

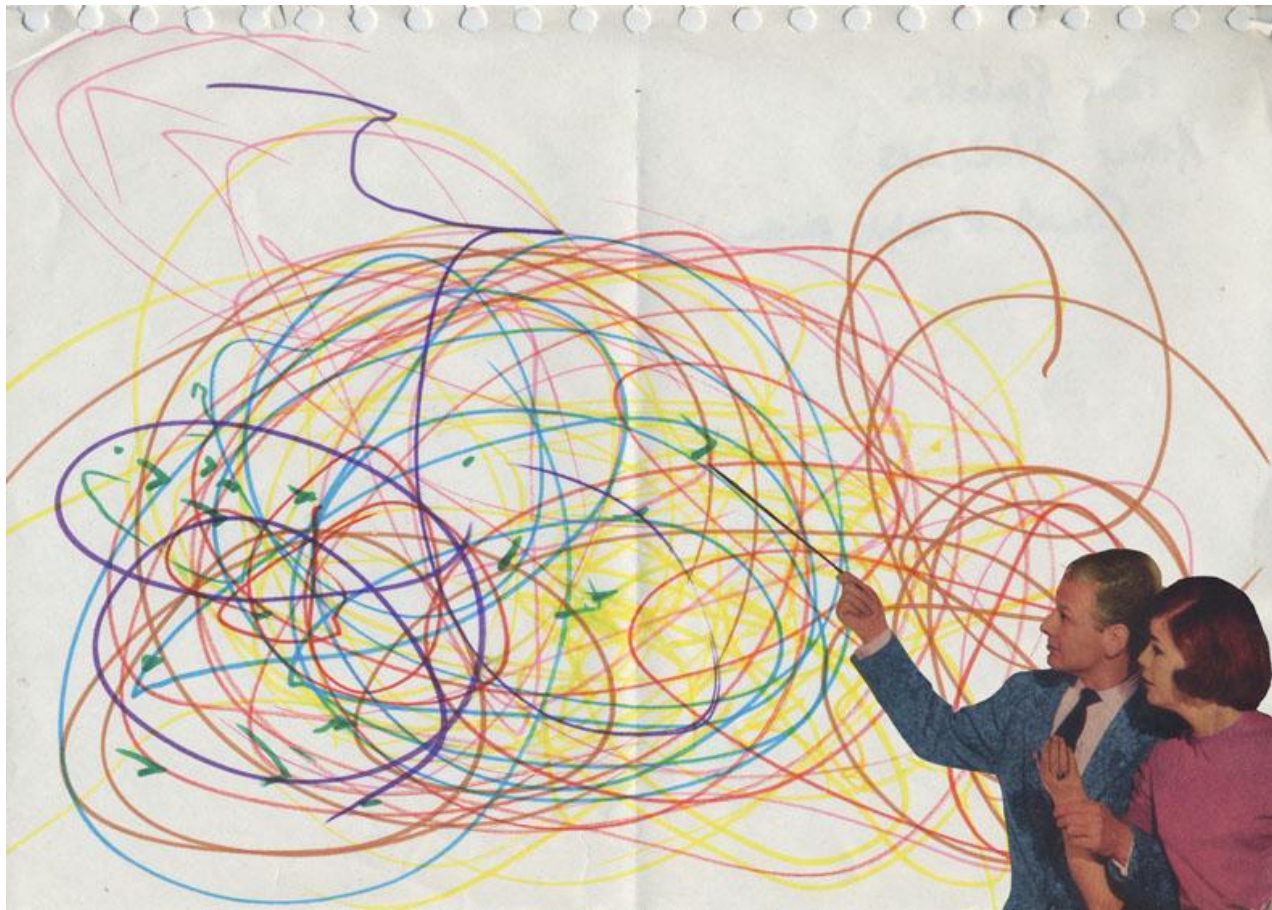
The corporate disinformation playbook

Stéphane Horel
Le Monde

Dataharvest

– the European Investigative
Journalism Conference

1 – 4 June 2023, Mechelen, Belgium



Who are we and why we're here

*(And please
no drinking nor eating
in the class room)*

- Me
- You
- Specific requests?



Programme

- 10h-10h20** Introduction
- 10h20-12h** Session 1 / Lobbying, a user's guide
- 12h-13h** Lunch
- 13h-14h30** Session 2 / Investigating front groups
- 14h30-15h** Coffee break
- 15-16h30** Session 3 / the corporate disinformation
playbook on science



Introduction

Corporate harm and crime

Four industries are responsible for at least
1/3 of global deaths per year.

That's 19 million deaths.
Some estimates go up to 33 million.

Make a guess

Corporate harm and crime

- Tobacco † 9M
- Unhealthy food † 11M
- Fossil fuel † 10M (air pollution)
- Alcohol † 3M

This is an underestimate.

Numerous other products (lead or opioids)
or practices (pollution of water courses with toxic substances).

Commercial determinants of **health**

Commercial determinants of the **environment**

Corporate political activity affects people's health

climate change
air pollution
chemicals
pesticides
processed foods
plastic waste etc.

cancers
infertility
obesity
diabetes
cardiovascular diseases
mental health etc.

Commercial determinants of **health**

Commercial determinants of the **environment**

“Commercially driven ill health is the result of a pathological system in which dominant commercial entities are enabled to influence societal norms and values, political and economic systems, policies, environments, incomes, and behaviours.”

*Who said that?
(Not Karl Marx)
It's The Lancet.*

Triple planetary crisis

- climate change
- pollution
- biodiversity loss

(UNEP)





