

BRIEFING PAPER

The last battle of the fossil lobby

An analysis of Donald Trump's Speech in the White House
Rose Garden on June 1

A compilation by Christoph Bals and Katharina Hierl

Brief Summary

In his speech in the White House Rose Garden on June 1st, 2017, U.S. President Trump announced the intention of the U.S. government to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. This speech marks the clearest sign until now that the U.S. administration is willing to fight the last battle for the fossil fuel lobby – especially for coal and oil. At the same time, Trump's announcement forces other governments to put their cards on the table: Will they side with coal, the past and Trump - or with the necessary transformation, the future and international law?

For this document, we gathered existing analyses and fact-checks of President Trump's speech and added analysis by Germanwatch experts and additional facts. These show that the key arguments used in the speech are either based on misinformation or on half-truths which were misinterpreted.

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Executive Summary

In his speech in the White House Rose Garden on June 1st, 2017, U.S. President Trump announced the intention of the U.S. government to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. This speech marks the clearest sign until now that the U.S. administration is willing to fight the last battle for the fossil fuel lobby – especially for coal and oil. At the same time, Trump's announcement forces other governments to put their cards on the table: Will they side with coal, the past and Trump - or with the necessary transformation, the future and international law?

For this document, we gathered existing analyses and fact-checks of President Trump's speech and added analysis by Germanwatch experts and additional facts. These show that the key arguments used in the speech are either based on misinformation or on half-truths which were misinterpreted.

Trump's claim that the Paris Agreement would cause an immense loss of jobs and high costs for the economy is based on a study of the National Economic Research Associates (NERA), which was commissioned by the US Chamber of Commerce and the Council for Capital Formation. This study assumes an unrealistic and inefficient pathway to decarbonisation. At the same time it doesn't take into account – as the study authors acknowledge themselves in one footnote – the positive effects of the transformation towards a climate-compatible economy on the labour market. Most studies show however that these positive effects outweigh the negative effects significantly.

Trump claims that the Paris Agreement would cost a lot of jobs and harm the competitiveness of the United States. But contrary to this assertion, job growth in solar energy is 17 times faster than in the U.S. economy overall, wind turbine technicians are the fastest growing professional group in the United States and the Clean Power Plan, introduced by the previous administration to implement the United States' Paris commitments, would have saved US\$ 1,886 over 15 years for the average U.S. household.

Trump pretends that his policy would lead to a renaissance of coal and create lots of new jobs. The truth is, however, that coal-fired power stations continue to close during Trump's time in office – for competitiveness reasons. It is true that some coal mines – for example in Pennsylvania and West Virginia – have opened recently, but those are producing a special type of coal for the steel industry, not for electricity generation. Trump mentions the opening of a big new coal mine. This refers to a new mine in Jennerstone that, according to the company, will create 70-100 new jobs.

Trump claims that the great competitor China would be allowed to increase its emissions over the next 13 years and do whatever it wants during that period. He does not mention that China has committed to not increasing its emissions after 2030 and that the CO₂ emissions per unit of GDP would decrease about 60-65% by then. He does not take into account that China is not only fully on track to meet these commitments, but about to reach its emissions peak many years ahead of 2030. Indeed, China's emissions did not increase during the last three years. China plans to install more renewable energy capacity until 2030 than the total installed generation capacity in the United States today.

Trump claims the Paris Agreement would be unfair to the United States. He does not mention at all that the United States is the nation which caused more emissions than any other country since the industrial revolution and that the poorest people on this planet, predominantly in developing countries, are harmed most by the global climate crisis. From this perspective the announced US administration's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement is extremely unfair.

Trump claims that the implementation of the Paris Agreement would only reduce global temperature increase by 0.2°C. But according to the best available estimates, based on current Nationally

Determined Contributions (NDC) under the Paris Agreement, the reduction would be 0.8°C – which is equal to the temperature increase we have already experienced since the beginning of industrialisation. In addition, governments have agreed that they will improve their NDCs every five years.

No one should take it lightly that the most important world power is waging the last battle for the fossil fuel lobby. But the arguments Trump used in his speech are grossly misleading his own citizens and world society. Such false arguments will prove to be short-lived. Ultimately, they show how desperate the struggle of the fossil lobby must be already.

About this analysis

In a speech delivered on June 1st, 2017, U.S. President Donald Trump announced the intention of the U.S. government to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement on climate change. This speech has been analyzed and fact-checked by numerous media. In this publication, we document the entire speech as well as the most pertinent analysis drawn from several of the fact-checking pieces that are available. In some cases, we have also added own analysis from Germanwatch or reference to additional facts. The sources are clearly indicated.

The transcript of Trump's speech is indented and written in *italics*, with clear misinformation highlighted in **red** and misleading or questionable content highlighted in **purple**.

Donald Trump's Climate Speech from the Rose garden

Thank you very much. Thank you. I would like to begin by addressing the terrorist attack in Manila. We're closely monitoring the situation and I will continue to give updates, anything happens during this period of time, but it is really very sad as to what's going on throughout the world with terror. Our thoughts and our prayers are with all of those affected.

"President Trump is referring to a [lockdown at a luxury resort complex](#)¹ in the Philippines early Friday morning local time. Contrary to what the president said, however, the Philippine national police chief said there was no concrete evidence the attack was related to terrorism. The gunman stole gambling chips, shot an LED monitor and set tables on fire, but he did not shoot at people he met, [according to the Associated Press](#)². "The president's opening statement about the attack at a Manila casino was dictated by events, but it's also a telling indication of Trump's priorities. He is far more concerned with the [threat posed by terrorism](#)³ than with climate change, even dismissing the latter as a "[hoax](#)"⁴ in the past. In an interview with the [New York Times](#)⁵ after last year's election, Trump acknowledged "some connectivity" between human activity and a changing climate. But in recent days aides have refused to comment on the president's climate beliefs. And Trump named a [notable climate skeptic](#)⁶, Scott Pruitt, as his EPA administrator, responsible for reversing much of the previous administration's climate agenda."⁷

¹ see RPR, Dozens Of Deaths Reported In Philippine Resort Attack, June 1, 2017 <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/06/01/531081210/resort-in-the-philippines-on-lockdown-after-reports-of-gunfire>

² See <https://apnews.com/10d4a728cd4242249aa643c71c0a3dab>

³ Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent: <http://www.npr.org/2017/02/17/515841111/through-exaggerated-statements-trump-looks-to-justify-his-policies>

⁴ Nell Greenfieldboyce NPR Correspondent, Science Desk: <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/11/23/503156456/trump-says-he-has-open-mind-on-climate-but-staff-pick-raises-questions>

⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/23/us/politics/trump-new-york-times-interview-transcript.html?mcubz=0&r=1>

⁶ Geoff Brumfiel NPR Science Editor <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/03/09/519425866/epa-chief-scott-pruitt-questions-basic-facts-about-climate-change>

⁷ Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

Before we discuss the Paris Accord, I'd like to begin with an update on our tremendous, absolutely tremendous, economic progress since election day on Nov. 8. The economy is starting to come back and very, very rapidly.

"Last week, the Commerce Department reported that the economy grew at an [annual rate of 1.2 percent](#)⁸ in the first quarter of 2017. That's hardly "rapid." In fact, it's a decline from the fourth quarter of 2016, when GDP grew at a 2.1 percent annual rate. Trump's proposed policies would depend upon much faster growth than that — [his budget](#)⁹ was written with an assumption of steady 3 percent growth in the coming years, which economists say is likely unsustainable."¹⁰

*We've added \$3.3 trillion in stock market value to our economy and **more than a million private sector jobs**. I've just returned from a trip overseas where we concluded nearly \$350 billion of military and economic development for the United States, creating hundreds of thousands of jobs. It was a very, very successful trip, believe me.*

"According to data from the Labor Department, private sector industries [added 805,000 jobs between January and May 2017](#).¹¹ That's well short of 1 million, and it also includes jobs created in January — during most of which Barack Obama was still president. This also includes data from Friday's jobs report for May, which was released after Trump's speech."¹²

*In my meetings at the G7, we have taken historic steps to **demand fair and reciprocal trade that gives Americans a level playing field against other nations**. We're also working very hard **for peace in the Middle East**, and perhaps even peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Our attacks on terrorism are greatly stepped up and you see that, you see it all over. From the previous administration, including getting many other countries to make major contributions to the fight against terror. Big big contributions are being made by countries that weren't doing so much in the form of contribution.*

The other G7 partners reacted with relief when, at the G7 Summit, Trump agreed to language in the final communique that pledged "to fight all forms of protectionism" and committed to a rules-based international trade system - that he accepted a level playing field for other nations and the United States.

Regarding "peace in the Middle East", the most visible result of Trump's visit to Saudi Arabia was the new tension between that country and Qatar. "The dispute between Qatar and other Arab states could lead to war, German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel told a newspaper on Saturday, adding that he still saw a chance to defuse the tension."¹³

⁸ <https://www.bea.gov/newsreleases/national/gdp/gdpnewsrelease.htm>

⁹ Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent: <http://www.npr.org/2017/05/22/529567550/white-house-to-release-taxpayer-first-budget-plan-with-cuts-to-safety-nets>

¹⁰ Danielle Kurtzleben NPR Politics Reporter; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

¹¹ <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/USPRIV>

¹² Danielle Kurtzleben NPR Politics Reporter; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

¹³ Shalal, Andrea: <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-06-10/germanys-gabriel-warns-qatar-crisis-could-lead-to-war-newspaper>

One by one, we are keeping the promises I made to the American people during my campaign for president. Whether it's cutting job-killing regulations, appointing and confirming a tremendous Supreme Court justice, putting in place tough new ethics rules, achieving a record reduction in illegal immigration on our southern border, or bringing jobs, plants and factories back into the United States at numbers which no one, until this point, thought even possible. And believe me, we've just begun. The fruits of our labor will be seen very shortly, even more so.

"Trump did sign an [executive order](#)¹⁴ in January that would not allow people appointed to executive agencies to lobby their own agencies for five years after leaving the administration. It imposed a lifetime ban on working for foreign governments. The order also stopped appointees from working on issues involving their former employers and from working in areas for which they had lobbied during the two years prior to joining the administration. (As [NPR's Tamara Keith](#)¹⁵ reported at the time, the order appeared to draw upon rules from two Democratic presidents Trump had heavily criticized: Clinton and Obama.) These comments come a day after Trump's administration released records showing that it had sought 14 waivers exempting executive branch employees from ethics rules. [As NPR's Peter Overby reported](#)¹⁶, people covered by these waivers include "three former corporate lobbyists [who] will keep working on the issues they dealt with before: finance, energy and the environment."¹⁷

On these issues, and so many more, we're following through on our commitments and I don't want anything to get in our way. I am fighting every day for the great people of this country. Therefore, in order to fulfill my solemn duty to protect America and its citizens, the United States will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord.

