

SMOKE

S C R E E N



HOW BUSH INSIDERS DISTORTED – AND STILL INFLUENCE –
AMERICA'S DEBATE OVER CLIMATE CHANGE

CREW

citizens for responsibility
and ethics in washington

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Smoke Screen:

How Bush Insiders Distorted – and Still Influence – America’s Debate Over Climate Change

Background:

As the United Nation’s Climate Change Conference convenes this week in Copenhagen, discussion and debate are likely to focus on proposals to protect the environment. Yet turning proposals into concrete actions or laws will be very difficult without a public consensus on the threat posed by climate change.

Here in the United States, this public consensus is sorely lacking. In fact, the percentage of Americans who agree that global temperatures “are rising as a result of human activity, such as burning fossil fuels” has dropped from 47 percent to only 36 percent.¹ This decline may have been influenced by what the public was reading and hearing from the individuals who managed climate change policy in the Bush administration.

Documents newly obtained by CREW demonstrate that Bush administration staffers deliberately distorted critical scientific reporting on global warming. Some of these staffers held important positions on key bodies such as the White House’s Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). According to the official White House website, CEQ’s chairperson is identified as the president’s “principal” advisor on environmental policy.²

Given that the individuals responsible for implementing Bush-era climate policy have largely left their positions in government, CREW undertook a study to learn what impact these former officials might have on the current climate-change debate. CREW found that since leaving the Bush administration, many of these former staffers and political appointees have found jobs working for, or lobbying on behalf of the oil, gas or mining industries. CREW identified at least 22 former Bush-era officials who have gone on to lobbying or government relations, 14 of whom are registered lobbyists. Through lobbying and industry-manufactured “grassroots” activities, these individuals continue to influence and confuse the debate over global warming and hamper the efforts of the current administration to help establish a public consensus on this issue.

Methodology:

In 2006, CREW issued a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to CEQ seeking documents related to the causes of global warming and possible evidence of alleged interference by administration officials in scientific reporting on climate change. CREW issued the FOIA after allegations surfaced outlining interference and distortion of climate change reports by CEQ staff members.³ At the time of the allegations, executive level staff positions of CEQ, the Office

¹ Brad Knickerbocker, The World Demonstrates Against Climate Change, But U.S. Public Concern Wanes, *Christian Science Monitor*, October 24, 2009.

² <http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/ceq/about>.

³ Andrew C. Revkin, Bush Aide Softened Greenhouse Gas Links to Global Warming, *New York Times*, June 8, 2005.

of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP), and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) were filled with corporate interest allies, including former lobbyists and political operatives, many with no science background.⁴

Initially, CEQ responded to CREW's FOIA with a minimal number of documents that were largely redacted. In March 2009, under the Obama administration, CEQ re-evaluated CREW's original request and released to CREW 585 pages of documents previously withheld. Then in August 2009, and September 2009, the administration released an additional 1,090 pages in full un-redacted form.

CREW compiled a list of CEQ, OSTP and EPA officials appointed under President Bush, using United States Government Manuals from 2001-2009. CREW then cross referenced that list with the Senate Office of Public Record's lobbying disclosures database. Google and Lexis-Nexis also were utilized to further round out biographical information. While aiming to be exhaustive, because information is not always readily available, CREW may not have identified every official, uncovered every position held by former officials, or found complete biographical information.

Key findings:

- 22 former officials with CEQ, OSTP, and EPA have gone onto lobbying or government relations
- 14 of these former officials have been registered lobbyists
- 7 of these former officials work for companies or trade associations involved in the energy production industry
- 3 of these former officials founded their own lobbying or government relations firms

The Revolving Door

The Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ)

James L. Connaughton – James L. Connaughton served as President Bush's chief environmental advisor as chair of the CEQ from 2001 to 2009.⁵ He was an advocate of "new environmentalism," which replaced federal regulations with voluntary and incentive based initiatives to encourage companies to curb pollution.⁶ Prior to joining the administration he was partner and environmental counsel at the law firm of Sidley Austin Brown and Wood where he fought to reduce environmental regulations for clients such as the Chemical Manufacturers Association of America.⁷

After the administration ended in 2009, Mr. Connaughton joined Constellation Energy as executive vice president for corporate affairs and environmental policy.⁸ In the newly created

⁴ Id.; Restoring Science to Rightful Place, *Chattanooga Times Free Press*, January 25, 2009. Additionally, CREW's research has supported this conclusion.

