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# Global climate change in the Spanish media: How the conservative press portrayed Al Gore's initiative

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Resum. Encara que les organitzacions científiques i ecològiques, ajudades per celebritats com l'exvicepresident dels Estats Units Al Gore, han aconseguit situar el canvi climàtic en l'ull públic, l'escepticisme cap a la seva existència està cobrant un ritme alarmant en la mesura que, per a moltes persones, ha deixat de ser una prioritat i s'està convertint en un problema secundari, eclipsat per assumptes com la crisi econòmica. En aquest article s'analitza l'impacte de la campanya verda d'Al Gore en els mitjans de comunicació a Espanya. El documental Una veritat incòmoda s'ha convertit en un emblema de la consciència pública sobre el fenomen, però el tractament que va rebre a la premsa espanyola variava d'acord amb la ideologia. L'anàlisi mostra que la premsa conservadora a Espanya va tenir una postura escèptica, que va passar d'editorials tímids i articles d'opinió crítics en els diaris més populars, com ABC, El Mundo i La Razón, a les acusacions i als insults ferotges en els més descarats, com Libertad Digital.

**Paraules clau:** Al Gore · canvi climàtic · mitjans de comunicació espanyols · escepticisme climàtic · *An Inconvenient Truth (Una veritat incòmoda)* · columnistes a Espanya

Summary. Although scientific and ecological organizations, aided by celebrities like former US vice-president Al Gore, have managed to place climate change in the public eye, skepticism towards its existence is gathering at an alarming pace to the extent that, for many people, it is no longer a priority and is becoming a secondary problem, eclipsed by issues such as the economic crisis. This article analyzes the impact of Al Gore's green campaign in the media in Spain. The documentary An Inconvenient Truth has become an emblem of public awareness of the phenomenon; however, the treatment it received in the Spanish press varied according to ideology. The analysis shows that the conservative press in Spain took a skeptical stance that went from timid editorials and critical opinion articles in the most popular newspapers like ABC, El Mundo and La Razón to fierce accusations and insults in the most brazen ones, like Libertad Digital.

**Keywords:** Al Gore · climate change · Spanish media · climate skepticism · *An Inconvenient Truth* · Spanish columnists

## Climate change and biodiversity

Recent decades have witnessed a growing awareness of how important and necessary biodiversity is for humanity to survive. This has been achieved thanks to the efforts of several scientific and ecological organizations and to the growing evidence of how the misuse of natural resources and the lack of a global environmental policy are affecting the life of every citizen on our planet. From the continual decrease in bee populations [24] to the decline of the global phytoplankton population over the past century [17], mankind now struggles to maintain the diversity of ecosystems, species, and the genetic wealth they harbor. Despite such efforts, the irresponsible use we have made of nature has seriously afflicted our planet, and unless urgent measures are taken, we could soon be facing one of the biggest mass ex-

tinctions ever, which will alter not only our planet's biodiversity but also certain evolutionary processes. As biologist Norman Myers and paleontologist Andrew H. Knoll warned [21]: "We are thus engaged in by far the largest 'decision' ever taken by one human community on the unconsulted behalf of future societies." Nine years later, this decision remains untaken.

Evidence of how human activity has diminished a habitat's biological diversity in the past is manifest in the extinctions occurring shortly after the arrival of humans in Australia, 50,000 years ago, or in North America, 11,000 years ago [20]. Besides the devastation that uncontrolled agriculture and hunting brought about, the ravages caused by industrialism and savage urbanization are also taking their toll. Independent studies worldwide have gathered evidence of climate change and its anthropogenic nature, and this has already affected Earth's biota [23]. Its connection with mass extinctions has been postulated and despite the fact that global quantitative evidence is still lacking, a proportional relationship has been established between continents with a strong climate footprint at the end of

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the Pleistocene and the large number of extinctions during that period [22].

