a toolbox to investigate the corporate disinformation playbook



Stéphane Horel **Le Monde**Dataharvest
30 May 2024

Menu

- 1. Corporate harm, an introduction
- 2. Lobbying, the basics
- 3.The assault on science
- 4. Now you are the experts Exercices





Millions of death

4 industries are responsible for *I/3 of global deaths* per year (at least).

That's 19 million deaths.

Some estimates go up to 33 million.

Make a guess



Corporate harm and crime

- Unhealthy food
- Fossil fuel
- Tobacco
- Alcohol

† IIM

†10M (air pollution)

† 9M

† 3M

This is an underestimate.

Other products (lead or opioids) or practices (pollution of water).



Commercial determinants of health (CDoH)

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

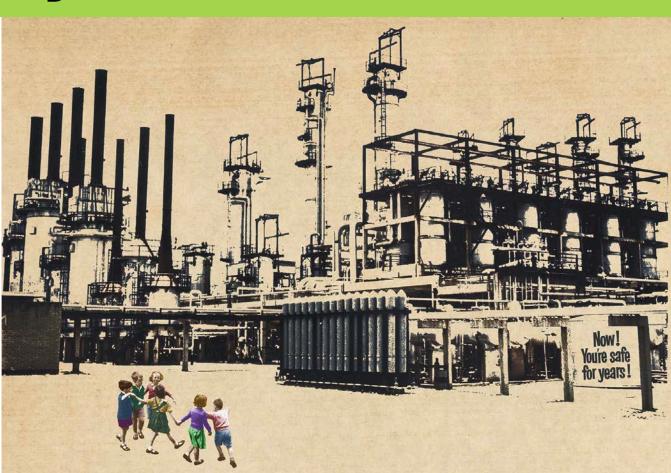
"Commercially driven ill health is the result of a **pathological system** in which dominant commercial entities are enabled to influence societal norms and values, political and economic systems, policies, environments, incomes, and behaviours."

Who said that? (Karl Marx?)
No, it's <u>The Lancet</u>

Triple planetary crisis

- climate change
- biodiversity loss
- pollution

(UNEP)





What lobbying is about

Suppress

Water down

Hijack

Delay

Write

the law

Lobbying is legal Lobbying is not corrupting

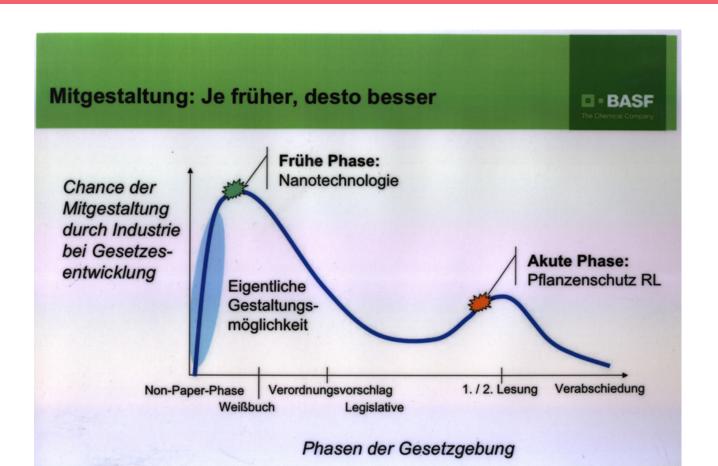


The a.b.c. of lobbying



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

The sooner the better



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 lobbyists 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

Product defense firms





ABOUT GRADIENT SERVICES & PROJECTS PEOPLE **EVOLVING ISSUES**

NEWS & EVENTS PUBLICATIONS CAREERS CONTACTUS

Principals

Senior Scientists

Line A. Balley Nicole L. Briggs Joel M. Cohen Travis J. Cook David G. Dodge Eric M. Dube Grace i. Greenberg Mary L. Histon. Laura S. Kerper Jessie M. Kheeland Cynthis L Largisis Julie C. Larriey Laurent C. Levy Terriera D. Lunaman Hearther N. Lynch Rosemary L. Hattuck David & Mayfield Marthew J Mayo Michael K. Peterson Diamini la M. Pizzumo Margaret C. Počock Robyn L. Prusitt Kathleen A. Radloff Jeffrey T. Rorninger Mars R. Sealey Moghna H. Swarra Carolina B. Tuit Marthew P. Tymchak Janu Zhang Kirsten (Ke) Zu

Research & Information Specialists

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.

