

A BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Once having been established as president, no matter how questionably, Bush set about thanking the corporate wealthy, his peers who paid the contributions that elected (or selected) him, by putting "his" executive branch at their service.

If you do something often enough and long enough, it can become a habit, so we shouldn't have been surprised when the incoming Bush administration accused the outgoing Clinton staff of trashing the White House. A flood of leaks to the media reported file cabinets with the drawers glued shut, obscene graffiti scrawled on walls, cut telephone and computer lines, viruses and pornographic images in computers, missing keyboard keys, and piles of trash. True? Not a bit. Over a year later the General Accounting Office reported to Congress that there was no evidence of damage deliberately caused in the White House by employees of the Clinton administration. So, why the lies? Addictive behavior? It's hard to stop once you get used to something that gets you high, and Bush and his gang, who stole the presidency, were flying high indeed.

If It's Bad for Business, It's Too Bad for the Rest of Us

There's an analogy following, but first you've got to get the setup. Remember when many of the states adopted lotteries to raise money for the schools? Well, the first thing that happened is that the legislatures reduced the budgets previously earmarked for the schools by the amount brought in by the lotteries, and the ones who really made out are the companies that operate the lotteries, which is why they lobbied for them in the first place. But, wait a second, how about the big winners, the ones we see on television every month or so jumping up and down, the instant millionaires who quit their jobs the next morning? Yeah, someone wins every once in a while, but the odds against it are millions and millions to one, a sucker bet at best. The net effect of the lotteries is to impose an indirect tax on the poor and working class, who buy into the pipe dream and purchase most of the tickets.

Now for the analogy. There are millions and millions of Americans raised in the “me” generation, who are convinced they are going to make it to the top. Well, it’s true that we all have the opportunity to start a business, work hard and, perhaps, to get rich. That *is* the American Dream, but we’re not all named George Bush and it’s more difficult for some than others. While some of us may work our way to the top of a corporation and get rich, many, if not most of us, will have to continue working harder every day for a salary with ever declining benefits. However, we continue to dream as we work, and we accept onerous working conditions because we don’t want to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Corporations count upon us to follow our fantasies, rather than our logic. To keep the dream alive, average working people have been brainwashed into believing that what’s good for business is good for them (in the long run). The truth is that corporations simply consider labor as a factor in their economic formulas, and they could care less about the aspirations of workers and the dangers of the workplace, unless it affects the bottom line. Hours worked and overtime become worker “productivity,” health care and worker’s compensation become “overhead.” The number of workers injured or killed on the job is just a cost of doing business, one to be managed like any other element of production.

If you think that corporations have a soul and that any of them give a darn about you and your family, go ahead and put in your overtime without time-and-a-half, and try to squeeze out an extra couple of dollars from your household budget to buy a lottery ticket. It’ll give you a better chance of making it to the big time.

The problem is that corporations have just grown too powerful. They, rather than you and me, decide who runs the government, and the government now controls you and me, rather than controlling the corporations. Our strength is no longer in “We the People”; our salvation is in the profitability of “Big Business.” Today, 51 of the top 100 economies in the world are corporations; the remaining 49 are governments. Democracies are supposed to protect the rights of *all* citizens and

to provide the *people* with voting power to express their desires and define their political expectations. However, it is corporate power that increasingly determines political policies and insulates corporations from government regulation and taxation.

When Eisenhower was president, corporations paid approximately a quarter of federal taxes. By 2000, their share was down to 10 percent, and by 2001, they were only paying out seven percent.¹⁰² However, go down to the local courthouse and see who is using our justice system to enforce their contracts, collect their debts and block enforcement of environmental and consumer protection laws. Look at the daily schedules of our legislators and government executives and see who gets “face time.” Write a letter to any of them and see if you get a personal answer; telephone and see if they’ll take your call. It’s *our* government, we pay the politicians’ salaries with our taxes, and they need our votes to get elected, but big money talks and the little guys get squat.

