

CSSN Research Report 2021:2: The Mises Institute Network and Climate Policy. 9 Findings

Policy Briefing
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About the authors

Dieter Plehwe is a Research Fellow at the Center for Civil Society Research at the Berlin Social Science Center, Germany. Max Goldenbaum is a Student Assistant of the Center for Civil Society Research at the Berlin Social Science Center, Germany. Archana Ramanujam is a Graduate student in Sociology at Brown University, USA. Ruth McKie is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at De Montfort University, UK. Jose Moreno is a Predoctoral Fellow at Pompeu Fabra University, Spain. Kristoffer Ekberg is a Postdoctoral Historian at Chalmers University, Sweden, Galen Hall is a recent graduate of Brown University and researcher in the Climate and Development Lab at Brown University, USA, Lucas Araldi is a PhD student in Political Science at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Jeremy Walker is a researcher with the Climate Justice Research Centre at the University of Technology Sydney. Robert Brulle, Visiting Professor of Environment and Society and Director of Research, Climate Social Science Network, Brown University. Moritz Neujeffski is a Research Fellow of the Center for Civil Society Research at the Berlin Social Science Center, Germany. Nick Graham teaches in the Department of Sociology at the University of Victoria, Canada. Milan Hrubes is an Assistant Professor and head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Hradec Králové, Czech Republic

About CSSN

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institutional and cultural dynamics of the political conflict over climate change, and assist scholars in outreach to policymakers and the public.

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Climate Social Science Network

Institute at Brown for Environment and Society

135 Waterman Street, Providence RI 02912 USA

Email: CSSN@brown.edu

Twitter: @ClimateSSN

More publications and information available at CSSN.org

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Executive Summary

Think tanks have played a decisive role in the organised obstruction of climate action, denying, minimising, or derailing ambitious climate change mitigation. This research briefing reviews the case of the Ludwig von Mises Institutes and the Property and Freedom Society, a network of ultra-libertarian groups active around the world, which we refer to as the Mises Institute Network in the mobilisation and the dissemination of climate policy opposition discourse. We review the origins, the history, the global distribution and the climate-related output of 31 Mises Institutes between 2000 and 2021.

Our analysis reveals climate obstruction messaging based on a critique of climate science, principled objections to state intervention and planning and the social forces supporting climate change mitigation, as well as advocacy of free-market environmentalism as a suitable alternative to established climate politics. While Mises social theory includes a determined critique of environmentalism, it paid limited attention to climate change before 2016. From 2016, there has been a concerted effort to disseminate climate opposition discourse featuring a clear spike in published articles during 2019. Contextually, 2019 saw the U.S. Green New Deal proposal and the European Union Green Deal decision suggesting a tipping point for advocating free-market environmentalism in response to climate change to contend the increased state intervention discourse emerging in domestic and international climate policy planning.

Additionally, ties exist between scholars of Mises Institutes to a broad range of business groups ranging from gold, trade and investment firms in Germany, tobacco companies in the U.S., business school, consulting and service firms in Spain, and metal employer association and financial groups in Sweden. Furthermore, the network is engaging in an international effort to recruit new members into the ultra-libertarian movement, with an active university presence and active online campaign to spread Mises' philosophy and recruit more members, particularly students and young people, to the movement.

Despite the lack of transparency and limited evidence of fossil industry funding, the Mises Network of think tanks has a clear voice in the denial and delaying think tank train, gaining speed at this pivotal moment in time. Our results indicate a dedicated effort to spread climate change opposition messages across the network. The core ideology of the Austrian economics tradition related to Ludwig von Mises provides the climate change opposition with a straightforward repertoire of arguments. Put simply, the coordinated activities of Mises Institutes across countries illustrates an attempt to circulate widely opposition to climate policy based on the radicalism of Mises social theory that focuses on resistance to government intervention and a form of market fundamentalism as a primer to maintain business as usual at the behest of the planet.

The study can be summarized into nine key findings:

1. Mises' philosophy provides a compact repertoire of arguments to oppose climate change mitigation.
2. Opposition arguments emerge from Mises Institutes' philosophical critiques of environmental thinking.
3. Mises Institutes have enjoyed financial support since the late 1990s, globalized from 2000 onward and maintains a presence in 25 countries in 2021.
4. The U.S. Mises Institute received a sizeable gift in the late 1990s, and yearly funding increased considerably, particularly during the 2008 financial crisis. However, little or nothing is known about the financing of the Mises institutes in other countries.
5. Attention to climate change increased markedly since 2016 with dedicated efforts to operate across borders and (language) cultures.
6. Several members of Mises Institutes are in positions at universities to shape economic thinking, potentially mobilising young people to join the movement,
7. The Mises Network joins other obstruction think tanks in using climate contrarians to promote obstruction discourse.
8. Ties exist between members in the Mises Network to a broad range of business groups ranging from gold, trade and investment firms in Germany, tobacco companies in the U.S., business school, consulting and service firms in Spain, and metal employer association and financial groups in Sweden.

The Mises Network plays a role amongst a much more extensive network of climate obstruction think tanks to undermine climate action.

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The Structure of Obstruction: Understanding Transnational Think Tank Network Opposition to Climate Action

Scholars have noted the decisive role of American, British and Australian think tanks in the highly-developed network of organizations dedicated to denying or minimising the relevance of anthropogenic global warming and delaying if not derailing ambitious climate change mitigation.¹ The close link between climate policy obstruction and neoliberal hostility to state intervention and planning suggests taking a closer look at the global efforts of “free market” think tank networks in particular. However, research is still in its early stages, examining global think tank networks developed to mobilize and coordinate climate change related (in)action across borders.