Session 1 **LOBBYING**, a user's guide

Lobbying - the basics

Suppress

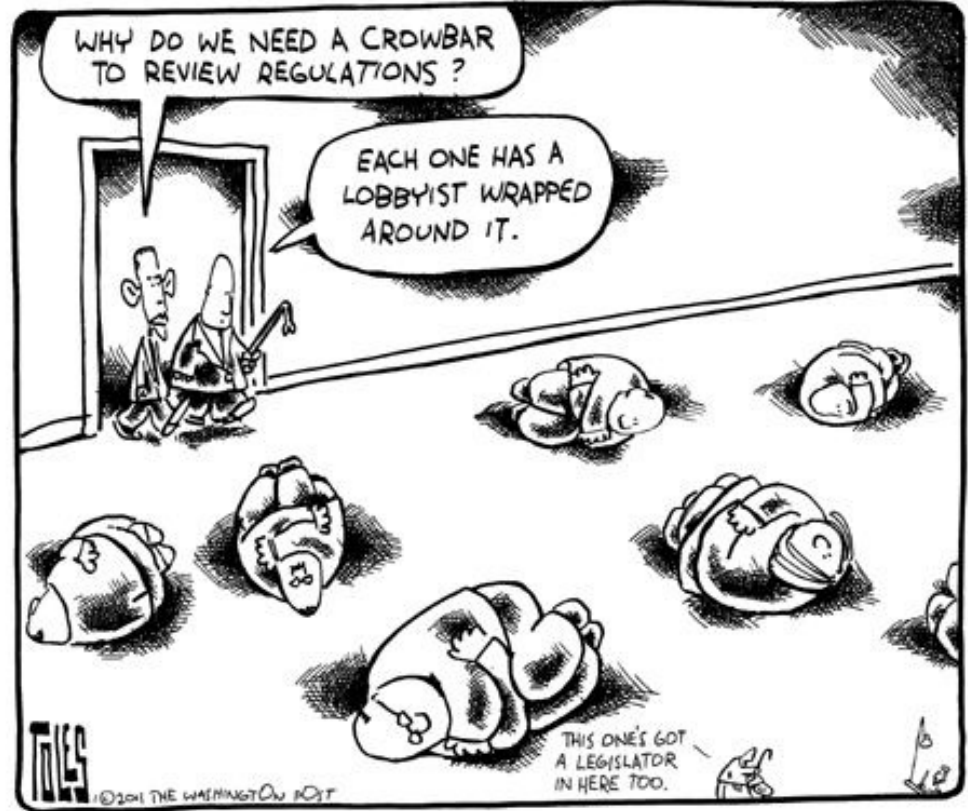
Water down

Hijack

Delay

Write

the law



Lobbying - the basics

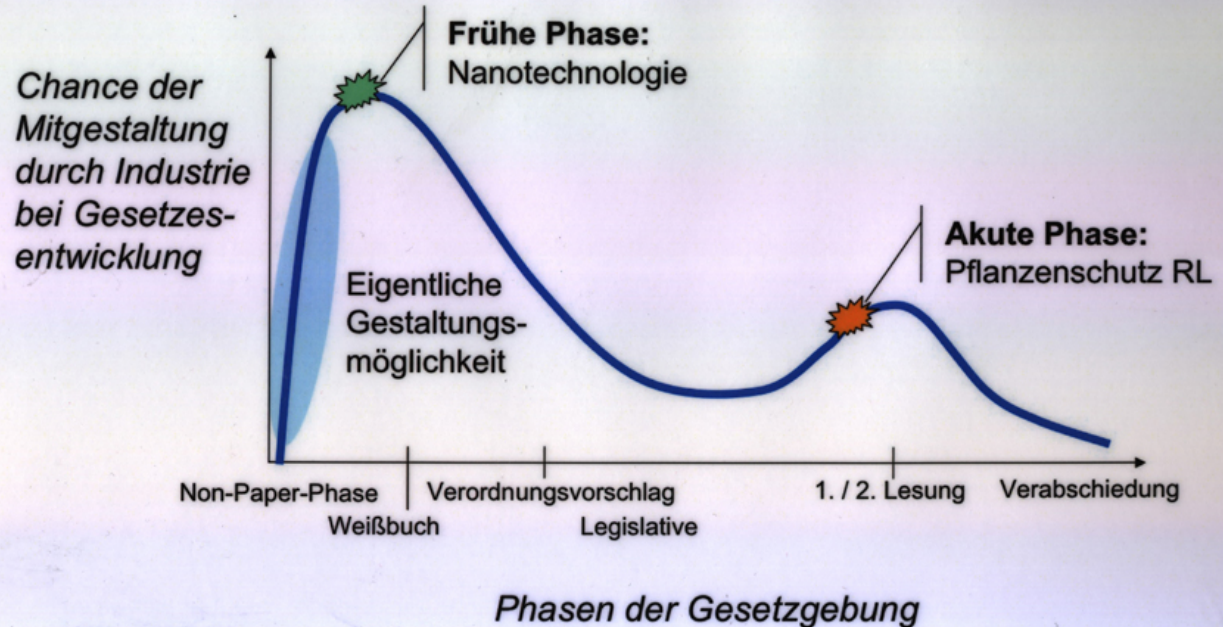


the right message to
to the right person at
the right moment

The sooner the better

Mitgestaltung: Je früher, desto besser

BASF
The Chemical Company



Regulatory capture

“The **state** –the machinery and power of the state– is a potential resource or **threat** to every industry in the society.”

“**Regulation** is acquired by the industry and is designed and operated primarily for its **benefit**”.

(George Stigler, 1971)



Who the lobbys are

- * **Companies and in-house lobbyists**

Bayer, BASF, Microsoft...

leaders

- * **Trade associations**

Business Europe, CEFIC, CosmeticsEurope, AmCham...

coordinators

- * **Lobbying and public relations consultancies**

APCO, Burson-Marsteller, Fleishman-Hillard...

**door openers
advisers**

- * **Law firms**

advisers

- * **Think tanks**

European Regulation & Innovation Forum, Kangaroo Group...

third parties

- * **Product defense consultancies**

Exponent, Gradient, Tera...

science washers



Margarida Silva
SOMO



Session 2

Investigating front groups

Taxonomy / the policy dystopia model

Discursive strategies & arguments

Ref: [Ulucanlar, Fooks, Gilmore \(2016\)](#)

Discursive strategy	Domain	Argument	Voice
Unanticipated costs to economy and society	The economy	Policy will lead to lost sales/jobs	Economist
		Policy will lead to lost/unreliable tax revenue	Economist
	Law enforcement	Policy will increase illicit trade	Law enforcer
		Policy will criminalise the public	Criminologist
	The law	Breach of intellectual property laws	Corporate lawyer
		Breach of trade agreements	Trade lawyer
		Public body acting beyond jurisdiction	Administrative lawyer
	Politics/ Governance	Government is anti-free-enterprise	Concerned citizen/ Business owner
		Nanny state/slippery slope	Concerned citizen
		Government is unreasonable/unaccountable	Concerned citizen/ Public ethicist
	Social justice	Policy is unfair to smokers	Public ethicist
		Policy is regressive	Social reformer

Taxonomy / the policy dystopia model

Instrumental
strategies & techniques

Information
management

Production	Producing a skewed evidence base as corroboration for projected policy failure
	Intelligence gathering
Amplification	Wide dissemination of industry-sponsored information/evidence
	Disseminating misleading/confounding information
Suppression	Contesting/suppressing public health evidence
	Silencing public health opponents
Credibility	Fronting: concealing industry links to information/evidence
Reputation management	Rehabilitating industry reputation
	Discrediting public health advocates

Ref: [Ulucanlar, Fooks, Gilmore \(2016\)](#)

Third parties / echo chamber

Coalition management

Constituency
recruitment

Internal (tobacco
companies and their
staff)

External

Constituency fabrication



Think tanks

Front groups —> **astroturfing**



Exercise in the form of a case study

What is the World Vapers' Alliance and which organisation is it part of?



[WVA website](#)



—> **Tobacco Harm Reduction**

“Harm Reduction”

= set of strategies aimed at reducing negative consequences associated with drug use. Eg methadone to give up heroin.

“Tobacco Harm Reduction”

= encourages smokers to turn to vaping

= used by the tobacco industry as a Trojan horse

—>Part of the Consumer Choice Center

“The World Vapers’ Alliance is now an independent 501(c)(3) organization, having first been launched and now funded in part by the consumer advocacy group, Consumer Choice Center.”

[WVA website](#)

[Consumer Choice Center website](#)



As a consumer advocacy group founded in 2017, we have been proud to [lend our voice](#) to different issue areas that impact ordinary people each and every day. Whether standing up for ride-sharing, smart cannabis regulation, Internet freedom, data privacy, and more, our guiding focus has been on elevating consumer choice wherever it is threatened.

To that end, we write articles in popular media, conduct research on the matters at hand, provide testimony to governmental bodies, conduct social media campaigns online, engage with issue experts and legislators, and help propel ordinary consumer advocates to defend their freedom to choose.

One crucial area of importance is that of [tobacco harm reduction](#): ensuring that close to one billion lives can be saved thanks to harm-reducing alternative nicotine technologies and products. Many countries have vibrant and competitive markets that

But what is the Consumer Choice Center?

—> *Research*

- Leadership and Funders
- Ideology and Funders' funders



—> Leadership

[Fred Roeder LinkedIn profile](#)



[Yaël Ossowski LinkedIn profile](#)



—> Funders / Website

WayBack Machine

- Atlas Network
- Geneva Network
- Japan Tobacco International (which co-sponsored our launch event in Brussels)
- British American Tobacco (corporation) for their support of our tobacco harm reduction advocacy
- In 2017 we received seed funding from Students For Liberty ([SFL](#)) to start our operations in Europe and Canada.

—> Funders' funders / Tax forms

> ProPublica's [NonProfit Explorer](#)

US front groups and foundations are often **nonprofits**

– Section 501 of the U.S. tax code outlines

29 types of nonprofit organizations which are tax exempt

= **501(c)** + number according to type

Such as:

501(c)(3) — Charitable, nonprofit, religious, and educational org

501(c)(4) — Political education org

501(c)(6) — Business league and chamber of commerce org



[Illustration source](#)

