

FRACK EU: UNCONVENTIONAL INTRIGUE IN POLAND



A Preliminary Investigation of the Fracking Assault on Poland



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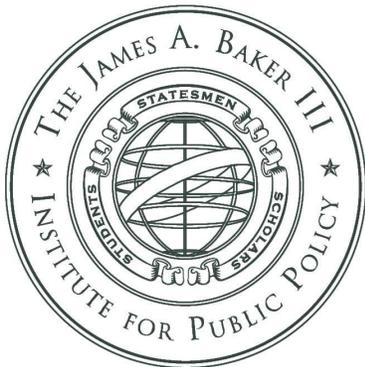
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(For the complete report chapters index, refer to the B.C. Tap
Water Alliance website, under *Stop Fracking British Columbia*)

CHAPTER 5: The Baker Institute and “The Pursuit of Truth”: America’s Energy Policy and Business Kitchen

5-(1). General Djerejian’s Circles	5-5
5-(1a). Djerijian: Baker Hughes Inc.	5-7
5-(1b). Djerijian: Occidental Petroleum Corporation	5-11
5-(1c). Djerijian: Global Industries Ltd.	5-17
5-(1d). Roofer Djerejian: Incom Roofing Service Inc.	5-20
5-(1d)-1. Wise with Haddington	5-21
5-(1d)-2. Brigadier White	5-22
5-(1e). The Baker Boys, the CFR and Cheney’s Secret Energy Task Force	5-26
5-(1e)-1. Task Force Members	5-28
5-(1e)-2. Cheney’s Secret Meetings	5-32
5-(1f). Djerejian: Council on Foreign Relations and Think Tanks	5-34

5. THE BAKER INSTITUTE AND “THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH”: AMERICA’S ENERGY POLICY AND BUSINESS KITCHEN

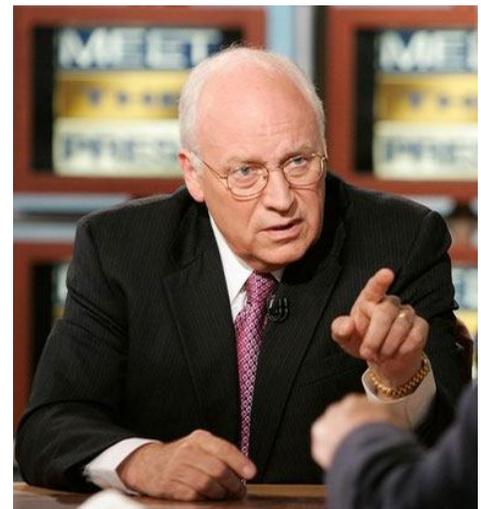


My vision for the institute is simple: to build a bridge between the world of ideas and the world of action. In my view, we need to work more diligently at nurturing the ties between these two worlds. In the pursuit of truth, scholars often neglect the hard, worldly realities that impinge on ideal solutions and the day-to-day requirements that drive or constrain the statesman’s options. And in their pursuit of the public good through power, statesmen often are disdainful of the world of ideas, closing out all outside advice and living in a cloistered world of their own making.

The institute, in short, should bridge these two worlds. Scholars should learn firsthand from statesmen of the practical imperatives that impact policy, oftentimes making “the perfect” the enemy of “the good.” Statesmen and policymakers should hear from scholars rigorous, logical--(and always practical)--analyses of how to improve the work they do. And students, the next generation of scholars and statesmen, should be enriched through participation in this dialogue and go on to become better scholars and statesmen as a result. (James C. Baker III, inaugural address on March 31, 1993, “Ideas into Action: A Vision for the Baker Institute”)

It’s odd that global giant Halliburton is not a listed sponsor of the Baker Institute, though it’s two other major global petroleum service industry competitors, Schlumberger and Baker Hughes Inc., are. There may be a plausible reason as to why not - perhaps its former CEO somehow facilitated that sponsorship vacancy.

In Robert Bryce’s 2004 book, *Cronies: The Bushes, and the Rise of Texas, America’s Superstate*, is a detailed account in the chapter *A Black-Tie Affair* about the Baker Institute’s dinner gala event with U.S. vice president Dick Cheney (former CEO of Halliburton) that commemorated the Institute’s tenth anniversary. About 800 eager guests appeared to hear and see Cheney, and coughed up \$3.2 million for the event to help finance the operations of the Institute. Here are some lengthy quotes from Bryce’s *Black-Tie Affair*:



The October 17, 2003, black-tie gala - with its minimum entry donation of \$750 per person - was a celebration of the tenth anniversary of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at the Rice University, the favorite think tank of the Bush Administration. It was an event celebrating Houston, the energy capital of the world. Energy money was paying for the jazz quintet, the 10,000 pink roses flown in from florists around the nation, the 77 dining tables, the massive tent, the chandeliers, the brigade of waiters, the cops on horseback, and lots more.

The gala was also a celebration of the Texas nexus - the place where energy money, political power, lobbying, and government are all combined into one big cocktail. And the chief bartender for the evening was the vice president of the United States.

Before dinner, liveried waiters in white gloves served hors d'oeuvres: foie gras, salmon tartar, and lemon mousse. Others carried around bottles of wine, eagerly refilling empty glasses. Three open bars served cocktails. The quintet played standards like "All of Me" and "Route 66."

After the Secret Service allowed the waiters to come back into the tent (following Cheney's speech), dinner was served: pumpkin bisque with cilantro creme fraiche (presented in miniature pumpkins), poached lobster with Creole vinaigrette, Cheyenne tenderloin, and breast of quail and, for dessert, Louisiana bread pudding and chocolate gateaux, served with champagne. It was all just so. Each guest was given an imitation-pewter cup (made in China) and a commemorative program from the James A. Baker Institute for Public Policy.

Security was tighter than Dick's hatband. Dozens of uniformed cops patrolled the Rice campus. Police on horseback were stationed at regular intervals along a temporary perimeter fence that had been erected in a three-block circumference around the Baker Institute. All guests were required to walk through a metal detector.

The Big Shots who wrote the bid checks for the event included Exxon Mobil, ConocoPhillips, and Shell Oil Company (combined market capitalization of the event for those three companies: \$396 billion), all of whom paid \$100,000 to be "tenth anniversary cohosts" of the soiree. The Baker Institute got another \$100,000 from Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the longtime Saudi ambassador to the United States and a crony of James A. Baker III's.

The biggest donor to the gala was an energy guy. And he provides a link between modern Texas and the halcyon days of the Shah of Iran. Hushang Ansary, who was the Shah's economics minister and, after that, Iran's ambassador to the United States, gave \$250,000 for the honor of being a "tenth anniversary host" of the gala.

Dick Cheney's old employer, Halliburton, gave \$25,000, and this allowed the company to have a special table at the gala. Other Halliburton types were on the guest list, too, including Anne Armstrong, the longtime Halliburton board member and advisor to Richard Nixon. Another special guest was the former Halliburton CRO Thomas Cruikshank, the man who recruited Cheney to work for the firm.

The guest list had a strong whiff of Enron, too.... Two former members of Enron's board of directors, John Duncan and John Mendelsohn, were part of the "honorary committee" for the Baker Institute gala. Harry Reasoner, one of Enron's key lawyers and Ken Lay's longtime pal, was also on the list. Reasoner was the managing partner of Vinson & Elkins, the law firm that handled Enron's legal affairs during the company's rise into the stratosphere.

*As the speechifying ended, Edward Djerejian, the director of the Baker Institute, told the crowd that the institute now had some \$43 million in its endowment. And with Cheney's visit, the White House had once again given its stamp of approval to the Baker Institute.*¹

One event Bryce forgot to mention in his *Black-Tie* chapter was the protest outside the temporary perimeter security fence. The Rice University student newspaper, *The Rice Thresher*, reported in an October 24, 2003 article, *Cheney Keynote at Gala*:

The student group Rice for Peace held a protest against Cheney's presence on campus that attracted about 60 students.

The crowd, which included several faculty members and graduate students, gathered by the Student Center outside the temporary security fence erected around the gala tent and the surrounding area.

The demonstrators chanted, "Go home Cheney," and carried signs labelled "Private interest does not equal public good"; "War breeds hate. Hate breeds terrorism"; "Our grief is not a cry for war"; and "Imperialism is Wrong," among others.

Although the gala's purpose was to honor the Baker Institute, protestors objected to Cheney's attendance because of the administration's alleged human rights violations in waging war in Iraq and Cheney's ties to Houston-based energy corporation Halliburton, which has been accused of unethical business practices.

"We just wanted to let people know Rice is our home, and as far as we were concerned, he's not welcome in it," Kaminsky, a Sid Richardson College senior, said. "Whatever prestige was added by having a vice president at the event was completely blown away by the person that is holding the office right now."

Kaminsky said Rice for Peace had planned a barbecue to go along with the protest and raise money for an international charity. Although the Rice administration gave permission for the barbecue, the Secret Service vetoed it as a security threat.

"The Rice administration was excellent," Kaminsky said. "We applied for the money through the clubs fund to help pay for the barbecue and we got it — they treated it like any other event. The Secret Service did not."

The Secret Service also denied Rice for Peace's requests to use sound-amplification equipment and to hold the protest closer to the tent, Kaminsky said.

¹ Some time after Robert Bryce authored his *Cronies* book, which is largely an indictment of the petroleum industry, he was hired by the Manhattan Institute, a right-wing policy think tank institute in Washington D.C. According to DeSmogBlog's Brendan DeMelle's October 11, 2011 blog article on Bryce, *Journalists ask NYTimes to set Disclosure of Conflicts Policy for Op-Ed Contributors*, and DeSmogBlog's Farron Cousins blog post on October 12, 2011, *Robert Bryce - The Media's Industry-Funded Go-To Guy*, "Bryce penned an op-ed" in the New York Times "attacking renewable energy while promoting nuclear and fracked shale gas, with no disclosure in his byline about the Manhattan Institute's fossil fuel clients." The Manhattan Institute's funding sources come from **ExxonMobil**, the **David H. Koch Foundation** (associated with the oil, gas and chemical corporation Koch Industries), the **Charles Lambe Foundation** (controlled by the Koch family), the **Earhart Foundation** (includes funding from White Star Oil company), and the **Carthage Foundation** (Scaife family coal and oil industries).

Djerejian said the demonstration did not bother him. “A good friend of mine told me, ‘A university is a sacred place,’” Djerejian said. “What he meant by that is universities in America are perhaps the last bastions where you can have total and free expression, and therefore all points of view should be given a forum on a university campus.”

Following the influx of new added capital from the Cheney gala dinner, in 2004 the Baker Institute went on a research blitz and published a long series of policy and working paper reports under the category of *Geopolitics of Natural Gas*, a joint project with California Stanford University’s Program on Energy and Sustainable Development.

Construction of infrastructure is a major challenge to increased world natural gas consumption. Cumulative investments in the global natural gas supply chain of \$3.1 trillion, or \$105 billion per year, will be needed to meet rising demand for gas between 2001 and 2030, according to the International Energy Agency (IEA). These case studies (working papers) focus on the special challenges of investing in large-scale, long-distance gas production and transportation infrastructures.... The expansion of gas as a global fuel depends in large part on success in attracting investment within such political, institutional and economic environments. The study examines the factors that explain why these projects were built and why alternative viable projects stalled.

The Baker boys’ blitz on natural gas reports occurred as unconventional gas exploration activities were beginning to explode in America, and about a year before the passage of the Halliburton Loophole by the Cheney-Bush Administration that would exempt the petroleum industry unconventional frackers from regulation and oversight from federal legislations, a highly controversial exemption facilitated in large measure by persistent lobbying strategies by the Interstate Oil and Compact Commission. The Baker Institute’s policy papers would help to stimulate interest at the highest political levels, and so would key industry investment spin-sponsors like T. (Thomas) Boone Pickens Jr., who has investments in “oil, natural gas, and nuclear power corporations like Halliburton, Schlumberger, and Shaw Group” and with “large positions in the stocks of Suncor Energy, ExxonMobil and Occidental Petroleum.”² On January 6, 2009, the Baker Institute even sponsored an afternoon forum with Pickens to help promote his new “Pickens Plan”.

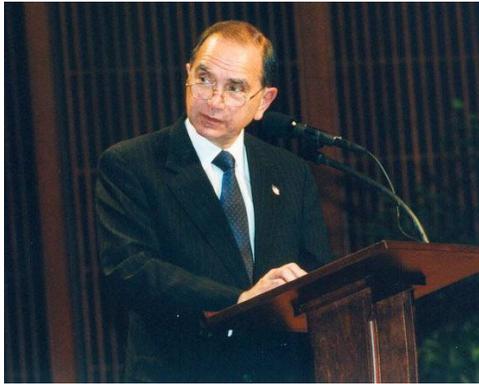


2011 photo of James Baker and Dick Cheney during a commemoration ceremony of the 9/11 bombing event of New York’s Twin Towers.

As detailed at some length below, James Baker’s mission for his institute at Rice University to “pursue the truth” through the Baker Institute’s chieftain is closely aligned with big energy business, particularly oil and gas, in facilitating a mixing bowl of political, institutional and private industry agendas of the highest orders.

² Wikipedia, T. Boone Pickens.