(APPLAUSE)



195 States have signed the Paris Climate Agreement¹⁸

Of the 197 countries that are Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), only Nicaragua and Syria have not (yet) signed. Nicaragua didn't sign the agreement, providing as official justification that it is not ambitious enough.¹⁹ The U.S. government has now announced to withdraw from the treaty.

¹⁴<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/28/executive-order-ethics-commitments-executive-branch-appointees>

¹⁵ Tamara Keith, NPR White House Correspondent: <http://www.npr.org/2017/01/28/512201631/trumps-executive-order-on-ethics-pulls-word-for-word-from-obama-clinton>

¹⁶ Peter Overby, NPR Power, Money and Influence Correspondent <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/530994415/white-house-discloses-ethics-waivers-for-presidential-aides>

¹⁷ Danielle Kurtzleben NPR Politics Reporter; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

¹⁸ Graph from: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wissen/klimawandel-das-bedeutet-der-us-ausstieg-aus-dem-klimavertrag-1.3530781>; translated by Germanwatch;

¹⁹ Thorsten Denkler: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/klimavertrag-von-paris-trumps-nein-zum-klimaschutz-ist-ein-sieg-fuer-steve-bannon-1.3533714>

The formal announcement of withdrawal can only be submitted to the UNFCCC Secretariat three years after the entry into force of the Paris Agreement for the respective Party - this means not earlier than November 4, 2019. The withdrawal would become effective after one additional year, i.e. the United States would no longer be a Party to the Paris Agreement from November 4, 2020. Ironically this is the day after the next U.S. election. A new president could decide to re-join the Paris Agreement after his inauguration on January 20, 2021.

Thank you. Thank you.

But begin negotiations to re-enter, either the Paris Accord or in, really entirely new transaction on terms that are fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers. So we're getting out. But will we start to negotiate and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. And if we can, that's great. And if we can't, that's fine.

"Each country set its own commitments under the Paris Accord, so Trump's comment is puzzling. He could unilaterally change the commitments offered by President Barack Obama, which is technically allowed under the Accord. But there is no appetite to renegotiate the entire agreement, as made clear by various statements from world leaders after his announcement."²⁰

As president, I can put no other consideration before the well-being of American citizens. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States, to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers, who I love, and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lowered wages, shuttered factories and vastly diminished economic production. Thus as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country. This includes ending the implementation of the nationally determined contribution and, very importantly, the Green Climate Fund, which is costing the United States a vast fortune.

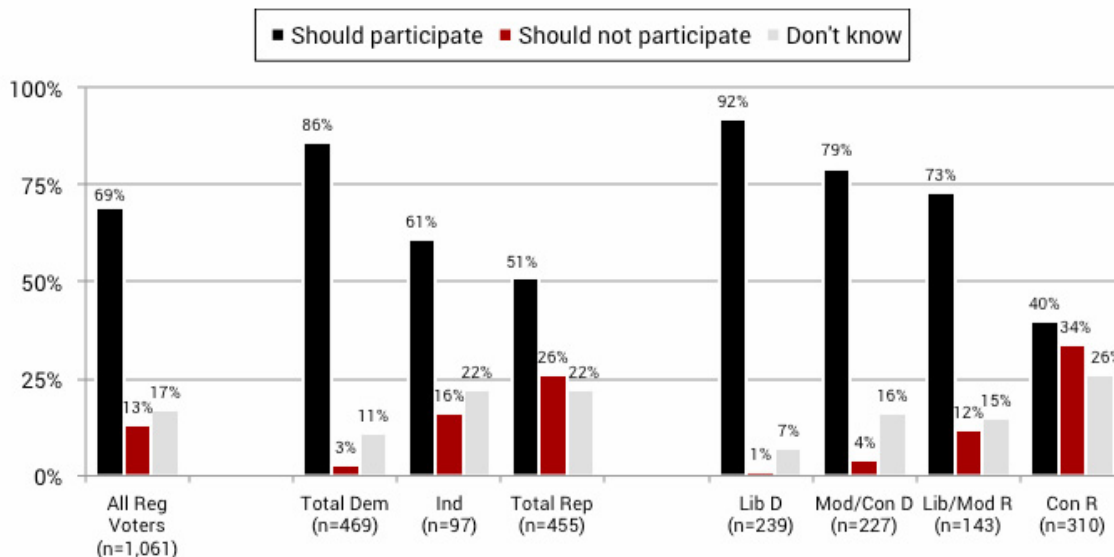
The U.S. president gives the impression that he speaks in the interest of "the well-being of Americans citizens". But only 13% of registered U.S. voters want the United States to leave the Paris Agreement. More than two thirds of them want the United States to stay in the agreement; and even amongst Republican voters, more than half want the United States to stay - according to the results of a representative poll from Yale University from November 2016²¹:

²⁰ Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

²¹ <http://climatecommunication.yale.edu/publications/5-1-voters-say-u-s-participate-paris-climate-agreement/>

Most Registered Voters Say the U.S. Should Participate in the International Agreement to Curb Global Warming

- Only conservative Republicans are split -



One year ago, the United States reached an international agreement in Paris with 196 other countries to limit the pollution that causes global warming. Do you think the U.S. should participate in this agreement, or not participate?

Base: Registered American Voters 18+. November 2016.



It is also a general "question whether a binding treaty with a nationally determined target can really impose "draconian financial and economic burdens". Indeed, the point of the agreement was that each country should come up with its "[intended nationally determined contribution](#)"²². The underlying mechanism of the Paris accord was peer pressure, aimed at achieving a shared goal. No coercion was involved."²³

Ceasing the implementation of the agreement "as of today" might mean the U.S. delegation will not participate actively during negotiations to define the detailed implementation rules for the Paris Agreement (Ad-Hoc Working Group on the Paris Agreement, or APA, under the UN-FCCC) as of now - even though legally they would have a right to do so. On the one hand it might be helpful if the United States would not participate and thus would not be able to block those negotiations. On the other hand, if the United States had no opportunity at all to influence the rule book for the Paris Agreement, this might make it more difficult for a future U.S. administration to come back into the agreement.

Compliance with the terms of the Paris Accord and the onerous energy restrictions it has placed on the United States could cost America as much as \$2.7 million lost jobs by 2025, according to the National Economic Research Associates. This includes 440,000 fewer manufacturing jobs – not what we need, believe me, this is not what we need, including automo-

²² <http://www.wri.org/indc-definition>

²³ Martin Wolf: <https://www.ft.com/content/eecc80f6-4936-11e7-a3f4-c742b9791d43>

bile jobs and the further decimation of vital American industries on which countless communities rely. They rely for so much and we would be giving them so little.

According to this same study, by 2040, compliance with the commitments put into place by the previous administration, would cut production for the following sectors: Paper – down 12%. Cement – down 23%. Iron and steel – down 38%. Coal – and I happen to love the coal miners – down 86%. Natural gas down 31%. The cost to the economy at this time would be close to three trillion dollars in lost GDP and 6.5 million industrial jobs, while households would have \$7,000 less income and, in many cases, much worse than that.

The cited NERA study was "funded by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Council for Capital Formation, foes of the Paris Accord. So the figures must be viewed with a jaundiced eye."²⁴ The NERA study has been heavily criticised by many experts, including the World Resources Institute²⁵ and [economist Gary Yohe](#)²⁶. [Arguments](#) similar to those used in the NERA study have been rebutted [by a variety of scientists](#)²⁷. At the G7 Summit in Italy, G7 partners repeatedly pointed out the weaknesses of this study to Donald Trump and his team - only a few days before Trump's Rose Garden announcement. The main weaknesses of the study are the following:

First, the authors "assume we'll take the LEAST efficient path to decarbonization, and that innovation in clean tech will slow down, instead of speed up" in a Paris scenario.²⁸ This is a scenario that hardly any policy analyst expects. Most analysts expect an acceleration of innovation in a Paris scenario.

Second, the study says in a footnote that it "does not take into account potential benefits from avoided emissions. ... The model does not take into consideration yet-to-be developed technologies that might influence the long-term cost."²⁹ This means most relevant data are not taken into account:

- [Over three million people work in clean energy in America](#)³⁰. That's over three times the number of people that work making [motor vehicles](#)³¹.
- The American clean energy industry generated \$200 billion in revenue in 2016, the same as domestic pharmaceutical manufacturing and it will only grow.
- The solar and wind industries are both creating jobs [12 times faster](#)³² than the rest of the U.S. economy.

²⁴ Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

²⁵ Noah Kaufman, Rebecca Gasper and Kristin Igusky: <http://www.wri.org/blog/2017/04/us-chamber-commerces-energy-institute-misleads-climate-action-costs-3-things-know>

²⁶ Gary Yohe: <http://climatefeedback.org/rand-paul-argument-withdrawing-paris-climate-agreement-based-flawed-information-prof-gary-yohe-explains/>

²⁷ <http://climatefeedback.org/evaluation/paris-agreement-op-ed-us-senator-ted-cruz-misrepresents-costs-benefits-reducing-greenhouse-gas-emissions/>

²⁸ <http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

²⁹ Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

³⁰ https://energy.gov/sites/prod/files/2017/01/f34/2017%20US%20Energy%20and%20Jobs%20Report_0.pdf

³¹ Bureau of Labor Statistics: Automotive Industry: Employment, Earnings, and Hours. <https://www.bls.gov/iag/tgs/iagauto.htm>

- The benefits of renewable energies are also visible in those districts of the country which voted for Trump. The majority of wind jobs in the United States and 86% of wind farms [are in Republican districts](#)³³.
- Renewable energy employment in the United States [increased by 6%](#)³⁴ in 2015, reaching 769,000.
- Solar industry employment grew 25% in 2016 [to 260,000](#)³⁵, surpassing oil and gas extraction ([177,000](#))³⁶, and coal mining ([50,000](#))³⁷.
- Employment in the wind industry [now exceeds](#) 100,000³⁸ - an increase of 14% compared with the end of 2015. Direct and indirect employment in oil and gas extraction [fell by 18%](#) during 2015³⁹.
- 2.2 million Americans [are employed](#) in the design, installation or manufacturing of energy efficiency products or services.⁴⁰ All of this is not taking into account by looking to the relevance of the Paris Agreement regarding jobs in the United States.

As one observer noted, with regard to the credibility of the study: "If it's going to kill jobs and cost money, why are businesses so [uniformly supportive](#)^{41?}"⁴².

