientists known to disagree with the overtly political climate-extremist message of the IPCC have been skillfully prevented from taking part in its deliberations.

Professor Paul Reiter, for instance, is the world's ranking expert on the transmission of malaria and other vector-borne diseases. Yet the IPCC says it lost all four copies of the United States' nomination of him to act as lead author of the sub-chapter on malaria in the IPCC's 2007 *Fourth Assessment Report*. The four copies were sent to different UN bureaucrats: all were "lost," and Professor Reiter was told his nomination could not, therefore, proceed. Instead, the sub-chapter was written by two environmental campaigners with just one published paper between them: but their views could be safely relied upon to conform with the IPCC's alarmist storyline, and Professor Reiter's views could not.

These well-publicized misbehaviors are bad enough. However, it is the serious errors of science in the IPCC's approach that are the central reason why few true scientists take its climate extremist conclusions seriously.

Some of the errors in the IPCC's *Fourth Assessment Report*

The “new hockey stick”: Three times, large and in full color, the IPCC reproduces a graph of global temperature changes since 1850, with four overlapping trend-lines overlaid on it. The IPCC draws the false conclusion from the ratios between the slopes of the trend-lines that the rate at which the world is warming is accelerating, and that we are to blame. This central error has been reported to the IPCC's science chairman, but no correction has been made.

False confidence: The IPCC's false “90% confidence” estimate was not reached by scientists; it was decided by a show of hands among political representatives who had few scientific qualifications. Most political representatives had wanted 95% confidence (which at least has the merit of being a recognized statistical interval, though there is no basis for it). China had wanted no estimate at all. The political representatives compromised at 90%. Whatever else that figure is, it is not a scientific estimate.

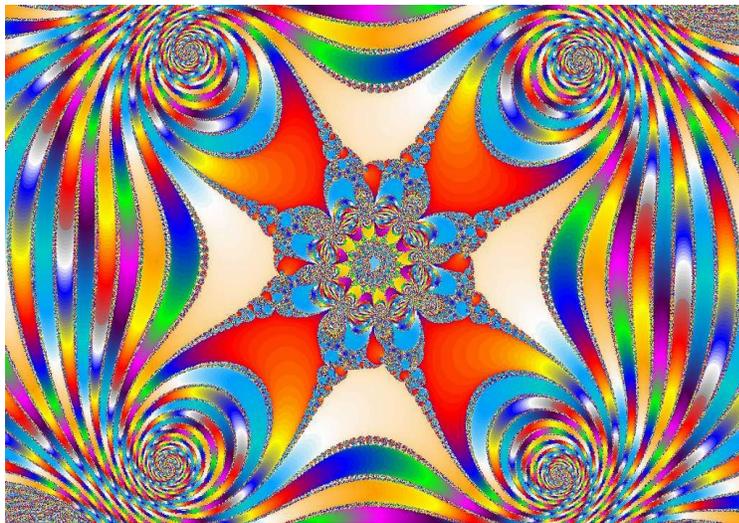
Himalayan mayhem: A lead author of the *Fourth Assessment Report* admits that, “to influence governments,” he knowingly inserted a falsehood to the effect that the Himalayas will be ice-free in 25 years.

Netherlands underwater: The IPCC's 2007 *Fourth Assessment Report* said that 50% of the land area of the Netherlands is below sea level. The true figure is 20%, and the Dutch have built a sea-wall along their entire coastline that is capable of withstanding even the exaggerated sea-level rise of 20 feet predicted by Al Gore.

Bogus insertions: The first table of figures in the IPCC's 2007 *Report* did not add up. Bureaucrats had inserted it, overstating by tenfold 40 years' worth of contributions of Greenland and Antarctic ice to sea-level rise. When they were told of the error, they furtively corrected it on the IPCC's internet version of its report, but did not include any statement that the report as originally published had been changed.

Going down: The *Second*, *Third* and *Fourth Assessment Reports* made central estimates that, in response to a doubling of atmospheric CO₂ concentrations, average annual global temperatures would rise by 3.8 °C, 3.5 °C and 3.3 °C, respectively. The “consensus” does not even agree with itself. The IPCC's estimates have fallen ever since its first climate-extremist report. They will have to fall a long way further before they begin to accord with reality.

Non-scientists: Many other false conclusions of the IPCC were authored not by scientists but by campaigning journalists, members of environmental propaganda groups or IPCC bureaucrats. One-third of all authors listed as having contributed to the IPCC's *Fourth Assessment Report* were not scientists at all.



Why climate modeling must fail

This startling picture was not painted by Man: it was generated by a computer model of the chaotic object known as the Mandelbrot Fractal. That object has just one parameter. If the starting value of that parameter is altered even by a trillionth, an entirely different picture is generated. The climate, also a chaotic object, has millions of parameters. Altering just a few of them (cloud cover or carbon dioxide concentrations, for example) by a minuscule fraction causes radically different climate behavior. This is the chief reason why predicting the climate 100 years hence using computer models is doomed to fail.

The key question in the debate about Man's influence on the climate is this: *How much* warming will a doubling of atmospheric CO₂ concentration cause? The IPCC's answer to this question depends almost exclusively on modeling by computer, rather than on measurement and observation, which are the true foundations of science. Yet the IPCC itself admits, as Edward Lorenz pointed out as long ago as 1963 in the seminal paper that founded chaos theory, that because the climate is a complex, non-linear, mathematically chaotic object "the long-term prediction of future climate states is not possible." However, the IPCC, having made that admission, then attempts to model the climate 100 years hence, *and bases its entire case on the ineluctably defective results of that modeling.*

Climategate: Exposing the scientists behind the scare

Shortly before the Copenhagen climate conference in the bitterly cold December of 2009, ten years' emails between the members of a narrow, malevolent clique of politicized climate scientists and hangers-on were quietly sent to the BBC, which sat on them and did nothing about one of the biggest news stories ever to land on its doormat. The environmental journalist who received the emails knew perfectly well how significant they were. But they did not fit the BBC's story-line to the effect that *The Planet Is Doomed And Must Be Saved*, et cetera, et cetera. He also knew that much of the BBC's employees' pension fund had been "invested" in so-called "green" corporations. Exposure of the climate scam might harm the BBC's pensions. So he suppressed the emails. Instead, a month later, the emails were released on the Internet and exploded into the international headlines (though the BBC has barely mentioned them).

The emails demonstrated that the Climategate clique was determined to push a particular alarmist scientific view, regardless of the mounting contrary evidence; that the clique was interfering in the normal process of peer-reviewing and publishing the scientific results of "skeptics" and "realists" whose scientific conclusions the clique's members found it expedient or, rather, profitable to dismiss; that it had succeeded in delaying publication of an opponent's paper by a whole year so that it could circulate an attempted refutation simultaneously; that it had ambitions to interfere in the IPCC's deliberations to prevent opinions contrary to its own from being considered; and that its members had discussed among themselves whether they should destroy their own results and data to prevent other scientists from verifying (or refuting) their soundness by the usual process of independent academic scrutiny.

Officialdom was horrified. It is central to the self-image of government that the governing class can do no wrong. Yet the Climategate emails provided compelling – indeed, definitive – evidence that the governing class, perhaps more scientifically unlettered in our own time than in any previous age, had been comprehensively and expensively hoodwinked by a tiny handful of bad scientists surrounded by a cloud of what Lenin used to call "useful idiots," who could be relied upon to drift along complacently with whatever the currently fashionable official view seemed to be.

Four separate official enquiries into Climategate were accordingly established, with the intention – and in one instance the *declared* intention – of whitewashing the villains, so as to provide a spurious *ex-post-facto* justification for the foolish reliance of politicians and bureaucrats on their inaccurate and often downright invented conclusions.

The Environment Committee of the UK Parliament, for instance, had sat like dumplings and listened to Sir David King, the accident-prone chemist who, in 2004, as Chief Scientific Advisor to the then Labor Government, had told them – with a straight face – that 40% of the ice at the South Pole had gone. In fact, in the 30 years since the satellites have been watching, the

South Pole has been cooling. The ice there is currently 8,852 feet deep, and there is no evidence whatsoever that *any* of that ice has gone missing, still less that 40% of it has gone.