5-(1). General Djerejian's Circles



U.S. Secretary James A. Baker III once described Ambassador Edward Djerejian as “quite simply one of the best diplomats I know.” An expert on foreign policy and Middle Eastern affairs, Djerejian held several positions under Presidents Ronald Reagan, George H. Bush and Bill Clinton, including U.S. Ambassador to both Israel and to the Syrian Arab Republic. After more than 30 years in public service, he is appointed the founding director of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy in 1994. Under his leadership, the Baker Institute quickly emerges as one of the nation’s leading nonpartisan think-tanks. (Rice University Centennial Timeline: 1994)

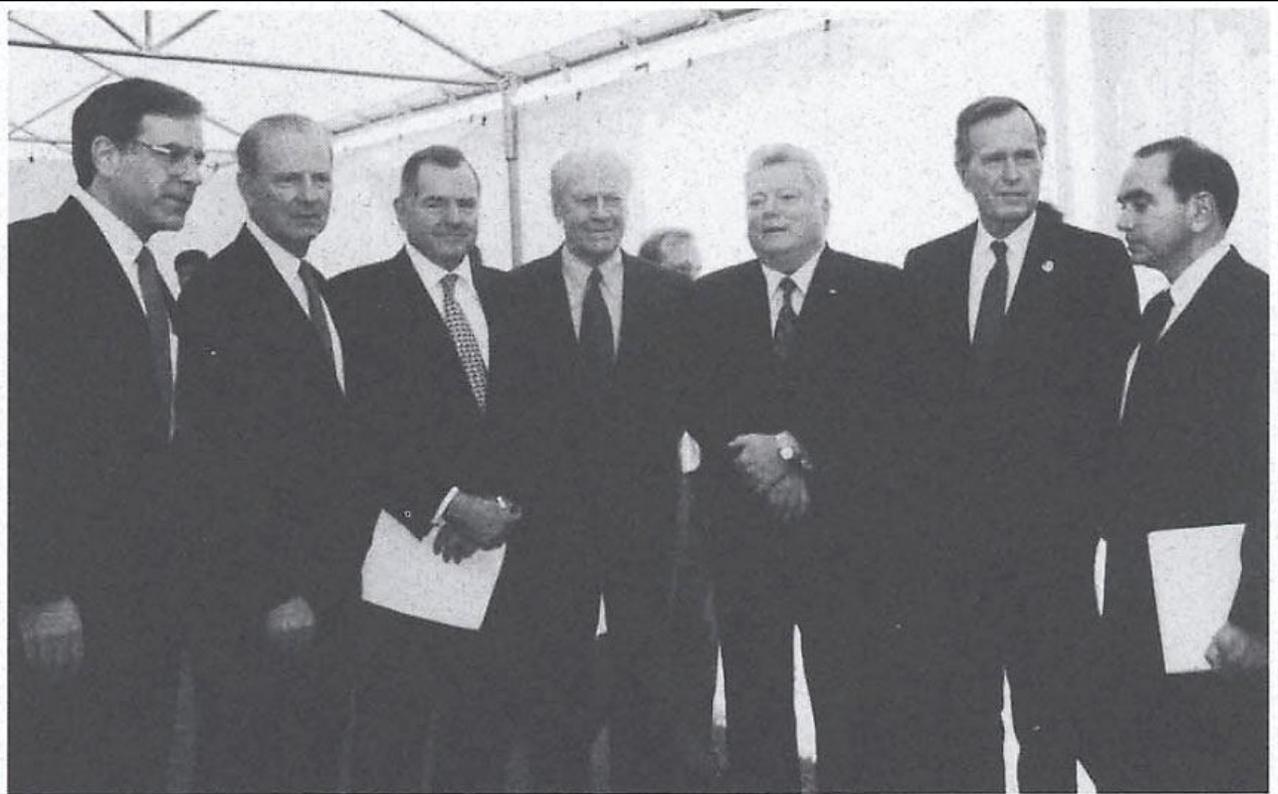
Edward P. Djerejian, the commander general of the Baker Institute since August 15, 1994, is a veritable who’s who on the American and international list of political power elites. He is, and has been, a director on two petroleum-based corporations, i.e., on T. Boone Picken’s Occidental Petroleum Corporation. In a February 2002 article about Baker Hughes partnership with **Uzbekneftegaz** in Uzbekistan to develop the North Urtabulak project, the author wrote that Baker Hughes director Djerejian’s “resume cuts across the arenas of corporate strategy and foreign policy”.³

There are numerous versions of biographies on Djerejian. The version on the Baker Institute’s website states that his “career in the U.S. Foreign Service spanned the administrations of eight presidents from John F. Kennedy to Bill Clinton.” Before Djerejian was appointed as US ambassador to Israel by president Clinton, he was both Clinton’s and president George H.W. Bush’s secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, and was appointed as U.S. ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic under the Reagan and H.W. Bush administrations. There is a long list of his activities in the “foreign service” which began in 1962. The Baker Institute biography states that “he serves on several public and nonprofit boards”, but fails to identify those servitudes.

A speakers biography of Djerejian from the December 3-5, 2008 USAEE/IAEE North American conference program states that he is fluent in four other languages: Arabic, Russian, French and Armenian. Wikipedia’s version states that he was born in New York in March 1939 (he is now 72 years of age), and that his parents were Armenian. In the Foreign Service, “he served as:

- Political officer in Beirut (1966–1969)
- Political officer in Casablanca (1969–1972)
- Consul General in Bordeaux (1975–1977)
- Chief of the US Embassy’s political section in Moscow (1979–1981)
- Deputy Chief of the US Mission to Jordan (1981–1984)
- Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary of Foreign Affairs (1985).”

³ *To the Victors Go the Markets*, by Jordan Green, February 1, 2002.



From left: James Pomerantz, James A. Baker, III, Charles Duncan, Gerald Ford, Malcolm Gillis, George Bush, and Edward P. Djerejian

Photo of some of the important dignitaries in the Baker Institutes newsletter of February 1995, detailing the commemoration of the Baker Institute on October 14, 1994, where “approximately 1,400 guests attended the event.” Djerejian is on the ‘far right’, right next to former president Bush senior.

Wikipedia also states that he is “also on several public and non-profit boards”, only mentioning that he is “managing partner of Djerejian Global Consultancies, LLP,” and “named to the board of trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.” Nothing else is said of his other positions.

On his **Djerejian Global Consultancies** website is his own quotation: “In order to enhance their success, individuals and corporations have a very real need to have a greater understanding of the political, economic, social and cultural context in which they operate abroad.” That website also states in his biography section that he “is a member of several public policy organizations, including the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies.” No mention of the other public policy organizations, and once again, no identification of “a number of corporate and non-profit organizations” he sits on.

Forbes, however, has information of Djerejian’s directorship on three corporations:

- **Occidental Petroleum Corporation;**
- **Baker Hughes Inc.;**
- and **Global Industries Ltd.**

Bloomberg has the same but with additional information - he is also a director of:

- **Incom Roofing Services Inc.;**
- and **Epok Inc.**

Bloomberg states that Djerejian has been with Occidental Petroleum Corporation since 1996, with Global Industries since February 1996, and served as a director with Baker Hughes from 2001 to April 28, 2011.

5-(1a). Djerejian: Baker Hughes Inc.

As described in the previous chapter, Baker Hughes operates “in over 90 countries worldwide” and “provides the world’s oil & gas industry with products and services for drilling, formation evaluation, completion, production and reservoir consulting,” all of the services for shale gas and oil fracking. Forbes rates Baker Hughes as 622nd in its Global 2,000 category. The timing of Djerejian’s arrival on the board of Baker Hughes is intriguing, as this is when shale gas explorations were beginning to gear up in America - a technology perfected from recent coalbed methane production - and when vice president Dick Cheney was holding his secret Energy Task Force meetings with many corporations. According to Baker Hughes’ April 28, 2011 annual company filing with the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC), “Messrs. Djerejian and (James L.) Payne will not stand for re-election and are retiring from the Board of Directors and the size of the Board will be reduced from 13 to 11 members.”



Wikipedia states that while Djerejian was a director:

In April, 2007, Baker Hughes pled guilty in U.S. federal court to violations of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA), including bribing oil-related industry officials in Russia, Uzbekistan, Angola, Indonesia, and Nigeria. Under the settlement, a unit of the Houston-based company pleaded guilty to violations of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) for payments made between 2001 and 2003 to a commercial agent retained in 2000 in connection with a project in Kazakhstan. After bribes were paid, Baker Hughes was awarded an oil-services contract in a Karachaganak, Kazakhstan field that generated \$219 million in revenues from 2001 to 2006.

Forbes also states on its profile of Djerejian that total Director Compensation from Baker Hughes: in 2006 was \$122,661; in 2007 - \$149,968; and in 2008 - \$205,295. If this accurate for Djerejian, then he earned \$477,924 in three years alone out of the almost ten years of his service at Baker Hughes.

The Baker Hughes Board of Directors as of the year 2010 were:

- **Larry D. Brady**. Bloomberg reports that he has been a director of Baker Hughes Inc. since 2004. Former president, ceo and chair of **Intermec, Inc.** Former president and coo of **FMC Corp.** He is chair of **Intermec Technologies Corporation.** He served as Chairman of **Intermec, Inc.** He is vice chair of the Board of Trustees for the **National Merit Scholarship Corporation.** Former director of **Pactiv Corporation.** He is a member of the Advisory Board for **Northwestern University’s Kellogg School of Management** and the Board of the **Washington Roundtable.**



- **Clarence P. Cazalot Jr.** According to Bloomberg, he is president, ceo of **Marathon Petroleum Company LP** and **Marathon Oil Company** (formerly known as USX Corporation), which is an affiliate of **1339971 Alberta Limited** and **Marathon Oil Canada Corporation**. He is the Treasurer at the **American Petroleum Institute Inc.** He was **Texaco's** president of Worldwide Production Operations from 1999 to 2000, its president of International Production, and president of its International Marketing and Manufacturing. He was president of **Texaco Exploration and Production Inc.** He was president of **Texaco's Latin America/West Africa Division**, and former vice president of **Texaco Inc.** He is the chair of **Marathon Ashland Petroleum LLC**. Former chair of **London-based Texaco Ltd.** He a director of both the **U.S. and Saudi Arabian Business Council**. He is a board member of the **Greater Houston Partnership**, the **Sam Houston Area Council**, **Boy Scouts of America** and the **National Association of Manufacturers**. He is a member of **The Business Council** and serves on the Advisory Board of the **World Affairs Council of Houston**. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of **Spindletop Charities, Inc.**, and on the Board of Advisors for the **Maguire Energy Institute**.



- **Chad C. Deaton.** Bloomberg reports that is chair & ceo of Baker Hughes. Former president and ceo of **Exterran Energy Solutions, L.P.** (formerly, Hanover Compression LP). Former manager of **Hanover Compression General Holdings LLC**, a general partner of **Exterran Energy Solutions**, and former president and ceo of **Exterran Holdings, Inc.** A number of positions with **Dowell Division of Dow Chemical Company**. After Schlumberger acquired Dowell in 1984, he served in management with **Schlumberger** in Europe, Russia and the United States. Former executive vice president of **Schlumberger Oilfield Services**, and senior advisor to Schlumberger Oilfield Services and **Greater Houston Partnership**. He is a director of **Ariel Corporation**. Former director of **Carbo Ceramics Inc.** Member of the **Society of Petroleum Engineers' Industrial Advisory Council**. He is a director of **Greater Houston Partnership**.



- **Anthony G. Fernandes.** Bloomberg reports is was the former chair, president and ceo of **Phillip Services Corporation**. He is ceo of **Philip Services/north Atlantic Inc.** He had 30 years of executive management experience with the **Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO)**. He was president of **ARCO Coal**. Former chairman of **ARCO Chemical Co.** Former chair of **Lyondell Chemical Worldwide Inc.** Former director of **Black & Veatch Holding Company**. He is an independent director of **ABM Industries Inc.** He is the lead director of **Cytec Industries Inc.** He is a director of **Cytec Engineered Materials Inc.** He is a trustee of **Claremont McKenna College**. Former director of **TA Delaware Inc.** (also called Tower Automotive Inc.).

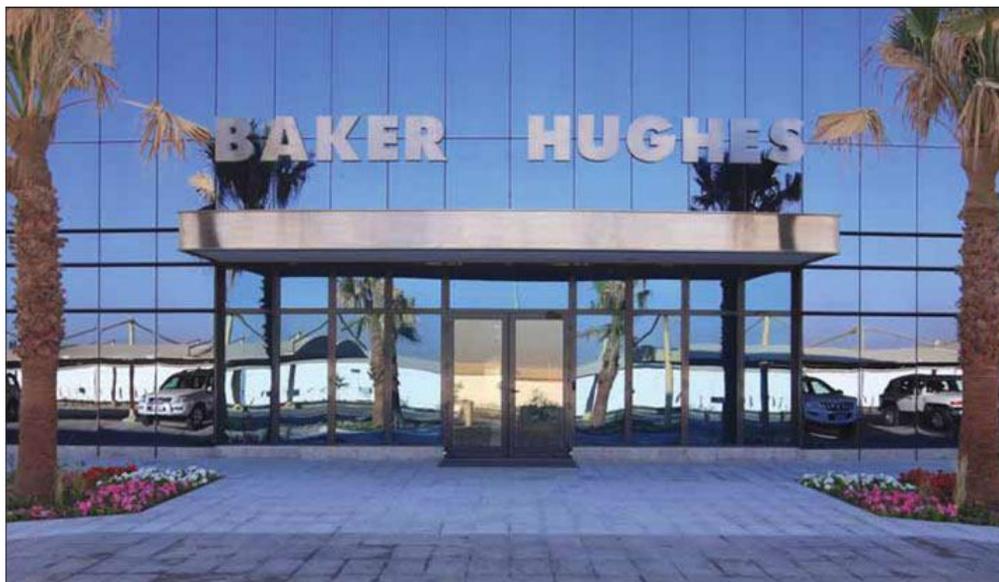


- **Claire W. Gargalli.** Bloomberg reports that she was the former president and ceo of **Equimark**. She was the former ceo and chair of **Equibank** and **Liberty Bank** (Equimark's subsidiaries). Former vice chair of **Diversified Search** and **Diversified Health Search Companies**. She is a director of **Praxair Inc.**, a director of **Western Atlas Inc.**, a director

of **Renal Treatment Centers Inc.**, and director of **Virginia National Bank**. She is the Emeritus Trustee of **Carnegie Mellon University** and of **Middlebury College**. A member of the advisory board for **The Heart and Vascular Center** and the board of the Foundation of the **Miller Center of Public Affairs**, both at the **University of Virginia**. She is a trustee of **Allegheny University of the Health Sciences**. Former director of **Intermec Inc.** (formerly UNOVA Inc.).



