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Laboratory. In 1980, I went to Princeton University, where I was the Class of 1909 Professor of Physics from 1988 to 1991.

- 3. In 1990, I joined the United States Department of Energy ("DOE") as Director of the Office of Energy Research. In that position, I supervised a research budget of some \$3.5 billion, a sizable part of which was directed toward environmental and climate science.
- 4. After leaving DOE in 1993, I returned to Princeton University, where I have remained a Professor of Physics, named as the Cyrus Fogg Brackett Professor of Physics in 2003 and designated Emeritus in 2014. In the course of my academic and non-academic career, I have published over 200 peer-reviewed scientific paper, many of them on the interaction of radiation with matter, the basic physics that determines how greenhouse gases influence Earth's climate. I am the inventor of the sodium guide star, that is used in most new ground-based telescopes to measure and correct for the degradation of astronomical images by atmospheric turbulence.
- Since 1976, I have been a member of JASON, which is accurately described in 5. Wikipedia at en.wikipedia.org/wiki/JASON\_(advisory\_group) as follows: "JASON is an independent group of elite scientists which advises the United States government on matters of science and technology, mostly of a sensitive nature. The group was created in the aftermath of the Sputnik launch as a way to reinvigorate the idea of having the nation's preeminent scientists help the government with defense problems, similar to the way that scientists helped in WWII but with a new and younger generation. It was established in 1960 and has somewhere between 30 and 60 members. Its work first gained public notoriety as the source of the Vietnam War's McNamara Line electronic barrier. Although most of its research is military-focused, JASON also produced early work on the science of global warming and acid rain. ... JASON members, known informally as 'Jasons,' include physicists, biologists, chemists, oceanographers, mathematicians, and computer scientists, predominated by theoretical physicists. They are selected by current members, and, over the years, have included eleven Nobel Prize laureates and several dozen members of the United States National Academy of Sciences. All members have a wide range of security clearances that allow them to do their work." From 1987 to 1990, I was chairman of the steering committee for JASON.

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- From 2018 to 2019, I served as the Deputy Assistant to the President and Senior 6. Director for Emerging Technologies at the National Security Council in the White House.
- I am a fellow of the American Physical Society and was elected as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1995 and a member of the National Academy of Sciences in 1996. I received a Sloan Research Fellowship in 1967, the Herbert P. Broida Prize in 1997, the Davisson-Germer Prize and the Thomas Alva Edison Patent Award in 2000.
- 8. I have been involved in leadership positions in several nonprofit organizations, including the Richard Lounsbery Foundation, the Marshall Institute and the CO<sub>2</sub> Coalition (carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) is one of several greenhouse gases). I am a co-founder and board member of the CO<sub>2</sub> Coalition, which was founded in 2015 with a mission to educate the public to these facts: levels of atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> have been much higher than today's through most of geological history, and increased atmospheric levels of CO<sub>2</sub>, closer to the optimum values for photosynthesis in plants, will benefit the world.
- 9. As part of my involvement with the CO<sub>2</sub> Coalition, I have been involved in the fundraising efforts of the CO<sub>2</sub> Coalition to obtain donations from individuals and charitable foundations who are sympathetic to the mission of the CO<sub>2</sub> Coalition. I am sensitive to the danger that the interrelationships between the donors to a nonprofit entity and the principals and employees of such entity may be asserted to influence or bias the positions taken or work done by such entity. Indeed, in December 2015, I was targeted in a sting operation by the environmental activist group Greenpeace. Posing as consultants for a Middle Eastern oil and gas company, they asked me to write a report touting the benefits of rising carbon emissions. I declined a fee for my work, calling it a "labor of love". As I stated in a 2016 interview regarding the sting operation: "I was only interested in helping the 'client' to publicize my long-held views, not to peddle whatever message the 'client' had in mind ... I have never taken a dime for any of my activities to educate the public that more CO<sub>2</sub> will benefit the world."
- 10. I have long been intensely interested in the issue of climate change and the purported scientific consensus that there has been a strong anthropogenic influence on rising global temperatures. Some small fraction of the 1 °C warming during the past two centuries must