⁵ Constellation Energy Appoints James L. Connaughton as Executive Vice President, *M2 Equity Bites*, February 24, 2009; The United States Government Manual 2008-2009, *Office of the Federal Register, National Archives*.

⁶ Amanda Griscom Little, Earth Shakers: The Counter-Enviro Power List, *Outside*, May 2005.

⁷ Id.

⁸ *M2 Equity Bites*, Feb. 24, 2009.

position, Mr. Connaughton oversees all environmental and energy policy and government affairs matters.⁹ Mr. Connaughton is not currently registered to lobby.

Philip Cooney – Philip Cooney was chief of staff for CEQ from 2001 until his abrupt departure in 2005.¹⁰ Mr. Cooney resigned his position after reports surfaced that he edited several climate change reports to water-down and cast doubts on the links between human activity and climate change.¹¹ Mr. Cooney, who has no science background, inserted numerous handwritten edits on climate change reports, changing the meaning of key phrases and whole paragraphs in government produced scientific research and reports, altering their conclusions.¹² Mr. Cooney's tampering prompted the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee to investigate.¹³ The committee found the "Bush Administration [had] engaged in a systematic effort to manipulate climate change science and mislead policymakers and the public about the dangers of global warming."¹⁴ The allegations prompted CREW's original FOIA request in 2006.¹⁵ Prior to joining the administration Mr. Cooney was a lobbyist and "climate team leader" for the American Petroleum Institute, which lobbies on the behalf of the oil industry.¹⁶

After leaving the administration in 2005, Mr. Cooney joined Exxon-Mobil in an unknown capacity.¹⁷ Mr. Cooney is not currently registered to lobby.

Khary Cauthen – Khary Cauthen was chief of staff for CEQ from approximately 2005 to 2006.¹⁸

After leaving the administration in 2006, Mr. Cauthen became a registered lobbyist for the American Petroleum Institute,¹⁹ a trade association representing companies in the oil and natural gas industries.²⁰

Martin Hall – Martin Hall was chief of staff for CEQ from 2006²¹ through the end of the Bush administration in 2009.²² Prior to joining the administration, Mr. Hall worked as an aide to

⁹ Id.

¹⁰ Andrew C. Revkin, Editor of Climate Reports Resigns, *New York Times*, June 10, 2005.

¹¹ Id.

¹² Revkin, *New York Times*, Jun. 8, 2005.

¹³ Report Describes Systematic White House Effort to Manipulate Climate Change Sciences, *US Fed News*, December 10, 2007.

¹⁴ Id.

¹⁵ <http://www.citizensforethics.org/files/CEQFOIA.pdf>.

¹⁶ Revkin, *New York Times*, Jun. 8, 2005.

¹⁷ H. Josef Hebert, White House Official Singled Out For Editing Climate Change Reports to Work for Exxon Mobil, *Associated Press*, June 14, 2005.

¹⁸ <http://www.governmentdocs.org/FOIADocs/106.pdf>; Interagency Committee on Ocean Science and Resource Management Integration, Membership List, April 1, 2006; American Petroleum Institute Lobbying Report 2007, Client: Self, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹⁹ American Petroleum Institute Lobbying Report 2007, Client: Self, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

²⁰ <http://www.api.org/aboutapi/>.

²¹ Sen. Inhofe Aide to Become CEQ Chief of Staff, Sources Say, *E&E News*, May 31, 2006.

²² FirstEnergy Names Martin L. Hall Vice President, *Energy Policy*, *PR Newswire*, January 1, 2009.

Senator Jim Inhofe (R-OK) on the Senate Environmental and Public Works Committee.²³ Prior to that, Mr. Hall was a registered lobbyist for Gulfstream Aircraft Corporation.²⁴

After leaving the administration in 2009, Mr. Hall joined FirstEnergy, an electric utility company based in Ohio,²⁵ as vice president of energy policy, where he oversees and directs the company's Environmental Department.²⁶ Mr. Hall is not currently registered to lobby.

