

# **The Bankrollers:**

**Lobbyists' Payments to the Lawmakers They Court,  
1998 - 2006**



**Congress Watch**

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## **Acknowledgments**

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## **About Public Citizen**

Public Citizen is a 100,000 member non-profit organization based in Washington, D.C. We represent consumer interests through lobbying, litigation, research and public education. Founded in 1971, Public Citizen fights for consumer rights in the marketplace, safe and affordable health care, campaign finance reform, fair trade, clean and safe energy sources, and corporate and government accountability. Public Citizen has five divisions and is active in every public forum: Congress, the courts, governmental agencies and the media. Congress Watch is one of the five divisions.



215 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

P: 202-546-4996

F: 202-547-7392

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## Introduction

Lobbyists and the political action committees of their firms have contributed at least \$103.1 million to members of Congress since 1998.<sup>1</sup> This figure is more than 90 percent higher than what is reported by the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), which has been the most authoritative source to date, because this study's methodology cast a wider net to capture lobbyists' contributions. (The methodology used for this study is discussed in detail in Appendix II.)

The contributions of the top 50 lobbyists are particularly striking. Since 1998, these lobbyists have given an average of more than \$207,000 to members of Congress, or \$25,890 per year. This is equal to more than 60 percent of the \$42,409 median income of American households in 2002, the midpoint of the years studied. In short, this means that these 50 lobbyists have earned so much money in exchange for procuring special favors for their clients that they have been able to absorb more than three-fifths of the average family's pre-tax income as a cost of doing business.

These lobbyists have managed to accomplish remarkable feats on Capitol Hill.

Among the top 10 lobbyist-donors to members of Congress, one has been instrumental in perpetuating the "synfuel" tax credit, which has allowed companies to bilk the Treasury out of \$1 billion to \$4 billion per year merely by spraying coal with diesel fuel or other substances, and then claiming a tax credit for creating a "synthetic" fuel. Another lobbyist was instrumental in fashioning the infamous \$30 billion Boeing air refueling tanker proposal, which came within an eyelash of passage. The near-deal was subsequently deemed one of the worst procurement episodes in recent decades and landed two people in prison. A third lobbyist was part of a successful effort to persuade Congress to approve a proposal relaxing rules on exports of bomb-grade uranium, overcoming the measure's previous bi-partisan opposition due to its potential to accelerate the proliferation of nuclear materials.

The three industries that have paid the most in fees to the firms of top lobbyist-contributors are finance, defense and, surprisingly, education. For example, the firm of Stewart Van Scoyoc (who ranks No. 1 in lobbyists' contributions to members of Congress, at nearly \$340,000), represents more than 50 universities. The Science Coalition (a group of 60 universities), has paid more than \$2.6 million in lobbying fees since 2001 to the firm of the No. 2 most generous lobbyist-contributor, Dan Mattoon.

Municipalities also have relied on influence peddlers to increase their success at procuring federal dollars. The resort city of Orange Beach, Ala., for example, has paid \$60,000 a year since mid-2003 to Van Scoyoc's firm to press its case in Washington, D.C. Orange Beach officials credit their lobbyist with netting the city \$3.4 million in federal earmarks.

Taxpayer-funded entities' use of influence peddlers to vie for federal funds may be partly responsible for the alarming increase in congressional earmarks, which soared from \$23.2 billion in 1994 to \$64 billion in 2006.

Lobbyists are plainly expected to make campaign contributions in exchange for the access and favors they seek. Mattoon, for example, was among a small group of lobbyists who met in January 2004 with then-House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas) to discuss ways to increase lobbyists' contributions to Republican lawmakers. The meeting was held at the infamous Signatures restaurant owned by now-disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff. "There has been a concern that not enough folks who are out there making money based on their relation to the Hill are giving enough of their own money to the Republican Party," a GOP aide said at the time.

Kenneth Kies, the maestro behind the synfuel boondoggle and the fifth-ranking lobbyist-contributor to Congress, likewise acknowledged that lobbyists believe they are expected to give money in exchange for "credit," the all-important chit in the lobbyist's toolkit. But the ban on soft-money contributions has required lobbyists to put more of their own money into the pot, unlike in the past, when "Lobbyists who never actually pulled out their own checkbooks could claim credit for their clients' soft money," Kies said.

The need to contribute for credit is revealed when one studies the donations of trade association chiefs, who are paid salaries, versus those of for-hire lobbyists, who rely on fees from clients. Despite their high pay and intrinsic role in Washington's political culture, trade association lobbyists are far less likely to reach into their own pocketbooks to make contributions. Instead, they can rely on the heft of their organizations and the contributions of their members. Of the 22 lobbyists who lead (or recently lead) trade associations and who earn more than \$1 million annually, according to the most recent salary survey of the *National Journal*, only two ranked among the top 300 lobbyist-contributors to Congress – and one of them is now retired.

Of course, contributions from personal checking accounts are just a tiny part of the role lobbyists play in bankrolling members of Congress. Lobbyists also serve as unpaid foot soldiers who dutifully host fundraisers and engage in other activities to solicit campaign contributions – often from their clients – for lawmakers. For example, former Freddie Mac lobbyist Mitch Delk, who has contributed \$41,950 to lawmakers since 1998, claimed that fundraisers he coordinated steered nearly \$3 million to members of the House Financial Services Committee from 2000-2003. Denny and Sandra Miller, a lobbyist couple that has contributed nearly \$300,000 to members of Congress since 1998 (ranking them fourth among lobbyists' households), once held a pair of fundraisers for Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) that raised \$160,000. The Millers were prohibited at the time from contributing more than \$4,000, total, themselves. More recently, Denny Miller was among 14 lobbyists who coordinated a fundraiser for Stevens' foundation that raised at least \$2 million.

The role of lobbyists as fundraisers is so ubiquitous that Van Scoyoc's firm leases out a room with a view of the Capitol dome to other lobbyists to hold fundraisers.

Some lawmakers are sensitive to the appearance of impropriety stemming from these lobbyist-coordinated fundraisers. In the midst of the Abramoff scandal, Rep. Ray LaHood (R-Ill.) sent a letter to each of the lobbyists who had previously sponsored fundraisers for him, informing them that he would no longer accept their services. "I believe this could be perceived as a special relationship, and I am confident all of us want to avoid this perception," he wrote.

Not everyone was as concerned about such perceptions. “I just want to wake up and have this nightmare be over,” one lobbyist-recipient of the letter said, referring to the reform spirit that had briefly swept the capital.

This study points to the need for two policy changes. First, lobbyists should be banned, at once, from making substantial contributions to lawmakers, and from funneling contributions to them. The merit of this proposal as a means of reducing corruption is self-evident. Similar measures have been enacted at the state level and upheld by the courts, including a federal court.

Second, the time has come for publicly financed campaigns. About \$4 billion was spent in the 2004 election cycle, not just in campaign contributions, but also in contributions to soft-money Section 527 groups and expenditures for the national conventions. If elections continued to cost \$4 billion per cycle (even for non-presidential election years), a fully publicly financed campaign system would cost taxpayers about \$2 billion a year.

This might sound like a lot of money. Then again, consider that just three recent years of the synfuel tax credit cost taxpayers an estimated \$9 billion – enough to pay for two cycles of publicly funded elections. The Boeing air tanker deal would have poured a whopping \$30 billion into the lease of airplanes that the military didn’t need. These are just two examples badly flawed policies that have been propelled by Washington’s money machine. Billions more dollars are undoubtedly lost to corporate welfare measures won by the quasi-bribes of campaign contributions, leaving us with a choice of paying higher taxes today or heaping billions more onto the national debt, a practice that will inevitably result in ever higher taxes tomorrow. Neither option is acceptable.



# Executive Summary

## Section I: Recipients of Lobbyists' Campaign Contributions

- **Lobbyists have given more than \$100 million to members of Congress since 1998.** Lobbyists and the political action committees (PACs) of lobbying firms have contributed at least \$103.1 million to members of Congress since 1998.
- **The percentage of lobbyists making personal contributions is small.** Just 27.1 percent (7,350) of the 27,121 people who registered as lobbyists since 1998 have contributed at least \$200 to a single congressional candidate or PAC. Only contributions of \$200 or more are reported by the FEC.
- **Just over 6 percent of lobbyists account for more than four-fifths of the money lobbyists have contributed to members of Congress since 1998.** Just 6.1 percent (1,641) of lobbyists have contributed \$10,000 or more to members of Congress since 1998. This select group accounts for 83.4 percent of the total contributed.
- **Just 0.2 percent of lobbyists account for more than 13 percent of the money lobbyists have contributed to members of Congress since 1998.** The imbalance in contributions by lobbyists is even more striking when one considers contributions of the very largest donors. The 50 most generous lobbyist-contributors account for only 0.7 percent of lobbyists who made contributions of \$200 or more, and just 0.2 percent of all lobbyists. Yet, these lobbyists have been responsible for 13.4 percent of all dollars contributed by lobbyists to members of Congress since 1998.
- **Lobbyists' contributions are on the rise.** Contributions by lobbyists and their firms' PACs almost doubled from \$17.8 million in the 2000 election cycle (the earliest election cycle for which comprehensive data is available) to \$33.9 million in the 2004 election cycle. (1998 is used as the starting point for this study because it is the earliest year for which lobbying disclosure data is available online, but data is not available for the entire cycle.) Some, but not all, of this increase can be attributed to the 2002 Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA), which doubled individual contribution limits beginning in the 2004 cycle. So far in the 2006 cycle, lobbyists and their PACs are on track to contribute \$37.4 million. That would represent more than a 10 percent increase over 2004. The increase will likely be greater, however, because the pace of contributions usually increases as election day draws nearer.
- **Lobbyists' have given more to Republicans than Democrats since 1998.** Since the 1998 election cycle, the contributions by lobbyists and their firms' PACs to Republicans have outpaced contributions to Democrats 56.6 percent to 43.4 percent. Thus far in the 2006 cycle, contributions to Republicans exceed contributions to Democrats 61.5 percent to 38.5 percent.
- **Thirty-six members of Congress have received a half-million dollars or more from lobbyists and their PACs since 1998.** Former Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), Rep. Tom

DeLay (R-Texas), Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) and Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) have each received more than \$1 million. Of the 36 members in the half-million dollar club, 21 are Republicans and 15 are Democrats.

- **Many lobbyists give heavily to both parties.** Of the 373 lobbyists' households that have given at least \$50,000 to members of Congress, 10.2 percent (38) have given at least two-fifths of their money to each party. Of the nearly 1,000 lobbyists who have contributed at least \$20,000 to members of Congress since 1998, more than 13 percent (132) have given at least two-fifths of their contributions to each party.
- **Some former-members-turned-lobbyists become big contributors.** The households of 11 former members of Congress who are now lobbyists have contributed \$100,000 or more to members of Congress since 1998. (Married former Reps. Bill Paxon and Susan Molinari, both R-N.Y., are treated as a single household and their contributions are merged in this study.)
- **Several big-donor lobbyists raised \$100,000 or more for Bush or Kerry.** Of the 132 lobbyists who have given at least \$100,000 to members of Congress since 1998, nine were designated as "Rangers" or "Pioneers" by George W. Bush in his 2004 campaign, signifying that they raised at least \$100,000 for Bush by soliciting contributions of others. These lobbyists have collectively given more than \$1.5 million to members of Congress. Three lobbyists contributing \$100,000 or more to members of Congress since 1998 raised at least \$100,000 for the 2004 presidential bid of Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.). These lobbyists have contributed \$506,476 to members of Congress.
- **Personal contributions from lobbyists are just the tip of the iceberg.** The campaign contributions lobbyists make from their own checkbooks are just a fraction of the contributions they ultimately provide to lawmakers. Lobbyists play a far more significant role in funding lawmakers' campaigns by coordinating fundraisers and arranging for contributions from others. While no comprehensive data exists on lobbyists' role in soliciting campaign contributions, anecdotal information suggests that the amount dwarfs their personal contributions:
  - Former Freddie Mac lobbyist Mitchell Delk contributed \$41,950 to members of Congress from 1998 through 2006, ranking him No. 454 among lobbyist-contributors. But Delk has claimed that he held more than 75 events for members of the House Financial Services Committee from 2000-2003, and that those events raised nearly \$3 million.
  - Disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff contributed \$180,503 to members of Congress from 1998 through 2005. That's a healthy sum that places him 30th among lobbyist-contributors. But that's hardly a measure of his influence. It's only 7 percent of the \$2.6 million that Abramoff and his clients contributed to members of Congress and congressional candidates between 1997 and the end of 2004, according to a CRP analysis. (Note: the CRP calculation covers a slightly different time period than that

covered in this study and also includes contributions to candidates who are not in Congress.)

- In 1996, the lobbyist couple Denny and Sandra Miller hosted a pair of fundraisers for Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska). The total the Millers could have contributed under the campaign finance law at the time was \$4,000. The fundraisers garnered Stevens \$160,000.
- The 12 lobbyists who raised at least \$100,000 for Bush or Kerry in 2004 (and who contributed at least \$100,000 to members of Congress) were limited by law to only \$2,000 each in personal contributions. But they managed to raise at least 50 times that amount. Four were able to funnel at least \$200,000 to Bush – at least 100 times what they were permitted to contribute personally. While this example pertains to presidential campaign contributions, rather than the congressional contributions that are the subject of this study, it illustrates lobbyists' fundraising power.

## **Section II: Profiles of the Top 20 Lobbyist Contributors**

The lobbyists who have given the most money to members of Congress since 1998 have played roles in some of the most egregious legislative boondoggles in recent years. Here are some examples:

- Denny Miller was one of two lobbyists cited by the *New York Times* in 2001 who helped negotiate language that called for \$30 billion in military spending to lease air refueling tankers from Boeing Co., one of Miller's clients.

The tanker proposal eventually imploded amid revelations that 1) it would cost the government more to lease the planes than to purchase them outright, 2) the military didn't truly need the planes, and 3) the procedure used in negotiating the deal was rife with violations. The episode has achieved ignominy as one of the worst procurement abuses in recent decades and has resulted in prison sentences for a Boeing executive and a Pentagon official.

- The firms for which lobbyist Kenneth Kies has worked took in nearly \$2.4 million in lobbying fees from the Council for Energy Independence (CEI) and nearly \$5.4 million from General Electric since 1998. The CEI, which Kies directs and of which General Electric is a member, exists for one reason: to lobby for continuation of a law that allows companies to collect \$1 billion to \$4 billion in tax credits annually for manufacture of synfuel.

