

The Climate Wars:
A Disgrace to Skepticism
By Brandon Shollenberger

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Foreword

The debate over global warming has become so polarized most participants spend their time talking past one another while onlookers have no way to create an informed position. I would like to think my writings can be a small step in remedying that situation.

In any event, I will be labeling the two sides of this debate as "Warmists" and "Skeptics" where Warmists advocate for significant action to combat global warming while Skeptics fiercely oppose such. Not all people will fall in one group or the other. Like with most issues, these two side form a spectrum with many people falling somewhere in between.

It is important to note the use of words like Skeptics should not be taken as indicating any particular trait of the group. I am using the term Skeptic similar to how the word "Creationism" is used. A certain segment of fundamentalist Christians co-opted a term "creationism" which had referred to a philosophical category which covered beliefs of a wide range in order to lean on the name recognition.

This tactic worked, with only some people distinguishing between the capitalized Creationism the lower-cased creationism. For convenience, this book will use Skepticism in the same way - a name used to refer to a segment of "skeptics" which have decided to co-opt the term. They will form one side of the global warming spectrum. Warmists will form the other.

Skepticism

Global warming is a lie aimed at destroying civilization. It's true. Global warming is an anti-industry propaganda tool being used to create a world government. It is a hoax foisted upon humanity, a scam being perpetuated in a conspiracy to defraud on a monumental scale. Or at least, that's what "experts" of the global warming Skeptic movement say.

What constitutes an "expert"? There is no single answer. Different people have different ideas. For this book, it will suffice for them to be recognized by the Skeptic movement as knowledgeable individuals people should pay some amount of attention to. A notable source for such individuals is a book by comedian and political commentator Mark Steyn, named [A Disgrace to the Profession](#).

Steyn was sued for libel after he compared a prominent Warmist scientist named Michael Mann to a child molester and said his most famous work was fraudulent. As part of Steyn's response to this lawsuit, he wrote this book citing over a hundred "experts" as proof his views on Mann's work were reasonable. These "experts" include people like Zbigniew Jaworowski, PhD, who has [said](#) things like:

The IPCC thesis is based on research from the CRU. Scientists from the University of East Anglia have at their disposal enormous sums of money and political support. In practice, they simply obey the dictates of the United Nations, which is promoting the global warming initiative, in order to suppress the development of industry, which they claim is destroying the Biosphere of the Earth.... The anti-industry propaganda is aimed at the destruction of our civilization!

And Dr Walter Starck, PhD, who [assures people](#):

A conspiracy does not require secret planning. It can be implemented just as easily with a wink and a nod when the aims and methods are apparent to all the participants. It is time to recognise the climate scam for what it is: a conspiracy to defraud on a monumental scale.

Because of his wit and "victimization" by a prominent figure in the Warmist movement, Steyn has received near universal support from the Skeptic movement. Not a single person within the movement has spoken out against Steyn's endorsement of conspiracy nuts like Starck and Jaworowski. They embrace him. In fact, he was one of twenty plus Sceptics invited to co-author the awkwardly named book [Climate Change: The Facts](#), one of the largest collaborations within the Skeptic movement. This book does things like inform readers (Page 2) "there is no evidence the next 50 years will bring human induced warming" and says (Page 12) "the theory that CO2 emissions of human origin drive global warming (and climate change) must be rejected." This same book claims (Page 68) an:

analysis revealed worldwide errors in the range of 1-5C for individual sampled area-boxes, i.e. errors that far exceed the total claimed twentieth century warming of -0.7C.

Thus:

Though global average temperature may have warmed during the twentieth century, no direct instrumental records exist that demonstrate any such warming within an acceptable degree of probability.

Even though the analysis in question says that uncertainty is for “individual sampled area-boxes.” In a 1°x 1° latitude-longitude grid, and there are 360 longitude degrees and 180 latitude degrees. That means there are $360 \times 180 = 64,800$ “individual sampled area-boxes” The uncertainty of one of 64,800 grid cells which cover the planet does not show the range of “worldwide errors.”

Like with Steyn's book, no Skeptic has complained about this. No Skeptic has spoken out to say this book is wrong as global warming is real and likely to continue in the future. Plenty of Skeptics know things like these are wrong, but none seem willing to speak out about them.

That is a disgrace to skepticism.

A Disgrace

Nobody can look into another person's soul. This is the central problem of the lawsuit Michael Mann filed against Mark Steyn. Legally speaking, Steyn cannot be found guilty if the judge and/or jury conclude he believed what he said was true. Steyn can only be found guilty if they conclude he was bloviating or outright lying.

Being unable to see into Steyn's soul, all anyone can do is look at his actions. This is a problem given Steyn's repeated, and often flagrant, misrepresentations of material he uses. This is particularly noteworthy as in his book Steyn explains (Page xii):

One quick bit of business: In the pages that follow, the source for each scientist's quotation is footnoted. However, because of the extraordinary level of paranoia about "doctored quotes" that attends the climate debate, we've retained the various spellings – British, American or the often charming English of Swedes and Finns – and made only a few punctuation changes.

Mocking people for their supposed concerns over "doctored quotes." This is strange. Steyn chooses not to say who supposedly shares this paranoia much less offer any evidence of its existence. Moreover, Steyn's book contains over a hundred misquotations. Some are simply bizarre, such as when Steyn provides this quotation:(Page 47)

"It is precip that is the driver"

Which he attributes to the son of a climate scientist named Tom Wigley: and says of it:

If you were at school in the pre-Mann era, you'll have a vague recollection that, before their new eminence as precision treemometers, tree rings were something to do with rainfall.... So some schoolkid's science project understood the problem with treemometers, but the self-garlanded Nobel Laureate never gave it a thought. Given Mann's usual reaction to criticism, Professor Wigley is lucky the guy didn't go to the School Board and have his kid expelled as a Koch-funded denier.

This is nonsense. First, the quotation comes from an [e-mail](#) Steyn describes:

On June 5th Tom Wigley emailed Mann

The e-mail contains this text:

Let me tell you a story. A few years back, my son Eirik did a tree-ring science fair project using trees behind NCAR. He found that widths correlated with both temp and precip. However, temp and precip also correlate. There is much other evidence that it is precip that is the driver, and that the temp/width correlation arises via the temp/precip correlation.... I have not seen any papers in the literature demonstrating this – but, as you point out Mike, it is a crucial issue.

The “Mike” in this e-mail is Michael Mann. Tom Wigley was responding to a lengthy e-mail from Mann when he wrote, “There is much other evidence that it is precip that is the driver.” There is a minor misquotation here where Steyn presented, “It is precip that is the driver” as a sentence without noting he had excised part of the quotation then changed the capitalization of a word. Misquotations like these plague Steyn's book despite his derision of people fearing “doctored quotes.” Perhaps people would be correct to be paranoid about “doctored quotes” given Steyn makes hundreds of alterations to quotations without indication.

The more serious issue is Steyn attributes this quote to Tom Wigley's son, Eirik Wigley, even though the e-mail was sent by Tom Wigley. Tom Wigley tells a story about Eirik Wigley's experiences, but it is still Tom Wigley who wrote the e-mail. Steyn falsely attributed a quote to a person's “schoolkid” for no apparent reason.