William Holbrook – William F. Holbrook served as director of communications for the CEQ from May 2003 to May 2005.²⁷

After leaving the administration in 2005, Mr. Holbrook became communications director for the Senate Environmental and Public Works Committee, then chaired by Senator James M. Inhofe (R-OK).²⁸ Later, Mr. Holbrook became the director of communications for the National Petrochemical and Refinery Association (NPRA), a trade group advocating the importance of petroleum based fuels and lubricants.²⁹ It maintains a membership encompassing nearly every large U.S. refinery and a political action committee (NPRA PAC) that has distributed at least \$40,000 to various political campaigns so far in the 2010 election cycle.³⁰ Mr. Holbrook is not currently registered to lobby.

Elizabeth Stolpe – Elizabeth Stolpe was the associate director for toxics and environmental protection at CEQ from 2001³¹ to 2006.³² Prior to joining the Bush administration, Ms. Stolpe was an in-house lobbyist for oil conglomerate, Koch Industries.³³

After leaving the administration in 2006, Ms. Stolpe joined Shell Oil, where she is a registered lobbyist for the company.³⁴

Christopher Scheve – Christopher Scheve was the associate director for congressional affairs at CEQ from 2008 to 2009.³⁵

After leaving the administration in 2009, Mr. Scheve joined the lobbying firm of Kelly, Anderson and Associates as a senior advisor for environmental services.³⁶ He is also founder and managing partner of AquaTerra Strategies.³⁷ According to its website, AquaTerra Strategies is a “boutique government and public affairs firm,” listing lobbying as one of the firm's

²³ *E&E News*, May 31, 2006.

²⁴ Gulfstream, Inc., *Lobbying Report 1999*, Client: self, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

²⁵ http://www.firstenergycorp.com/corporate/Corporate_Profile/index.html.

²⁶ *PR Newswire*, Jan. 1, 2009.

²⁷ <http://www.linkedin.com/pub/william-holbrook/10/a08/14a>.

²⁸ http://www.legistorm.com/person/William_F_Holbrook/7928.html.

²⁹ <http://www.npra.org/about/>.

³⁰ *Id.*; <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00415026&cycle=2010>.

³¹ *The United States Government Manual 2001-2002*, *Office of the Federal Register, National Archives*.

³² Shell Oil Company, *Lobbying Report 2006*, Client: Self, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

³³ Bob Williams and Kevin Bogardus, *Koch's Low Profile Belies Political Power*, *Center for Public Integrity*, July 15, 2004; Koch Industries, Inc., *Lobbying Report 1999*, Client: Self, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

³⁴ Shell Oil Company, *Lobbying Report 2006*, Client: Self, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

³⁵ <http://www.linkedin.com/pub/chris-scheve/10/106/583>.

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Id.*

specialties.³⁸ Nevertheless, Mr. Scheve is not currently registered to lobby, nor is AquaTerra a registered lobbying firm.

Dana Perino – Dana Perino was the associate director of communications for CEQ from 2001³⁹ to 2005⁴⁰ when she joined the White House press department; in 2007, she became press secretary.⁴¹

After the administration ended in 2009, Ms. Perino joined Burson-Marsteller, a public relations and communications firm,⁴² as a chief issues counselor and advises clients in the health care, energy and defense industries.⁴³ Ms. Perino is not currently registered to lobby.

The Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP)

Stanley Sokul – Stanley Sokul was the executive director for the president's committee of advisors on science and technology at OSTP from 2002 to 2009.⁴⁴

After the administration ended in 2009, Mr. Sokul joined Exxon-Mobil as a corporate issues advisor.⁴⁵ Mr. Sokul is not currently registered to lobby.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

Christine Todd Whitman – Christine Todd Whitman was the administrator of the EPA from 2001 through 2003.⁴⁶

After leaving the administration in 2003, Ms. Todd Whitman founded the Whitman Strategy Group, which offers environmental expertise and guidance at both the state and federal levels.⁴⁷ The Whitman Group has represented companies such as FMC Corporation,⁴⁸ a chemicals and pesticides manufacturer;⁴⁹ Chevron Environmental Management Company,⁵⁰ a subsidiary of the

³⁸ <http://aquaterrastrategies.com/>.

³⁹ *The United States Government Manual 2001-2002*, Office of the Federal Register, National Archives.