Although the law creating the synfuel tax credit was passed to encourage innovative ways of producing natural gas and other fuels, companies have exploited the law to gain tax credits merely by spraying coal with diesel fuel (or other substances, such as pine tar) and labeling the resulting product synfuel. The top recipient of Kies' contributions has been Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.), who has lobbied the IRS and the Treasury Department not to crack down on synfuel makers.

- James Massie’s Alpine Group was so successful at winning favorable treatment from the House Energy and Commerce Committee that Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.) once singled out the firm during a hearing by demanding its members raise their hands and identify themselves. The committee ended up approving an amendment that loosened the constraints on exporting bomb-grade uranium, a measure previously rejected amid criticism by members of both parties that it would accelerate the worldwide proliferation of nuclear materials. The amendment was supported by the Council on Radionuclides and Radiopharmaceuticals (CRR), which has paid the Alpine Group more than \$2.9 million in lobbying fees since 1998, and was a boon to Ottawa-based MDS Nordion, the leading producer of a certain type of isotope and a member of the CRR. “To save one Canadian company some money, we’re willing to blow a hole in our nonproliferation policies,” Markey complained.

### Section III: Legal Justifications for Limiting Lobbyists' Gifts

- **Public Citizen calls for significantly limiting lobbyists' ability to funnel money to lawmakers.** Lobbyists should be prohibited from making significant contributions to lawmakers or from arranging payments to lawmakers or entities they control. Public Citizen proposes that lobbyists be prohibited from:
  - Making contributions of exceeding \$200 per election to a lawmaker's campaign committee or from contributing more than \$500 per election cycle to national parties or leadership PACs;
  - Soliciting, arranging or delivering contributions to federal candidates or from serving as officials on candidate campaign committees and leadership PACs; and
  - Paying or arranging payments for events "honoring" members of Congress and political parties, such as parties at national conventions, and from contributing or arranging contributions to entities established or controlled by members of Congress, such as foundations.
- **The Supreme Court has recognized the right to treat lobbyists differently.** In a 1954 opinion upholding the 1946 Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, the Court acknowledged the legality of imposing a modest regulatory scheme on a certain class of people – lobbyists – engaging in the constitutionally protected activity of petitioning the government.
- **Courts have upheld certain restrictions on contributions from lobbyists.** At least five states have implemented laws imposing year-round restrictions on campaign contributions from lobbyists: California, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina and Alaska.
  - The California Supreme Court recognized that a state has a compelling interest in "ridding the political system of both apparent and actual corruption and improper influence" by banning all contributions from lobbyists, but the court invalidated the statute as overly broad. The court noted that while "either apparent or actual corruption might warrant some restriction of lobbyist associational freedom, it does not warrant total prohibition of all contributions by all lobbyists to all candidates."

In response, California implemented a somewhat more narrowly drawn statute, prohibiting lobbyists from making campaign contributions to those whom they lobby. The Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) interpreted this provision to mean that lobbyists are banned from making contributions to candidates for elective office in the branch of government that they lobby. In other words, lobbyists are prohibited from making campaign contributions to candidates for the legislature, if they are registered to lobby the legislature, of candidates for executive office, if they are registered to lobby the executive branch, or both, if they lobby both the legislative and executive branches. A federal district court upheld this interpretation of the law.

- In February 2006, Tennessee approved reform legislation prohibiting direct campaign contributions from lobbyists to state candidates and officeholders.
- The Alaska Supreme Court upheld a restriction on campaign contributions from lobbyists to state legislators outside the district in which the lobbyist resides.
- **Courts have upheld contribution bans that apply to particular sectors in which there has been a history of corruption or the appearance of corruption.** A “pay-to-play” restriction that bans campaign contributions from potential contractors to those responsible for awarding the contracts has been upheld by a federal court. Eight states have banned contributions from gambling interests. Other states have passed restrictions on campaign contributions from insurance agents, licensed food operators and public utilities to certain candidates.
- **A legal basis exists for prohibiting lobbyists from soliciting funds.** None of the state laws or court decisions discussed above focused on restrictions of particular classes of persons soliciting or arranging campaign contributions from others. There appears to be a fairly firm constitutional basis, however, for restricting comparable classes of persons from soliciting or arranging campaign contributions with other people’s money. The First Amendment issues raised in the landmark court decisions on campaign financing, such as the 1976 *Buckley* decision and the 2003 *McConnell* decision, have focused on how contribution restrictions may affect a person’s ability to exercise his or her own free speech with their own money.

The *McConnell* decision, which upheld the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) went even further and explicitly upheld the bans on national party committees and federal officeholders soliciting and raising “soft money” and directing these contributions to others.

## Section I: Recipients of Lobbyists' Campaign Contributions

Lobbyists and lobbying firm PACs have made more than \$103 million in campaign contributions to members of Congress since 1998. Nearly three-fourths of this total, \$77.1 million, came out of lobbyists' personal bank accounts. The remaining \$26 million came from the PACs of lobbying firms, whose funds typically are contributed by their employees.<sup>2</sup> [See Figure 1]

This figure is more than 90 percent higher than the estimate made by the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), which does not use as wide a net to capture lobbyists' contributions.<sup>3</sup> Calculating lobbyists' contributions by matching the names of contributors reporting to the FEC with the names of individuals registering as lobbyists with the secretary of the Senate was an arduous task that had never before been done.

The \$103.1 million figure reported in this study almost certainly understates reality because it was gleaned primarily by examining the contributions of people who live in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. A few additional contributions were captured by including those from people who live throughout the country who worked for firms identified by CRP as lobbying shops, and others who reported occupations on their FEC forms such as "lobbyist," "government affairs" or "government relations"

**Figure 1: Contributions from Lobbyists and Lobbying Firms' PACs**

Type of Contribution	Contributions to Democrats	Pct. to Democrats	Contributions to Republicans	Pct. to Republicans	Total
Individual	\$33,653,566	43.7	\$43,403,903	56.3	\$77,098,331
PAC	\$11,025,444	42.4	\$14,973,486	57.6	\$26,026,680
Total	\$44,683,510	43.4	\$58,381,889	56.6	\$103,125,011

Although 27,121 lobbyists have registered with the secretary of the Senate and the clerk of the House since 1998, only about 7,350 lobbyists (27.1 percent) have contributed at least \$200 to a single congressional candidate or PAC. Only contributions of \$200 or more are reported by the FEC. [See Figure 2]

**Figure 2: Breakdown of Contributions By Lobbyists**

Number of Lobbyists Who Have Registered Since 1998	Number of Lobbyists Who Contributed at Least \$200	Pct. of Lobbyists Who Contributed at Least \$200
27,121	7,350	27.1

Lobbyists who have contributed at least \$10,000 to members of Congress comprise only 6.1 percent of all lobbyists and only 22.3 percent of the lobbyists who have made at least one contribution of \$200 or more. Nevertheless, they have accounted for more than fourth-fifths (83.4 percent) of all the money contributed to members of Congress by lobbyists since 1998. [See Figure 3]

**Figure 3: Breakdown of Contributions By \$10,000+ Contributors**

Number of Lobbyists Who Contributed at Least \$10,000	Pct. of Lobbyists Who Contributed at Least \$10,000	Pct. of \$200+ Contributors Who Contributed at Least \$10,000	Aggregate Contributions of \$10,000+ Donors	Pct. of Total Lobbyists' Contributions Given By \$10,000+ Donors
1,641	6.1	22.3	\$64,319,123	83.4

### Trends: Contributions By Lobbyists Are On the Rise

The amount contributed by lobbyists has been increasing each election cycle. In 2000, the first election cycle for which complete data is available, lobbyists and the PACs of lobbying firms gave more than \$17.8 million to members of Congress. This rose to more than \$22.3 million in the 2002 cycle. In the 2004 cycle, the amount surged to over \$33.9 million. Much of the increase in the 2004 cycle can be attributed to the enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA), which doubled contribution limits for individuals.

Thus far in the 2006 cycle, \$21.9 million has been contributed by lobbyists. [See Figure 4] (Note: the data included in this report reflects FEC filings as of March 1, 2006. These records include few reports beyond December 31, 2005.)

**Figure 4: Contributions from Lobbyists and Lobbying Firms' PACs by Cycle**

Cycle	Individual	PAC	Total
1998*	\$4,881,815	\$2,332,105	\$7,213,920
2000	\$12,806,373	\$5,009,785	\$17,816,158
2002	\$16,721,558	\$5,622,540	\$22,344,098
2004	\$26,404,757	\$7,505,837	\$33,910,594
2006	\$16,283,828	\$5,556,413	\$21,840,241
Total	\$77,098,331	\$26,026,680	\$103,125,011

\* Lobbyist contribution data for the 1998 cycle is incomplete because lobbyist registration data is not available for the first 14 months of the cycle.



## Lobbyists Give More to Republicans Than Democrats

Since 1998, 56.6 percent of lobbyists' contributions to members of Congress have gone to Republicans. Republicans have widened their advantage in recent cycles. In 2004, Republicans enjoyed a 58.5 percent to 41.5 percent edge. So far in the 2006 cycle, Republicans enjoy a 61.5 percent to 38.5 percent advantage.

**Figure 5: Lobbyists' Contributions to Republicans Versus Democrats**

Cycle	Total to Democrats	Total to Republicans	Pct. to Democrats	Pct. to Republicans
1998	\$3,152,084	\$4,064,836	43.7	56.3
2000	\$8,111,544	\$9,678,102	45.6	54.4
2002	\$10,930,962	\$11,394,236	49.0	51.0
2004	\$14,081,111	\$19,814,783	41.5	58.5
2006	\$8,407,809	\$13,429,932	38.5	61.5
Total	\$44,683,510	\$58,381,889	43.4	56.6

## Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyists' Contributions

Thirty-six members of Congress – 21 Republicans and 15 Democrats – have accepted at least a half-million dollars from lobbyists and lobbying firms' PACs since 1998. Former Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas), Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) and Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) each have received more than \$1 million.

The 36 members of the half-million dollar club include 18 senators and 18 members of the House.

The 36 members who took in at least \$500,000 from lobbyists and their PACs account for only 5.1 percent of the members of Congress who have received contributions of \$200 or more from lobbyists since 1998. Yet, the money they took in – \$26.5 million – accounts for more one-fourth of the total in contributions received by members of Congress in the time period studied.

Of the 18 senators who received at least \$500,000, 9 are Republicans and 9 are Democrats. Ten of the senators currently hold leadership positions, either in their party or in Senate committees. [See Figure 6]

**Figure 6: Senators Who Received at Least \$500,000 from Lobbyists**

Senator	Current Leadership Position	Individual Contributions	PAC Contributions	Total
Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) <sup>†</sup>		\$1,364,928	\$322,793	\$1,687,721
Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.)	Republican Conference Chair	\$838,133	\$325,427	\$1,163,560
Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.)	Chair, Judiciary Committee	\$739,071	\$280,246	\$1,019,317
Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	Senate Minority Leader	\$673,254	\$215,969	\$889,223
Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)	Chair, Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee	\$741,080	\$145,902	\$886,982
Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.)		\$612,554	\$125,314	\$737,868
Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.) <sup>‡</sup>		\$615,700	\$104,777	\$720,477
Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.)	Ranking Member, Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee	\$555,641	\$133,745	\$689,386
Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.)	Ranking Member, Rules and Administration Committee	\$526,870	\$139,353	\$666,223
Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.)	Chair, Rules and Administration Committee	\$523,882	\$138,750	\$662,632
Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)	Chair, Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee	\$533,378	\$99,742	\$633,120
Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.)		\$485,543	\$127,671	\$613,214
Sen. Richard Burr (R-N.C.) <sup>*</sup>		\$482,696	\$105,225	\$587,921
Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.) <sup>‡</sup>		\$586,636	\$276 <sup>##</sup>	\$586,912
Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa)	Chair, Finance Committee	\$430,664	\$156,033	\$586,697
Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.)	Ranking Member, Budget Committee	\$431,178	\$144,529	\$575,707
Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.)		\$415,138	\$101,521	\$516,659
Sen. George Allen (R-Va.) <sup>‡</sup>		\$432,580	\$83,098	\$515,678
9 Republicans, 9 Democrats		\$10,988,926	\$2,750,371	\$13,739,297

<sup>†</sup> Congressional service ended in 2004.

<sup>‡</sup> Congressional service began in 2001. Data not included for contributions received before election to Congress.

<sup>##</sup> As a matter of policy, this member of Congress does not accept PAC money. Any contributions listed here were reported by the PACs, not the member. The PACs' records will likely be amended after the contributions are returned.

<sup>\*</sup> Served in House until 2004, began first term in Senate in 2005.

Of the 18 members of the House who received \$500,000 or more, 12 are Republicans and six are Democrats. Nine hold leadership positions, either in their party or in House committees. [See Figure 7]

**Figure 7: Members of the House Who Received at Least \$500,000 from Lobbyists**

House Member	Current Leadership Position	Individual Contributions	PAC Contributions	Total
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)		\$944,013	\$378,893	\$1,322,906
Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	Speaker of the House	\$643,384	\$283,070	\$926,454
Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa.)		\$715,550	\$153,550	\$869,100
Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.)	Chair, Appropriations Committee	\$724,033	\$95,721	\$819,754
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	Minority Whip	\$637,936	\$142,944	\$780,880
Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	Majority Leader	\$618,933	\$115,935	\$734,868
Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio)	Chair, Financial Services Committee	\$546,088	\$165,406	\$711,494
Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.)	Chair, Government Reform Committee	\$560,262	\$112,476	\$672,738
Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	Majority Whip	\$504,733	\$148,838	\$653,571
Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska)	Chair, Transportation and Infrastructure Committee	\$469,172	\$183,276	\$652,448
Rep. Jim Moran (D-Va.)		\$584,103	\$60,207	\$644,310
Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)		\$530,549	\$110,722	\$641,271
Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.)	Ranking Member, Ways and Means Committee	\$419,637	\$179,105	\$598,742
Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas)		\$438,317	\$147,251	\$585,568
Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.)		\$497,408	\$69,500	\$566,908
Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio)		\$436,929	\$112,476	\$549,405
Rep. Harold Rogers (R-Ky.)		\$446,022	\$98,260	\$544,282
Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) <sup>†</sup>		\$409,024	\$124,714	\$533,738
12 Republicans, 6 Democrats		\$10,126,093	\$2,682,344	\$12,808,437

<sup>†</sup> Congressional service ended in 2004.