—> Funders' funders / Tax forms

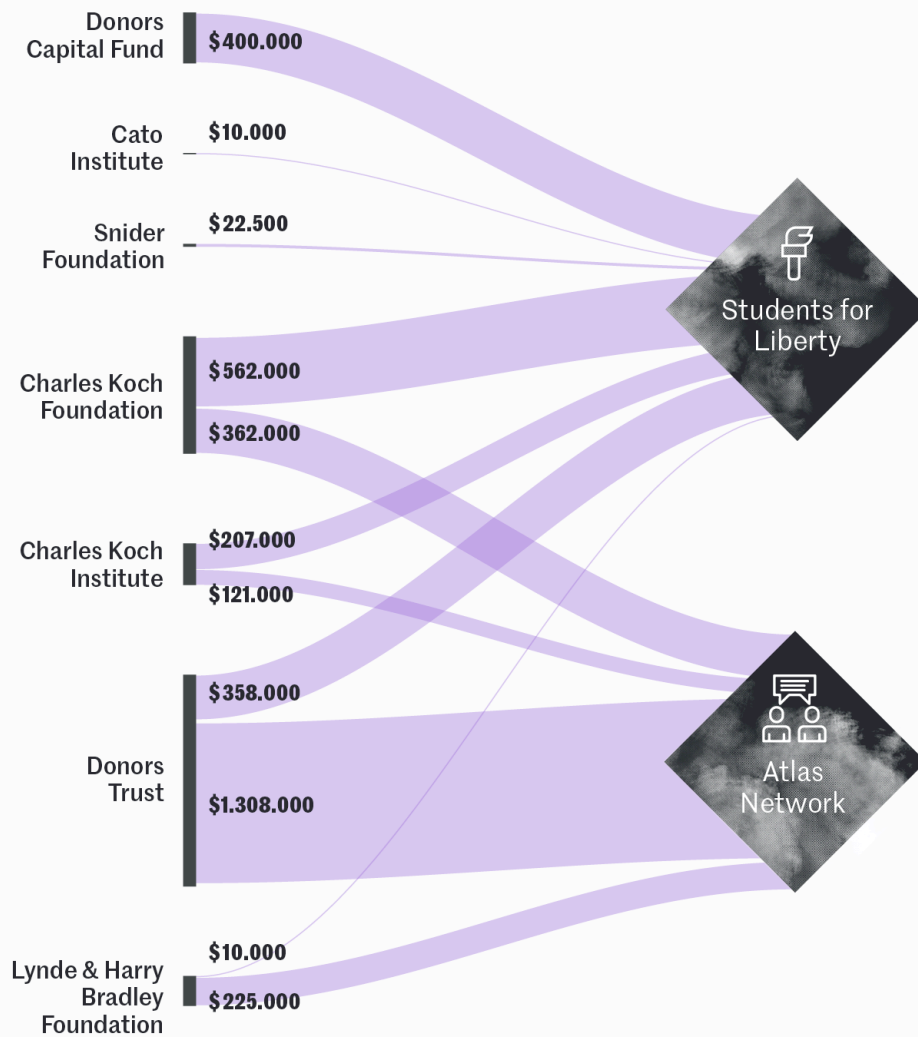
What you can find in a 990 form

- ❖ Address
- ❖ Legal representative
- ❖ Budget & assets
- ❖ Leadership and compensation
- ❖ Contractors
- ❖ Grants inside and outside the US
- ❖ Activities outside the US

=> Donors undisclosed

BUT donors disclose recipients





Source:
[The Vapor Trail, Le Monde, 2021](#)
Cross-border investigation with
[The Investigative Desk](#)

—> Ideology

- [Atlas Network](#)

500 organisations in 98 countries.

“Vision”: “a free, prosperous, and peaceful world where the principles of individual liberty, property rights, limited government, and free markets are secured by the rule of law”.

- [Students for Liberty](#)

In charge of educating the next generation of libertarians.

Goal: “identifying those young people who are already supportive of liberty and providing them with resources to spread the ideas.”

- Tobacco Industry – Strategic ally of libertarian network

Session 3

The corporate disinformation playbook on science



The profiteer of psychoanalysis



Edward Bernays
(1891-1995)
Freud's nephew

Propaganda in peace time
= Public relations / spin



Third party strategy

*“The concept is:
People will believe me more if you call me doctor”**



* [Video](#)



Ask the Meat Scientist



Leaked AMI internal powerpoint

How Does This Change Your Impression?

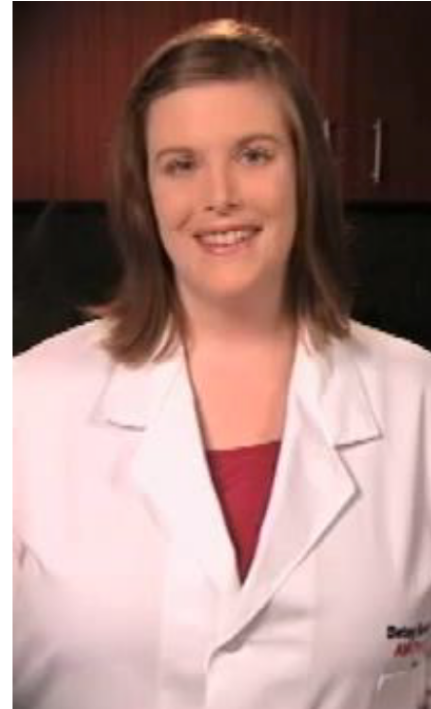


A doctor costume

Betsy Booren,
Director, scientific affairs
American Meat Institute



Betsy Booren, Ph. D.,
Director, scientific affairs
AMI Fondation



Science is not the Shire

(And scientists are not hobbits)





the “tobacco playbook”

a toolbox of influence tactics

December 1953

- lie about the harm of cigarette
- instrumentalise science

100,000,000 deaths 20th

1,000,000,000 deaths 21th*

* Source: [WHO](#)

1954

[See original document](#)



A Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers

Distinguished authorities point out:

1. That medical research of recent years indicates many possible causes of lung cancer.

2. That there is no agreement among the authorities regarding what the cause is.

3. That there is no proof that cigarette smoking is one of the causes.

4. That statistics purporting to link cigarette smoking with the disease could apply with equal force to any one of many other aspects of modern life. Indeed the validity of the statistics themselves is questioned by numerous scientists.

manufacturing doubt - the recipe

- 1) **Multicausality**: the disease(s) often have many origins, but it is never their product.
- 2) **Controversy**: there is no scientific consensus on the product's harmful effect(s).
- 3) **Proof**: science is reduced to a demonstration of cause and effect.
- 4) **Correlation**: a multitude of confounding factors prevent us from concluding. Besides, life itself ends up killing you.



doubt is their product

[See original document](#)

SMOKING AND HEALTH PROPOSAL

What we want to do this morning is to take a summary look at the
FV3
C.M. smoking and health question and then make a proposal to you for a B&W
project to counter the anti-cigarette forces. T

Doubt is our product since it is the best means of competing with the
"body of fact" that exists in the mind of the general public. It is also
the means of establishing a controversy. Within the business we

and how we came to conflict with the awesome forces of the federal
government.



Creating ignorance

1954 - 1998

Tobacco Industry sponsored **6,400** scientific articles for **\$300M**.
None showed causality between cigarette and lung cancer.

Social construction of ignorance or “Agnotology” ([Proctor 2008](#))

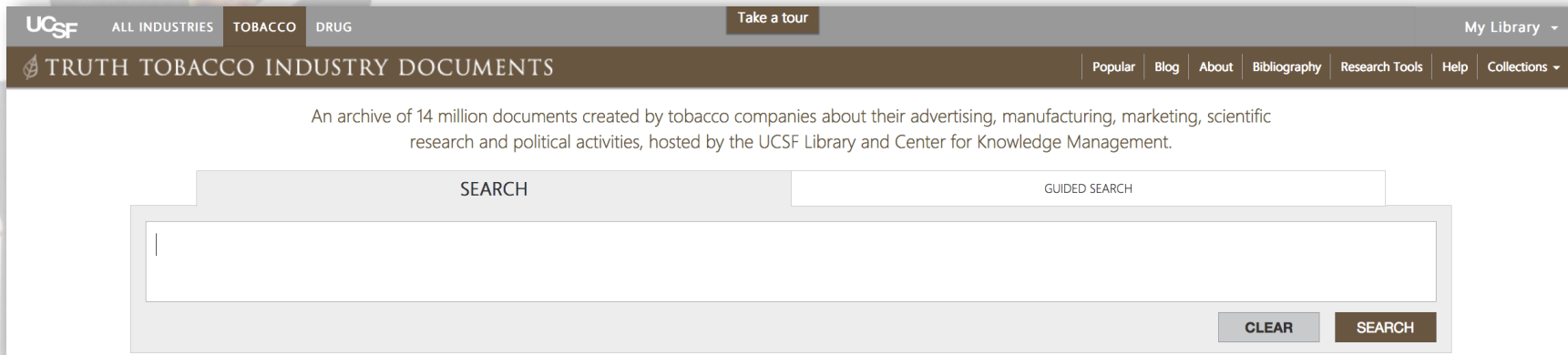


A brief history of scientific disinformation

1990s Civil lawsuit against 4 tobacco companies* by 46 US States

1998 Master Settlement Agreement

14 millions documents in [UCSF database, aka The Cigarette Papers](#)



UCSF ALL INDUSTRIES TOBACCO DRUG Take a tour My Library ▾

TRUTH TOBACCO INDUSTRY DOCUMENTS Popular Blog About Bibliography Research Tools Help Collections ▾

An archive of 14 million documents created by tobacco companies about their advertising, manufacturing, marketing, scientific research and political activities, hosted by the UCSF Library and Center for Knowledge Management.