On top of this, Tom Wigley concluded his e-mail by saying, “[A]s you point out Mike, it is a crucial issue.” This is a reference to the lengthy discussion Mann provided in an e-mail including:

I agree with Tom's point that in many case precipitation indicators don't tell us much at all about the surface temperature field, certainly in the 'local' sense. In a sort of 'state space' sense, however, they may in some instances be quite helpful. Winter drought-sensitive tree-ring chronologies provide us some of our best proxy information with regard to winter synoptic-scale variability in semi-arid regions like the desert southwest or the mediteranean.

Steyn conveniently ignores how both Eirik Wigley and Michael Mann noted tree ring “widths correlated with both temp and precip.” Both of these individuals were aware science is filled with complicated issues. In the case of tree growth, temperatures and rainfall both play a part. Climate scientists interested in using tree ring data to study the past spend a great deal of time trying to figure out what role each variable played for any given set of data.

Why does Steyn ignore Mann's discussion of how precipitation and temperature both play a role in tree growth? Why does Steyn suggest Mann would blow a gasket and target a colleague's son for noting this basic fact that Mann himself had discussed? It is impossible to say. It is impossible to say just like it is impossible to say why Steyn would attribute words clearly written by Tom Wigley to a “schoolkid” son who had no involvement with the e-mail exchange.

Misrepresentations

Similarly, it is impossible to know why Steyn would begin a section of his book with the quote (Page 107):

“I am so sick to death of Mann.”

Attributed to a colleague of Michael Mann named Keith Briffa with commentary like:

As 'sick to death of Mann' as he was in 2002, Professor Briffa would grow a lot sicker of him in the years ahead...

Implying some general discontent or dislike on Briffa's part when that is clearly not what Briffa said if one reads more of the [e-mail](#) he sent:

I have just read this letter - and I think it is crap. I am sick to death of Mann stating his reconstruction represents the tropical area just because it contains a few (poorly temperature representative) tropical series He is just as capable of regressing these data again any other "target" series...

Steyn misquoted this e-mail by truncating a sentence and inserting a period to make it seem Briffa had merely said he was “sick to death of Mann.” Briffa had actually said he was sick to death of Mann doing one specific thing. That is not the same thing. A wife might be sick to death of her husband snoring yet be happy with him the rest of the time. Truncating, “I am sick to death of my husband snoring” to read, “I am sick to death of my husband” would be deceptive.

Interestingly, Steyn does provide a fuller quote later in this section. He makes no effort to reconcile the two different versions of the quotation he provided. He also manages to get the quotation wrong:

I have just read this letter - and I think it is crap. I am sick to death of Mann stating his reconstruction represents the tropical area just because it contains a few (poorly temperature representative) tropical series He is just as capable of regressing these data again[sic] any other "target" series...

Two alterations have been made to this quotation. One is the addition of “sic” to mark a case where Briffa wrote “again” instead of “against.” This is a normal editorial mark used to indicate to the reader the mistake was in the original. However, in the first line of this quotation, the misspelled word “letter” has been corrected to “letter.” This is not marked. That is inappropriate.

Correcting a typo in a quotation without indicating the change may not be a “big deal,” but what about Steyn's misquotation at the start of the section? Is saying Briffa wrote, “I am sick to death of Mann” as a complete sentence, stripping it of context, okay? No. That changed how readers would interpret the quote.

A prime example of this can be found at the very beginning of Steyn's book. The Introduction of Steyn's book is titled “Climate of Fear” and begins with the quotation:

Over the last 10,000 years it has been warmer than today 65 per cent of the time.

This is attributed to Professor Gernot Patzelt in a speech he gave in 2011. Steyn uses this

quotation as the starting point of an argument:

Once upon a time there was a thing called 'geologic time'.... If God or Gaia decides to reset the global thermostat you might as well relax, because there's not much you can do about it. Long after a dank Nordic chill settled on sun-drenched Scandinavia, and the American midwest emerged from underwater, and the polar bears hunted the Yukon alligator to extinction, and the Mediterranean bodouin on their annual desert trek from Tangiers to Monte Carlo said, 'Hey, that oasis seems to be a lot bigger than it was last year', long after the upheavals of geologic time, man retained a certain humility before the awesome power of nature.

And then came the 'hockey stick'....

At the turn of the 21st century it sold the simplest of propositions: This is the hottest year of the hottest decade of the hottest century of the millennium which is, like, forever.

And suddenly no one remembered 'geologic time' or 'natural climate variability' anymore.

This is a central premise of Steyn's position. He claims Michael Mann rewrote human understanding of past temperatures with a late 20th temperature reconstruction (for the northern hemisphere) colloquially known as the “hockey stick.” The starting point for this argument, and indeed, Steyn's entire book, is 17 words which Professor Patzelt never said or wrote.

The quotation this book begins with is taken from a [blog post](#) which provides the quotation and a link to a video of Professor Patzelt giving a presentation. This presentation is in German. Steyn does not inform his readers he is relying upon a translation, much less a translation taken from an unverified blog post. This is a trend in Steyn's book as he uses translated quotations many times yet only notes two as translations. One of these is found on Page 207 where Steyn includes a footnote citing an English translation from an internet blog:

I put immediately forward a thesis that I'm glad to expose to public criticism: when later generations learn about climate science, they will classify the beginning of 21st century as an embarrassing chapter in history of science. They will wonder our time, and use it as a warning of how the core values and criteria of science were allowed little by little to be forgotten as the actual research topic — climate change — turned into a political and social playground.

Even though the translation he provides in his book:

When later generations learn about climate science, they will classify the beginning of 21st century as an embarrassing chapter in the history of science. They will wonder at our time, and use it as a warning of how the core values and criteria of science were allowed little by little to be forgotten as the actual research topic — climate change — turned into a political and social playground.

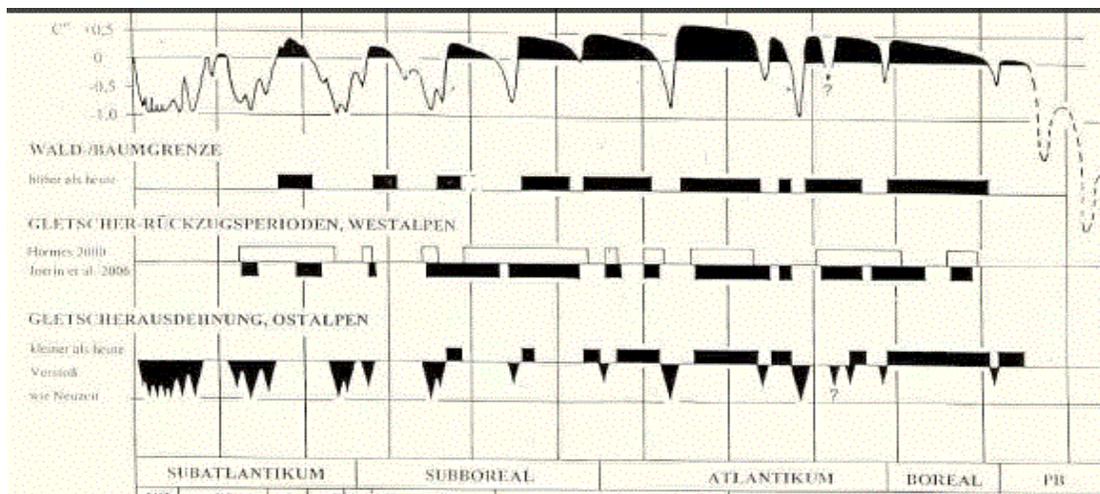
Is slightly different. It is unclear why Steyn misquoted one of the few translations he

acknowledged as being a translation. It is also unimportant. While this sort of shoddy work may affect the interpretation of some quotations Steyn provides, Steyn misrepresented Professor Patzelt's (translated) words in a much more direct manner – he simply ignored what was being discussed.

