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**This report can also be viewed at [www.commoncause.org/energyreport](http://www.commoncause.org/energyreport)**

**July 13, 2010**

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## Legislating Under the Influence

*The energy industry's money floods Congress and regulatory agencies.*

### Executive Summary

Long before BP's Deepwater Horizon well began belching oil into the Gulf of Mexico, BP and the rest of the energy industry had turned loose a gusher of cash in Washington, saturating Congress and the federal government's regulatory apparatus.

In the last decade alone, big energy has pumped more than \$2.9 billion into electing and lobbying federal officials and candidates, according to campaign finance and lobbying disclosure reports.

That's about \$5.5 million for each of the 535 seats in the House and Senate.

As energy dollars flow freely in Washington, the development of alternative energy sources proceeds slowly, at best, and the nation's reliance on energy produced overseas grows deeper. Meanwhile, at the industry's urging, a 27-year moratorium on oil and gas drilling off the east coast has been allowed to expire and legislation to cap carbon emissions, pushing oil-gulping industries to find new energy sources and use petroleum more efficiently, has stalled in Congress.

And in the Gulf, what President Obama has called "a scandalously close relationship" between oil companies and the agency that regulates them, looms as a likely contributor to an environmental disaster that is poisoning an entire ecosystem and threatening the nation's seafood and tourist industries.

Data compiled by the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics reveal that:

**Energy interests, including oil and gas companies, electric utilities, mining companies and waste management firms, have contributed more than \$337 million to federal candidates and party organizations since 2000.** Only the financial sector – banks, insurance companies and other financial firms, has given more.

**Oil and gas companies are the energy industry's most aggressive donors.** They've contributed more than \$154 million to federal candidates since 2000, about 46 percent of big energy's total donations. Electric utilities have donated more than \$104 million and mining interests just over \$30 million.

**The energy industry focuses its investments in Congress on lawmakers who can most help the industry's bottom line.** Since 2000, big energy has given nearly \$110 million to the campaigns of members of four Congressional panels assigned to oversee it. Industry donations to committee members increased nearly 80 percent between 2000 and 2008, amid growing public support for legislation to put new limits on carbon emissions. Big energy also looks out for Congressional leaders; though it's still early in the current election cycle, the industry has given nearly \$3.1 million to campaign committees and political action committees controlled by House and Senate Democratic and Republican leaders.

**The energy industry generally prefers Republicans, but money follows power.** In some elections during the past decade its spending on GOP candidates has been three times that on Democrats. Big energy's support for Republicans soared during the Bush administration, as Vice President Dick Cheney led an energy task force that actively sought industry input. But after Democrats took control of Congress in 2006, their share of the industry's donations increased dramatically, and so far in 2010 the GOP is doing only slightly better than the Democrats in attracting industry donations.

**During the first quarter of 2010, the energy industry spent more than \$3.2 million on lobbying for each day that Congress was in session. That's more than \$244,000 per member through the quarter.** Among major industries, only health care interests have spent more. For every \$1 spent on political campaigns, the energy industry spends more than \$7 on lobbying. Since 2000, energy companies have invested nearly \$2.6 billion to lobby Congress and the executive branch. The industry's annual tab for lobbying increased by 159 percent during the decade, as it won passage during 2005 of an energy bill giving \$14.5 billion in tax breaks to energy companies, and during 2008 persuaded Congress and then-President George W. Bush to lift a 27-year embargo on offshore oil and gas exploration in the Atlantic.

**Employees of and groups tied to BP, the company at the center of the Deepwater Horizon disaster,** have donated more than \$3 million to congressional election campaigns since 2000. BP also invests heavily in lobbying; the company spent nearly \$16 million in 2009 and more than \$3.5 million on lobbying during the first quarter of this year

**The Minerals Management Service, the federal government's supposed watchdog on the industry, has been a longstanding target of energy lobbyists – with devastating results.** Since 2006, the number of companies and industry advocacy groups lobbying the agency has more than doubled, according to an analysis by Congressional Quarterly.(1) Industry lobbyists have paid for gifts, ski trips and golf outings for MMS employees, and a 2008 investigation by the Interior Department's inspector general found that employees at an MMS royalty collection office in Denver engaged in sex and used drugs with energy company representatives.(2)

**The energy industry has made a point of adding** former MMS executives, along with former Congressional staff members, to its lobbying staffs. While President Obama has ordered federal agencies not to hire anyone involved in lobbying agency officials during the past two years, the "revolving door" from the federal government to the lobbying corps remains open. More than 300 lobbyists now working for oil and gas interests have past connections to federal agencies or Congress. (3)

No sensible person would invest the kind of money the energy industry invests in our government and politics without expecting something in return. And big energy's investments have helped it secure lax Congressional and regulatory oversight and a host of federal policies that benefit its bottom line.

But as millions of gallons of oil spill into the Gulf of Mexico every day, it's increasingly clear that the industry's profits are coming at the nation's expense. Political leaders who are serious about helping America achieve energy independence need to declare their own political independence, scrapping a system that relies on special interest money to finance their campaigns and replacing it with small donations from working Americans through the Fair Elections Now Act.

### **Under the Influence**

More than three decades have passed since President Jimmy Carter added the phrase "energy crisis" to our national lexicon and called on Americans to wage the "moral equivalent of war" to solve it.

Within months of Carter's plea, Congress created a federal Department of Energy. In the decades since, lawmakers have passed dozens of energy bills, raising and lowering taxes, setting fuel economy standards, and promoting the development of domestic oil and gas and "alternative" energy sources like wind, solar, and nuclear power.

And the crisis has only deepened.

In 2008, the U.S. imported almost 33 *quadrillion* BTUs worth of energy, about twice as much annually as came from overseas when the Energy Department set up shop. Three Republicans and two Democrats have served as president during that span, each of them resolute in declaring the nation's need to develop other sources of energy.

So why haven't we done it?