History of Neoliberal Think Tank Networks and Climate Obstruction

The growth of neoliberal think tanks and the formation of international networks started in opposition to economic planning and modernization after WWII, gaining speed in opposition to the expansion of the welfare state and financial regulations in the 1960s. It then accelerated in opposition to new social and environmental regulations (occupational and public health, hazardous materials etc.) in the 1970s. With the rise of privatization and deregulation agendas, neoliberal think tanks moved center stage in policy consulting and planning from the 1980s onward.² But the fusion of developmental and global warming concerns in the shape of the climate justice movement led to additional think tank investment of neoliberal constituencies in business and academia – economics in particular – in an effort to uphold neoliberal core principles: property rights, freedom of contract and “rule of law” protections against political intervention in the field of climate politics in particular.³ Regulatory ambitions to keep global warming below 1.5 degrees Celsius threatened these fundamental concerns, notably in fossil industries. While the environment and climate change were not the only reasons to increase neoliberal think tank capacity, the perceived challenge of the new social movements and dedicated multilateral state activities under the umbrella of the United Nations International Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) helped to raise considerable funds for a wide range of corporate and neoliberal climate-related action

¹ see CSSN Primer 2021:1

² Dieter Plehwe and Bernhard Walpen, “Between network and complex organization: The making of neoliberal knowledge and hegemony,” in *Neoliberal hegemony a global critique*, ed. Dieter Plehwe, Bernhard Walpen and Gisela Neunhöffer (London: Routledge, 2006)

³ Ruth Mckie (2018). Climate Change Counter Movement Neutralization Techniques: A Typology to Examine the Climate Change Counter Movement. *Sociological Inquiry*. 89. 10.1111/soin.12246.

carried out through think tanks. Major strategies include *science denial, *anthropogenic cause denial, and *lately climate policy (instrument) criticism and other delay strategies (e.g. advocating “market-based instruments instead of “command and control” regulation).^{4,5}

It is not always easy to distinguish between serious efforts of environmental economists (including neoliberal economists) interested in economic instruments to address environmental problems from dedicated efforts to undermine or subordinate climate policy goals to protect profits and privileges.⁶ To determine constructive and destructive players and observe the transnational supply, diffusion and circulation of arguments in opposition to ambitious climate action, it is necessary to examine neoliberal and libertarian think tank networks more closely. Take, for example, the network of Ludwig von Mises Institutes and the Property and Freedom Society.

⁴ Nuria Almiron, Boykoff, M., Narberhaus, M. et al. Dominant counter-frames in influential climate contrarian European think tanks. *Climatic Change* 162, 2003–2020 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-020-02820-4>

⁵ William Lamb,, Mattioli, G., Levi, S., Roberts, J., Capstick, S., Creutzig, F., Minx, J., Müller Hansen, F., Culhane, T., Steinberger, J., 2020, Discourses of climate delay, *Global Sustainability* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/sus.2020.13>

⁶ For comparison see Stephan Lewandowsky, Liberty and the pursuit of science denial, *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 42, 2021, 65-69.

Finding 1: The Mises Network promotes Radical opposition to the environmental movement and climate change mitigation.

Key Findings:

- Mises' philosophy provides a repertoire of arguments to oppose climate change mitigation.
- Opposition arguments emerge from Mises Institutes' philosophical critiques of environmental thinking.

A split within the U.S. neoliberal/libertarian movement in 1982 led to the founding of the ultra libertarian Mises Institute. Murray Rothbard departed from the Koch funded Cato Institute to set up the Mises Institute in Auburn, Alabama.⁷ Rothbard identified three major challenges for contemporary capitalism: 1) "Prohibitionism", efforts to eliminate all risk, 2) "egalitarianism" and 3) "environmentalism" or "antihumanism."⁸ Rothbard's closest ally was Lew Rockwell, who was similarly outspoken in opposition to the environmental movement. Rockwell held "ecologism" to be as "pitiless" as Marxism.⁹ Following the collapse of Soviet socialism, more Mises Institutes were founded in the 2000s and 2010s, listed on the Property and Freedom Society website.¹⁰ The Property and Freedom Society in turn was set up by Rothbard's follower and colleague at the Mises Institute, the German Austrian economist and philosopher Hans Hermann Hoppe, in 2006. It is headquartered in Turkey and holds annual meetings attended by staff and board members of the Mises Institutes among others.

Of the various neoliberal networks (or "paleoliberal" according to Rockwell, which means "stone age liberal" in his positive sense of stubborn commitment), the Mises network is the smallest, yet possibly the most rigorous concerning climate change. The ideology of this tradition of Austrian Economics based on Ludwig von Mises provides important conceptual tools that are highly relevant for climate denial and obstruction purposes. Mises social theory is based on a peculiar theory of action (praxeology), distinguishing between a) free exchange of individuals, b) coercive action (infringing on free individual exchange), and c) retaliation (against coercive action). On this basis, not only economic relations but all social relations are held to be explained with a normative emphasis on "free exchange" within and beyond the marketplace.¹¹ Resting on, fixed assumptions (a priori ideas not subject to the test of experience),

⁷ Janek Wasserman, *Marginal Revolutionaries: How Austrian Economists Fought the War of Ideas*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

⁸ Murray Rothbard, A Conversation with Murray Rothbard (Austrian Economics Newsletter), 1990 in: Salerno, Joseph, T., McCaffrey, Matthew (eds.) *The Rothbard Reader*, (Auburn: Mises Institute, 2016), 29-38.

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ <http://propertyandfreedom.org/>

¹¹ Ludwig von Mises (1998[1940]), *Human Action. The Scholarly Edition* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute 1998) [German: *Nationalökonomie: Theorie des Handelns und Wirtschaften* (Genf: Union, 1940).

praxeology and its deductive method can be considered a descendent of outdated idealist philosophy of science,¹² providing cover for pseudo-scientific attacks on climate sciences. From this theoretical approach emanate three significant resources for climate political struggles.

Mises Network members propagate a policy stance of:

1. radical anti-government interventionism.
2. strong opposition to climate sciences accused to illegitimately mix natural and social science, the latter ill-footed because not based on praxeology.
3. strong opposition to a wide range of social forces and movements that rely on climate sciences and support mitigation ambitions.
4. an alternative approach held to be superior to tackle environmental and climate-related problems, namely market democracy (free consumer choice) and related “free-market environmentalism” – ideally turning all living environments into goods sold in markets.