## Climate negationism: the Spanish case

The United Nations declared 2010 as the International Year of Biodiversity. This shows the importance the issue is acquiring in a global setting and the growing need for political action to be taken to conserve and protect out planet's biological wealth. Nevertheless, there are still numerous political forces in every country unwilling to assume any human responsibility for climate change, and many of them even doubt its existence. In Europe, democratic foundations prevent right-wing parties from freely expressing their objections and skepticism towards climate change. Modern conservative-governed democracies, like France and Germany, have felt obliged to assign important sums of money to ecological policies in order to keep up with the expectations and concerns of public opinion. However, it is in recently established democratic regimes where the actual scale of hostility towards the climate change theory can be fully appreciated.

Within this context, Spain seems a suitable ambit in which to study the means and tools used to disseminate doubt among public opinion. The pacific transition from General Franco's thirty-six-year-long dictatorship to a parliamentary democracy never managed to fully reform the system, since most of the former authorities and members of the imposed government were neither condemned nor removed, nor were they forbidden to continue participating in politics. This could be seen as one of the main reasons why the Spanish population accepts certain types of behavior and attitudes that would be fiercely rejected and criticized in other EU countries. A young and inexperienced democracy, like the one in Spain, has become the perfect setting for climate negationists to spread their disbelief towards global warming in a way that would never be tolerated in other West European societies. Spanish skeptics can insult and affront their foes or those who disagree with them unscathed; without the risk of being perceived as unprofessional by the common citizen.

This was revealed in our former article concerning the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of Charles Darwin's birth in the Spanish press [19]. Our analysis of 11 newspapers during the week of Darwin's date of birth concluded that the Spanish conservative media still held decisive support for creationism and constant hostility towards the theory of evolution, which they associated with religious controversy.

Given these facts, it is hardly surprising that when Al Gore's 'green wave' reached Spain, skeptics struck back in an aggressive and uncensored manner. Our present study focuses on the media impact of this reaction. We will discuss how the Spanish press, and especially the right-wing press, reported the former American vice-president's green campaign, thus reflecting their true ideology, and its significance in terms of informing the public.

This research is based on the newspaper coverage during three periods: the premiere of *An Inconvenient Truth* in Novem-



Fig. 1. Al Gore receiving the Nobel Peace Prize 2007. Photograph by Kjetil Bjørnsrud.

ber 2006, the announcement that AI Gore was to be awarded the Prince of Asturias Award for International Cooperation in June 2007, and the award ceremony of this prize in October 2007. The latter coincided with the Norwegian Nobel Committee's announcement that AI Gore and the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change were to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The research focuses on the informative and argumentative contents published in the most important national conservative newspapers ABC, El Mundo and La Razón, as well as posted on the media website Libertad Digital.

The daily El Mundo maintains a self-defined liberal editorial line, whose main characteristic is its severe criticism towards the current socialist government. Although it is included within the conservative media sphere, the paper has a far more heterogenic range of columnists than other conservative newspapers, like ABC. The latter is one of the oldest journals published in Spain and is primarily known for its monarchist and traditionalist editorial line. Both newspapers are referred to as Spanish newspapers of reference because of their large readership and the reputation they have managed to build. La Razón is also a monarchist daily and is well-known for its conservative ideology. These three newspapers compete with each other for rightwing press leadership. Libertad Digital is one of the five mostread online newspapers and is also a point of reference for Spanish right-wing parties. Its strength resides in the opinion section, since most of its news consists of a slightly modified version of agency news. It has a large number of contributors, ranging from liberal to neoconservative figures and institutions. The editorial line is even more critical of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's government than ABC, and its editor is a frequent contributor to El Mundo.

The results of our study show that informative articles took a different stand from that of argumentative articles in all the newspapers but one. *Libertad Digital* was the only journal whose opinions, editorials, and information were coherent. It was also the one that published the most articles on the subject, followed by *ABC* and *El Mundo*. Argumentative articles were

mainly written to criticize Al Gore and his documentary, while the informative ones mostly reported the former US vice-president's Spanish tour.