The blog post Steyn took his translation of Professor Patzelt's words from precedes that quote by saying:

In his presentation, Dr. Patzelt also reveals glacier advances and retreats in the Alps throughout the Holocene, thousands of kilometers away from the Russian Altai. Forests existed at elevations that were higher than today – in areas that are presently covered by glaciers. At the 12:22 mark, Patzelt summarizes the data of the three glaciers examined in the Alps and presents a temperature reconstruction. His conclusion at the 13:42:

Then shows an image taken from Professor Patzelt's presentation:



With the caption:

Top curve shows the reconstructed temperature of the Alps over the Holocene. Dark-shaded areas show warm periods. (Snipped from Patzelt's presentation at the 13:30 mark).

The Alps are a mountain range found in central Europe. Professor Patzelt discussed what temperatures were like in the past for that mountain range. Past temperatures for a mountain range in central Europe would be useful information to have, but it would not say what past temperatures for the entire planet were. It wouldn't even say what temperatures of the northern hemisphere were.

Cherry-picking temperatures for a single location as representing temperatures for the entire planet is wrong. Taking a quotation about temperatures for a single location and presenting it without any context so readers interpret it as referring to temperatures for the entire planet is wrong. Yet, that is exactly what Steyn did. Not only did he do this, but he did this as the very beginning of his book. Just

getting past page one of Steyn's book requires the reader ignore a colossal misrepresentation and/or exaggeration.

Excisions

Steyn's book has many other strange aspects. One is a peculiar form of misquotation. In addition to the numerous cases of altering quotations in minor ways like those seen above, Steyn also provides misquotations like (Page 247):

Their explanations are (at least superficially) less clear and they cram too many things onto the same diagram, so I find it harder to judge whether I agree with them. [I am] uneasy about applying a standardisation based on a small segment of the series to the whole series, if that is what is being done.

The use of brackets in a quotation like this normally indicates a minor alteration to a quotation to clarify things or make them flow better. That is not the case here. The words “I am” were actually part of the original quotation which said, “[B]ut I am still uneasy about...” However, these words come half a dozen sentences after “whether I agree with them.” Steyn removed half a dozen sentences then placed two words in brackets and presented it as a quotation.

Other cases are worse. In another case, Steyn provides a quotation with the text (Page 240):

*In your hands, apple pie and motherhood would come under public suspicion.
Furthermore, your insinuation of an undisclosed relationship between me and a conservative think tank is preposterous.*

While the text being quoted actually said:

In your hands, apple pie and motherhood would come under public suspicion. Have you considered taking a remedial reading course? Can you comprehend the difference between a book reviewer's own beliefs and the reviewer's presentation of the beliefs expressed by the author of the book under review? Apparently not. Furthermore, your insinuation of an undisclosed relationship between me and a conservative think tank is preposterous.

Three sentences were removed without any indication. This type of misquotation reaches such an extreme Steyn provides a quotation with the text (Page 98) :

*As you can see, there's an enormous difference between the two curves prior to about 1500 AD.
If Canada's government is to base climate policy on real science, then it must accept that its policy decisions should be changeable as climate science advances.*

Excising seven whole paragraphs which came between these two lines. It is unknowable how often Steyn misquotes or misrepresents people in his book, but the fact five hundred or more words can simply vanish from quotations without any indication should give readers pause. A reader could never

hope to know which quotations in this book are real and which are altered, misrepresented, misattributed or perhaps even made up.

Factual Errors

It may be that none of the quotation in Steyn's book are completely made up, but many things he says in the book are. Steyn's entire narrative as to why Mann's work is supposedly fraudulent is wrong. It is worse than wrong. It is wrong in ways which show Steyn is unaware of basic information anyone interested in the topic should know. Here is Steyn's clearest presentation of his narrative (Page 52):

The hockey stick is so called because it divides neatly into two parts: a long flat “handle” for the first nine centuries followed by a 20th century “blade” that shoots straight up. The takeaway – the one that Mann, Al Gore and the IPCC marketed to such effect – is that the earth was hotter in the late 20th century than at any time in the previous millennium. But the science underpinning the graph is also made up of two elements: actual recorded temperatures, and proxies – or temperatures derived from the aforementioned tree rings. So what matters is how these two elements are “spliced” together. If, for example, the hockey stick simply used tree rings for the flat handle and temperature readings for the vertical blade, it would perhaps be a bit too crude even for the alarmists: If tree rings are such a reliable guide to the 11th century, and the 13th century, and the 16th century, surely they're also accurate for the 20th century. So why not just do a straight tree-ring graph of the last millennium?

Ah well. That's because most of the tree ring data used by Mann only go up to 1980.... Because, as eventually emerged in 2014, when you update the tree rings, the hockey stick collapses – as Mann knew all along. He folded in the real-world temperature data because, by the mid-20th century, the proxies don't tell the story that Mann et al wanted to sell, and certainly don't produce anything that looks like a hockey stick. From the 1940s on, the tree rings head south, and fail to show the late 20th-century warming that the thermometers do.

He claims of the difference in behavior between tree ring data and thermometer data:

This is what became known as the “divergence problem” - which in turn led to the catchphrase of Climategate: “hide the decline” - ie, the decline in temperature as determined by tree rings.

This narrative is damning. If Mann made a temperature reconstruction relying only on a small amount of tree ring data but deleted that data after 1940 and spliced thermometer data on to “hide the decline” shown by the tree ring data, that could understandably be called fraud. That is not what happened though. Steyn's narrative is a muddled mess of mistakes, misunderstandings and misinformation.

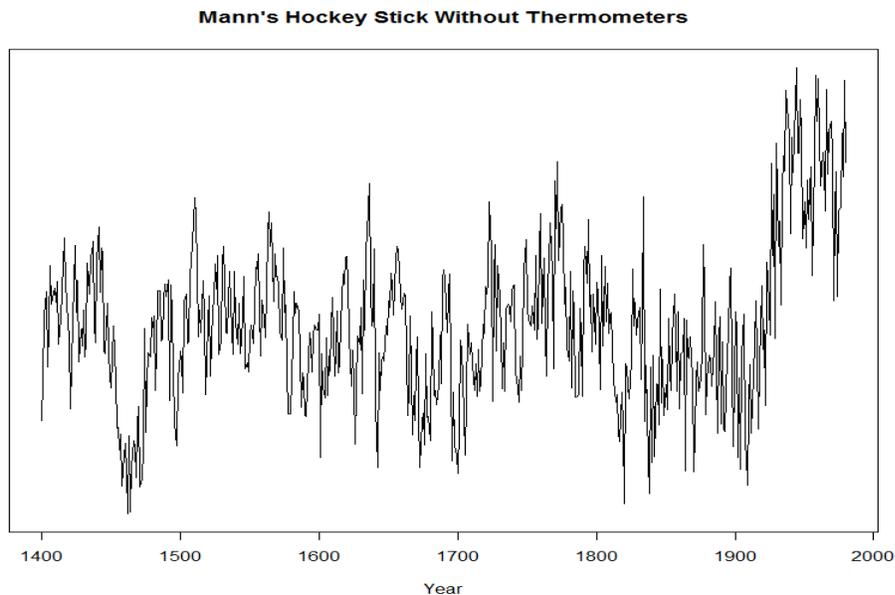
Minor errors might be dismissed as unimportant. Readers might not care Mann's hockey stick relied on different types of proxy data (like data taken from ice cores and lake sediments) not just tree ring data in the same way readers might think Steyn's minor misquotations do not matter. That is okay. What matters is the larger examples. For instance, Steyn wants his readers to believe Mann's tree ring data went down in the latter half of the 20th century. This patently untrue. Steyn might believe it because he found people like a Dr. Jennifer Marohasy saying (Page 55):

My key problem with the “the hockey stick” has always been that the upward spike representing runaway global warming in the 20th century was never of the same stuff as the rest of the chart. That is the spike is largely based on the instrumental temperature record – i.e. the thermometer record – while the downward trending line that it was grafted on to is based on proxies, in particular, estimates of temperature derived from studies of tree rings.