Not only does this deal subject our citizens to harsh economic restrictions, it fails to live up to our environmental ideals. [As someone who cares deeply about the environment, which I do,](#)

The Washington Post is very sceptical how deeply the president cares about the environment: "For years, Trump has touted his strong record on the environment. But the evidence is quite slim. [We awarded four Pinocchios](#)⁴³ to his claim that he is a "very big person when it comes to the environment," who has "received awards on the environment." Environmentalists have criticized many of Trump's projects, particularly for his plans to build a golf course on protected sand dunes and chopping down hundreds of trees for a golf course renovation. As a businessman, Trump or his property did win two environmental awards. In 2007, the Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, N.J., received an award for "environmental stewardship through golf course maintenance, construction, education and research." Three years later, the golf course was cited for a series of environmental violations."⁴⁴

I cannot in good conscience support a deal that punishes the United States, which is what it does. The world's leader in environmental protection while imposing no meaningful obligations on the world's leading polluters. For example, under the agreement,

³²http://edfclimatecorps.org/sites/edfclimatecorps.org/files/the_growth_of_americas_clean_energy_and_sustainability_obs.pdf

³³ David Ward: <https://www.ewind.es/2016/05/08/republicans-know-wind-energy-is-a-good-deal/56123>

³⁴ http://www.irena.org/DocumentDownloads/Publications/IRENA_RE_Jobs_Annual_Review_2016.pdf

³⁵ <http://www.thesolarfoundation.org/national/>

³⁶ <https://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cesbtab1.htm>

³⁷ <https://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cesbtab1.htm>

³⁸ <http://www.awea.org/MediaCenter/pressrelease.aspx?ItemNumber=9684>

³⁹ David Ward: <https://www.ewind.es/2016/05/08/republicans-know-wind-energy-is-a-good-deal/56123>

⁴⁰ https://energy.gov/sites/prod/files/2017/01/f34/2017%20US%20Energy%20and%20Jobs%20Report_0.pdf

⁴¹ Devin Henry: thehill.com/policy/energy-environment/328356-businesses-pressure-trump-to-stay-in-paris-climate-deal

⁴² <http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

⁴³ Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/01/24/trumps-unsupported-claim-he-has-received-awards-on-the-environment/?utm_term=.184b9e04dbb0

⁴⁴ Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

China will be able to increase the emissions by a staggering number of years – 13. They can do whatever they want for 13 years. Not us.

"Under the Paris Agreement, China has pledged to halt the growth in its carbon emissions by 2030, 13 years from now."⁴⁵ "In addition it said, that, compared to 2005 levels, it would seek to cut its carbon emissions by 60 to 65 percent per unit of GDP by 2030."⁴⁶ "[China is not only on track](#)⁴⁷ but most likely to beat that target date by many years, according to the Climate Action Tracker."⁴⁸ "China is already investing [more than double](#)⁴⁹ the United States in clean energy, and its carbon emissions have [stayed flat or declined](#)⁵⁰ for the past three years. By 2030, China will install more renewable energy than the United States capacity in 2017 from all energy sources."⁵¹

India makes its participation contingent on receiving billions and billions and billions of dollars in foreign aid from developed countries. There are many other examples but the bottom line is that the Paris Accord is very unfair at the highest level to the United States.

Donald Trump claims the climate treaty would be "very unfair" towards the United States. "This sentence is an affront" writes the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*⁵². And it can be seen as an attempt to redefine fairness in the climate debate. It is understandable that the president of the United States discusses the influence of strict environmental standards or renewable energies on the economy of the United States - even if it is problematic that he uses extremely one-sided statistics to make his point. "But it is pure mockery against most of the people worldwide when he calls the fight against global warming 'unfair'. ... The perfidy of global warming is, that especially those who are least responsible for it are those who suffer most from its impacts. Rich countries as the Netherlands or the USA can build dams against sea-level rise. Poor countries like Bangladesh are not able to do so. The inhabitants of developing countries will experience the impacts of a hotter earth most severely. They do not have enough money or technical know-how to set against the predicted droughts, floods, and the loss of farmland and fishing grounds. They often have no alternative than to flee."⁵³⁵⁴

The Germanwatch Global Climate Risk Index is an analysis based on one of the most reliable data sets available on the impacts of extreme weather events and associated socio-economic data. It conforms that "of the ten most affected countries (1996–2015), nine were developing

⁴⁵Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

⁴⁶Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

⁴⁷<http://climateactiontracker.org/countries/china.html>

⁴⁸Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

⁴⁹Joel Jaeger, Paul Joffe and Ranping Song: <http://www.wri.org/blog/2017/01/china-leaving-us-behind-clean-energy-investment>

⁵⁰Phil McKenna: <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/28022017/chinas-co2-reduction-clean-energy-trump-us>

⁵¹<http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

⁵²<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/trump-kuendigt-pariser-klimaabkommen-auf-1.3532019>, translated by Germanwatch;

⁵³<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/trump-kuendigt-pariser-klimaabkommen-auf-1.3532019>, translated by Germanwatch;

⁵⁴Behrens, Christoph: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wissen/trumps-abkehr-vom-klimaschutz-kommentar-der-us-praesident-verhoeht-die-opfer-der-erderwaermung-1.3532300>, translated by Germanwatch

countries in the low income or lower-middle income country group, while only one was classified as an upper-middle income country"⁵⁵:

Table 1: The Long-Term Climate Risk Index (CRI): the 10 countries most affected from 1996 to 2015 (annual averages)

CRI 1996–2015 (1995–2014)	Country	CRI score	Death toll	Deaths per 100 000 inhabitants	Total losses in million US\$ PPP	Losses per unit GDP in %	Number of events (total 1996–2015)
1 (1)	Honduras	11.33	301.90	4.36	568.04	2.100	61
2 (2)	Myanmar	14.17	7 145.85	14.71	1 300.74	0.737	41
3 (3)	Haiti	18.17	253.25	2.71	221.92	1.486	63
4 (4)	Nicaragua	19.17	162.90	2.94	234.79	1.197	44
5 (4)	Philippines	21.33	861.55	1.00	2 761.53	0.628	283
6 (6)	Bangladesh	25.00	679.05	0.48	2 283.38	0.732	185
7 (8)	Pakistan	30.50	504.75	0.32	3 823.17	0.647	133
8 (7)	Vietnam	31.33	339.75	0.41	2 119.37	0.621	206
9 (10)	Guatemala	33.83	97.25	0.75	401.54	0.467	75
10 (9)	Thailand	34.83	140.00	0.22	7 574.62	1.004	136

"Developed countries acknowledged, by signing the Paris Agreement, that they have so far contributed most to global warming and that they benefit most from the industrialisation which is heating up the atmosphere with greenhouse gas emissions. They acknowledge their historical debt against the poor who do not benefit at all from the world's wealth but get to feel the impacts first hand. [...] Therefore the treaty contains elements to promote progressive energy technology and to support developing countries establishing a protective infrastructure. Few countries have been enjoying a lifestyle as the USA during the last decades. If all people would live like a U.S. citizen, five or more earths would be necessary to satisfy the hunger for resources."⁵⁶

Further, while the current agreement effectively blocks the development of clean coal in America, which it does and the mines are starting to open up, we're having a big opening in two weeks, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, so many places. A big opening of a big new mine, it's unheard of. For many many years, that hasn't happened. They asked me if I'd go. I'm going to try.

⁵⁵ Germanwatch (Sönke Kreft, David Eckstein and Inga Melchior), GLOBAL CLIMATE RISK INDEX 2017 Who Suffers Most From Extreme Weather Events? Weather-related Loss Events in 2015 and 1996 to 2015, Bonn, 2016, <http://germanwatch.org/de/download/16411.pdf>;

⁵⁶ Behrens, Christoph: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wissen/trumps-abkehr-vom-klimaschutz-kommentar-der-us-praesident-verhoeht-die-opfer-der-erderwaermung-1.3532300>

Even with Trump's policy changes, coal will not see a significant comeback in the United States. Gary Cohn, chairman of Trump's National Economic Council, recently [told reporters](#)⁵⁷ that "coal doesn't even make that much sense anymore as a feedstock. Natural gas, which we have become an abundant producer, which we're going to become a major exporter of, is such a cleaner fuel."⁵⁸

There is a quickly growing list of coal power stations which have announced plans to close down under President Trump⁵⁹:

Here is a list of plants that have proposed retirement since the start of the year:

State	Utility Name	Plant Name	Full Plant Nameplate Capacity (MW)
IA	University of Iowa	University of Iowa Main Power Plant	36
MO	KCP&L Greater Missouri Operations Co	Sibley	524
KY	City of Owensboro - (KY)	Elmer Smith	445
OH	Dayton Power & Light Co	J M Stuart	2440
OH	Dayton Power & Light Co	Killen Station	661
FL	JEA	St Johns River Power Park	1358
NC	Edgecombe Operating Services LLC	Edgecombe Genco LLC	114
VA	Spruance Operating Services LLC	Spruance Genco LLC	228

The main reasons for this trend are the economic conditions - electricity generation from coal is no longer competitive against natural gas (which has become abundant in the United States due to fracking) and renewable energies. Campaigns, such as the Sierra Club's "Beyond Coal" campaign, , including protests, court cases, advocacy activities have also been very effective.

It is true, some coal mines "are starting to open up" - but not in the energy sector. "The new mines that are scheduled to open, including in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, are ones that will produce [metallurgical coal](#)⁶⁰, which is used to make steel. This coal is used to produce coke, which is then used to blast the furnace to create metal. It's different from thermal coal, which is burned for steam to produce heat and electricity."⁶¹

Trump speaks about "a big opening of a big new mine". "The "big opening" that Trump is referring to is the Corsa Coal Company's Acosta Deep Mine in Jennerstown, Pa."⁶²

Trump gives the impression that the change of government is behind this opening. But "Corsa began work on this mine [in September](#)⁶³ — two months before the presidential election. This mine is expected to create 70 to 100 full-time jobs, according to the company. Several factors led to newfound optimism for metallurgical coal production among U.S. coal companies. While the domestic market has remained relatively flat, international market demands — particularly the building boom in China — have sustained the metallurgical coal industry in the United States in recent years. The average price of metallurgical exports [ticked up at the end of 2016](#)⁶⁴. The increased demand for steel and metallurgical coal from China has raised prices worldwide.

⁵⁷Aidan McLaughlin: <http://www.mediaite.com/trump/gary-cohn-says-coal-doesnt-even-make-that-much-sense-anymore/>

⁵⁸Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

⁵⁹Sierra Club, June 6, 2017 (personal communication to Christoph Bals)

⁶⁰World Coal Association: <https://www.worldcoal.org/coal/uses-coal/how-steel-produced>

⁶¹Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/07/president-trumps-misleading-claims-about-new-mines-and-clean-coal/?utm_term=.6e019c6a41d4

⁶²ibid.