SEARCH GUIDED SEARCH

CLEAR SEARCH

* Philip Morris Inc., R. J. Reynolds, Brown & Williamson and Lorillard

a corporate play book

Corporations fight against “uncomfortable knowledge” ([Steve Rayner 2012](#))

They create **controversies** by:

- highlighting **uncertainty**
- **minimizing** evidence coming from independent science
- **attacking** and **undermining** the reputations of scientists & organisations

Corporate tactics on science derive from the Tobacco matrix

⇒ **the “corporate play book”**



sound science

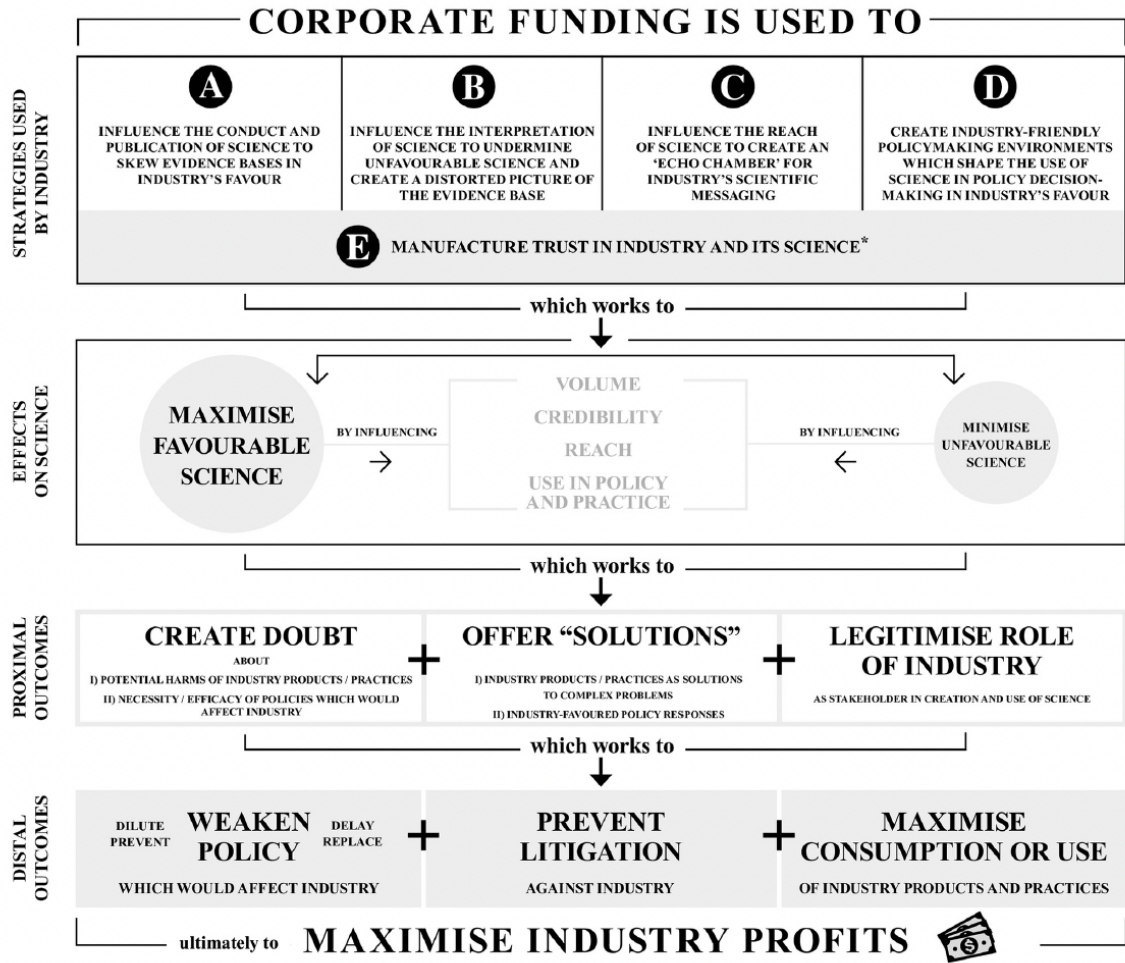
Polluters and manufacturers of hazardous products

- demand “**science-based**” policies
- tout “**sound science**”

but it only “**sounds like science**” (David Michaels, 2008)

Taxonomy of tactics targeting science

Ref: Legg, Hatchard, Gilmore, ["The science for profit model"](#) (2021)



*WHICH UNDERPINS AND ENABLES ALL THE PRECEDING STRATEGIES

5 macro strategies

=Funding research

=Criticising science

=Dissemination

=Implant

=Partnering

(Philanthropy & sponsoring)

Table 2. Macro and meso strategies used by each sector of industry.

Macro Strategies A-E and meso strategies 1-19 (grey cells indicate where we did not identify attempts to influence science, not evidence of lack of industry activity)	Industry sectors							
	Alcohol	Chemicals and manufacturing	Extractive	Food and drink	Fossil fuels	Gambling	Pharma and medical tech	Tobacco
A. Influence the conduct and publication of science to skew evidence bases in industry's favour	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
1. Fund and undertake "safe" research	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
2. Covertly undertake or prevent potentially "risky" industry research		✓□			✓□		✓□	✓□
3. Control design and analysis of industry-funded science to ensure favourable results	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□		✓□	✓□
4. Shape and undermine external research			✓□	✓□		✓□		✓□
5. Ensure favourable research is heavily represented in the evidence base	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□		✓□	✓□
6. Control reporting and suppress publication of unfavourable science	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
B. Influence the interpretation of science to undermine unfavourable science and create a distorted picture of the evidence base	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
7. Develop and promote industry-friendly criteria and concepts for critiquing science		✓□			✓□			✓□
8. Obtain and reanalyse raw data from unfavourable science		✓□		✓□	✓□		✓□	✓□
9. Attack and misrepresent science	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
10. Monitor and attack scientists and organisations	✓□	✓□		✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
C. Influence the reach of science to create an 'echo chamber' for industry's scientific messaging	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
11. Use legal means to protect industry evidence from being discovered or accessed		✓□	✓□				✓□	✓□
12. Contract messengers to create scientific "echo chambers"	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
13. Fund, produce and disseminate materials which package science in industry-favourable ways	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
14. Use education, events, and meetings to disseminate industry-favourable scientific messages to key stakeholders	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
15. Maximise press coverage of industry-favourable scientific messages	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
D. Create industry-friendly policymaking environments which shape the use of science in policy decision-making in industry's favour		✓□		✓□	✓□		✓□	✓□
16. Implement and utilise industry-friendly standards of evidence in regulatory decision-making		✓□		✓□	✓□			✓□
17. Secure and utilise policymaking reforms which increase reliance on and provide a conduit for industry-favourable evidence		✓□			✓□		✓□	✓□
E. Manufacture trust in industry and its scientific messaging	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
18. Manufacture a picture of industry credibility	✓□	✓□		✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□
19. Conceal industry's involvement in science, scientific messaging and influence on policy reforms that affect the use of science	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□	✓□		✓□	✓□
Total macro (out of 5) & meso (out of 19) strategies	4 (12)	5 (18)	4 (12)	5 (15)	5 (17)	4 (10)	5 (16)	5 (19)

Eg. A plot to distract attention

“Project 226” ([Kearns 2016](#))