There's no single answer, and no easy one. We all bear some responsibility. We want fuel economy but we love our big, gas-guzzling vehicles. We're worried about climate change but unwilling to bear the higher energy costs that would result from strict controls on the amount of carbon pumped into our atmosphere. Nuclear power is clean but dangerous, wind and solar power may not be reliable; developing other alternatives to coal and petroleum is expensive and time-consuming.

When problems are this complex, there's plenty of room for honest, thoughtful disagreement and debate over what to do about them.

But in Washington, debates over tomorrow's fuels are colored by the economic clout of those who produce today's. Energy companies, their employees and trade groups pump hundreds of millions of dollars annually into our political system, winning or securing the allegiance of some candidates and officeholders and gaining access to others.

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## Investing in Congress

In 1990, when the non-partisan Center for Responsive Politics started tracking their political activity, employees of energy firms and their political action committees donated just over \$19 million to federal candidates and the national political parties. **By 2008, their giving had jumped to \$77.8 million, a 309 percent increase.**

While the industry looks out for its friends at campaign time, it expects them to return the favor. And they do. On key votes, members who've received substantial donations from oil and gas interests, mining companies, and other energy firms are far more likely to support big energy's position than are those who've gotten little or no industry backing.

Consider these examples, culled from records compiled by MAPLight.org, a website that matches campaign contributions to legislative votes:

**Senate Joint Resolution 26** (2010), would have reproached the Environmental Protection Agency over its plans to use provisions of the Clean Air Act to regulate greenhouse gas emissions from new motor vehicles. The proposal's sponsor, Alaska Republican Lisa Murkowski, has collected more than \$430,000 from oil and gas companies, employees and groups. While the resolution was defeated on June 10, those interests have given an average of \$29,762 during the current election cycle to senators who supported it and only \$6,729 to those who voted "No."

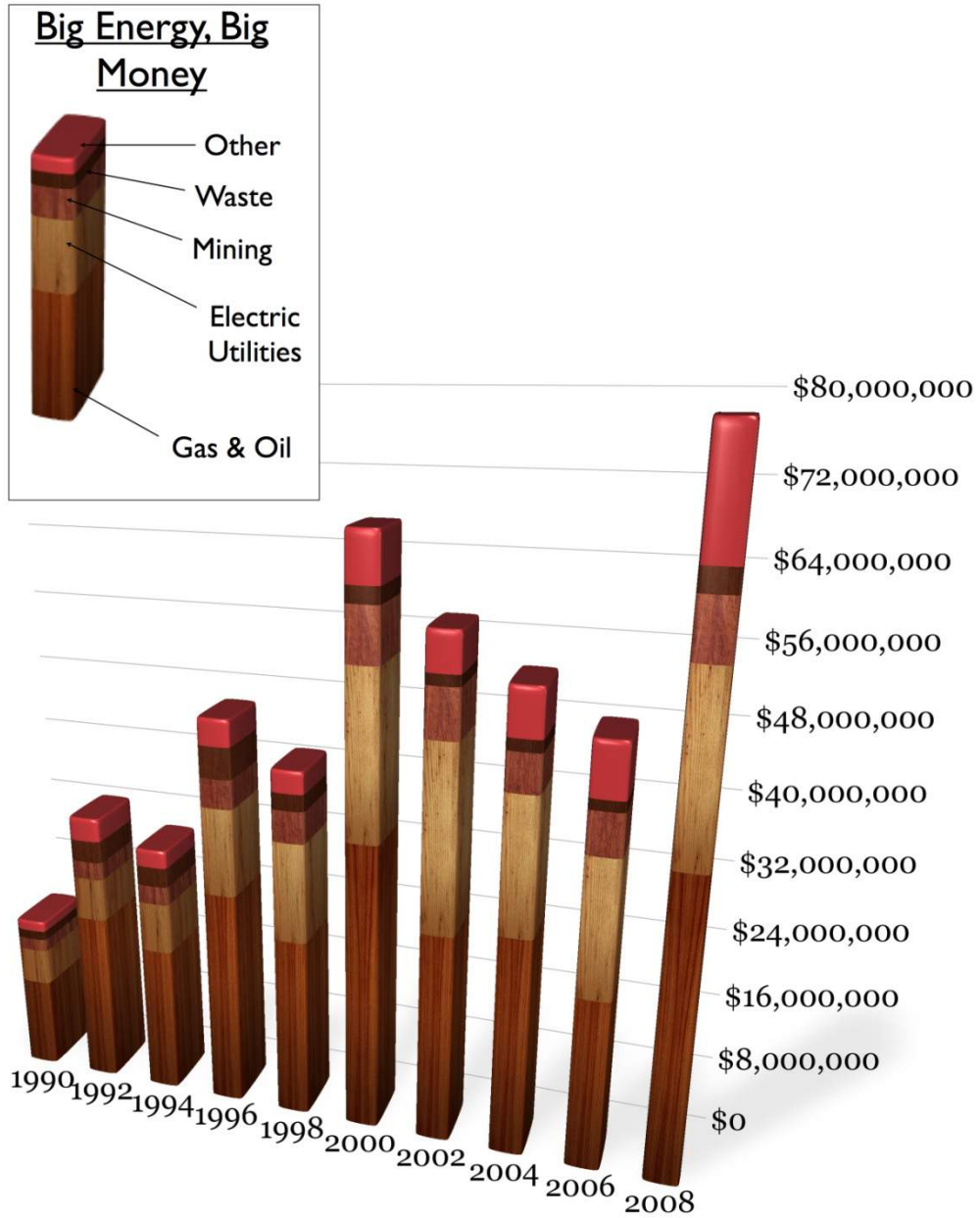
**HR. 2454, the American Clean Energy and Security Act** (2009). Passed by the House over the objection of oil and gas interests but still awaiting Senate action, the bill would create a cap-and-trade program that would place a price on carbon emissions in an attempt to stem greenhouse gas emissions. Big oil gave an average of \$4,882 to members who voted "No" and just \$876 to those supporting the bill.