Ph.D.



Lisa A. Bailey, Ph.D. Senior Toxicologist

Molecular Biology & Tax calagy Carcinoganesis Mode-of-action Analyses

Scientist

Exposure Assessment Air Dispersion Modeling Air Quality Monitoring Sources, Sinks, and Transport of Air Polluterits

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Senior Air Quality



Joel M. Cohen, Sc.D. Senior Toxicologist

nhalution Texicology.

HUMAN HARRY BICK Assessment Product Salary Alternative Assessment Nanobachsology Skin Sensitization

Eric M. Dubé,

MPH



Human Exposure

Risk Assessment

weight of Evidence

Mucagenesis

ONA Darriago, Sepair and

Stak Appearment Testeplany

Neuroboxi calogy

Industrial Hygiene

David G. Dodge, M.S., DABT, CIH Senior Toxicologist

lak Communication Human Health Risk Assessment Utigation Support Applied Texicology decupational Exposure Assessment

industrial Hyglens



Senior Environmental Health Scientist PULL BIO

Expertise Human Health Risk Assessment Exposure Study Design and Oversight Toelcology Study Манадолнопт Pesticide Registration Science Support **GRAS Notifications**



Grace I. Greenberg. M.P.H. Senior **Environmental** Toxicologist

Expertise



Mary L. Hixon. Ph.D. Senior Toxicologist Haproductive and





Laura E. Kerper, Senior Toxicologist

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 Arsenic Formaldehyde Heavy Metals Asbestos Barium Lead Benzene Manganese Beryllium Mercury Bisphenol A (BPA) MGP Chemicals BTEX MTBE Chlordane Nanoparticles Chromium Naphthalene DDT Nickel Diesel Exhaust NO2 **Dietary Supplements** Ozone Dioxins PAHS DNAPL and LNAPL **PCBs** EMF and RF PCE **Endocrine Disruptors** X-Rays

Perchlorate Pesticides Petroleum Hydrocarbons Pharmaceuticals Plasticizers PM25 Propellants Radionuclides 502 Solvents Styrene Tars TCE Vinyl Chloride

Perfluorinated Chemicals

VOCS









General and Molecular

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	Steven M. Kurtz, Ph.D.	Principal & Practice Director	Philadelphia Biomedical Engineering	Engi	neering and Scien	tific Consultin
	Harri K. Kytomaa, Ph.D., P.E., CFEI	Corporate Vice President & Practice Director	Natick Thermal	around Soudd Od		
	James C. Lamb, IV, Ph.D., DABT, Fellow ATS	Principal Scientist	Alexand Toxicology & Mechanistic Biology	O PhDs 8	r MD2	
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	Steven B. MacLean, Ph.D., P.E.	Principal Engineer	Bowie	(585) 387-0327	vCard	

The targets

Executive power

Legislative power

Regulatory Agencies

Politicians

International organisations (WHO, FAO etc.)

Experts



The assault on science



How Does This Change Your Impression?





A doctor costume

Betsy Booren, Director, scientific affairs American Meat Institute



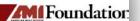
Betsy Booren, Ph. D., Director, scientific affairs AMÍ Fondation

