

# Breaking The Hockey Stick:

## The Kyoto Protocol Is Based On A Myth

BY CÉCILE PHILIPPE, PARIS

Many people, believing that global warming is dangerous, now expect sea levels to rise and for low-lying coastal areas to be increasingly threatened. They believe that mosquito-borne disease will migrate to Europe, that the movement of some oceanic waters will slow down, and that other even more extreme phenomena will result.

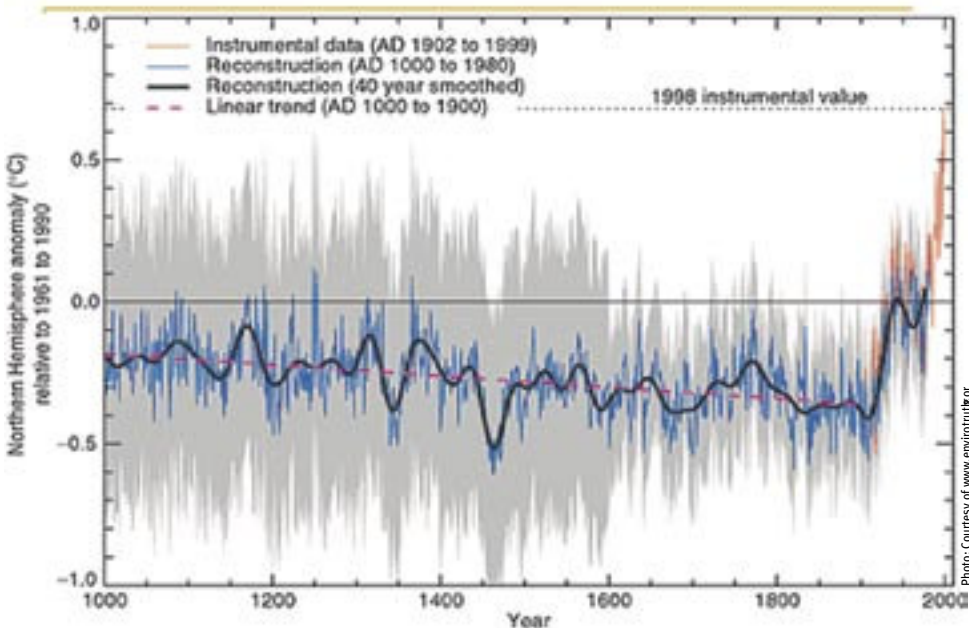
Today, it is widely held that global warming is not only a reality but that it is caused by the emission of man made greenhouse gases. Although the idea that there is a link between 20th century global warming and human activity seems plausible enough, it fell upon a

in and around the United Nations, the idea of man-made global warming thus started to permeate popular consciousness.

However, in recent times the work of Mann and the IPCC has increasingly been challenged – and by ever more respectable voices. In October 2003, two leading Canadian scientists, McKittrick and McIntyre, published a study in the highly respected journal Energy and Environment. Highly critical of the methodology used in Mann's work, McIntyre and McKittrick uncovered some disturbing flaws which lead them to conclude that much of the data in the original study was "unreliable and cannot be used for comparisons between the

ey stick. As Richard Muller puts it his article for the MIT Technology Review (15/10/04):

"The improper normalization procedure [of PCA] tends to emphasize any data that do have the hockey stick shape, and to suppress all data that do not. To demonstrate this effect, McIntyre and McKittrick created some meaningless test data that had, on average, no trends. This method of generating random data is called "Monte Carlo" analysis, after the famous casino, and it is widely used in statistical analysis to test procedures. When McIntyre and McKittrick fed these random data into the Mann procedure, out popped a hockey stick shape!"



The "hockey stick" graph

team lead by Michael Mann to produce a hockey stick graph, which purported to show that the last century had been the warmest over the last 1,000 years.

The Mann study first came to prominence in the early 1990s when it was actively promoted by the activists of the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC). Indeed, back then, it was taken to be absolute proof that not only does global warming exist but that it is caused by human activity.

It was against this background that in Kyoto – Japan – in 1992, key voices in the international community decided to implement a protocol that was designed to lead to an enforced reduction in global greenhouse emissions – irrespective of the scientific, economic and social costs. Led by activists

current climate and that of previous centuries."

Indeed, they went so far as to argue that Mann's work consisted of significant errors under which an unjustified truncation of three series of data – out of 112 – occurred. For instance, the Central England Temperature series used was truncated at 1730 rather than the available source date of 1659, thus removing a major late 17th century cold period.

Whilst Mann and his colleagues initially responded by arguing that the two Canadians cited the wrong data, and that the differing results could be attributed to a different handling of the tree ring principal component analysis (PCA), the Canadians have now proven a fundamental mathematical flaw in the computer program that was used to produce the original hockey

Whilst the debate between all these writers is clearly set to rage over the months and years ahead, it is increasingly clear that the idea that human activity is a determining factor in the onset of global warming is itself highly questionable.

Indeed, one can increasingly question the relevance of a Kyoto Protocol that mobilizes a vast amount of rhetoric but yet is fighting a highly dubious and uncertain cause. At the moral level, one has to question the efficacy of a political project that will not only damage the economic and social wellbeing of the west but will make it much harder for those in the developing world to be liberated from want and poverty.