And:

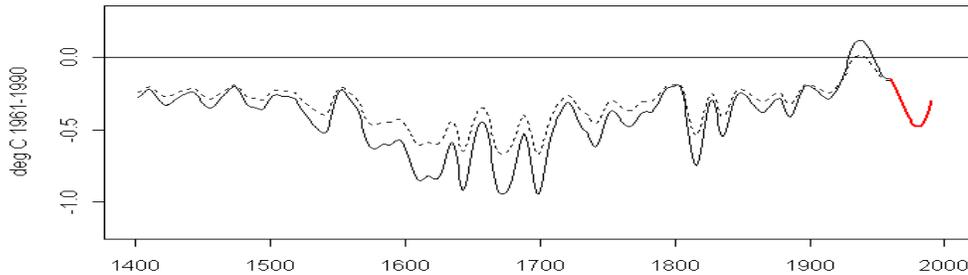
The grafting was necessary because the proxy record, i.e. the tree ring record, shows that global temperatures have declined since about 1960.

But people with PhD's say things which are incorrect all the time. Any attempt to verify Marohasy's claim would show it is untrue. Anyone who has looked at Mann's hockey stick would see it is labeled as a reconstruction for temperatures of the northern hemisphere not “global temperatures.” It takes a little more effort to find out what Mann's temperature reconstruction would have looked like without the thermometer data. Here is what the effort would produce:



It is a hockey stick. Steyn's suggestion Mann “spliced” thermometer and proxy data together to “hide the decline” in this reconstruction is not based on any evidence. At best, it is based on people making careless mistakes.

For instance, here are two versions of a temperature reconstruction from Keith Briffa, discussed above, which was often shown along with Mann's hockey stick:



The black lines shows the results as they were published in different papers. The red line shows the values which were deleted. The black, or published values, stop at 1960 because Briffa truncated his reconstruction at that point based on the belief things began affecting the trees his data was taken from around that time. He discussed this truncation in several papers, offering explanations for what was termed “the divergence problem” in his tree ring data. Similar discussions happened with some other data sets as well as some showed similar “divergence.”

The divergence of some tree ring data sets from thermometer data was an issue worth discussing. That discussion was not always frank. Some publications showing Briffa's results didn't even tell people about the truncation. That is something Steyn could reasonably criticize. What is not reasonable is for Steyn to use what was seen in work by Briffa and other people to claim Mann's reconstruction contained a divergence Mann covered up by dishonestly splicing thermometer data onto his reconstruction.

Unreliable Sources

It would be impossible to list all of Steyn's errors and misrepresentations without writing a book as long as his. The controversy over the hockey stick has been heated and muddled for 15 years. There are too many people who have said incorrect things Steyn can quote without regard for what is or is not true. There are the conspiracy nuts whose rants about global warming being a hoax by the United Nations to start the New World Order Steyn can conveniently quote around. There are the genuine experts Steyn can misquote, misrepresent and possibly misattribute quotes to. Then there are other

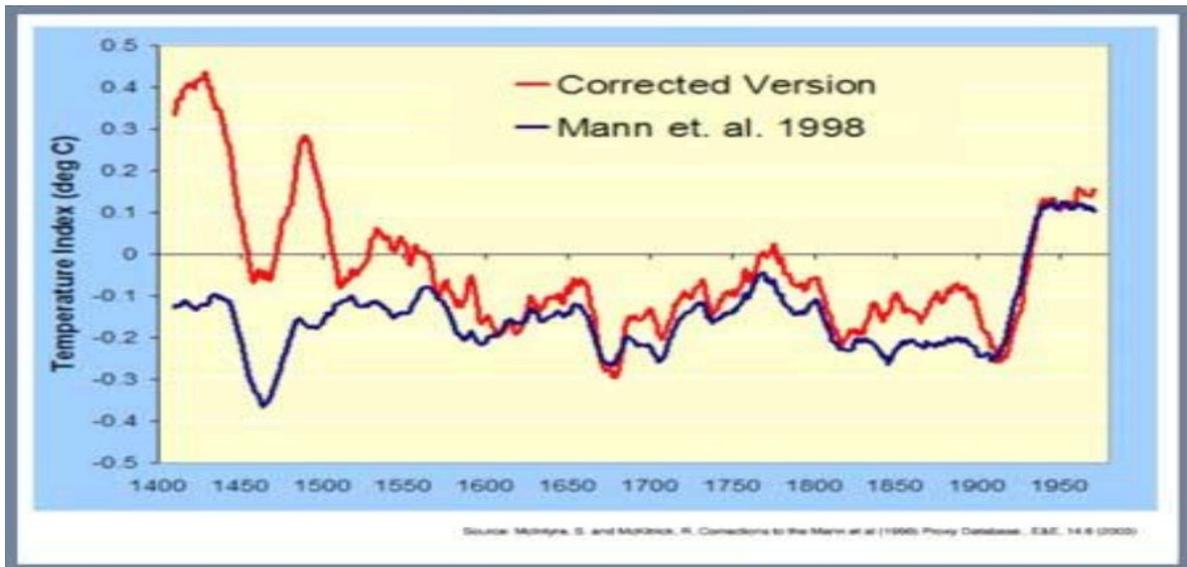
people who speak without knowing what they are talking about, a great example being Dr. Gordon J Fulks, PhD (Page 75):

The most famous example of what I consider outright cheating was Michael Mann's famous "Hockey Stick" graph...

Steyn takes this line from a [presentation](#) in which Fulks [said](#):

Here is a corrected version of the infamous 'Hockey Stick' graph that eliminates "Mike's Nature Trick" and correctly shows the Medieval Warm Period. Mann was intent on hiding the Medieval Warm Period to bolster his claim that we are warmer today than at anytime in the past thousand years. That's simply not true.

Showing this image:



Yet Steyn's book tells the reader "Mike's Nature trick" was used to "hide the decline" in modern temperatures. If "Mike's Nature trick" was used to cover up the divergence between tree ring and thermometer data (which wasn't present in Mann's work), why would Fulks claim it altered results as far back as 1400?

The answer is Fulks made some sort of mistake. The figure he displayed shows what happens when one changes which proxies one uses in Mann's temperature reconstruction, and how they are used, to address certain criticisms of Mann's work. It has nothing to do with "Mike's Nature trick" or any attempt to "hide the decline."