⁴⁰ http://www.burson-marsteller.com/About_Us/Regional_Leadership/Lists/RegionalsLeadership/DispForm.aspx?ID=44.

⁴¹ *Arena Profile: Dana Perino, Politico*, http://www.politico.com/arena/bio/dana_perino.html.

⁴² http://www.burson-marsteller.com/About_Us/Pages/About_Us.aspx.

⁴³ http://www.burson-marsteller.com/About_Us/Regional_Leadership/Lists/RegionalsLeadership/DispForm.aspx?ID=44; http://www.burson-marsteller.com/Innovation_and_insights/blogs_and_podcasts/BM_Blog/Lists/Posts/Post.aspx?List=75c7a224-05a3-4f25-9ce5-2a90a7c0c761&ID=106.

⁴⁴ *The United States Government Manual 2003-2004*, Office of the Federal Register, National Archives, <http://www.linkedin.com/pub/stan-sokul/7/9b8/3b7>.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ <http://www.whitmanstrategygroup.com/ourteamctw2.html>.

⁴⁷ <http://www.whitmanstrategygroup.com/>.

⁴⁸ The Whitman Strategy Group, *Lobbying Report 2005*, Client: FMC Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁴⁹ <http://www.fmc.com/>.

⁵⁰ The Whitman Strategy Group, *Lobbying Report 2005*, Client: Chevron Environmental Management, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

oil company;⁵¹ and Locus Technologies,⁵² a computer technology company,⁵³ which offers environmental software solutions.⁵⁴ Ms. Todd Whitman ceased lobbying for the firm in 2005.⁵⁵

Michael O. Leavitt – Michael O. Leavitt was the administrator of the EPA from 2003 until 2005, when he became Secretary of Health and Human Services through the end of the Bush administration.⁵⁶

After the administration ended in 2009, Mr. Leavitt founded Leavitt Partners, which provides “strategic input and counsel to a broad range of companies and government entities.”⁵⁷ Mr. Leavitt is not currently registered to lobby, and Leavitt Partners is not a currently registered lobbying firm, but the firm does list “environmental health” as one of its practice areas.⁵⁸

Jessica L. Furey – Jessica L. Furey was the associate administrator for policy, economics and innovation with the EPA from 2001 to 2005.⁵⁹

After leaving the administration in 2005, Ms. Furey joined the Whitman Strategy Group,⁶⁰ a lobbying firm founded by former EPA Administrator Christine Todd Whitman, which offers environmental expertise and guidance at both the state and federal levels.⁶¹ Ms. Furey is currently a registered lobbyist for Whitman Strategies⁶² and has lobbied on the behalf of FMC Corporation,⁶³ a chemicals and pesticides manufacturer;⁶⁴ Chevron Environmental Management Company,⁶⁵ a subsidiary of the oil company;⁶⁶ and Locus Technologies,⁶⁷ a computer technology company,⁶⁸ which offers environmental software solutions.⁶⁹

⁵¹ Press Release, Chevron, Chevron Creates Environmental Management Company, November 3, 1998.

⁵² The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Registration 2005, Client: Locus Technologies, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁵³ <http://www.locustec.com/>.

⁵⁴ http://www.locustec.com/solutions_eim.asp.

⁵⁵ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Report 2005, Client: FMC Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁵⁶ <http://leavittpartners.com/our-team/michael-o-leavitt/>.

⁵⁷ <http://leavittpartners.com/our-practice-areas/>.

⁵⁸ Id.

⁵⁹ Press Release, Environmental Protection Agency, EPA Senior Policy Advisors Step Down, December 14, 2004.

⁶⁰ Id.

⁶¹ <http://www.whitmanstrategygroup.com/>.

⁶² The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Mentor Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁶³ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Report 2005, Client: FMC Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁶⁴ <http://www.fmc.com/>.

⁶⁵ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Registration 2005, Client: Chevron Environmental Management Company, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁶⁶ Press Release, Chevron, Chevron Creates Environmental Management Company, November 3, 1998.

⁶⁷ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Registration 2005, Client: Locus Technologies, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁶⁸ <http://www.locustec.com/>.

⁶⁹ http://www.locustec.com/solutions_eim.asp.