have been due to increasing CO<sub>2</sub>, which is indeed a greenhouse gas. But most of the warming has probably been due to natural causes. Increasing levels of the main anthropogenic greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), will cause a small, beneficial warming of Earth's climate. More CO<sub>2</sub> will be very good for agriculture, forestry, and all photosynthetic life. Atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations have been dangerously low in our contemporary geological period, with evidence of CO<sub>2</sub> starvation during glacial maxima. Plants are already responding very positively to the CO<sub>2</sub> increases of the past century.

- 11. The modest increases of atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> since 1850 have already substantially increased the productivity of agriculture and forestry. More CO<sub>2</sub> will bring still more benefits. Increases in CO2 will have a very minor influence on Earth's climate. This can be see clearly from the records of geological history. A major ice age occurred in the Ordovician, when atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> levels were more than ten time larger than those today. CO<sub>2</sub> levels in Antarctic ice cores rise or fall after temperature proxies rise or fall. For the past million years spanned by the ice cores, temperature changes cause CO<sub>2</sub> changes. CO<sub>2</sub> changes do not cause temperature changes. Other things being equal, an increase in atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> should cause some relatively small warming. Observations strongly suggest that the warming will be small. The rise in Earth's temperature from 1950 to 2000, about 0.4 C, was approximately the same as that from 1900 to 1950, also about 0.4 C, when the increase in atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentration was some six times less. So most of the temperature rise of the past century was probably a recovery from the Little Ice Age, and not due to increasing CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations.
- 12. CO<sub>2</sub> is not a control knob of Earth's temperature or climate. Historically, Earth's temperatures have been higher when atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations were lower than present levels, and lower when CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations were substantially higher.
- 13. My primary interest and concern regarding this issue, however, is how the issue of anthropogenic contributions to atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub>, which are a fair proxy for economic activity and lifestyle, have like so many aspects of our culture become intentionally politicized. It is being utilized by ideologues as a basis for attempting not only a fundamental restructuring of our economy, and that of the rest of the world's, and for allocating trillions of dollars to solve a non-

existent problem, but also to interfere with our basic freedoms. Based on my own research as to the basic physics that determines how greenhouse gases influence Earth's climate, my review and supervision of the environmental and climate science done at the DOE while I served as Director of the Office of Energy Research and my involvement in work being done at JASON that related to the science of global warming, I strongly disagree with the persons and institutions which promote the narrative that the "settled science" and the purported "scientific consensus" justify, if not mandate as a matter of global survival, that there should be a fundamental restructuring of our economy and that of the rest of the world in order to slow the anthropogenic influence on rising global temperatures. That is why I co-founded the CO<sub>2</sub> Coalition and, in furtherance of its mission, have diligently reviewed the scientific and political developments relating to global warming, including the identification of all the major players (i.e., scientists, academics, politicians, institutions and individual donors) on both sides of the global warming issue.

- 14. The Emmett Center at UCLA Law School ("Emmett Center"), its namesake and principal founder, Dan Emmett, Professor Ann Carlson and Professor Cara Horowitz have in recent years been deeply and increasingly involved in consistently propagandizing the complete opposite of the above-noted scientific facts, in support of ruinous public policies to combat a "climate emergency" that does not exist ("Climate Emergency Alarmists"). A major mission of the Emmett Center has been to assist legal advocacy urging the imposition of financial and policy obligations on private parties on the basis of that CO<sub>2</sub> is a "pollutant" rather than a beneficial, natural part of life, and indeed building block for richer, freer, safer, healthier and more resilient societies.
- 15. I have reviewed the First Amended Petition for Writ filed by GAO in the above-captioned proceeding, including the attached PRA request ("PRR 19-7464") on Respondent The Regents of the University of California ("Regents") seeking any emails sent to or from two UCLA law professors, Ann Carlson ("Carlson") and Cara Horowitz ("Horowitz"), during the period April 25, 2016 through November 14, 2019 that were to, from or included four specified

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email addresses (the "Requested Public Records"). In PRR 19-7464, GAO expressly stated its reason for making the request (the "Climate Litigation/State Institution Interface") as follows:

"This request is being made in the public interest, and furnishing this information will benefit the public's understanding of recent events regarding climate litigation and municipalities which have been filing lawsuits against energy companies and working closely with attorneys general also to pursue opponents of the 'climate' policy/political agenda. This information is being requested for the purpose of understanding how state institutions are involved, if at all, in the larger effort feeding this litigation industry."