THE NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL OF MEDICINE

Aug. 3, 1967

MEDICAL PROGRESS

DIETARY FATS, CARBOHYDRATES AND ATHEROSCLEROTIC VASCULAR DISEASE (Concluded)*

ROBERT B. MCGANDY, M.D.,† D. M. HEGSTED, PH.D.,‡ AND F. J. STARE, M.D.§

BOSTON



Macro strategies

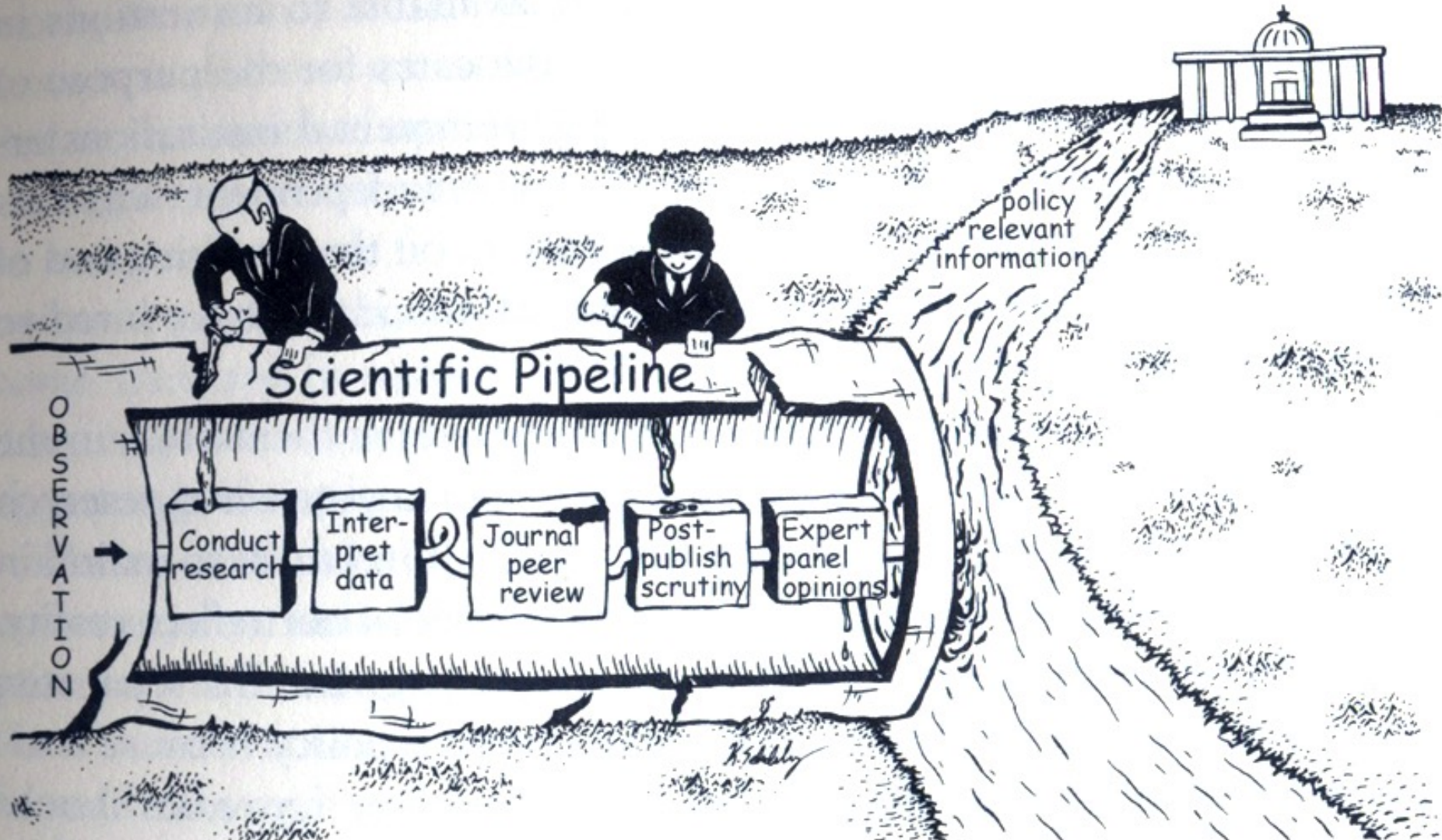
A. Influence the conduct and publication of science to skew evidence bases in industry's favour

Meso strategies

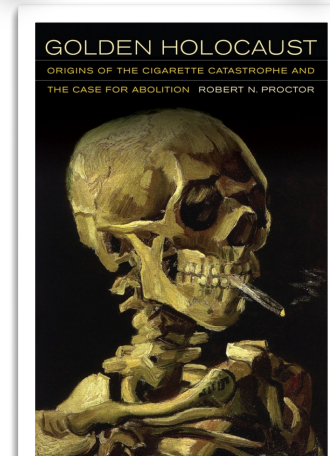
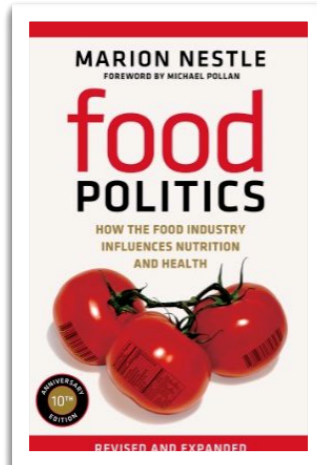
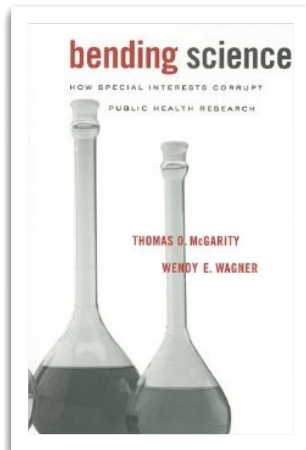
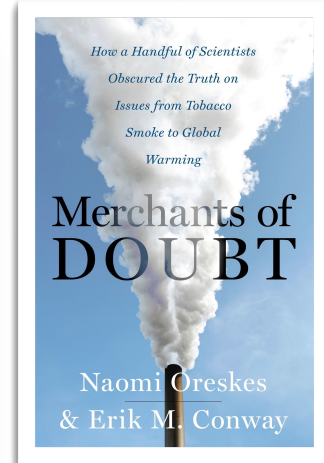
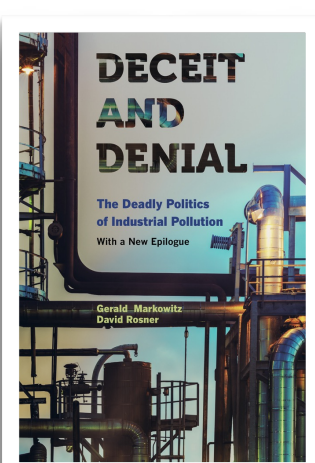
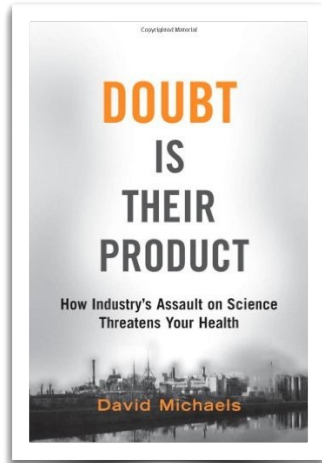
1. Fund and undertake “safe” research

Micro strategies

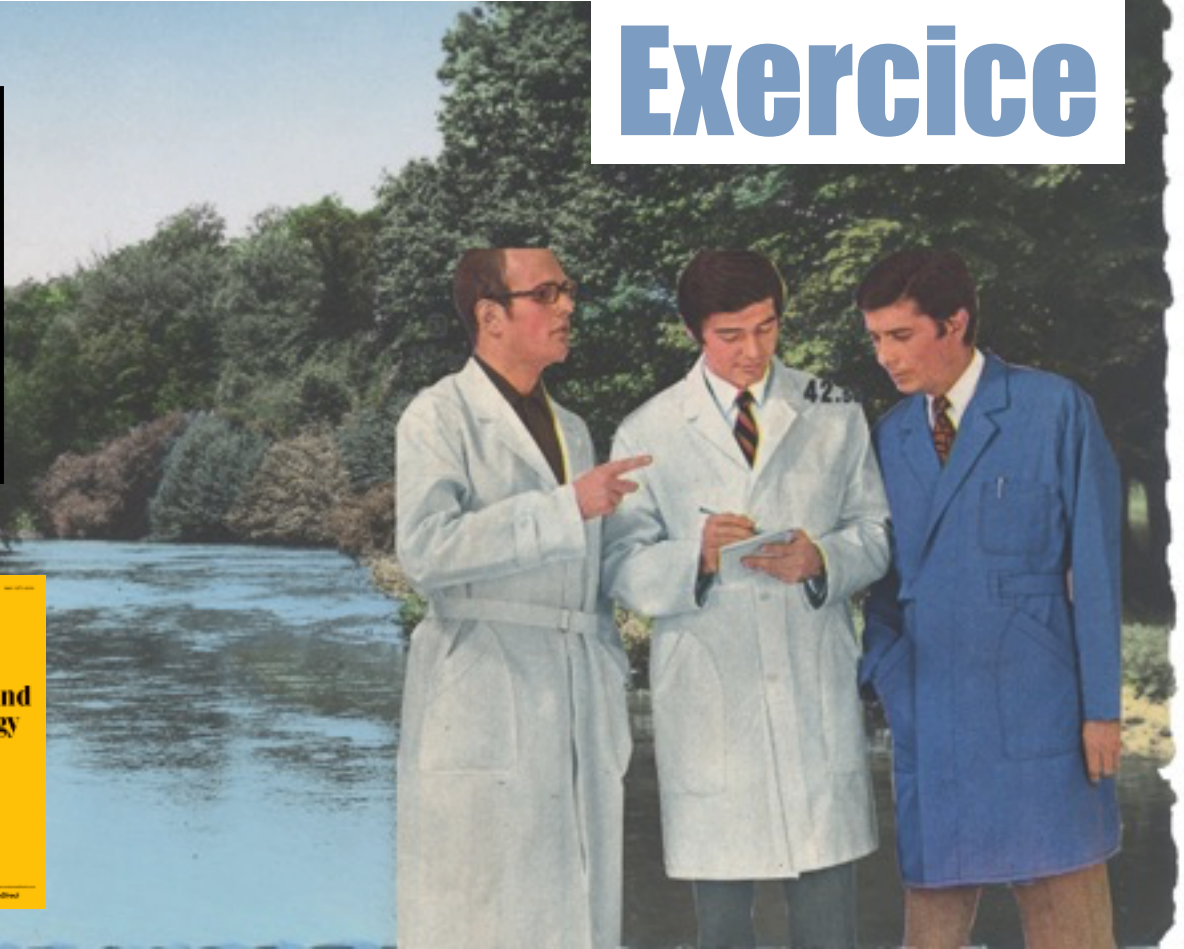
1.1 Fund and undertake “safe” research which distracts attention from industry harms, frames industry and industry products as part of the ‘solution’, and promotes interventions that minimise damage to product sales



Good reads



Exercice



How independent is this scientific article?