Nor could Sir David have been talking inadvertently about the *North* Pole: for, if he had done so, he would surely have mentioned that the growth in sea ice at the *South* Pole over the 30 years of the satellite era has exactly compensated for any loss of sea ice at the *North* Pole. Certainly, he made no attempt to correct the official Hansard record of what he said, even when it was explicitly sent to him for that purpose.

The dumplings of the House of Commons went on to vote for the Climate Change Act, based on Sir David's mendacious ramblings and on the absurdities of the Climategate-driven IPCC. The bill was carried by one of the largest majorities in the House's history – and on the very night when the first October snow for 74 years was falling outside in Parliament Square.

The *classe politique* could not be seen to have been duped so spectacularly, so buckets of whitewash were called for. The so-called “Scientific Assessment Panel” under Lord Oxburgh, who could be absolutely relied upon to reflect the Establishment viewpoint, began by saying that this scientific assessment panel did not regard itself as a panel to assess the science. It declared its prejudice right at the outset. It was not, repeat not, going to look at the science it had been established to look at. Why not? The reason is that various inconvenient truths might have come to light, and the objectives of the numerous governments that have adopted the climate nonsense have little or nothing to do with the scientific truth.

The other Climategate enquiries were little better. The House of Commons enquiry merely congratulated itself on having been right all along about the threat to the climate. The enquiry established by the University of East Anglia, from which the emails had been leaked, absolutely refused to ask any of the emailers whether they had in fact destroyed any of the scientific material they were on record as having considered destroying; and scientists and researchers whose work was subjected to the venom of the Climategate clique were not invited – or allowed, even upon request – to submit testimony to the enquiry.

The US Environmental Protection Agency also produced a whitewash without actually interviewing anyone who might have given an alternative viewpoint, and without declaring its own massive financial and political vested interest in the question.

Fortunately, the cynical manipulation of these enquiries was so blatant that, if anything, the enquiries have served to reinforce in the public mind the impression that a powerful and well-connected political faction has been marketing the climate scare for its own profit; and that governments – sensing the enormous increase in their wealth and power that might result from the scare – have improperly indulged this faction.

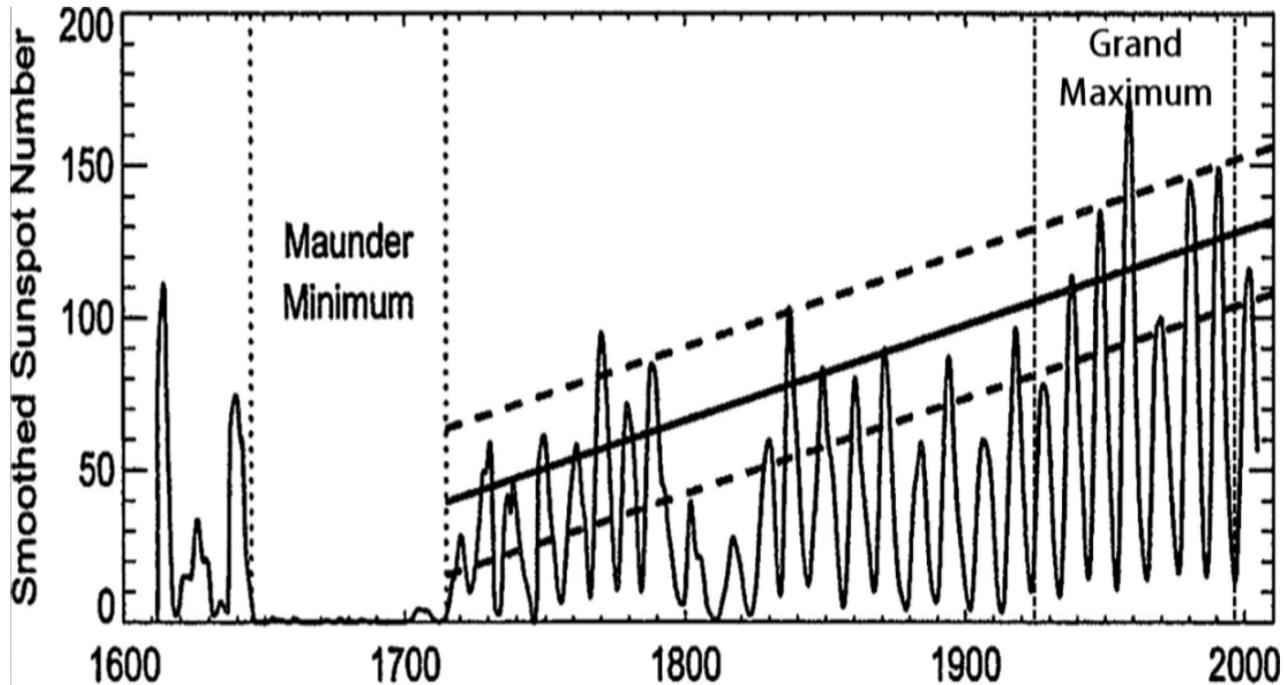
Has the globe warmed?

A century ago, a filing clerk in the Royal Observatory in Greenwich noticed from the records of sunspot activity in previous centuries that between 1645 and 1715, remarkably, almost no sunspots had been observed on the solar surface. Sunspot records have been kept in China and in Egypt for almost 10,000 years: never before in all that time had there been anything like as long a period as 70 years with so few sunspots.

Sunspots indicate that the Sun is active, emitting just 0.2% more radiation than when there are no sunspots. However, for reasons that are still not fully understood – probably connected

with displacement of cosmic rays from the Earth's atmosphere by the active Sun, preventing the nucleation of water droplets to form clouds – the tiny decrease in radiation represented by 70 years without sunspots was enough to cause the River Thames in London and the Hudson River in New York to freeze over during the winters. This has not happened since.

The oldest instrumental temperature record in the world, taken by the earliest thermometers, had been kept in central England since 1659. That record showed that, towards the end of the Maunder Minimum, named after the clerk who had spotted it in the sunspot logs, the temperature in central England rose by 4 °F in just 40 years, between 1695 and 1735. That was before the Industrial Revolution even began, so Man could not have been responsible. For comparison, temperature in the whole of the 20th century rose by just 1.3 °F and has not risen at all in the present millennium.



The Maunder Minimum and the Grand Maximum, with the characteristic dog-tooth pattern of the 11-year sunspot cycles, showing the lack of sunspots during the Maunder Minimum from 1645-1715 and the growth of sunspot activity – and hence of solar activity generally – during the 300 years between the Maunder Minimum and the end of the Grand Maximum which occurred during the last 70 years of the 20th century.

Source: Hathaway et al., 2004.