## Main outcomes: content analysis

ABC's position regarding Al Gore and his ecological discourse was reflected in two editorials devoted to him. The first, entitled "Nobel goes to Environmental Propaganda", was published on the announcement that the Nobel Peace Prize was to be awarded to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and Al Gore. It disagreed with the Norwegian Academy's decision of including the latter, holding that his work did not deserve such merit:

"Gore's main merit has been his ability to find a good cause and have the talent to seize the banner, as he had previously tried to do with Internet, of which he proclaimed himself slightly less than creator, and that alone does not warrant award of the Nobel Peace Prize." [1]

The newspaper stresses the importance of interest in protecting the environment and the need to raise awareness about global warming. However, it considers that Gore's ecological discourse bears a political burden and a series of inaccurate and overstated data that prevent the global message from providing an answer to the environmental problem. Amongst other things, the paper criticizes the Academy for not taking into account the energy waste in the former Senator's mansion, nor the fact that it was during his term as vice-president of the United States that the country boycotted the Kyoto Protocol. It further mentions the British judge's ruling which recognized that the documentary An Inconvenient Truth contained errors. These have become the most frequently repeated arguments by Al Gore's opponents and appear in most of the texts covered by this study.

The other editorial dedicated to the American politician was entitled "Environmentalism and Opportunism." It was written following the uproar caused by statements made by the leader of the opposition, Mariano Rajoy, about climate change, which coincided with Gore's Spanish tour. On being asked his opinion on this phenomenon, Rajoy replied that his cousin [2] in Seville had told him that if the top ten scientists were incapable of telling him what the weather would be like in Seville the following day, it would be just as impossible for them to predict the global climate for the next 300 years. Therefore, Rajoy concluded, climate change should not be seen as such a serious problem.

In the article, the editor excuses the leader of the Partido Popular (People's Party, PP) and accuses the Left of overreaction. The newspaper claimed that a political debate on climate change had been sparked, and that the Left was using the ecological speech opportunistically with purely ideological goals. The allusions to the propagandistic use of global warming by left-wing parties (both national and international) were constant during the studied periods of publishing. At least four

journalists used this argument in their opinion articles, but there were many more who concurred on the use of the term progressive in a derogatory manner, to refer to people connected with Gore. The main accusation made in the newspaper's opinion section against the Left was that it had managed to draw a dogmatic banner from global warming in order to distract from the crisis. This crisis, according to an article signed by the former Minister of Industry, Carlos Bustelo, was an ideological one:

"Because, besides the ideological crisis brought about by the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union, now comes the dismay of progressivism at the unprecedented growth of the global economy, with 3000 million Asians in the lead... The Left, scared and baffled by the success of the ongoing economic freedom granted by globalization, has intelligently seized climate change as a new refuge, a new cause. Thanks to an institution as discredited as the United Nations and an opportunist politician like Al Gore, the Left triumphantly proclaims it will not surrender and that in the coming years, should it retain power, it will curtail our freedoms, raise taxes and slow economic growth, because climate change demands so." [3]

In its editorial, ABC maintains perfect neutrality with regard to the ideological nature of climate change, accepting the existence of the phenomenon and the impact of mankind. However, several journalists and other professionals who are in charge of the opinion columns do not share the same degree of conviction. Some doubt the man-made nature of global warming, while others question its existence, their arguments lie in the lack of scientific consensus. Others resort to the changes that have taken place in scientific theories and beliefs throughout history, as the journalist Ignacio Ruiz Quintano did:

"In the world of Science, today's truth is only tomorrow's lie... Scientifically, the hypothesis of climate change has the same worth as the Y2K hypothesis, which is why an English judge, Judge Burton, educated in the rigor of logical positivism, has sent Al Gore packing, given the fact that the Apocalypse the Nobel Peace Laureate terrifies school children with is not in line with scientific consensus." [4]