- **Pierre H. Jungels**. Bloomberg reports a long list of careers. Former ceo of **Enterprise Oil PLC**. Former managing director of exploration and production at **British Gas PLC**. Various service with **PetroFina SA**, and ceo of **FINA Angola**. At Petrofina SA and its predecessors he was ceo and managing director of **FINA, PLC (U.K.)**. Numerous senior international positions with **Shell International**, where he began his career. He is the non-executive chair of **Rockhopper Exploration plc**. He is the non-executive chair of **Oxford Catalysts Group PLC**. He was the former non-executive chair of **Offshore Hydrocarbon Mapping plc**. (OHM Ltd.). A former non-executive director of **Imperial Tobacco Group PLC**, and is its senior independent non-executive director. He is a director with **Woodside Petroleum Ltd**. Former independent director of **Bristow Group Inc.** (formerly, Offshore Logistics Inc.). Former director of **Enterprise Oil PLC**, where he was a director of **Enterprise (E&P) Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Exploration Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Indonesia Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Italy Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Middle East Limited**, **Offshore Hydrocarbon Mapping plc**, **Enterprise Oil Norge Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Operations Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Overseas Holdings Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Timor Gap (9) Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Timor Gap (14) Limited**, **Enterprise Oil UK Limited**, **Enterprise Oil Nominees Limited**, **Enterprise Petroleum Limited**, **First Oil SNS Limited**, **Institute of Petroleum Paladin Oil Denmark Limited**, **Saxon Oil Limited** and **Saxon Oil Miller Limited**. Former president of the **Institute of Petroleum** (now part of the newly created Energy Institute). Former chair of the **Centre for Marine & Petroleum Technology**.



One of two Baker Hughes' major operations centers in Saudi Arabia.

- **James A. Lash.** Bloomberg reports that he has been a long-time venture capitalist (investments on the computer, software, telecommunications and life sciences industries). He is the long-serving chair of **Manchester Principal LLC**. He is the president of the **Alumni Association of MIT**. Former ceo of the **Reading Tube Corporation**. Former director of **Webridge Inc.** and **Click-Webridge, Inc.** He is a director of **B.H.I.T., Inc.**, of **Ivy Animal Health Inc.**, and of **Unicast Communications**. He is a director of **Industrial Manufacturing Company** and **City Center 55th Street Foundation Inc.** He is a director of the **East West Institute**. Former director of the **Vesper Corporation**. He is the chair of the **Budget Committee of the Board of Estimate and Taxation of Greenwich, Connecticut**.

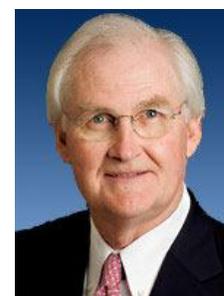


- **J. Larry Nichols.** Bloomberg reports that he co-founded **Devon Energy Corporation**, and is president of **Devon Energy Production Company LP**. Mr. He was the president of **Sonic Corp.** He was the law clerk to Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Tom Clark of the **USA Supreme Court**. Former chair of the **American Petroleum Institute Inc.** He is on the Board of Governors of the **American Stock Exchange**. He is a director of the **Domestic Petroleum Council**, the **National Association of Manufacturers**, the **Independent Petroleum Association of America**, the **Natural Gas Supply Association**, the **Independent Petroleum Association of New Mexico**, the **Oklahoma Independent Petroleum Association** and the **National Petroleum Council**. He is a director of several trade associations related to Devon Energy. He was a director of **BOK Financial Corp.** Former director of **Smedvig ASA**.



- **James L. Payne.** (Refer to his biography below under *Global Industries*, where he also serves as a fellow director with Djerejian).

- **H. John Riley Jr.** Bloomberg reports that he was the former president, ceo and chair of **Cooper Industries Ltd.** Former director of **Allstate Corp.**, former director of **Westlake Chemical Corp.** He is a director of **Post Oak Bank, N.A.** He is a director of **Manufacturers Alliance/MAPI Inc.**, of **Junior Achievement Inc.**, and of **Central Houston Inc.** Former director at **Dynegy Inc.** He is a Trustee of **Syracuse University**. He is a director of **Greater Houston Partnership** and of the **National Association of Manufacturers**. He is a trustee of the **Museum of Fine Arts, Houston**.



- **J.W. Stewart.** Bloomberg reports that he was the former chair, president and ceo of **BJ Services Company**. He is the president of **BJ Services International Inc.**



- **Charles L. Watson.** Baker Hughes' 2010 annual report states that he is chair of **Twin Eagle Management Resources** and **CLW Investments Inc.**, information that Bloomberg does not have. Bloomberg reports that he is a senior advisor at **Électricité de France (EDF) Group**. He was the former chair and ceo at **Dynegy Inc.** (and founded its predecessor, **Natural Gas**

Clearinghouse Corp.). Former president of **NGC Corporation**. He was the co-founder and chairman of **Eagle Energy Partners**. He is a member of the Advisory Board of **Angeleno Group, LLC**. He is the chair of **Wincrest Ventures**. He is a director of **Greater Houston Partnership**. He is a board member of the **Baylor College of Medicine**, a member of the **Governors Business Council**, a member of the **National Petroleum Council**. He is a member of the Executive Committee of **Edison Electric Institute**, and a founding member of the **Natural Gas Council**. Former director of **Theatre Under the Stars**, and former director of the **Hobby Center for the Performing Arts**. Former board member of the **Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA)**, the **Natural Gas Supply Association (NGSA)**, the **Interstate Natural Gas Association of America (INGAA)**, and the **Natural Gas Council (NGC)**. Former chair of the **Alexis de Tocqueville Society**, and former chair of the 1999-2000 fund raising campaign for the **United Way of the Texas Gulf Coast**. He is the owner of the **AHL Houston Aeros hockey franchise**, and a minority owner and Director of the **NFL Houston Texans**.



5-(1b). Djerejian: Occidental Petroleum Corporation

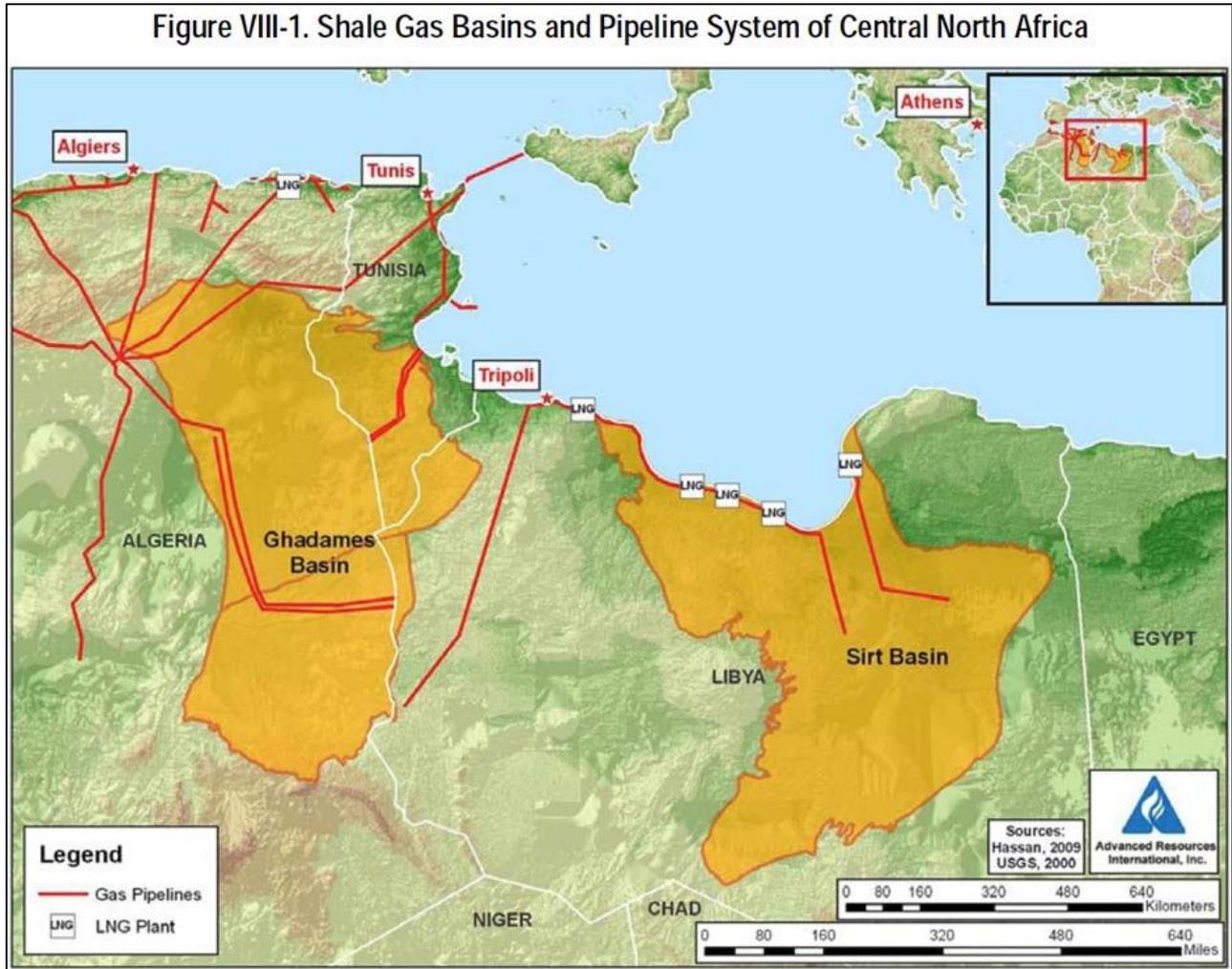
Wikipedia states that the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, founded in 1920, “is a California-based oil and gas exploration company with operations in the United States, the Middle East, North Africa, and South America.” Nicknamed ‘Oxy’, it “is the largest oil producer in Texas and the largest natural gas producer and second-largest producer of oil and gas combined in California, with additional operations in Kansas, North Dakota, Utah, Oklahoma, Colorado and New Mexico.” Oxy’s subsidiaries “include wholly owned chemical manufacturers **Occidental Chemical Corporation, OxyVinyls, and INDSPEC Chemical Corporation.**” It also “indirectly owns **Armand Products Company with Church & Dwight Co. Inc. Carbocloro S.A. Industrias Quimicas** is a joint venture between **OxyChem** and **UNIPAR** in Brazil.”

Perhaps Djerejian’s foreign relations expertise was required when Occidental began lobbying in Libya which not only has large oil reserves, but, as the Energy Information Administration reported in its April 2011 global shale gas report, Libya also has significant unconventional shale potential, a very important fact that both the media, and Libyan experts interviewed by the media, failed to report on during the recent Libyan uprising and takeover of the Qaddafi regime.⁴ In Wikipedia:

Occidental has been criticized for lobbying for a special exemption, on behalf of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi, to a federal law designed by Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) to assist American terror victims seize assets of countries found culpable in terror attacks such as the Libyan bombing of the Pan Am flight in Lockerbie in 1988 which resulted in the deaths of 270 passengers and crew, including 189 Americans. In 2008 the company hired

⁴ *World Shale Gas Resources: An Initial Assessment of 14 Regions Outside the United States*, April 2011. Out of seven regions in Africa, Libya’s shales is assessed as representing about 35 percent of all of African potential. “Libya is also a major hydrocarbon supplier, with 1.5 Bcfd of natural gas production from reserves of 50Tcf and 1.7 million barrels of oil production from reserves of 41 billion barrels, in 2008. Libya’s natural gas production has more than doubled since 2004, when the “Greenstream” pipeline came online, linking Libya’s previously unconnected productive capacity to European markets.... No public announcements of shale gas activity are reported for Libya.”

Figure VIII-1. Shale Gas Basins and Pipeline System of Central North Africa



Map of shale gas resources in Libya, from *World Shale Gas Resources* (April 2011).

Hogan & Hartson, a Washington D.C. law firm to successfully secure the exemption for Libya, a country where Occidental had major oil drilling operations prior to the anti-Qaddafi uprising in February 2011. Occidental's Chairman, Ray Irani, told investors during a conference call in 2007 that "Libya is a very attractive place" in describing that country's oil reserves. Irani led Occidental back into Libya in 2005, personally negotiating with Qaddafi, the terms of a new contract after the sanctions imposed by President Reagan as a result of Libya's terror attacks were finally lifted by the U.S. government. The company has since withdrawn from Libya pending resolution of the current crisis.

The United States Securities and Exchange Commission was in June 2011 investigating Occidental's possible role in illegal actions relating to the Libyan Investment Authority or LIA, an investment firm controlled by Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi. United Kingdom prosecutors, in cooperation with the SEC, have undertaken similar investigations of Occidental's actions during this same period to determine if Occidental, as well as other oil companies, violated international bribery laws. **The Libyan government has invested \$80 million dollars in Occidental.** These funds were subsequently seized by the U.S. government in reaction to Qaddafi's attacks on Libyan civilians.

Wikipedia also relates how Occidental's long-standing chair and ceo, and later demoted to president, Dr. Ray Irani, along with Occidental president Stephen Chazen:

ordered a reduction in company expenditures that resulted in hundreds of company job terminations, the majority of whom were veteran employees, in 2007-2008, at the height of the recession, even as Irani collected a massive \$460 million dollar total compensation package for 2006 and the company enjoyed record profits. According to the Associated Press, within the last decade, he has received \$857 million. "We're not in the business to employ people. We're in the business to make a profit," Irani has said. Chazen collected \$38,080,344 and Irani \$76,107,010 in fiscal year 2010, nearly doubling his 2009 compensation despite shareholder outrage over the Occidental board of directors executive pay policies.

On July 29, 2010, Vladimir Gusinsky filed a shareholder derivative action law suit in the County of Los Angeles Superior Court against the directors of Occidental Petroleum. Stated in section one of the court document, "this action seeks to hold defendants liable for breach of their fiduciary duties of candor, good faith and loyalty, and for corporate waste, unjust enrichment, aiding and abetting, and breach of contract in connection with the award of excessive and unwarranted 2009 executive compensation." In a long list of informational statement complaints about annual director salaries and incomes in sections 19 through 34 of the court document, section 25 lists "Defendant Edward P. Djerejian":

Djerejian has served as a director of OXY since 1996. In 2009, Djerejian received compensation of \$414,361 for serving on the OXY Board, despite the fact that OXY's net sales, net income and earning decreased 36.3%, 57.4% and 57.1%, respectively. Djerejian issued OXY's 2010 Proxy Statement representing that OXY's executive compensation parties follow a pay-for-performance policy. He also signed OXY's 2009 Form 10-K containing OXY's diminished 2009 results.

According to Oxy's SEC filing in December, 2010, the Gusinsky suit was settled out of court.