Level 1



Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/yrtph



Critical comments on the WHO-UNEP State of the Science of Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals – 2012



James C. Lamb IV^{a,*}, Paolo Boffetta^b, Warren G. Foster^c, Julie E. Goodman^d, Karyn L. Hentz^a, Lorenz R. Rhomberg^d, Jane Staveley^a, Gerard Swaen^e, Glen Van Der Kraak^f, Amy L. Williams^a

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:



Received 4 December 2013

Available online 13 February 2014

ABSTRACT

Early in 2013, the World Health Organization (WHO) released a 2012 update to the 2002 *State of the Science of Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals*. Several significant concerns have been identified that raise questions about conclusions reached in this report regarding endocrine disruption. First, the report is not a state-

Product-defense consultancies

ABOUT GRADIENT
SERVICES & PROJECTS
PEOPLE
EVOLVING ISSUES

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PUBLICATIONS
CAREERS
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 Joel M. Cohen
 Travis J. Cook
 David G. Dodge
 Eric M. Dubé
 Grace I. Greenberg
 Mary L. Hixon
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 Caroline B. Tuit
 Matthew P. Tymchak
 Jian Zhang
 Kirsten (Zo) Zu


Senior Scientists

Gradient is proud to have a diverse, skilled, and well-trained technical staff who work collaboratively to manage our projects, perform research, and deliver innovative solutions with superior quality.




Lisa A. Bailey, Ph.D.
 Senior Toxicologist
Expertise
 Molecular Biology & Toxicology
 Carcinogenesis
 Mode-of-action Analyses
 Human Exposure
 Risk Assessment
 DNA Damage, Repair and Mutagenesis
 Weight of Evidence

1 FULL BIO




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1 FULL BIO




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 Industrial Hygiene

1 FULL BIO




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 Toxicology Study Management
 Pesticide Registration
 Science Support
 GRAS Notifications

1 FULL BIO




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 Senior Environmental Toxicologist
Expertise

1 FULL BIO



Mary L. Hixon, Ph.D.
 Senior Toxicologist
Expertise
 Reproductive and Developmental

1 FULL BIO



Laura E. Kerper, Ph.D.
 Senior Toxicologist
Expertise
 Risk Assessment
 General and Molecular

1 FULL BIO

Research & Information Specialists

Chemicals We Have Worked On

In our projects, we have addressed chemicals ranging from naturally occurring substances to chemical process intermediates and from substances reflecting centuries of scientific observations to newly emerging concerns. The following list is a sample of some of the chemicals and exposures we have worked on:



Antimicrobials	Flame Retardants	Perchlorate
Arsenic	Formaldehyde	Pesticides
Asbestos	Heavy Metals	Petroleum Hydrocarbons
Barium	Lead	Pharmaceuticals
Benzene	Manganese	Plasticizers
Beryllium	Mercury	PM _{2.5}
Bisphenol A (BPA)	MGP Chemicals	Propellants
BTEX	MTBE	Radionuclides
Chlordane	Nanoparticles	SO ₂
Chromium	Naphthalene	Solvents
DDT	Nickel	Styrene
Diesel Exhaust	NO ₂	Tars
Dietary Supplements	Ozone	TCE
Dioxins	PAHs	Vinyl Chloride
DNAPL and LNAPL	PCBs	VOCs
EMF and RF	PCE	Perfluorinated Chemicals
Endocrine Disruptors	X-Rays	



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—>Who sponsored it? / Funding effect

Critical comments on the WHO-UNEP State of the Science of Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals – 2012



CrossMark

James C. Lamb IV^{a,*}, Paolo Boffetta^b, Warren G. Foster^c, Julie E. Goodman^d, Karyn L. Hentz^a, Lorenz R. Rhomberg^d, Jane Staveley^a, Gerard Swaen^e, Glen Van Der Kraak^f, Amy L. Williams^a

^a Exponent, 1800 Diagonal Road, Suite #500, Alexandria, VA 22314, USA

This review has been conducted with funding support from several sponsors: American Chemistry Council (ACC), CropLife America (CLA), CropLife Canada (CLS), CropLife International (CLI), European Chemical Industry Council (Cefic), and European Crop Protection Association (ECPA). These sponsors were provided an opportunity to review a draft of the paper and offer comments for consideration by the authors.

—>Who owns this journal?



Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/yrtph



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[International Society of Regulatory Toxicology & Pharmacology](#)

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SPEER Suzanne (BEPA)

From: [REDACTED]@cefic.be> on behalf of [REDACTED]@cefic.be>
Sent: Monday 17 March 2014 16:32
To: [REDACTED] (ENV); [REDACTED] (ENV); [REDACTED] (ENTR); [REDACTED] (ENTR); [REDACTED] (ENTR); [REDACTED] (SANCO); [REDACTED]@ec.europa.eu; [REDACTED] (SANCO); [REDACTED] (SANCO); EC CSA; [REDACTED]@ec.europa.eu.; [REDACTED]@ec.europa.eu; [REDACTED] (TRADE); [REDACTED] (TRADE); [REDACTED] (TRADE); [REDACTED] (TRADE); [REDACTED]@ec.europa.eu; [REDACTED] (RTD); [REDACTED] (RTD); [REDACTED] (RTD); [REDACTED] (SG); [REDACTED] (AGRI); [REDACTED] (AGRI); [REDACTED] (AGRI); [REDACTED]@ec.europa.eu; [REDACTED]@ec.europa.eu; [REDACTED] (JRC-ISPRA); [REDACTED] (JRC-ISPRA); [REDACTED] (SG); [REDACTED] (SG)
Cc: [REDACTED] - ECPA (European Crop Protection Association)
Subject: Review of the WHO-UNEP State of the Science on Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals 2012
Attachments: Joint statement from ACC Cefic CLA CLC CLI ECPA on review of WHO-UNEP r....pdf; FINAL Report - Critical Review of WHO-UNEP 2012 State of the Science onpdf

Importance: High

Dear Sir or Madam,

Re: Review of the WHO-UNEP State of the Science on Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals 2012

In early 2013 the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Health Organization (WHO) published a report entitled, "State of the Science on Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals – 2012" which was accompanied by a "Summary for Decision Makers". At the time the general chemicals and crop protection products industries both in Europe and the US held significant concerns with the report(s). Our industries therefore jointly commissioned a scientific review of the WHO-UNEP report which has now been published in the scientific journal Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology.

How independent is this scientific article?

Level 2

Toxicology Letters xxx (2013) xxx–xxx

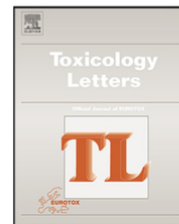


ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Toxicology Letters

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/toxlet



Endocrine disruption: Fact or urban legend?

Gerhard J. Nohynek^{a,*}, Christopher J. Borgert^b, Daniel Dietrich^c, Karl K. Rozman^d