For Quintano Ruiz global warming is a hypothesis, as yet unverified, he equates with the fears that existed at the end of the twentieth century concerning potential failures that were forecasted in computer systems with the arrival of the new millennium and which ultimately did not cause any major problems. Thus, the author implies that the former vice-president was making inflated prophecies, which would not be fulfilled. Al Gore in his role as an environmentalist also failed to convince the newspaper columnists. In all of the articles Gore was accused of using climate change as a business tool. The main accusation leveled against the former Senator concerned the lack of consistency between his speech and his private life, alluding to the continued use he makes of his private jet, the high prices he charges for his lectures and the huge energy bill of his 68 Contrib. Sci. 7 (1), 2011 Gozzer, Domínguez

Tennessee mansion, which is twenty times higher than that of the average American household. *El Mundo*, in contrast, devoted only one editorial to Gore. The text was written after news broke that the former U.S. Senator was to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which was considered both *expected* and *appropriate*. Unlike *ABC*, *El Mundo* believed that despite the 'possible excesses' of the documentary *An Inconvenient Truth*, there was no doubt about the former vice-president's merit.

However, newspaper columnists did not share the editorial's stance. Although this daily paper devoted less coverage to the former Senator in the opinion section than *ABC* did, criticisms were similar. In his column *Comentarios liberales* (Liberal Comments), journalist Federico Jiménez Losantos, one of the most influential journalists in the eyes of the Spanish Right and also the editor of *Libertad Digital*, addressed the issue twice in the period of time we studied. In the first article, entitled "Algoradas" [5], Jiménez Losantos criticized the high prices Al Gore charged for his conferences in Spain, which were reported to cost 240,000 euros each. Among other things, the journalist referred to climate change as the 'latest apocalyptic scam', accusing Gore of creating 'intellectual pollution' even greater than that produced by Gore's copper mines. The wording used in the column was as follows:

"Algoradas is a semantic exudation of Al Gore, that guy who wears his armor on the inside, who has led the liberal's dream to the limit, that enemy of the catechism who—just to contradict himself—is characterized by an inordinate desire for wealth." [6]

In his second article, Jiménez Losantos asserts that climate change is an 'anti-scientific farce' and calls for an efficient substitution of petroleum not for the well-being of the environment, but rather to lessen Western countries' dependence on the OPEC. In general, *El Mundo* published neutral information on Gore's activities in the country and the opinion section did not pay much attention to him. Even when the subject became a hot issue due, for instance, to the Rajoy statement, less lines were dedicated to the subject than in the other two newspapers, apart from a few articles in which certain journalists tried to defend and even interpret Rajoy's words.

Compared with the other papers analyzed here, *La Razón* devoted the least coverage to Al Gore and his message. The paper handled this news issue from a neutral point of view and did not mention the matter in its editorial. Nevertheless, the opinion section contained some columns dealing with Gore's campaign, stating that the former Senator did not deserve the prize. He was mainly portrayed as a charlatan:

"To begin with, Al Gore's aforementioned documentary, far from being rigorous, is one of the grossest examples of propagandistic manipulation in recent years." [7]

To discredit Gore, the columnists used the inconsistencies between his life and his speech as their main weapon. Journalist María José Navarro wrote a sarcastic article implying that Gore's message was closer to paranoia than reality. She concluded that now that Gore had won the Prince of Asturias Award, anyone could:

"Now that my Al Gore has been given the Prince of Asturias Award for International Cooperation, I feel myself to be just one step away from the Nobel for Literature. Nobel with a "b", right?" [8]