Against the catastrophic perspective of accelerating global warming, the Mises network provides an equally dystopian vision of economic planning in the name of climate change as the ultimate threat for humanity. They envisage any climate policy no matter if pursued by democratically elected governments and coordinated within and between responsible societies around the globe or otherwise, as a form of “eco-dictatorship” imposed upon individuals. The Mises alternative to a utopian society characterized by climate justice and global solidarity is a libertarian utopia of vastly extended property rights as the basis for market-democratic solutions to all ecological and social problems – “free-market environmentalism”, or the unrestricted right to emit and pollute as long as it is part of a “free market exchange”.

The revival of the radical Austrian tradition of Ludwig von Mises can be considered surprising given the simplicistic and backward ideology and science philosophy. However, in the face of the magnitude of complexities of the domestic and international climate policy fields, it does provide clarity and vision for those interested in a principled defense of “free markets” and unrestricted property rights.

¹² Mises' most important student, Friedrich August von Hayek disagreed with his teacher's approach (Caldwell 2004, 220f., compare Beddeleem 2020 on neoliberal science philosophy).

Finding 2: Mises Network has U.S. origins and has built a network of institutes across 31 countries.

Key Findings:

- Mises Network globalized from 2000 onward and maintains a presence in 25 countries in 2021.

While the inception of the network was in 1982, it was not until the end of the 1990s when the U.S. institute grew and attracted considerable funding. Funding subsequently increased steadily in the U.S. and peaked around the 2008 global financial crisis. However, it is unclear as to the distribution of funding to non-U.S. Mises Institutes.

Total Revenue and Total Expenses (US\$)

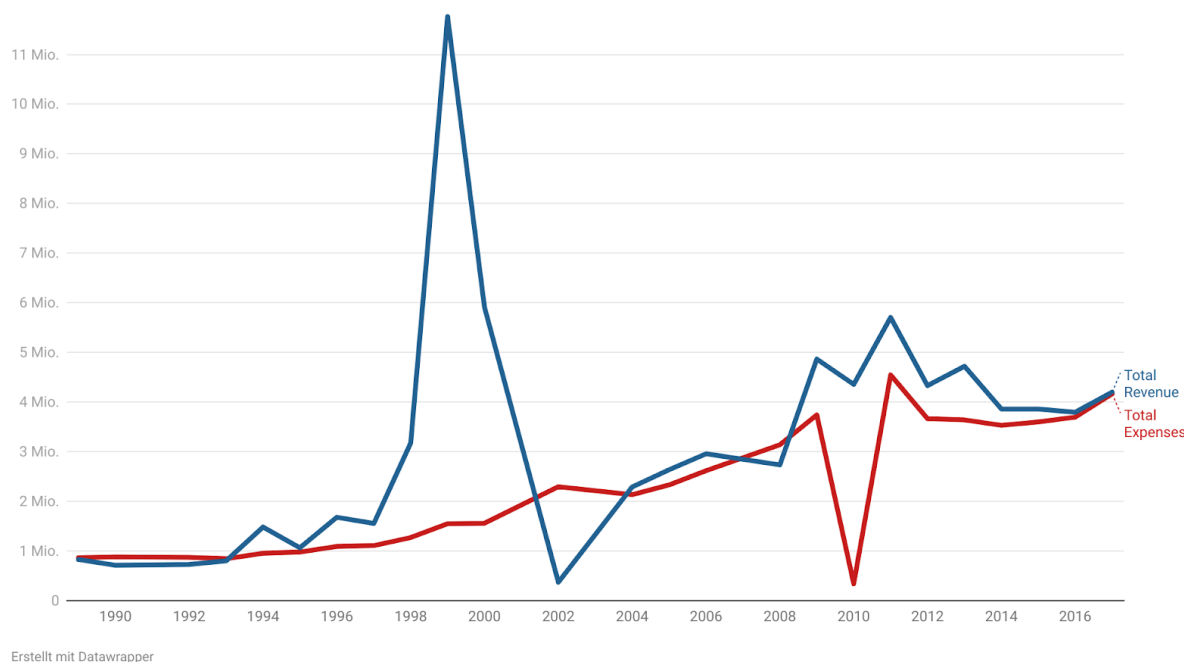


Figure 1: Total Revenue and Expenditure for the U.S. Mises Institute¹³

¹³ Source: IRS 990 filings

From early 2000, Eastern European sources added the first new institutes to the U.S catalogue. Following the founding of the Property and Freedom Society by Hans-Hermann Hoppe in 2006, the network expanded quickly (see Figure 2). Albeit a relatively small network, the Mises network has established a presence in both Western and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and the Pacific region following the global financial crisis (see Figure 3). The crisis highlighted the instability of free-market economics, and Mises Institutes grew to redefine and reassert this economic thinking, including its application to climate policy.

Emergence and dissolution of Mises Institutes (number)