Susan Spencer Mulvaney – Susan Spencer Mulvaney started at the EPA in 2001, and was deputy chief staff to administrators Christine Todd Whitman, and Michael Leavitt and as chief of staff to deputy administrator Steven Johnson until 2004.⁷⁰

After leaving the administration in 2004, Ms. Mulvaney joined the Whitman Strategies Group,⁷¹ a lobbying firm founded by former EPA Administrator Christine Todd Whitman, which offers environmental expertise and guidance at both the state and federal levels.⁷² Ms. Mulvaney is a registered lobbyist for Whitman Strategies⁷³ and has lobbied on the behalf of FMC Corporation,⁷⁴ a chemicals and pesticides manufacturer;⁷⁵ Chevron Environmental Management Company,⁷⁶ a subsidiary of the oil company;⁷⁷ and Locus Technologies,⁷⁸ a computer technology company,⁷⁹ which offers environmental software solutions.⁸⁰

Jeffrey Holmstead – Jeffrey Holmstead was the assistant administrator for air and radiation at EPA from 2001 through 2005.⁸¹

After leaving the administration in 2005, Mr. Holmstead joined the law firm of Bracewell and Giuliani, where he heads the Environmental Strategies Group.⁸² Mr. Holmstead is a registered lobbyist for Bracewell and Giuliani,⁸³ and has lobbied for Ameren Corporation,⁸⁴ an electrical utility company;⁸⁵ Arch Coal,⁸⁶ a coal producer,⁸⁷ and Duke Energy,⁸⁸ an electrical utility company.⁸⁹

⁷⁰ <http://www.whitmanstrategygroup.com/ourteamssm2.html>.

⁷¹ Id.

⁷² <http://www.whitmanstrategygroup.com/>.

⁷³ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Mentor Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁷⁴ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Report 2005, Client: FMC Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁷⁵ <http://www.fmc.com/>.

⁷⁶ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Registration 2005, Client: Chevron Environmental Management Company, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁷⁷ Press Release, Chevron, Chevron Creates Environmental Management Company, November 3, 1998.

⁷⁸ The Whitman Strategy Group, Lobbying Registration 2005, Client: Locus Technologies, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁷⁹ <http://www.locustec.com/>.

⁸⁰ http://www.locustec.com/solutions_eim.asp.

⁸¹ http://www.bracewellgiuliani.com/index.cfm/fa/lawyer.profile/attorney/d3fd15cc-213f-4871-84f1-766070685b75/Jeffrey_R_Holmstead.cfm.

⁸² Id.

⁸³ Bracewell and Giuliani, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Southern Company, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁸⁴ Bracewell and Giuliani, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Ameren Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁸⁵ http://www.ameren.com/AboutUs/ADC_OurBusinesses.asp.

⁸⁶ Bracewell and Giuliani, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Arch Coal, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁸⁷ <http://www.archcoal.com/>.

⁸⁸ Bracewell and Giuliani, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Duke Energy, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁸⁹ <http://www.duke-energy.com/about-us/default.asp>.

Lisa Jaeger – Lisa Jaeger joined the EPA in 2001,⁹⁰ and served as general counsel for the agency from September 2003 through March 2004.⁹¹

After leaving the administration in 2004, Ms. Jaeger joined the law firm of Bracewell and Giuliani where she advises industrial sector clients on clean air, climate change and energy issues.⁹² Ms. Jaeger is a registered lobbyist for Bracewell and Giuliani⁹³ and has lobbied for oil producers Valero⁹⁴ and Tesoro Corporation.⁹⁵

Stephanie N. Daigle – Stephanie N. Daigle served at the EPA as associate administrator for policy, economics and innovation from 2005 until 2007.⁹⁶ Prior to that, from 2001 to 2005, she worked in the EPA's office of policy, economics and innovation.⁹⁷

After leaving the administration in 2007, Ms. Daigle joined C & M Capitolink, a subsidiary of Crowell and Moring's Public Policy Practice Group.⁹⁸ Ms. Daigle is a registered lobbyist for C & M Capitolink and has lobbied on behalf of UtahAmerican Energy, Inc.,⁹⁹ a mining company;¹⁰⁰ Dow Chemical Company;¹⁰¹ and Alliance Resource Partners,¹⁰² a coal company.¹⁰³

Ann R. Klee – Ann R. Klee was general counsel for the EPA from 2004 through 2005.¹⁰⁴

After leaving the administration in 2005, Ms. Klee became a partner at Crowell and Moring, LLP, working in the natural resources and environmental group.¹⁰⁵ Ms. Klee is a registered lobbyist for Crowell and Moring,¹⁰⁶ and has lobbied on behalf of American Chemistry

⁹⁰ http://www.zoominfo.com/people/Jaeger_Lisa_4660703.aspx.