**HR. 6515** (2008) would have established an "environmentally responsible" oil and gas leasing program in Alaska's National Petroleum Reserve. Defeated in the House, it was opposed by oil and gas interests, which gave an average of \$13,322 to opponents and \$2,834 to the bill's supporters.

**S. 3044** (2008) would have instituted a windfall profits tax on major oil companies. Opposed by oil and gas companies, it died in the Senate when supporters failed to round up enough votes to force a floor debate. Oil and gas interests gave an average of \$37,661 to senators who voted against bringing the bill to the floor, over six times as much as they gave to senators who supported it.

**HR. 6** (2007), passed over the opposition of energy interests, the law increased biofuel mandates, raised fuel economy standards effective in 2011, and increased appropriations for carbon sequestration and biofuels research and development. Energy interests gave an average of \$136,378 to senators and \$25,575 to House members who voted against the bill, more than three times their average donations to its supporters.

**Table 1:** Energy industry contributions to federal candidates and national political parties, 1990-2008.



## **Targeting Influence**

Like most special interests, energy companies and trade groups focus their political giving on legislators well-positioned to enhance, or at least protect, their bottom lines. With the Deepwater Horizon disaster in the Gulf of Mexico spurring President Obama to call for the passage of comprehensive energy legislation this year, attention will be focused on four committees – two in each house of Congress – that deal with most energy legislation: the House Energy and Commerce Committee, the House Natural Resources Committee, the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee and the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. Big energy's donations to members of those panels easily outpace its giving to Congress generally, and committee members routinely capitalize on their status by soliciting donations from industries they oversee.

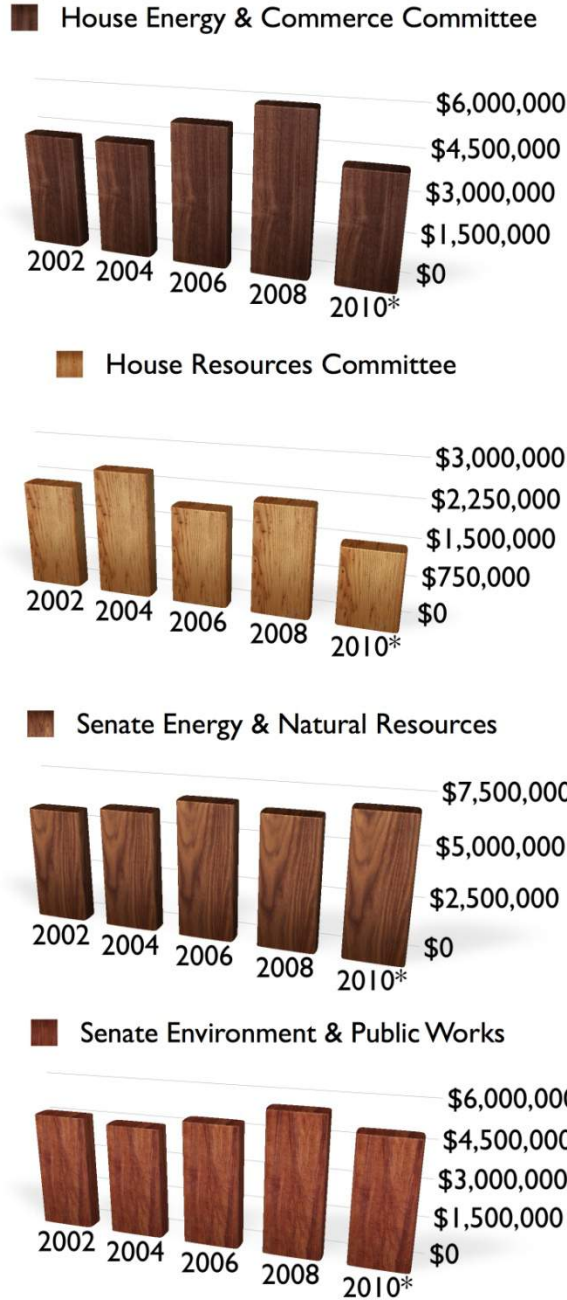
This spring, for example, Rep. Joe Barton, R-Tx., who attracted national attention by apologizing to BP after President Obama pressured the company to create a \$20 billion fund to cover the costs of the Deepwater Horizon oil spill, is planning a \$5,000 per person “family fishing trip” in the Florida Keys for invited supporters. The printed invitation for the mid-October event highlights Barton's membership on the Energy and Commerce Committee, which handles energy legislation.(4)

**Table 2 – Energy donations to energy committee members (by election cycle)**

## Checks and Balances

Every year, millions of dollars flow from the check books of Big Energy to the pockets of relevant committee members.

While energy committees have certainly not been the only ones to enjoy the “special relationship” between big corporations and Congress, donations to energy-related committees have risen by millions of dollars since 2002.



(\*2010 figures complete through March 30)



Key members of the energy committees, along with the Democratic and Republican leaders in each house and lawmakers from states where the energy industry is a major employer, also are among the biggest recipients of energy donations.

In the 111th Congress (2009-10):

**Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-AK)**, has received \$620,646 in energy donations. An Energy and Natural Resources Committee member, she has been outspoken in support of the Obama administration's decision to permit new offshore oil and gas drilling. She's also been the beneficiary of fundraising events hosted by the Alpine Group, a lobbying firm retained by BP, among other firms, and Ernst and Young, which represents other energy companies.

**Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)**, the ranking Republican on the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, has collected \$577,672 from energy interests. As detailed earlier in this report, she recently sponsored an unsuccessful attempt to rebuke the Environmental Protection Agency over its plans to use provisions of the Clean Air Act to regulate greenhouse gas emissions from new cars and trucks..