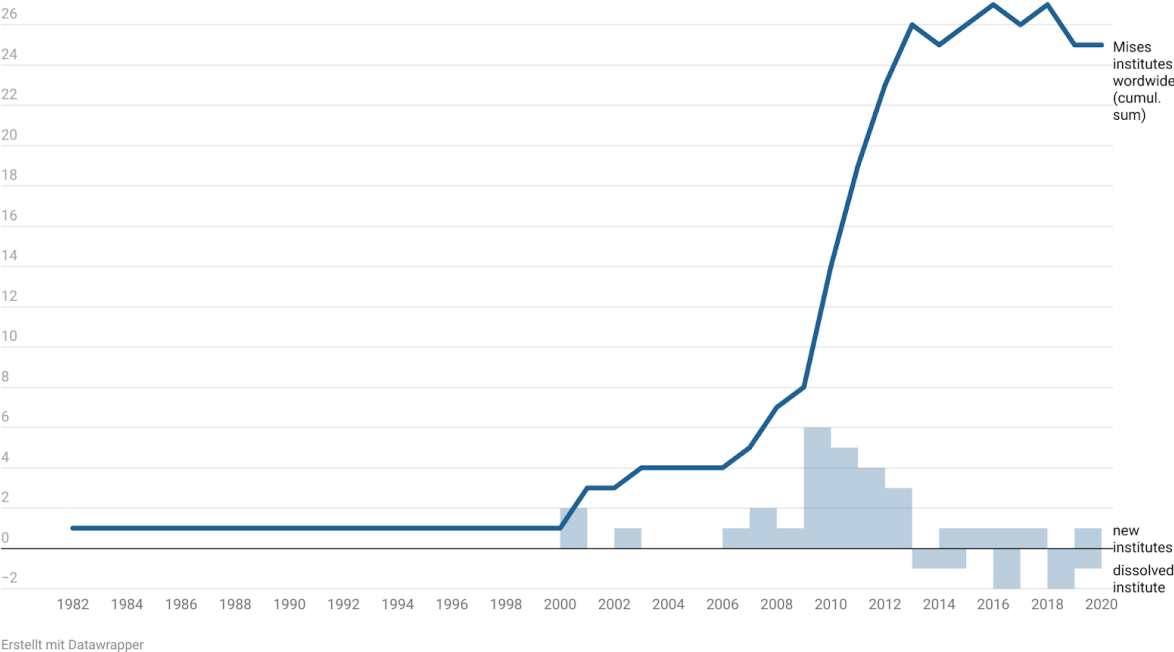


Figure 2: Emergence and dissolution of Mises Institutes.¹⁴

¹⁴ Source: Property and Freedom Society, Webarchive

Emergence of Mises Institutes

Year	Country
1982	USA
2001	Romanian, Europe
2003	Poland
2007	Belgium
2008	Brazil, Spain (Barcelona)
2009	Estonia
2010	Canada, Ecuador, Israel, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, Czech Republic
2011	South Africa, Russia, Portugal, Japan, Finland
2012	Columbia, Germany, Iceland, Italy
2013	Netherlands, Global, Turkey
2015	China
2016	France (Institut Coppet)
2018	Spain
2020	Australia (Liberty Australia)

Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Dissolution of Mises Institutes

Year	Country
2014	Russia
2015	Iceland
2016	Czech Republic, (website maintained, other business moved to Liberal Institute)
2017	Columbia, Ecuador
2018	Canada
2019	Belgium, Portugal
2020	Italy, Global

Erstellt mit Datawrapper

Figure 3: Mises Institutes Country Locations and Date of Inception¹⁵

There are a total of about 220 individual staff and board members across 18 institutes in 2021.¹⁶ The largest institutes are in the U.S. and Brazil each with 35 staff and board members. Although funding information is lacking for most countries, ties exist to a broad range of business groups ranging from gold, trade and investment firms in Germany, tobacco companies in the U.S., business school, consulting and service firms in Spain, and metal employer association and financial groups in Sweden.¹⁷ An interlock position exists with Guatemala's Marroquin University.¹⁸

Only a few staff and board members hold positions at two or more Mises Institutes. The German and Romanian Mises institutes both feature Hans-Hermann Hoppe and Guido Hülsmann. Hülsmann provides an additional link to the Belgian Rothbard Institute, which is connected to the U.S. Mises Institute by the Spanish economist Jesús Huerto de Soto. Like the head of Guatemala's Marroquin University who offered him (and many other leading neoliberal intellectuals) a honorary doctorate, Huerto de Soto's home base is

¹⁵ Source: Property and Freedom Society, Webarchive

¹⁶ Availability of data: Some we were unable to access due to non-operational hyperlinks at the time of writing.

¹⁷ http://thinktanknetworkresearch.net/blog_ttni_en/property-and-freedom-society-and-the-global-proliferation-of-mises-institutes/

¹⁸ Spanish economist Gabriel Calzada serves as rector of Guatemala's Marroquin University and is affiliated with the U.S. Mises Institute and the Foundation for Economic Education and the Mont Pèlerin Society (https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Calzada)

Universität Rey Juan Carlos in Madrid. Looking at the Mises people, we can observe Spanish - German - American triangles reaching into Latin America and Eastern Europe in particular. This suggests a need to complement the U.S. and Anglophone focus of climate opposition sources and resources with a closer analysis of networks and sources in several countries that have not been prominent in climate change denial discussions so far.

Finding 3: Mises Institutes have increased attention to the issue of Climate Change since 2016.

Key Facts:

- Mises Institutes paid limited attention to climate change up until 2017.
- Recent increases in Mises' content focus on radical anti-government interventionism.
- There is a strong focus on attacking environmentalism and collective action.

A wide range of authors published 308 articles documented on Mises Institute websites, of which 90 articles have been translated from the original language in which they were written (mostly into Spanish). Since 2000, the number of articles published by Mises Institutes on the topic of climate change gradually increased between 2006-2016 and between 2017-2020 (Figure 4). There was a clear spike in published articles during 2019. Contextually, 2019 saw the proposals for a U.S. Green New Deal in the USA and the European Union Green Deal decision. This rise may be unsurprising given the tension between the fundamental principles of the 'Green New Deal' which increases the role of the state in green transitions compared to Mises traditional social theory including radical anti-government interventionism.