Are we really getting our share of the American pie through our hard work? During the past 30 years, our average annual salary (adjusted for inflation) has only edged up ten percent. At the same time, the income of the top one percent has jumped 157 percent. In 1998, the wealthy in the top one percent earned more than the 100 million workers in the bottom 40 percent. While health benefits and overtime pay of workers *were being cut*, the income of America’s top ten corporate CEO’s went from 39 times that of the average worker’s to more than 1,000 times. The Bureau of Labor Statistics tells us that between 1989 and 1999, the average American worker clocked an additional 184 hours per year,* which was 550 hours more than the average European worker.¹⁰³ That’s called “productivity,” and American workers are the most productive on earth. However, management gets

* If we assume a two-week vacation and five holidays, the additional 184 hours calculates out to almost 9.5 percent longer we had to work to earn the addition 10 percent increase in wages. Wow! Things really are getting better. Maybe we should put in even more hours; we might get another raise.

the credit for baking the pie, and the ones who tend the ovens don't even get a sniff, much less a crumb.

The median income for a family of four is \$44,000 a year, and 70 percent of Americans earn less than \$50,000; however, when asked in polls, approximately 90 percent of Americans claim to be in the middle class. The truth is that during 2001, for the first time since 1993, an additional million and a half Americans fell below the federal poverty line drawn at \$18,100 a year for a family of four. That means that 33 million Americans, almost 12 percent of the population, including 13 million children, are at risk. Almost three million of these children actually suffer from hunger, having to skip meals and go without food. The gap between the rich and the poor is greater in America than in any other industrialized nation, and it is growing.¹⁰⁴

A free enterprise system can only operate effectively in the long run if there is a balance of power between business and labor, and a capitalist economy can only continue to exist in a free and democratic society when there are well-conceived government regulations to rein in the power generated by and associated with the accumulation of money. In 2000, there was a new honcho in the White House, bought and paid for by big business. What did he do? Well, one of the first things Bush did was to get rid of some troublesome worker protection regulations left over from the Clinton administration that interfered with the profits of his constituency.

Reversal of Ergonomic Standards

In 1988, Bush Sr.'s Labor Secretary, Elizabeth Dole, ordered the drafting of regulations to protect workers from injuries, such as carpal tunnel syndrome, caused by repetitive motions. It took 12 years and two administrations to complete these ergonomics standards. One reason it took so long was that Big Business fought them tooth and toenail, and their guy with the pliers was attorney Eugene Scalia, the son of Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, who gave Bush Jr. the deciding vote for president. (Eugene works for the same law firm that convinced his father to give the presidency to Bush.) During hearings, Scalia claimed that healthy workers milk the system by claiming

“that they are injured in order to avoid work and obtain benefits,” and that one of the biggest risks in the workplace is boredom. He claimed that ergonomics was founded on “junk science,” that increases in reported injuries were caused by a form of hysteria, that complaining workers were “simply unhappy or malingerers,” and that they should buy their own protective gear.¹⁰⁵ Do you know anyone who has suffered these injuries? Ask them if their disabilities are caused by hysteria!

After the testimony of over a thousand witnesses and seven thousand written comments, the proposed regulations were drafted and, in the last days of his administration, President Clinton ordered them to be published in the *Federal Register* in order to become binding on employers.¹⁰⁶

However, as soon as Bush was installed in the White House, he issued a press release in which he complained that the ergonomics regulations “would cost employers, large and small, billions of dollars annually while providing uncertain benefits.” They would require businesses to “provide compensation for an extremely broad class of injuries, whose cause is subject to considerable dispute.” Thereby encouraged, Republican Senator Tom DeLay was able to bring the regulations before the Senate for a vote. After Bush’s new Secretary of Labor, Elaine Chao, wrote a letter promising to work on new and better ergonomics standards, the Senate voted to kill the proposed regulations.¹⁰⁷