**Rep. Rick Boucher (D-VA)** a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, is the leading House recipient of energy industry donations, with \$412,842. Boucher's southwest Virginia district includes the state's coal-producing counties and Republicans targeted him after he voted for "cap and trade" legislation thought to be unpopular there.

**Sen. David Vitter (R-LA)**, , who has continued to speak in favor of drilling in the Gulf of Mexico in the wake of the Deepwater Horizon disaster, has received \$388,357 in energy donations. Vitter has co-sponsored legislation to double the current \$75 million cap on damages resulting from offshore oil spills; BP has agreed to put \$20 billion in an independently administered fund to cover those losses.

**Rep. Joe Barton (R-TX)** the ranking Republican on the Energy and Commerce Committee, has collected \$357,030 from energy interests, including just over \$110,620 from oil and gas firms. Though fellow Republicans forced Barton to apologize and withdraw his charge that the Obama administration has run a Chicago-style "shakedown" on BP, the Texas Republican has long looked out for oil interests. In 2006, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reports, Barton quietly tied to roll back regulations that have kept the industry's largest tankers from docking in Puget Sound.(5)

**Table 3:** Top 10 recipients of oil and gas investments in the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress, the money they've received, and their key committees, since 1989.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p><b>1</b> Sen. John McCain (R-AZ)<br/><i>Energy &amp; Natural Resources</i><br/><b>\$2,680,000</b></p> <hr/> <p><b>2</b> Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchinson<br/>(R-TX)<br/><b>\$2,140,000</b></p> <hr/> <p><b>3</b> Sen. John Cornyn<br/>(R-TX)<br/><b>\$1,640,000</b></p> | <p><b>4. Rep. Joe Barton</b> (R-TX)<br/><i>House Energy &amp; Commerce, Ranking Member</i><br/><b>\$1,450,000</b></p> <p><b>5. Sen. Jim Inhofe</b> (R-OK)<br/><i>Senate Environment &amp; Public Works, Ranking Member</i><br/><b>\$1,230,000</b></p> <p><b>6. Rep. Don Young</b> (R-AK)<br/><i>House Natural Resources</i><br/><b>\$980,000</b></p> <p><b>7. Sen. Mitch McConnell</b> (R-KY)<br/><i>Senate Minority Leader</i><br/><b>\$860,000</b></p> <p><b>8. Sen. David Vitter</b> (R-LA)<br/><i>Senate Environment &amp; Public Works</i><br/><b>\$785,000</b></p> <p><b>9. Sen. Mary Landrieu</b> (D-LA)<br/><i>Senate Energy &amp; Natural Resources</i><br/><b>\$758,000</b></p> <p><b>10. Rep. Mike Conaway</b> (R-TX)<br/><b>\$652,000</b></p> |
|--|---|

### Big Oil Plays Leading Role

Oil and gas interests have long been the most politically active part of the energy industry. Since 2000, they've contributed more than \$154 million to federal campaigns, most of it to Republican candidates and party committees. Big oil's preference for the GOP has held firm even as Democrats regained control of Congress in 2006 and the White House in 2008. Other segments of the energy industry have shifted some of their giving to Democrats in recent years, though the majority of energy sector contributions continue to flow to GOP candidates and committees.

BP, owner of the Deepwater Horizon well, has been one of the energy sector's biggest political donors. Though the British-based company has pledged that it will "make no political contributions, whether in cash or in kind, anywhere in the world," a political action committee formed by BP employees made nearly \$615,000 in donations for the 2008 election and has already spent nearly \$169,000 on 2010 races.

BP also has been active at the state level. The company directly invested about \$4 million in 2006 to help Republican-aligned groups in California and Colorado fight ballot initiatives that could have raised oil industry taxes in those states, according to an analysis by the Center for Political Accountability.

"Our policy on not making corporate political contributions relates to candidates for political office at the state and federal level," Scott Dean, a BP spokesman, told the Washington Post in June. The California and Colorado donations went "to support information campaigns

concerning legislation or tax initiatives targeting our industry. This money did not go to a political party or candidate, so it is consistent with our guidelines.” (6)