Number of published articles and audios per year

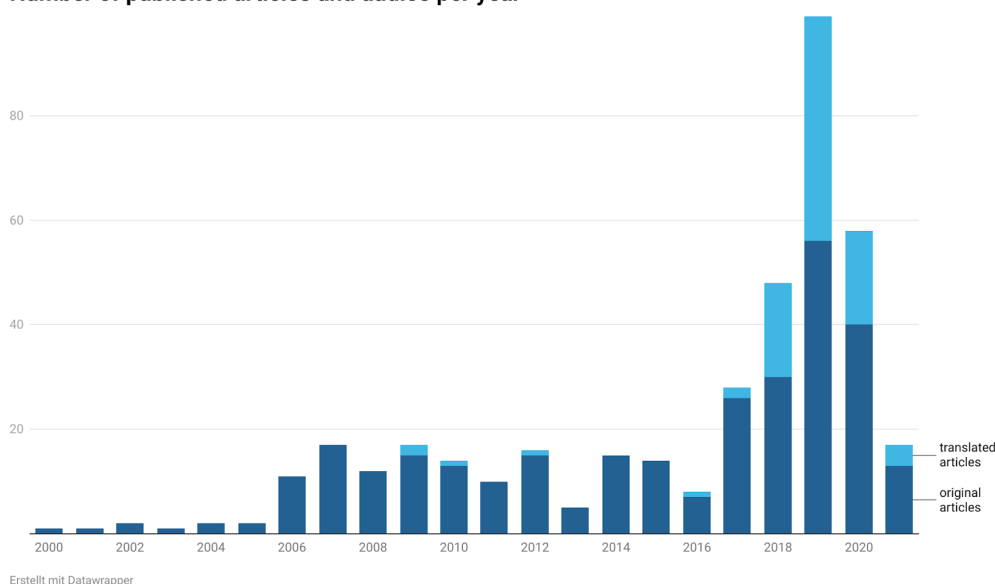


Figure 4: Mises Institutes Published Articles on Climate Change¹⁹

¹⁹ Source: Mises Institute websites, search for the keywords "Climate change", "global warming."

Figure 4 sheds additional light on the paleoliberal focus when dealing with global warming related political activism across countries. While a few articles have been translated earlier (2009-10), a more ambitious project has been started to translate English and other language content into Spanish in 2017.

Focusing on content, Figure 5 summarizes the hot topic issues of the articles based on a keyword search of all outputs.

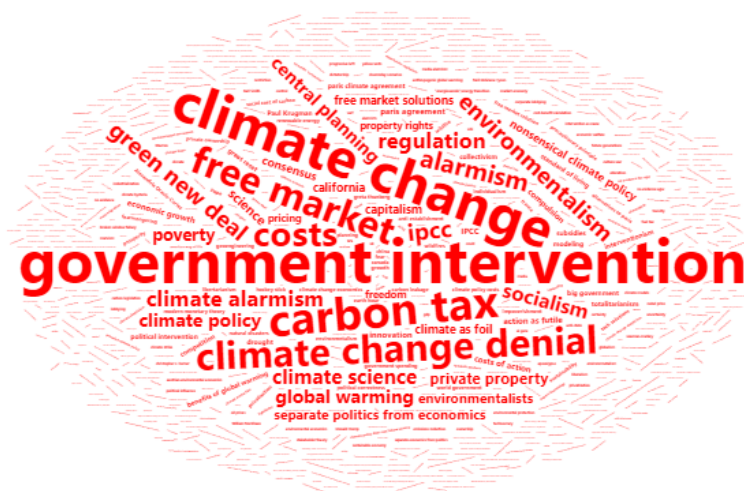


Figure 5: Word Cloud, Keywords selected from the headline and main article

The most substantial concern found in the articles points to problems and issues raised concerning state intervention. Carbon taxes and the Green New Deal are frequently discussed (and rejected) policy projects. IPCC and climate sciences figure prominently among the targets of Mises authors. Energy is also directed against environmental and other “collectivist” movements, including corporations and business elements supporting stakeholder norms. Alternative proposals resting on free-market ideas and property rights complement the hot topic list.

Similarly, Figure 6 shows the distribution of articles according to the repertoire of Mises based objections to climate mitigation, with the largest proportion of articles focused on state intervention.