Libertad Digital, on the other hand, dedicated three editorials to Al Gore. The first was written in response to the news of the American politician as Nobel Peace Prize laureate. It undermined and scorned the prize, proffering the fact that figures like Winston Churchill and King Juan Carlos I had never received it, taken to be clear proof of hypocrisy. The second was published after the Rajoy incident, and tried to defend the conservative leader by accusing the Left of opportunistic environmentalism. The third editorial was a response to an article published by El País, a much-read left-wing Spanish pro-European newspaper, about climate change negationism in the Spanish mass media, and that referred to Libertad Digital's reaction by comparing itself with Galileo Galilei being judged by the Church for his scientific discoveries. The shameful scene of Galileo's retraction has haunted the Catholic Church for centuries, remaining in history as a reminder of its intolerant, arrogant, and aggressive attitude towards Science in the past. Libertad Digital holds that a similar persecution is currently underway; pinpointing those who, like the paper, know that climate change is a farce but are being forced to concede its existence. The main difference between this paper's editorials and those published by El Mundo and ABC is that Libertad Digital never declared belief in the existence of climate change, guite to the contrary:

"Legend has it that, after the Inquisition had made him retract his belief in the Earth's movement around the sun, Galileo muttered under his breath: 'Eppur si muove' (and yet it moves). At this rate, it would almost appear that those of us who express our doubts about the great dogma of progressive faith will have to bear a similar fate." [9]

Editorials aside, Libertad Digital gave wide coverage to Al Gore during this time. Unlike the other newspapers, however, its informative articles lacked neutrality and objectivity. This could be fully appreciated in headlines like "Al Gore Spreads Chaos in Seville: Andalusia Will Be One of the Most Affected Regions" [10], "Al Gore Continues Cashing Up: Now the Nobel Prize" [11] or "Al Gore Multiplies his Fortune by 50 Thanks to Climate Change" [12]. Among the idiosyncrasies of Libertad Digital, it always refers to climate change as 'the supposed' climate change. The lack of global scientific consensus on this matter is an argument repeated in most of its articles. In this way the newspaper tries to reinforce the idea that there is unnecessary worry for a phenomenon which most surely does not exist (according to Libertad Digital). Another characteristic of this paper is the constant use of insults by nearly all its columnists. Not only is the Spanish Left derided with terms like progrerío, progretería and ecolojeta [13], but Al Gore himself has been called 'pest', 'disease', 'lazy rich' and 'climate change fundamentalist' among other things. Columnist Agapito Maestre referred to Gore in one of his articles as follows:

"Radical ecologists have exchanged their faith in God for Al Gore's twaddle. As is well-known, those who stop believing in the true religion are always willing to believe in any old rubbish. That is exactly what is happening with the new fundamentalists that have emerged in the United States, hand in hand with Al Gore. What most of them don't know is that this figure's fanaticism recalls Nazi laws in favor of nature." [14]

We find another example of this newspaper's effrontery in an article signed by the journalist Carlos Semprún Maura concerning Nicolas Sarkozy's environmental policies, in which he even dares to use racist language:

"... First is the fact of cretin Nicholas Hulot's having contributed to giving publicity to societies' enemy number one, Al Gore the fraudster, and at a provincial *Frog* [15] level." [16]

According to *Libertad Digital*, those who support Al Gore are Lefties, and they are no more than "a toady flock of submissive acolytes," as the Strategic Studies Group (*Grupo de Estudios Estratégicos*, GEES), a Spanish think tank ideologically linked with the opposition party, the People's Party, defined them in one of the many articles it frequently publishes in the newspaper.

## **Discussion and conclusion**

The results of our research show that the Spanish conservative mass media are skeptical regarding climate change but, with the exception of *Libertad Digital*, they are afraid to express this opinion openly. Daily newspapers that depend on sales and distribution and that have managed to earn prestige and respect like *ABC*, *El Mundo* and *La Razón* are not willing to run the risks, so they maintain a neutral line and criticize secondary issues in their editorials, but without denying either climate change or its anthropogenic nature. It is in the opinion section where the risks are taken and from which seeds of skepticism are sown. By contrast, *Libertad Digital* need not care about offending its readers; its audience comprises those who share its ideology. Since it is an online publication, sales are not an issue and the public that visit the website do so precisely for the aggressive editorial line it has developed.