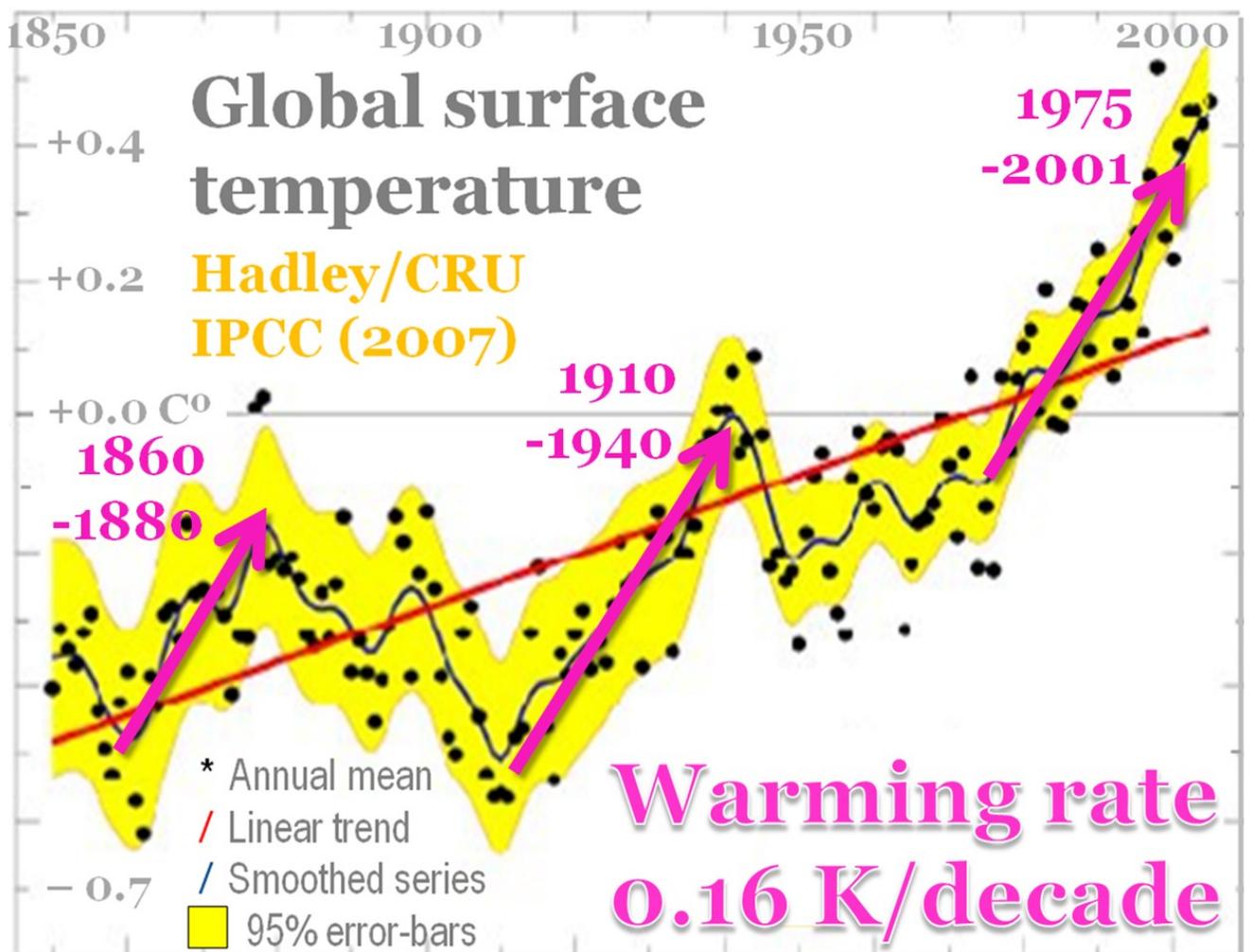
During the last 70 years of the 20th century, peaking in 1960, the sunspots were unusually active: in fact, there were more of them than at almost any time in the past 10,000 years. So the Sun had passed from a 10,000-year Grand Minimum in 1645-1715 to a 10,000-year Grand Maximum in 1925-1995. This unprecedented growth in the activity of the astronomical body that directly furnishes the heat that everyone is exercised about in the climate debate was bound to produce some warming, and global temperatures have indeed risen throughout the past 300 years.

During all but the last 30 or 40 years, Man cannot have been responsible for the bulk of that warming; we were simply not adding enough CO₂ to the atmosphere to make a measurable difference in global temperature. And in the 18 years 1983-2001, there was a naturally occurring reduction in global cloud cover, allowing more sunlight to reach the Earth. This change in cloud cover may have been associated with, and was certainly coincident with, the warming phase of the Pacific Decadal Oscillation, an influential system of ocean currents that domi-

nates the world's weather, following a 60-year cycle: 30 years of warming followed by 30 years of cooling.

Therefore, it may be that much of the quite rapid warming observed from 1976-2001 was natural. Climate science has at present no means of telling us how much of that warming was natural and how much was manmade. However, the instrumental record tells us that the rate of warming in the quarter of a century from 1976-2001, equivalent to 0.29 °F per decade, was by no means unprecedented: precisely the same warming rate had been measured by world-wide thermometers from 1860-1880 and again, more reliably, from 1910-1940. Since these three multidecadal periods of rapid warming during the 160-year instrumental record each occurred at *precisely* the same rate of warming, and since Man cannot have measurably influenced the two earlier periods of warming, it follows that the global instrumental temperature record provides no sound evidence that Man had any influence whatsoever on the most recent period. Indeed, the record indicates that our influence must have been small and may have been non-existent.

This fact of the three periods with identical rates of rapid warming, verified by a Parliamentary Question put down at the instance of Lord Monckton in the UK Parliament in 2009, ought to have led any genuine scientific enquirer to ask what evidence there was that Man was influencing global temperatures at all.



Where's the evidence of manmade warming? The warming of the late 20th century, when Man might in theory have contributed to it, occurred at a rate identical to the warmings of 1860-1880 and 1910-1940, when we could not have had any measurable influence.

In these circumstances, there is one question that the politicized scientists of the IPCC were extremely careful not to ask. The year 1950 was the first year for which we have reasonably accurate measurements of the concentrations of the half dozen key greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. So, how much warming should have been caused by the known increases in those greenhouse gases since 1950?

The great detective Sherlock Holmes once solved a key case in the West Country by noticing that a dog that should have barked in the nighttime had been silent at the crucial moment. The failure of the IPCC to check its own estimates of the rate at which the planet should warm in response to increases in greenhouse-gas concentrations, by starting in the earliest year for which we have reliable greenhouse-gas concentration figures and applying the model-derived functions that the IPCC itself has recommended, is a startling and serious omission. It is the dog that did not bark in the nighttime.

Instead, the IPCC chooses 1750, not 1950, as its starting-point. This date is largely irrelevant, both because Man's significant increases in greenhouse-gas concentrations did not begin until 200 years later, after the Second World War, and also because we do not know what the concentrations of most of the relevant greenhouse gases were in 1750. It is the more recent period, therefore, that is the most revealing, and it is that period that the IPCC has studiously avoided studying.

The answer to the question is startling. Using the IPCC's own simplified functions (Myhre *et al.*, 1998, cited with approval in IPCC, 2001 and 2007), and making due allowance for temperature feedbacks and for the fact that not all of the expected warming will appear at the end of so short a period as 60 years, there should have been at least 2.7 °F of warming over the 60 years since 1950: yet little more than 1 °F actually occurred over the period. Even on the most cautious assumptions, it appears that the use of the IPCC's model-derived functions for estimating the warming contributed by increases in the concentrations of the principal greenhouse gases leads to at least a twofold exaggeration of the amount of warming that has actually occurred.

Naturally, there are uncertainties in any such calculation: but the significant fact here is that *the IPCC did not attempt this calculation*. It did not want to verify, by the simplest and most direct method possible, whether the warming that its estimates insisted would lead it to expect *had* actually occurred over the past 60 years.

It is omissions as serious as this in the IPCC's analysis that make its documents – lengthy and in some respects learned though they are – entirely unsuitable as a basis for making any rational policy decisions.

How much “global warming” will occur in future?

The central question in the entire climate debate – the question which is constantly misstated in the mainstream media so as to cast doubters in the least favorable light possible – is not whether there is such a thing as the greenhouse effect (there is); nor whether CO₂ contributes to it (it does); nor whether CO₂ concentration is increasing (it is); nor whether it is we who are substantially if not entirely responsible for the recent increase in CO₂ concentration (we are); nor whether the increase in CO₂ concentration for which we are probably responsible is large enough to cause warming (it is).

Despite the relentless attempts of polemicists in the news media and among the Climategate clique to suggest otherwise, the growing body of scientific doubters about Man's effect on the climate – including some 80% of the readership of *Scientific American* in a recent poll – do not challenge any of these propositions. Instead, they challenge the single question which lies at the very heart of the climate debate:

How much warming will a given increase in CO₂ concentration be expected to cause?

There is indeed a scientific “consensus” that the world has been getting warmer, for it is a matter of record that the world has been warming for 300 years, during nearly all of which Man cannot have had anything to do with the warming. On all the other questions outlined here, there is substantial scientific agreement – not that science was or is done by mere “consensus” (it isn't). But there is no, repeat no, consensus whatsoever among scientists as to the amount of warming that a given increase in CO₂ concentration will cause.

According to Professor Richard Lindzen of MIT, only a few dozen scientists and researchers worldwide have ever personally studied the central question of *how much* warming increasing CO₂ concentrations will cause. About two-thirds of those few dozen scientists have merely used computer models, which have long been proven entirely unsuitable to address questions of this kind. (The models merely produce what they are programmed to produce, based on the hypotheses, data and algorithms built into them. If their creators assume X amount of carbon dioxide will cause Y amount of warming, and they input some amount of CO₂, they will get a predetermined amount of warming. Whether the models and assumptions are correct, however, can only be determined by comparing them to actual observations.)