A reader would never know Fulks made this bizarre blunder that shows he does not know basic details of the subject he is discussing. They would not know because Steyn conveniently quotes only the portion which fits his narrative. The result is as long as readers do not look too closely at Steyn's narrative, they will not notice how almost everything he says relies on misquotations,

misrepresentations and factual errors.

It is not just “experts” Steyn does this with either. In the introduction to his sixth chapter, Steyn talks about how people requested thermometer data from an influential scientific organization and were refused. He quotes an e-mail from a person at that organization which included the words, “I think I’ll delete the file rather than send to anyone.” Steyn then says (Page 126):

And, indeed, the CRU subsequently announced that they had “inadvertently deleted” the requested data.

That never happened. No such announcement was ever made. This is pure fiction. The only record of anyone having even suggested such an announcement was made was a [single remark](#) from an anonymous commenter on an online discussion board. An anonymous commenter on an internet message board says something, and for Steyn, that is enough to be included in his book as a factual statement he need not even provide a reference for.

Experts?

Global warming is a complex subject. People can be forgiven for not understanding aspects of it or for drawing erroneous conclusions about it. What is not forgivable is when “experts” make serious errors in what they tell the public and nobody bothers to correct them.

A notable example of this can be found in another book titled Climategate: The CRUTape Letters, written by Steven Mosher and Thomas Fuller. Neither author is a “skeptic” when it comes to global warming. They both identify as “lukewarmers.” Lukewarmers are basically people who accept the mainstream views on global warming but think the amount of warming there will be in the future has been overstated. The authors portray this as a sort of middle ground. Their idea was to use this middle ground to provide a neutral explanation of a controversy known as Climategate.

The details of what Climategate involved are unimportant for this book. What is important is that book was promoted by Skeptics as being an overview of the subject people should read. This is a problem as the book is riddled with more errors (but fewer misquotations) than Steyn's book. One error which gets repeated in the book many times is particularly noteworthy. It comes in the form of:

One claim underlying the founding of the IPCC, it should be recalled, is that the climate change we are seeing is unprecedented in human history.

The IPCC is the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, an organization created by the United Nations to produce voluminous reports on global warming. It was founded in 1988, a decade before Michael Mann published his hockey stick. According to Mosher and Fuller, the IPCC was founded on an assumption Mann would claim to prove for the first time only ten years later. That is strange. It is also false. Mosher and Fuller quoted a statement which explained the founding of the IPCC came about due to a conference which concluded, in part:

as a result of the increasing greenhouse gases it is now believed that in the first half of the next century (21st century) a rise of global mean temperature could occur which is greater than in any man's history.

That statement was made in 1985. In 1985, scientists thought there could be so much warming by the year 2050 it would be unprecedented in human history. While quoting this, Mosher and Fuller say this indicates:

the belief that the warming scientists were predicting would be unprecedented in the course of human history:

Here they changed the word “could” to “would” to make it a statement of certainty rather than a

statement of possibility, but they still recognized the belief was in regard to warming by the year 2050. It was only in other parts of the book they said things like:

The IPCC was founded to advise politicians on how bad global warming was going to be and based on the assumption that recent warming was the most extreme in history.

Changing the statement about what might happen by 2050 to a statement of what has happened as of 1985. This is a bizarre misrepresentation made all the more bizarre by the fact Mann's hockey stick was intended to demonstrate recent warming (as of the late 1990s) was unprecedented since 1,000 AD. According to Mosher and Fuller, everyone had already been assuming that for over a decade.

Hypocrisy

There are many books with many errors. It would be impossible to discuss them all. This book, however, provides a demonstration of what is wrong with Skeptics. Mosher and Fuller are not Skeptics, but their willingness to criticize Warmists has earned them respect and/or friendship with many people who are. That helps explain why nobody criticized them for publishing a book which said:

its staff of around thirty research scientists and students has developed and published a number of the data sets widely used in climate research, most importantly the global temperature index, or CRUTEMP. The data and methods surrounding this critical piece of evidence of climate change is the principle focus of Climategate.

The book makes this same point multiple times. Each time, the book tells the reader “the global temperature index,” or the modern thermometer record, is the most important topic in the Climategate controversy. This is nonsense. The real story of the Climategate controversy involved not modern temperatures, but efforts to reconstruct past temperatures. In other words, the Climategate controversy was all about work by people like Michael Mann.

What is fascinating is not that the book makes this mistake. What is fascinating is how the authors react to people who make the same mistake. Here is an [example](#):

I will never tire of abusing skeptics who continue to mis-portray climategate as a story about temperature series...

You know as much as I would have liked to find more mails about temperature series in the stack, the fact remains. There was one good story in the mails. That story centered on Briffa, Wahl, Jones, Mann, McIntyre and Holland, chapter 6 Ar4.

Mosher goes after people who say Climategate was about the modern temperature record, saying he never tires of abusing them. Steve McIntyre, one of the most respected figures within the Skeptic community (though he has not identified as being part of any particular group), has both

promoted Climategate: The CRUTape Letters and has [said](#) of this issue:

I've repeatedly pointed out that the Climategate emails have nothing to do with temperature data and criticized people who tried to coatrack their disputes about temperature data onto the emails.

On the same page Mosher made his remark. In fact, Mosher and McIntyre talked to one another about this topic on that very page. Yet, neither McIntyre nor anybody else said, “Hey, Mosher, maybe you shouldn't publish a book telling people something, take their money then insult them for believing it.” Nobody said it there. Nobody said it anywhere.

3000 Quads

There are many other problems with that book. It is a terrible book. It contains so much false information nobody could hope to catch it all. No Skeptics seem to mind. Similarly, none of the ones who treat Fuller as a friend or colleague seem to mind the dishonest analysis he published in a book titled The Lukewarmer's Way.

This book is about energy consumption and how it will change in the future. A central claim by Fuller is:

I still believe that temperatures will climb this century, mostly as a result of the brute force effect of the 3,000 quads of energy we will burn every year starting in 2075—as I explain elsewhere.

A quad is a unit of energy roughly equivalent to that you would get from eight billion gallons of gasoline. Humans produced 500 of them in 2010. Fuller's claim humans will burn 3,000 of them every year beginning in 2075 is a bold prediction. The analysis it is based on:

The DOE and UN predict consumption of around 820 quads in 2040. Population will be about 8.1 billion. Millennium Goals for development and normal economic advancement indicate that taking a straight line for consumption is not absurd. This leads to a 'latent' demand for energy of about 1,000 quads , or almost 3 times what the world is using today. However, straight line extension of consumption trends gets you to about 1,000 quads in 2035, and about 3,000 in 2075.

Relies on the idea of a “latent” demand for energy. This “latent” demand is the demand for energy underdeveloped nations would have if they were to develop to the same standards as the United States. Billions more people living like Americans do would consume far more energy. That makes sense.

What fails to make sense is the idea the entire world will reach that level of development by 2075. Fuller only includes the latent demand in his projected values for 2075. He does not include it in

his projected values for 2035. If he had, his projected consumption for 2035 would have been 2,100 quads, more than double what he published. This can be demonstrated by examining previous writing by Fuller where he [said](#) exactly that:

straight line extension of consumption trends gets you to about 2,100 quads in 2035, and about 3,000 in 2075.

Fuller only changed that value when he published this book, silently changing his claim to:

straight line extension of consumption trends gets you to about 1,000 quads in 2035, and about 3,000 in 2075.