## Top Recipients in the 2006 Election Cycle

So far, in the 2006 cycle, 36 members of Congress – 23 Republicans and 13 Democrats – have received more than \$150,000 from lobbyists and lobbying firms' PACs. Leading the pack is Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.), who has received \$560,738. Next in line is Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.), with \$417,575. Third is DeLay, who recently abandoned his campaign for reelection.

Of the top 20 Senate recipients in the 2006 cycle, 16 are up for reelection this November. The top 20 recipients consist of 10 Republicans and 10 Democrats. [See Figure 8]

**Figure 8: Top 20 Senate Recipients of Lobbyists' Contributions, 2006 Cycle**

Rank	Senator	Individual Contributions From Lobbyists	Contributions from Lobbying Firm PACs	Total
1	Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.)*	\$401,915	\$158,823	\$560,738
2	Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.)*	\$349,450	\$68,125	\$417,575
3	Sen. George Allen (R-Va.)*	\$317,380	\$61,098	\$378,478
4	Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.)*	\$226,041	\$56,501	\$282,542
5	Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.)*	\$209,316	\$59,583	\$268,899
6	Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.)*	\$255,470	\$26 <sup>††</sup>	\$255,496
7	Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.)*	\$200,897	\$47,250	\$248,147
8	Sen. Bill Nelson (D-Fla.)*	\$164,173	\$72,496	\$236,669
9	Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.)	\$160,150	\$72,127	\$232,277
10	Sen. Ben Nelson (D-Neb.)*	\$145,100	\$72,496	\$217,596
11	Sen. Tom Carper (D-Del.)*	\$164,490	\$48,193	\$212,683
12	Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)	\$151,700	\$35,000	\$186,700
13	Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$142,150	\$41,250	\$183,400
14	Sen. Mike DeWine (R-Ohio)*	\$130,594	\$50,500	\$181,094
15	Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)	\$141,008	\$31,000	\$172,008
16	Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.)*	\$125,750	\$44,149	\$169,899
17	Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.)*	\$128,800	\$40,250	\$169,050
18	Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah)*	\$112,700	\$45,500	\$158,200
19	Sen. John Ensign (R-Nevada)*	\$103,670	\$52,450	\$156,120
20	Sen. James Talent (R-Mo.)*	\$95,000	\$57,000	\$152,000
Total	10 Republicans, 10 Democrats	\$3,725,754	\$1,113,817	\$4,839,571

\* Running for re-election in 2006

<sup>†</sup> As a matter of policy, this member of Congress does not accept PAC money. Any contributions listed below were reported by the PACs, not the member, and will likely be amended at some future date after the contributions are returned.

<sup>††</sup> As a matter of policy, this member of Congress does not accept PAC money. Any contributions listed here were reported by the PACs, not the member. The PACs' records will likely be amended after the contributions are returned.

The landscape of lobbyists' contributions to members of the House in the 2006 cycle is more partisan; 15 of the top 20 recipients are Republicans. [See Figure 9]

**Figure 9: Top 20 House Recipients of Lobbyists' Contributions, 2006 Cycle**

Rank	Member of Congress	Individual Contributions From Lobbyists	Contributions from Lobbying Firm PACs	Total
1	Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$306,700	\$80,539	\$387,239
2	Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$207,900	\$37,472	\$245,372
3	Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas)	\$161,021	\$54,208	\$215,229
4	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$152,258	\$56,500	\$208,758
5	Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa.)	\$173,050	\$34,500	\$207,550
6	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$128,500	\$73,100	\$201,600
7	Rep. Ben Cardin (D-Md.)	\$159,050	\$36,100	\$195,150
8	Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)	\$143,270	\$37,996	\$181,266
9	Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$142,772	\$35,395	\$178,167
10	Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.)	\$148,733	\$16,556	\$165,289
11	Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.)	\$102,649	\$56,248	\$158,897
12	Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$125,800	\$33,000	\$158,800
13	Rep. Joe Barton (R-Texas)	\$120,961	\$37,341	\$158,302
14	Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio)	\$128,363	\$25,937	\$154,300
15	Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.)	\$121,429	\$30,750	\$152,179
16	Rep. Richard Pombo (R-Calif.)	\$104,278	\$45,500	\$149,778
17	Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.)	\$118,529	\$20,000	\$138,529
18	Rep. Doris Matsui (D-Calif.)	\$111,750	\$22,250	\$134,000
19	Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.)	\$124,500	\$7,000	\$131,500
20	Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R-Mich.)	\$94,755	\$22,728	\$117,483
Total	15 Republicans, 5 Democrats	\$2,876,268	\$763,120	\$3,639,388

### Just One-Fifth of One Percent of Lobbyists Made 13 Percent of Contributions

The most generous lobbyists account for a strikingly large share of all contributions to members of Congress. The 50 top lobbyist-contributors account for 13.4 percent of total dollars contributed to members of Congress since 1998. Yet, they represent just 0.7 percent of all lobbyists who gave \$200 or more to a single candidate or campaign committee since 1998, and only 0.2 percent of all lobbyists who have registered since 1998. [See Figure 10]

### Many Lobbyists Give Heavily to Both Parties

While many lobbyists demonstrated a party preference in their campaign giving, some have acted as equal-opportunity contributors, suggesting that their contributions were intended to influence particular members rather than to further an ideological agenda.

Of the 373 lobbyists' households that have given at least \$50,000 to members of Congress, 10.2 percent (38) have given at least two-fifths of their contributions to each party. Of the nearly 1,000 lobbyists who have contributed at least \$20,000 to members of Congress since 1998, more than 13 percent (132) have given at least two-fifths of their contributions to each party. [See Figure 11]

**Figure 10: Lobbyists Who Contributed the Most to Members of Congress**

Rank	Lobbyist	Total Contributed	Percent to Republicans	Percent to Democrats
1	H. Stewart Van Scoyoc	\$339,132	74.3	25.7
2	Daniel Mattoon	\$302,059	95.9	4.1
3	Michael Berman	\$297,961	0.0	100.0
4	Denny and Sandra Burgess Miller	\$293,203	48.1	51.9
5	Kenneth and Kathleen Clark Kies	\$292,866	91.7	8.3
6	Ben Barnes	\$288,500	3.1	96.9
7	James Boland	\$279,832	95.7	4.3
8	James and Camille Bares Massie	\$266,183	52.6	47.4
9	Van Hipp Jr.	\$261,521	82.1	17.9
10	David Bockorny	\$257,927	100.0	0.0
11	Paul Magliocchetti	\$251,550	25.3	74.7
12	Gerald Cassidy	\$246,750	5.5	94.5
13	Frederick Graefe	\$228,742	16.8	83.2
14	G. Stewart Hall	\$225,460	98.2	1.8
15	Peter Madigan	\$225,200	99.3	0.7
16	Bruce Gates	\$225,061	100.0	0.0
17	Gary and Susan Auther Andres	\$222,547	100.0	0.0
18	Joel Jankowsky	\$221,970	0.0	100.0
19	Timothy Rupli	\$215,771	60.7	39.3
20	James Smith	\$214,020	92.1	7.9
21	Henry Gandy	\$203,062	100.0	0.0
22	William Lowery	\$200,839	99.5	0.5
23	Wayne Berman	\$194,700	100.0	0.0
24	Michael Herson	\$190,156	82.5	17.5
25	Daniel Meyer	\$188,733	100.0	0.0
26	Tom Loeffler	\$187,526	96.3	3.7
27	Steven Champlin	\$185,400	1.6	98.4
28	Gail and Jeffrey Mackinnon	\$184,220	98.1	1.9
29	John O'Rourke	\$182,478	87.8	12.2
30	Jack Abramoff	\$180,503	100.0	0.0
31	Jack Valenti	\$178,250	44.5	55.5
32	Bob and Kate Moss	\$175,669	5.0	95.0
33	Bill Paxon and Susan Molinari	\$173,707	100.0	0.0
34	Jeffrey Walter	\$172,928	100.0	0.0
35	Lisa and Wright Andrews	\$171,506	37.8	62.2
36	Richard and Letitia White	\$171,499	83.2	16.8
37	Vic and Judy Fazio	\$170,562	0.6	99.4
38	Mark Magliocchetti	\$168,250	26.7	73.3
39	Kevin Kelly	\$165,346	43.9	56.1
40	John Raffaelli	\$165,243	22.4	77.6
41	Robert Thompson	\$164,455	80.8	19.2
42	Ronald and Susan Platt	\$161,587	6.3	93.7
43	Richard Ladd	\$161,000	79.3	20.7
44	E Del Smith	\$160,699	71.2	28.8
45	Richard and Deborah Hohlt	\$159,325	96.9	3.1
46	Thomas Petrizzo	\$158,646	97.8	2.2
47	Roy Pfautch	\$157,700	99.7	0.3
48	Robert Hurt	\$156,600	85.8	14.2
49	John Green	\$155,750	96.1	3.9
50	Thomas Davis	\$153,211	75.0	25.0
--	Total	\$10,355,805	66.4	33.6
		\$207,116 (average)		

**Figure 11: Top Lobbyist Households Giving at Least 40 Percent to Each Party**

Lobbyist	Pct. To Democrats	Pct. to Republicans	Total Given
Denny and Sandra Burgess Miller*	51.9	48.1	\$293,203
James and Camille Bares Massie*	47.4	52.6	\$266,183
Jack Valenti	55.5	44.5	\$178,250
Kevin Kelly	56.1	43.9	\$165,364
Eric Hanson	41.4	58.6	\$147,500
Cliff Madison	45.6	54.4	\$141,650
Linda and Richard Tarplin*	53.4	46.6	\$134,257
Robert Mills	42.2	57.8	\$131,693
Nicholas Cavarocchi	57.0	43.0	\$127,788
Marshall Brachman	47.5	52.5	\$126,950
Patrick Williams	57.8	42.2	\$122,750
David Turch	48.9	51.1	\$114,419
John Montgomery	41.7	58.3	\$113,526
Kaylene Green	55.1	44.9	\$104,168
Robert Glennon	58.7	41.3	\$103,219
Vincent Versage	53.9	46.1	\$97,666
D. Michael Murray	50.7	49.3	\$88,272
Elizabeth Robbins	59.5	40.5	\$87,554
Thomas Van Coverden	51.0	49.0	\$76,900
John Brimsek	47.7	52.3	\$76,550
Marilyn Berry Thompson	58.4	41.6	\$75,891
William Roberts	52.8	47.2	\$75,879
George Vradenburg	58.1	41.9	\$74,500
Robert Harris	42.0	58.0	\$74,031
William Millar	56.5	43.5	\$71,830
Jeanne Campbell	42.6	57.4	\$70,957
W Roger Gwinn	47.1	52.9	\$70,907
William Ferguson Jr.	50.5	49.5	\$64,700
Jan Schoonmaker	53.2	46.8	\$63,733
Emily and Rhod Shaw*	44.6	55.4	\$63,355
Alicia Smith	58.8	41.2	\$63,047
Robert Belair	42.9	57.1	\$62,156
Dale Dirks	53.0	47.0	\$61,200
John Rogers	48.1	51.9	\$60,380
Hector Alcalde	56.2	43.8	\$59,531
William McClure	45.1	54.9	\$58,299
Marty Alford	46.2	53.8	\$55,700
Joseph Raeder	47.3	52.7	\$53,104

\* The methodology employed in this study calculates contributions by household, not by individual. Some couples may have split their contributions along party lines. This appeared to be the case for the Tarplins but not for the Millers, Massies or Shaws.

## Trade Association Chiefs Are Typically Not Big Givers

In February 2006, the *National Journal* identified 48 heads of trade associations who earned more than a million dollars in salary and other benefits for the most recently completed year for which data was available. Of these, 22 have registered as lobbyists with the secretary of the Senate.<sup>4</sup>

While the majority of the lobbyists – 13 out of 22 – were among the 6.1 percent of registered lobbyists who have given \$10,000 or more to members of Congress since 1998, the trade association officers were not, on the whole, among the most generous donors. Only two rank among the top 300 lobbyist-contributors to Congress, and one of them is retired. [See Figure 12]

**Figure 12: Contributions By Trade Association Leaders Who Are Lobbyists**

Trade Association Lobbyist	Trade Association	Compensation (inc. Benefits)	Contributions to Members	Rank Among Lobbyist Contributors to Congress
Jack Valenti*	Motion Picture Association of America	\$11,081,112	\$178,250	31
Mitch Bainwol	Recording Industry Assoc. of America	\$1,345,984	\$62,341	297
Red Cavaney	American Petroleum Institute	\$1,358,219	\$50,750	365
Alan F. Holmer*	PhRMA	\$1,007,759	\$47,350	405
Karen Ignagni	America's Health Insurance Plans	\$1,236,422	\$20,500	911 (tie)
Craig Fuller*	National Assoc. of Chain Drug Stores	\$3,125,567	\$18,505	997
James May	Air Transport Association of America	\$1,960,629	\$18,500	998 (tie)
Jack N. Gerard*	National Mining Association	\$1,077,710	\$17,106	1,074
Thomas Donohue	Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A.	\$6,784,945	\$14,750	1,204 (tie)
Carl Feldbaum*	Biotechnology Industry Organization	\$1,296,716	\$12,550	1,366 (tie)
Pamela G. Bailey*	Advanced Medical Technology Assoc.	\$1,134,394	\$12,500	1,369 (tie)
David N. Parker	American Gas Association	\$1,278,752	\$10,750	1,499 (tie)
Marc E. Lackritz	Securities Industry Association	\$1,093,496	\$10,600	1,519 (tie)
John J. Castellani	Business Roundtable	\$1,113,016	\$8,000	1,792 (tie)
Frank Fahrenkopf Jr.	American Gaming Association	\$1,256,652	\$6,250	2,072 (tie)
Edward O. Fritts*	National Association of Broadcasters	\$1,200,238	\$4,500	2,487 (tie)
Edward R. Hamberger	Association of American Railroads	\$1,064,529	\$2,800	3,198 (tie)
Frank A. Keating	American Council of Life Insurers	\$1,218,941	\$2,000	3,631 (tie)
Thomas R. Kuhn	Edison Electric Institute	\$1,331,584	\$1,250	4,371 (tie)
Robert Sachs*	Nat'l Cable & Telecom Association	\$1,653,473	\$1,000	4,628 (tie)
Steve Largent	CTIA – the Wireless Association	\$1,158,883	\$1,000	4,628 (tie)
Walter McCormick	United States Telecom Association	\$1,875,504	\$500	5,560 (tie)