Among the remaining one-third who have used measurement and observation to tackle the climate-sensitivity question, as it is called, there is a growing measure of agreement that very little warming is to be expected: almost certainly less than half of what the IPCC's model-derived estimates would lead us to expect.

Take away the exaggeration that results from use of the IPCC's methods, and the climate “problem” vanishes. It is a dead problem. It is no more. It is an ex-problem.

How, then, do we address the question whether the modelers or the observers and measurers are right? Of course, to some extent the modelers will claim, pardonably enough, that their models start with measurements and observations and extrapolate from there. However, the climate object is chaotic. Our knowledge of the processes by which it evolves over time in response to various stimuli is inadequate. We cannot connect enough data to inform the models correctly. For these reasons, modeling the climate to try to deduce how much warming manmade CO₂ will cause is never going to be very much better than expensive guesswork.

There is another fundamental problem with the models. As suggested above, they are told at the outset how much warming a given addition of CO₂ to the atmosphere will cause. The computers cannot tell us the answer to the key “how-much-warming” question, because we have already told them the answer.

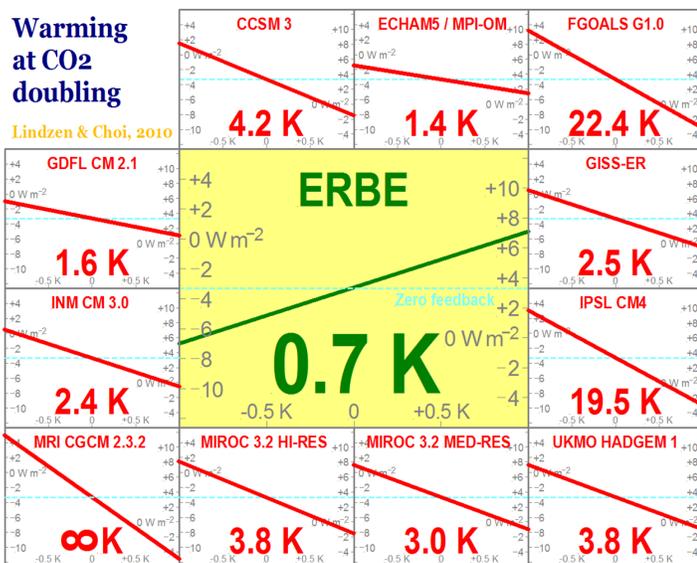
At what points, then, do the models depart from reality? We have already seen one fundamental departure – a departure so fundamental, indeed, that the IPCC's entire case is called into question by it. Use of the IPCC's methods would have led us to expect 2.7 °F warming over the past 60 years, yet only about 1 °F occurred. That is a serious discrepancy, too large to be dismissed as irrelevant. The IPCC, it appears, is exaggerating the warming effect of CO₂ and other greenhouse gases, and that exaggeration is very large.

Many other observations have confirmed this conclusion, each by different methods. For instance, Professor Lindzen and his post-doctoral colleague Young-Sang Choi published a startling paper in 2009, with a revision confirming the original result that is due to be published soon, establishing that as the sea surface temperature warms the amount of outgoing radiation escaping to space increases. In other words, not enough of the radiation is being trapped here in the atmosphere to cause much warming. Lindzen and Choi conclude that the warming to be expected from increasing CO₂ concentrations is less than a quarter of the IPCC's central estimate.

Professor Lindzen has separately pointed out a central flaw in the IPCC's math: it assumes such a high climate sensitivity – so much warming from a small increase in CO₂ concentration – that it becomes impossible to distinguish between different rates of climate sensitivity. Why does this matter? The reason is that it is an irremovable barrier preventing verification of the IPCC's hypothesis, which therefore qualifies merely as a political statement, and not as any kind of science.

Wentz *et al.* (2007) have inadvertently shed light on the climate sensitivity question by drawing attention to the fact that, as the Earth's surface temperature increases, evaporative cooling occurs at thrice the rate predicted by the computer modelers. Once again, this suggests that the amount of warming to be expected from increasing greenhouse-gas concentrations is about a third of the IPCC's range of estimates.

Professor Nir Shaviv of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is one of the most distinguished mathematicians to address the climate sensitivity question. He is working on an interesting demonstration, derived from changes in cosmic-ray flux in relation to changes in global temperature, to show that the warming to be expected as greenhouse gases increase is about a third of what the IPCC predicts.



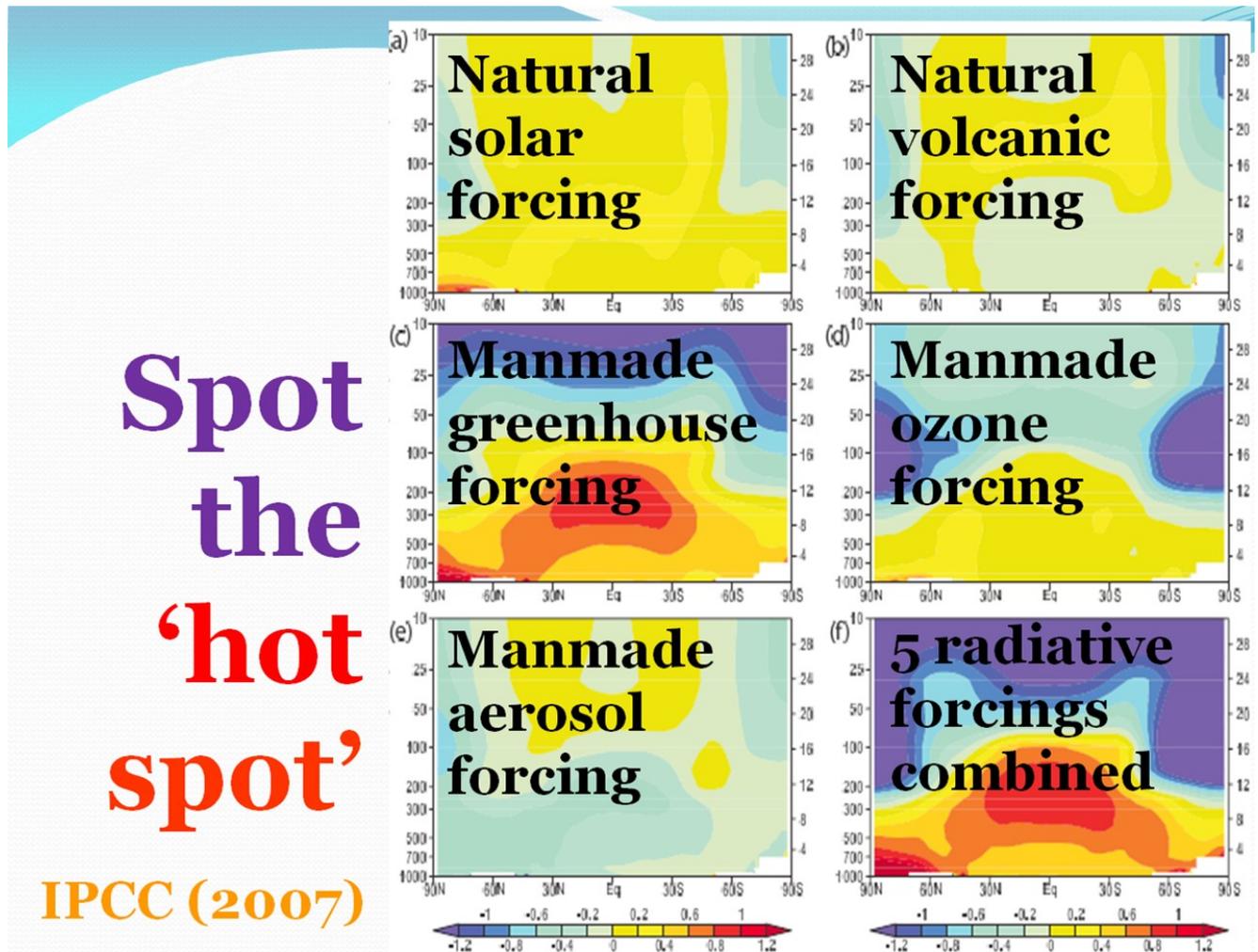
The startling discrepancy between the outputs of 11 UN models (in red) and the measured results from the ERBE and CERES satellites (in green), showing that, as sea surface temperature rises, the amount of outgoing radiation from the top of the Earth's atmosphere, as measured by satellites, also rises. As a result, most of the warming predicted by the models cannot occur, because the radiation that might have been trapped in the atmosphere to cause the warming has been shown to have escaped harmlessly into outer space. **Source:** Lindzen & Choi, 2010 (submitted).