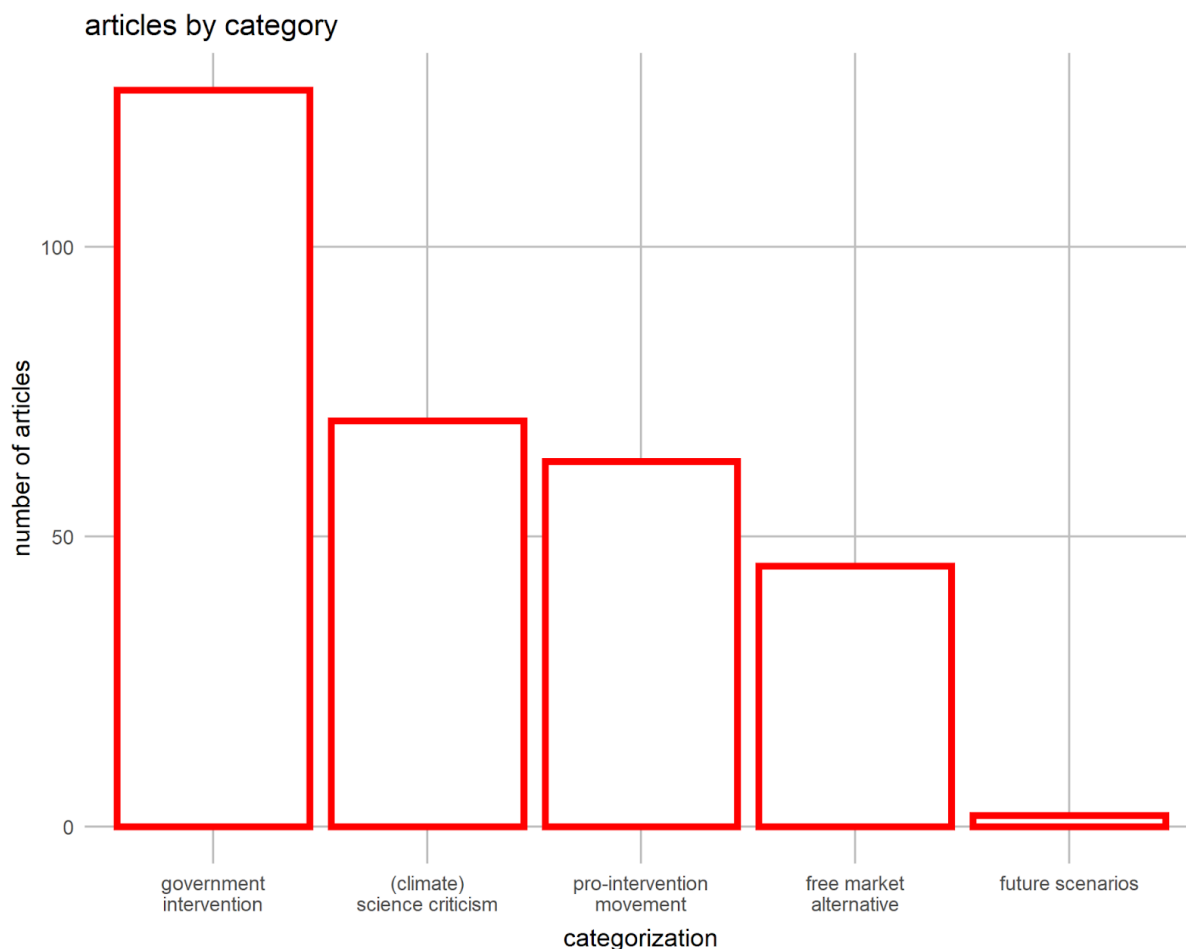


Figure 6: Main focus of articles (N=308)

While we anticipated the anti-intervention, the anti-climate science and the free market alternative categories from Mises Institutes, we did not expect the strong focus on movements and social forces supporting environmental intervention. In fact, Mises' articles attacked environmentalism, collectivism, socialism, corporate stakeholder perspectives and the World Economic Forum business community. In the science field, a large number of articles condemned the IPCC. In the anti-intervention category, authors targeted various state institutions in Europe, North America and globally and, public intervention critique was frequently related to attacks on collectivism.

Looking at the development of major targets for critique over time, we can see an ongoing although minimal concern with climate science and a growing concern with social movements backing intervention between 2000-2020. As the value of contrarian science no longer became a viable discourse for obstruction think tanks, attention turned to solutions to climate change. For example, the presentation of "free market alternative" solutions has remained steady as the number of articles emanating from the Mises network increased from 2006. Staying on the agenda throughout is the critique of government intervention, consistent with Mises' social theory and its resistance to environmentalism.

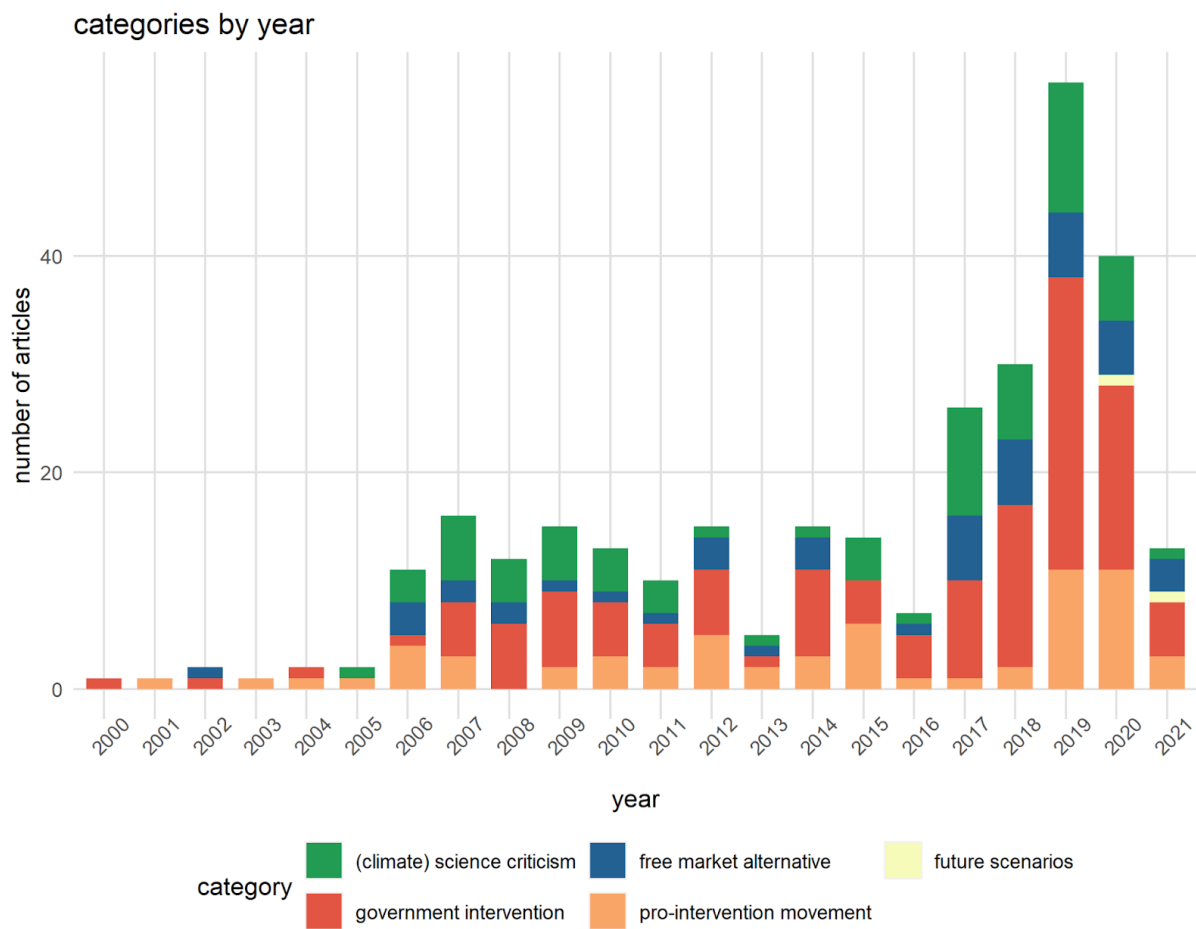


Figure 7: Articles according to categories over time

Finding 4: Climate Contrarian protagonists help diffuse climate obstruction discourse across countries.