\* No longer in position



## Contributions by Lobbyists Subsequently Convicted of Felonies

The past two years have been witness to a steady stream of influence peddling investigations. At least four registered lobbyists have been convicted of felonies: former powerhouse lobbyist Jack Abramoff; Tony Rudy, former deputy chief of staff to Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas); Michael Scanlon, former spokesman for DeLay; and Neil Volz, former chief of staff to Rep. Bob Ney (R-Ohio).<sup>5</sup> The amounts they have contributed to members of Congress have varied widely. [See Figure 13]

**Figure 13: Contributions of Lobbyist-Felons**

Member of Congress	Rank Among Lobbyist-Contributors to Congress	Amount
Jack Abramoff	30	\$180,503
Tony Rudy	251	\$69,740
Neil Volz	899	\$20,785
Michael Scanlon	2,120	\$6,000

## Some Former Members Give Significantly to Current Members

Many members of Congress become lobbyists after leaving office. A Public Citizen study released in July 2005 found that more than 43 percent of members leaving Congress since 1998 subsequently became lobbyists.<sup>6</sup>

Of these, eleven have contributed at least \$100,000 to their former colleagues. This calculation includes the combined contributions of former representatives Susan Molinari and Bill Paxon (both R-N.Y.), who are married. [See Figure 14]

**Figure 14: Former Members of Congress-Turned-Lobbyists**

Member of Congress	Rank Among Lobbyist-Contributors to Congress	Amount
Rep. William Lowery (R-Calif.)	22	\$200,839
Rep Vic Fazio (D-Calif.)	37	\$170,562
Reps. Susan Molinari and Bill Paxon (R-N.Y.)	33	\$173,707
Rep. Thomas Downey (D-N.Y.)	53	\$149,540
Sen. Dennis DeConcini (R-Ariz.)	75	\$128,380
Rep. Tom Loeffler (R-Texas)	26	\$187,526
Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Texas)	65	\$137,300
Rep. Bill Brewster (D-Okla.)	97	\$115,236
Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kansas)	115	\$104,600
Rep. Raymond Kogovsek (D-Colo.)	110	\$108,850
Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.)	127	\$102,100
Total	--	\$1,578,640

## Many Big Donor Lobbyists Are Big Bundlers

Of the 132 lobbyists who have given at least \$100,000 to members of Congress since 1998, nine were designated as “Rangers” or “Pioneers” by George W. Bush in his 2004 presidential campaign, signifying that they raised at least \$100,000 for Bush by soliciting contributions from others. Three of these raised at least \$100,000 for Bush in 2000, as well. These lobbyists have given \$1.7 million to members of Congress since 1998. [See Figure 15]

Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) mimicked Bush’s technique of bestowing an honorary title upon his fundraisers in his 2004 presidential campaign. Of lobbyists who have personally contributed at least \$100,000 to members of Congress since 1998, three earned “Vice Chair” status by raising at least \$100,000 for Kerry’s presidential bid. [See Figure 16]

**Figure 15: Lobbyist Rangers and Pioneers Who Gave at Least \$100,000 to Members of Congress Since 1998**

Ranger/Pioneer*	Ranger/ Pioneer (Year)	Rank Among Lobbyist- Contributors to Congress	Total Contributed to Members of Congress
Kenneth Kies**	Pioneer (2004)	5	\$292,866
Wayne and Lea Berman	Pioneer (2000) Ranger (2004)	23	\$194,700
Tom and Nancy Loeffler	Pioneer (2000) Ranger (2004)	26	\$187,526
Jack A. Abramoff	Pioneer (2004)	30	\$180,503
Bill Paxon**	Pioneer (2000) Pioneer (2004)	33	\$173,707
Richard F. Hohlt	Ranger (2004)	45	\$159,325
Lanny Griffith	Ranger (2004)	74	\$130,346
Charlie and Judy Black	Pioneer (2004)	79	\$125,900
Shawn H. Smeallie	Pioneer (2004)	120	\$103,374
Total		--	\$1,548,247

\* Rangers raised at least \$200,000 for Bush in 2004. Pioneers raised at least \$100,000 for Bush in 2000 or 2004.

\*\* The contributions of Paxon and Kies to members of Congress include the contributions of their lobbyist spouses.

**Figure 16: \$100,000+ Lobbyist-Contributors Who Raised at Least \$100,000 for Kerry**

Kerry Bundler	Rank Among Lobbyist- Contributors to Congress	Total Contributed to Members of Congress
Ben Barnes	6	\$288,500
James Johnson	95	\$115,809
John Merrigan	125	\$102,167
Total	--	\$506,476

## **Lobbyists' Contributions Are the Tip of the Iceberg**

The campaign contributions lobbyists make from their own checkbooks are just a fraction of the contributions they make to members of Congress. Lobbyists play a far more significant role in funding lawmakers by coordinating fundraisers and arranging for contributions from others, often their clients.

No comprehensive data exists on the sum of money lobbyists have been able to funnel to lawmakers. But anecdotal information suggests that the amount may equal 10 times their personal contributions – and, perhaps, more.

- Former Freddie Mac lobbyist Mitchell Delk contributed \$41,950 to members of Congress from 1998 through 2006, ranking him No. 454 among lobbyist-contributors. But a news report on Freddie Mac's agreement in April 2006 to pay the FEC a record \$3.8 million fine to settle charges that the company made illegal campaign contributions cited a document in which Delk claimed he had held more than 75 events for members of the House Financial Services Committee from 2000-2003. Delk claimed those events had raised nearly \$3 million.<sup>7</sup>
- Disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff contributed \$180,503 to members of Congress from 1998 through 2006. That's a healthy sum that places him 30th among lobbyist-contributors. But it's hardly a measure of his true influence. Abramoff's personal contributions represent only 7 percent of the \$2.6 million that he and his clients funneled to members of Congress and congressional candidates between 1997 and the end of 2004, according to an analysis by CRP. (Note: the CRP calculation covers a slightly different time period than that covered in this study and also includes contributions to candidates who are not in Congress, which this study does not.)
- In 1996, the lobbyist couple Denny and Sandra Miller hosted a pair of fundraisers for Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska). The total the Millers could have contributed under campaign finance law at the time was \$4,000. The fundraisers raked in \$160,000 for Stevens.<sup>8</sup>
- Bush and Kerry were only permitted to accept \$2,000 per person in the 2004 presidential campaign. Yet, 12 lobbyists who gave more than \$100,000 to members of Congress since 1998 were able to raise at least \$100,000 each for Bush or Kerry in 2004, and four were able to funnel at least \$200,000 into Bush's coffers – at least 100 times as much as they were permitted to contribute personally.

Some lawmakers are alert to the appearance of impropriety that lobbyists' fundraising efforts can present. In January 2006, as the Jack Abramoff scandal continued to expand, Rep. Ray LaHood (R-Ill.) sent a letter to 23 lobbyists alerting them that he would no longer avail himself of their fundraising services.<sup>9</sup>

“In the past, we have asked each of you to sponsor an event and commit to raise money on my behalf,” LaHood wrote. “I believe this could be perceived as a special relationship, and I am confident all of us want to avoid this perception.”<sup>10</sup>

LaHood's confidence was not entirely well placed. "I just want to wake up and have this nightmare be over," one lobbyist-recipient of the letter said, referring to the reform spirit that had briefly swept the capital.<sup>11</sup>

## Section II: Profiles of the Top Ten Lobbyist-Contributors

### 1. Stewart Van Scoyoc

#### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Van Scoyoc Associates	1998-2005
Capitol Decisions	2000-2005
Van Scoyoc Kelly	2002-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

#### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$252,038	74.3
Democrats	\$87,094	24.7
Total	\$339,132	--

#### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Computer Sciences Corp.	\$3,000,000
Coalition Of EPSCoR States	\$2,120,000
Raytheon Systems Corp.	\$1,820,000
University Of Alabama System	\$1,460,000
Federal Home Loan Bank, San Fran.	\$1,420,000
Aluminum Co Of America (ALCOA)	\$1,260,000
Anheuser-Busch Cos.	\$1,400,000
Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp.	\$1,360,000
Wackenhut Services	\$1,260,000
University Of New Orleans Fndtn.	\$1,220,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Van Scoyoc represented client.

#### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)	\$28,000
Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.)	\$22,000
Rep. Pete Visclosky (D-Ind.)	\$20,000
Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.)	\$12,750
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$12,500
Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)	\$11,000
Sen. Thad Cochran (R-Miss.)	\$8,500
Rep. C. W. Bill Young (R-Fla.)	\$7,907
Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$7,000
Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D)	\$6,950

In 1990, H. Stewart (Stu) Van Scoyoc founded Van Scoyoc Associates, along with two other people. The firm now consists of 90 professionals and represents more than 300 clients, according to claims on its Web site.<sup>12</sup> Van Scoyoc Associates posted the fourth-highest revenue among federally registered lobbying firms in the first six months of 2005, the most recent six-month period for which complete data is available.<sup>13</sup>

Van Scoyoc started the firm with a focus on appropriations and taxation, and the firm has continued to specialize in spending matters, particularly in procuring earmarks for clients.<sup>14</sup> Six of the top 10 congressional recipients of Van Scoyoc's contributions since 1998 currently serve on House or Senate appropriations committees, including Senate Appropriations Committee Chair Thad Cochran (R-Miss.). Van Scoyoc Associates counts more than 50 universities among its clients.

Van Scoyoc Associates is so deeply embedded in the Washington fundraising infrastructure that it actually provides some of the infrastructure. The firm leases out a special room in its offices, with a view of the Capitol dome, for fundraising events.<sup>15</sup>

Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.), the top recipient of Van Scoyoc's contributions, is a member of the Appropriations Committee and in 2005 took over as chairman of its Commerce, Justice and Science Appropriations Subcommittee, a traditional source of earmarks for universities. The University of Alabama System has paid Van Scoyoc Associates nearly \$1.5 million since 1998.<sup>16</sup> The system has received nearly \$150 million in earmarks since 1999, including at least \$42.5 million toward a biomedical research center, which has been named after Shelby.<sup>17</sup>

The university system's success in receiving appropriations in fiscal year 2006 apparently rested on Shelby's chairmanship of the subcommittee. The university's effort to procure funding in the appropriations bill for labor, health and human services, and education programs fell through when earmarks, under increased public scrutiny, were barred from the legislation.<sup>18</sup> But the ban on earmarks evidently didn't apply to every bill produced by the Appropriations Committee. The University of Alabama System was able to get a \$50 million earmark inserted into the bill handled by Shelby's subcommittee, including \$20 million for the biomedical research center.<sup>19</sup>

Van Scoyoc's handiwork has shown up elsewhere in Washington's laws and appropriations:

- In 2003, the Alabama resort city of Orange Beach hired Van Scoyoc's firm to lobby for federal funds. Ray Cole, a Van Scoyoc Associates lobbyist and former top aide to Shelby, handled the account. Orange Beach is paying the firm \$60,000 a year. City officials credit Cole with obtaining \$3.4 million in earmarks.<sup>20</sup> Cole, who has contributed \$80,500 to members of Congress since 1998, was named a "Ranger" by President Bush's 2004 reelection campaign, signifying that he raised at least \$200,000 for Bush.<sup>21</sup>
- Lobbyists for the city of San Antonio were surprised to learn in March 2006 that the House Science, State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriations Subcommittee had been asked for earmarks totaling \$1.3 million to buy surveillance and mobile license plate detection equipment for the city police department. The request, it turned out, was made by Van Scoyoc Associates' lobbyists Brian Prende, Andre Hollis and Stewart Van Scoyoc, who lobby for the manufacturer of the equipment, Remington ELSAG Law Enforcement Systems. The "Funding Request Form" said the "San Antonio Police Department" was the "actual recipient name." The funding request did not disclose that Remington was a client of Van Scoyoc Associates.<sup>22</sup>
- In June 2003, Reveal Imaging Technologies Inc. – a small Massachusetts start-up specializing in explosives detection equipment – hired Van Scoyoc Associates. Three months later, the firm scored a \$2.4 million Transportation Security Administration grant to study how to develop smaller explosives-detection machines for use in airports. In October 2003, Van Scoyoc Associates hosted a fundraiser for Rep. Harold Rogers (R-Ky.), chair of the Appropriations Homeland Security Subcommittee. Eight days later, Rogers' leadership PAC reported contributions totaling \$14,000 from five Reveal executives, five Reveal directors and a lobbyist. (The lobbyist was not Van Scoyoc, who

had contributed \$2,000 to Rogers in July of that year.) Reveal “executives and associates” eventually contributed \$122,111 to Rogers.<sup>23</sup> By March 2006, Reveal had received \$28.1 million in orders from the TSA.<sup>24</sup>

- The Lincoln Group hired Van Scoyoc Associates in the summer of 2005. That same summer, Lincoln was one of three companies hired “at up to \$100 million over five years, to help special operations forces develop media programs around the world,” according to the *Washington Post*. The firm subsequently won a \$20 million contract to advertise in Iraq’s Anbar province in the run-up to national elections there. The Lincoln Group was the subject of headlines in November 2005, when the *Los Angeles Times* reported that it had helped translate news stories written by the U.S. military and secretly paid Iraqi papers to publish them.<sup>25</sup>

Van Scoyoc Associates’ role in winning appropriations for the Lincoln Group is not clear. The Lincoln Group has said it used lobbying groups to communicate its story in Congress after winning a share of the large special operations contract. But the lobbying registration form filed by Van Scoyoc Associates said the firm’s role would be to lobby on “appropriations regarding information operations.”<sup>26</sup>

## 2. Dan Mattoon

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
BellSouth Corp.	1998-2000
PodestaMattoon	2001-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$289,559	95.9
Democrats	\$12,500	4.1
Total	\$302,059	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Science Coalition	\$2,600,000
Altria Group Inc.	\$1,740,000
Qualcomm Inc.	\$1,600,000
Cingular Wireless	\$1,480,000
Lockheed Martin Corp.	\$1,380,000
United To Secure America	\$1,340,000
Children's National Medical Center	\$1,320,000
PhRMA	\$1,170,000
Amgen	\$1,020,000
Investment Co. Institute	\$1,020,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Mattoon represented client. Clients listed do not include BellSouth, for which Mattoon worked as an in-house lobbyist from 1998-2000.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$38,250
Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.)	\$29,250
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$20,500
Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$14,000
Rep. John Doolittle (R-Calif.)	\$11,500
Rep. Jerry Weller (R-Ill.)	\$10,500
Rep. Tom Davis (R-N.D.)	\$10,212
Rep. Joe Barton (R-Texas)	\$8,250
Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)*	\$7,500
Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)	\$7,250
Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-La.)**	\$7,250