16. I have also reviewed the Exemption Log provided by Regents to GAO as part of its response to PRR 19-7464 listing 120 separate documents (the "Exemption Claim Documents"), which I have been asked to assume sets forth the complete factual bases upon which Regents relies in support of its claims of exemption as to all 120 Exemption Claim Documents. In particular, eighty -six (86) of the Exemption Claim Documents are supported in the Exemption Log by one of four variations of the following Explanation:

## The Fundraising Exemption Explanation:

"The record concerns pre-decisional internal discussions, which are deliberative processes in which the public interest in non-disclosure clearly outweighs the public interest in disclosure. The public interest in non-disclosure particularly applies because this record concerns internal fundraising discussions relating to, among other things, strategies and particular donor interactions which, if subject to public disclosure, would chill the candor of such discussions or preclude them entirely. As a result, disclosure would hamper the University's ability to raise funds that are essential to its public education, scientific, medical and other academic pursuits. While not all donor information may be protected in all circumstances where the records relate to formal agreements reached for expenditures of public funds, see, e.g., California State University, Fresno Assn., Inc. v. Superior Court (2001) 90 Cal. App. 4th 810, 833-835 (requiring disclosure of names of donors to Foundation who in return received agreements to lease luxury suites to new arena, as more in the nature of a 'commercial transaction'), here, these emails are internal discussions among UCLA employees [one of the four variants specified in the footnote below]<sup>1</sup>. If such information were disclosed, public university employees will not feel free to candidly discuss potential fundraising strategies and targets, which will severely limit the university's ability to secure the public funding it needs to operate. This is similar to express exemptions for drafts and constitutes deliberative process such that this information is exempt from disclosure. Further, in some instances, the information contained in internal fundraising discussions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Variation 1: "about potential fundraising strategies" (Exemption Log Documents Nos. 1, 16 and 18 through 24).

Variation 2: "relating to the negotiations of a specific donation by one individual and do not involve the an actual formal agreement for the expenditure of public funds" (Exemption Log Documents Nos. 3, 25 through 31, 33, 35 through 37, 39, 40, 42 through 55, 72, 73, 75 and 76).

Variation 3: "relating to the formulation and presentation of fundraising priorities" (Exemption Log Documents Nos. 15, 17, 71, 74 through 84, 87, 88, 90, 91 and 93 through 107).

Variation 4: "relating to the conceptualization and establishment of a scholarship" (Exemption Log Documents Nos. 56 through 62 and 64 through 70).

constitutes a trade secret under Evidence Code 1060, which provides that 'the owner of a trade secret has a privilege to refuse to disclose the secret, and to prevent another from disclosing it, if the allowance of the privilege will not tend to conceal fraud or otherwise work injustice."

17. An additional nine (9) of the Exemption Claim Documents<sup>2</sup> are supported in the Exemption Log by the following Explanation:

## The Pre-Publication Exemption Explanation:

"The record concerns pre-publication academic research in which the public interest in non-disclosure clearly outweighs the public interest in disclosure. The public interest in non-disclosure particularly applies because this record concerns drafts of academic texts whose disclosure would chill academic freedom, particularly research into sensitive or controversial topics. See, e.g., Humane Society of the United States v. Superior Court (Regents of the Univ. of Calif.), (2013) 214 Cal. App. 4th 1233 (upholding Regents' decision to withhold UC Davis researchers' prepublication research data from public records request)."