⁶³Corsa Coal: http://www.corsacoal.com/news/index.php?content_id=159

⁶⁴U.S. Energy Information Administration: <https://www.eia.gov/coal/production/quarterly/>

U.S. coal companies are now emerging from bankruptcy, and some of them are going public with new investors. And the United States now has a coal-friendly administration, with a president looking to push for an infrastructure deal that could increase the domestic demand for steel."⁶⁵

China will be allowed to build hundreds of additional coal plants. So, we can't build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement. In short, the agreement doesn't eliminate coal jobs. It just transfers those jobs out of America and the United States and ships them to foreign countries.

"China [announced this year](#)⁶⁶ that it would cancel plans to build more than 100 coal-fired plants."⁶⁷ "The simple fact is that growth in coal consumption [in China] has [stopped](#)⁶⁸. In fact, coal consumption declined at around 1% per year on average since 2013. This is in stark contrast to the rapid growth of around 10% per year in the 2000s."⁶⁹ "Growth in total primary energy consumption has slowed. GDP growth rates are much lower now than they were in the 2000s. There has been a certain degree of improvement in energy efficiency of the economy. It is likely that non-fossil energy sources have helped to meet the [increment](#)⁷⁰ in energy consumption. But, non-fossil sources have not yet grown to displace coal, rather, they can provide a larger share of the growth. Air pollution policies have likely played a role, but how much is unclear."⁷¹

As explained above, the decline of coal jobs in the United States is mainly due to underlying economic and technological factors. Ironically, the very few new coal jobs in the United States that are emerging are due to demand for metallurgical coal from China. Thus, China is currently not "stealing" U.S. coal jobs, it is sustaining them.

India will be allowed to double its coal production by 2020. Think of it. India can double its coal production. We're supposed to get rid of ours. Even Europe is allowed to continue construction of coal plants.

"India said it would reduce its emissions per unit of economic output by 33 to 35 percent below 2005 by 2030; the submission does seek foreign aid to meet its goals and mitigate the costs."⁷² "India is [as China] also [ahead of schedule](#)⁷³ in meeting its Paris commitments,"⁷⁴ India's solar

⁶⁵Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/07/president-trumps-misleading-claims-about-new-mines-and-clean-coal/?utm_term=.6e019c6a41d4

⁶⁶Michael Forsythe: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/18/world/asia/china-coal-power-plants-pollution.html?_r=1

⁶⁷Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

⁶⁸Iselin Stensdal: <http://www.cicep.no/climate-policy-outlook-1/2017/2/1/china-the-time-is-now>

⁶⁹Glen Peters, Have Chinese CO2 emissions really peaked? Published on 31/03/2017, 1:22pm, <http://www.climatechangenews.com/2017/03/31/chinese-co2-emissions-really-peaked/>

⁷⁰Peters et al. (2017), Key indicators to track current progress and future ambition of the Paris Agreement, <http://www.nature.com/nclimate/journal/v7/n2/full/nclimate3202.html>

⁷¹Glen Peters, Have Chinese CO2 emissions really peaked? Published on 31/03/2017, 1:22pm, <http://www.climatechangenews.com/2017/03/31/chinese-co2-emissions-really-peaked/>

⁷²Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

⁷³<http://climateactiontracker.org/countries/india.html>

⁷⁴Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

and wind industries are booming, and it [remains committed](#)⁷⁵ to Paris, "meaning they are taking steps now to meet their commitments. India ... seeks to have renewable power make up 40 percent of its power base by 2030, so it is investing heavily in solar energy. The country is now on track to become the world's third-largest solar power market in 2018, after China and the United States."⁷⁶

But the targets and ambition of different actors are not the only relevant aspect. An international regime which creates transparency is crucially important - and the former U.S. government was one of the big supporters of this aspect: "Paris also created a system to monitor and verify that China and India do their fair share."⁷⁷

This agreement is less about the climate and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States. The rest of the world applauded when we signed the Paris Agreement. They went wild. They were so happy.

*For the simple reason that it put our country, the United States of America, which we all love, at a very very big economic disadvantage. A cynic would say the obvious reason for economic competitors and their wish to see us remain in the agreement is so that we continue to suffer this self-inflicted, major economic wound. **We would find it very hard to compete with other countries from other parts of the world.***

There are many indications that implementing the Paris agreement would increase U.S. competitiveness and create jobs, e.g.:

- Solar jobs are [growing](#)⁷⁸ 17 times faster than the overall U.S. economy, and wind turbine service technicians are the [fastest-growing](#)⁷⁹ occupation in the country, and there are [1.2 million clean energy jobs](#)⁸⁰ in states that voted for Trump and over [2.6 million across the United States](#)⁸¹.
- The Clean Power Plan, which was intended to be one of the main tools for the United States to implement the Paris agreement, would save the average American household [\\$1,868 on electricity bills](#)⁸² over a 15 year period.⁸³

⁷⁵Annie Gowen and Simon Denyer: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/as-us-backs-away-from-climate-pledges-india-and-china-step-up/2017/06/01/59ccb494-16e4-4d47-a881-c5bd0922c3db_story.html?utm_term=.694f0c423214

⁷⁶Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

⁷⁷<http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

⁷⁸http://www.irena.org/DocumentDownloads/Publications/IRENA_RE_Jobs_Annual_Review_2017.pdf

⁷⁹<https://www.bls.gov/ooh/fastest-growing.htm>

⁸⁰<https://medium.com/i-climate-scientists/the-jobs-at-risk-if-trump-pulls-the-u-s-out-of-the-paris-agreement-b89f8a4faf55>

⁸¹<https://public.tableau.com/profile/mina5571#!/vizhome/EnergyJobsMap/Dashboard1>

⁸²https://cepl.gatech.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/NEMS_CPP_Paper_06-24-2016.pdf

⁸³<http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

Climate Nexus argues, that the US risks being left behind on clean energy and outcompeted by China if it leaves Paris, for the following reasons:

- "According to the [International Renewable Energy Agency](#)⁸⁴, China was the top solar PV employer, with 1.7 million jobs in 2015, "due to its undisputed lead in both manufacturing and installations."
- Wind power is now the largest renewable energy source in the U.S., according to the [American Wind Energy Association](#)⁸⁵. Installed wind capacity totaled over 82 gigawatts last year, enough to power 24 million average homes and surpassing America's 80 gigawatts of hydropower.

Since 2007, the U.S. economy grew by 12 percent while overall energy consumption fell by 3.6 percent.⁸⁶

We have among the most abundant energy reserves in the planet, sufficient to lift millions of America's poorest workers out of poverty. Yet under this agreement, we are effectively putting these reserves under lock and key, taking away the great wealth of our nation. It's great wealth. It's phenomenal wealth. Not so long ago, we had no idea we had such wealth. And leaving millions and millions of families trapped in poverty and joblessness. The agreement is a massive redistribution of United States' wealth to other countries.

"During the campaign, President Trump regularly blasted the Obama administration for holding back domestic oil and gas production with excessive regulations. The fact is the United States extracts more oil and gas than any other nation in the world. [That's been the case every year since 2012](#)⁸⁷, and is largely due to a domestic oil and gas boom powered by hydraulic fracturing, or fracking. Solar and wind energy has surged as well, due to government incentives, as well as increasingly cheap production costs."⁸⁸

At one percent growth, renewable sources of energy can meet some of our domestic demand but at three or four percent growth, which I expect, we need all forms of available American energy or our country will be at grave risk of brownouts and blackouts.

The nationally determined contributions - the U.S. emission reduction commitments under the Paris Agreement "are purely voluntary. It is exceedingly unlikely that the U.S. would voluntarily cut its power supply to the point where blackouts are a problem."⁸⁹

Our businesses will come to a halt, in many cases, and the American family will suffer the consequences in the form of lost jobs and a very diminished quality of life. Even if the Paris Agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated

⁸⁴ http://www.irena.org/DocumentDownloads/Publications/IRENA_RE_Jobs_Annual_Review_2016.pdf

⁸⁵ <http://www.awea.org/MediaCenter/pressrelease.aspx?ItemNumber=9812>

⁸⁶ <http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

⁸⁷ Scott Detrow NPR Congressional Reporter: <http://www.npr.org/2016/05/27/479660989/trump-wants-to-make-energy-production-great-again-even-as-it-sets-new-records>

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Geoff Brumfiel NPR Editor, Science Desk, <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

it would only produce a 2/10 of one degree – think of that. This much....Celsius reduction in global temperature by the year 2100. Tiny tiny amount.

In fact, fourteen days of carbon emissions from China alone would wipe out the gains from America...and this is an incredible statistic, would totally wipe out the gains from America's expected reductions in the year 2030. After we've had to spend billions and billions of dollars, lost jobs and closed factories and suffered much higher energy cost for our businesses and for our homes.

As the Wall Street Journal wrote this morning, the reality is that withdrawing is in America's economic interest and won't matter much to the climate.

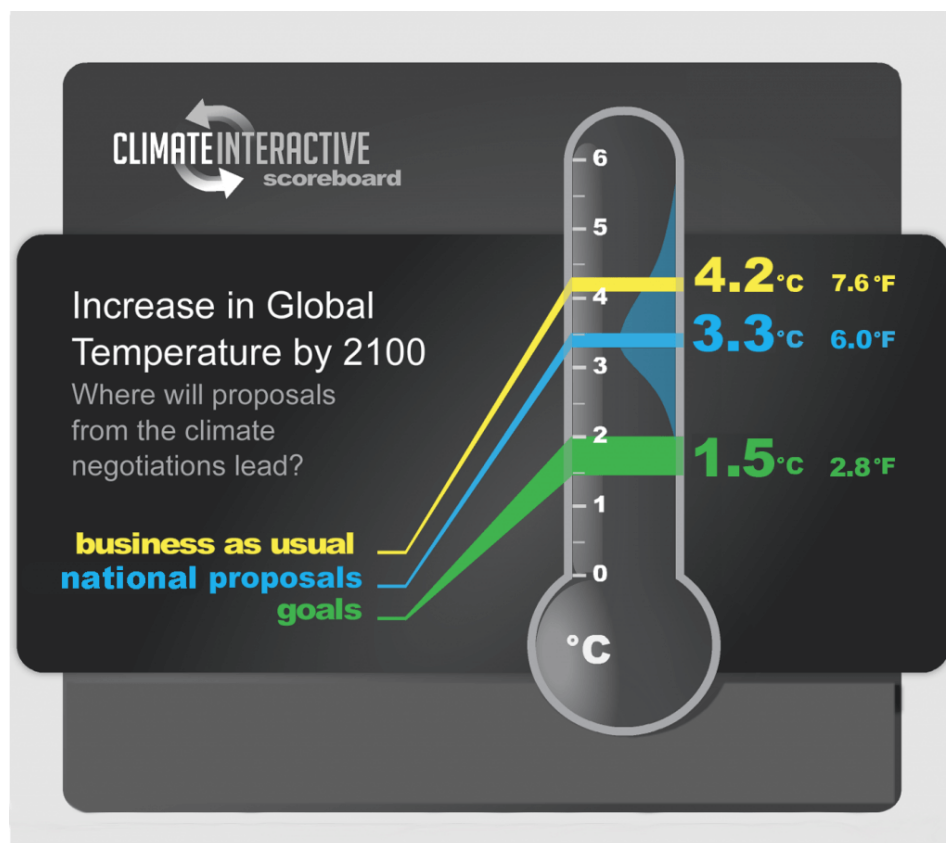
The figure quoted by Donald Trump comes from [a 2015 MIT report](#).⁹⁰ John Reilly, lead author of the report, said he “disagrees completely” with Trump’s characterization that the 0.2 degree cut is a “tiny, tiny” amount that is not worth pursuing. As a part of the deal, countries reexamine their commitments and can exceed or extend their pledges beyond 2030. The intent of the research was to say the Paris deal was a small step, and that more incremental steps need to be taken in the long run. “The logic that, ‘This isn’t making much progress on a serious problem, therefore we’re going to do nothing,’ just doesn’t make sense to me. The conclusion should be — and our intended implication for people was — not to overly celebrate Paris, because you still have a long journey in front of you. [...]” Reilly said.⁹¹