\* Congressional service began in 2001  
 \*\* Congressional service ended in 2004

Dan Mattoon is a principal in the 18-year-old firm of PodestaMattoon, which describes itself as a “bipartisan government relations and public affairs” firm.<sup>27</sup> Mattoon’s online biography says he has worked with Republican representatives for over 30 years. He is a close friend of House Speaker Dennis J. Hastert (R-Ill.)<sup>28</sup> At Hastert’s request, Mattoon left BellSouth, where he had been vice president of congressional affairs for 15 years, to help run the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) and help the GOP retain control of the House in 2000.<sup>29</sup> Mattoon’s biography says, “for more than 30 years, he has provided political and strategic legislative counsel to House Republican members, and is a trusted advisor to many of the Washington political elite, including Speaker Hastert, House Majority Whip Blunt, House Republican Conference Chairwoman Pryce, and NRCC Chairman Reynolds.”<sup>30</sup> Each of the four is among the top 10 congressional recipients of campaign contributions from Mattoon. Mattoon also hired Joshua Hastert, the speaker’s son, as a lobbyist.<sup>31</sup> Mattoon’s wife, Jane, once served as treasurer of Hastert’s leadership Political Action Committee.<sup>32</sup>

Mattoon was involved in a Republican effort to wring more money out of lobbyists for Republican candidates. He was one of a small group of lobbyists who met with then-House



Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas) at a dinner hosted by now-disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff at Abramoff's Signatures restaurant in January 2004 to discuss the issue. "There has been a concern that not enough folks who are out there making money based on their relation to the Hill are giving enough of their own money to the Republican Party," a GOP aide said of the initiative to gin up more lobbyist contributions to Republican lawmakers.<sup>33</sup>

While the deputy director of the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) in 1999, Mattoon seems to have been involved in a decision to transfer \$500,000 from the NRCC to the U.S. Family Network, a 501(c)(4) group that operated in the same Capitol Hill townhouse as the political action committees of House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas) and Majority Whip Roy Blunt (R-Mo.).<sup>34</sup>

Mattoon said the transfer was made because of the ties former DeLay Chief of Staff Ed Buckham had to the group, and with the expectation that the money would be used to aid Republicans in the 2000 elections. "The Family Network is a group that based on our view of Ed Buckham's strengths in the family community and his political strengths will have an equally important impact in the elections, favorably for Republicans," Mattoon said.<sup>35</sup>

In 2004, the FEC fined the NRCC \$280,000 for its transfer of the \$500,000 and the subsequent use of the money to finance ads attacking vulnerable Democrats.<sup>36</sup>

After DeLay announced plans to resign from Congress, Mattoon continued to praise him, calling him "one of the founding fathers of the Republican majority in the House," and saying that, "Tom has a strong legacy that he should be proud of."<sup>37</sup>

PodestaMattoon's top-paying client since 1998 has been The Science Coalition, which represents 60 universities. The Coalition has paid \$2.6 million for the firm's services since 2001. The Coalition periodically honors members of Congress, typically those serving on appropriations committees, such as Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.) and former Rep. Randy "Duke" Cunningham, upon whom the Coalition bestowed its "Champion of Science" award in 2004.<sup>38</sup> Cunningham has subsequently pleaded guilty to accepting \$2.4 million in bribes from contractors and is serving an eight-year prison sentence.<sup>39</sup>

The University of California system, a member of the Coalition, received more than \$3.7 million in earmarks in 2005.<sup>40</sup>

### 3. Michael Berman

#### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Duberstein Group	1998-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

#### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$0	0
Democrats	\$297,961	100
Total	\$297,961	--

#### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Americas Health Insurance Plans	\$1,900,000
Business Roundtable	\$1,520,000
United Airlines	\$1,280,000
Time Warner	\$1,260,000
American Apparel & Footwear Assn.	\$1,220,000
Direct Marketing Assn.	\$920,000
American Gaming Assn.	\$860,000
General Motors	\$856,000
Goldman Sachs & Co.	\$840,000
American Council Of Life Insurance	\$800,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Berman represented client.

#### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.)*	\$27,000
Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.)**	\$18,000
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$17,499
Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)	\$17,000
Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$14,500
Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-Conn.)	\$14,500
Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.)*	\$13,500
Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.)	\$11,250
Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif.)	\$9,500
Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.)	\$8,000
Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.)	\$8,000
Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.)**	\$8,000

\*Congressional service ended in 2004

\*\* Congressional service began in 2001

Michael Berman embodies what it means to be a Washington insider. He has worked on every Democratic presidential campaign since 1964 and served as Vice President Walter Mondale's counsel and deputy chief of staff.<sup>41</sup> He has acted as scheduler for six Democratic conventions, and by dint of being on the "special access list" during the Clinton years, was given virtually unrestricted access to the White House.<sup>42</sup>

Berman was a regular attendee of K Street breakfasts hosted by former Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) in the late 1980s. The regular attendees of the breakfasts eventually came to comprise the advisory board of Daschle's political action committee, DASHPAC.<sup>43</sup> Berman also served as one of Hillary Clinton's closest advisors in the late 1990s, while Clinton contemplated her options after the end of President Clinton's term.<sup>44</sup> Daschle and Clinton rank No. 1 and No. 2 on the list of congressional recipients of Berman's contributions since 1998, even though neither has been in office for the entire time period studied. (Daschle was defeated in 2004; Clinton was not

elected until 2000, and this study does not capture contributions she received in her inaugural run because she was not yet a member of Congress.)

#### 4. Denny and Sandra Miller

##### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Denny Miller Associates (Denny Miller)	1998-2006
Denny Miller Associates (Sandra Miller)	1998- 2000

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

##### Contributions to Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$141,010	48.1
Democrats	\$152,193	51.9
Total	\$293,203	--

##### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Boeing Co. (Denny and Sandra Miller)	\$1,040,000
Todd Pacific Shipyards Corp. (Denny and Sandra Miller)	\$620,000
General Dynamics (Denny and Sandra Miller)	\$600,000
Northrop Grumman Corp. (Denny Miller)	\$560,000
Alaska Air Group (Denny Miller)	\$560,000
Sound Transit (Denny and Sandra Miller)	\$520,000
Olin Corporation (Denny and Sandra Miller)	\$500,000
Port Of Tacoma (Denny Miller)	\$440,000
Precision Aerospace Corp. (Denny Miller)	\$440,000
Ramgen Power Systems (Denny Miller)	\$400,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Denny or Sandra Miller represented client.

##### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.)	\$32,500
Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska.)	\$25,000
Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.)	\$20,000
Rep. Adam Smith (D-Wash.)	\$17,500
Rep. Ike Skelton (D-Mo.)	\$15,800
Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.)	\$12,500
Rep. Norm Dicks (D-Wash.)	\$11,850
Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)	\$10,500
Rep. C.W. Bill Young (R-Fla.)	\$10,000
Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.)*	\$9,635

\*Congressional service began in 2001

Miller, a former chief of staff to Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D-Wash.), is a bipartisan contributor who has tapped bipartisan connections on behalf of his clients. His firm, Denny Miller Associates, advertises itself as a "government relations consulting firm" that has been delivering "legislative victories and solutions to our clients for over twenty years."<sup>45</sup>

One of the firm's near victories centered on the \$30 billion proposal for the military to lease air refueling tankers from the Boeing Co., which has paid Denny Miller Associates more than \$1 million in fees since 1998, more than any other Miller client.<sup>46</sup> Miller and an in-house lobbyist for Boeing helped negotiate the lease language, according to a *New York Times* article published in late 2001, before the bloom came off the Boeing deal.<sup>47</sup>

The tanker proposal eventually crashed amid revelations that 1) it would cost the government more to lease the planes than to purchase them outright, 2) the military didn't truly need the

planes and 3) the procedure used in negotiating the deal was rife with violations. The near deal has achieved ignominy as one of the worst procurement abuses in recent decades and has resulted in prison sentences for a Boeing executive and a Pentagon official.<sup>48</sup>

To garner lawmakers' support for the deal, Boeing relied on the congressional delegations from Washington state and Missouri, the two states in which the planes would be assembled, and from Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), who was the ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee. When skepticism arose among certain members in the House, Boeing CEO Phil Condit accompanied Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.) on visits to Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.) and to Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.).<sup>49</sup>

This select group of lawmakers accounts for three of the top six congressional recipients of the Millers' campaign contributions since 1998. Stevens is No. 2, at \$25,000; Murray is No. 3, at \$20,000; and Lewis is No. 6 at \$12,500.

Miller appears to have a particularly close relationship with Stevens. He and wife Sandra Burgess Miller, who has also served as a lobbyist for Denny Miller Associates, hosted a pair of fundraisers in 1996 for Stevens that raised a total of \$160,000 in less than four hours. Among the 200 attendees were "various Boeing executives who each contributed \$1,000 to the Stevens campaign."<sup>50</sup>

In 2004, Miller landed on the 14-person steering committee of the newly minted Ted Stevens Foundation. He was joined on the committee by 13 other registered lobbyists. The foundation's inaugural fundraiser vacuumed up \$2 million.<sup>51</sup>

Seven of the 10 top recipients of Miller's congressional contributions since 1998 currently sit on House or Senate appropriations committees: Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.), Stevens, Murray, Lewis, Rep. Norm Dicks (D-Wash.), Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Rep. C.W. Bill Young (R-Fla.).

## 5. Kenneth and Kathleen Kies

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Clark Consulting Federal Policy Group (Kenneth Kies)	2002-2005
PriceWaterhouseCoopers (Kenneth Kies)	1998-2002
Teco Energy (Kenneth Kies)	2000
Collier Shannon Scott (Kathleen Kies)	1998-2003

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$268,616	91.7
Democrats	\$24,250	8.3
Total	\$292,866	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
General Electric Co. (Kenneth Kies)	\$5,380,000
PriceWaterhouseCoopers (Kenneth Kies)	\$4,860,000
FSC 2000 Coalition (Kenneth Kies)	\$2,840,000
Council For Energy Independence (Kenneth Kies)	\$2,380,000
PWC Leasing Coalition (Kenneth Kies)	\$2,360,000
Bank Of America (Kenneth Kies)	\$1,980,000
Contract Manufacturing Coalition (Kenneth Kies)	\$1,960,000
Starwood Hotel & Resorts Worldwide (Kenneth Kies)	\$1,700,000
Goldman Sachs (Kenneth Kies)	\$1,600,000
Structured Finance Coalition (Kenneth Kies)	\$1,500,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Kenneth or Kathleen Kies represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$40,500
Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.)	\$25,999
Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.)*	\$24,876
Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$22,500
Sen. Judd Gregg (R-N.H.)	\$10,565
Rep. Clay Shaw (R-Fla.)	\$10,000
Rep. George Nethercutt (R-Wash.)	\$8,500
Sen. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.)	\$8,500
Rep. Mark Foley (R-Fla.)	\$8,000
Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.)	\$8,000

\*Congressional service ended in 2004

Kenneth Kies, who served as the chief of staff of the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation from January 1995 until January 1998, has been widely celebrated for his effectiveness. In 2000, the lobbying trade magazine *Influence* named him “Washington’s best tax lobbyist,” and the now-defunct magazine *Regardies* included him in its list of the “100 most powerful people” in private sector Washington. In 1998, the Tax Executives Institute gave Kies its Distinguished Service Award, and in 1997 Kies was named one of the three “most dangerous” bureaucrats in the country by *Fortune* and one of the most powerful staffers on Capitol Hill by *Roll Call*.<sup>52</sup>

Kies was one of six people invited to sit at the table during the five-day, final negotiations on the Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997. The other five participants were Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.), Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, White House Deputy Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles, and White House legislative liaison John Hilley.<sup>53</sup> Kies was also one of four private sector co-moderators at President Clinton's White House Conference on Social Security, a faculty member at the Committee on Ways and Means 1993 retreat on tax policy, and co-chaired the Committee on Ways and Means 1996 retreat on tax reform.<sup>54</sup>

The Web site of Clark Consulting Group includes more than 25 publications that Kies has authored. The Web site also notes that Kies has completed eight marathons, including the Boston Marathon.<sup>55</sup>

In recent years, Kies has used his remarkable skill and motivation to lobby Congress and the IRS to retain a tax credit that costs the Treasury an estimated \$1 billion to \$4 billion a year and appears to serve no public policy purpose other than enriching the businesses that exploit it.<sup>56</sup> It's called the synfuel tax credit, and it stems from a 1980 law created by Congress as an incentive to use coal and other fossil fuels to create synthetic natural gas and oil as alternatives to foreign sources of energy.<sup>57</sup> But tax sleuths eventually figured out that the law's loose definition of synthetic fuels could be exploited to claim massive tax credits for producing products that barely differed from conventional fuels.<sup>58</sup>

By 2006, opportunistic companies – including the hotel chain Marriott and retail electronics chain Rex Stores Corp. – had created 55 plants that were fashioning synfuel by such means as spraying regular coal with diesel fuel, pine-tar resin, limestone or various other substances. Industry critics call the practice “spray and pray,” the prayer being that the IRS doesn't conduct an audit that results in an unfavorable ruling. *Time*, which has published a pair of exposés on synfuel, estimated that the tax credit cost the Treasury \$9 billion from 2003 to 2005.<sup>59</sup>

In 2005, a bill was introduced in the House that would have virtually eliminated the tax credit, but it never made it out of the Ways and Means Committee. The chief lobbying entity on this issue has been the Council for Energy Independence (CEI), which has paid Clark Consulting and another lobbying firm for which Kies previously worked nearly \$2.4 million since 2002. Kies serves as the director of the CEI.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile, CEI member General Electric Co. has paid Kies' firms nearly \$5.4 million in lobbying fees since 1998.<sup>61</sup>

The rise in fuel prices in 2005 threatened to undermine the synfuel boondoggle. The law creating the tax credit called for it to be phased out as the price of crude oil rose, on the theory that the subsidy would not be necessary if conventional fuels lost their cost advantage.<sup>62</sup>

Congress tried to come to the rescue. The Tax Relief Act of 2005, which provided aid to Hurricane Katrina victims, included a clause that pegged the synfuel tax credit to oil prices as they stood in 2004, guaranteeing that synfuel producers would be able to claim the maximum credit, regardless of how high the price of crude oil rose.<sup>63</sup> A Senate Finance Committee staffer said in an e-mail to a reporter that the clause had been authored by Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) and was accepted by Finance Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley without a committee vote

because it was not controversial. Santorum's political committees have received more than \$200,000 since 2000 from companies involved in synfuel production.<sup>64</sup>

The clause sailed through the Senate with no discussion. *Time* speculated that most lawmakers never knew it was in the bill.<sup>65</sup> But, because similar language was not included in the House bill, its fate rested on the budget reconciliation process. The provision was pulled from a compromise reached in early May 2006, but a Senate aide said it could re-emerge in a "trailer" bill.<sup>66</sup>

Synfuel has been on the ropes before. In July 2003, the IRS announced that it was investigating the legitimacy of synfuel tax credits – putting several years of certain companies' past profits in jeopardy – and was putting a moratorium on synfuel "private letter rulings," which serve as endorsements of companies' practices and make their synfuel operations marketable for sale.<sup>67</sup>

The same month, House Ways and Means Select Measures Subcommittee Chairman Jim McCrery (R-La.) was one of eight Ways and Means Committee members who signed a letter to Treasury Secretary John Snow asking him to withdraw the announcement questioning the use of the synfuel tax credit and to resume issuing "private letter rulings."<sup>68</sup> In September 2003, McCrery met with the IRS acting chief counsel and the Treasury Department's top tax official, prevailing on them to drop their threatened crackdown on the tax credit. In October of that year, the IRS called off the investigation and gave companies a green light to claim the tax break. An IRS lawyer who has worked on the synfuel issue said the IRS decision "smells to high heaven," and complained that the IRS had given companies "the keys to the Treasury."<sup>69</sup>

Since 1998, Kies' contributions to McCrery have totaled \$40,500, the most he has given to any member of Congress.