The main view reflected in the conservative media is that there are more important concerns to worry about in our society than climate change. Even during the years when the Spanish economy was in good shape, columnists called for attention to be steered away from the environment and towards economic issues. That is an aim the current crisis has helped them to accomplish, as we will see further on. Even small temporary incidents, like problems with the Catalan railway system, seemed far more important for these columnists than glo-

bal warming. Not only is the very existence of the phenomenon denied, but its relevance is also scorned and sometimes ridiculed.

A characteristic that may shock the foreign reader is the effrontery the Right displays when it comes to slurring the opponent. Insults and rude expressions replace arguments and reasoning in the texts. The opponent's opinion is not respected and there is no place for debate. A perfect example of this is the personal attack on Al Gore. The link between the conservative PP party and George W. Bush's republicanism remains patent throughout, and the dearth of democratic underpinnings surfaces in the Spanish Right's effrontery and disrespect.

The premiere of the documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* was a milestone in the popularization of the climate change theory. A great deal had been done before that, but it was not until a political figure as renowned as Al Gore entered the scene that concern for the environment gained the global dimension it has enjoyed for the last four years. However, the intervention of the former democrat candidate not only brought fame and prestige to the cause, but has also politicized the issue, a matter that was simplified by Spanish conservatives as follows: "those who don't believe in climate change on the one hand, and progressives, reds, greens and other left-wingers on the other".

The right-leaning media were not above this conflict. Although it was the conservative party who signed the Kyoto Protocol during José María Aznar's term, PP supporters did not appreciate the former opponent of George W. Bush, Aznar's top ally, advertising the harmful consequences of enterprise that had been making so much profit in PP administrations. The backlash didn't seem to have much success then, but today its achievements are undeniable. Polls show that climate change skepticism has grown in the West. A BBC survey in February 2010 concluded that only 26% of people in Great Britain believe climate change is happening and that it is manmade [18]. That represents 15% less than those who answered 'yes' to the same question in November 2009. Furthermore, the percentage of those who believed climate is not changing and that global warming is not taking place rose from 15 to 25% in the same time period. The mistakes scientists have made in their measurements and predictions have fueled the doubts of public opinion concerning this important and controversial issue.

The current economic crisis has also contributed to climate negationism. A green revolution requires a profound transformation of our economic system, and the rise in unemployment and the reduction in social assistance programs are not helping either. People's attention has been fully drawn away by the difficult economic situation we are facing, and climate change has taken the backstage until further notice. As time has gone by, those skeptical ideas sown in the pages of right-leaning newspapers have grown into the topic of discussion *du jour* in bars and cafés. Scientists have claimed that despite the errors made in some environmental studies, the overall conclusion remains unaltered, i.e., climate change *is* happening and it is probably driving us towards one of the biggest mass extinctions in millions of years.