In a demonstration of his compassion for injured workers, Bush then nominated Eugene Scalia as the Solicitor of Labor in April 2001 to represent them, since individual workers cannot hire their own attorneys to enforce the federal regulations. A conflict of interest? Senate Democrats expressed grave doubts about his objectivity, and it appeared that Scalia’s nomination might not be approved. However, Bush made a “recess appointment” in January 2002, which allowed Scalia to temporarily take the job. The temporary appointment expired when the Senate went into recess in November 2002, and Bush designated Scalia as the Acting Solicitor. Scalia stepped down two months later citing among his accomplishments an improvement in the “Department’s enforcement and regulatory programs.”¹⁰⁸

In lieu of the mandatory standards, the Labor Department circulated voluntary industry guidelines, and it rewards companies who voluntarily comply by presenting them with a flag to run up their company flagpole! In a speech on June 5, 2002, Deputy Labor Secretary D. Cameron Findlay proudly reported that the Department of Labor had reduced its regulatory agenda by 40 percent in less than one year, and that the Department was focusing more on voluntary compliance with the laws on the books, rather than on “heavy-handed” enforcement.¹⁰⁹

When Bush signed the bill repealing the ergonomics standards, he stated, “I was pleased to sign a bill that got rid of needless regulations.” The AFL-CIO estimates that U.S. workers suffer a workplace ergonomic injury every 18 seconds, and the National Academy of Sciences estimates that one million workers a year lose work due to “work-related musculoskeletal pain or impairment of function” and that these injuries drain between \$45 and \$54 billion a year from the economy.¹¹⁰

How many of you have suffered repetitive motion injuries? How many of you have received adequate compensation? Do you think Bush feels your pain? You're not stupid! Get the truth.

Elimination of Overtime Pay

Once the Bush administration had adequately secured corporate protection against on-the-job injuries, it set out to ensure that millions of other workers were allowed to work as long as they wanted without having to burden their employers with overtime pay. One of the ways that American workers have been sucked into pipe dreams of untold riches has been to make them all managers of one sort or another. In convenience stores across the nation, every clerk is an assistant manager, and virtually every position in corporate America carries a title. Often, all the worker gets *is* the title; the salary that's left over after payroll taxes isn't enough to live on. In the past, notwithstanding the title, managers really had to supervise someone to be exempt, and administrative, technical, or professional employees could not spend more than 20 percent of

their time performing non-exempt duties; otherwise, they had to be paid overtime.¹¹¹ No longer.

On March 27, 2003, the Department of Labor announced new regulations governing enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The 20-percent standard was eliminated and exemptions from overtime were expanded to include thousands, if not millions, of “white collar” workers, such as administrative personnel, police officers, firefighters, and nurses, who formerly had to be paid overtime. However, you would think that the Department was doing these workers a favor. The news release announcing this “modernization” stated, “By recognizing the professional status of skilled employees, the proposed regulation will provide them a guaranteed salary and flexible hours.”¹¹²

After both houses of Congress voted in 2003 to block implementation of the new overtime rules, Democrats inserted a provision in the 2004 omnibus- spending bill to prevent the Labor Department from using government funds to put the new rules into effect. However, after Bush threatened to veto the bill if the provision was left in, the Republican leadership stripped it from the bill. The bill was passed on January 22, 2004, and the rules denying overtime pay to over eight million workers became effective.¹¹³

There was the expected outcry, and in April 2004, the administration increased the ceiling where workers are almost automatically disqualified for overtime pay from \$65,000 to \$100,000.¹¹⁴ However, the administration has been giving tips to employers on how to avoid legitimate overtime pay. Business have been told they can “cut workers’ hourly wages and add the overtime to equal the original salary, or raise salaries to the new \$22,100 annual minimum threshold, making [workers] ineligible.”¹¹⁵

Are you losing your overtime rights? Do you think President Bush cares about how many hours you have to work to put food on the table, or whether you have any time to spend with your children?