Foundation



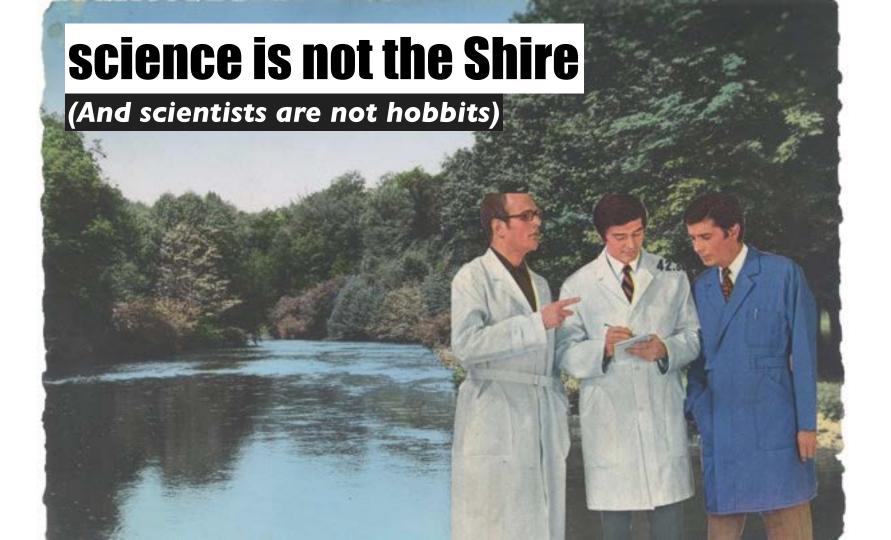






Ask the Meat Scientist





the profiteer of psychoanalysis



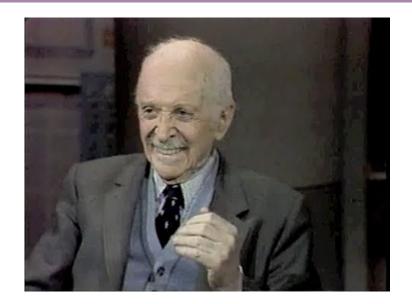
Edward Bernays (1891-1995) Freud's nephew



Propaganda in peace time = Public relations / spin

third party strategy

"The concept is:
People will believe me
more if <u>you</u> call me
doctor"







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

A bref 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



doubt is their product

TV3

C.M.

SMOKING AND HEALTH PROPOSAL

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

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.

See original document

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.

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 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 disinformation play book"

books and academia



GOLDEN HOLOCAUST

'To quarterback behind the scenes, third-party efforts': the tobacco industry and the Tea Party

Amanda Fallin, Rachel Grana, Stanton A Glantz

Background The Tea Party, which gained prominence in the USA in 2009, advocates limited government and low taxes. Tea Party organisations, particularly

Imericans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks, oppose moke-free laws and tobacco taxes. Methods We used the Legacy Tobacco Documents brary, the Wayback Machine, Google, Lexis Nexis, the Center for Media and Democracy and the Center for esponsive Politics (opensecrets.org) to examine the

and organisational tips for supporters.

DOUBT THEIR **PRODUCT**

How Industry's Assault on Science **Threatens Your Health**



Tea Party tax projests in April 2009, 20 the Obscured the Truth on protests about the proposed healthcare re August 20091 and the Taxpayers' M Washington the following September 2009 Issues from Tobacco continued to facilitate and support man local chapters and leaders that arose from events in 2009.5 AFP and FreedomWorks or to facilitate local Tea Party active co-sponsoring rallies, 1 12 13 creating talking Smoke to Global

Warming

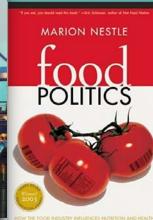
Merchants of DOUBT

How a Handful of Scientists

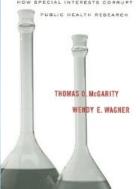
Naomi Oreskes & Erik M. Conway

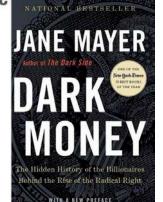
AND DENIA The Deadly Politics of Industrial Pollution With a New Epilogue Gerald Markowitz

DECEIT









sive, timely and necessary." - The New York Time

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Representative Dennis Hastert]Philip Morris1999

Contact: Peggy Venable, CSE News. Activists tell legislators lawsuit abuse must end. Texas CSE launches radio ad campaign in four media markets. Philip Morris 1999 Field Action Team. Field action team quality contacts report 106th Congress Volume IIIPhilip

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Beckner P. Fletter from Paul Beckner with Citizens for a Sound Economy to Governor Christine Whitman of New JersevlPhilip Morris1995:2046039534/2046039535.



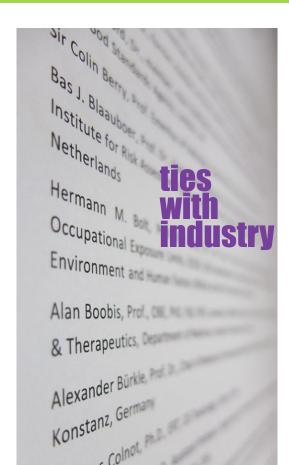
now, you're the **experts**

Tools and reflexes

- State of the science on the topic
- Regulatory or legal context
- Authors' affiliations
- Disclosures / Conflict of interest
- Funding (funding effect)
- Wikis and litigation documents
- Taxonomies of tactics

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

state of the science



competent scientific community

independent research



regulatory/legal context

Monsanto Manuscript Clearance Form Global Regulatory

NOTE: this form needs to be completed and submitted for review at least 4 weeks prior to manuscript submission and a minimum of 2 weeks prior to abstract/presentation submission

Questions regarding completion of this form can be directed to Jeanna Graf (4-2011) or Kevin Glenn (4-4242)

Lead Author's Comments: (Please provide information on <u>purpose of presentation/publication</u> and any relevant patents or manuscript disclosures.) This manuscript provide a comprehensive quality check on the large number of genotoxicity publications on glyphosate since the Williams et al. (2000) glyphosate toxicology review manuscript. This work falls under the scope of the EU Glyphosate Task Force and will be a valuable resource in future product defense against claims that glyphosate is mutagenic or genotoxic.