Table 4 – BP donations to federal candidates since 2000



## A History of Giving

Highlights of BP's donations to  
Federal Candidates since 2000

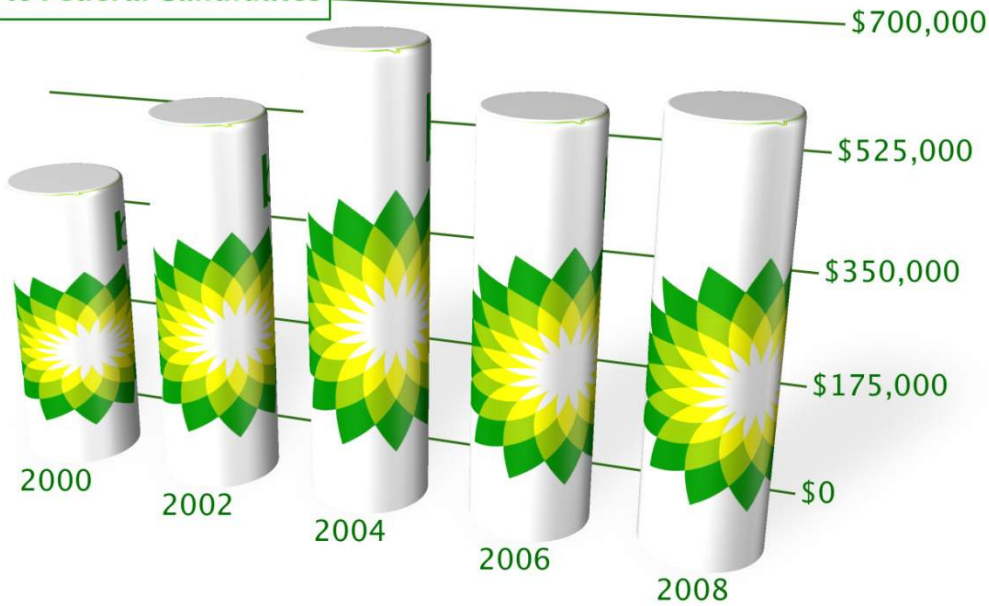


\$41,000



\$57,500

BP Donation Amount  
to Federal Candidates



## Energetic Lobbying

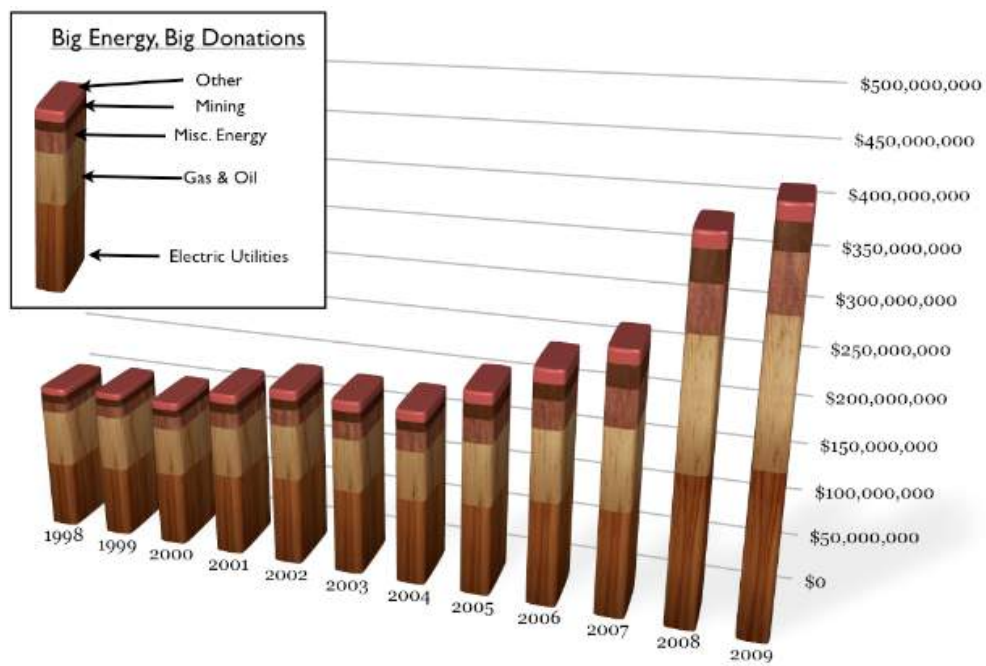
Like other major interest groups, energy firms reinforce their campaign gifts with aggressive, year-round lobbying. Since 1998, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, the industry has spent nearly \$3 billion on lobbying

Big energy's lobbying expenses last year set a record, nearly \$419 million as its representatives pressed for new oil and gas drilling off the Atlantic coast and fought off "cap and trade" legislation. That comes to more than \$780,000 spent on each of the 535 members of the House and Senate.

This year, energy interests have more than 2,300 lobbyists at work across Washington, according to official disclosure reports, and more than 300 of those have experience as former members of Congress, Congressional staffers or executive branch employees. Their backgrounds give those who've been through the "revolving door" between government and industry easy access to former colleagues and a valuable perspective – for industry – on how the legislative and regulatory processes work.

In today's Washington, lobbyists do much of their work at invitation-only fundraising events, where they have a chance to speak directly to lawmakers and key Congressional staffers and drop off campaign contributions on behalf of political action committees affiliated with their corporate clients. Since January 2009, according to party invites collected by the Sunlight Foundation's "Party Time" website, members of the four Congressional committees that handle most energy legislation have been the beneficiaries of 1,438 fundraising events.(7)

**Table 5:** Energy industry lobbying expenditures since 1998



## **Lobbying the regulators**

While lobbyists are more often associated with attempts to influence legislation, the energy industry has also enjoyed considerable success in lobbying regulatory agencies and the White House.

Early in the George W. Bush administration, Vice President Dick Cheney, a former chief executive of Halliburton, a major drilling firm, solicited industry suggestions as the administration prepared to overhaul federal energy policies.

An energy task force led by Cheney met in private. For each contact it had with conservation and environmental groups, the task force had 25 meetings with energy representatives, according to documents released after environmental groups filed a lawsuit. The Washington Post called the task force's final report "a piñata of perks for energy industries." (8)

As a presidential candidate, Barack Obama was a vociferous critic of the Bush administration's energy policies. But President Obama has acknowledged that his administration moved too slowly to break longstanding ties between energy firms and their federal regulators.

Meanwhile, the industry's regulatory lobbying continues.

During 2009, according to disclosure reports filed with Congress, 31 companies or energy-related groups reported lobbying the Minerals Management Service, the agency that oversees offshore oil and gas drilling. That's almost three times the number engaged in lobbying MMS just five years earlier.

In 2008, an investigation by the Interior Department's Inspector General found "a culture of substance abuse and promiscuity" in an MMS office in Denver. One supervisor there "engaged in illegal drug use and had sexual relations with subordinates, in consort with industry," the IG reported. Two staff members "accepted lodging from industry after industry-related events because they were too intoxicated to drive home or to their hotel." The same staffers "also engaged in brief sexual relationships with industry contacts." (2)

In another investigation, released this May, the Inspector General concluded that MMS inspectors in Louisiana had accepted hunting and fishing trips and other gifts from oil and gas production company representatives. (9)

"We found a culture where the acceptance of gifts from oil and gas companies were widespread," the Inspector General's report asserted. Some MMS employees acknowledged accepting lunches from industry representatives and attending sporting events in which oil and gas companies sponsored teams.

The IG said one MMS inspector conducted four inspections of one oil firm's offshore platforms while in the process of negotiating and later accepting employment with that company.