Bush is convinced that President Calvin Coolidge was right when he said, “the chief business of the American people is

business.” According to Randall Roden, Bush’s best friend as they were growing up, “Midland [Texas] is probably where he first got the mistaken idea that doing well in business is the solution to America’s problems, that is, what’s good for business is good for America. ‘Opportunity and business fortune for all’ isn’t really true for everyone.”¹¹⁶

Do you believe that what is best for business is always best for you and your family? You’re not stupid! Get the truth.

The Energy Companies’ Crisis

With the election of Bush in 2000, the energy industry was faced with a crisis. Having fronted millions of dollars in political contributions during the 1999-2000 election cycle, with approximately 75 percent, or more than \$48.3 million, going to Republicans and nearly \$3 million to Bush alone, it was in a rush to seal the deal. It wasn’t enough that the industry had installed its man in the White House, the industry wanted it all. And darn near got it. The Vice President, Dick Cheney, had been the CEO of Halliburton Company, an oil industry service company. The Secretary of the Interior, Gale Norton, had represented the mining industry and received nearly \$800,000 from energy industries during her race for the U.S. Senate in 1996. The Secretary of Commerce, Don Evans, came from the oil and gas industry. The Secretary of Energy, Spencer Abraham, was an opponent of stricter fuel economy standards in the Senate, and as a candidate, he received over \$700,000 from the auto industry. Bush’s Chief of Staff, Andrew Card, served as a lobbyist against stricter fuel economy standards. And Condoleezza Rice, Bush’s National Security Advisor, served for ten years on Chevron’s board of directors, which gave \$758,588 to Republican candidates and committees in the 1999-2000 election. In addition, the energy industry supplied numerous deputy secretaries, special assistants, and other senior administrators to serve in the Bush administration.¹¹⁷ Where is the balance? Who represents our interests?

The takeover actually started before the inauguration when Bush selected 31 representatives from the energy industry to serve on his energy transition team. Then, within days of taking

the oath, he created the National Energy Policy Development Group, chaired by Vice President Cheney, to formulate energy policy. For the next three months, working in secret, the Group conferred with numerous representatives of the energy industry to draft a recommended policy. Altogether, the task force had 714 direct contacts from energy company representatives and only 29 with identified nonindustry groups.¹¹⁸ Cheney said that he was personally too busy to meet with representatives of environmental groups, but he found time to meet with a number of energy company executives. Among those he met with was Ken Lay, the CEO of Enron, a Texas energy company that had donated \$563,000 to Bush's campaigns over the years and was the energy industry's top contributor during the 1999-2000 election, giving more than \$2.3 million, mostly to Republicans.¹¹⁹

Bush and Lay go way back. Lay supported Bush Sr. as early as 1980, when he unsuccessfully ran for president. In 1986, Bush Jr.'s company, Spectrum 7, had a ten-percent piece of a producing oil and natural gas well in Martin County, Texas, operated by a subsidiary of Enron.¹²⁰ In 1988, Bush Jr. telephoned Argentina's public works minister, identified himself as the son of the U.S. vice president, about to become president, and urged that Argentina award a pipeline contract to Enron that could be worth hundreds of millions of dollars.¹²¹ According to Lay, he spent "quality time" with Bush Jr. in 1989 when Lay was trying to get Bush Sr. to locate his presidential library in Houston.¹²²

During the 1992 presidential race, Lay worked closely with Bush Jr. at the Republican nominating convention in Houston. Then, when Bush ran for governor in 1994, Lay and his wife donated \$47,500 to Bush Jr. and \$12,500 to his opponent, incumbent Ann Richards.¹²³ In addition, Enron's political action committee and its executives contributed a total of \$146,500 to Bush and \$19,500 to Richards. During the 2000 election, Lay was a "Pioneer," having raised over \$100,000 for Bush, and he gave more than \$275,000 to the Republican Party. Enron sent the Republicans more than a million, which helped pay for the national convention.¹²⁴ In appreciation, Bush invited Lay to a private lunch on his second day in the White House.