⁹¹ <http://www.spoke.com/info/p6VFC0x/LisaJaeger>.

⁹² http://www.bracewellgiuliani.com/index.cfm/fa/lawyer.profile/attorney/de4d0464-c3fd-4df8-b9d1-1a8ed02a21f7/Lisa_M_Jaeger.cfm.

⁹³ Bracewell and Giuliani, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Southern Company, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

⁹⁴ Bracewell and Giuliani, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Valero, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record; <http://www.valero.com/OurBusiness/Pages/Home.aspx>.

⁹⁵ Bracewell and Giuliani, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Tesoro Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record; <http://www.tsocorp.com/TSOCorp/AboutUs/PRIMARYPAGE>.

⁹⁶ <http://www.epa.gov/history/admin/ocir/>.

⁹⁷ <http://www.crowell.com/Professionals/Stephanie-Daigle>.

⁹⁸ Press Release, Crowell and Moring LLP, C&M Capitolink Adds Toe Partners, Grows Government Relations Capabilities in Emerging Chemicals, Defense, and International Policy Sectors, March 27, 2006; <http://www.crowell.com/Professionals/Stephanie-Daigle>.

⁹⁹ C&M Capitolink, Lobbying Report 2007, Client: UtahAmerican Energy Inc, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.manta.com/company/mm2dsxk>.

¹⁰¹ C&M Capitolink, Lobbying Registration 2007, Client: Dow Chemical Company, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹⁰² C&M Capitolink, Lobbying Registration 2008, Client: Alliance Coal LLC, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹⁰³ <http://www.arlp.com/>.

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.epa.gov/history/admin/ogc/klee.htm>.

¹⁰⁵ Marc Rehmann, People on the Move, *Congressional Quarterly Today*, August 1, 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Crowell and Moring, Lobbying Registration 2006, Client: CEMEX USA, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

Council,¹⁰⁷ a trade group that represents the chemical manufacturing industry;¹⁰⁸ Peabody Energy,¹⁰⁹ the world's largest private-sector coal company;¹¹⁰ and Dow Chemical Company.¹¹¹

Christopher P. Bliley – Christopher P. Bliley was an associate administrator for congressional and intergovernmental affairs at the EPA from 2008 to 2009.¹¹²

After the administration ended in 2009, Mr. Bliley joined the Nussle Group, a lobbying firm,¹¹³ where he is a registered lobbyist.¹¹⁴ He has lobbied on the behalf of Growth Energy,¹¹⁵ a pro-ethanol industry trade group.¹¹⁶

Robert Meyers – Robert Meyers was an assistant administrator for air and radiation at the EPA from 2007 to 2008.¹¹⁷ During his tenure, he helped adopt an ozone standard thought to be weaker than what was recommended by the agency's independent panel of scientific advisors.¹¹⁸ Prior to that, in 1997, while serving as air pollution council for the House Energy and Commerce Committee, he spearheaded a debate aimed at weakening the EPA's ozone standards.¹¹⁹

After leaving the administration in 2008, Mr. Meyers joined Crowell and Moring, LLP, where he is a senior counsel specializing in Clean Air Act and climate change.¹²⁰ Mr. Meyers is currently a registered lobbyist for Crowell and Moring and has lobbied on the behalf of Gerdau Ameristeel Corporation,¹²¹ the nation's fourth largest steel producer.¹²²

Edward D. Krenik – Edward D. Krenik was the associate administrator for congressional and intergovernmental affairs at the EPA from 2001 to 2003.¹²³

¹⁰⁷ Crowell and Moring, Lobbying Registration 2007, Client: American Chemistry Council, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹⁰⁸ http://www.americanchemistry.com/s_acc/sec_about.asp?CID=6&DID=9.

¹⁰⁹ Crowell and Moring, Lobbying Registration 2007, Client: Peabody Energy, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹¹⁰ <http://www.peabodyenergy.com/>.