Forbes states on its website profile of Djerejian that his total Director Compensation ("fees earned or paid in cash, stock awards, all other compensation") from Occidental Petroleum in 2005 was \$77,500, in 2006 - \$357,673, in 2007 - \$363,178, in 2008 - \$534,073, and in 2010 - \$540,670 for a total of \$1,873,074 over a five year period (excluding 2009). If the 2009 figure of \$414,361 from the court document is included, then Djerejian earned \$2,287,435 over a six-year period.

One of the Baker Institute's report of September 2002, *Energy Study: Latin America - The Orinoco Heavy Oil Belt in Venezuela*, states that the report's production was sponsored by Occidental Petroleum (including a list of many other petroleum companies).

The current Occidental Petroleum Corporation (Oxy) Board of Directors are:

- **Dr. Ray R. Irani.** Bloomberg reports that Irani has been an executive of Oxy since 1990, of which he was chair and ceo for almost all of his long term of service. He was also chair and ceo with **Occidental Chemical Corporation**. He is a director at **Wynn Las Vegas, LLC** and **The TCW Group, Inc.** Former director at **Kaufman & Broad SA** and **Cedars Bank**. Former director at **KB Home**, and is the chair of its executive committee. Former

independent Director at **Wynn Resorts Ltd.** Former director at **Lyondell Chemical Company**, and is a member of its executive committee. Former director at **Nexen Inc.** He is a director at the **American Petroleum Institute**. Honorary fellow of the **American Institute of Chemists**. He is a member of the **American Chemical Society**, of the **Chief Executive Officer Roundtable**, of the **Conference Board**, of the **Council on Foreign Relations**, of the **U.S.-Saudi Arabian Business Council**, of the **National Petroleum Council**, of the **Scientific Research Society of America**, and of the **Industrial Research Institute**. He is a trustee of the **University of Southern California** and is chair of the University's academic affairs committee. He is a vice chairman of the Board of the **American University of Beirut**. He is a member of the **Board of Governors of Town Hall**. He is a member of the **World Affairs Council**.

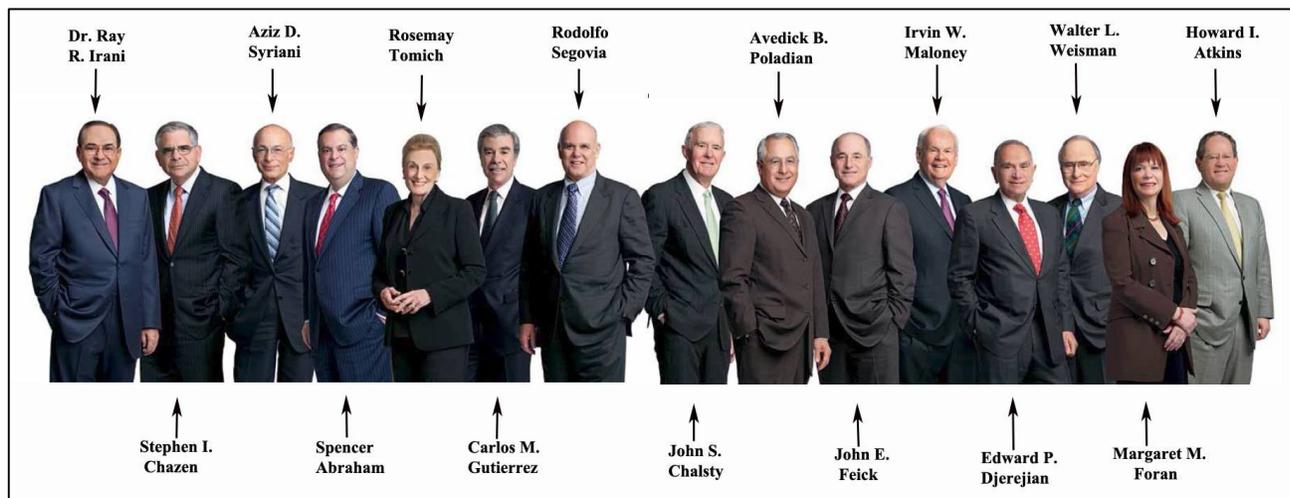


Photo of Occidental's board of directors from its 2010 annual report.

- **Stephen I. Chazen.** Bloomberg reports that he is the current ceo of Oxy, and has former president since December 2007. He was the former cfo of Oxy. Former investment banker, managing director of mergers and acquisitions, and managing director in the natural resources group at **Merrill Lynch**. He is a director of **Lyondell Chemical Company**. He is a director at the **American Petroleum Institute Inc.** He is a director of **Port Arthur Finance Corp.** He is a director of **Sabine River Holding Corp.**, the **General partner of Port Arthur Coker Company L.P.** Former director of **Washington Mutual Inc.** Former director of **Premcor Inc.** He is on the Governance Committees of **Equistar Chemicals, LP** and **OxyVinyls L.P.**
- **Aziz D. Syriani.** Bloomberg reports that he has been president and is the ceo of the **Olayan Group**. He is a director of **Credit Suisse** and **Credit Suisse Group**. Former director of **Winterthur Group**, **Winterthur Life Insurance Company** and **Winterthur Swiss Insurance**.
- **Spencer Abraham.** Bloomberg reports that he is the founder, ceo and chair of **The Abraham Group, LLC**. He was the **former U.S. Secretary of Energy**, and is the chair and ceo of its Board. Former **United States Senator from Michigan**. In the Senate, he was **Chairman of the Senate Immigration Subcommittee** and the **Senate Commerce Subcommittee on Manufacturing and Competitiveness** and was a Member of the **Senate**

Commerce, Judiciary and Budget Committees. He was the author of 22 pieces of legislation signed into law. Former counsel to the law firm of **Miller, Canfield, Paddock & Stone**. Co-founded the **Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy**. A visiting fellow at the **Hoover Institution**, a public policy research center headquartered at **Stanford University** and devoted to the study of politics, economics and political economy as well as international affairs. Periodic contributor of op-ed articles to the **Financial Times**, the **Wall Street Journal**, the **Washington Post**, **The Weekly Standard** and other publications as well as frequently appears as a guest commentator on **Fox News**, **Fox Business**, **CNN**, **CNBC** and **Bloomberg**. Former chair of the **Michigan Republican Party**. He co-founded **Federalist Society**. He is a consultant, chair and ceo at **Sunovia Energy Technologies, Inc.** He is an advisor of **Chem-mod, LLC**. Former senior advisor of **Sunovia Energy Technologies, Inc.** Former senior advisor of **Midas Medici Group Holdings, Inc.** He is the non-executive chair of **AREVA, Inc.** A director of **International Battery, Inc.** He is a member of Board of Managers at **Deepwater Wind, LLC**. He is a non-executive director of **Sindicatum Carbon Capital Group Limited**. He is a director of **C3, LLC**. He is a member of the advisory board of **Alteryx Systems**. Former director of **ICx Technologies, Inc.**

- **Rosemary Tomich.** Bloomberg reports that she has been on Oxy's board since 1980, and has been the owner of the **Hope Cattle Company** since 1958, and owner of **A. S. Tomich Construction Company** since 1970. She is the chair and ceo of **Livestock Clearing, Inc.** Former founding director of the **Palm Springs Savings Bank**. She is a trustee emeritus of the **Salk Institute**. She is on the advisory board of the **University of Southern California School of Business Administration**, on the Board of Councillors for the **School of Letters and Sciences at the University of Southern California**, and on the **UCLA Foundation Board of Councillors**.
- **Carlos M. Gutierrez.** Bloomberg reports that he served as the **35th secretary of Commerce under George W. Bush**, where he “managed an agency with 38,000 employees and a \$6.5 billion budget focused on promoting American business at home and abroad”. He was the Bush administration's “**point person on immigration reform, DR-CAFTA and the Colombia Free Trade Agreement**”. He co-chaired the **Commission for Assistance to Free Cuba**. He “led **high-level trade missions to various countries around the world including South Korea, Vietnam, China, Russia, India, Iraq, Ukraine, Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Canada.**” He is an operating advisor and regulatory and policy advisor at **Pegasus Capital Advisors, L.P.** He is vice chair of **Institutional Clients Group**. He is a member of the **Strategic Advisory Group of Citigroup Inc.** He was the general manager of **Kellogg de Mexico**. He was the vice president of **Kellogg Company**, and its executive vice president of **Sales and Marketing, Kellogg USA**. Former general manager of **Kellogg USA Cereal Division**. Former president of **Kellogg Asia-Pacific**. He is a director of **Dow Corning Corporation**. He is a Director of **United Technologies Corporation**. He is an independent director of **Corning Inc.** He is a director of **iGPS Company, LLC**, and of **Lighting Science Group Corporation**. He is a director of **Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation**. Former director of **Colgate-Palmolive Co.** He is the chairman of **Global Political Strategies at APCO Worldwide**. He is on the boards of trustees of the **Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**, and the **University of Miami**. “He is a visiting scholar at the **Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies at the University of Miami** and is a **Member of the Board of ImmigrationWorks USA.**” He is on the advisory board of **Citizenship Counts** and a

member of the **Bipartisan Debt Reduction Task Force**. He is a trustee of the **W. K. Kellogg Foundation Trust**. Former director of **Grocery Manufacturers Association**.

- **Rodolfo Segovia**. Oxy reports that he is a “director and member of the executive committee of **Inversiones Sanford**, and former president of **Ecopetrol - Colombian National Oil Company**.” Bloomberg reports he is president and ceo of **Sanford’s PVC company**. He was the **former Minister and Senator of the Republic of Colombia**. “He served as Chief Executive Officer and President of polyvinyl chloride and polypropylene companies from 1996 to 1998.” “He is a trustee of the **university of the Andes** and serves as an advisor to the **Martindale center of Lehigh University**. Mr. Segovia was visiting Professor of Management at Lehigh University.”
- **John S. Chalsty**. Oxy reports that he is the president and chairman of **Muirfield Capital Management LLC**, and former chair of **Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc.**
- **Avedick B. Poladian**. Bloomberg reports that he is the executive vice president and coo of **Lowe Enterprises, Inc.** Former executive vice president and coo of **Lowe Enterprises Real Estate Group**. Former senior partner with **Arthur Andersen LLP**. Former vice chair of **Loyola Marymount University**. Former independent director of **Western Asset Income Fund**. He is a trustee of **Western Asset Premier Bond Fund**. He is a director of **Western Asset Funds, Inc.**, and a director of the **YMCA of Metropolitan Los Angeles**. He is a trustee of **PS**, general partner of **Public Storage Properties IV, Ltd.** and of **Public Storage Properties V, Ltd.** Former director of **California Pizza Kitchen**.
- **John E. Feick**. Bloomberg reports that he is a partner of **Kemex Engineering Services Ltd.** Former ceo and president, and now chair of **Matrix Solutions Inc.** Former president and coo of **Novacor Chemicals**, a subsidiary of **Nova Corporation**. He is a partner of **Kemex Engineering Services Ltd.** He has been a Director of **Veresen Inc.** since November 13, 1997. Former director of **Nexen Inc.** Former director of **Fort Chicago Energy Management Ltd.**, the general partner of **Fort Chicago Energy Partners LP**.
- **Irvin W. Maloney**. Forbes reports that he was the former president and ceo of **Dataproducts Corporation**. Former executive vice president of **Contel Corporation**, and former president of Contel’s information systems sector. Former general manager of **Harris Corporation**. Former vice president of years in various management positions with **IBM**, including vice president of **Western Field Operations**. He was affiliated with the **Center for Corporate Innovation**.
- **Walter (Wally) L. Weisman**. Bloomberg reports that he is a private investor, and former chair and ceo of **American Medical International, Inc.** Former chair of **Maguire Properties L.P.** He is a director of **Clinical Micro Sensors Inc.** Former director of **Price REIT Inc.**, and of **Community Care Health Network Inc.** (New York City). He is a member of **Supervisory Board of Fresenius Medical Care AG & Co. KGAA** (also called as Fresenius Medical Care Corp.). Former trustee of **Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)**, of the **Samuel H. Kress Foundation**, and of the **Harvey Mudd College**. He is the chair of the Board of Trustees of the **Los Angeles County Museum of Art**, and chair of the Board of Trustees of the **Sundance Institute**. He is the vice chair of the Board of Trustees and Trustee of the **California Institute of Technology**.

- **Margaret M. Foran.** Bloomberg reports that she is the chief governance officer, and vice president and corporate secretary of **Prudential Financial Inc.** Former senior vice president of corporate governance and associate general counsel of **Pfizer Inc.** Former executive vice president, general counsel and secretary of **Sara Lee Corp.** Former associate general counsel and assistant secretary of **ITT Corporation.** “She began her career as an Associate at Reid & Priest.” Former vice president, assistant general counsel at **J.P Morgan & Co. Inc.** Former secretary of **Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York.** Member of the Advisory Board at **Catalyst, Inc.** Member of Governance Leadership Council of **RiskMetrics Group, Inc.** Former director of **Encysive Pharmaceuticals Inc.** Former director of **The Mony Group Inc.** and its subsidiary, **MONY Life Insurance Company.** Vice chair of the board of **The Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan New York.** Member of the Standing Advisory Group at **Public Company Accounting Oversight Board (PCAOB)** and the **New York Stock Exchange Stockholder Approval Policy Task Force.** She is on the Business Advisory Council of **YAI National Institute for People with Disabilities.** Director of the **Association of Corporate Counsel (ACC).** Board member of **Legal Momentum.** She is on the **Corporate Directors Institute’s Independent Advisory Board of the National Association of Corporate Directors (NACD).** Member of the **ABA Commission on Mental and Physical Disability Law.** Member of the **Council of Institutional Investors and The Economic Club of New York.** Former member of board of trustees of the **Securities and Exchange Commission Historical Society.** Former chair of the **American Bar Association Committee on Corporate Governance** and is a member of its Business Council. Former chair of the **Coordinating Committee of the Business Roundtable Corporate Governance Task Force.**
- **Howard I. Atkins.** Bloomberg reports that he is the cfo of **Wachovia Preferred Funding Corp.** Former senior executive vice president and cfo of **Wells Fargo & Company,** a subsidiary of **Wells Fargo Foothill, Inc.** Former cfo and executive vice president of **Midlantic Corp.** Former cfo executive vice president of **New York Life Insurance Company.** Former cfo at **Midlantic National Bank** before its merger with **PNCBank Corp.** Former Corporate Treasurer of **Chase Manhattan Bank.** Director of **Ingram Micro Inc.** Director of the **Asian Art Museum in San Francisco.** Member of the **American Banker Chief Financial Officer Advisory Board,** of the **Financial Executives Institute,** and of the **Conference Board.**

5-(1c). Djerejian: Global Industries Ltd.