^a Les Caillons, 58460 Corvol, L'Orgueilleux, France

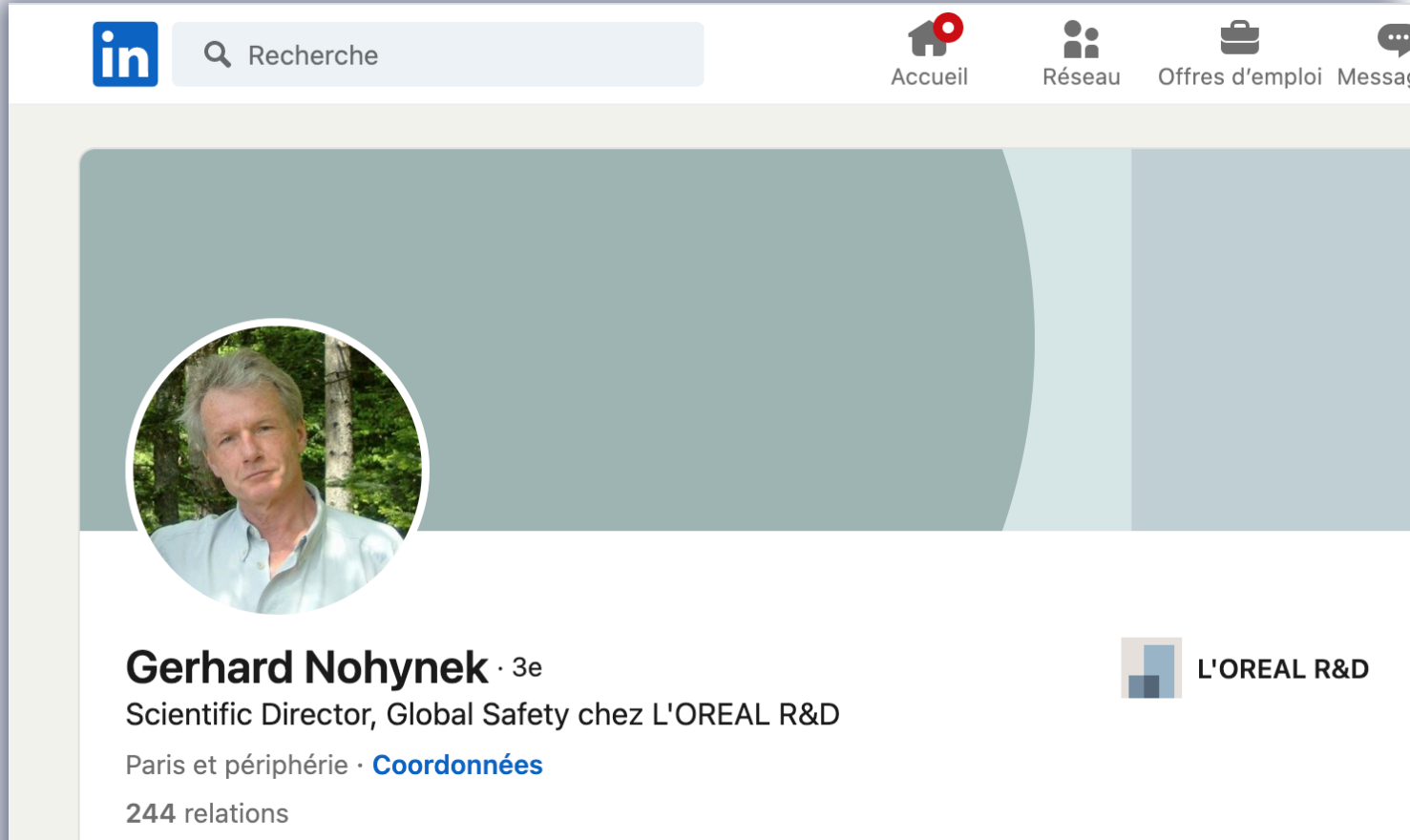
^b Center for Environmental and Human Toxicology, Department of Physiological Sciences, University of Florida College of Veterinary Medicine, Gainesville, 32605 FL, United States

^c Faculty of Biology, University of Konstanz, 78457 Konstanz, Germany

^d University of Kansas Medical Center, Department of Pharmacology, Toxicology and Therapeutics, Kansas City, KS 66160, United States

HIGHLIGHTS

—> Who are you, Gerhard Nohynek ?



The image is a screenshot of a LinkedIn profile page. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the LinkedIn logo, a search bar labeled 'Recherche', and icons for 'Accueil', 'Réseau', 'Offres d'emploi', and 'Messages'. The profile header features a large, light blue background image. On the left side of the header is a circular profile picture of a man with grey hair, wearing a light blue shirt, standing in front of green foliage. Below the profile picture, the name 'Gerhard Nohynek' is displayed in bold, followed by '· 3e'. Underneath the name is the text 'Scientific Director, Global Safety chez L'OREAL R&D'. To the right of the profile picture, the L'OREAL R&D logo is visible. Below the name and title, the location 'Paris et périphérie' is listed, followed by a blue link labeled 'Coordonnées'. At the bottom left, it says '244 relations'.

Gerhard Nohynek · 3e
Scientific Director, Global Safety chez L'OREAL R&D
Paris et périphérie · [Coordonnées](#)
244 relations

L'OREAL R&D

—> **Disclosures are not enough**

Conflict of interest

The opinions forwarded in the article represent personal opinions of the authors and are proposed with the aim to improve the safety assessment of personal care products. The authors received no support or compensation for writing the article. They therefore declare no conflict of interest.

- Sometimes disclosures do not reflect reality
- There is no sanction in case of omissions and errors

How independent is this 2016 glyphosate review?

Level 3



Glyphosate rodent carcinogenicity bioassay expert panel review

Gary M. Williams, Colin Berry, Michele Burns, Joao Lauro Viana de Camargo & Helmut Greim

Glyphosate epidemiology expert panel review: a weight of evidence systematic review of the relationship between glyphosate exposure and non-Hodgkin's lymphoma or multiple myeloma

John Acquavella, David Garabrant, Gary Marsh, Tom Sorahan & Douglas L. Weed

A review of the carcinogenic potential of glyphosate by four independent expert panels and comparison to the IARC assessment

Gary M. Williams, Marilyn Aardema, John Acquavella, Sir Colin Berry, David Brusick, Michele M. Burns, Joao Lauro Viana de Camargo, David Garabrant, Helmut A. Greim, Larry D. Kier, David J. Kirkland, Gary Marsh, Keith R. Solomon, Tom Sorahan, Ashley Roberts & Douglas L. Weed

Glyphosate in the general population and in applicators: a critical review of studies on exposures

Keith R. Solomon

Genotoxicity Expert Panel review: weight of evidence evaluation of the genotoxicity of glyphosate, glyphosate-based formulations, and aminomethylphosphonic acid

David Brusick, Marilyn Aardema, Larry Kier, David Kirkland & Gary Williams

—> Context

March 2015, the International Agency for research on Cancer (IARC), a UN agency, classified glyphosate as “***probably carcinogenic to humans***” (Group 2A).



—> **Can
Intertek
be neutral?**


Declaration of interest



The employment affiliation of the authors is as shown on the cover page. However, it should be recognized that each individual participated in the review process and preparation of this paper as an independent professional and not as a representative of their employer.

The expert panel Members recruitment and evaluation of the data was organized and conducted by Intertek Scientific & Regulatory Consultancy (Intertek). The expert panelists were engaged by, and acted as consultants to, Intertek, and were not directly contacted by the Monsanto Company. Funding for this evaluation was provided to Intertek by the Monsanto Company, which is a primary producer of glyphosate and products containing this active ingredient. Neither any Monsanto company employees nor any attorneys reviewed any of the expert panel's manuscripts prior to submission to the journal.



Intertek (previously Cantox) is a consultancy firm that provides scientific and regulatory advice, as well as safety and efficacy evaluations for the chemical, food, and pharmaceutical industries. While Intertek has not

and products containing this active ingredient. Neither any Monsanto company employees nor any attorneys reviewed any of the expert panel's manuscripts prior to submission to the journal.

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☒ Chemical Collections *(all chemical collections selected)* >

Where you can find the “[Monsanto papers](#)”

Message

From: HEYDENS, WILLIAM F [AG/1000] [/O=MONSANTO/OU=NA-1000-01/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=230737]
Sent: 2/9/2016 11:43:08 PM
To: Ashley Roberts Intertek [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: summary article
Attachments: Summary Manuscript Draft 2 0 Feb 5 2016_jfa_wfh.docx

OK, I have gone through the entire document and indicated what I think should stay, what can go, and in a couple spots I did a little editing. I took a crack at adding a little text on page 10 to address John's comments about toxicologists' use

Greim “et al.” (indeed) 2015

REVIEW ARTICLE

Evaluation of carcinogenic potential of the herbicide glyphosate, drawing on tumor incidence data from fourteen chronic/carcinogenicity rodent studies

Helmut Greim¹, David Saltmiras^{2,6}, Volker Mostert^{4,5}, and Christian Strupp^{3,6}

¹Technical University Munich, Arcisstr. 21, 80333 Munich, Germany, ²Monsanto Company, 800 North Lindbergh Blvd., 63167 St. Louis, MO, USA,

³ADAMA MAH BV Amsterdam NL Schaffhausen Branch, Spitalstrasse 5, 8200 Schaffhausen, Switzerland, ⁴Knoell Consult GmbH, Dynamostr. 19, 68165 Mannheim, Germany, ⁵Extera, Nelly-Sachs-Str. 37, 40764 Langenfeld, Germany, and ⁶Glyphosate Task Force, <http://www.glyphosatetaskforce.org/>



From: HEYDENS, WILLIAM F [AG/1000]

Sent: Monday, May 11, 2015 5:36 PM

To: KOCH, MICHAEL S [AG/1000]; FARMER, DONNA R [AG/1000]; HODGE-BELL, KIMBERLY C [AG/1000]; SALTMIRAS, DAVID A [AG/1000]

Subject: RE;

Post-IARC Activities to Support Glyphosate

All,

Here is what I think I heard (and 1 question) in our meeting today – please send any corrections/additions

Conduct & publish Meta-analysis

- We will recommend proceeding with this

Publish updated AHS study data

- We will recommend proceeding with this
- David will check at HARC meeting next week if there is interest in CLA requesting data for all chemistries

Genetox/MOA

- Set-up 1 hr meeting with Gary Williams & Larry Kier to better understand what could be done (who had this action item?) I think this was Donna's action item.