There has also been a revolving door between industry and the agency, with employees easily shifting from regulator to regulated, and vice versa. Randall Luthi, MMS director from 2007-09, is now president of the National Ocean Industries Association, a trade group whose mission – its

website says – “is to secure reliable access and a fair regulatory and economic environment for the companies that develop the nation’s valuable offshore energy resources.”

While it will be months, perhaps years, before investigators piece together the full story of the Deepwater Horizon disaster, it’s already clear that MMS personnel were too close to the firms they’re assigned to regulate. The Wall Street Journal, in the most complete account of the accident published to date, reported in May that BP and its partners on the Deepwater Horizon rig may have gone outside bounds set by MMS in their drilling permit. But the paper said MMS signed off on BP’s decision to remove drilling mud from the well shaft before “performing two procedures designed to make sure gas couldn't get into the well.” Gas in the shaft ignited after the mud was withdrawn, leading to the catastrophic explosion of April 20.

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### **Conclusion**

A healthy energy industry is vital to America. Until alternative energy sources are fully developed, we need reliable and affordable supplies of coal and petroleum products to heat and cool our homes, power our vehicles and keep our economy growing. It’s not surprising that an industry so large and so important invests heavily in political campaigns and lobbying to protect and advance its interests.

The Deepwater Horizon disaster however, reminds us of what can happen when members of Congress and officials on the receiving end of those donations and lobbying confuse the industry’s interests with the public’s. Until we level the political playing field, so that politicians don’t need to rely on special interest money to gain and hold office, we should expect more such grim reminders.

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*“Contributors are tired of contributing, and office holders are tired of fundraising. When spending is limited in campaigning, those in Congress will have time for the country rather than the campaign. They can stay in Washington and spend time on the nation's business” – former Sen. Fritz Hollings, D-S.C.*

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## Notes

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- (1) *Beleaguered MMS Is Target of Energy Industry*, Roll Call, June 21, 2010
  - (2) Memorandum to Secretary Kempthorne from Earl Devaney, Inspector General, Sept. 9, 2008.
  - (3) Tabulation of “revolving door” profiles found at [http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/indusclient\\_lobs.php?lname=E01&year=2010](http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/indusclient_lobs.php?lname=E01&year=2010)
  - (4) <http://politicalpartytime.org/party/20929/>
  - (5) *In kowtowing to BP, Rep. Barton isn't alone*, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 20, 2010
  - (6) *Despite BP corporate code, Firm has made political contributions*, Washington Post, June 30, 2010
  - (7) Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources; Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works; House Committee on Energy and Commerce; House Committee on Natural Resources
  - (8) *Energy bill raises fears about pollution, fraud*; Washington Post, July 30, 2005
  - (9) Memorandum to Secretary Salazar from Mary Kendall, acting Inspector General, May 24, 2010.
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### **Appendix 1: Top 20 Congressional recipients of energy industry contributions – all time**

| <b>Candidate</b>             | <b>Amount</b> |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| McCain, John (R-AZ)          | \$4,894,127   |
| Barton, Joe (R-TX)           | \$3,278,830   |
| Obama, Barack (D-IL)         | \$2,987,032   |
| Hutchison, Kay Bailey (R-TX) | \$2,614,471   |
| Cornyn, John (R-TX)          | \$2,248,606   |
| Gramm, Phil (R-TX)           | \$2,148,104   |
| Inhofe, James M (R-OK)       | \$2,063,190   |
| Dingell, John D (D-MI)       | \$2,040,238   |
| McConnell, Mitch (R-KY)      | \$2,017,959   |
| Boucher, Rick (D-VA)         | \$1,851,902   |

| <b>Candidate</b>           | <b>Amount</b> |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| Santorum, Rick (R-PA)      | \$1,774,461   |
| Young, Don (R-AK)          | \$1,689,992   |
| Specter, Arlen (D-PA)      | \$1,607,379   |
| Domenici, Pete V (R-NM)    | \$1,580,380   |
| Landrieu, Mary L (D-LA)    | \$1,540,169   |
| Pearce, Steve (R-NM)       | \$1,453,893   |
| Clinton, Hillary (D-NY)    | \$1,445,626   |
| Lincoln, Blanche (D-AR)    | \$1,328,466   |
| Voinovich, George V (R-OH) | \$1,286,287   |
| Hall, Ralph M (R-TX)       | \$1,284,883   |

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**Appendix 2: Top 20 Congressional recipients of energy industry donations – 2010 cycle**

| <b>Candidate</b>         | <b>Amount</b> |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Lincoln, Blanche (D-AR)  | \$620,646     |
| Murkowski, Lisa (R-AK)   | \$577,672     |
| Boucher, Rick (D-VA)     | \$412,842     |
| Vitter, David (R-LA)     | \$388,357     |
| Barton, Joe (R-TX)       | \$357,030     |
| Bennett, Robert F (R-UT) | \$335,900     |
| Specter, Arlen (D-PA)    | \$324,698     |
| Reid, Harry (D-NV)       | \$305,230     |
| Hoyer, Steny H (D-MD)    | \$293,500     |
| Burr, Richard (R-NC)     | \$286,324     |
| Blunt, Roy (R-MO)        | \$283,100     |
| Edwards, Chet (D-TX)     | \$256,930     |
| Dorgan, Byron L (D-ND)   | \$250,832     |
| Thune, John (R-SD)       | \$216,018     |
| Boren, Dan (D-OK)        | \$202,650     |
| McCain, John (R-AZ)      | \$190,010     |
| Bayh, Evan (D-IN)        | \$189,999     |
| Cantor, Eric (R-VA)      | \$189,150     |



|                      |           |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Upton, Fred (R-MI)   | \$183,650 |
| Boehner, John (R-OH) | \$182,200 |

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**Appendix 3: Energy industry contributions to Senate Environment and Public Works Committee – 2010 cycle**