Wikipedia does not have any information on Global Industries Ltd., at this time. The company’s website states that it was formed in 1973 and evolved into “a leader in offshore construction in the Gulf of Mexico and around the world. Global has prospered by supply diving and pipelaying services vital in producing offshore oil and gas.” During difficult financial years for the oil industry in the 1980s, Global “began a series of major acquisitions that have catapulted the company up the ranks of the major offshore companies.” Global has six operational divisions for its fleet of offshore vessels: North America, Mexico, Latin America, West Africa, Middle East/Mediterranean, and Asia Pacific/India.

On Global's Board of Directors alongside Djerejian are:

- **John. A. Clerico.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he is Global Industries' chair and former ceo of Global, a director of **Community Health Systems Inc.**, and a director of the **Educational Development Corporation**. Chair of his own company, **Chartmark Investments Inc.** Former executive vice president & cfo of **Praxair Inc.**, former treasurer and cfo of **Union Carbide Corp.** He was the cfo of **Conoco Inc.** and **Phillips Petroleum Co.** (1965-1983). Trustee of the **Oklahoma State University Foundation**. Corporate Finance Magazine's top four "leading corporate treasurers", and CFO Magazine's 1997 "CFO of the Year".
- **William J. Dore.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he is the founder of Global, and former ceo and coo of Global. Former president of the **Association of Diving Contractors**. Member of the Advisory Board of **Founders Investment Banking LLC**, and member of **Global Divers & Contractors Inc.** Former director of **FutureFuel Corp.** Was a director of the **National Ocean Industries Association**.
- **John B. Reed.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he is Global's ceo since March 2010, and is ceo of **Heerema Group Services S.A.**, and ceo of **Heerema Marine Contractors Nederland B.V.** Former ceo of **INTEC Engineering**. Former director of the **National Ocean Industries Association**, and past president of **International Pipeline and Marine Contractors Association**, and former chair of the **International Marine Contractors Association** - America's Deepwater Division.
- **Michael J. Pollock.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he has been a director on Global since 1992. Former ceo of **CoStreet Communications** (formerly Orbis 1 Carrier Services). Former vice president, ceo & treasurer of Global.
- **Lawrence B. Dickerson.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he is president & ceo of **Diamond Offshore Drilling Inc.**, and many other former executive positions under the same company. Chair of the **International Association of Drilling Contractors**. Served on the **U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy**. Former chair of the **National Ocean Industries Association**.
- **Larry E. Farmer.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he was the former ceo of Halliburton's British subsidiary **Halliburton Brown & Root Ltd.**, and responsible for coordination of Halliburton business units in the United Kingdom, Europe and Africa. He is a non-executive director of **Energysys Ltd.** and **Digital Steps Limited**.
- **James L. Payne.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he has a complicated association with a long list of corporations. He is now in his mid-70s, and has been the chair and ceo of **Shona Energy Co.** since December 2006, and is **the only individual that shared an overlap of directorships with Djerejian, the other being Baker Hughes Inc.** Payne is the former ceo and president of **Nuevo Energy Company** (acquisition, production and exploration of oil and natural gas properties), a company which merged with **Plains Exploration and Production Company**. Former ceo and chair of **Devon SFS Operating**



Inc. (formerly Santa Fe Snyder Corp. and Santa Fe Energy Resources). Former ceo and chair of **Santa Fe Energy Company** (which merged with Snyder Oil Company). Former director of **Pool Energy Services Co.** which was acquired by Nabors in 1999. Former director with **BJ Services** which merged with **Baker Hughes Inc.** in April 2010. The following is a lengthy quote from Bloomberg's background summary biography:

*Prior to his career with Santa Fe, he spent twenty-three years with **Chevron Oil** in various domestic and international exploration and management positions including Manager of Africa, Europe/Middle East and General Manager of Sudan. Mr. Payne served as Vice Chairman of **Devon Energy Inc.** from September 2000 to January 2001. He has been a Director of **Nabors Industries Ltd.** since 1999 and **Global Industries Ltd.** since December 2000. He serves as a Director of **Shona Energy**. He has served on the board of the **IPAA** and the foundation boards of the **SEG, AAPG** and **AGI**. He served as a Director of **Baker Hughes Incorporated** from April 2010 to April 28, 2011.... He served as a Director of **Nabors Holding Company** (formerly, Pool Energy Services Co.) from 1992 to November 1999, **Santa Fe Energy Resources Inc.** since 1990, **Devon Energy Corporation** since 2000 until January 2001, **LG&E Natural Inc.** (formerly, Hadson Corp.) since 1993 and **Monterey Resources, Inc.** since 1996. He served as a Director of **BJ Services Company** since 1999 until 2010. Mr. Payne serves as a Director of the **Domestic Petroleum Council**, the **Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA)**, the **Palmer Drug Abuse Program**, **Spindletop International** and the **Offshore Energy Center**. He serves as a Member of the **President's Council of the Colorado School of Mines**. He is a Member of the **Society of Exploration Geophysicists** and the **American Association of Petroleum Geologists**. In 1993, he became a **School of Mines Distinguished Achievement Medalist**.*

- **Charles (Chuck) Buckner.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he is co-chair of Ernst & Young's **Global Energy Group** (Energy Services Group), and chair of the **United States, Houston and Russian Energy**, chemical and utility practices. Bloomberg states he "worked with Ernst & Young LLP, a public accounting firm, until 2002, after 35 years of service in a variety of direct client services and administrative roles while based in Houston, Cleveland and Moscow. He has extensive experience in formulating technical accounting policy and practice statements, and has participated in establishing SEC, AICPA and FASB audit and accounting standards." Director of **Energy Partners Ltd.** Director of **Patterson-UTI Energy Inc.** Director of **Horizon Offshore Inc** and **Whittier Energy Corp.** Former director of **Gateway Energy Corporation**.
- **Richard A. Pattarozzi.** Forbes and Bloomberg report that he was a former vice president of **Shell Oil Company**, and responsible for off-shore oil exploration and production businesses. Former vice president of **Shell Offshore Inc.** He is the non-executive chair of **Stone Energy Corp**, and lead independent director of **Tidewater Inc.**, and a director of **FMC Technologies**. Former director of **OSCA Inc.** He is a director of **Transocean Sedco Forex**, and of **Wellgix**. Former director of **TODCO**, and **Transocean Ltd.**
- **Edgar G. Hotard.** Bloomberg reports the following:

*Mr. Edgar G. Hotard is a Venture Partner at **Arch Venture Partners, L.P.** He is also a Senior Advisor to the **Monitor Group**. Mr. Hotard is an Operating Partner at **Hao Capital**. He has over 35 years of international operating and investing experience. Mr. Hotard is a*

*Co-Founder of the **China Economic and Technology Alliance**. He has been an advisor to a number of PE funds, including **MPM Capital**, **AEA Investors**, **Harvest Partners**, and **Monitor Capital**. He served as a Secretary and Treasurer at **US-China Business Council** since June 2006. Mr. Hotard has been a private Consultant there since January 1999. He was a Venture Partner at **MPM Capital**. Mr. Hotard was based in Boston office and was focused on developing relationships and opportunities in Asia and China for the firm and its portfolio companies. From July 1992 to January 1999, he was the President and Chief Operating Officer at **Praxair Inc.** In 1992, Mr. Hotard co-led the spin off of Praxair from **Union Carbide Corporation**, where he was a Corporate Vice President. Mr. Hotard serves as the Chairman of the **Monitor Group (China)**. He has been a Director of **Aquarion Co.** since 1995. Mr. Hotard has been a Director of **Global Industries Ltd.** since May 1999 and serves as the Chairman of its Compensation Committee and Member of Audit Committee. He was a Board Member of **Albany International** and **Shona Energy**. Mr. Hotard has been a Director of **Edgen Corp.** since August 1999 and **Home Care Supply Inc.** since July 2000. He served as a Director of **Iwatani Industrial Gases Inc.**, Osaka, Japan and also served as a Director of **Dexter Corporation**. From January 1996 to March 1997, Mr. Hotard also served as the Chairman of **Chicago Bridge & Iron Inc.** He served as a Director of **Global Power Equipment Group Inc.** since May 2001 to June 9, 2005 and served as the Chairman of its Audit Committee, Member of Corporate Governance, and Nominating Committees. He served as a Director of **Praxair Inc.** from 1992 to 1998 and **US-China Business Council** since June 2006. In December 2000, Mr. Hotard received the **Great Wall Award** from the municipality of Beijing, China and lectures at Tsinghua School of Economics and Management on entrepreneurship.*

5-(1d). Roofer Djerejian: Incom Roofing Service Inc.

Given Djerejian's directorships on three large corporations, why would Djerejian be a director of a seemingly lowly company by the name of **Incom Roofing Service Inc.**, a commercial roofing systems service founded and based in Houston, Texas? Is it merely a front company? Whatever the reason(s) may be (probably a lot of leaky roofs to repair with all the freak hurricanes resulting from global warming coming off the Gulf of Mexico), two of the three other directors at Incom have interesting portfolios, who in turn are associated with some very influential people.

- **Jim P. Wise.** Bloomberg states that Incom Roofing director Wise is a founder and advisory director of the **Free Enterprise Foundation**, which Wise himself confirms in his profile biography on a Texas State business web directory. Wise is a member of the **American Petroleum Institute**, and a member of the **American Institute of C.P.A.s**. He was the former chair and ceo of **Neostar Group Inc.**, and former ceo, president, and vice chair of **Integrated Electrical Services**. He was the former vice president of finance and cfo of **Sterling Chemicals Inc.** He was a director, cfo and executive vice president of **Transco Energy Company**, and was on the board at **Houston Natural Gas Corp.** He is on the Dean's executive advisory board at University of Houston's **Bauer College of Business Administration**, and on the advisory board of the **Salvation Army USA**. Bloomberg states that he "has more than 40 years of operational and financial experience with several public companies and 41 years of midstream experience. During his business career, Mr. Wise has served in a lead role in over \$7 billion in financing transactions and over 100 acquisitions as well as four successful IPO's."

5-(1d)-1. Wise with Haddington

What is perhaps more interesting about Mr. Wise as it relates to the issue of unconventional gas and its production and distribution, is his position as managing director and principal of **Haddington Ventures, L.L.C.**, including some of his fellow directors and board members.

Alongside Jim Wise on Haddington are:

- **E. Linn Draper Jr.** Bloomberg reports that he is a nuclear engineer. Was the ceo and president of **American Electric Power Company Inc.** Former president, coo, ceo, and chair of **AEP Service Corp.** Former chair, president and ceo of **Gulf States Utility Co.** Former ceo and chair of **Southwestern Electric Power Co.** Former ceo, president and chair of the **Columbus Southern Power Co.** Former president of **Ohio Valley Electric Corp.** and **Indiana-Kentucky Electric Corp.** Former ceo and chair of **APCo, I&M, and OPCo.** Former ceo and vice president of **Appalachian Power Company.** The former non executive chair and current director of **NorthWestern Energy.** He is the chair and director of **Northwestern Corp.** He is the vice chair of **Target (TGT)** running its Technology and Distribution services. He is an independent Director of **Sprint Corp.** He was a director of **I&M** and **Ohio Power Company.** He is a director of **BCP Management Inc.,** (“BCPM” or the “General Partner”) of **Borden Chemicals & Plastics Limited Partnership.** He is a director of **Temple-Inland Inc.** He is a Director of **Alliance Data Systems Corp.** and **Trans Canada.** He was a director and chair of the executive committee of **American Electric Power Service Corp.** He is the chair of the **Edison Electric Institute.** He is a member of the **National Academy of Engineering,** and a director of the **Nuclear Energy Institute,** a director of the **Institute of Nuclear Power Operations,** and the **Greater Columbus Chamber of Commerce.**
- **John M. Seidl.** Bloomberg reports that Seidl “has been in the energy business in various positions since 1977. Dr. Seidl has held various Board and Chief Executive positions in a number of major oil, gas, and natural resource companies. He worked at **Natomas** till 1984 and **Pacific Lumber Company** till 1993.” He is the chair of **Envirofuels LLC** and of **Language Line Services.** A director of **St. Mary Land and Exploration Company.** A director of **J.B. Pointdexter.** Former director of **CRSS INC,** of **Iomega Corporation,** of **CellNet Data Systems,** of **Maxxam Inc.** He was the “Chief Program Officer of the **Environment Program at the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation** in San Francisco.” Former chair of **myHomeKey.com.** Former chair and ceo of **Kaiser Aluminum Corporation.** “Dr. Seidl was an Executive Vice President from July 1985 to May 1986 and the President and the Chief Operating Officer from May 1986 to January 1989 of **Enron Corp.** He also served in Washington as a **Deputy Assistant Secretary** in the Departments on **Health, Education and Welfare,** and **Interior.** He spent a number of years on the faculty of **Stanford University Graduate School of Business** and has also taught at the **Jones Business School of Rice University.**”
- **Oliver G. Richard III.** Bloomberg reports that he is the owner and president of **Empire of the Seed LLC.** Former chair, president and ceo of **Columbia Energy Group,** which was later acquired by **NiSource.** Former chair, ceo and president of **Jersey Resources Corporation.** Former president and ceo of **Northern Natural Gas Company.** Former executive and senior vice president of **Enron Gas Pipeline Group.** Former vice president

and general counsel of **Tenngasco**. He is a director of the **American Gas Association**, a member of the **National Petroleum Council**, a member of the **Virginia Business Council**, a member of the **Battelle Energy Industry Advisory Committee**. Former director of **Tri Union Development Corp.** Current director and former chair of the **Interstate Natural Gas Association of America**. Former director of **Mainline Management LLC-General Partner of Buckeye Gp Holdings L.P.** Former senior advisor to the **President's Commission on Year 2000 Conversion**. Former appointment by U.S. president Ronald Reagan as **Commissioner to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC)**, the "youngest Commissioner ever appointed to FERC".