- 18. I have been asked for my opinion as to the importance of transparency as to communications between two faculty members at the Emmett Center who are Climate Emergency Alarmists that are also (1) to or from Dan Emmett and/or (2) which relate to Dan Emmett, climate change, global warming or fundraising strategies, priorities or uses of or for the Emmett Center. I have also been asked to compare the importance of that transparency to the asserted potential harms to Regents' ability to raise funds and the academic freedom of its faculty.
- two faculty members at the Emmett Center who are Climate Emergency Alarmists (1) to or from Dan Emmett and/or (2) which relate to Dan Emmett, climate change, global warming or fundraising strategies, priorities or uses of or for the Emmett Center (the "Emmett/Regents Communications"), given the inescapable economic and social implications of the demanded policies and particularly given the involvement of public institutions in this enterprise, it is hard to imagine a subject in which the public has a more significant interest. Regardless of which side of the climate change debate is correct, or closer to being correct, the public should know all it can about any influence, direct and obvious or indirect and covert, that is being utilized by donors such as Dan Emmett who have a clear political agenda as Climate Emergency Alarmists,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Exemption Log Documents Nos. 108, 110, 112, 114 and 116 through 120.

agenda being promoted by Dan Emmett and the Emmett Center (the "Climate Emergency Alarmists' Agenda") is inherently one of imposed scarcities. To the extent this agenda is realized, it will affect virtually every aspect of the lives of Californians. All Californians, whether they agree or disagree with the Climate Emergency Alarmists, have an interest in determining whether, and to what extent, the Regents, which is primarily supported by the taxes of its citizens, the UCLA Law School and/or any of its faculty, have been influenced, or subject to bias or an appearance of bias, in the research conducted, the papers published, the opinions expressed, the subjects taught, the scholarships awarded and other influences including a need or a desire to adhere to, or avoid impeding, the Climate Emergency Alarmists' Agenda.

- 20. As for the asserted potential harms to Regents' ability to raise funds and the academic freedom of its faculty, the real risk of either harm arising from the disclosure of any public records requested by PRR 19-7464 is entirely speculative, highly unlikely to occur and certainly of greatly less importance than is transparency as to the Emmett/Regents

  Communications. With regard to the risk that the disclosure of any records relating to internal fundraising discussions relating to fundraising strategies or priorities, particular donor interactions or scholarships would chill the candor of such discussions or preclude them entirely, a two-step analysis is required: (1) what is the actual risk that the disclosure of the records requested by PRR 19-7464 relating to internal fundraising discussions relating to fundraising strategies or priorities, particular donor interactions or scholarships would chill the candor of such discussions or preclude them entirely; and (2) even assuming that that disclosure would chill the candor of such discussions or preclude them entirely, how "severely [would the chilling or preclusion] limit the university's ability to secure the public funding it needs to operate'"?
- 21. As noted previously, I have personally been involved in fundraising activities on behalf of several nonprofit entities. While serving as the President of the Richard Lounsbery Foundation, I also became quite familiar with the funding requests from non-profit entities. I have frequently participated in internal email communications about various aspects of that fundraising, both as a supplicant and a provider. The nonprofit entities I am involved with are not

directly subject to any public records act, except to the extent we correspond with public institutions. I was, however, subject to the Federal Freedom of Information Act while disbursing billions of taxpayer dollars from the Department of Energy. I would likely also accept, as do University of California employees, being subject to the PRA in return for the billions of dollars that Regents receives annually from public funds.