Key Facts

- Translated work plays a role in diffusing Mises Institute's ideas across countries.
- Mises Institutes use the traditional playbook of climate contrarians to promote obstruction discourse.

Among the most frequent authors of the U.S. Mises Institute is Robert P. Murphy. Murphy contributed 37 of 141 articles published by the U.S. Mises Institute, followed by Ryan McMaken with 24. Murphy is a veteran of climate denialism²⁰ with almost 50,000 followers on Twitter compared to McMaken's nearly 8,000 followers. Similar to previous findings on the use of climate contrarians to disseminate misinformation on climate change,²¹ Mises Institutes use economists rather than those engaged in climate or environment related research, to disseminate obstruction discourse through research, op-eds, policy reports and books.

With nearly half the climate-related output and the dedicated effort to translate selected articles into Spanish, the U.S. Mises Institute dominates the outputs on climate change across the Mises Network. Nevertheless, international scholars are vital contributors to the U.S. output in addition to their work at home. The German Mises Institute organized a climate change conference in 2020, which only featured climate denial and delay perspectives. All content is available in video format on the website.²²

The concerted effort to publish content from the Alabama Mises Institute in Spanish includes both U.S. and foreign authors. This collection currently features 90 articles, of which more than a quarter are written by authors from Europe, Latin American and Australia. This collective effort reaches Latin American audiences and the Spanish language population in the U.S. and Europe. Rather than thinking of the Mises network as a U.S. based Hub and Spoke network, we need to observe several overlapping circuits linking Western Europe (Germany and Spain in particular) to North America and both of these Mises communities to Latin America, Eastern Europe, Australia and Asia. Hans-Hermann Hoppe's Property and Freedom Society complements these think tank circuits with a global intellectual association modelled after the Mont Pèlerin Society, and both following the example set by the Fabians. That is, like the Fabian Society, an early british socialist think tank like network of individuals that sort to indirectly influence

²⁰ <https://www.desmog.com/robert-p-murphy/#s3>

²¹ Maxwell, T. Boykoff, S.K. Olson, Wise Contrarians: a keystone species in contemporary climate science, politics and policy, *Celebrity Studies*. 4 (2) (2013) 76-291. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2013.831618>.

²² <https://www.misesde.org/category/veranstaltungen/>

political elites by channelling research and social reform projects to drive social change, the Mises Network takes a similar role producing reports and research that can be utilised in political circles to potentially shape policy outcomes.

Finding 5: Mises Institutes are using social media to increase outreach and recruit young activists to the network.

Key Facts

- The Mises Network plays a more prominent role online than other famous climate obstruction think tanks.

Mises Institutes actively use online platforms including social media to expand the international reach and attract a larger audience. For example, the U.S. Institute has a much stronger reach or a comparatively larger amount of web traffic to that of prime U.S sources of climate change denial such as the Heartland Institute.²³ The Mises Institute is not monothematic, of course, and has a broader appeal in economic debates beyond libertarian circles. The high volume of traffic is also due to the international network for which it provides crucial resources (such as all the publications of Ludwig von Mises and other Austrian economists and philosophers). Last but not least, dedicated efforts are made to reach diverse audiences. A comparison of ‘free-market think tanks’ in the Forbes business weekly by Alejandro Chafuen, the long time president of the Atlas Network, features both Mises U.S. and Mises Brazil among the top-ranked think tanks. Mises U.S. has an active presence on Youtube, and Mises Brazil is top on Instagram.²⁴ The ultimate list by Chafuen, who has moved on from Atlas to the catholic neoliberal Acton Institute (managing director, international²⁵), is an important reminder that Mises is all but a small part of the much larger circle of neoliberal think tank networks in general and the nearly 500 think tank strong Atlas Network in particular. Together, these networks of think tanks continue to obstruct climate action.

²³ <https://thebestschools.org/features/most-influential-think-tanks/>.

²⁴ <https://www.forbes.com/sites/alejandrochafuen/2021/03/30/the-2021-ranking-of-free-market-think-tanks-measured-by-social-media-impact/?sh=76da9f3177f6>

²⁵ <https://www.acton.org/about/staff/alejandro-chafuen>

Conclusion

Due to limited transparency, it is impossible to establish if and to what extent the fossil industry interests connect to the network of Mises Institutes, and climate change-related output has been historically limited. But a conference organized by the German Mises institute in 2020 featured only denial and delay voices, and attention to climate change across Mises Institutes has significantly increased since 2016. Moreover, the Mises framework provides obstruction forces with a broad set of tools in opposition to government intervention, policy planning and market regulation. Thus, Mises' ideas are likely to gain importance with the shift from denial to delay and other obstruction strategies.

In a podcast of the British Mises Institute, the particularly imaginative Brazilian Mises Institute leader Helio Beltrao²⁶ clarified the role of think tanks and his role as (soccer) “coach” in the battle of ideas directing the team and organizing the game: goalkeeper Ludwig von Mises as the defender of last resort behind the academic defenders of the principles and values across academic disciplines. In midfield, he positions the cultural and media distributors. They translate academic knowledge in the public sphere and feed attacks carried forward by politicians to advance on the field and potentially score. Team Mises is ready to take on all and sundry competition. After the defeat of teams Marx and Keynes, Mises is prepared for the matches with Greta's team or ‘eco-interventionists’ no matter where they will play on planet earth.

This characterisation by Helio Beltrao illustrates Mises' attempt to be ‘cool’ employing a form of radical social theory that is black and white. It promotes market-forces as the ‘Good’ solution to climate change, opposing state intervention and collectivism presenting it as ‘bad.’ Such framing is to help these ideas resonate with its key audience members; students and youth activists. The agenda-setting strategy produced in Mises outputs, along with their outreach program in universities is similar to the mobilisation and collective movements like Fridays for Future and the Sunrise Movement.