3/2012

Abstract

when? This

Williams et al.

Atty review)

Title: Review of Genotoxicity of Glyphosate and Glyphosate Based Formulations

Author(s): David Saltmiras, Larry Kier (consultant)

Author Handling Correspondence: David Saltmiras Ball Zone: C1NA Phone: 4 9956

the "experts"

Beware of Everythingologists

Alexander Bür

- Affiliation abuse
- Emeritus for rent
- Ghostwriters

How independent is this scientific article?

Level I

Toxicology Letters xxx (2013) xxx-xxx



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Toxicology Letters

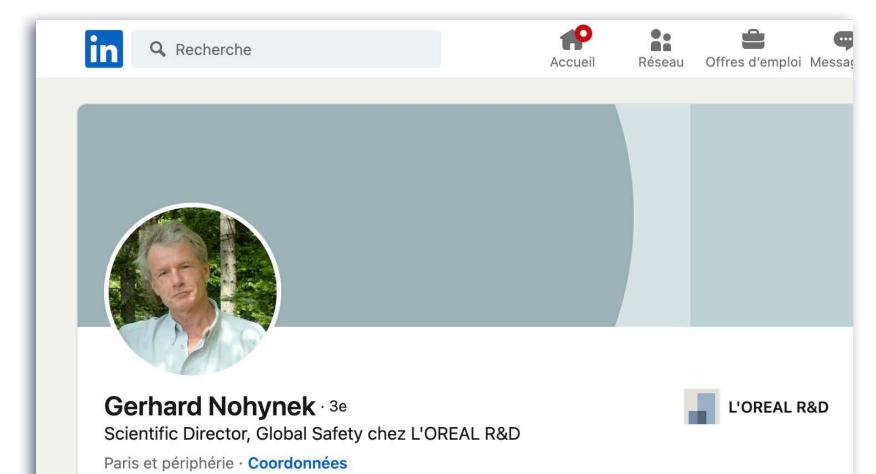




- Endocrine disruption: Fact or urban legend?
- ₂ Q1 Gerhard J. Nohynek^{a,*}, Christopher J. Borgert^b, Daniel Dietrich^c, Karl K. Rozman^d
- ^a Les Caillons, 58460 Corvol, L'Orgueilleux, France
 - b Center for Environmental and Human Toxicology, Department of Physiological Sciences, University of Florida 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 ?

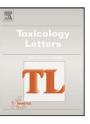




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journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/toxlet



Endocrine disruption: Fact or urban legend?

² Q1 Gerhard J. Nohynek^{a,*}, Christopher J. Borgert^b, Daniel Dietrich^c, Karl K. Rozman^d

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

behaviour? Would not terms, such as feminisation of males, reduced penis length and size or a declining male fertility mainly strike male imaginations and sensitivities – and, after all, most researchers in the field of EDCs and, more importantly, politicians handing our research funds are men. Could this be a coincidence? One may wonder whether the entire issue of EDC is more within the competence of Dr. Sigmund Freud than that of toxicology.

b Center for Environmental and Human Toxicology, Department of Physiological Sciences, University of Florida College of Veterinary Medicine, Gainesville

—> Disclosures are not enough

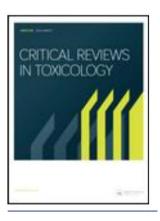
Conflict of interest

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 2



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).



—> CanIntertek 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

Funding effect (Krimsky 2005)

- Tobacco: 90 times
- Alachlor, atrazine, formaldehyde, perchloroethylene:
 60% independent studies found harmful effects
 vs 14% industry-funded studies
- **Atrazine**: 50% vs 29%
- **Bisphenol-A**: I 19 independent vs 0 industry-funded
- Sugar-sweetened beverages: 5 times more association with obesity

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

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





Corrigendum

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

Authors: Williams, G. M., Aardema, M., Acquavella, J., Berry, C., Brusick, D., Burns, M. M., de Camargo, J. L. V., Garabrant, D., Greim, H. A., Kier, L. D., Kirkland, D. J., Marsh, G., Solomon, K. R., Sorahan, T., Roberts, A., & Weed, D. L.