Professor Anastasios Tsonis has published a paper establishing that all of the changes in temperature in the second half of the 20th century can be fully explained by reference to variations in just four of the key naturally occurring ocean oscillations. This conclusion, too, is central to the climate-sensitivity debate: for it demolishes, at a stroke, the IPCC's oft-parroted contention that it is only when one includes a large warming effect from greenhouse gases in the computer models that they can successfully “predict” past changes in temperature. Professor Tsonis' model can reproduce the past climate without any reference to Man's increases in greenhouse-gas concentrations at all.

Dr. Roy Spencer of the University of Alabama at Huntsville and his mathematical colleague Dr. Braswell have published many papers showing that the effect of

increased cloud cover is to cause cooling, whereas the IPCC (bizarrely) predicts that it will amplify any warming. As the world warms, physical theory mandates that the atmosphere *can* carry near-exponentially more water vapor, and water vapor, by its sheer quantity, is the most important of the greenhouse gases. More water vapor means more clouds and, in the IPCC’s method, more clouds mean more warming. Dr. Spencer, using a long series of careful satellite observations, has confirmed the elementary physical theory demonstrating that more clouds are likely to mean *cooler* weather almost all round the world. This consideration, too, divides the IPCC’s estimates of climate sensitivity by about a factor of 3.

Finally, Professor David Douglass of Rochester University, one of the most thoughtful scientists researching the climate sensitivity question, has published several astonishing papers. They demonstrate that – although the models on which the IPCC relies all predict that if (and only if) manmade warming is occurring, the rate of warming in the tropical upper air will be thrice the rate of warming at the surface – no such differential has ever been observed in reality. (There is, however, one dreadfully poor paper by a Climategate emailer, who had spent a year inveigling the editor of a learned journal into delaying publication of Professor Douglass’ paper, so that the emailer could produce an unreviewed dataset that apparently showed what the IPCC wanted it to show). Once again, the conclusion is that the IPCC has overestimated the warming effect of CO₂ and of all other greenhouse gases approximately threefold.



The models relied upon by the IPCC find that if and only if manmade greenhouse gases are the cause of any given warming, the rate at which the warming occurs should be three times greater six miles up in the tropical troposphere than at the tropical surface. This tropical mid-troposphere “hot-spot” is predicted by all of the models relied upon by the IPCC. **Source:** Santer et al., 2003, cited with approval in IPCC, 2007.

These results, by measurement and observation rather than by mere modeling, tend to confirm one another, even though they were obtained by unconnected researchers using widely differing methods. Accordingly, the coherence criterion in science is substantially satisfied, and we can no longer safely ignore the mounting evidence that the true rate of warming in response to increasing greenhouse-gas concentrations is far less than the IPCC would have us believe.

If all these measured results are broadly correct, then a doubling of atmospheric CO₂ concentration this century would be expected to cause just 2 °F to 3 °F of warming, not the 6 °F that the IPCC takes as its central estimate. This amount of warming is generally agreed to be small, harmless, and even beneficial.

We have answered the central question in the climate debate, not by mere modeling, as the IPCC does, but by reference to multiple lines of evidence based on measurements and observations published in the peer-reviewed scientific journals. There is too much evidence of systematic exaggeration in the IPCC's results to allow us to base any policy decisions upon them – much less justify the drastic measures recommended by the climate-extremist movement.

What impacts will “global warming” have on our planet?

We have shown that it has been established, by multiple distinct methods based on reliable measurement and observation, that very little warming is to be expected even if we add as much CO₂ to the atmosphere by the end of this century as there already was at the beginning.

However, what if we and the majority of the few dozen scientists studying climate sensitivity by measurement and observation are wrong? What if the X-Box 360s and Playstations of the IPCC are to be preferred, after all?

In that event, the warming of the 21st century will be approximately 6 °F. Does that matter? The IPCC would like us to believe not only that this amount of warming is to be expected, but that its consequences will be catastrophic. However, there is good reason to suspect the IPCC of at least as much exaggeration about the consequences of more CO₂ in the air as about the causes.

The supposed consequence of warmer worldwide climate that attracts the greatest attention from politicians and the media is the imagined threat of rapidly rising sea level, if the ice in Greenland and Antarctica starts to melt. The facts, however, are unexciting – and have gone almost entirely unreported in the mainstream news media.

First, sea level has been rising at a mean rate of 4 feet per century for 11,400 years. Most of the more rapid rise in sea level occurred early in the current interglacial warm period, when the miles of land-based ice that covered much of what is now Europe, Russia, and the United States melted away. Over the past century and a half, sea level has been rising at just 1 foot per century – a quarter of the long-run average rate – and shows no sign of accelerating.

The reason why sea level is rising so slowly, and why it is unlikely to rise significantly faster than the 1 foot per century observed over the past 150 years, is that most sea-level rise comes not from melting ice but from what is called “thermosteric expansion” – the fact that water occupies more space as it becomes warmer.

Even the normally excitable IPCC has been compelled to admit, in each of its two most recent climate assessment reports, that several millennia would have to pass, at temperatures some 5 °F to 9 °F higher than those that prevail today, before even half of the Greenland and West Antarctic ice sheets could melt away. If half of these ice sheets were to melt, sea level would rise by 20 feet: but, even on the assumption that the melting were to take place in just one thousand years rather than the several thousand imagined by the IPCC, the rate of increase would still be only 2 feet per century, which is the maximum rate of sea-level rise currently projected by the IPCC. In its 2001 report it had taken 3 feet per century as its maximum rate of rise: but it has had to cut that projection substantially in the light of evidence that – for instance – Greenland was warmer in the 1930s than it is today, and Antarctica has been cooling for 30 years.

The most detailed study of sea-level rise ever conducted was in the Maldives, whose government, quick to exploit the scare for its own enrichment, recently carried out a more than usually fatuous publicity stunt by inviting the television cameras to attend a cabinet meeting conducted underwater. Professor Niklas Mörner, who has written more than 550 peer-reviewed papers, most of them on sea-level rise, began the study ten years ago and concluded, in a series of papers published from 2004 to 2010, that there has been no sea-level rise in the Maldives for half a century; sea level in the islands is no higher now than it was 1,250 years ago; corals are perfectly capable of growing towards the light as the sea rises above them; this is the reason why all coral atolls are at or just above sea level; the Maldives, like other atolls, are capable of growing as sea-level rises; and, therefore, the coral atolls are the least likely places on Earth to experience long-term loss of land-mass as a consequence of rising sea levels (though sea level is not rising much anyway).

Professor Mörner also recently visited Bangladesh, whose land area has actually increased over the past 30 years because of silt deposits from the River Ganges, and found that, if anything, sea level there has been falling recently.

Separately, in the most expensive system of measurement ever devised, the 3300 automated bathythermograph buoys of the Argo project have been reporting via satellite over the past six or seven years. They have shown little or no increase in the heat content of the upper or climate-relevant “mixed” layer of the ocean. No increase in heat content suggests that, in the long run, we have little to fear from sea-level rise.

A recent paper by Professors Robert Knox and David Douglass of the University of Rochester has demolished suggestions by IPCC scientists that the “global warming” that ought to have taken place if CO₂ had a large warming effect has gone into hiding in the oceans. Their analysis of the Argo bathythermograph data, by four distinct and robust methods, shows that there is no “missing heat content” in the oceans. And, if the oceans have not been warming, why has sea level been rising?

Measurement of sea level is greatly complicated by tectonic deformations of the Earth’s crust, such as isostatic rebound following the global warming 11,400 years ago that melted the great glaciers that once covered Eurasia and much of North America. But the worst complication of all is straightforward tampering with the raw sea-level measurements by the scientists responsible for keeping the global record.

In 2005, at a meeting with the Russian Academy of Sciences, Professor Mörner challenged the compilers of the satellite-observed sea-level index, and asked them why they were reporting an increase in sea level when, as far as he could determine, there was little or no such increase. The scientists replied that they had applied various adjustments to the raw data.