- **James K. Lam.** Bloomberg reports that since joining Haddington in 2001, he "has been since working on various acquisitions and greenfield developments involving gas storage, compressed air energy storage ("CAES"), and gas gathering, processing, treating, and transportation opportunities. Mr. Lam's responsibilities at Haddington range from deal sourcing, transactional due diligence, financings, portfolio company oversight, and investment monetization strategies." Bloomberg goes to report that "prior to joining Haddington, Mr. Lam was an Assistant Vice President at **Merrill Lynch**. He worked for a combined five years in investment banking in the natural gas research groups of **Merrill Lynch and Jefferies & Co.** Mr. Lam was responsible for maintaining comprehensive research coverage on the energy merchant conglomerates, integrated natural gas companies, natural gas local distribution companies, natural gas gatherers and processors, and pipeline master limited partnerships. He also worked as an analyst at **Jefferies & Co.**"

5-(1d)-2. Brigadier White

The other director of interest at Incom Roofing Services is **Thomas E. White** (former U.S. Brigadier General). It's hard to summarize the possible circles of intrigue here, but it is important to summarize what occurred some ten years ago with regard to Djerejian's fellow roofing director.

White was the center of U.S. national and international attention when he came under investigation in 2002 following a Washington Post newspaper article in late October 2001 (six weeks after 9/11) with information about numerous phone calls White allegedly made to Enron executives during White's appointment since May 31, 2001 as the U.S. Secretary of the Army.

The Bush administration's relationship with Enron has come under intense scrutiny since the energy firm became the biggest bankruptcy in corporate history. Kenneth Lay, another former chief executive, was a personal associate of the president and Enron was one of the biggest backers of the Bush election campaign.

*Talks aimed at ensuring the survival of Arthur Andersen, the accountancy firm that audited Enron's accounts, were continuing last night. The US offices of Andersen are attempting to settle an indictment for obstruction of justice ahead of a trial due at the beginning of next month.*⁵

White's communications occurred while Enron was facing bankruptcy (Enron filed for bankruptcy on December 3, 2001) and when "White unloaded 200,000 Enron shares for \$12 million"

⁵ *FBI investigates army secretary's Enron dealings*, The Guardian.

(Wikipedia, Thomas E. White). Wikipedia states that White failed to divest himself of his 50,000 stock options in Enron after he promised to do so during his confirmation hearing.

Wikipedia describes White's responsibilities as Army Secretary: he "was responsible for all matters relating to Army manpower, personnel, reserve affairs, installations, environmental issues, weapons systems and equipment acquisition, communications, and financial management. He led a work-force of over one million active duty, National Guard and Army Reserve soldiers and 270,000 civilian employees, he had stewardship over 15 million acres (60,000 km²) of land and an annual budget of nearly \$70 billion."

The intrigue over White's communications with Enron relates to his preceding close relationship with Enron as: the former vice chair of Enron's subsidiary **Enron Energy Services**; one of Enron's Executive Committee members; and chair and ceo of **Enron Operations Corporation**. Within this context, Wikipedia notes: "While serving as Vice Chairman of Enron Energy Services White had actively pursued military contracts for the company and in 1999 had secured a prototype deal at Fort Hamilton for privatising the power supply of army bases. Enron had been the only bidder for this deal after White had controversially used his government and military contacts to secure key concessions."

A March 25, 2002 *Fact Sheet - Secretary White's Contacts with Current and Former Enron Executives*, published by the Minority Staff with the U.S. House of Representatives' *Committee on Government Reform*, detailed chronological information about White's phone calls and White's selling of Enron shares following information requests by U.S. Representative Henry Waxman to Secretary White from January 14, 2002 onwards. The chronology details how White had sold a total of 405,710 shares of Enron stock between June and October 2001, and details who and when White spoke with.

In February 2001 Enron presented an imposing facade, but insiders knew better: they were desperately struggling to keep their Ponzi scheme going. When one top executive learned of millions in further losses, his e-mailed response summed up the whole strategy: "Close a bigger deal. Hide the loss before the 1Q."

The strategy worked. Enron collapsed, but not before insiders made off with nearly \$1 billion. The sender of that blunt e-mail sold \$12 million in stocks just before they became worthless. And now he's secretary of the Army.

Dick Cheney vehemently denies that talk of war, just weeks before the midterm elections, is designed to divert attention from other matters. But in that case he won't object if I point out that the tide of corporate scandal is still rising, and lapping ever closer to his feet.

An article in yesterday's Wall Street Journal confirmed what some of us have long argued: market manipulation by energy companies - probably the same companies that wrote Mr. Cheney's energy plan, though he has defied a court order to release task force records - played a key role in California's electricity crisis. And new evidence indicates that Mr. Cheney's handpicked Army secretary was a corporate evildoer.

Mr. Cheney supposedly chose Thomas White for his business expertise. But when it became apparent that the Enron division he ran was a money-losing fraud, the story changed. We were told that Mr. White was an amiable guy who had no idea what was actually going on,

that his colleagues referred to him behind his back as “Mr. Magoo.” Just the man to run the Army in a two-front Middle Eastern war, right?

But he was no Magoo. Jason Leopold, a reporter writing a book about California’s crisis, has acquired Enron documents that show Mr. White fully aware of what his division was up to. Mr. Leopold reported his findings in the online magazine Salon, and has graciously shared his evidence with me. It’s quite damning.

The biggest of several deals that allowed Mr. White to “hide the loss” - a deal in which the documents show him intimately involved - was a 15-year contract to supply electricity and natural gas to the Indiana pharmaceutical company Eli Lilly. Any future returns from the deal were purely hypothetical. Indeed, the contract assumed a deregulated electricity market, which didn’t yet exist in Indiana. Yet without delivering a single watt of power - and having paid cash up front to Lilly, not the other way around - Mr. White’s division immediately booked a multimillion-dollar profit.

Was this legal? There are certain cases in which companies are allowed to use “mark to market” accounting, in which they count chickens before they are hatched - but normally this requires the existence of a market in unhatched eggs, that is, a forward market in which you can buy or sell today the promise to deliver goods at some future date. There were no forward markets in the services Enron promised to provide; extremely optimistic numbers were simply conjured up out of thin air, then reported as if they were real, current earnings. And even if this was somehow legal, it was grossly unethical.

If outsiders had known Enron’s true financial position when Mr. White sent that e-mail, the stock price would have plummeted. By maintaining the illusion of success, insiders like Mr. White were able to sell their stock at good prices to naive victims - people like their own employees, or the Florida state workers whose pension fund invested \$300 million in Enron during the company’s final months. As Fortune’s recent story on corporate scandal put it: “You bought. They sold.”

It was crony capitalism at its worst. What kind of administration would keep Mr. White in office?

A story in last week’s Times may shed light on that question. It concerned another company that sold a division, then declared that its employees had “resigned,” allowing it to confiscate their pensions. Yet this company did exactly the opposite when its former C.E.O. resigned, changing the terms of his contract so that he could claim full retirement benefits; the company took an \$8.5 million charge against earnings to reflect the cost of its parting gift to this one individual. Only the little people get shafted.

The other company is named Halliburton. The object of its generosity was Dick Cheney.⁶

U.S. Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld, who had appointed White as Secretary of Army, eventually requested White to resign, which occurred on April 25, 2003.

⁶ *Cronies in Arms*, by Paul Krugman, New York Times, September 17, 2002.

Bloomberg does not report when White became a director of Incom Roofing Services, nor does it report when the other three directors became so. It does state that the company was founded in 1998, and has a current address in Houston, Texas.

Bloomberg reports that since 2004, Thomas E. White is the principal and partner of **DKRW Energy LLC**. “He served as the 18th Secretary of the Army under President George W. Bush. Mr. White served as Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He joined Enron in 1990 and retired from Enron Corp. in April 2001.” He also “served as a Director of **Combustion Systems**, a subsidiary of **Catalytica Inc.** since January 1998. He serves as Member of the Advisory Board of **Safe Renewables Corporation**.”

About a year after White’s unceremonious departure from the White House, he joined DKRW Energy LLC as a director. Bloomberg reports the following about this company:

DKRW Energy LLC develops, constructs, and operates power and infrastructure projects. The company, through its subsidiaries, focuses on the commercial development, construction, ownership, and operation of facilities designed to convert lower-value hydrocarbons into products that have been produced by crude oil. It also engages in the importation of liquefied natural gas to supplement shrinking supplies in the United States; and coal liquefaction to increase the productive use of domestic resources and utilization of wind power generation technologies. The company has a coal-to-liquids facility in Medicine Bow, Wyoming; and an LNG terminal in Sonora, Mexico. DKRW Energy LLC was founded in 2002 and is headquartered in Houston, Texas.

Bloomberg states that it has no information about the company’s board members, only that there are three principals. In addition to White are Jon C. Doyle and Robert C. Kelly. As Bloomberg reports, all three principals were formerly with Enron, and that Kelly also had a career in the U.S. army:

*Mr. Robert C. Kelly, Bob is a Founding Partner and Principal of **Dkrw Energy LLC** and serves as its Executive Officer. Mr. Kelly has more than 25 years of experience in creating renewable energy companies as well as the development, financing, construction and operation of large electric power cogeneration facilities. Prior to co-founding DKRW in 2002, Mr. Kelly served as interim Chief Executive Officer of **EPV**. In January 2002, he co-founded **DKR Development LLC**. From 1985 to 1997, he held senior executive positions at **Enron** including president of **Enron Cogeneration Company** and co-chairman of **Amoco/Enron Solar**. While at Enron, Mr. Kelly formed a number of asset-based businesses in the power sector including **Enron Power Corporation**, **Enron Wind Corp.**, **Amoco/Enron Solar** and **Enron Renewable Energy Corporation**. Mr. Kelly held several senior executive positions with Enron Corp. His previous assignments with Enron included, Executive Vice President and Chief Strategy Officer, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Enron Renewable Energy Company, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of **Enron Europe** and President of **Enron Cogeneration Company**. In 1997, he founded **Countrywatch** and serves as its Chairman of the Board. He serves as Chairman of **DKRW Advanced Fuels, LLC**. Mr. Kelly serves as Vice Chairman of **EPV SOLAR, Inc**. He entered the energy industry following a 13-year career in the Army that included service in Vietnam and as a tenured **Professor of Economics at West Point**. During his military service, he was a tenured **Associate Professor of Social Sciences at USMA**.*

Bloomberg reports the following of Jon C. Doyle:

*Mr. Jon C. Doyle Founded DKRW Advanced Fuels, LLC in 2002 and serves as its Chief Executive Officer. Mr. Doyle is a Partner and Principal of **Dkrw Energy Llc**. He co-founded **DKR Development LLC** in January of 2002. He served as President of **IES Communications**, a \$145 million revenue communications contracting company. He served as Chief Operating Officer of DKRW Advanced Fuels, LLC. From 1996 to 2000, he was employed with **Enron Corp.** where he led global renewable energy development. Prior to joining Enron, he set up and managed a China-based chemical manufacturing facility for **NCH Corporation**.*

5-(1e). The Baker Boys, the CFR and Cheney’s Secret Energy Task Force

In late 2001, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) released a summary page of information regarding the *Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy*. The descriptive states the following: “At the start of President Bush’s first term in office, Vice President Dick Cheney chaired a high-level government task force on energy, several months after the Council on Foreign Relations released its independent Task Force report, “Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century.”” In other words, the 150-page April 2001 Task Force report - a sponsored collaboration between the CFR⁷ and the Baker Institute, published five months prior to the 9/11 incident - set the stage for Cheney’s secret energy task force meetings. The Baker Institute also published a 12-page report summary (report No. 15) of the Task Force report in April 2001, emphasizing its own interpretation and recommendations on future energy expansion. In September 2001, the Task Force chair and its project director released an Update report, *Update by the Chair and Project Director of an Independent Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy: Challenges for the 21st Century*.



The chair of the Task Force was Edward L. Morse, its project director was Amy Myers Jaffe from the Baker Institute, and the project coordinator was Colonel James E. Sikes Jr. (“U.S. Army and military fellow at the CFR this year”). The report’s foreword, co-authored by Edward Djerejian and CFR’s president Leslie H. Gelb,⁸

Amy Jaffe has been with the Baker Institute since 1996 and serves as the director of the Energy Forum and the Wallace S. Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies. She served as senior editor and Middle East analyst for the **Petroleum Intelligence Weekly** (1988-1996), the **Dow Jones International** as U.S. Bureau chief (1984-1988), and senior editor with **MidEast Report** (1980-1984).

⁷ The opening disclaimer of the report states (in capitalized font) that the CFR “takes no institutional position on policy issues and has no affiliation with the U.S. Government. All statements of fact and expressions of opinion contained in all its publications are the sole responsibility of the author or authors.” Similarly, “the research and views expressed in this paper are those of the Independent Task Force, and do not necessarily represent the views of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy.”

⁸ Neither apparently served on the Task Force, their names are not referenced as report contributors, as they, as the captains of each organization, merely gave their blessings.

stated that the Task Force “included experts from every segment of the world of energy - producers, consumers, **environmentalists** (emphasis), national security experts, and others.” In the Acknowledgment section, it states that the Task Force met over a three month period, from December 2000 to February 2001 (December was the new president’s, G.W. Bush’s, transition period),⁹ “in three complicated video conferences and teleconferences from diverse locations and time zones”. Assumedly, the report took about two months to write. It also states that the Task Force “was made possible through the generous support of Khalid Al-Turki, a member of the CFR’s International Advisory Board. We are also grateful for the Arthur Ross Foundation’s¹⁰ support for Task Forces.”

There are no easy Solomonic solutions to energy crises, only hard policy tradeoffs between legitimate and competing interests. Tightening environmental regulations, among other factors, have discouraged the rapid expansion of badly needed energy infrastructure in many U.S. locations.

This Independent Task Force Report outlines some of the hard choices that should be considered and recommends specific policy approaches to secure the energy future of the United States. These choices will affect other U.S. policy objectives: U.S. policy toward the Middle East; U.S. policy toward Russia and the former Soviet Union states and China; the fight against international terrorism; and environmental and international trade policy, including our position on the European Union (EU) energy charter, economic sanctions, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and foreign trade credits and aid. The Bush administration is in a unique position to articulate these tradeoffs in a nonpartisan manner and to rally the support of the American public.