- 22. If all internal email communications related to fundraising matters (1) were potentially subject to disclosure to the public and (2) one or more internal communications concerned matters which I would not want disclosed to the public, the prospect of the potential disclosure of such communications if set forth in an email would neither chill the candor of such discussions or preclude them entirely. It would simply mean that instead of using email for any internal communications relating to matters that I did not feel should be at risk of public disclosure, I would do what I previously did, which is arrange an in-person meeting, or a telephonic or Zoom/Teams conference call, for the discussion of such matters. Presumably Regents' expenditure of taxpayer dollars on such technologies is in contemplation of just that.
- 23. Even assuming that for some reason there were no possible alternative means for conducting person-to-person discussions relating to fundraising matters, the implicit assumption that there are numerous internal communications relating to fundraising matters (including 86 involving Professors Carlson and/or Horowitz) which, if made public, would "severely limit the university's ability to secure the public funding it needs to operate" is at best speculative, and, more realistically, fanciful. Unless the internal communications in question were insulting or derogatory about existing or prospective donors or evidenced that Regents or Professors Carlson or Horowitz were not true believers in the Climate Emergency Alarmists' Agenda, there are no deep, dark secrets about how and from whom to raise funds in support of the Climate Emergency Alarmists' Agenda. The major donors are all well known, as are the activities such as Climate Rides, symposia and other events that cater to such donors. The success of Regents, the Emmett Center and Professors Carlson and Horowitz in raising funds has not stemmed from some unique fundraising tactic or trade secret, but from the high profile of the Emmett Center's and its faculty

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members' advocacy in support of imposing financial and policy obligations on private parties for supporting the narrative that CO<sub>2</sub> is a "pollutant" rather than a beneficial, natural part of life.

- With regard to the risk that the disclosure of any or all of the nine emails 24. exchanged between Professor Carlson and Dan Emmett would constitute a threat to academic freedom, particularly research into sensitive or controversial topics, real scientific research is not threatened by the disclosure of drafts. Even assuming (implausibly) that Professor Carlson was actually engaged in seeking to obtain information or comments from Dan Emmett as part of her preparation of a research paper intended for future publication (as opposed to make a major donor feel catered to and privy to advance information), scientists routinely circulate preliminary results, and report on preliminary results at conferences. In fact, the more attention given to honest scientific work, the better it is for the authors. I also note this on UCLA's website, that, "It's just gibberish to say these laws stifle research,' said David Cuillier, director of the University of Arizona School of Journalism and a member of the Society of Professional Journalists's [sic] freedom of information committee. 'These are government scientists funded by taxpayers, and the public is entitled to see what they're working on." "Article Reminds: Public University emails (and other documents) are not private," March 20, 2016, https://uclafacultyassociation.blogspot.com/2016/03/article-reminds-public-university.html (viewed June 21, 2021).
- 25. Sadly, the real threat to academic freedom today, as the Climategate e-mails show, is that posed by the Climate Emergency Alarmists, of which the Emmett Center is a key player. It is the Climate Emergency Alarmists who constitute a threat to academic freedom by routinely ensuring rejection of any scientific papers that fail to support the narrative of impending climate doom. Editors of journals that publish off-message papers are fired. One example of such censorship is a paper submitted to the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences by the distinguished atmospheric physicist, Richard Lindzen, then a Professor at MIT, and his coauthor, Dr. Y. S. Choi. A useful discussion of this episode can be found at this site: (https://climateaudit.org/2011/06/10/lindzens-pnas-reviews/).

26. Just last month, French geophysicist Dr. Pascale Richet was viciously attacked by Climate Emergency Alarmists for a paper he published in History of Geo- and Space Sciences. After threats to the editorial staff of the journal, and to its publisher, the paper, which had undergone through peer review, was flagged for cancellation. The paper, and the attacks on it by the very editors who had it refereed and published, can be reviewed at this link:

(https://hgss.copernicus.org/articles/12/97/2021/). Richet's paper was absolutely correct. It provided a useful history of the fact that temperature changes precede changes in CO2 concentrations in air bubbles of Antarctic ice. This has been common knowledge for nearly twenty years, but since it does not fit the narrative of the Climate Emergency Alarmists, bringing attention to the facts was a threat to them. Not since Lysenko's hijacking of biology in the Soviet Union has honest science been so thoroughly subject to political diktats as contemporary climate science. UCLA's Emmet Center is part of this serious problem.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of California that the foregoing is true and correct, and that this declaration was executed on June 26, 2021 at Princeton, New Jersey.

William Happer
William Happer