More importantly, recent estimates show that the impact of the commitments under the Paris Agreement is likely to be much higher. New estimates by Dr. John Sterman, MIT/Climate Interactive and Andrew Jones, Climate Interactive, show that the existing commitments under the Paris Agreement alone will have an impact about four and a half times larger than estimated in the 2015 study: “Our [Climate Scoreboard](#)⁹² is a collaboration between Climate Interactive and the MIT Sloan School of Management System Dynamics Group. Our business as usual, reference scenario leads to expected warming by 2100 of 4.2°C. Full implementation of current Paris pledges plus all announced mid-century strategies would reduce expected warming by 2100 to 3.3°C, a difference of 0.9°C.

⁹⁰Mark Dworzan | Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change: <http://news.mit.edu/2015/paris-commitments-insufficient-to-stabilize-climate-by-2100-1022>

⁹¹Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

⁹² <https://www.climateinteractive.org/programs/scoreboard/>



In making this assessment, we take all nations at their word that they will fully meet their national commitments under the Paris Agreement. We do not credit nations with reductions they have not pledged to make. If nations increase their ambition and set future pledges, as is outlined in the agreement, then the positive impact would be even larger."⁹³ Thus, the estimate does not even factor in that some of the largest global emitters - like China and India - are likely to have even less emissions until 2030 than promised in Paris⁹⁴.

Also "the independent [Climate Action Tracker](http://climateactiontracker.org/)⁹⁵ group suggests Paris could keep temperatures down by 0.8 degrees C."⁹⁶ as the following figure illustrates:

⁹³Source of text and figure: Drew Jones: <https://www.climateinteractive.org/insights/response-to-white-house-talking-points-on-paris-agreement/>

⁹⁴Climate Action Tracker (2017): China, India slow global emissions growth, Trump's policies will flatten US emissions, <http://climateactiontracker.org/news/278/China-India-slow-global-emissions-growth-Trump's-policies-will-flatten-US-emissions.html>

⁹⁵ <http://climateactiontracker.org/>

⁹⁶Geoff Brumfiel NPR Editor, Science Desk, <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

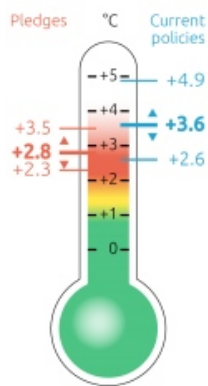


Figure: The Thermometer shows the global-mean temperature increase above pre-industrial by 2100, with an uncertainty range originating from carbon-cycle and climate modelling. Pledges include the Nationally Determined Contributions submitted under the Paris Agreement. Source: Climate Action Tracker.⁹⁷

The United States withdrawing from the Paris Agreement would indeed "matter much" for the climate crisis and the collective international action to address it - at least if U.S. states, cities, businesses, foundations don't step in to keep real American climate action on track.

The United States, under the Trump administration, will continue to be the cleanest and most environmentally-friendly country on earth. We'll be the cleanest. We're going to have the cleanest air. We're going to have the cleanest water. We will be environmentally-friendly but we're not going to put our business out of work. We're not going to lose our jobs. We're going to grow. We're going to grow rapidly.

And I think you just read, it just came out minutes ago, the Small Business Report, small businesses as of just now are booming...hiring people, one of the best reports they've seen in many years.

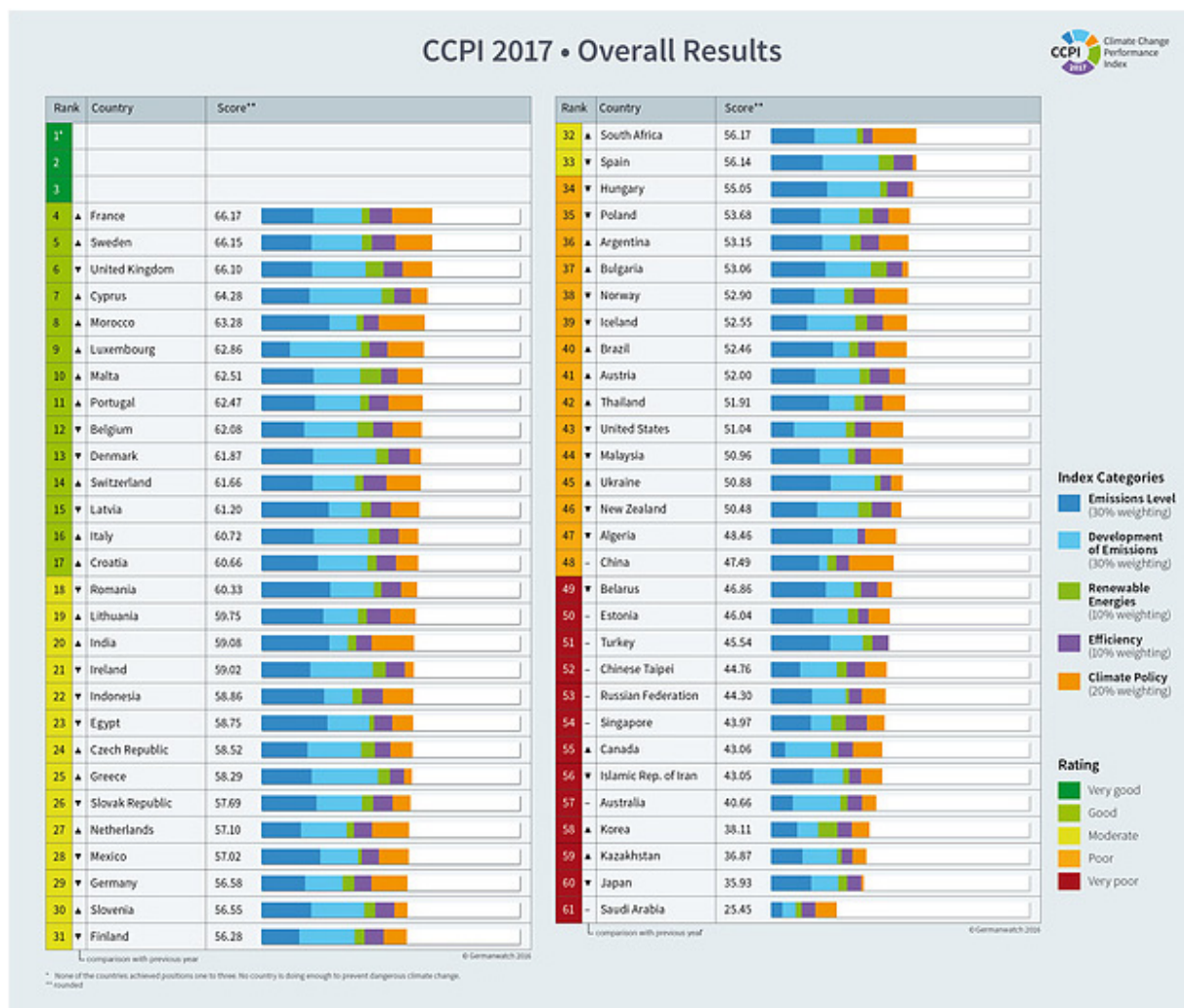
I'm willing to immediately work with Democratic leaders to either negotiate our way back into Paris under the terms that are fair to the United States and its workers or to negotiate a new deal that protects our country and its taxpayers.

So if the obstructionists want to get together with me, let's make them non-obstructionists. We will all sit down and we will get back into the deal and we will make it good and we won't be closing up our factories and we won't be losing our jobs and we'll sit down with the Democrats and all of the people who represent either the Paris Accord or something we can do that's much better than the Paris Accord and I think the people of our country will be thrilled. And I think the people of the world will be thrilled. But until we do that, we're out of the agreement.

Even under the Obama administration the United States was far from being "the cleanest and most environmentally friendly country on earth." The resource appetite of the American economy and lifestyle creates one of the biggest problems for sustainability on this planet. Climate change is one important example, as e.g. the Germanwatch Climate Change Performance Index shows. The index is an instrument aiming to enhance transparency in international climate

⁹⁷ <http://climateactiontracker.org/> accessed 30 June 2017

politics. It shows which countries have, up to now, failed to take ambitious actions on climate protection as well as to highlight countries with best-practice climate policies. On the basis of standardised criteria, the index evaluates and compares the climate protection performance of 58 countries that are, together, responsible for more than 90 percent of global energy-related CO₂ emissions. 80 percent of the evaluation is based on objective indicators of emissions trend and emissions level. 20 percent of the index results are built upon national and international climate policy assessments by about 300 experts from the respective countries. The results of the last version of index, presented end of 2016, show the United States in 43rd place:⁹⁸



"Senior administration officials say the president would not sign on to any renegotiated agreement that imposes burdens on the U.S. not shared by other countries. There's no indication that the other 194 countries in the Paris accord are interested in reopening talks with the United States. Leaders of Germany, France and Italy dismissed the idea of renegotiation. "We deem the momentum generated in Paris in December 2015 irreversible and we firmly believe that the Paris Agreement cannot be renegotiated since it is a vital instrument for our planet,

⁹⁸Germanwatch (Burck, Jan; Marten, Franziska; Bals, Christoph) (2016): Climate Change Performance Index. Results 2017. <https://germanwatch.org/en/download/16484.pdf>

societies and economies,” they said in a joint statement.⁹⁹ Formally the Paris Agreement could only be renegotiated if all Parties of the Agreement agree to do so. This is extremely unlikely.