More flexible environmental regulation and opening of more federal lands to drilling might slow but cannot stop this process.

The energy problems we face today are complex, and our response to them must range from a review of our domestic environmental, tax, and regulatory structures to a reassessment of the role of energy in American foreign policy. This uncomfortable truth is largely absent in today’s public debate, which is all too often marked by simplistic analysis and debilitating accusation. We need not to apportion blame but to seek workable, integrated solutions that balance energy priorities with economic, environmental, and national security objectives.

⁹ The internet’s Yurica Report, *Fraud Traced to the White House*, by Katherine Yurica, references an October 6, 2002 newspaper article by Neil Mackay in Scotland’s Sunday Herald, wherein Dick Cheney “commissioned an energy report from ex-Secretary of State, James Baker III,” prior to the December 2000 first meeting of the Task Force. Yurica also mentions that the April 2001 Task Force report press release mentioned that it was a 51-member Task Force, yet the report only cites 41. The Task Force report refers to “a group of “reviewers” whose identities were not disclosed, but who collectively had “broad academic, economic, and energy expertise.”

¹⁰ Arthur Ross, who died in 2007 at age 97, was a member of the CFR. He established the Arthur Ross Foundation Inc. in 1955. Wikipedia has a short biography on Ross. He “began his career in 1932 at Sutro Brothers & Company, a Wall Street brokerage firm. He left the company in 1938 and joined Central National Corporation ... an investment banking subsidiary of Gottesman & Company, a privately held company specializing in chemicals and wood pulp. Ross stayed at Central National and rose to become Vice President of the combined company, now called Central National-Gottesman Inc., in 1974.” On November 7, 2002, the World Federation of United Nations Association published a 27-page special edition, “A Tribute to Arthur Ross”.

5-(1e)-1. Task Force Members

At the end of the report was a list of Task Force members and observers. Can you identify the “environmentalists” in this list?

- **ODEH ABURDENE** is managing partner of **Capital Trust S.A.** He was a manager in the international division of the **American Security Bank** in Washington, D.C., and served as a Vice President with the **First National Bank of Chicago**.
- **GRAHAM ALLISON** is Director of the **Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs** at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government and Douglas Dillon Professor of Government. In the first term of the Clinton administration, he served as **Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy and Plans**.
- **JOSEPH C. BELL** is a Partner with **Hogan & Hartson, L.L.P.** He was previously **U.S. Designated Representative for the International Energy Agency**, Dispute Settlement Center; **Assistant General Counsel of International Affairs for the Federal Energy Administration (1974–77)**; and the **Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Controls (1969)**.
- **PATRICK CLAWSON** is Director for Research at the **Washington Institute for Near East Policy** and was previously a **Senior Economist at the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank**, and the National Defense University. He has written or edited twelve books about the Middle East.
- **FRANCES D. COOK** heads the **Ballard Group LLC**, a business facilitation service in Washington. She is a **three-time former ambassador**, including twice to energy-exporting countries. She twice served as **Deputy Assistant Secretary of State**, where her specialty was political-military affairs.
- **JACK L. COPELAND** is Chairman of **Copeland Consulting International**, an investment and geopolitical advisory firm.
- **CHARLES B. CURTIS** is Senior Adviser to the **United Nations Foundation** and the President of **NTI**, a newly formed foundation organized to reduce the contemporary threat from weapons of mass destruction. He has previously served as the **Deputy Secretary and the Undersecretary of the U.S. Department of Energy**, the Chairman of the **Federal Energy Regulatory Commission**, and the **Chief Energy Counsel of the U.S. House of Representatives’ Energy and Commerce Committee**.
- **TOBY T. GATI** is Senior International Adviser at **Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.** She served as **Special Assistant to the President** and **Senior Director for Russia, Ukraine, and the Eurasian States at the National Security Council** in 1993, and then as **Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research** until May 1997.
- **LUIS GIUSTI** currently serves as Non-Executive Director of “**Shell**” **Transport and Trading**, and as Senior Adviser to the **Center for Strategic and International Studies**. Formerly, he was Chairman and CEO of **Petróleos de Venezuela, S.A.**
- **DAVID L. GOLDWYN** is the principal of **Goldwyn International Strategies, LLC**, an international consulting firm. He served as **Assistant Secretary of Energy for International Affairs** and **Counselor to the Secretary of Energy**, **Senior Adviser to the Permanent Representative to the United Nations**, and **Chief of Staff for the Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs** under President Bill Clinton.
- **MICHEL T. HALBOUTY** is an internationally renowned earth scientist and engineer whose career and accomplishments in the fields of geology and petroleum engineering have earned him the recognition as one of the world’s outstanding geo-scientists.
- **AMY MYERS JAFFE** is the senior energy adviser at the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University and President of **AMJ Energy Consulting**. Formerly she was the senior economist and Middle East Analyst for **Petroleum Intelligence Weekly**. Jaffe is the author of numerous articles on oil geopolitics, the Middle East, and the Caspian basin region.

- **MELANIE A. KENDERDINE** is the Vice President of the **Gas Technology Institute**. Previously she was **Director of Policy at the Department of Energy, Senior Policy Adviser to the Secretary of Energy for oil and gas, Deputy Assistant Secretary at Department of Energy, and Chief of Staff to Congressman Bill Richardson (D-N.M.)**.
- **JOSEPH P. KENNEDY II** is Chairman and President of **Citizens Energy Corporation**, a non-profit firm he founded in 1979 to provide low-cost heating oil to the poor and the elderly. He left Citizens in 1986 to serve six terms in the **U.S. House of Representatives** and returned to Citizens Energy full-time in 1999 and **serves on the boards of companies in the health care, telecommunications, and energy industries**.
- **MARIE-JOSEE KRAVIS** is an Economist and Senior Fellow at the **Hudson Institute**. She specializes in trade and international finance related issues and serves on the **Secretary of Energy's Advisory Board**. She also sits on the boards of **Ford Motor Company, Vivendi Universal, U.S.A. Networks, Hasbro Inc., Hollinger International, and the CIBC**.
- **KENNETH LAY** is Chairman and CEO of **Enron Corporation**. Lay also was CEO of Enron from 1985 until February 2001.
- **JOHN H. LICHTBLAU** is Chairman and CEO of **Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, Inc. (PIRINC)**. He has been a member of the **National Petroleum Council (Advisory Council to the Secretary of Energy)** since 1968 and is also a member of the **International Associates of Energy Economics**.
- **JOHN A. MANZONI** is Regional President for **British Petroleum** in the eastern United States. Formerly he was Group Vice President for the Refining and Marketing business, and before that he headed up the BP side of the **BP/Amoco merger directorate**.
- **THOMAS F. MCLARTY III** is Vice Chairman of **Kissinger McLarty Associates**, an international strategic advisory firm. He was **President Bill Clinton's first Chief of Staff** and also served as **Counselor to the President and Special Envoy for the Americas**. Prior to joining the Clinton administration, McLarty was Chairman and CEO of **Arkla, Inc.**
- **ERIC D. K. MELBY** is a Senior Fellow with the **Forum for International Policy** and a principal in the **Scowcroft Group**. He handled economic and energy issues on the **National Security Council** staff from 1987–93 and was **Special Assistant to the Executive Director of the International Energy Agency** from 1981–85. He also worked in the **Department of State and Agency for International Development**.
- **SARAH MILLER** is Editorial Vice President and Group Editor of the **Energy Intelligence Group**. She was **European Director of McGraw-Hill News and London bureau chief and energy correspondent for McGraw-Hill World News**.
- **STEVEN L. MILLER** is Chairman of the board of directors, President, and CEO of **Shell Oil Company**. He is a member of the **National Petroleum Council** and the **Business Roundtable**.
- **ERNEST J. MONIZ** is a Professor of Physics and former Head of the Department of Physics at the **Massachusetts Institute of Technology**. He served as **Associate Director for Science in the Office of Science and Technology Policy in the Executive Office of the President (1995–97)** and as **Undersecretary for Energy, Science, and Environment in the Department of Energy (1997–2001)**. At the Department of Energy, he also served as the **Secretary's Special Negotiator for Russian Programs**.
- **EDWARD L. MORSE** is Executive Advisor at **Hess Energy Trading Co., LLC**. He joined HETCO in April 1999 after more than a decade as **Publisher of Petroleum Intelligence Weekly**. From 1978 to 1981 Morse was at the Department of State, where he served as **Deputy Assistant Secretary for international energy policy**. A frequent commentator on oil market trends, both in writing and for broadcast media, Morse is the author or co-author of four books on politics, finance, energy, and international affairs.
- **SHIRLEY NEFF** is an Economist for the **Democrats on the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee**. Prior to joining the committee staff, she was an economist for a state public utility commission and for an oil and gas company and an electricity utility.

- **DAVID O'REILLY** is Chairman of the Board and CEO of **Chevron-Texaco**. Earlier, O'Reilly was one of the company's two Vice Chairmen, responsible for Chevron's worldwide exploration and production and corporate human relations.
- **KENNETH RANDOLPH** is General Counsel and Secretary of **Dynegy, Inc.**, responsible for all of Dynegy's legal and regulatory activities. Prior to joining Dynegy, he served as an energy attorney for the law firm of **Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld** in Washington, D.C.
- **PETER ROSENTHAL** is Chief Correspondent on energy and commodities for **Bridge News**.
- **GARY N. ROSS** is Chief Executive Officer of the **PIRA Energy Group**, a New York-based international energy consultancy retained by some three hundred companies in more than thirty countries.
- **ED ROTHSCHILD** is Principal at the consulting firm of **Podesta/Mattoon** in Washington, D.C. Formerly the **Energy Policy Director of Citizen Action** and consumer advocate on energy matters from 1971–97, he is also the author of numerous reports and studies on natural gas and oil pricing issues, competition, and concentration in the petroleum industry.
- **JEFFERSON B. SEABRIGHT** is Vice President of Policy Planning for **Texaco, Inc.** He was formerly the **Executive Director of the White House Task Force on Climate Change, Director of the Office of Energy, Environment & Technology**, and **U.S. Agency for International Development**.
- **ADAM SIEMINSKI** is the Director and Global Energy Strategist at **Deutsche Banc Alex. Brown**. From 1988–97, he was a **Senior Equity Analyst for NatWest Securities**, covering the major U.S.-based international oil companies.
- **MATHEW SIMMONS** is President of **Simmons & Company International**, a specialized energy investment bank. He is a Member of the **National Petroleum Council** and **Bush-Cheney Energy Transition Advisory Committee**.
- **RONALD SOLIGO** is a **Professor of Economics at Rice University** with a specialty in development and energy economics. He has authored a number of studies on energy-related topics for the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University.
- **MICHAEL D. TUSIANI** has been Chairman and CEO of **Poten & Partners** since 1983. Prior to joining Poten in 1973, he was employed by **Zapata Naess Shipping Company**. He has written two books: *The Petroleum Shipping Industry—A Non-Technical Overview* and *The Petroleum Shipping Industry-Operations and Practices*.
- **PHILIP K. VERLEGER JR.** is President of **PK Verleger LLC** and a Principal with the **Brattle Group**. He served as an **energy adviser in the Ford and Carter administrations** and **advised President Ronald Reagan on energy issues**. He is the author of two books and numerous articles on the causes of energy price volatility.
- **ENZO VISCUSI** is Group Senior Vice President and Representative for the **Americas of Eni**, the Italian-based integrated energy company, where he also serves as Chairman of **Agip Petroleum Co., Inc.**
- **CHUCK WATSON** is the Chairman and CEO of **Houston Dynegy Inc.**, a leading provider of energy and communications solutions. He established **NGC Corp**, Dynegy's predecessor, in 1985 and served as President until becoming Chairman and CEO in 1989.
- **WILLIAM H. WHITE** is President of the **Wedge Group Inc.**, a diversified investment firm with subsidiaries in the oil services, engineering, hotel, and real estate business. He is Chairman of the **Houston World Affairs Council** and served as **deputy secretary and CEO of the U.S. Department of Energy** from 1993 to 1995.

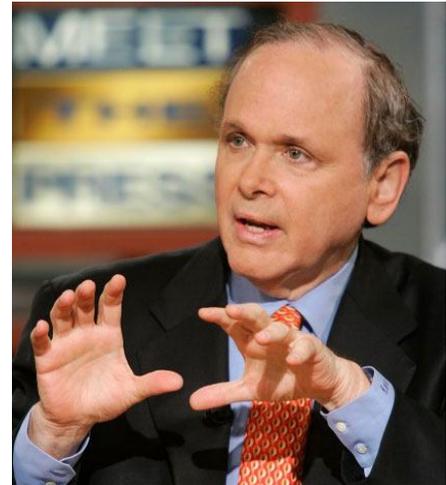
- **DANIEL YERGEN** is Chairman of **Cambridge Energy Research Associates**. He is author of *The Prize*, for which he received the Pulitzer Prize, co-author of *The Commanding Heights*, and recipient of the U.S. Energy Award.
- **MINE YÜCEL** is Senior Economist and Assistant Vice President, **Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas**. He is a member of the **U.S. Association of Energy Economics** and the author of numerous articles on energy and the economy.