When Professor Mörner asked them to explain why they had made adjustments, they said, “Well, we had to do that or we would not have been able to show that sea level has been rising.” In other words, they fabricated the data in order to make the data conform to the pre-determined result expected by the IPCC, which needed headlines. Professor Mörner’s diagram tilting the scientists’ fake graph to make it accord with the raw satellite-altimetry data they were allegedly reporting is on the next page.

There are powerful physical constraints on the rate at which sea level is capable of rising. It is most unlikely that, in the next several thousand years at any rate, sea level will rise at much more than 1 foot per century: and that rate of increase is so slow that, where necessary, we can easily and affordably adapt to it.

Al Gore, in his sci-fi comedy horror movie *An Inconvenient Truth*, devotes a long segment to demonstrating that various coastal cities will imminently disappear beneath the rising waves. However, in the very year in which that sequence was being elaborately filmed, with expensive computer graphics to predict the changes in coastline as the supposedly rising sea swallowed it up, Gore spent \$4 million buying a luxury condo in the St. Regis Tower, San Francisco, just feet from the allegedly rising ocean at Fisherman’s Wharf. Plainly, he did not for a single instant believe his own apocalyptic prediction. Nor did Mr. Justice Burton, in the London High Court, who ordered 77 pages of corrective guidance to be issued to any school where Gore’s propaganda movie was to be shown. In response to Gore’s alarmist segment on sea-level rise, the judge bluntly concluded: “The Armageddon scenario that he depicts is not based on any scientific view.”

As Professor Mörner says, once the sea-level scare is disposed of there is little reason to fear any of the other supposed consequences of warmer weather. Al Gore’s movie listed numerous lurid events that he predicted would occur. Here is a summary of the High Court judge’s list of the nine central “errors” in Al Gore’s presentation:

Error one

Al Gore said that a sea-level rise of up to 20 feet would be caused by melting of either West Antarctica or Greenland “in the near future.”

The judge’s finding: “This is distinctly alarmist and part of Mr Gore’s ‘wake-up call.’” It was common ground that if Greenland melted it would release this amount of water – “but only after, and over, millennia... The Armageddon scenario that he depicts is not based on any scientific view.”

Error two

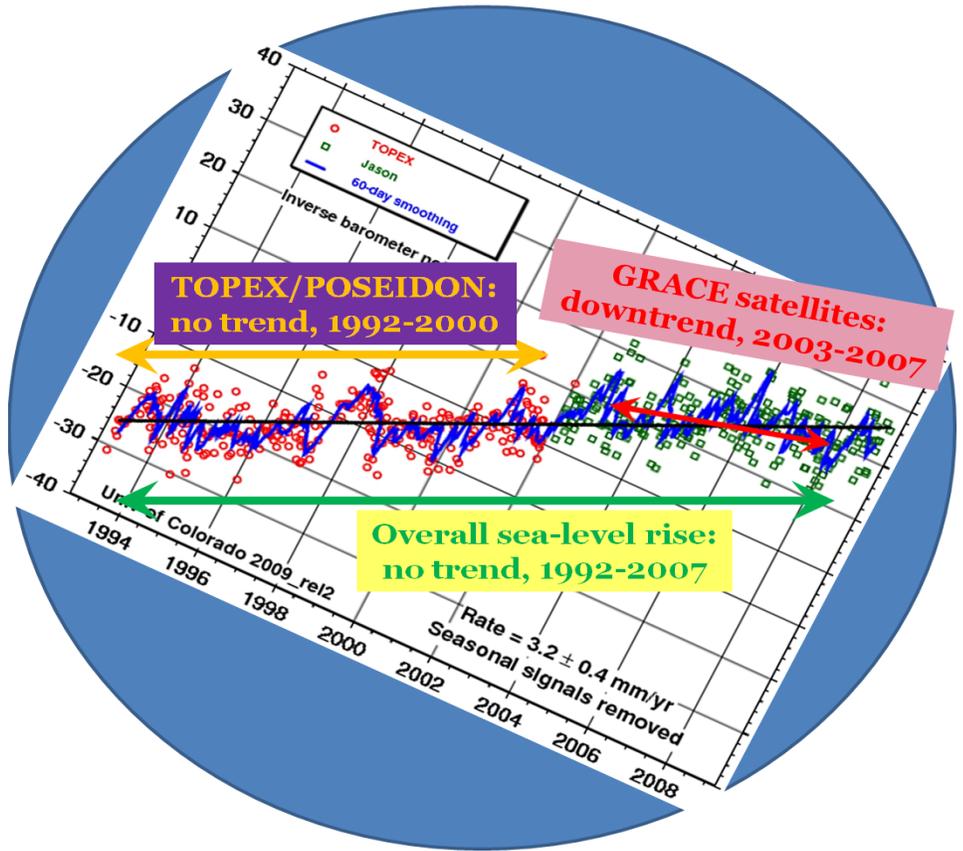
Gore said low-lying inhabited Pacific atolls were already “being inundated because of anthropogenic global warming.”

Judge: There was no evidence of any inundation or evacuation having yet happened.

Error three

Gore described global warming potentially “shutting down the Ocean Conveyor” – the process by which the Gulf Stream is carried over the North Atlantic to western Europe.

The “calibrated” satellite altimetry record tilted back to match the original, un“corrected” data. The original raw data from the Topex/Poseidon satellites for 1992-2000 (yellow arrowed trend-line) showed variability around a stable horizontal zero line (i.e. no sea-level rise). The raw data from the Grace gravitational-anomaly satellites show a gently falling trend for 2002-2007 (red arrowed trend-line). Together, these two untampered datasets indicate that global mean sea level trend has remained stable over the entire period 1992-2007, altogether eliminating the trend of 3.2 mm per year invented by the keepers of the satellite record.



Judge: According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), it was “very unlikely” it would be shut down, though it might slow down.

Error four

Gore asserted --- by ridiculing the opposite view – that two graphs, one plotting a rise in CO₂ and the other the rise in temperature over a period of 650,000 years, showed “an exact fit.”

Judge: Although there was general scientific agreement that there was a connection, “the two graphs do not establish what Mr Gore asserts.” (In fact, the actual data demonstrate that historically temperatures rose first, and CO₂ levels rose several centuries later as warmer oceans released more of carbon dioxide stored in them.)

Error five

Gore said the disappearance of snow on Mount Kilimanjaro was expressly attributable to global warming.

Judge: This had “specifically impressed” David Miliband, the then Environment Secretary. However, the scientific consensus was that it cannot be established that the recession of snows on Mount Kilimanjaro is mainly attributable to human-induced climate change. (Instead, it appears to be the result of forests around the volcanic mountain being cleared away, resulting in a drier climate and thus less precipitation building up on the mountaintop as snow.)

Error six

Gore *used the drying up of Lake Chad as what the judge called “a prime example of a catastrophic result of global warming.”*

Judge: “It is generally accepted that the evidence remains insufficient to establish such an attribution. It is apparently considered to be far more likely to result from other factors, such as population increase and over-grazing, and regional climate variability.”

Error seven

Gore *attributed Hurricane Katrina and the devastation in New Orleans to global warming.*

Judge: There is “insufficient evidence to show that.” (Indeed, data show that the severity and frequency of hurricanes has abated in recent years, and the primary factors in the Katrina disaster were poor preparation for a storm that experts had long said was inevitable, and failure to execute evacuation plans properly.)

Error eight

Gore *referred to a new scientific study showing that, for the first time, polar bears were being found that had actually drowned “swimming long distances – up to 60 miles - to find the ice.”*

Judge: “The only scientific study that either side before me can find is one which indicates that four polar bears have recently been found drowned because of a storm.” That was not to say there might not in future be drowning-related deaths of bears if the trend of regression of pack ice continued, “but it plainly does not support Mr. Gore’s description.”

Error nine

Gore *said coral reefs worldwide were bleaching because of global warming and other factors.*

Judge: The IPCC had reported that, if temperatures were to rise by 1 °C to 3 °C, there would be increased coral bleaching and mortality, unless the coral could adapt. But separating the impacts of stresses due to climate change from other stresses, such as over-fishing, and pollution was difficult.

Scientifically speaking, it is inappropriate to make fanciful predictions of the imagined consequences of a supposed future event unless and until it has become clear whether and to what extent the event that triggers the consequences will take place. Gore and numerous others, by looking at the consequences of supposed “global warming,” rather than starting with the question how much warming Man’s impact on the atmosphere will have, has put the cart before the horse.