In sum, the coordinated network of Mises Institutes are mobilising opposition to climate policy, producing research reports and op-eds that are circulated across borders, promoting a particular form of climate obstruction messaging that 1) continues to undermine climate science, 2) promote solutions through free-markets, 3) and attack collectivism and state intervention. While further investigation is needed to determine any connections to the fossil industry like other counter-movement think tanks such as the Heartland Institute, it has not deterred the Mises Network engagement in the climate opposition movement promoting political thinking optimised to produce inadequate solutions in the climate policy planning arena.

²⁶ <https://misesuk.org/2018/05/16/menos-marx-mais-mises-with-helio-beltrao/>

Think Tanks and the War of Ideas

a soccer game as an analogy for social struggles liberally adapted
according to Helio Beltrao, Ludwig von Mises Institute Brazil*

Team Mises' Free Market Environmentalism vs. Team Meadow's Eco-Interventionism



Coach:
Helio Beltrão,
President of the Mises Institute Brazil

Coach:
Felicia Wong,
President of the Roosevelt Institute

Team Mises' Free Market Environmentalism:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1: Ludwig van Mises | (Austrian School Economist) |
| 2: Thomas di Lorenzo | (Professor of Economics) |
| 3: Walter Block | (Economist) |
| 4: Hans Hermann Hoppe | (Economist) |
| 5: Murray Rothbard | (Economist & philosopher) |
| 6: Thomas Woods | (Author & commentator) |
| 7: Gary North | (Blogger & author) |
| 8: Joseph Sobran | (Journalist) |
| 9: Robert P. Murphy | (Economist) |
| 10: Ron Paul | (Politician) |
| 11: Václav Klaus | (Former Czech president) |

Team Meadow's Eco-Interventionism:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1: Donella Meadows | (Lead author of "The Limits to Growth") |
| 2: Rachel Warren | (Climate Scientist) |
| 3: Mariana Mazzucato | (Professor of Economics) |
| 4: Kate Raworth | (Economist) |
| 5: John Bellamy Foster | (Professor of Sociology) |
| 6: Naomi Klein | (Author and activist) |
| 7: Winona LaDuke | (Author and activist) |
| 8: Neil deGrasse Tyson | (Science communicator) |
| 9: Greta Thunberg | (Climate protection activist) |
| 10: Al Gore | (Politician) |
| 11: Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez | (Politician) |

* The analogy is explained in an interview, available at: <https://mises.org/2018/05/16/menos-marx-mais-mises-with-helio-beltrao/> from minute 21:58. The player positions are supposed to represent the following social roles:

Goalkeeper:	Major Thinker of the doctrine
Defense:	Academics
Midfield:	Cultural workers
Forward:	Politicians
Coaches:	Think Tanks
Fans:	discourse coalitions in general public

Literature

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Appendices

Data Collection

Between March 2021 and May 2021, the authors identified Mises Institutes using the Property and Freedom Society website. The website provides a list of 31 Mises Institutes. We collected the following data on each organisation, where available, into an excel database:

- 1) Name of Institute
- 2) Geographic Location
- 3) First and Last Name of Author
- 4) Country of author
- 5) Title of Article
- 6) Type (i.e. op-ed, research report, book)
- 7) Link to article
- 8) Date article produced

To locate climate-related articles, we undertook a keyword search for the terms climate change and/or global warming of each organization's web search engine. To analyse the content of the climate-related articles, we created a coding survey and coding instruction manual for team members. Each member of the team coded the same 30 articles. The team then met to discuss the coding scheme, identified agreements, then continued coding. We then added the following information to the excel database:

- 9) Keywords
- 10) Additional Keywords
- 11) Notes category.

The team then cleaned the dataset for further analysis.

Data Sources

Name	Country	Link	Year Founded
Mises Institute	US	https://mises.org/	1982
Mises Europe:	Romania	https://mises.ro/	2001
Mises Barcelona	Spain	http://institutomises.blogspot.com/	2008
Mises Canada	Canada	http://www.lvmises.ca/	2018
Mises Colombia	Colombia	https://misescolombia.com/ ^a	2017
Mises Czech Republic	Czech Republic	https://www.mises.cz/o-nas/	2016
Mises Ecuador	Ecuador	https://misescolombia.com/ ^a	2010
Mises Estonia	Estonia	http://mises.ee/ ^a	2009
Mises Germany:	Germany	https://www.misesde.org/	2012
Mises Iceland	Iceland	http://www.mises.is/ ^a	2015
Mises China	China	http://auth.yeeyan.org/#/login?backurl=http:%2F%2Farticle.yeeyan.org%2Fmisesdaily ^a	2015
Liberty Australia	Australia	http://www.la.org.au/	2020
Institut Coppet	France	https://www.institutcoppet.org/	2016
Mises Israel	Israel	http://www.mises.org.il/ ^a	2010
Mises Poland	Poland	https://mises.pl/	2003
Mises Global		http://misesglobal.org/	2020
Rothbard Institute	Belgium	http://rothbard.be/ ^a	2007
Mises Portugal	Portugal	http://mises.org.pt/	2011
Mises Brazil	Brazil	https://www.mises.org.br/	2008
Mises Netherlands	Netherlands	http://mises.nl/	2013
Mises Russia	Russia	http://mises.ru/	2014

Mises South Africa	South Africa	http://www.mises.co.za/	2011
Mises Sweden	Sweden	https://www.mises.se/	2010
Mises Switzerland	Switzerland	https://www.mises.ch/de/sm i	2010
Mises Ukraine	Ukraine	https://mises.org.ua/	2010
Mises Turkey	Turkey	http://www.misestr.org/ ^a	2013
Mises Japan	Japan	https://www.facebook.com/LudwigvonMisesJapan/?ref=stream	2011
Mises Finland	Finland	http://mises.fi/	2011
Mises Italy	Italy	http://vonmises.it/ ^a	2012

a. Organisations no longer operational in 2020