In March 2001, Lay suggested, and Bush Jr. appointed, two commissioners to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) who were in favor of electricity deregulation.¹²⁵ Then, on April 17, 2001, Lay met privately with Cheney and gave him Enron's wish list containing eight policy recommendations, seven of which were subsequently adopted by Cheney. He also advised Cheney how the administration should respond to the crisis going on in California, which was suffering daily rolling electrical blackouts, and to pleas for wholesale price caps because of skyrocketing electric bills.¹²⁶ Cheney listened carefully, and the next day he parroted the Enron line in speaking out against price caps, confusing retail with wholesale caps. The crisis continued for weeks with the energy companies, including Enron, pumping billions of dollars from the California economy into their coffers as they enjoyed profits of 400 to 600 percent.

Two years later the FERC concluded that "Enron and its affiliates intentionally engaged in a variety of market manipulation schemes that had profound adverse impacts on market outcomes." One Enron division was able to earn over \$500 million by manipulating gas and electricity prices.¹²⁷

In December 2003, FERC reached settlements with two other energy companies, Mirant Corporation and Duke Energy Corporation, for a fraction of the claims by California regulators. Mirant agreed to pay \$3.7 million and Duke agreed to pay \$2.05 million to settle allegations that the companies manipulated the bidding process and intentionally withheld energy during the electricity crisis.* California claimed that Mirant owed \$28

* In October 2003, investigative reporter Greg Palast obtained 34 pages of Enron memoranda regarding a meeting on May 17, 2001 in Los Angeles involving Ken Lay, convicted stock swindler Mike Milken, and future California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. The purpose of the meeting was to find a way to sidetrack a \$9 billion lawsuit filed by California Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante against a group of energy companies, including Enron. The solution? Engineer a recall election in which Schwarzenegger is elected governor. Once in office, he can bless whatever sweetheart settlement the FERC comes up with. Any surprise? Except for those of you who may have wondered why

million and that Duke's settlement was far less than it owed. The California Attorney General's spokesman stated, "FERC has little or no credibility with California, and these settlements and proposed settlements are the latest example of why."¹²⁸

Enron was not alone at the trough. The coal barons of West Virginia were there as well as the electrical power industry. All had been very generous during the campaign, and they all had their wish list to manage their energy "crisis." The coal companies wanted to be able to blow off the tops of mountains to expose coal seams and to bulldoze the debris into streambeds. The nuclear power industry wanted more nuclear plants, and the coal-fired power plants wanted protection against enforcement of the Clean Air Act. It was like Christmas when Bush unveiled his energy plan.¹²⁹

When Bush established the Energy Group, he had directed it to "develop a national energy policy designed to help the private sector, State and local governments, promote dependable, affordable, and environmentally sound production and distribution of energy for the future."¹³⁰ Notice that he started with helping the private sector and ended with protecting the environment, and that's about the way the policy came down. While there was a wink and a nod in the direction of conservation, such as encouraging federal agencies to turn out the lights, the emphasis in the report issued on May 16, 2001, was to encourage development of fossil fuels and nuclear energy and to ease pollution regulations for power plants, refineries, and pipelines to facilitate increased production. Specifically, while the Clinton EPA had begun to file suits against coal-fired power plants that violated the Clean Air Act, the Bush energy plan directed the Justice Department to consider reversing the "existing enforcement actions" already filed against violators, a blatant interference with law enforcement. Subsequent studies

the Terminator suddenly got interested in politics. (Palast, Greg, "Arnold Unplugged: It's Hasta La Vista To \$9 billion If The Governor is Selected," October 3, 2003, [www.gregpalast.com.detail.cfm?artial+=2838row=1](http://www.gregpalast.com/detail.cfm?artial+=2838row=1).)