Since there is no sound evidence that the *rate* of warming caused by Man will be anything like as rapid as the IPCC and Gore imagine, and since we will have decades or even centuries in which to adapt even if the IPCC’s most extreme predictions of warming do come to pass, there is at present no case for spending a single cent on attempting to prevent the warming that the

IPCC predicts. All spending on attempting to forestall “global warming” is pointless and unnecessary, as we shall now demonstrate.

How much “global warming” can we stop, and at what cost?

Lord Monckton recently visited the British Department of Climate Change to meet the House of Lords’ Minister, Lord Marland, and his chief number-cruncher, Professor David Mackay. He asked to see the Department’s calculations demonstrating how many tenths of a Fahrenheit degree of “global warming” would likely be forestalled by the expenditure of well over \$1 trillion, to which the Climate Change Act commits the Department over the 40 years 2010-2050.

The Minister, the Professor and various other civil servants blushed, wriggled in their chairs, looked out of the window and fiddled with their ties. Eventually, in a very small voice, Professor Mackay admitted that no such calculations had ever been done. Parliament had decided to squander a trillion dollars of other people’s money, without having asked for or been given any rational basis whatsoever for the expenditure. A trillion here, a trillion there, and pretty soon you’re talking serious money. No one had asked the right question: How much “global warming” can we stop, and at what cost?

Why had no calculations been done before Parliament committed Her Majesty’s subjects to the largest tax increase in human history, in peace or in war? The reason is that everyone involved knows perfectly well that the measures proposed by the British governing class will have little or no measurable impact on global temperatures, and at a disproportionately extravagant cost.

It is not unfair to characterize the worldwide government spending on “global warming” as the least cost-effective expenditure ever made in the history of Man. It is a measure of the woeful inadequacy, immaturity, inexperience and submissiveness to environmentalist pressure tactics of our current elected representatives, that they should have been so willing to inflict record taxation on their electorates without having the slightest idea whether or to what extent or at what cost the stated purpose of that taxation could or would be achieved.

In the United Kingdom, of course, no decision on environmental matters is taken by elected ministers. All decisions on this (as on most other issues of public policy) are taken by “directives” issued – one every three hours, night and day, Sundays and holidays included – by the hated, unelected *Kommissars* of the European Union. Those *Kommissars* conduct their legislative deliberations entirely in secret and then emerge to issue their *Führerbefehl* (dictatorial orders) to the cowed nations of Europe, following with exactness the structures and procedures described in Hitler’s nightmare vision for the future of Europe in Chapter 12 of *Mein Kampf*.

In the United States, which – unlike the United Kingdom and the European Union – is still a democracy, the opposition Republican Party was the first major party in the world to begin seriously to question the pseudo-science behind the climate scare. In a series of hearings on Capitol Hill, the Republican representatives questioned how various officials of the government departments were profiting – or, more accurately, profiteering – from the climate scare, and exposed the inadequacy of the arguments in favor of shutting down the economies of the West in the hope of Saving The Planet. As a result, despite President Obama’s crushing majorities in both Houses of Congress, the thousand-page Bill to Destroy the US Economy by various taxes on carbon died before it reached the Senate.

And, early in 2011, the Republican dominated House of Representatives voted to cancel the \$13 billion annual payment to support the fictions of the IPCC, the first legislature in the world to dare to take on the might of the growing global climate-change bureaucracy.

Canada's prime minister, Australia's leader of the opposition, Britain's former Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Italian Minister of Defense, the Czech Republic's president, the Russian and Japanese academies of sciences – all these and many more leaders around the world are beginning to question the Armageddon scenario, not only on scientific grounds, but also on economic grounds. President Klaus puts it bluntly: "It's not about climatology: it's about freedom."

Attempting to *mitigate* future "global warming" by taxing or regulating emissions of carbon dioxide is orders of magnitude less cost-effective than *focused adaptation* to any "global warming" that may occur in the future.

A forthcoming paper by Lord Monckton provides, *for the first time*, a method allowing policy-makers to calculate the amount of "global warming" that a given policy measure can be expected to forestall, on the assumption that the IPCC's exaggerated central climate-sensitivity estimates are correct. The calculation proceeds in a series of simple steps. First, choose a future year and work out (using the IPCC's emissions scenarios) how much global CO₂ concentration will increase by that year in the absence of any policy change. Next, work out how much of the future increase in CO₂ concentration the proposed policy would prevent over the chosen period. Then work out the difference in global temperature change between business as usual and the proposed policy, by the time the reference year is reached. Finally, work out the total cost of the policy and express the saving as trillions of dollars per degree of warming prevented.

- **Example 1:** The US government estimates the cost of implementing the Waxman-Markey bill in full would have been \$180 billion annually till 2050, by which time, in accordance with the target stated in the bill, 83% of the US carbon economy would have been shut down. The officially estimated total cost of the bill would thus have been \$7.2 trillion, and a central estimate of the global warming forestalled would be only 0.1 °C, giving a cost-effectiveness of **\$69 trillion** per degree Celsius of warming forestalled. On any view, this would not be money well spent.
- **Example 2:** The UK's climate change bill is officially projected to cost \$30 billion annually for 40 years, or \$1.2 trillion, but a central estimate of the warming forestalled would be a mere 0.01 °C, giving a cost-effectiveness of **\$122 trillion** per degree Celsius forestalled – almost twice as cost-ineffective as the US government's proposals. However, as we shall see, all government estimates of the true costs of forestalling their target amounts of warming are likely to be considerably understated.

It is possible that the true costs of measures intended to mitigate global warming by regulating carbon dioxide emissions will be considerably above these already staggering values. If, for instance, climate sensitivity turns out to be at the lower end of the IPCC's projections, and if the atmospheric residence time of CO₂ is indeed as great as the IPCC considers it to be, then the cost per degree Celsius of global warming forestalled in the two examples above will be considerably more than double the values shown. To put these enormous figures into perspective, the entire accumulated US national debt is **\$14 trillion**. Forestalling even 1 °C (1.8 °F) of warming by attempting to mitigate the amount of CO₂ we emit to the atmosphere would accordingly cost at least as much again as the entire US national debt, which has taken 234 years to accumulate.

Faced with figures as absurdly large as these, one is compelled to consider the question whether it might be better simply to emit the CO₂, allow the warming to occur, and then address its consequences by focused adaptation. The Netherlands, for instance, with 20% of its land area below today's sea level, has built a 20-foot sea wall along its entire coastline, having calculated that it is cheaper to build the wall than to endure the inundation of a fifth of its territory (not that any such inundation is at all likely, in the light of Professor Mörner's research).

The United Kingdom, by contrast, is a foolish virgin: it is abandoning much of its east coast to the sea, even though a simple calculation establishes that building a sea wall would be cheaper than losing the land. However, the situation is complicated by isostatic recovery from the global warming of 9,000 years ago, when vast sheets of ice that once covered north-western England and Scotland suddenly melted. The north-west, no longer weighed down by miles of ice, is now rebounding upward, driving the East coast beneath the waves. This, of course, has nothing to do with today's "global warming," but most news media continue to report that the loss of the UK's eastern coastline is being caused by today's "global warming," when it is not.

The only economic analysis which pretends that attempting to mitigate "global warming" by regulating or taxing emissions of carbon dioxide would be cost-effective is that of Lord Stern. However, nearly all serious economists dismiss Stern's report as overly – and overtly – political. Stern uses a near-zero discount rate when calculating the comparison between the cost of acting today and that of acting a century from now. No commercial calculation would ever proceed on such a basis; indeed, it would be challenged as fraudulent, as the choice of a near-zero discount rate artificially and drastically reduces the cost of acting now as against the cost of acting later. Secondly, Stern took the UN's very highest estimate of the "global warming" to be expected in the coming century, *and then doubled it*, as the basis for his calculations. Without this absurd exaggeration of an already absurdly exaggerated IPCC estimate, there would certainly be no sound economic basis for mitigation today rather than adaptation tomorrow.

Focused adaptation to the consequences of "global warming" is, on almost all economic analysis, vastly cheaper and more cost-effective than attempted mitigation by controlling CO₂ emissions.