Prior to writing his book, Fuller's projections for future energy consumption all assumed humans across the world would reach a high level of technological development. When he published his book, only one of his projections made that assumption. The reason seems clear. Originally, all Fuller did for those projections was draw a straight line. For his book, he sought to do more detailed analyses. His results showed:

Table 1: Various Projection Totals Of Energy Consumption in 2030			
	US Dept. of Energy, Energy Information Administration <i>(Sept. 2011)</i>	Independent or National Projections	Paired With Countries With Similar Backgrounds
China	162.7	223	246.6
India	30.4	63.6	84.57
Indonesia	8.99	16.8	16.72
Brazil	16.4	22	42.54
Total 4 Countries	218.49	325.4	390.43
Total 122 Countries <i>(including those above)</i>	393.22		612.29
Total World	721		913

In 2005, humans produced approximately 500 quads. The highest consumption value Fuller managed to project for 2030 was 913 quads. For 2040, his projection only went up to 965 quads. It is clear Fuller could not continue to use his old methodology which projected humans would consume 2,100 quads in 2035.

Yet for some reason, Fuller felt it was reasonable to keep using the same methodology for his 2075 projection. It might have something to do with the fact he spent years hyping the “3000 quads”

number, to the point he even named his [website](#) after it and included the tagline,

Humans will use 3,000 Quads by 2075. If they all come from coal we're ruined.

A Hero?

Another example of strange projections comes from a man named Richard Tol. Richard Tol is an economics professor at the University of Sussex who has become a strange hero of the Skeptic movement. Tol is not a global warming skeptic. Tol advocates for a somewhat sizable tax on greenhouse gas emissions. Despite this, Tol has become something of a hero to Skeptics.

In part, this is because Tol has been a vocal critic of an (in)famous paper (Cook et al. 2013) claiming to show there is a 97% consensus on global warming. Cook et al. 2013 had a group of people (many of whom also co-authored the paper) rate abstracts of scientific papers by whether or not they supposedly endorsed the "consensus" on global warming. Each abstract was rated by at least two people. The authors published a data file showing how 11,944 abstracts were rated. A criticism Tol [repeated](#) many times is:

Figure 1 shows the 50-, 100- and 500-paper rolling standard deviations, the skewness, and the first-order autocorrelation. The Web of Science presents papers in an order that is independent of the contents of the abstract. Papers were rated in a random order. The data should therefore be homoskedastic. The data clearly are not. Similar, skewness should be constant throughout the sample, but it is not. There is even a drift (towards negative skew, that is, endorsement of anthropogenic climate change). First-order autocorrelation should be zero, but it is not. Around paper 4500 and around paper 10000, large numbers of rejections of anthropogenic climate change are found. Rating was not done consistently, perhaps because the raters tired.

Put simply, Tol found the data the authors provided showed patterns which one would not expect if the data were presented in a random order. As Tol notes, the raters were presented abstracts in a random order. However, Tol does nothing to show the order the abstracts were presented to the raters was the same as the order the abstracts were included in the data file. After being challenged on this, Tol eventually [acknowledged](#):

Cook then re-ordered the papers again — not to the original order (as I had assumed) but to year first and title second.

When challenged on claiming sorted data was in a random order, Tol [said](#):

The data I use are as provided: Ordered first by year and second by title.

That's a random order, so there should be no pattern. Yet, there is a pattern.

It is difficult to imagine how someone would conclude sorting data places it in a random order. Consider one pattern Tol said he found:

There is even a drift (towards negative skew, that is, endorsement of anthropogenic climate

change)

The 11,944 abstracts included in the Cook et al. data set were for papers published from 1991 to 2011. The [paper](#) notes:

The percentage of AGW endorsements for... abstract-rated papers increase[s] marginally over time

While including a chart which shows this result visually. That the strength of a "consensus" might change over two decades is unremarkable. People's views on global warming changed between 1991 and 2011. Papers published on global warming in 1991 were different than the ones published in 2011. This would be why sorting papers by the year they are published does not place them in a random order.

Similar issues arise with Tol's other tests for non-randomness and the fact papers were sorted by title (after publication year). Tol seemed not to care. He repeated this argument time and time again, eventually including it in a paper he submitted to a scientific journal. The submission included an inadvertently humorous remark:

In the data provided, raters are not identified and time of rating is missing. I therefore cannot check for inconsistencies that may indicate fatigue. I nonetheless do so.

If one "cannot check for inconsistencies," it is not clear how they would "nonetheless do so." Tol chose not to clarify.

Gremlins

Skeptics seem not to mind Tol's bizarre claims. After publishing a 2009 and 2013 paper in which Tol claimed to find moderate warming would be beneficial, many Skeptics were happy to promote his work to downplay concerns about global warming, [saying](#) things like.

Climate change has done more good than harm so far and is likely to continue doing so for most of this century.

Because:

To be precise, Prof Tol calculated that climate change would be beneficial up to 2.2°C of warming from 2009 (when he wrote his paper). This means approximately 3°C from pre-industrial levels, since about 0.8°C of warming has happened in the last 150 years. The latest estimates of climate sensitivity suggest that such temperatures may not be reached till the end of the century — if at all. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, whose reports define the consensus, is sticking to older assumptions, however, which would mean net benefits till about 2080. Either way, it's a long way off.

When examining Tol's work, people discovered he had made a variety of mistakes. The 2009

paper had shown 14 estimates of the impact of global warming by various researchers. Four showed benefits of 0.1%, 0.9%, 2.3% and 2.5% of world Gross Domestic Product (GDP), all for an increase of 2.5 degrees Celsius “relative to today” as of 2009.

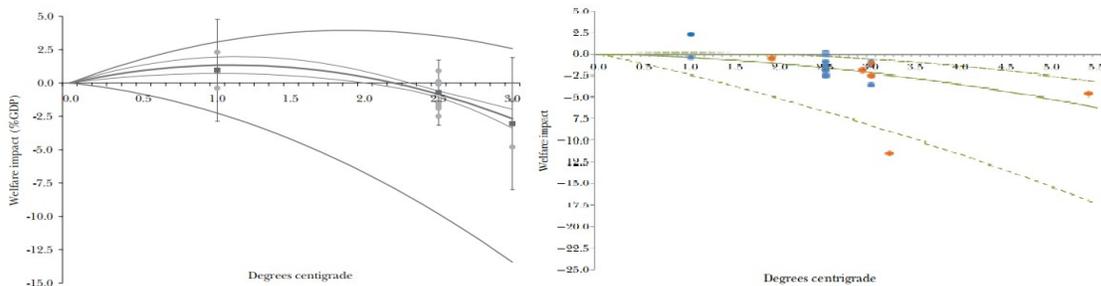
In 2014, Tol was forced to correct both his 2009 and 2013 paper to address a variety of errors people had discovered. The [correction](#) for the 2009 paper began:

Gremlins intervened in the preparation of my paper "The Economic Effects of Climate Change" published in the Spring 2009 issue of this journal. In Table 1 of that paper, titled "Estimates of the Welfare Impact of Climate Change," minus signs were dropped from the two impact estimates, one by Plambeck and Hope (1996) and one by Hope (2006).