Kies has acknowledged the expectation lobbyists face to funnel money to lawmakers in exchange for "credit." Such credit was easier to come by before the ban on soft money contributions came into effect in 2003. "Lobbyists who never actually pulled out their own checkbooks could claim credit for their clients' soft money," he said.<sup>70</sup>

Kies was named a "Pioneer" by President Bush's 2004 reelection campaign, signifying that he raised more than \$100,000 for Bush.<sup>71</sup>



## 6. Ben Barnes

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Ben Barnes	1998-2005
Huntsman Corp.	2003-2004

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$9,000	3.1
Democrats	\$279,500	96.9
Total	\$288,500	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Longhorn Pipeline	\$1,887,000
Laredo National Bank	\$1,815,000
Bridgestone-Firestone	\$1,600,000
Freddie Mac	\$1,350,000
American Airlines	\$1,200,000
Stanford Financial	\$650,000
Eagle Global Logistics	\$550,000
Reaud, Wayne	\$503,400
Lakin Law Firm	\$360,000
SBC Telecommunications	\$240,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Barnes represented client. Lobbying expenditures of Huntsman Corp., for which Barnes has served as an in-house lobbyist, are not included

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.)*	\$33,000
Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.)	\$18,000
Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.)**	\$13,100
Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.)	\$13,000
Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.)	\$12,000
Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.)	\$12,000
Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$10,500
Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.)	\$10,000
Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.)	\$9,000
Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.)	\$9,000
Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.)	\$9,000
Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.)	\$9,000

\*Congressional service ended in 2004

\*\* Congressional service began in 2001

Ben Barnes was making quite a name for himself in Texas politics, winning a seat in the Texas House at age 22 and proceeding to become the state's youngest House speaker and lieutenant governor. Even Lyndon Johnson foresaw the presidency in Barnes' future, but the Sharpstown stock fraud scandal, deemed Texas' Watergate, ended his political career at age 34 in 1972. State officials were accused of making a quick profit on bank-financed stock purchases in exchange for passage of legislation wanted by the owner of an insurance company and the Sharpstown State Bank.<sup>72</sup> Barnes was not implicated in a crime, but a hearsay account that said he "takes only cash" was leaked, fatally wounding his 1972 bid for governor.<sup>73</sup> After a brief boom and bankruptcy in the real estate market, Barnes embarked on a lobbying career in the 1990s and went on to create an empire as president of the lobbying firm Entrecorp and of the Ben Barnes Group.<sup>74</sup> (Entrecorp has not listed Barnes as a lobbyist on its federal lobbying disclosures since 1998.)

Barnes soon re-entered the world of politics from this new angle and quickly became so influential that Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), who received \$33,000 from Barnes from 1998 to 2004, dubbed him an “ex-officio member” and “the fifty-first Democratic senator.”<sup>75</sup> Besides giving \$18,000 to Kerry senatorial political committees since 1998, Barnes raised \$100,000 for Kerry’s presidential campaign – and was rumored as a candidate for a cabinet post if Kerry won.<sup>76</sup>

Barnes is well known for his fundraising prowess, and he isn’t shy about admitting it. While organizing fundraisers in Texas, Barnes boasted “every Democratic senator who is running for reelection has been to Texas for a fundraiser. We’ve got one coming up for [Democratic South Dakota Senator] Tim Johnson.”<sup>77</sup>

Barnes’ donation of \$3,000 to the legal fund of Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.) during the summer of 1999 violated Senate ethics rules. Contributions from lobbyists to the legal expense funds of members of Congress are forbidden. After the Center for Public Integrity brought the issue to light in August 2005, Reid’s spokesperson claimed the senator was unaware of Barnes’ lobbyist status. A colleague of Barnes who spoke on his behalf claimed that Barnes was unaware of the rule, saying that he made the contribution “out of pure friendship.”<sup>78</sup> Barnes also has donated \$10,500 to Reid’s political committees.

Barnes’ name was back in the news in October 2005, during debate over Harriet Miers’ Supreme Court nomination, due to Barnes’ relationship with GTECH Corp., the main contractor of the Texas lottery. (From 1995 until 2000, Miers served as chairwoman of the Texas Lottery Commission.) A 1998 lawsuit by Lawrence Littwin, a Texas lottery executive director who had been fired in 1997, alleged that GTECH was allowed to retain its Texas lottery contract in exchange for Barnes’ silence over his role in helping George W. Bush gain entry into the National Guard to avoid service in Vietnam. Barnes served as a GTECH lobbyist from 1991 until 1997. Barnes had initially said he could not recall helping Bush, but later testified that he recommended Bush for a pilot position in the Air National Guard at the request of a Bush family friend.<sup>79</sup>

Barnes was well compensated for his Texas lottery lobbying work. Beyond his \$25,000 annual fee, the contract agreement awarded Barnes and his partner 3.5 cents for every lottery ticket sold, more than \$3 million a year, according to *Texas Monthly*. Under pressure from the lottery commission, GTECH severed its relationship with Barnes for a buyout price of \$23 million.<sup>80</sup>

Besides Barnes’ \$288,500 in contributions to members of Congress since 1998, he has contributed at least \$237,000 to state candidates in Texas since 2000.<sup>81</sup>

## 7. James E. Boland

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
James E. Boland	1998-2005
Rhoads Group	1998-2001
Sundquist Anthony	2003-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$267,732	95.7
Democrats	\$12,100	4.3
Total	\$279,832	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Freddie Mac	\$1,400,000
Waste Management	\$1,080,000
Merrill Lynch	\$705,000
Greater Columbus Chamber Of Commerce	\$630,000
O'Rourke, Law Offices Of John T. Limited	\$620,000
Reliant Energy	\$560,000
Morgan Stanley Dean Witter & Co.	\$520,000
College Of American Pathologists	\$300,000
Barton-Cotton	\$290,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Boland represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$38,255
Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$35,000
Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$26,500
Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio)	\$20,344
Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)	\$17,250
Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.)	\$12,000
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$11,683
Rep. Bob Ney (R-Ohio)	\$11,000
Rep. Rob Portman (R-Ohio)*	\$9,500
Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R-Ga.)	\$9,000

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

James Boland, a former deputy comptroller of the currency, lobbied through 2005 (the most recent year for which disclosure forms are available) for registrants James E. Boland and Sundquist Anthony.<sup>82</sup> Sundquist Anthony was formed in 2003. Its principals at founding were former Rep. and Gov. Don Sundquist (R-Tenn.), former Rep. Beryl Anthony (D-Ark.) and former Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.)<sup>83</sup>

Boland's firms have received \$1.4 million in lobbying fees since 2001 from Freddie Mac, a government sponsored enterprise (GSE) created by Congress to provide financing for the housing market. More than \$1.3 million of this money was paid to Boland's eponymous firm. Boland was the sole lobbyist in each reporting period for which the firm James E. Boland reported lobbying on behalf of Freddie Mac.<sup>84</sup>

Boland's reports on his activities on behalf of Freddie Mac are vague. His initial reports reported lobbying on "issues affecting government sponsored enterprises." More recently, his description of lobbying issues has been limited to "issues related to GSE's."<sup>85</sup>

Freddie Mac, and its cousin Fannie Mae, have been under fire from critics who contend they receive favorable treatment over competitors because their government backing amounts to a subsidy. In May 2005, Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan accused Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae of padding their profits with high-risk investments backed by government protection.<sup>86</sup>

Freddie Mac has faced other travails in recent years, largely stemming from its use of campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures as levers to secure favorable treatment:

- In early May 2006, Freddie Mac filed amended lobbying forms that added several lobbyists who had not been included in its original forms.<sup>87</sup>
- The firm agreed in April 2006 to settle allegations that it made illegal campaign contributions by paying the FEC a fine of \$3.8 million, dwarfing the commission's previous record fine of \$849,000. The investigation that led to the fine sprang from a 2003 complaint filed by Public Citizen that accused in-house Freddie Mac lobbyist Mitchell Delk, his wife Amanda, the Washington restaurant Galileo and a political consulting firm of making illegal political contributions.<sup>88</sup>
- Also in April, Freddie Mac agreed to pay \$410 million to settle class action lawsuits over accounting errors that led to a \$5 billion earnings restatement.<sup>89</sup>
- In March 2006, Sens. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) and John Sununu (R-N.H.) introduced an amendment to lobbying reform legislation citing a *Washington Post* report that Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae combined to spend \$23 million on lobbying in 2005 while Congress was considering legislation to tighten oversight of the companies. The amendment called on the Government Accountability Office (GAO) "to study the lobbying activities of GSEs to determine whether these activities further their statutory housing mission."<sup>90</sup> The amendment was ruled non-germane.

Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio), who has purview over Freddie Mac as the chair of the House Financial Services Committee, has been the No. 3 congressional recipient of contributions from Boland since 1998, receiving \$26,500. Delk, a central figure in the Freddie Mac campaign contribution scandal, wrote in his 2001 performance appraisal that Freddie Mac had held more than 40 fundraisers for Oxley. A news report on Freddie Mac's settlement of charges with the FEC in April 2006 cited a document in which Delk claimed he had held more than 75 events for members of House Financial Services Committee. Delk claimed the events had raised nearly \$3 million. Delk wrote "90 percent of [the] events were hosted by M. Delk to benefit Chairman Oxley."<sup>91</sup>

The Greater Columbus Chamber of Commerce has been another of Boland's major clients. The organization has paid Sundquist Anthony \$630,000 since 2003 for Boland and his colleagues to lobby on a single bill, the \$286.4 billion Transportation Equity Act of 2005, which included a whopping \$23 billion in earmarked funds and drew the wrath of Rep. Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.), who complained, "We were all offered at least \$14 million for our districts to spend however we wanted – and just try to relate it to transportation somehow."<sup>92</sup>

Some districts received more than \$14 million, including Ohio's 7th District, which skirts Columbus. The 7th received \$42.4 million in earmarks, according to Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio), who represents the district. These earmarks included \$30.4 million for an intermodal rail facility at Rickenbacker Airport that will increase freight capacity. In addition, Hobson worked with Ohio Republican Reps. Deborah Pryce and Pat Tiberi to bring in an additional \$90 million for the Heartland Corridor Project, which includes the Rickenbacker Airport project as a key component. Hobson also worked with Rep. Mike Oxley to secure \$528,000 for the Ohio Port Authority.<sup>93</sup>

Boland has donated \$20,344 to Hobson, \$17,250 to Pryce and \$26,500 to Oxley.

One of Boland's clients is among the most generous lobbyist-contributors. Boland has reported \$620,000 in lobbying revenue from the Law Offices of John T. O'Rourke. O'Rourke, a lobbyist, has contributed \$182,478 to members of Congress since 1998, placing him 29th, one spot ahead of disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff.

## 8. James and Camille Bares Massie

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
SBC Communications (Camille Bares Massie)	1998-2000
Alpine Group Inc. (James Massie)	1998-2005
Jackson National Life Insurance (James Massie)	2004-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$139,971	52.6
Democrats	\$126,212	47.4
Total	\$266,183	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Council On Radionuclides & Radiopharmaceuticals (James Massie)	\$2,940,000
Croplife America (James Massie)	\$1,780,000
Medical Imaging Contrast Agent Assn. (James Massie)	\$1,300,000
Cinergy Corp. (James Massie)	\$960,000
Jackson National Life Insurance (James Massie)	\$900,000
Southwire Co. (James Massie)	\$895,000
BP America (James Massie)	\$715,000
National Corn Growers Association (James Massie)	\$620,000
El Paso Corp. (James Massie)	\$610,000
Toyota Motor Sales (James Massie)	\$540,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Massie represented client. Lobbying expenditures of SBC Communications, for which Camille Bares Massie served as an in-house lobbyist from 1998-2000, are not included.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.)	\$8,000
Rep. Chris John (D-La.)*	\$7,800
Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.)	\$7,000
Sen. George Voinovich (R-Ohio)	\$6,912
Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$5,908
Rep. Sam Johnson (R-Texas)	\$5,750
Rep. Earl Pomeroy (D-N.D.)	\$5,500
Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.)	\$5,500
Rep. Bart Stupak (D-Mich.)	\$5,320
Rep. Ray LaHood (R-Ill.)	\$5,250

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

James Massie has worked as a lobbyist since 1981. The Alpine Group, his employer, crow's that Massie has created an extensive network of members of Congress and staffers during his 25 years on the Hill. He currently specializes in environmental, energy, tax, and health care policy.<sup>94</sup> Wife Camille Bares Massie worked as a lobbyist for SBC Communications (now AT&T) from 1998 to 2000.<sup>95</sup>

The Massies' \$266,183 in donations are split 52.6 percent to Republicans and 47.4 percent to Democrats. While such splits among couples may reflect canceled out contributions of husbands and wives who have opposing ideologies, this does not appear to be the case with the Massies. Both have given liberally to both parties.