"Since the agreement is built on national commitments, the sensible path for the US would have been to stay in the process and push for far more ambitious plans all around. It could have linked its efforts to what others, notably China, were willing to do. Yet now, outside the framework, it will achieve nothing of the kind. Nor is there any real chance of negotiating another framework. The commitments should evolve. The framework will not."¹⁰⁰

I will work to ensure that America remains the world's leader on environmental issues but under a framework that is fair and where the burdens and responsibilities are equally shared among the many nations all around the world. No responsible leader can put the workers and the people of their country at this debilitating and tremendous disadvantage. The fact that the Paris deal hamstring the United States while empowering some of the world's top-polluting countries should dispel any doubt as to the real reason why foreign lobbyists wish to keep our magnificent country tied up and bound down by this agreement. It's to give their country an economic edge over the United States. That's not going to happen while I'm president. I'm sorry.

My job as president is to do everything within my power to give America a level playing field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make America the most prosperous and productive country on earth. And with the highest standard of living and the highest standard of environmental protection.

"The US is the second-largest global emitter of carbon dioxide. Its emissions are 50 per cent larger than the EU's and its emissions per head are twice those of that bloc or Japan. Far from being exploited by others, as Mr Trump suggests, the US emits exorbitantly."¹⁰¹

Our tax bill is moving along in Congress, and I believe it's doing very well. I think a lot of people will be very pleasantly surprised. The Republicans are working very hard. We'd love to have support from the Democrats but we may have to go it alone. But it's going very well.

"This bill has not yet been introduced."¹⁰²

The Paris Agreement handicaps the United States' economy in order to win praise from the very foreign capitals and global activists that have long sought to gain wealth at our country's expense. They don't put America first. I do. And I always will.

The same nations asking us to stay in the agreement are the countries that have collectively cost America trillions of dollars through tough trade practices and, in many cases, lax contributions to our critical military alliance. You see what's happening. It's pretty obvious to those that want to keep an open mind.

⁹⁹Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>,

¹⁰⁰ Martin Wolf: <https://www.ft.com/content/eccc80f6-4936-11e7-a3f4-c742b9791d43>

¹⁰¹ Martin Wolf: <https://www.ft.com/content/eccc80f6-4936-11e7-a3f4-c742b9791d43>

¹⁰²Danielle Kurtzleben NPR Politics Reporter; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

At what point does America get demeaned? At what point do they start laughing at us, as a country? We want fair treatment for its citizens and we want fair treatment for our taxpayers. We don't want other leaders and other countries laughing at us anymore. And they won't be. They won't be.

An American outlook on the world that is focussed primarily on "America first" and refuses to see the world also as a global community is a big challenge for addressing the many global problems that require co-operation. "HR McMaster and Gary Cohn, Mr Trump's advisers on security and economics, have recently written that: "'The president embarked on his first foreign trip with a clear-eyed outlook that the world is not a 'global community' but an arena where nations, non-governmental actors and businesses engage and compete for advantage. We bring to this forum unmatched military, political, economic, cultural and moral strength. Rather than deny this elemental nature of international affairs, we embrace it" These, we must remember, are the "adults" in the White House. The US abandoned such a 19th-century view of international relations after it ended so catastrophically in the 20th. In its place came the ideas, embedded in the institutions it created and the alliances it formed, that values matter as well as interests and responsibilities, as well as benefits. Above all, the earth is not just an arena. It is our shared home. It does not belong to one nation, even such a powerful one. Looking after the planet is the moral responsibility of all. Hostility to science and a narrow view of interests laid the ground for Mr Trump's repudiation of the Paris accord. American co-operation is not a sufficient condition for management of climate risks. But it is a necessary one. This repudiation is no laughing matter."¹⁰³

I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris.

The Mayor of Pittsburgh, Bill Peduto, [said on Twitter](#)¹⁰⁴ that even though Trump is withdrawing the U.S. from the Paris Agreement, the city will continue to follow the guidelines set forth in it.

"Allegheny County, which encompasses Pittsburgh, actually voted for Hillary Clinton in November — [56 percent to 40 percent](#)¹⁰⁵. And the city itself voted for Clinton by about 80 percent, [according to](#) Mayor Bill Peduto. Trump did, however, swamp Clinton in the suburban counties surrounding Pittsburgh. While Pennsylvania's coal jobs have flatlined in recent decades, the state has seen a boom in direct and indirect jobs tied to natural gas drilling. During that period, Pittsburgh has become a hub for the natural gas industry. The fastest way for the United States to reach its Paris commitments would be to shift away from coal-fired power plants. And one of the biggest beneficiaries of that shift would be natural gas. So sticking to the Paris accord — and the Environmental Protection Agency regulations that the Obama administration set up to reach its Paris goals — would very likely have helped, not hurt, Pittsburgh."¹⁰⁶

Many American citizens as well as states, cities and businesses don't feel well represented by the Trump administration's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. The declaration "We are still in"¹⁰⁷ says: "The Trump administration's announcement undermines a key pillar in the fight against climate change and damages the world's ability to avoid the most dangerous and costly effects of climate change. Importantly, it is also out of step with what is happening

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Bill Peduto: <https://twitter.com/billpeduto/status/870369217031397377>

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.npr.org/2016/11/08/499666514/pennsylvania-2016-presidential-and-state-election-results>

¹⁰⁶ Scott Detrow NPR Congressional Reporter, <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.wearestillin.com/>

in the United States" Signatories include leaders from 125 cities, 9 states, 902 businesses and investors, and 183 colleges and universities. Participating cities and states represent 120 million Americans. Mike Bloomberg, the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Cities and Climate Change, submitted this unprecedented statement of unity in a letter addressed jointly to UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Executive Secretary Patricia Espinosa.

"Bloomberg also announced his intent to work with interested subnational and non-state actors over the coming months to formally quantify these sectors' aggregate climate actions and submit a report to the UN as "America's Pledge" to the world under the Paris Agreement. America's Pledge intends to eventually submit a "Societal Nationally Determined Contribution" to the United Nations, accounting for the efforts of U.S. cities, states, businesses and other subnational actors. America's Pledge will aggregate U.S. climate action, building upon the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy, an initiative led by Bloomberg and European Commission Vice-President Maroš Šefčovič, to transparently and accountably track the climate commitments of over 7400 cities worldwide."¹⁰⁸

Bloomberg announced: "The United States can, and will, meet its commitment under the Paris Agreement".

This important joint initiative came in parallel with many individual announcements - quite a number of them are not (yet) part of the "We are still in" initiative. Rapidly after President Trump's announcement to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, 211 [Climate Mayors have adopted](#)¹⁰⁹ the Paris Agreement goals for their cities, 13 Governors have formed the bipartisan U.S. Climate Alliance, and 17 governors have released [individual statements](#) standing by Paris.

I promised I would exit and renegotiate any deal which fails to serve America's interest. Many trade deals will soon be under renegotiation. Very rarely do we have a deal that works for this country. But they'll soon be under renegotiation. The process has begun from day one.

But now we're down to business. Beyond the severe energy restrictions inflicted by the Paris accord, it includes yet another scheme to redistribute wealth out of the United States through the so-called Green Climate Fund, nice name, which calls for developed countries to send \$100 billion to developing countries, all on top of America's existing and massive foreign aid payments. So we're going to be paying billions and billions and billions of dollars and we're already way ahead of anyone else. Many other countries haven't spent anything. And many of them will never pay one dime.

The Green Fund would likely obligate the United States to commit potentially tens of billions of dollars, of which the United States has already handed over \$1 billion. Nobody else is even close. Most of them haven't even paid anything. Including funds raided out of America's budget for the war against terrorism. That's where they came. Believe me, they didn't come from me. They came just before I came into office. Not good. And not good the way they took the money.

¹⁰⁸<https://www.bloomberg.org/press/releases/mike-bloomberg-sends-statement-united-nations-following-unprecedented-outpouring-support-paris-agreement/>

¹⁰⁹<https://medium.com/@ClimateMayors/climate-mayors-commit-to-adopt-honor-and-uphold-paris-climate-agreement-goals-ba566e260097>

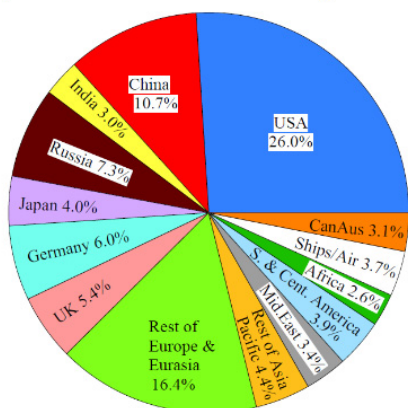
In 2015, the United Nations' departing top climate officials reportedly described the 100 billion dollars per year as "peanuts." And stated that the 100 billion dollars is the tail that wags the dog. In 2015, the Green Climate Fund's executive director reportedly stated that estimated funding needed would increase to \$450 billion per year after 2020 and nobody even knows where the money is going to. Nobody's been able to say, where is it going to?

Of course, the world's top polluters have no affirmative obligations under the Green Fund, which we terminated. America is twenty trillion dollars in debt, cash-strapped cities cannot hire enough police officers or fix vile infrastructure, millions of our citizens are out of work and yet, under the Paris Accord, billions of dollars that ought to be invested right there in America, will be sent to the very countries that have taken our factories and our jobs away from us. So think of that. There are serious legal and constitutional issues as well.

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is built on the justice principle of common but differentiated responsibility and respective capabilities. This means that all countries have a responsibility but that those countries with more capabilities and responsibilities have to support the poor countries most vulnerable to climate change in their mitigation and adaptation efforts. Within the Kyoto Protocol (1997) the differentiation was organized along a binary division between industrialized vs. developing countries. Under the Paris Agreement, this differentiation is organized somewhat differently, with more expectations put on all countries, whether they would be historically considered "developed" or "developing". This reflects the fact that countries' capacities and responsibilities can change. For instance, about one third of the richest people on planet already live in emerging economies. However, the basic principle that those with higher emissions and greater resources are expected to do more, remains in place.