- The author is the director of the Institut Economique Molinari – www.intituum-molinari.org

**THE RIGHT OF REPLY:**  
Roger Helmer MEP explains why he is stung by Tom Spencer's recent article.

## Out Of Touch In The Brussels Bubble

Ex-Conservative MEP Tom Spencer has a good line in invective. In EU Reporter (October 11/22), he wrote about my "sheer strangeness", having seen my acceptance speech on Sky TV following the June euro-elections.

Those who have followed Mr. Spencer's career closely might like to remind him that when it comes to sheer strangeness, perhaps people in glasshouses shouldn't throw stones.

There has been a tendency in most political parties for those offering themselves as euro-candidates to be people who are interested in the European project, and enthusiastic about it.

Certainly the British Conservative delegation in 1994/99, when Spencer was a member, fitted this mould. They were a million miles away from the views of ordinary party members – so much so that several of them left the party in 1999, unable to campaign on a Conservative manifesto.

Wrapped up in the Brussels bubble, and still locked in the Brussels mind-set, Spencer simply doesn't understand the views of Conservatives, or of the British people. He is wholly mistaken about attitudes to Europe amongst both groups.

He believes that the great majority of Conservatives are just like him – moderate, reasonable pro-Europeans. He thinks that the odd euro-sceptic in the party – myself, Bill Cash, John Redwood – are eccentric aberrations.

The truth is just the opposite. In fact the party has an aging handful of Europhiles, famously described by my colleague Theesa Villiers MEP as "Yesterday's men with yesterday's policies". They include Clarke, Heseltine, Curry, and Taylor.

In Brussels, I am proud to be part of a beleaguered minority. But back in the UK, at Conservative meetings or in the pub, I am right in the mainstream of opinion on Europe.

Almost no one ever asks me to be more positive about the EU. But at almost every Conservative meeting, an activist will accost me and ask "How long must we keep up this pretence of re-negotiation? When are we going to do the sensible thing and get out?"

Millions of Conservatives, including activists and councillors, voted for the UK Independence Party last June. Not because they think UKIP is a serious player, but because "They wanted to give the party leadership a message on Europe". How do I know? Because dozens of them have told me so.

Do I have anything more than anecdotal evidence to go on? Yes. Back in 1998, William Hague organised an internal Party referendum on the euro. On a high turnout, 85% of respondents voted to keep the Pound.

In our East Midlands selection process in 2003, there was a determined attempt to unseat me for my sceptic views. I know this because a number of members voted me at the bottom of their lists, and there is no plausible reason to do this to a hard-working incumbent, unless you oppose his policies. Their initiative was a failure, and a huge rebuff to the Spencer-tendency.

Some eight percent voted me bottom of the list. Over half voted me #1, and I topped the list overall. So I'd accept 8% as

a reasonable estimate of pro-EU feeling in the Party.

A Times poll just ahead of the election had more than half of intending Conservative voters (not just members) in favour of leaving the EU altogether.

Spencer is quite right that this is the Party of Euro-quislings like Heath, and that Conservative governments ratified most of the treaties, including the infamous Maastricht Treaty.

It is also true that Prime Minister Tony Blair first stood for election on a personal manifesto calling for EU withdrawal. That doesn't make the Labour government euro-sceptic. And Ted Heath doesn't make the Tories euro-ophile.

Spencer's other huge misconception is that all decent people think the EU is a good thing, or in the oft-repeated phrase "the benefits of membership are self-evident". No they're not.

A recent paper by the think-tank Civitas pulled together a series of estimates, from prestigious commentators, on the UK's net cost of EU membership, and it came out at 4% of GDP – an enormous drag on growth and prosperity.

Wim Kok, in his progress report on the Lisbon Agenda, finds that almost nothing has been achieved in five years, and the 2010 targets are unattainable.

Anyone who, like me, has sat in the EU Parliament's 'Unemployment' Committee for the last five years will know that actually we have slipped back, we have passed measures that make labour markets less flexible, and reduce our ability to compete in the global market-place.

A recent report from the German Bundesbank (Oct 2003) can find no benefits to German industry from the Single Market.

The euro is failing, as 41½ million unemployed Germans can testify. Meanwhile the EU Commission finds that seven euro-zone countries face unsustainable demand pressures, because the euro interest rate is too low for their economies.

The Iraq war showed that a Common Foreign Policy is a chimera. Separate EU defence structures, coupled with endemic anti-Americanism in some member-states, threatens the Atlantic Alliance and calls our security into question.

The EU is undermining democracy in member states, as voters catch on to the fact that decisions are made by remote bureaucrats, and that their votes make little difference. Turnout in euro-elections keeps trending downwards.

The debate over Turkish accession crystallises the problem. No one can establish the right criteria for the issue, because no one really knows what Europe is supposed to mean, or what the EU is for.

British Conservatives, and most of the British people, want a Europe based solely on free trade and voluntary cooperation. This is more or less the Common Market we thought we were voting for in 1975. Spencer would say that this amounts to leaving the EU. But frankly I don't care what we call it – variable geometry, associate membership, withdrawal – so long as we have it.

As I said in my acceptance speech that prompted Spencer's criticism, "We have had enough of the European project. We want our country back. And we will have it".