- Manuscript to be initiated by MON as ghost writers
- It was noted this would be more powerful if authored by non-Monsanto scientists (e.g., Kirkland, Kier, Williams, Greim and maybe Keith Solomon)



David Saltmiras

Sent:

8/4/2015 2:13:30 PM

Subject:

Glyphosate Activities

, ghostwrote cancer review paper Greim et al. (2015),

Must check

- Regulatory or legal context
- State of the science on the topic
- Taxonomies of tactics
- Funding
- Authors' affiliations
- Disclosures
- Wikis



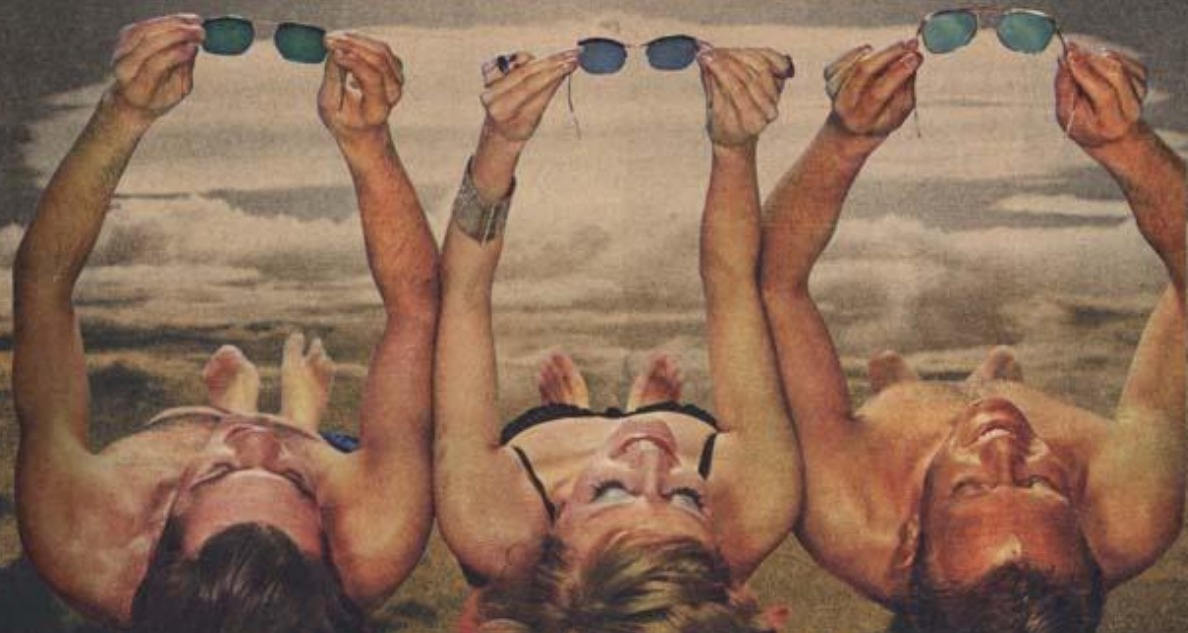
Don't be impressed by a scientific title or a white coat

Lessons learned from your side

Next steps / networking

Thank you for your attention

<horel@lemonde.fr>



TOOLS Corporate Disinformation Playbook

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EU things

All in one

Corporate Europe Research Toolkit

<https://corporateeurope.org/en/researching-corporate-lobbying-eu>

Transparency

Lobbyfacts

<https://www.lobbyfacts.eu/>

EU Transparency register

<https://ec.europa.eu/transparencyregister/public/homePage.do?redir=false&locale=en>

Integrity Watch (meetings)

<https://www.integritywatch.eu/>

EU legislative processes

<https://parltrack.org/>

Register of Commission's expert groups

<https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/expert-groups-register/screen/home?lang=en>

FOI

Ask the EU

<https://www.asktheeu.org/>

FOI EU Commission

<https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/documents-request/request-submission>

Who's who EU

<https://op.europa.eu/en/web/who-is-who>

Corporate things

Always

Wayback Machine - Internet archive

<https://archive.org/web/>

Wikis and similar resources

Tobacco Tactics

<https://tobaccotactics.org/>

SourceWatch

<https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=SourceWatch>

PowerBase

https://powerbase.info/index.php/Main_Page

DeSmog

<https://www.desmog.com/databases/>

Climate Disinformation Database

<https://www.desmog.com/climate-disinformation-database/>

Koch Network Database

<https://www.desmog.com/koch-network-database/>

Air Pollution Lobbying Database

<https://www.desmog.com/air-pollution-lobbying-database/>

Agribusiness Database

<https://www.desmog.com/agribusiness-database-/>

WikiCorporates

https://www.wikicorporates.org/wiki/Main_Page

OpenSecrets

<https://www.opensecrets.org/>

Follow the money

Open Corporates

(database of companies. Sign in to access all features)

<https://opencorporates.com/>

OpenSecrets (USA)

<https://www.opensecrets.org/>

ProPublica's NonProfit Explorer (set up alert for updates)

<https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/>

ProPublica's Resources for Investigating Tax-Exempt Organizations

<https://www.propublica.org/nerds/resources-for-investigating-tax-exempt-organizations>

The Center for Public Integrity's NonProfit Network = nonprofits funding non-profits (2010-2015)

<https://publicintegrity.org/politics/search-the-nonprofit-network/>

Conservative Transparency (money flow among US conservative donors, organizations, and candidates – last update: 2014)

<http://conservativetransparency.org/>

Industry archives

UCSF Industry archives

All industries

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/>

Tobacco

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/>

Opioids

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/opioids/>

Chemicals

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/chemical/>

including Monsanto papers (Roundup Products Liability Litigation)

[https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/chemical/results/#q=\(case%3A%22Roundup%20Products%20Liability%20Litigation%22\)&h=%7B%22hideDuplicates%22%3Afalse%2C%22hideFolders%22%3Atrue%7D&subsite=chemical&cache=true&count=373](https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/chemical/results/#q=(case%3A%22Roundup%20Products%20Liability%20Litigation%22)&h=%7B%22hideDuplicates%22%3Afalse%2C%22hideFolders%22%3Atrue%7D&subsite=chemical&cache=true&count=373)

Drugs/Pharmaceuticals

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/drug/>

Food

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/food/>

Fossil Fuel

<https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/fossilfuel/>

Toxic docs

<https://www.toxicdocs.org/>

Science things

Scientific articles

Pubmed

<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/>

Sci-hub

<https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sci-Hub>

Conflict of interest

Euros for docs

<https://eurosfordocs.eu/>

Dollars for docs

<https://projects.propublica.org/docdollars/>

Dollars for profs

<https://projects.propublica.org/dollars-for-profs>

Check declarations of interest (DOIs) in journals

Check DOIs in agencies (all scientific and regulatory bodies, international and national, have disclosure policies)

European Food Safety Authority (EFSA)

<https://ess.efsa.europa.eu/doi/doiweb/doisearch>

European Medicines Agency (EMA)

<https://www.ema.europa.eu/en/about-us/how-we-work/european-medicines-regulatory-network/european-experts>

etc

Reading list

Academic papers

Legg 2021 | The Science for Profit Model—How and why corporations influence science and the use of science in policy and practice

<https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article/authors?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0253272>

Ulucanlar 2016 | The Policy Dystopia Model: An Interpretive Analysis of Tobacco Industry Political Activity

<https://journals.plos.org/plosmedicine/article?id=10.1371/journal.pmed.1002125>

The Lancet series – Commercial determinants of health, March 2023

<https://www.thelancet.com/series/commercial-determinants-health>

Rebecca F. Goldberg & Laura N. Vandenberg | The science of spin: targeted strategies to manufacture doubt with detrimental effects on environmental and public health

<https://ehjournal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12940-021-00723-0>
[Stanton Glantz et al. on Tea Party](#)

Books

Naomi Oreskes, Erik Conway – Merchants of doubt

Robert Proctor – Golden Holocaust, Origins of the Cigarette Catastrophe and the Case for Abolition

Marion Nestle – All :) including:

Food Politics

Soda Politics

Unsavory Truths

David Michaels – Doubt is their product

Jennifer Jacquet – The Playbook: How to Deny Science, Sell Lies, and Make a Killing in the Corporate World
bending science

Gerald Markowitz, David Rosner – Deceit and Denial – The Deadly Politics of Industrial Pollution

Jane Mayer – [Dark Money](#)

In French

Stéphane Foucart – La fabrique du mensonge. Comment les industriels manipulent la science et nous mettent en danger.

Stéphane Horel – Lobbytome. Comment les lobbies empoisonnent nos vies et la démocratie.