The Plambeck and Hope (1996) estimate was the one which said warming would cause a benefit of 2.5%. The Hope (2006) estimate was the one which said warming would cause a benefit of 0.9%. Both of these estimates were listed as showing global warming would be beneficial when the papers had actually provided them as showing global warming would be harmful. Tol had simply inverted the sign of two of the four estimates he claimed showed global warming would be beneficial

The remaining two estimates of benefits were a negligible 0.1% from Mendelsohn, Schlesinger, and Williams (2000) and a 2.3% from... Tol (2002). That is, after correcting a variety of data errors in his analysis of what researchers on the economics of global warming say, Tol found the only researcher Tol could find who said global warming would be beneficial to any meaningful extent was himself. Tol blamed this on “gremlins.”

The sabotage of these gremlins was significant. Due to the removal of two data points which Tol incorrectly listed as showing global warming would be beneficial as well as the addition of several more estimates he found by various researchers, Tol's central figure changed from the left chart to the one on the right:



The chart on the right shows the expected impact of global warming is never beneficial. As Tol stated in the correction:

I nonetheless highlight two differences between the old and the new results. First, unlike the original curve (Tol 2009, Figure 1) in which there were net benefits of climate change associated with warming below about 2°C, in the corrected and updated curve (Figure 2), impacts are always negative, at least in expectation.

Another major change was included in Tol's correction which he made no effort to draw people's attention to. When he recreated his previous chart he changed the caption from:

Note: Figure 1 shows 14 estimates of the global economic impact of climate change, expressed as the welfare-equivalent income gain or loss, as a function of the increase in global mean temperature relative to today.

To:

Notes: Figure 2 shows 21 estimates of the global economic impact of climate change, expressed as the welfare-equivalent income gain or loss, as a function of the increase in the annual global mean surface air temperature relative to preindustrial times.

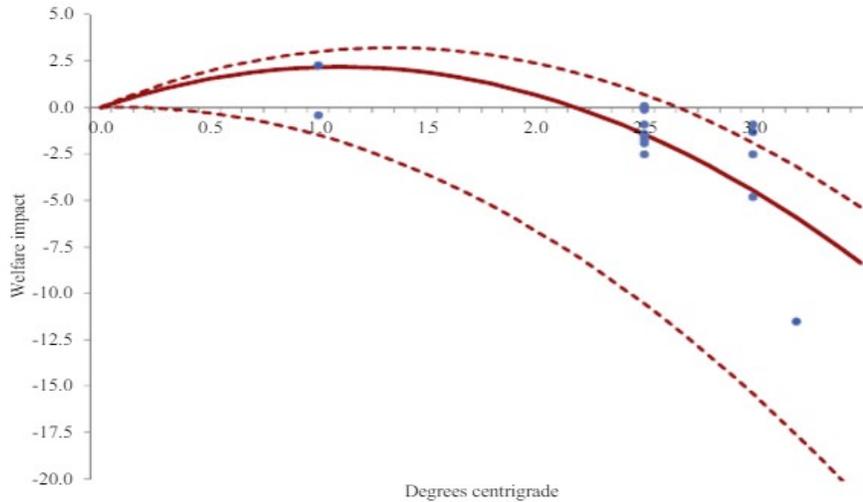
In his 2009 paper, Tol claimed he was examining temperature changes “relative to today” as of 2009. He found there were net benefits for the first degree or so of warming. In his 2009 update, Tol changed his claim to say he was examining the effect of temperature change since pre-industrial times (approximately 1750). Tol acknowledges there has been nearly one degree of warming since pre-industrial times. This would mean the first degree of warming shown in his charts has already happened. The benefits shown in the original chart which garnered the favor of Skeptics were falsely described as future benefits when in reality they were benefits humans had already received.

Not Gremlins

Even as Tol was forced to issue a [correction](#) for his 2009 paper, he was also forced to issue a correction to his 2013 paper. This correction notice left out any mention of gremlins, stating only:

The author regrets that three errors crept into “Targets for global climate policy: An overview”. In Table 1 of that paper, the author dropped the minus sign on Chris Hope’s 2006 estimate; his best guess is that a global warming by 2.5 °C would cause a welfare loss equivalent to losing 0.9% of income, with a confidence interval spanning –2.7% to 0.2%. This error also affects Fig. 1. Fig. 1 had a coding error in the upper bound of the confidence interval, and an error in the caption. Corrected Fig. 1 is given below.

With a figure different from the one included in the correction for Tol's 2009 paper:



Again, the the caption for the uncorrected figure in the 2013 paper said:

Fig. 1. 17 estimates of the global economic impact of climate change, expressed as the welfare-equivalent income loss, as functions of the increase in global mean temperature relative to today.

While the updated caption was surreptitiously changed to say:

Fig. 1. 17 Estimates of the global economic impact of climate change, expressed as the welfare-equivalent income loss, as a function of the increase in global mean temperature relative to pre-industrial times.

Tol offered no explanation for why the correction to his 2013 paper used 17 estimates instead of the 21 used for the correction to his 2009 paper. By including less data for the update to his 2013 paper, he was able to ensure it still showed moderate warming would be beneficial even as his 2009 paper said that was not the case.

A Larger Stage

Issues with Tol's work grew more important when in 2014, the IPCC included Tol's work on this topic in its Fifth Assessment Report (AR5). IPCC reports are frequently cited as representing the “consensus” on global warming. One of the major promotional points for the reports is the number of people who review them in the drafting process. Three draft versions are made of each report (Zeroth Order, First Order and Second Order Drafts), with anyone who wishes to review them being able to submit comments for consider on the First and Second Order drafts. This is a key aspect of the credibility of the IPCC reports. However, Tol's work was not subjected to this external review.

Tol was a Coordinating Lead Author for Chapter 10 of the Working Group II section of the

AR5. This chapter dealt economic effects of global warming. Tol's work was given little attention in this chapter in the first three drafts of the report. Reviewers of the IPCC report did not see anything like Tol's 2009 and 2013 charts. This caused several reviewers to be shocked when the “Final Governmental Draft” of the IPCC report released to the public as the official IPCC report included an entirely new section. As one reviewer named Bob Ward [said](#):

I was stunned when I looked at Chapter 10 on ‘Key Economic Sectors and Services’ on which Professor Tol was one of the Coordinating Lead Authors. A section had been inserted on ‘Aggregate impacts’ which was based almost entirely on Professor Tol’s 2013 paper. The Chapter also included a new table and graph which were based on Figure 1 and Table 1 from his 2013 paper.

None of this material had been included in the Second Order Draft of the report (a copy of which was also leaked to a blog for climate change ‘sceptics’ that had been made available to reviewers, including me.

Richard Tol responded to this [claiming](#) Ward had admitted to lying then [saying](#):

In fact, that section was moved from Chapter 19 to Chapter 10. As far as I am aware, Mr Ward did not raise this concern with the IPCC. He was informed no later than 2 April 2014 that the text was moved rather than added.

Yet the text for Section 10.9.2, Aggregate Impacts like:

Since AR4, four new estimates of the global aggregate impact on human welfare of moderate climate change were published (Bosello et al., 2012; Maddison and Rehdanz, 2011; Roson and van der Mensbrugghe, 2012), including two estimates for warming greater than 3°C. Estimates agree on the size of the impact (small relative to economic growth) but disagree on the sign (Figure 10-1). Climate change may be beneficial for moderate climate change but turn negative for greater warming. Impacts worsen for larger warming, and estimates diverge. The new estimates have slightly widened the uncertainty about the economic impacts of climate...

Had not previously existed anywhere in the IPCC report. A table and figure almost identical to those present in the correction to Tol's 2009 paper were also added (without the regression line). All of this depended entirely upon Tol's work, and it was all completely new material that never underwent any external review. Ward was completely correct.