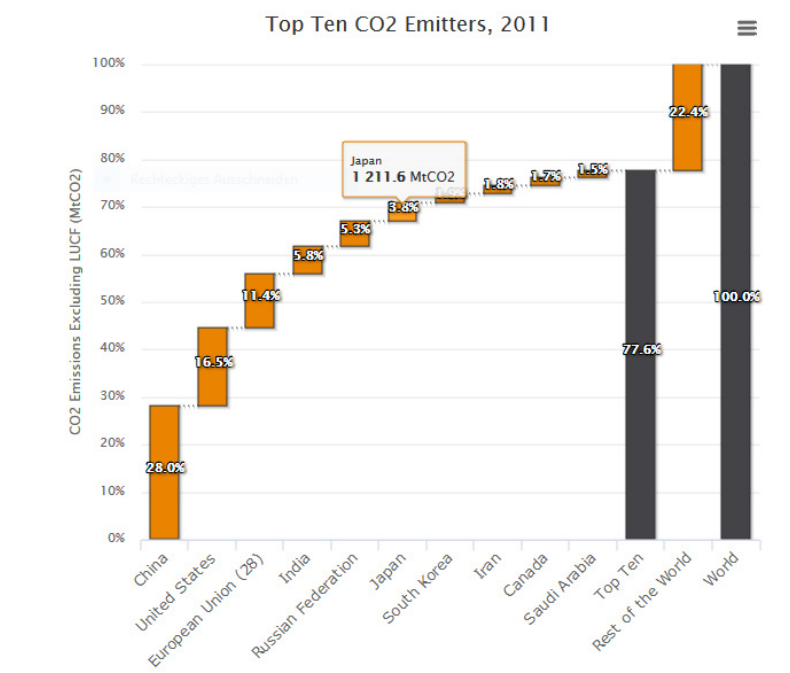
The U.S. president says that "the world top polluters have no affirmative obligations" for climate finance. This gives the wrong impression the United States would not be a top polluter. But looking at the anthropogenic emissions which have been already stored in the atmosphere (historic emissions) the United States is polluter number one:¹¹⁰

(b) 1751–2012 Cumulative Emis. (384 GtC)

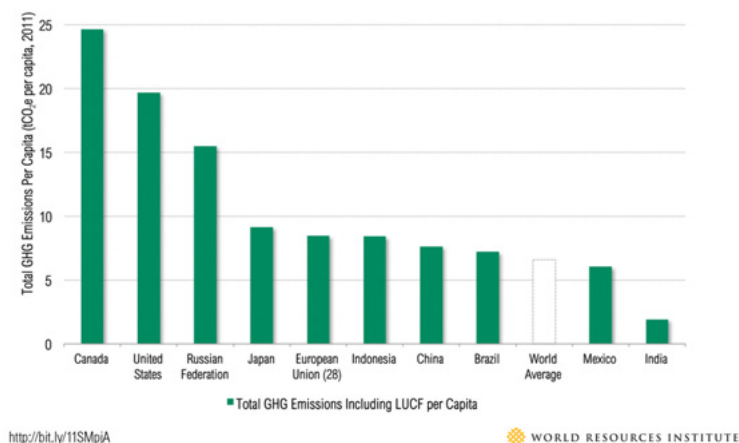


¹¹⁰ James Hansen: <http://www.columbia.edu/~jeh1/2013/AGU.11December2013.pdf>

And if one considers current emissions the United States is - behind China - the second biggest polluter:¹¹¹.



Per capita the United States has about twice the emissions of China:¹¹²



The last numbers available to compare climate financing show that the United States pays - on a per GDP as well as on a per capita basis far less than the other four main contributing developed nations. The reported contribution of the United States in 2014 is about \$5 billion. The U.S. contribution is the lowest per GDP and per capita compared to Japan, UK, France and Germany as the following table demonstrates.

¹¹¹ Johannes Friedrich and Thomas Damassa: <http://www.wri.org/blog/2014/05/history-carbon-dioxide-emissions>

¹¹² Mengpin Ge, Johannes Friedrich and Thomas Damassa: <https://wri.org/blog/2014/11/6-graphs-explain-world%E2%80%99s-top-10-emitters>

Table: The five main contributors to the Green Climate Fund. ¹¹³

Contributor	Announced	Signed	Signed per capita	USD signed per 1000 USD GDP	GDP per capita	Emissions per capita
United Kingdom ¹	\$1,211 M	\$1,211 M	\$18.77	0.46	46 K	7
France	\$1,035 M	\$1,035 M	\$15.64	0.42	43 K	5
Germany	\$1,003 M	\$1,003 M	\$12.40	0.29	48 K	9
Japan	\$1,500 M	\$1,500 M	\$11.80	0.30	36 K	9
United States of America ²	\$3,000 M	\$3,000 M	\$9.41	0.16	55 K	17

¹ Out of the United Kingdom's announced pledge of GBP 720 million, GBP 144 million is signed as a grant and GBP 576 million is signed as a capital contribution, as defined in its agreement.

² USD 1 Billion provided to date.

On climate finance, the Paris Agreement reaffirms that "developed country Parties shall provide financial resources to assist developing country Parties with respect to both mitigation and adaptation" (Article 9.1). But in a reflection of changing global realities, emerging economies were also encouraged to provide such support voluntarily (Article 9.2). Many emerging countries already do so. For instance, China has pledged to provide US\$3.1 billion through its South-South Cooperation Fund on Climate Change.¹¹⁴ Developed countries accepted the obligation to mobilize jointly US\$ 100 bn annually from 2020 onwards for developing countries - and that their current contribution should be increased step by step until it has reached that level. From 2025, a new collective quantified goal will be set. This could also involve commitments from emerging economies.

There is no obligation to "send" US\$ 100 billion through the Green Climate Fund to developing countries. Rather, there is a commitment to mobilize this amount from a variety of sources - only a portion of the money will be public money. Only a part of this public finance from developed countries will flow through the Green Climate Fund - other parts will for instance be used for bilateral support.

It is incorrect that other countries have not contributed to the Green Climate Fund. In fact, 43 governments have pledged money to the fund, including nine developing countries. The countries have pledged to pay \$10.13 billion collectively, and the U.S. share is \$3 billion.¹¹⁵ [As of May 2017¹¹⁶](#), the United States had contributed \$1 billion of the \$3 billion it pledged.¹¹⁷ The U.S.

¹¹³Data Source: Green Climate Fund (2017): Resource mobilization, www.greenclimate.fund/how-we-work/resource-mobilization, last accessed: 30 June 2017. Data on USD signed per 1000 USD GDP added by Germanwatch (IMF values for 2016).

¹¹⁴China Daily (2015): China South-South Climate Cooperation Fund benefits developing countries, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/XiattendsParisclimateconference/2015-11/30/content_22557413.htm

¹¹⁵See: Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

¹¹⁶https://www.greenclimate.fund/documents/20182/24868/Status_of_Pledges.pdf/eef538d3-2987-4659-8c7c-5566ed6afd19

commitment was capped at 30 percent of the fund's total, with that share expected to decline over time as more countries kicked in.¹¹⁸

Donald Trump did not terminate the Green Climate Fund, which will continue to operate and support projects and programmes in developing countries. The objective of the Green Climate Fund is that half of its funding will be allocated to support vulnerable developing countries to adapt to the consequences of the global climate crisis - a crisis to which the United States is the biggest historical contributor per capita. And that the other half is to be used for climate-related projects to help countries green their energy economies and lower their emissions, not produce goods aimed for export. Also, it is expected that a substantial portion of those funds will be used to purchase technology and services from the developed world to lower emissions in the recipient countries. So not only from the perspective of risk reduction, but also regarding creation of opportunities the Fund is seen by many as a win-win-strategy.

"Trump implies that the money was taken out of U.S. defence monies. But the U.S. contributions were paid out of the State Department's Economic Support Fund, one of the foreign assistance programs to promote economic or political stability based on U.S. strategic interests. [Republican lawmakers have criticized](#)¹¹⁹ the use of this fund, saying Congress designated the money to prioritize security, human rights and other efforts unrelated to climate change."¹²⁰

It was unclear from Mr. Trump's announcement whether the United States would honor other climate-related financial commitments, which include not only contributions to the Green Climate Fund but e.g. also to the operating budget of the coordinating agency, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change secretariat. But Bloomberg Philanthropies, Mike Bloomberg's charitable organization, is offering to donate \$15 million over the next two years to help fund the UNFCCC secretariat should it be needed.¹²¹ That figure represents the United States' share to the UNFCCC.

Foreign leaders in Europe, Asia and across the world should not have more to say with respect to the U.S. economy than our own citizens and their elected representatives. Thus our withdrawal from the agreement represents a reassertion of America's sovereignty.

The elected representatives of the United States - the Obama administration - were one of the most important driving forces to secure the Paris Agreement. All countries submitted their own nationally determined contribution - also the United States. Those climate targets were not negotiated between nations, but - as the name suggests - nationally determined. So it's simply wrong to say that foreign leaders had "more to say with respect to the U.S. economy than our own citizens and their elected representatives". But the Paris Agreement also acknowledges

¹¹⁷Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

¹¹⁸Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

¹¹⁹ Republican Policy Committee. (2016, March 15). Retrieved June 13, 2017, from <https://www.rpc.senate.gov/policy-papers/state-depts-500-million-transfer-to-the-un>

¹²⁰Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

¹²¹Bloomberg Philanthropies (2017, June 1): Mike Bloomberg doubles down to ensure America will fulfill the Paris Agreement, <https://www.bloomberg.org/press/releases/bloomberg-philanthropies-commits-15-million-fill-budget-gap-left-trumps-revoking-us-support-un-climate-treaty/>, accessed 30 June 2017.

that the global climate crisis cannot be limited in a meaningful way without international co-operation.

"The internal White House debate over whether to withdraw from the Paris accord pitted "nationalists" like chief strategist Steve Bannon — who wanted to pull out — against "globalists" like economic adviser Gary Cohn, who wanted to stay in. The president ultimately sided with the nationalists, who are deeply suspicious of international agreements like the Paris accord. This "America first" posture is consistent with Trump's populist campaign but [marks a break](#)¹²² with decades of bipartisan U.S. foreign policy."¹²³

Our Constitution is unique among all nations of the world and it is my highest obligation and greatest honor to protect it. And I will. Staying in the agreement could also pose serious obstacles for the United States as we begin the process of unlocking the restrictions on America's abundant energy reserves, which we have started, very strongly.

It would once have been unthinkable that an international agreement could prevent the United States from conducting its own domestic economic affairs. But this is the new reality we face if we do not leave the agreement or if we do not negotiate a far better deal.

The risks grow as historically, these agreements only tend to become more and more ambitious over time. In other words, the Paris framework is just a starting point, as bad as it is. Not an end point. And exiting the agreement protects the United States from future intrusions on the United States' sovereignty and massive future legal liability. Believe me, we have massive legal liability if we stay in.

As president, I have one obligation and that obligation is to the American people. The Paris Accord would undermine our economy, hamstring our workers, weaken our sovereignty, impose unacceptable legal risk and put us at a permanent disadvantage to the other countries of the world.