have shown that relaxed enforcement will allow an additional 1.4 million tons of pollutants into the air.¹³¹

The energy plan went on to encourage the development of more nuclear power plants. The next day, Bush stated, "By renewing and expanding existing nuclear facilities, we can generate tens of thousands of megawatts of electricity at a reasonable cost without pumping a gram of greenhouse gas into the atmosphere." He also called for drilling for oil in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Bush opposed a bipartisan Congressional effort to require an increase in the overall automobile fuel efficiency standards, even though the auto industry has the technology to increase the mileage efficiency of SUVs to 25 to 30 miles per gallon and to bring standard vehicles up to 40 mpg. An increase of just 0.4 mpg in the fuel efficiency of the nation's auto fleet would save more oil than drilling in the Alaskan reserve would produce. (Remember that Bush's chief of staff, Andrew Card, formerly lobbied against increased standards.)¹³²

Regarding conservation, Cheney stated, "Virtually all of the recommendations for financial incentives and assistance tax credits and so forth are for conservation and increased efficiency and renewables. There are no new financial subsidies of any kind for the oil and gas industry." A complete lie! The Bush Energy Plan provided for \$28 billion in subsidies and tax breaks for the oil, gas, coal and nuclear industries, in addition to \$33 billion the energy industry was already scheduled to receive. This giveaway cost each one of us about \$220.¹³³

Cheney and Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham had met privately with over a hundred executives and lobbyists from the energy industry while largely ignoring the environmentalists; however, Cheney refused to provide any names. Congressional Democrats requested the General Accounting Office (GAO) to find out the names. Cheney refused a formal request from the GAO, and for the first time in history, the GAO sued the President for the release of the names. Bush refused, saying confidentiality was necessary to ensure he received unfettered advice. In December 2002, the federal court ruled that the GAO lacked sufficient grounds to compel release of the names and the

GAO dropped the case. However, there were additional suits filed by the Sierra Club and Judicial Watch, but more about that later.¹³⁴

But even Christmas in May was not enough for Enron. It had set out in 1992 to build the world's largest natural gas fired power plant in India in a joint venture with General Electric and Bechtel. However, the next year, the World Bank declined to finance the "Dabhol" project in Maharashtra state because it concluded the plant was "not economically viable." Undeterred, Enron obtained \$302 million in loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and was able to open the plant in 1999. When the power it produced proved to be more expensive than supplies from domestic producers, Maharashtra state stopped paying the bills and tried to cancel the purchase agreement. Enron then shut down the plant claimed the state owed it millions of dollars, and tried to sell its interest for \$2.3 billion.

In April 2001, Secretary of State Powell raised the matter with India's foreign minister, and by June there was an administration interagency working group coordinated by the National Security Council pushing for India to settle. Cheney "mentioned Enron" when he met with Sonia Gandhi, an opposition leader, and the matter was on Bush's agenda for his November 2001 meeting with India's foreign minister. However, the item was hurriedly pulled when Enron imploded on the day before the meeting.¹³⁵

Enron was forced to disclose that it had overstated its profits by \$600 million over the previous five years, and Enron's stock lost \$26 billion in market value during the next seven weeks. During this period, thousands of its employees lost their life savings when Enron prevented them from selling their Enron stocks out of their retirement plans. While Enron was stiff-arming its employees, its top managers were selling over \$1 billion of their own shares, and while Lay was encouraging his employees to keep their money in the company, he personally sneaked away with \$50 million.

It turns out that Enron had received some of the same advice regarding phony partnerships that its accountant, Arthur

Andersen, had given Harken when Bush was on its board of directors. Enron had relied upon secret partnerships and unscrupulous trading in derivatives to inflate its profits. Moreover, it came to light that Enron had not paid any income taxes in four of the previous five years, through a variety of schemes.¹³⁶ When was the last time you got a free pass on your income taxes?