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## **Notes and References**

#### **Notes**

- "El principal mérito de Gore ha sido el de saber encontrar una buena causa y tener el talento de hacerse con el estandarte —ya lo había intentado anteriormente con Internet, del que llegó a proclamarse poco menos que creador — y eso solo no amerita un galardón como el Nobel de la Paz." Editorial, «Nobel a la propaganda ecologista», ABC (13 October 2007)
- 2. José Javier Brey Abalo, a Physics Professor at the University of Seville, and cousin of Mariano Rajoy
- 3. "Porque a la crisis ideológica que provocó el derrumbe del socialismo real en la Unión Soviética se une ahora el desconcierto de la progresía ante el crecimiento sin precedentes de la economía mundial, con los 3000 millones de asiáticos a la cabeza... La izquierda, asustada y desconcertada ante el éxito de la libertad económica en marcha que supone la globalización, se ha aferrado con habilidad al supuesto cambio climático como un nuevo refugio y una nueva causa. Gracias a una institución tan desprestigiada como la ONU y a un político oportunista como Al Gore, la izquierda nos anuncia triunfante que no se rinde y que en los próximos años, si tiene el poder, recortará nuestras libertades, aumentará los impuestos y frenará el crecimiento económico, porque el cambio climático así lo exige." Carlos Bustelo, «La izquierda asustada y el cambio climático», ABC (31 October 2007)
- 4. "En el mundo de la ciencia, la verdad de hoy sólo es la mentira de mañana... Científicamente, la hipótesis del cambio climático tiene el mismo valor que la hipótesis del efecto 2000, razón por la cual un juez inglés, el juez Burton, educado en el rigor del positivismo lógico, en vista de que el apocalipsis con que el Nobel de la Paz acojona a los escolares no está en línea con el consenso científico, ha mandado a Al Gore a hacer gárgaras." Ignacio Ruiz Quintano, «Sobre si Rajoy sea más tonto que Al Gore», ABC (31 October 2007)
- 5. A portmanteau of Al Gore and *bobadas* foolishness.. Editor's note
- 6. "La algorada es una exudación semántica de Al Gore, ese tipo con la armadura dentro que ha llevado a sus últimas consecuencias el ensueño del progre, ese ser enemigo del catecismo y que, por llevarle la contraria, se caracteriza por un ansia inmoderada de riquezas." Federico Jiménez Losantos, «Algoradas», El Mundo (26 June 2007)
- "De entrada, el citado documental de Al Gore, lejos de ser un trabajo riguroso, es uno de los ejemplos más burdos de manipulación propagandística de los últimos años." César Vidal, «La estafa Gore», La Razón (10 June 2007)
- 8. "Después de que a Al Gore le hayan atizado el Premio Príncipe de Asturias de Cooperación Internacional, yo me noto a un paso del Nobel de Literatura. Nobel con b, ¿no?" María José Navarro, «Una verdad incómoda», *La Razón* (8 June 2007)
- 9. "Dice la leyenda que, tras retractarse ante un tribunal de la Inquisición de que la Tierra girara en torno al Sol, Galileo

- murmuró por lo bajo: "Eppur si muove" (sin embargo, se mueve). A este paso, casi parece que quienes expresamos nuestras dudas sobre el gran dogma de la fe progresista vamos a tener que pasar por un trago similar." Editorial, «Eppur si muove», *Libertad Digital* (25 October 2007)
- "Al Gore siembra el caos en Sevilla: Andalucía será una de las regiones que reciba mayor impacto."
- "Al Gore continúa haciendo caja: ahora el Nobel de la Paz."
- "Al Gore multiplica por 50 su fortuna al calor del cambio climático."
- 13. Both *progrerio* and *progreteria* are derogatory terms used to refer to those of liberal stance. *Ecolojeta* is also a pejorative term, but referring to environmentalists
- 14. "El ecologista radical ha cambiado su creencia en Dios por las imbecilidades de Al Gore. Y es que, como dicen por ahí, quien deja de creer en la verdadera religión está siempre dispuesto a creer cualquier imbecilidad. Eso es exactamente lo que está pasando con el nuevo fundamentalista surgido en Estados Unidos de la mano de Al Gore. Muchos no lo saben, pero el fanatismo de este personaje recuerda las leyes nazis a favor de la naturaleza." Agapito Maestre, «El ecologista radical», Libertad Digital (29 October 2007)
- 15. The word used by the author was *franchute*, which is a derogatory term for French people
- 16. "... El primero es el de haber contribuido a la publicidad del enemigo número 1 de nuestras sociedades, el estafador Al Gore, y a nivel pueblerino franchute, el cretino de Nicolás Hulot." Carlos Semprún Maura, «El crimen fue en Grenelle», Libertad Digital (30 October 2007)

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