The Paris Agreement is to a large extent a bottom-up agreement. "The "bottom-up" approach meant that every country brought to the table only what it felt it could deliver. So no one's getting a bad deal, because everyone chose what they would do."¹²⁴

Regarding "unacceptable legal risk" "Trump is referring to [concerns raised by White House counsel Don McGahn](#)¹²⁵ that staying in the Paris agreement would bolster legal arguments of climate advocates challenging Trump's decision to roll back the Clean Power Plan. The Clean Power Plan is a flagship environmental regulatory rule of the Obama administration, and proposes to cut carbon emissions from existing power plants 30 percent below 2005 levels by 2030. It is crucial to the United States meeting its carbon emissions reductions pledge in the Paris agreement. But it has been placed on hold while under litigation. According to Politico, McGahn raised concerns that the Paris agreement could be cited in court challenges to Trump's efforts to kill Obama's climate rules. McGahn's comments shocked State Department

¹²²Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent: <http://www.npr.org/2017/02/28/517565701/trumps-america-first-agenda-marks-sharp-break-in-u-s-economic-policy>

¹²³Scott Horsley NPR White House Correspondent; <http://www.npr.org/2017/06/01/531090243/trumps-speech-on-paris-climate-agreement-withdrawal-annotated>

¹²⁴<http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

¹²⁵Andrew Restuccia and Eric Wolff: <http://www.politico.com/story/2017/05/02/paris-climate-trump-237905>

lawyers, who strongly reject both of those contentions, the sources said.”¹²⁶ That these legal concerns were raised in the White House does show however how seriously the agreement is taken even by those who do not support its objectives. It does indeed show the strength of Paris Agreement.

What the U.S. President doesn't say among the long list of supposed risks the agreement might pose: "The deal is a great start that reduces the risk climate change poses to America. Reducing emissions in the energy and transport sectors could prevent almost 300,000 early deaths caused by air pollution each year in the United States by 2030, according to a Duke University [study](#).”¹²⁷ Reducing emissions reduces the risk of extreme weather events that cost Americans dearly, in terms of human life as well as [tens of billions of dollars](#)¹²⁸ economic losses.”¹²⁹

Trump's announcement to "begin the process of unlocking the restrictions on America's abundant energy reserves, which we have started, very strongly" indicates that all announcements to negotiate "a new deal that protects the environment, our companies, our citizens and our country" cannot be taken seriously. Any serious climate deal to address the global climate crisis would need to reduce emissions and therefore place some restrictions the use of fossil fuels.

It's time to exit the Paris Accord. And time to pursue a new deal that protects the environment, our companies, our citizens and our country. It is time to put Youngstown, Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; and Pittsburgh, Pa.; along with many many other locations in our country, before Paris, France. It is time to make America great again.

The Mayor of Pittsburgh and his colleague from Paris reacted jointly and announced their own climate deal:

"Though separated by an ocean and a language, we share a desire to do what is best for our citizens and our planet. That means putting aside parochial politics and embracing the global challenge of fighting climate change. In doing so, we can create a cleaner, healthier, more prosperous world for Parisians, Pittsburghers and everyone else on the planet. As Mayor of Pittsburgh, I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris. As Mayor of Paris, I was elected to represent the citizens of Paris, not Pittsburgh. But the only way to do right by Pittsburghers and Parisians is to abide by the principles of the Paris Agreement, which guarantees the future health and prosperity of both of our cities — and every other city in the world.”¹³⁰

"The US cannot be made "great" by rejecting global responsibility and embracing coal. That is atavistic. Mr Trump's appeal to irrationality, xenophobia and resentment is frightening. The

¹²⁶Glenn Kessler and Michelle Ye Hee Lee: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/06/01/fact-checking-president-trumps-claims-on-the-paris-climate-change-deal/?utm_term=.4b1161b509e6

¹²⁷Drew T. Shindell, Yunha Lee & Greg Faluvegi <http://www.nature.com/nclimate/journal/v6/n5/full/nclimate2935.html>

¹²⁸John Abraham: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/climate-consensus-97-per-cent/2015/jun/22/new-study-links-global-warming-to-hurricane-sandy-and-other-extreme-weather-events>

¹²⁹<http://climatenexus.org/messaging-communication/current-events/paris-agreement-what-experts-say-vs-what-white-house-says>

¹³⁰Anne Hidalgo, William Peduto: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/07/opinion/the-mayors-of-pittsburgh-and-paris-we-have-our-own-climate-deal.html?action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=opinion-c-col-left-region®ion=opinion-c-col-left-region&WT.nav=opinion-c-col-left-region&_r=0

world must struggle on, trusting that Americans will once again be touched, in [Abraham Lincoln's glorious words](#)¹³¹, by "the better angels" of their nature."¹³²

The new French president Macron gave a remarkable short speech in response to the rose garden speech of U.S. President Trump. In reaction to Trump's claim "Make Amerika great again" he gave the answer: "Make the planet great again."¹³³ And a few days later Macron "launched a website ... encouraging anyone concerned about climate change to emigrate to France. Its address — www.MakeOurPlanetGreatAgain.fr — uses the same riff on Donald Trump's campaign slogan that Macron unveiled the day the U.S. president [announced his decision](#) to withdraw from the Paris climate deal."¹³⁴



Thank you.

*Thank you. Thank you very much. Very important. I'd like to ask **Scott Pruitt**, who most of you know and respect, as I do, just to say a few words. Scott, please.*

It's interesting to see the strong role of fossil industry lobbyists - first of all the Koch Brothers¹³⁵ - in the turn away from a commitment to climate science and climate action of the Republican Party during the last ten years and the also the role Scott Pruitt played in it.

Coral Davenport and Eric Lipton of the [New York Times](#)¹³⁶ documented the GOP's transformation from a party with leaders like John McCain and Newt Gingrich, who accepted the scien-

¹³¹ Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres31.html>

¹³² Martin Wolf: <https://www.ft.com/content/eec80f6-4936-11e7-a3f4-c742b9791d43>

¹³³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w7PTwXtmp2E>

¹³⁴ Nicholas Vinocur: <http://www.politico.eu/article/macron-trolls-trump-with-make-our-planet-great-again-website/>

¹³⁵ The Koch brothers are the sons of Fred C. Koch, who founded Koch Industries, the second-largest privately held company in the United States, of which they own 84%.. Newly disclosed ethics forms reveal that a significant number of senior Trump staffers were previously employed by the sprawling network of hard-right and libertarian advocacy groups financed and controlled by Charles and David Koch, the conservative duo hyper-focused on entrenching Republican power, eliminating taxes, and slashing environmental and labor regulations. See details in: Fang, Lee (2017, April 4): Koch Brothers' Operatives Fill Top White House Positions, Ethics Forms Reveal, <https://theintercept.com/2017/04/04/koch-trump-wh/>.

¹³⁶ Coral Davenport, Eric Lipton: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/03/us/politics/republican-leaders-climate-change.html?_r=0

tific consensus on [climate change](#), to one whose leader believes it is a hoax perpetrated by China. In 2008, John McCain, the Republican presidential candidate, made a campaign promise to take action to mitigate the global climate crisis. "The campaign ad appeared during the presidential contest of 2008. Rapid-fire images of belching smokestacks and melting ice sheets were followed by a soothing narrator who praised a candidate who had stood up to President George W. Bush and "sounded the alarm on global warming."

[The departure from this campaign promise...] started with the "No Climate Tax" pledge, drafted by a new group called Americans for Prosperity that was funded by the Koch brothers. Its single sentence read: "I will oppose any legislation relating to climate change that includes a net increase in government revenue."

The next steps were attacks on Republicans supporting renewable energies. "Until 2010, some Republicans ran ads in House and Senate races showing their support for green energy.

"After that, it disappeared from Republican ads," said Tim Phillips, the president of Americans for Prosperity. "Part of that was the polling, and part of it was the visceral example of what happened to their colleagues who had done that." ...

By the time Election Day 2010 arrived, 165 congressional members and candidates had signed Americans for Prosperity's "[No Climate Tax](#)" pledge. ... "The midterm election was a clear rejection of policies like the cap-and-trade energy taxes that threaten our still-fragile economy," said James Valvo, then Americans for Prosperity's government affairs director, in a statement issued the day after the November 2010 election. [Eighty-three of the 92 new members of Congress](#) had signed the pledge. ...

That same day, Mr. Morrissey¹³⁷ would step outside the hotel [to announce](#) that he and other attorneys general would sue in federal court to try to stop the Clean Power Plan, which he called "the most far-reaching energy regulation in this nation's history, drawn up by radical bureaucrats."

Mr. Pruitt [quickly became](#) a national point person for industry-backed groups and a magnet for millions of dollars of campaign contributions, as the fossil fuel lobby looked for a fresh face with conservative credentials and ties to the evangelical community. [...]

When it came time to translate Mr. Trump's campaign promises to coal country into policy, [he was] "the perfect candidate: Mr. Pruitt, the Oklahoma attorney general. Mr. Trump, who had never met Mr. Pruitt before his election, offered him the job of E.P.A. administrator — putting him in a position to dismantle the environmental rules that he had long [sought to fight in court](#)....

"Pruitt was instrumental — he and A.G. Morrissey," said Thomas Pyle, [a former lobbyist](#) for Koch Industries, an adviser to Mr. Trump's transition team and the president of a pro-fossil fuel Washington research organization, the Institute for Energy Research. "They led the charge and made it easier for other states to get involved. Some states were keeping their powder dry, but Pruitt was very out front and aggressive." ..

¹³⁷ Patrick James Morrissey (born December 21, 1967) is the Attorney General of West Virginia and the first member of the Republican Party to serve as West Virginia's Attorney General since 1933.

When it came time to translate Mr. Trump's campaign promises to coal country into policy, Mr. Murray and others helped choose the perfect candidate: Mr. Pruitt, the Oklahoma attorney general. Mr. Trump, who had never met Mr. Pruitt before his election, offered him the job of E.P.A. administrator — putting him in a position to dismantle the environmental rules that he had long [sought to fight in court](#).

... When Trump pulled the U.S. from the Paris agreement, "the Senate majority leader, the speaker of the House and every member of the elected Republican leadership were united in their praise."¹³⁸

Jane Mayer in the *New Yorker* argues: "President Trump may be the face of America's withdrawal from the Paris climate accord, but, as deeper reporting is making clear, it's the Kochs and their fellow fossil-fuel industry donors who really own the policy."¹³⁹ "The Koch network of funders spent an estimated \$1 billion over the last few election cycles telling the Republican Party what to do."¹⁴⁰ She sees it as "perhaps, the most astounding example of influence-buying in modern American political history."¹⁴¹ As the *Times* noted, Republican lawmakers' swerves to the right on climate issues "did not happen by themselves. Republican lawmakers were moved along by a campaign carefully crafted by fossil-fuel industry players, most notably Charles D. and David H. Koch, the Kansas-based billionaires who run a chain of refineries. . . ."¹⁴²

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ Jane Mayer: <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/in-the-withdrawal-from-the-paris-climate-agreement-the-koch-brothers-campaign-becomes-overt>

¹⁴⁰ Richard Eskow: <https://www.ecowatch.com/koch-brothers-trump-climate-2436753305.html>

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*

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