Had this new section been subjected to external reviews, it is likely a number of problems would have been noticed. For instance, this section says “four new estimates” of the impact of global warming had been published then immediately says, “Estimates agree on the size of the impact (small relative to economic growth) but disagree on the sign.” Despite appearances, these two sentences are not connected. All four of the “new estimates” agreed “on the sign.” The only two estimates which did

not were Tol (2002) and Mendelsohn et al. (2000), the same two estimates discussed earlier. Not only was one of these estimates negligible (0.1%), both had been published more than a decade before. There was nothing new about them.

Arbitrary Aggregation

Another issue which might have been discovered by external reviewers comes from a footnote for the IPCC data table which says, “Results aggregated by Tol (2013).” It turns out a number of the estimates Tol reported were not actually published estimates. They were estimates Tol came up with on his own based upon work others did. Bob Ward had [previously tried](#) to get details as to how Tol came up with his values:

I drew the attention of each editor to the problems. I also noted that many of the data that had been plotted by Professor Tol were aggregations that he had made of other authors' research findings. For instance, 8 of the 17 data used in the 2013 paper had been aggregated by Professor Tol. I suggested to the editors that, given the other mistakes, Professor Tol should make available the details of his calculations so that they might also be verified.

Tol refused to provide any details on many occasions. In response to one person, Tol [wrote](#):

Finally, Professor Abraham repeats Mr Ward's lament about lack of transparency. In fact, all data are in the public domain. It does take a bit of multiplication, addition and division to go from disaggregate data to aggregate data, but that should not be beyond someone with a bachelor's degree in geology.

The IPCC eventually forced Tol to produce the calculations he had used. The calculations did not match the results Tol had previously published. Some estimates changed by as little as 0.1%. Other estimates changed my much more. One example is Maddison and Rehdanz (2011), the extreme outlier visible at the bottom of updated figures. In Tol's 2013 paper as well as the corrections to his 2009 and 2013 paper, Tol listed this estimate as being -11.5%. The calculations the IPCC forced him to provide said it was -12.4%. No explanation has ever been offered for the change.

There are too many examples and other problems to cover. Growing tired of the controversy, the scientific journal Tol published his 2009 paper in eventually issued a correction which [stated](#):

In the Spring 2009 issue, this journal published “The Economic Effects of Climate Change” by Richard S. J. Tol (vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 29–51). The paper included a figure summarizing the results of a number of studies, showing their estimates of how the economic costs of climate change varied with the predicted change in global temperatures. In early 2014, the editors received a complaint pointing out errors in the paper: specifically, several estimates had not been accurately transferred from the original studies. In the Spring 2014 issue, we published a

“Correction and Update: The Economic Effects of Climate Change” (vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 221–26) by Richard Tol. However, this version also contained errors that were soon pointed out by various researchers. The editors discussed the situation with Richard Tol and with outside reviewers at some length.

This correction offers a final revision and update to the figure in question. This figure is republished from the most recent report of the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), in Chapter 10 of the volume Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability... Given the differences across the studies as mentioned in the IPCC report, several outside reviewers involved in our editorial process expressed a concern that such estimates were not meaningful. As shown, the figure in the IPCC report does not seek to estimate a best-fit line or confidence intervals, but only offers a summary of the results from existing studies... Controversy over these estimates seems likely to continue. We recommend that readers interested in these questions use the figure and data from the IPCC report as their starting point.

The result is the 2009 paper now cites the IPCC report which cites the 2013 paper for results which are not present in the 2013 paper. How one is expected to track down the source of these results is a mystery, as is how any of this passed any sort of review (or was allowed to be published without review).

Another mystery is how so many basic errors could have been made. Consider that outlier from Maddison and Rehdanz (2011). That value which changed from -11.4% to -12.5% indicates far greater damages from global warming than any other estimate. The reason this value is so large is it is not an estimate of damages to nominal GDP like the rest. It uses a different measure of GDP called “purchasing power parity.” Tol has fixed this inconsistency in a more recent paper, causing the result to change from -12.5% to -5.1%.

It would be impossible to discuss all the data errors, inconsistencies and unexplained changes in Tol's work. To give a small idea of the extent of these problems, this table shows some of the changes in values Tol has published in various iterations of his work:

Versions of Tol's Data Set

Paper	Tol 2009	Correction	Tol 2013	Correction	IPCC	Correction	Tol 2015	Correction
D'Arge 1979							-0.6	-0.6
Nordhaus 1982							-3	-3
Nordhaus 1991							-1	-1
Nordhaus 1994b	-4.8	-1.3	-1.3	-1.3	-1.3	-1.3	-1.3	-1.3
Nordhaus 1994a	-1.5	-3.6	-4.8	-4.8	-1.9	-4.3	-3.6	-3.6
Nordhaus 1994a					-3.6		-6.7	-6.7
Fankhauser 1995	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4
Berz undated							-1.5	-1.5
Tol 1995	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9
Nordhaus and Yang 1996	-1.7	-1.7	-1.7	-1.7	-1.7	-1.7	1.4	-1.4
Plambeck and Hope	2.5	-2.5	-2.5	-2.5	-2.5	-2.5	-2.9	-2.9
Mendelsohn et al. 2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mendelsohn et al. 2000	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nordhaus and Boyer 2000	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5
Tol 2002	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
Maddison 2003	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	0	0
Rehdanz and Maddison 2005	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.2	-0.2
Rehdanz and Maddison 2005							-0.3	-0.3
Hope 2006	0.9	-0.9	0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-1	-1
Nordhaus 2006	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9
Nordhaus 2006		-1.1			-1.1	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1
Nordhaus 2008		-2.5	-2.5	-2.5	-2.6	-2.5	-2.5	-2.5
Maddison and Rehdanz 2011			-11.5	-11.5	-12.4	-11.5	-5.1	-5.1
Bosello et al. 2012			-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5
Roson and van der Mensbrugghe 2012					-2.1	-1.8	-2.1	-2.1
Roson and van der Mensbrugghe 2012					-6.1	-4.6	-6.1	-6.1
Nordhaus 2013							-2	-2

The Point

Not a single Skeptic has spoken out against anything Richard Tol has done. Not a single Skeptic has pointed out any of the many errors in Climategate: The CRUTape Letters. Not a single Skeptic spoke up when many high profile critics of Warmists signed onto Climate Change: The Facts with multiple people who said global warming is not happening, or at least, we cannot know it is happening.

Not a single Skeptic has pointed out any of the many errors, misquotations or misrepresentations in Mark Steyn's book. Not a single Skeptic has stood up to say Skeptics should refrain from promoting conspiracy nuts who think global warming is a scam created by the United Nations to destroy modern civilization.

This book does not attempt to list everything anyone in the Skeptic movement has gotten or done wrong. There are an untold number of errors and misdeeds one could rant about in an attempt to score rhetorical points. That is not the point. The point is the polarization of the global warming debate means none of these problems matter.

There are many people in the global warming debate who do honest and good work. They do not matter. As long as people remain silent and allow bad work and unethical behavior to dominate the public representation of their side of a debate, all anyone will have is the same sort of partisan bickering they could find in any political argument.

That goes for all sides. Whatever the topic, whatever your beliefs. If you want to be taken seriously or accomplish some task, quit thinking about how “they” are the problem. Focus on what is right and what is wrong.

And remember, sometimes you and the things you like might be the ones that are wrong.