In November 2001, Lay telephoned both Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill and Commerce Secretary Don Evans in an attempt to get a last-minute government bailout of Enron.¹³⁷

So what did Bush have to say when asked about his buddy, his most generous supporter? He lied, naturally. What he actually said was, "First of all, Ken Lay is a supporter, and I got to know Ken Lay when he was a head of the-what they call the Governor's Business Council in Texas. He was a supporter of Ann Richards in my run in 1994, and she had named him head of the Governor's Business Council, and I decided to leave him in place, for the sake of continuity. *And, that's when I first got to know Ken* and worked with Ken, and he supported my candidacy for-and-but this is what-anybody's going to find, if-is that this administration will fully investigate issues such as the Enron bankruptcy. (emphasis added)"¹³⁸ It's hard to be articulate and to lie at the same time, even if one's had a lot of practice, but even Bush couldn't pull it off. He had been in bed with Lay for a long time before 1994, and they had snuggled a whole lot closer than he was trying to make it seem.

On January 28, 2002, after being asked if Enron had received any special treatment in Cheney's energy plan, Bush again lied, naturally, "If they came to this administration looking for help, they didn't find any."¹³⁹

If Bush and Lay spent "quality time" together in 1989, is Bush telling the truth when he says they did not get to know one another until 1994? Who did Bush support-Enron or the working people who got screwed by Enron? You're not stupid! Get the truth.

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103. Ibid., pp. 40-43.
104. Ibid., p. 39.
105. Ibid., pp. 52-55; see also Mirer, Frank, "Eugene Scalia Opposes Making Employers Pay for Protective Equipment," December 2001, (<http://www.uaw.org/solidarity/01/1201/front06.html>); see also Ratner, David, "Bush's Pick for Nation's Chief Labor Law Enforcer is Drawing Fire From Unions," July 13, 2001, (www.laborresearch.org/story2).
106. Ivins, op. cit., p. 64.
107. Ibid., pp. 65-68.
108. Ibid., pp. 68-70; see also "Eugene Scalia to Step Down as Acting Solicitor of Labor," OPA News Release, January 6, 2003, www.dol.gov/opa/media/press/opa.
109. "U.S. Department of Labor Deputy Secretary Findlay Encourages Electrical Contractors in Speech on 21st Century Workforce," June 5, 2002, www.ieci.org/default.asp.
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113. Simon, Richard, "Senate OKs \$328.5-Billion Spending Bill," *Los Angeles Times*, January 23, 2004, p. A14.
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116. Minutaglio, op. cit., p. 31.
117. "Industry Dream Team," www.nrdc.org/air/energy/aplayers.asp.
118. Alterman and Green, op. cit., p. 84.
119. Corn, op. cit., p. 184.
120. Ibid., p. 179.
121. Ibid., pp. 178, 179; see also Ivins, op. cit., pp. 189, 190.

122. Corn, op. cit., p. 177.
123. Ibid., p. 178.
124. Ivins, op. cit., pp. 188, 189.
125. Ibid., pp. 193-194; see also Corn, op. cit., p. 183.
126. Ivins, op. cit., p. 195.
127. Corn, op. cit., p. 185.
128. Werner, Erica, "Energy firms' fines hit \$8M," Associated Press, December 20, 2002.
129. www.nrdc.org/air/energy/aplayers.asp.
130. "National Energy Policy," www.blm.gov/energy/policy.
131. www.nrdc.org/air/energy/aplayers.asp.
132. Alterman and Green, op. cit., p. 22.
133. Ibid., p. 19.
134. "Sierra Club Files Suit Against Cheney's Energy Task Force," January 25, 2002, <http://newyork.sierraclub.org/rochester/news!.htm>.
135. Ivins, op. cit., pp. 196, 197; see also Corn, op. cit., pp. 186-188.
136. Corn, op. cit., p. 175.
137. Ibid., p. 181.
138. Ibid., pp. 176, 177.
139. Ibid., p. 188.