¹¹¹ C&M Capitolink, Lobbying Registration 2008, Client: Dow Chemical Company, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹¹² The United States Government Manual 2008-2009, *Office of the Federal Register, National Archives*.

¹¹³ http://www.thenusslegroup.com/chris_bliley.html.

¹¹⁴ The Nussle Group, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Verizon Communications, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹¹⁵ The Nussle Group, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Growth Energy, Inc., Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record.

¹¹⁶ <http://www.growthenergy.org/2009/index.asp>.

¹¹⁷ The United States Government Manual 2008-2009, *Office of the Federal Register, National Archives*.

¹¹⁸ Margaret Kriz, Vanishing Act, *National Journal*, April 11, 2008.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ *Id.*; <http://www.crowell.com/Professionals/Robert-Meyers>.

¹²¹ Crowell and Moring LLP, Lobbying Report 2009, Client: Gerdau Ameristeel Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Records.

¹²² <http://www.gerdauameristeel.com/company/aboutga/index.cfm>.

¹²³ Press Release, Environmental Protection Agency, Edward Krenik Named As Associate Administrator for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs, March 9, 2001; <http://www.glgroup.com/Council-Member/Edward-Krenik-117423.html>.

After leaving the administration in 2003, Mr. Krenik joined Bracewell and Giuliani,¹²⁴ and in 2008 became a registered lobbyist.¹²⁵ He has lobbied on the behalf of oil producers Valero¹²⁶ and Tesoro Corporation.¹²⁷

Robert E. Fabricant – Robert E. Fabricant was general counsel for the EPA from 2001 to 2004.¹²⁸

After leaving the administration in 2004, Mr. Fabricant joined Wilkie Farr and Gallagher’s environmental practice.¹²⁹ Mr. Fabricant was a registered lobbyist for Wilkie Farr and Gallagher and lobbied on the behalf of paint manufacturer Sherwin-Williams.¹³⁰ He later joined the law firm of Akerman Senterfitt¹³¹ where he is currently registered to lobby and has lobbied on behalf of earth911.com,¹³² a website that provides consumers recycling information.¹³³

Roger R. Martella, Jr. – Roger R. Martella, Jr. was general counsel for the EPA from 2007¹³⁴ to September 2008.¹³⁵

After leaving the administration in 2008, Mr. Martella joined the environmental practice group at Sidley Austin LLP, as a partner.¹³⁶ Mr. Martella is currently a registered lobbyist¹³⁷ and has lobbied on the behalf of the National Alliance of Forest Owners,¹³⁸ a business alliance focused on the needs of private forest owners and managers,¹³⁹ and the Alliance of Food Associations,¹⁴⁰ a “business alliance dedicated to protecting the food sector and its consumers.”¹⁴¹

¹²⁴ http://www.bracewellgiuliani.com/index.cfm/fa/lawyer.profile/attorney/7c3dd611-82eb-4da2-84c3-ff80894da516/Edward_D_Krenik.cfm.

¹²⁵ Bracewell & Giuliani, *Lobbying Report 2008*, Client: Sabine-Nechies Navigation District, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Records.

¹²⁶ Bracewell and Giuliani, *Lobbying Report 2009*, Client: Valero, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record; <http://www.valero.com/OurBusiness/Pages/Home.aspx>.

¹²⁷ Bracewell and Giuliani, *Lobbying Report 2009*, Client: Tesoro Corporation, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Record; <http://www.tsocorp.com/TSOCorp/AboutUs/PRIMARYPAGE>.

¹²⁸ Press Release, Environmental Protection Agency, Robert E. Fabricant Sworn in as EPA General Counsel, August 14, 2001; <http://www.akerman.com/public/attorneys/aBiography.asp?id=1014>.

¹²⁹ http://www.willkie.com/firm/news_detail.aspx?id=324482605.

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¹³³ <http://earth911.com/about/>.

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¹³⁸ Sidley Austin LLP, *Lobbying Registration 2009*, Client: National Alliance of Forest Owners, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Records.

¹³⁹ <http://www.nafoalliance.org/AboutNAFO/tabid/54/Default.aspx>.

¹⁴⁰ Sidley Austin LLP, *Lobbying Registration 2009*, Client: Alliance of Food Associations, Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Records.

¹⁴¹ *Id.*