Journal: Critical Reviews in Toxicology

Bibliometrics: Volume 46(S1), pages 3–20, Year 2016

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10408444.2016.1214677

When this article was originally published on 28th September 2016, the contributions, contractual status and potential competing interests of all authors and non-author contributors were not fully disclosed to Critical Reviews in Toxicology. Specifically, the Acknowledgements and Declaration of Interest were not complete. After further clarification from the authors, these sections are corrected to reflect the full contributions, contractual status and, potential competing interests of all authors and non-author contributors and read as follows:

ghostwriting



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

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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

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-analysisWe 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, Kie Williams, Greim and maybe Keith Solomon)

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}

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David Saltmiras

Sent:

Subject:

t: Glyphosate Activities

8/4/2015 2:13:30 PM

, ghost wrote cancer review paper Greim et al. (2015),

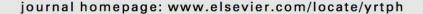
How independent is this scientific article?

Level 3



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Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology





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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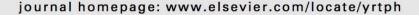
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affiliations and disclosure



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Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology





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



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LINUTE E. KETPER

Julio C. Lerroy

LINUTERIN C. LINVY

Senior Scientists



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Senior Air Quality

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Air Quality Monitoring

Sources, Sinks, and

Transport of air

Cilmate Science

Politytents

Air Dispersion Modeline

Ph.D.

Scientist

Expertise

ABOUT GRADIENT



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Mechanical Engineering

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DABT, Fellow ATS

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Practice Director Principal Scientist

Corporate Vice President &





Travis J. Cook, Ph.D. Toxicologist Expertise Netals Risk Appearament

Lisa A. Bailey, Ph.D.

Senior Toxicologist

Mode-of-action Analyses

ONA Carrage, Sepair and

Molecular Biology &

Expertise

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Human Exposure

Risk Appearament

weight of Evidence

Mucagenesis



David G. Dodge, M.S., DABT, CIH



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Ronald M. Latanision, Ph.D.







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Senior Scientists

industrial Hygiene

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Human Health Risk

Assessment

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Senior Fellow Natick

Vehicle Engineering rlan







Grace I. Greenberst. M.P.H. Senior Environmental **Foxicologist**

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R. Thomas Long, Jr., P.E., CFEI Principal Engineer & Office



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This re-

view 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.

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Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology

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SPEER Suzanne (BEPA)

@cefic.be> on behalf of From: @cefic.be> Monday 17 March 2014 16:32 Sent: (ENV); (ENV); To: (ENTR): 1 (ENTR): (SANCO): @ec.europa.eu; (SANCO); (SANCO); EC CSA; @ec.europa.eu.; @ec.europa.eu; (TRADE); (TRADE): (TRADE); { (TRADE); (TRADE); @ec.europa.eu: (RTD): (RTD): 1 (RTD); (SG): I (AGRI); (AGRI): (AGRI): @ec.europa.eu; @ec.europa.eu; (JRC-ISPRA); (JRC-ISPRA); (SG); (SG) - ECPA (European Crop Protection Association) Cc: Review of the WHO-UNEP State of the Science on Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals 2012 Subject: Joint statement from ACC Cefic CLA CLC CLI ECPA on review of WHO-UNEP r...pdf: Attachments: 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.

Taxonomies of corporate tactics

RESEARCH Open Access

Corporations' use and misuse of evidence to influence health policy: a case study of sugar-sweetened beverage taxation



Gary Jonas Fooks^{1*}, Simon Williams¹, Graham Box² and Gary Sacks³

Table 1 Agnogenic practices and techniques by soft drink manufacturers in the consultation on South Africa's proposed sugar-sweetened beverages policy

Practices	Techniques	Description
Confounding Referencing		• The misleading use of references which either overstates or gives an entirely false impression of support for a claim or obstructs evidence appraisal.
	Cryptic references	 An opaque reference that provides insufficient information to easily locate the original source and which serves to obstruct evidence appraisal.
	Faux sources / False authority	 A faux source involves providing an incorrect source for key data. The concept overlaps with an appeal to a false authority, where an alleged authority is used as evidence to support a claim, which, in fact, is not an authority on the facts relevant to the claim.

Questions?

Thank you for your attention