TASK FORCE OBSERVERS

- **PAUL W.C. HELLGREN** is Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of **Ashland, Inc.** He is Director/Trustee at **PNC Financial Services Group, Medtronic, Inc., the University of Kentucky, Center College, and American Petroleum Institute.**
- **RICHARD N. COOPER** is Maurits C. Boas Professor of **International Economics at Harvard University.** He was formerly Chairman of the **National Intelligence Council, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs.** He is the author of *The Economics of Interdependence* and other works.
- **CHARLES DUNCAN JR.** serves on the boards of **Newfield Exploration Company, Inc., and The Welch Foundation.** He is Treasurer and Director of **Methodist Health Care System, and Chairman** of its subsidiary, **Methodist Care, Inc.** He was former Secretary of the Department of Energy from August 1979 until January 1981, and former President of the **Coca-Cola Company.**
- **WILLIAM E. HENDERSON III** is manager, Joint Venture Coordination, **Ashland, Inc.**
- **JUDITH KIPPER** is Director of the **Council on Foreign Relations Middle East Forum** and the Director of the Middle East Studies program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- **ROBERT A. MANNING** is the C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of **Asia Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.** He is the author of several books, including *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy.* From 1989 until 1993, he was a **Policy Adviser to the Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State.**
- **RICHARD MURPHY** is Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for the Middle East at the **Council on Foreign Relations.** He held successive appointments as **Ambassador to Mauritania, Syria, the Philippines, and Saudi Arabia.** He served as **Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.**
- **STEPHEN OXMAN** is a Senior Adviser, **Morgan Stanley Dean Witter; former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs;** and former Partner with **James D. Wolfensohn Incorporated.**
- **MICHAEL L. TELSON** has been **Chief Financial Officer of the U.S. Department of Energy** since October of 1997. He was Senior Analyst of the **Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives,** served as the Staff Economist of the **House Ad Hoc Committee on Energy,** and on the governing council of the **International Association for Energy Economics (IAEE).**

There are two members on the Task Force list above with names highlighted in bold red. **Key Lay**, president of Enron, and many on Enron and related executives, were about to face the firing squad for fraud, and, as reported above, some of Enron executives would later hold positions on corporations affiliated with Edward Djerejian. The other, **David Goldwyn**, and some members of his consulting firm, Goldwyn International Strategies, would later occasionally find each other on the same task force, a committee, and at conferences with Djerejian and energy fellows from the Baker Institute. Goldwyn, as detailed in section 8 of this report, would be assigned as the U.S. State Department's, and the petroleum industry's, global unconventional gas salesman in late 2009.

On March 8, 2011, at the **IHS CERA Week** March 7-11 conference in Houston, Djerejian and Goldwyn participated on the same panel called, *The New Geopolitics of the Middle East and North Africa: What Outlook for the Energy Industry?* The panel descriptive, on “How does the unfolding situation in the Middle East and North Africa influence the energy outlook and affect the security of supply for oil and gas in the short and medium term,” was sponsored by ExxonMobil. **IHS Energy** acquired **CERA** (Cambridge Energy Research Associates, co-founded in 1983 by Daniel Yergin and James Rosenfield) in 2004, and in 2009 IHS was renamed as **IHS CERA**. Its website states that it is “a global information company with world-class experts in the pivotal areas shaping today’s business landscape: energy, economics, geopolitical risk, sustainability and supply chain management.” The company conducts annual conferences called IHS CERA Week at the Hilton Americas Hotel in Houston, Texas, which is attended by “some of the company’s largest clients” which include “international energy companies, energy consumers, governments, utilities, technology companies, and financial institutions.”¹¹ The current chairman of IHS CERA is Daniel Yergin, who, as summarized in section 6-1 of this report, a who’s who on the petroleum circuit, was a recent member of the U.S. federal **Shale Gas Production Subcommittee**, which completed its short-term mandate to provide U.S. President Obama with regulatory recommendations on the shale gas industry.



(A younger) Daniel Yergin

5-(1e)-2. Cheney’s Secret Meetings

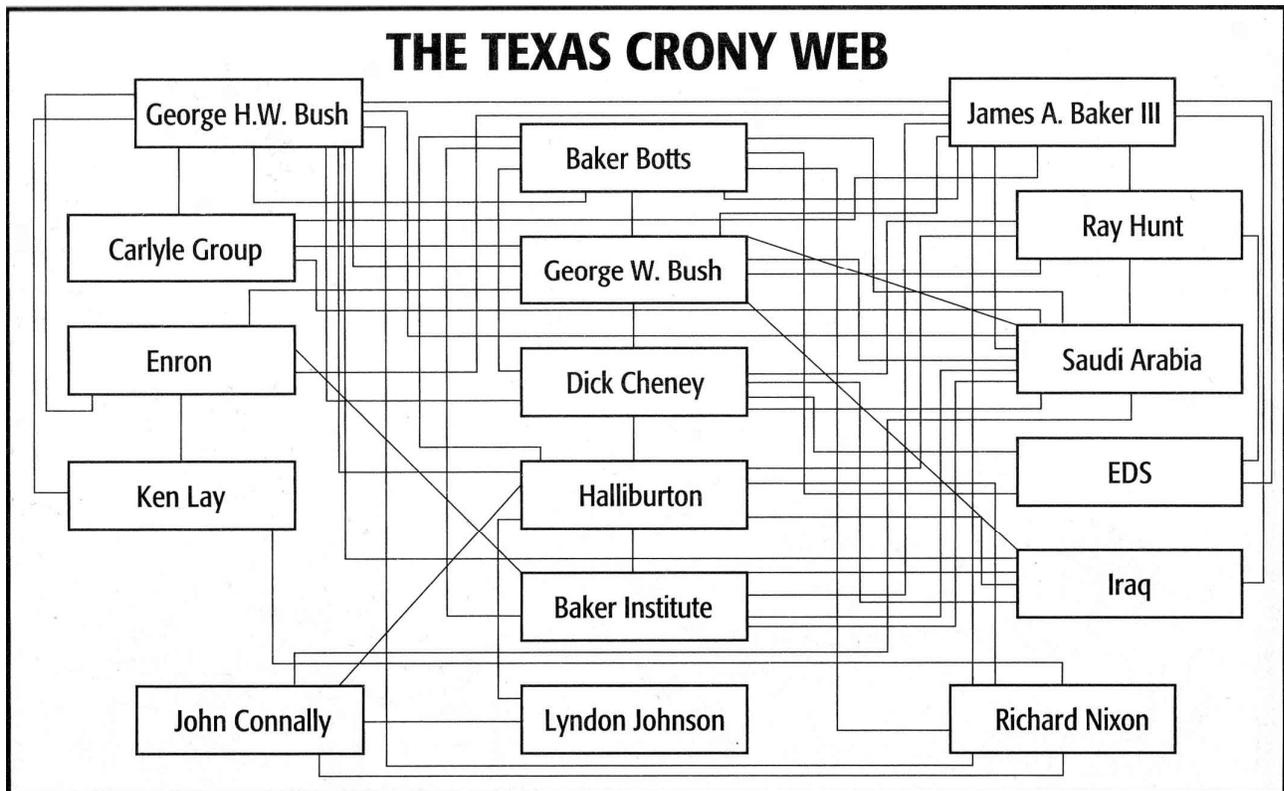
While the CFR- and Baker Institute-delegated Task Force members and observers met, and while its April 2001 final report was being crafted, the Bush administration created its own ‘private’ energy task force on January 29, 2001 chaired by vice president Cheney, the **National Energy Policy Development Group (NEPDG)**. That task force was preceded by the **Bush Transition Energy Advisory Team**. Members of the NEPDG consisted of Secretaries of numerous federal Departments and senior federal government administrators who met until May, 2001. These closed meetings were also held with “petroleum, coal, nuclear, natural gas, and electricity industry representatives and lobbyists.”¹² Many years later, following failed court actions, inquiries, freedom of information requests, and media attention, some information about those secret meetings with private industry eventually came to light.

At 10 a.m. on April 4, 2001, representatives of 13 environmental groups were brought into the Old Executive Office Building for a long-anticipated meeting. Since late January, a task force headed by Vice President Cheney had been busy drawing up a new national energy policy, and the groups were getting their one chance to be heard.

Cheney was not there, but so many environmentalists were in the room that introductions took up “about half the meeting,” recalled Erich Pica of Friends of the Earth. Anna Aurilio of the U.S. Public Interest Group said, “It was clear to us that they were just being nice to us.”

¹¹ Wikipedia, Cambridge Energy Research Associates.

¹² Wikipedia, Energy Task Force.



Robert Bryce's 2004 book, *Cronies*, includes a chart at the beginning, called *The Texas Crony Web*. Though seven years old, the chart demonstrates intriguing linkages with the Baker boys Institute.

A confidential list prepared by the Bush administration shows that Cheney and his aides had already held at least 40 meetings with interest groups, most of them from energy-producing industries. By the time of the meeting with environmental groups, according to a former White House official who provided the list to The Washington Post, the initial draft of the task force was substantially complete and President Bush had been briefed on its progress.

In all, about 300 groups and individuals met with staff members of the energy task force, including a handful who saw Cheney himself, according to the list, which was compiled in the summer of 2001. For six years, those names have been a closely guarded secret, thanks to a fierce legal battle waged by the White House. Some names have leaked out over the years, but most have remained hidden because of a 2004 Supreme Court ruling that agreed that the administration's internal deliberations ought to be shielded from outside scrutiny.

One of the first visitors, on Feb. 14, was James J. Rouse, then vice president of Exxon Mobil and a major donor to the Bush inauguration; a week later, longtime Bush supporter Kenneth L. Lay, then head of Enron Corp., came by for the first of two meetings. On March 5, some of the country's biggest electric utilities, including Duke Energy and Constellation Energy Group, had an audience with the task force staff.

British Petroleum representatives dropped by on March 22, one of about 20 oil and drilling companies to get meetings. The National Mining Association, the Interstate Natural Gas

Association of America and the American Petroleum Institute were among three dozen trade associations that met with Cheney's staff, the document shows.

*The list of participants' names and when they met with administration officials provides a clearer picture of the task force's priorities and bolsters previous reports that the review leaned heavily on oil and gas companies and on trade groups -- many of them big contributors to the Bush campaign and the Republican Party. But while it clears up much of the lingering uncertainty about who was granted access to present energy policy views to Cheney's staff, it does not entirely explain why the Bush administration fought so hard to keep it and other as-yet-unreleased internal memos secret.*¹³

5-(1f). Djerejian: Council on Foreign Relations and Think Tanks

Robert Bryce suggests that one of the benefits of sitting on boards of big oil/gas corporations is that corporation executives could easily brief members such as Djerejian with information about company operations in a given country to help better direct information in reports written by energy policy agencies such as the Baker Institute and by members of the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR). In the context of Bryce's comments from his chapter called *Dreaming War*, in December 2002 Djerejian and Frank Wisner co-authored a report under joint sponsorship by the Baker Institute and the CFR, *Guiding Principles for U.S. Post-Conflict Policy in Iraq*. Bryce reports that Wisner "has long ties to the American intelligence business and to Enron", and that he:

*served as ambassador to Egypt, then to the Phillipines, and then to India. Upon retiring from the ambassador's job in India, Wisner was hired by **Enron Corp.** to help push the company's investment in the Dabhol power plant, the ill-fated project that ended up costing Enron about \$1 billion. Since 1997, Wisner has been on the board of directors of **EOG Resources**, a publicly traded oil and gas company that used to be known as **Enron Oil and Gas**.*

One of the primary corporate benefactors of the Iraqi war was Halliburton, which received a secret and uncompetitive bid contract from the Army Corps of Engineers to help rehabilitate Iraq, a contract "which had a potential value of \$7 billion." The Council of Foreign Relations (CFR)'s Fellow and former National Security Aide Eric Schwartz directed the CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force on post-war Iraq. One of the Task Force's 23 members was Djerejian, and one of the 17 Task Force Observers was David Goldwyn.¹⁴

Richard Morningstar (see section 8), James Baker III, and Edward Djerejian shared something in common: they all sat on the Eurasia Foundation.¹⁵ The Foundation was formed in 1992 (with a central office in Washington, D.C.) shortly after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Cold War, and became a reform conduit for private enterprise development and 'democratic' institutions in the **Newly Independent States** of the former Soviet Union: Afghanistan,¹⁶ Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic (Kyrgyzstan), Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. Most of the funding provided since 1993 for these

¹³ *Papers Detail Industry's Role in Cheney's Energy Report*, Washington Post, July 18, 2007.

¹⁴ *U.S. Should Provide Iraqis and Americans with a More Coherent and Compelling Vision for Iraq's Political Future*, June 25, 2005, Council on Foreign Relations.

¹⁵ Both Djerejian and Morningstar sat on the Board of Trustees, and Baker III is one of four Advisory Council chairs.

¹⁶ Afghanistan is no longer on the "country" list of the new Foundations network.

programs have come from the *United States Agency for International Development*, and about 20 percent of that funding originates from foundations, corporations, foreign governments and individuals. Since 2004, the Foundation morphed into a network of five new creatures: the Eurasia Partnership Foundation (2007); the New Eurasia Foundation (2004); the Eurasia Foundation of Central Asia (2005); the East Europe Foundation of the Ukraine (2007); and the East Europe Foundation of Moldova (2010).

One of the main drivers behind the U.S.-led Eurasia Foundation are petroleum interests. For instance, in the complex maze of players involved in the Foundations and in the formation of international U.S. Business Councils since the 1990s, currently Jan Kalicki is chair of the parent Eurasia Foundation. Kalicki's biography on the Foundation's website states that he is Chevron Corporation's counselor for international strategy, and also is the senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center where Global Shale Gas Initiative David Goldwyn gave his swan song in January 2011,¹⁷ the Centre which started the *European Energy Security Initiative* in February 2011.

The U.S.-based Eurasia Foundation has had many member diplomats from the CFR and members from an assortment of political policy think tanks. With regard to the objectives of the U.S. as capitalism empire, it's how privateering enterprise webs are routinely and methodically facilitated. In the 2006 CFR *Annotated Membership Roster*, which included summary information on members affiliations and employment: 25 members were affiliated with the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton as mostly professors, a few directors, and the School's Dean; and 15 members were with the Brookings Institute, on which Djerejian sits as a member of the Institute's International Advisory Council, alongside Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State. Albright is also a member of the Eurasia Foundation's Advisory Council, which also includes member Frack C. Carlucci (former chairman of the Carlyle Group, former U.S. Secretary of Defense, former Ambassador to Portugal, former deputy director of the CIA), and Frank Ingriselli (former senior management positions in Texaco, and president and ceo of Houston Texas-based Timan Pechora Company which is owned by Texaco, Exxon, Amoco and Norsk Hydro).

Djerejian was nominated to the board of the **Carnegie Corporation**. The website's history section states that Carnegie made "large grants" to the National Academy of Sciences/National Research Council, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Food Research Institute at Stanford University, and the Brookings Institution.

Djerejian has also been on the advisory board with **The Transatlantic Forum**, a U.S.-Germany young professional leadership forum created in 1995. The Forum's goal is to "build networks and personal contacts between the participants, thus strengthening and improving the German-American relationship on the "micro level". " The American half of advisory board members included Richard Holbrooke, Henry Kissinger, Senator Joseph Lieberman, Senator John McCain, and Condoleezza Rice.

¹⁷ See section 8-4 of this report.