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Lamar Alexander (R-TN)    | \$152,550 |
| John Barrasso (R-WY)      | \$276,950 |
| Max Baucus (D-MT)         | \$253,136 |
| Kit Bond (R-MO)           | \$ 39,250 |
| Barbara Boxer (D-CA)      | \$ 17,000 |
| Ben Cardin (D-MD)         | \$ 24,900 |
| Tom Carper (D-DE)         | \$ 40,740 |
| Mike Crapo (R-ID)         | \$ 77,800 |
| Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) | \$ 28,600 |
| Jim Inhofe (R-OK)         | \$642,700 |
| Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)      | \$ 0      |
| Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ)   | \$ 62,500 |
| Jeff Merkley (D-OR)       | \$ 0      |
| Bernie Sanders (I-VT)     | \$ 3,100  |
| Arlen Specter (D-PA)      | \$250,600 |
| Tom Udall (D-NM)          | \$110,839 |
| David Vitter (R-LA)       | \$457,700 |
| George Voinovich (R-OH)   | \$128,930 |
| Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) | \$ 22,050 |

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**Appendix 4: Energy industry contributions to Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee – 2010 cycle**

|                        |           |
|------------------------|-----------|
| John Barrasso (R-WY)   | \$379,850 |
| Evan Bayh (D-IN)       | \$289,499 |
| Bob Bennett (R-UT)     | \$277,600 |
| Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)   | \$435,267 |
| Sam Brownback (R-KA)   | \$ 41,250 |
| Jim Bunning (R-KY)     | \$ 62,000 |
| Richard Burr (R-NC)    | \$390,074 |
| Maria Cantwell (D-WA)  | \$ 72,325 |
| Bob Corker (R-TN)      | \$388,950 |
| Byron Dorgan (D-ND)    | \$410,107 |
| Tim Johnson (D-SD)     | \$236,401 |
| Mary Landrieu (D-LA)   | \$695,203 |
| Blanche Lincoln (D-AR) | \$616,296 |
| John McCain (R-AZ)     | \$118,650 |

|                        |           |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Robert Menendez (D-NJ) | \$223,650 |
| Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)  | \$654,822 |
| Jim Risch (R-ID)       | \$175,706 |
| Bernie Sanders (I-VT)  | \$ 8,100  |
| Jeff Sessions (R-AL)   | \$266,415 |
| Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH)  | \$ 63,225 |
| Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) | \$122,599 |
| Mark Udall (D-CO)      | \$209,410 |
| Ron Wyden (D-OR)       | \$ 93,939 |

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**Appendix 5: Energy Industry Contributions to House Energy and Commerce Committee – 2010 cycle**

|                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Tammy Baldwin (D-WI)     | \$5,000   |
| John Barrow (D-GA)       | \$85,550  |
| Joe Barton (R-TX)        | \$311,330 |
| Marsha Blackburn (R-TN)  | \$39,500  |
| Roy Blunt (R-MO)         | \$156,200 |
| Mary Bono Mack (R-CA)    | \$32,750  |
| Rick Boucher (D-VA)      | \$397,842 |
| Bruce Braley (D-IA)      | \$7,000   |
| Michael Burgess (R-TX)   | \$61,750  |
| G.K. Butterfield (D-NC)  | \$61,500  |
| Steve Buyer (R-IN)       | \$17,500  |
| Lois Capps (D-CA)        | \$3,500   |
| Kathy Castor (D-FL)      | \$9,000   |
| Donna Christensen (D-VI) | \$10,000  |
| Diana DeGette (D-CO)     | \$10,000  |
| John Dingell (D-MI)      | \$85,350  |
| Mike Doyle (D-PA)        | \$42,000  |
| Eliot Engel (D-NY)       | \$4,000   |
| Anna Eshoo (D-CA)        | \$12,000  |
| Phil Gingrey (R-GA)      | \$37,500  |
| Charlie Gonzalez (D-TX)  | \$60,500  |
| Bart Gordon (D-TN)       | \$68,150  |
| Gene Green (D-TX)        | \$84,375  |
| Ralph Hall (R-TX)        | \$53,750  |
| Jane Harman (D-CA)       | \$8,000   |
| Baron Hill (D-IN)        | \$55,500  |
| Jay Inslee (D-WA)        | \$30,054  |
| Ed Markey (D-MA)         | \$160,950 |
| Jim Matheson (D-UT)      | \$114,775 |
| Doris Matsui (D-CA)      | \$22,750  |
| Jerry McNerney (D-CA)    | \$50,750  |
| Charlie Melancon (D-LA)  | \$127,500 |

|                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Chris Murphy (D-CT)      | \$57,350  |
| Tim Murphy (R-PA)        | \$158,950 |
| Sue Myrick (R-NC)        | \$36,300  |
| Frank Pallone (D-NJ)     | \$26,100  |
| Joe Pitts (R-PA)         | \$43,049  |
| George Radanovich (R-CA) | \$33,000  |
| Mike Rogers (R-MI)       | \$62,400  |
| Mike Ross (D-AR)         | \$139,850 |
| Bobby Rush (D-IL)        | \$39,000  |
| John Sarbanes (D-MD)     | \$3,800   |
| Steve Scalise (R-LA)     | \$78,485  |
| Jan Schakowsky (D-IL)    | \$5,000   |
| John Shadegg (R-AZ)      | \$28,150  |
| John Shimkus (R-IL)      | \$110,900 |
| Zack Space (D-OH)        | \$93,550  |
| Cliff Stearns (R-FL)     | \$16,000  |
| Bart Stupak (D-MI)       | \$49,600  |
| John Sullivan (R-OK)     | \$82,850  |
| Betty Sutton (D-OH)      | \$21,000  |
| Lee Terry (R-NE)         | \$61,100  |
| Fred Upton (R-MI)        | \$109,450 |
| Greg Walden (R-OR)       | \$68,200  |
| Henry Waxman (D-CA)      | \$60,400  |
| Anthony Weiner (D-NY)    | \$5,800   |
| Peter Welch (D-VT)       | \$13,200  |
| Ed Whitfield (R-KY)      | \$85,500  |