Are there any "no-regrets" policies we can pursue? Certainly, attempts at mitigation are so costly, and so much less cost-effective than focused adaptation, that all controls and imposts on CO₂ should forthwith be abandoned. As for spending on adaptation, remarkably little is required now: indeed, we can responsibly wait until global temperature has risen by at least 1 °C (1.8 °F) compared with its value in the year 2000, before we take any measures at all to adapt our world to the warmer weather that might result if the IPCC's climate-sensitivity estimates were in the right ballpark. In so doing, moreover, we should recognize that such a moderately warmer world would expand arable farmland and growing seasons, whereas a return to the Little Ice Age would mean shorter growing seasons and reduced farming in Canada, Russia and other northern latitudes, and thus growing malnutrition worldwide.

The most important "no-regrets" policy is to avoid vast spending on projects that are merely fashionable. Wind farms are certainly all the rage at present, but their contribution to addressing the "global warming" problem is barely measurable. The same cannot be said of their cost, however. Not only is the financial cost prodigious, the environmental cost is also heavy, not only in the destruction of country landscapes the world over and the expenditure of vast raw materials (concrete, steel, copper, fiberglass and rare-earth metals in building turbines), but also in the killing of rare birds. It is the destruction of griffon vultures by wind turbines that recently led the Spanish government to order the closure of Spain's largest wind farm.

The wind turbine industry, embarrassed at the destruction of wildlife and countryside by its ghastly machines, many of which have a swept area larger than a football field or jumbo jet, is gradually moving towards offshore installations. Here, however, the problem is the obscenely large cost of building and maintaining the installations, as well as the potential interference with oceanic navigation and increased risk of shipwrecks.

The largest wind farm in the world is the Thanet offshore wind array. Each of the 100 turbines cost £7.8 million (well over \$10 million) to install. The subsidy to the wind farm is guaranteed for the lifetime of the contract at £60 million a year, or £1.2 *billion* (almost \$2 billion) in total. For the same money, a French-built nuclear power station would produce 13 times the electricity, far more reliably, for twice as long. It would also give the taxpayer his money back, with another billion on top, plus enough to decommission the plant at the end of its 40-year life.

The Coalition of Children, as the current British Government is known, is planning to create 400,000 “green jobs” by destroying the UK’s substantial fossil-fuel industries. Setting aside the fact that every “green job” artificially created by government subsidy and fiat would destroy at least two real jobs in the private sector, the Thanet wind array will create just 21 permanent “green jobs,” at an average cost to the taxpayer of £57 million (nearly \$100 million) *per job*. At this rate, the cost of providing the 400,000 proposed “green jobs” would be 14 times the entire annual gross domestic product of the United Kingdom.

However, when the word “green” is mentioned, politicians switch off what passes for their brains. Perhaps the most ludicrous example of a supposed “no-regrets” policy is the London bicycle hire scheme, called “Boris’ bikes” after Boris Johnson, the mayor at the time when this heroically mad policy, devised by his Marxist predecessor, came into effect. The scheme cost £82 million (\$150 million) *for just 5,000 bikes*. Accordingly, the cost per bike was £16,400 (\$30,000). But not one of the news media that enthusiastically reported on the scheme did the division sum and worked out how much each bike cost. And the scheme’s effect on making “global warming” go away? If all measures intended to tackle “global warming” by cutting CO₂ emissions were as cost-ineffective as Boris’ bikes, the cost of preventing the 3.4 °C (6.1 °F) of “global warming” predicted by the IPCC for the next 90 years would consume 100% of global gross domestic product – for 328 years.

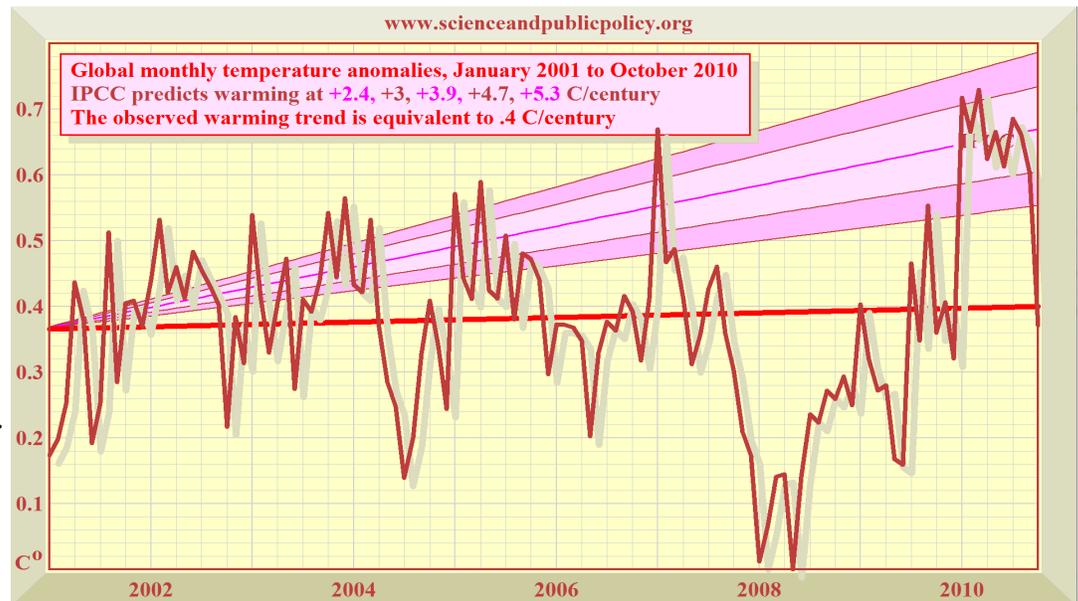
In the United States, the refusal of the elected Congress to countenance the flagrant stupidity and gross waste of taxpayers’ money represented by boondoggles such as the Thanet wind array and Boris’ Bikes has provoked various States of the Union into developing boondoggles of their own, at vast cost to their taxpayers. As a result of the excessive taxes and regulations that California is now inflicting on its businesses, the wagon trains that once rolled westward are now rolling eastward, as one corporation after another flees La-La Land and returns to economic reality and prosperity elsewhere.

Conclusion: The scare is over. Get used to it.

Even if temperature had risen above natural variability, the recent solar Grand Maximum may have been chiefly responsible.

Even if the sun were not chiefly to blame for the past half-century’s warming, the IPCC has not demonstrated that, since CO₂ occupies only one-ten-thousandth part more of the atmosphere that it did in 1750, it has contributed more than a small fraction of the warming.

Remote Sensing Systems' satellite record since the turn of the millennium on 1 January 2001 shows a minuscule warming trend in global temperatures over the present decade. Warming at the rate predicted by the IPCC is simply not occurring. **Source:** RSS Inc. data; graph by the Science and Public Policy Institute.



Even if carbon dioxide were chiefly responsible for the warming that ceased in the mid-1990s, the distinctive, projected fingerprint of anthropogenic “greenhouse-gas” warming is entirely absent from the observed record.

Even if the fingerprint were present, computer models are long proven to be inherently incapable of providing projections of the future state of the climate that are sound enough for policymaking.

Even if *per impossibile* the models could ever become reliable, it is not likely that the world will warm as much as the IPCC imagines.

Even if the world were to warm that much, the overwhelming majority of the scientific, peer-reviewed literature does not predict that catastrophe would ensue.

Even if catastrophe might ensue, proposals to mitigate future climate change by reducing emissions of carbon dioxide – however drastic – would make very little difference to the climate.

Even if mitigation were likely to be effective, it would do more harm than good: already millions face starvation as the dash for biofuels takes agricultural land out of essential food production: a warning that taking precautions, “just in case,” can do untold harm unless there is a sound, scientific basis for it.

Even if mitigation might do more good than harm, adaptation where (and if) necessary would be far more cost-effective and less likely to be harmful.

In short, we must get the science right, or we shall get the policy wrong. The IPCC’s estimates of climate sensitivity must have been very much exaggerated. There may, therefore, be a good reason why, contrary to the projections of the models on which the IPCC relies, temperatures have not risen for a decade and a half. Perhaps real-world climate sensitivity is very much below the IPCC’s estimates. Perhaps, therefore, there is no “climate crisis” at all. At present, then, in policy terms there is no case for doing anything.

The correct policy approach to a non-problem is to have the courage to do nothing. The science is in, the truth is out, the game is up and the scare is over. Get used to it. Another scare will be along soon. Its name will probably be “biodiversity.” You heard it here first.

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