**Appendix 6: Energy Industry Contributions to House Natural Resources Committee – 2010 cycle**

|                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Joe Baca (D-CA)          | \$8,000.00  |
| Rob Bishop (R-UT)        | \$6,000.00  |
| Madeline Bordallo (D-GU) | \$0.00      |
| Dan Boren (D-OK)         | \$30,000.00 |
| Paul Broun (R-GA)        | \$6,200.00  |
| Henry Brown (R-SC)       | \$11,500.00 |
| Lois Capps (D-CA)        | \$3,500.00  |
| Bill Cassidy (R-LA)      | \$24,850.00 |
| Jason Chaffetz (R-UT)    | \$6,000.00  |
| Donna Christensen (D-VI) | \$8,500.00  |
| Mike Coffman (R-CO)      | \$34,650.00 |
| Jim Costa (D-CA)         | \$15,900.00 |
| Peter DeFazio (D-OR)     | \$10,000.00 |

|                                  |              |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Diana DeGette (D-CO)             | \$7,750.00   |
| John Duncan (R-TN)               | \$8,500.00   |
| Eni Faleomavaega (D-AS)          | \$2,000.00   |
| Jeff Flake (R-AZ)                | \$1,000.00   |
| John Fleming (R-LA)              | \$16,100.00  |
| Elton Gallegly (R-CA)            | \$1,000.00   |
| Louie Gohmert (R-TX)             | \$12,500.00  |
| Raul Grijalva (D-AZ)             | \$3,950.00   |
| Doc Hastings (R-WA)              | \$29,000.00  |
| Martin Heinrich (D-NM)           | \$13,300.00  |
| Stephanie Herseth Sandlin (D-SD) | \$38,850.00  |
| Maurice Hinchey (D-NY)           | \$1,500.00   |
| Rush Holt (D-NJ)                 | \$10,050.00  |
| Jay Inslee (D-WA)                | \$30,054.00  |
| Dale Kildee (D-MI)               | \$4,000.00   |
| Ron Kind (D-WI)                  | \$13,750.00  |
| Frank Kratovil (D-MD)            | \$34,650.00  |
| Doug Lamborn (R-CO)              | \$9,500.00   |
| Cynthia Lummis (R-WY)            | \$32,399.00  |
| Ed Markey (D-MA)                 | \$144,950.00 |
| Tom McClintock (R-CA)            | \$3,250.00   |
| Cathy McMorris-Rodgers (R-WA)    | \$19,000.00  |
| George Miller (D-CA)             | \$1,335.00   |
| Grace Napolitano (D-CA)          | \$6,000.00   |
| Frank Pallone (D-NJ)             | \$25,600.00  |
| Pedro Pierluisi (D-PR)           | \$0.00       |
| Nick Rahall (D-WV)               | \$36,200.00  |
| Gregorio Sablan (I-MP)           | \$0.00       |
| John Sarbanes (D-MD)             | \$500.00     |
| Carol Shea-Porter (D-NH)         | \$250.00     |
| Bill Shuster (R-PA)              | \$34,000.00  |
| Adrian Smith (R-NE)              | \$23,850.00  |
| Niki Tsongas (D-MA)              | \$2,250.00   |
| Rob Wittman (R-VA)               | \$10,150.00  |
| Don Young (R-AK)                 | \$750.00     |

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Appendix A

| Details,<br>Table 1 | 1990     | 1992     | 1994     | 1996     | 1998     | 2000     | 2002     | 2004     | 2006     | 2008     |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Oil & Gas           | 10911614 | 20581722 | 17729113 | 26015197 | 21622444 | 34323192 | 25037766 | 26077264 | 20372756 | 35690662 |
| Electric Utilities  | 4326972  | 5106480  | 6033858  | 10316162 | 11752645 | 19231901 | 21502070 | 15802520 | 15870538 | 20565943 |
| Mining              | 1488838  | 2136118  | 2217116  | 3398311  | 3699694  | 6157284  | 5591932  | 4327796  | 4780269  | 6363404  |
| Waste<br>Management | 1092649  | 2590184  | 2302189  | 3671707  | 1963014  | 1862556  | 1264782  | 1364596  | 1206346  | 2521828  |
| Other               | 1195631  | 2742615  | 2074214  | 3128666  | 2589766  | 5592401  | 4470711  | 5387279  | 6106800  | 12725344 |

| Details<br>Table 5 | 1998     | 1999     | 2000     | 2001     | 2002     | 2003     |
|--------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Electric Utilities | 71895536 | 76502753 | 80174233 | 26015197 | 21622444 | 34323192 |
| Oil & Gas          | 61111852 | 59597506 | 51688139 | 54014572 | 58667259 | 56303514 |
| Misc. Energy       | 11079974 | 12839922 | 14781366 | 16672150 | 17874829 | 19382215 |
| Mining             | 9267300  | 8288150  | 7413000  | 1078517  | 10625500 | 10894000 |

|       |         |         |         |         |          |          |
|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|----------|
| Other | 6667880 | 6152100 | 7757743 | 9551000 | 10183040 | 10766500 |
|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|----------|

|                    | 2004     | 2005     | 2006      | 2007      | 2008      | 2009      |
|--------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Electric Utilities | 93005466 | 97442392 | 112039335 | 113312266 | 161047744 | 174713324 |
| Oil & Gas          | 52356008 | 65925185 | 74887623  | 84555985  | 134475402 | 145750503 |
| Misc. Energy       | 21634033 | 25384289 | 29887422  | 39059222  | 46715571  | 55689293  |
| Mining             | 10240900 | 15279043 | 16173888  | 23249741  | 30802134  | 26208874  |
| Other              | 10690705 | 12489422 | 14519875  | 14583224  | 16036259  | 16369975  |

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