Camille Bares Massie has contributed to the likes of Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.), the current chair of the Republican National Congressional Committee and Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas), the former majority leader noted for his fiercely partisan approach to politics. Meanwhile, she has given to Reps. Bart Stupak and Sander Levin, both Michigan Democrats, former Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), who served both as Senate majority leader and Senate minority leader, and to former Rep. Nick Lampson (D-Texas), who lost his seat in 2004 after a controversial redistricting coordinated by DeLay. Lampson was set to challenge DeLay for his seat in November 2006 until DeLay announced in April 2006 that he would not seek reelection. James Massie has contributed to each of these candidates, as well.

The recipients of the Massies' contributions appear to reflect the energy, environmental and tax specializations of James Massie. The Massies have made contributions to 29 of the 57 House Energy and Commerce Committee members and seven of the 18 senators on the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee; they have contributed to the campaign funds of 12 of the 22 Senators on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee; among committees with jurisdiction over tax policy, they have given to 10 of the 22 members of the Senate Budget Committee, 30 of the 41 members of the House Ways and Means committee, 11 members of the House Appropriations Committee and nine members of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

The sway of Massie's Alpine Group over the House Energy and Commerce Committee was so great that Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.) demanded during a 2005 committee hearing that the Alpine Group lobbyists raise their hands and identify themselves. The committee was discussing an amendment that would loosen the constraints on exporting bomb-grade uranium, a move supported by the Council on Radionuclides and Radiopharmaceuticals, which Massie represents, that had previously been rejected amid criticism from members of both parties that it would accelerate the worldwide production of nuclear materials. The measure was a boon to Ottawa-based MDS Nordion, the leading producer of a certain type of isotope.<sup>96</sup>

"I've never done that before, but this is outrageous," Markey said of his stunt to draw attention to the Alpine Group lobbyists. "To save one Canadian company some money, we're willing to blow a hole in our nonproliferation policies."<sup>97</sup>

The measure was supported by the Council on Radionuclides and Radiopharmaceuticals (CRR), of which MDS Nordion is a member.<sup>98</sup> The CRR has paid the Alpine Group more than \$2.9 million since 1998, more than any other client for which Massie has lobbied.<sup>99</sup>

The measure was proposed by Sen. Richard Burr (R-N.C) with the support of Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.).<sup>100</sup> Lincoln is the top congressional recipient of the Massies' campaign contributions since 1998. The Massies have contributed a total of nearly \$50,000 (\$49,396) to members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

In response to the inclusion of the amendment in the massive energy bill that was passed in the summer of 2005, a senior staff scientist with the Union of Concerned Scientists said, "It really is amazing. To get something as outrageous as this, that's skillful lobbying."<sup>101</sup>

Massie lobbied on the 2005 energy bill on behalf of several of his other top clients: BP America, Cinergy and the National Corn Growers Association (NCGA).

The NCGA, which has paid Alpine \$620,000 since 1998, applauded the mandates calling for 7.5 billion gallons of ethanol and biodiesel to be used by 2012. NCGA President Leon Corzine stated, “We are particularly happy that this bill will expand the use of domestic renewable fuels.”<sup>102</sup> Lincoln co-sponsored the extension of the biodiesel tax credit.<sup>103</sup>

The Energy Policy Act also provides up to \$350 million in tax credits for gasification projects and a federal loan guarantee program.<sup>104</sup> While the electric power industry has generally been slow to move on gasification, Cinergy Corp., which has paid Alpine \$960,000 in lobbying fees since 1998, has announced plans to build coal gasification units. BP, which has paid the Alpine group \$715,000 since 1998, also has plans to build a coke gasification plant.<sup>105</sup>

The Energy Policy Act’s repeal of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 has allowed utility giants to go ahead with mergers. On such merger is a \$9.1 billion deal between Duke Energy and Cinergy.<sup>106</sup>

Rep. Ray LaHood (R-Ill.), ranks No. 10 among the congressional recipients of the Massies’ campaign contributions since 1998 and has benefited from fundraisers sponsored by James Massie. But in January 2005, as the Jack Abramoff scandal continued to expand, LaHood sent a letter to Massie and 22 other lobbyists alerting them that he would no longer avail himself of their fundraising services.<sup>107</sup>

“In the past, we have asked each of you to sponsor an event and commit to raise money on my behalf,” LaHood wrote. “I believe this could be perceived as a special relationship, and I am confident all of us want to avoid this perception.”<sup>108</sup>



## 9. Van D. Hipp Jr.

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
American Defense International	1998-2005
ASIS International	2005
McVey Co.	1998

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$214,771	82.1
Democrats	\$46,750	17.9
Total	\$261,521	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Raytheon Missile Systems	\$1,440,000
Ruag Munition	\$800,000
Sarnoff Corp.	\$720,000
East/West Industries	\$640,000
Ensign-Bickford Aerospace & Defense	\$620,000
Gentex Corp.	\$620,000
Vitel Net	\$620,000
Lexicon Genetics	\$600,000
Bofors Defence	\$560,000
Drexel University	\$560,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Hipp represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. Harold Rogers (R-Ky.)	\$14,500
Rep. Duncan Hunter (R-Calif.)	\$11,750
Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)	\$10,000
Rep. Charles Taylor (R-N.C.)	\$9,000
Rep. Joe Wilson (R-S.C.)*	\$9,000
Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)	\$8,500
Rep. Robert Aderholt (R-Ala.)	\$7,000
Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.)	\$7,000
Rep. Walter Jones Jr. (R-N.C.)	\$6,500
Rep. Martin Sabo (D-Minn.)	\$6,500

\*Congressional service began in 2003

Van D. Hipp has been on both ends of campaign contribution relationships. In 1997, he was sentenced to five years probation with three months of house arrest, fined \$5,000, and ordered to do 200 hours of community services for accepting illegal campaign contributions during a failed 1994 congressional campaign.<sup>109</sup>

Hipp's congressional campaign came on the heels of his service as chairman of the South Carolina Republican Party from 1987 to 1989.<sup>110</sup>

Hipp contends that the conviction was the last straw in his political career. "I told my family if they see me going to a precinct meeting, they have the right to have me committed to a mental institution," he said.<sup>111</sup>

As a lobbyist for American Defense International, of which he is chairman, Hipp has been a contributor, rather than a recipient, of campaign funds. The firm's advertised services include "marketing a product or service to the federal government" for clients. Hipp is likely aided in his

work by his background as a former deputy assistant secretary of the Army and as the Navy's No. 2 lawyer under Defense Secretary Dick Cheney during the first Bush administration.

Hipp has concentrated his contributions on members who serve on the House and Senate appropriations committees, armed services committees and members of the leadership.

- Four of the top 10 recipients of Hipp's contributions serve on appropriations committees, including Rep. Harold Rogers (R-Ky.), who is Hipp's top recipient. Other recipients on appropriations are Rep. Charles Taylor (R-N.C.), Rep. Robert Aderholt (R-Ala.) and Rep. Martin Sabo (D-Minn.).
- Another four of Hipp's top 10 recipients serve on the armed services committees, including House Armed Services Committee Chairman Duncan Hunter (R-Calif.), who ranks No. 2 on Hipp's list, with \$11,750 in receipts. Others include Rep. Joe Wilson (R-S.C.), Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Rep. Walter Jones Jr. (R-N.C.).

Sen. Minority Whip Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and House Chief Deputy Whip Eric Cantor (R-Va.) also rank in Hipp's top 10.

## 10. David Bockorny

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	1998-2004
Bockorny Petrizzo	2004-2005
American Medical Security	2003
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan	2003

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$257,927	100
Democrats	\$0	0
Total		--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
American Hospital Assn.	\$2,020,000
Newscorp USA	\$1,850,000
GlaxoSmithKline	\$1,560,000
Monsanto Co.	\$1,540,000
Computer Coalition For Responsible Exports	\$1,360,000
National Assn of Real Estate Investment Trusts	\$1,350,000
American Bankers Assn.	\$1,340,000
Diageo	\$1,320,000
Elanco Animal Health	\$1,080,000
Petroleum Marketers Assn of America	\$1,000,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Bockorny represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$20,000
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$17,135
Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.)	\$15,750
Rep. Rob Portman (R-Ohio)*	\$9,000
Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$8,500
Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Penn.)	\$8,250
Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$7,483
Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)	\$7,200
Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.)*	\$7,000
Sen. Gordon Smith (R-Ore.)	\$7,000

\*Congressional service ended in 2004

David Bockorny served as a special assistant to the president for legislative affairs in the Reagan administration. In 2005, he made the list of top lobbyists, or “hired guns,” ranked by *The Hill*, a paper that covers Capitol Hill.<sup>112</sup>

Bockorny is an excellent example of what else a lobbyist can offer politicians. Besides contributing more than a quarter million dollars to the political committees of members of Congress, Bockorny is also on the board of the Congressional Institute, a non-profit organization that pays for retreats of members of Congress and their staffs. Of the 15 members of its board, 14 are registered lobbyists.<sup>113</sup>

The Institute’s stated mission includes the goal of “helping members of Congress better serve the nation,” but the group is selective in whom it helps.<sup>114</sup> Each of the 74 trips by members of Congress sponsored by the Institute from 2000 to 2004 involved Republican members.<sup>115</sup>

Surveys of staff travel reports maintained by the clerk of the House have found similarly one-sided ratios in the subjects of Congressional Institute-sponsored trips. In just 2004 and 2005, the Congressional Institute financed over \$40,000 of travel expenditures for Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas) and his staff, alone.<sup>116</sup>

Bockorny has also hosted fundraisers for members of Congress. Augmenting the \$17,135 Bockorny has contributed to DeLay, he was one of the sponsors of a fundraiser for DeLay in November 2005.<sup>117</sup> In the three days following the fundraiser, DeLay reported over \$125,000 in contributions.<sup>118</sup>

## Section III: Snapshots of the Next Ten Lobbyist-Contributors

### 11. Paul Magliocchetti

#### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
General Atomics	1998-1999
PMA Group	1998-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

#### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$63,600	25.3
Democrats	\$187,950	74.7
Total	\$251,550	--

#### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
DRS Technologies	\$3,240,000
L-3 Communications Corp.	\$2,040,000
Dynamics Research Corp.	\$1,860,000
Boeing	\$1,660,000
Lockheed Martin Corp.	\$1,580,000
EDO Reconnaissance & Surveillance Systems	\$1,460,000
General Dynamics	\$1,380,000
Concurrent Technologies Corp.	\$1,340,000
Cryptek Secure Communications	\$1,120,000
Health Net Federal Services	\$1,040,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Magliocchetti represented client. Totals listed do not include General Atomics, for which Magliocchetti worked as an in-house lobbyist from 1998-1999.

#### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. Pete Visclosky (D-Ind.)	\$33,000
Rep. James Moran (D-Va.)	\$17,000
Rep. Norm Dicks (D-Wash.)	\$15,000
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$14,000
Sen. John Sununu (R-N.H.)	\$13,250
Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa.)	\$12,000
Rep. Loretta Sanchez (D-Calif.)	\$10,000
Rep. John Mica (R-Fla.)	\$8,850
Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.)	\$8,500
Rep. Alan Mollohan (D-W.Va.)	\$8,000

## 12. Gerald Cassidy

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Cassidy & Associates	1998-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$13,500	5.5
Democrats	\$233,250	94.5
Total	\$246,750	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Boston University	\$6,020,000
Taiwan Studies Inst.	\$4,900,000
Ocean Spray Cranberries	\$2,940,000
UMass Memorial Health Care	\$1,600,000
Research Foundation Of The City University	\$1,140,000
Northwestern University	\$1,020,000
Tufts University	\$950,000
Fuelcell Energy	\$860,000
Hunton & Williams	\$720,000
Worcester Polytechnic Inst.	\$580,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Cassidy represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.)*	\$27,000
Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$13,000
Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.)	\$11,000
Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.)	\$10,000
Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.)**	\$10,000
Rep. John Murtha (R-Penn.)	\$9,500
Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.)	\$9,000
Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)	\$9,000
Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Penn.)	\$8,000
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$7,000

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

\*\* Congressional service began in 2001

### 13. Frederick Graefe

#### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Baker & Hostetler	1998-2002
Law Offices of Frederick H. Graefe	2004-2005
Hunton & Williams	2002-2004
Invacare Corp.	2003-2005
Cleveland Clinic Foundation	2002-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

#### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$38,500	16.8
Democrats	\$190,242	83.2
Total	\$228,742	--

#### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Trans World Assurance Co.	\$820,433
Invacare Corp.	\$703,019
Federation Of American Hospitals	\$695,433
Schering Berlin	\$680,000
American Health Sciences Education Consortium	\$600,000
Citigroup	\$600,000
American Wireless Freedom Coalition	\$580,000
Proton Therapy Group	\$505,242
Amgen	\$501,114
RMS Disease Management	\$440,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Graefe represented client. Lobbying expenditures of Cleveland Clinic Foundation and Invacare Corp., for which Graefe has served as an in-house lobbyist, are not included.

#### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.)*	\$17,500
Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.)	\$15,321
Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif)	\$15,139
Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio)	\$10,000
Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio)	\$9,000
Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.)	\$8,893
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$8,000
Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$7,750
Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa)	\$7,000
Sen. Tom Carper (D-Del.)	\$5,218

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

## 14. Stewart Hall

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Federalist Group	1999-2005

\*Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$221,460	98.2
Democrats	\$4,000	17.8
Total	\$225,460	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
National Rifle Association	\$1,780,000
Altria Corp Services	\$1,720,000
Colsa Corp.	\$960,000
Office Furniture Manufacturers Coalition	\$880,000
Birmingham Airport Authority	\$780,000
Pernod Ricard	\$780,000
Verizon	\$780,000
UST Public Affairs	\$700,000
American Petroleum Inst.	\$630,000
Bell South Corp.	\$580,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Hall represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)	\$49,000
Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.)	\$17,400
Rep. Terry Everett (R-Ala.)	\$12,000
Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.)	\$8,000
Rep. Ernest Istook, Jr. (R-Okla.)	\$8,000
Sen. John E. Sununu (R-N.H.)	\$7,500
Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)	\$7,000
Sen. James Inhofe (R-Okla.)	\$7,000
Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.)	\$6,000
Rep. Jo Bonner (R-Ala.)*	\$6,000

\* Congressional service began in 2003



## 15. Peter Madigan

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Rhoads Group	1998-2000
Johnson Madigan Peck Boland & Stewart	2001-2005
Bradley Arant Rose & White	2001

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$223,700	99.3
Democrats	\$1,500	0.7
Total	\$225,200	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Poongsan Corp	\$1,980,000
Altria Corporate Services Inc.	\$1,560,000
International Employee Stock Option Coalition	\$1,360,000
Alliance Of Automobile Manufacturers	\$980,000
Fannie Mae	\$820,000
Deloitte & Touche	\$720,000
Charles Schwab & Co.	\$680,000
Bearingpoint	\$600,000
Ford Motor Co.	\$600,000
Bank Of New York	\$580,000
New Zealand – US Business Council	\$580,000
Bell Atlantic Corp.	\$580,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Madigan represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.)	\$15,000
Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine)	\$12,000
Rep. Tom Delay (R-Texas)	\$11,000
Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$10,500
Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.)*	\$10,000
Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)	\$10,000
Sen. Gordon Smith (R-Ore.)	\$9,500
Sen. John E. Sununu (R-N.H.)	\$9,500
Sen. Olympia Snowe (R-Maine)	\$9,300
Sen. George Allen (R-Va.)**	\$8,400

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

\*\* Congressional service begin in 2001

## 16. Bruce Gates

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Ryan Phillips Utrecht & MacKinnon	1998-1998
Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	2003
Washington Council - Ernst & Young	2001-2005
Ernst & Young	2001
Washington Counsel	1998-2000

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$225,061	100
Democrats	\$0	0
Total	\$225,061	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Merrill Lynch	\$4,700,000
RJ Reynolds Tobacco Co	\$3,060,000
Ford Motor Co.	\$2,130,000
Aetna Life & Casualty	\$1,955,000
Securities Industry Assn	\$1,800,000
General Electric Co.	\$1,700,000
Charles Schwab & Co.	\$1,640,000
Ziff Investors Partnership	\$1,480,000
National Association Of Real Estate Investment Trusts	\$1,440,000
American Insurance Assn.	\$1,420,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Gates represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$40,976
Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$30,500
Rep. Rob Portman (R-Ohio)*	\$26,000
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$21,567
Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$13,000
Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$12,500
Sen. Richard Burr (R-N.C.)	\$6,500
Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$6,000
Rep. Tom Latham (R-Iowa)	\$5,000
Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)	\$5,000

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

## 17. Gary and Susan Andres

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Andres-McKenna Research Group (Gary Andres)	2001-2004
Dutko Worldwide (Gary Andres)	1998-2005
Union Pacific Corp. (Susan Andres)	1998-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$222,547	100
Democrats	\$0	0
Total	\$222,547	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Pacificare (Gary Andres)	\$1,655,000
National Ground Water Assn. (Gary Andres)	\$1,227,200
Sprint (Gary Andres)	\$1,130,000
Union Pacific (Gary Andres)	\$1,102,500
Household Intl. (Gary Andres)	\$776,000
Accenture (Gary Andres)	\$708,000
FDX Corp. (Gary Andres)	\$696,500
Discus (Gary Andres)	\$684,000
Charles Schwab (Gary Andres)	\$650,000
Justice Project (Gary Andres)	\$560,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Andres represented client. Lobbying expenditures of Union Pacific Corp., for which Susan Andres has served as an in-house lobbyist, are not included.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$30,706
Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$22,803
Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.)*	\$11,095
Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)	\$10,094
Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$9,500
Rep. Rob Portman (R-Ohio)*	\$9,050
Rep. Dick Armey (R-Texas)**	\$8,000
Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$7,000
Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$6,983
Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$5,000

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

\*\* Congressional service ended in 2002

## 18. Joel Jankowsky

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	1998-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$0	0
Democrats	\$221,970	100
Total	\$221,970	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Gila River Indian Community	\$9,560,000
AT&T	\$8,090,000
PG&E Corp.	\$4,740,000
Mortgage Insurance Cos. Of America	\$3,960,000
Florida Citrus Mutual	\$3,860,000
Motion Picture Assn Of America	\$3,320,000
Liberty Mutual Insurance Co.	\$2,820,000
Dow Chemical Co.	\$2,760,000
Boeing Co.	\$2,420,000
FM Policy Focus	\$2,400,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Jankowsky represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.)*	\$41,500
Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.)*	\$23,000
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$20,000
Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)	\$15,250
Rep. Brad Carson (D-Okla.)*	\$13,000
Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.)	\$10,000
Rep. Martin Frost (D-Texas)*	\$9,000
Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$8,000
Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.)	\$8,000
Sen. Bill Nelson (D-Fla.)	\$5,500

\* Congressional service ended in 2004

## 19. Timothy Rupli

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Federalist Group	2000-2001
Fleishman-Hillard Government Relations	1998-2000
Rupli, Timothy R. & Associates	2000-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$131,067	60.7
Democrats	\$84,704	39.3
Total	\$215,771	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Community Financial Services Assn Of America	\$2,000,000
United To Secure America	\$1,510,000
Memberworks Inc.	\$1,160,000
MD Anderson Cancer Center	\$980,000
Coalition For Fair & Affordable Lending	\$700,000
Texarkana Chamber Of Commerce	\$480,000
Garden State Cancer Center	\$380,000
Entergy Services	\$360,000
Independent Community Bankers Of America	\$300,000
Peabody Group	\$280,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Rupli represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas)	\$10,000
Rep. Brad Sherman (D-Calif.)	\$8,800
Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)	\$8,386
Rep. Tom Feeney (R-Fla.)*	\$6,950
Rep. Mike Ross (D-Ark.)**	\$6,824
Rep. Paul Kanjorski (D-Penn.)	\$6,500
Rep. David Scott (D-Ga.)*	\$6,000
Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)	\$5,500
Rep. Adam Schiff (D-Calif.)**	\$5,000
Rep. Kendrick Meek (D-Fla.)*	\$5,000
Rep. Pete Sessions (R-Texas)	\$5,000
Rep. Jeb Hensarling (R-Texas)*	\$5,000

\* Congressional service began in 2003

\*\* Congressional service began in 2001

## 20. James E. Smith

### Organization(s) for Which Individual Has Registered as a Lobbyist Since 1998\*

Registrant	Year(s)
Smith Segel & Sowalsky	1998-2002
Smith-Free Group	1998-2005

\* Registrant refers to lobbying firms for which lobbyist worked or companies for which individual served as an in-house lobbyist.

### Contributions Lobbyist Has Made to Members of Congress Since 1998

Party	Amount	Percentage
Republicans	\$197,148	92.1
Democrats	\$16,872	7.9
Total	\$214,020	--

### Clients that Paid Most to Lobbyist's Firm(s)

Client	Total Receipts*
Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp.	\$2,340,000
Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance	\$1,580,000
Mastercard International	\$1,440,000
MBNA Corp.	\$1,410,000
CSX Corp.	\$1,020,000
Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corp.	\$760,000
Visa USA	\$540,000
HCA The Healthcare Co.	\$520,000
Washington Mutual	\$400,000
Verizon	\$395,000

\*Total receipts include only amounts paid by client in semi-annual periods in which Smith represented client.

### Top Congressional Recipients of Lobbyist's Contributions Since 1998

Member of Congress	Amount
Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$15,697
Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)	\$8,500
Sen. Michael Enzi (R-Wyo.)	\$8,293
Sen. Robert Bennett (R-Utah)	\$8,000
Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$7,000
Rep. Michael Castle (R-Del.)	\$6,500
Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)	\$5,000
Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.)	\$5,000
Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.)	\$4,500
Rep. / Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.)*	\$4,500

\* Only includes contributions made between 1998 and November 2002, when Thune was a member of the House, and contributions made since November 2004, when Thune was elected to U.S. Senate.

## Section IV: Legal Justifications for Limiting Lobbyists' Gifts

No single reform would do as much to prevent the corruption and the appearance of corruption in lobbying than to break the nexus between lobbyists and campaign money for officeholders. A restriction on campaign contributions by lobbyists would need to be narrowly tailored to avoid infringing on First Amendment rights.

### Summary of the Legislative Proposal

Public Citizen recommends that:

- Contributions from lobbyists and lobbying firm PACs to federal candidates be capped at \$200 per election and contributions to national parties and leadership PACs be capped at \$500 per election cycle;
- Lobbyists and lobbying firms be prohibited from soliciting, arranging or delivering contributions to federal candidates or from serving as officials on candidates' campaign committees and leadership PACs; and
- Lobbyists, lobbying firms and organizations that maintain lobbying operations be prohibited from paying or arranging payments for events "honoring" members of Congress and political parties, such as parties at national conventions, and from contributing or arranging contributions to entities established or controlled by members of Congress, such as foundations.

### The Supreme Court Has Recognized the Right to Treat Lobbyists Differently

In 1954, the Supreme Court upheld the 1946 Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. The act, which was the first attempt by Congress to compel disclosure of paid lobbying activities by domestic entities, proved to have too many loopholes to be effective. But, in upholding the law, the Court acknowledged the legality of imposing a modest regulatory scheme on a certain class of people – lobbyists – engaging in the constitutionally protected activity of petitioning the government.

"Present-day legislative complexities are such that individual members of Congress cannot be expected to explore the myriad pressures to which they are regularly subjected. Yet full realization of the American ideal of government by elected representatives depends to no small extent on their ability to properly evaluate such pressures. Otherwise, the voice of the people may all too easily be drowned out by the voice of special interest groups seeking favored treatment while masquerading as proponents of the public weal. This is the evil which the lobbying act was designed to help prevent."<sup>119</sup>

### Courts Have Upheld Certain Restrictions on Contributions from Lobbyists

The California Supreme Court in 1979 shot down a statute banning all contributions from lobbyists as overly broad, although the court recognized that a state had a compelling interest in "ridding the political system of both apparent and actual corruption and improper influence."<sup>120</sup>

In response, California implemented a somewhat more narrowly drawn statute, prohibiting lobbyists from making campaign contributions to those whom they lobby.<sup>121</sup> The Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) interpreted this provision to mean that lobbyists are banned from making contributions to candidates for elective office in the branch of government that they lobby. In other words, lobbyists are prohibited from making campaign contributions to candidates for the legislature, if they are registered to lobby the legislature, or candidates for executive office, if they are registered to lobby the executive branch, or both. A federal district court upheld this interpretation of the law.<sup>122</sup>

Banning direct contributions from lobbyists to the officeholders whom they are attempting to influence is not a new idea. South Carolina has had a ban on campaign contributions from lobbyists to state candidates on the books since 1991. Kentucky prohibits those who lobby the legislature from making contributions to legislative candidates, and Alaska allows lobbyists to make campaign contributions but only to their own representatives. On February 15, 2006, Tennessee joined these four states when it approved its own reform legislation prohibiting direct campaign contributions from lobbyists to state candidates and officeholders.

In Alaska, the state Supreme Court upheld the restriction against campaign contributions from lobbyists to state legislators outside the district in which the lobbyist resides. The court held that lobbyists' contributions to those outside their own district appear to have more to do with influence peddling and are "especially susceptible to creating an appearance of corruption."<sup>123</sup>

Most states that have some form of ban on lobbyist contributions to candidates have applied such bans only during particular time periods, such as while the legislature is in session. These bans are really time limits on contributions and not restrictions on lobbyists *per se*. These time limits on contributions, especially when they have applied to all persons rather than just lobbyists, have faced mixed results in the courts. Only two bans on contributions to legislative candidates while the legislature is in session have survived court challenge, in North Carolina and in Vermont.<sup>124</sup>

Similar bans have been invalidated in Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, and Florida.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, many states continue the practice of banning contributions while the legislature is in session for everybody, including lobbyists.

### **Courts Have Upheld Regulation of Other Sectors' Campaign Activities**

The courts have shown a willingness to uphold contribution bans that apply to particular sectors with a demonstrated history of corruption or the appearance of corruption. A "pay-to-play" restriction that bans campaign contributions from potential contractors to those responsible for awarding the contracts has been upheld by a federal court.<sup>126</sup>

Eight states have banned contributions from gambling interests. These include:

- Indiana prohibits contributions from any officer or person who holds an interest in a gaming entity;<sup>127</sup>
- Iowa prohibits contributions from riverboat gambling corporations;<sup>128</sup>



- Kentucky prohibits contributions from persons owning lottery contracts;<sup>129</sup>
- Louisiana prohibits contributions from casino officers or key employees;<sup>130</sup>
- Michigan prohibits contributions from any licensee or person who has an interest in a gaming entity;<sup>131</sup>
- Nebraska prohibits contributions from lottery contractors for duration of contract and three years after;<sup>132</sup>
- New Jersey prohibits contributions from casino officers or key employees;<sup>133</sup> and
- Virginia prohibits contributions from pari-mutual corporations, executives and their spouses and families.<sup>134</sup>

Louisiana’s and New Jersey’s bans on contributions from those involved in the gambling industry have been upheld in the courts.<sup>135</sup> In Michigan, the attorney general has ruled that the state’s ban on gaming contributions is constitutional.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to the broader bans on campaign contributions from regulated sectors such as the gambling industry, several states have implemented more narrowly tailored restrictions on campaign contributions from regulated sectors to those whom are the regulators:

- Delaware, Florida, Montana, and Washington prohibit insurance agents from making contributions to candidates for the Office of Insurance Commissioner.<sup>137</sup>
- Florida also prohibits licensed food outlets and convenience stores from contributing to candidates for Commissioner of Agriculture.<sup>138</sup>
- Georgia prohibits public utilities from contributing to any political campaign.<sup>139</sup>
- Georgia law further prohibits any regulated entity from contributing to any candidate for the office that regulates that entity.<sup>140</sup>

### **A Basis Exists for Prohibiting Lobbyists from Soliciting Funds**

None of the state laws or court decisions discussed above addresses restrictions of particular classes of persons soliciting or arranging campaign contributions from others. However, there appears to be a fairly firm constitutional basis for restricting comparable classes of persons from soliciting or arranging campaign contributions with other people’s money. The First Amendment issues raised in the landmark court decisions on campaign financing, such as the *Buckley* and *McConnell* decisions, have focused on how contribution restrictions may affect a person’s ability to exercise his or her own free speech with their own money.<sup>141</sup>

However, the *McConnell* decision went even further and explicitly upheld the bans on national party committees and federal officeholders soliciting and raising “soft money” and directing these contributions to others. As stated in *McConnell*:

“Nor is §323(a)’s prohibition on national parties’ soliciting or directing soft-money contributions substantially overbroad. That prohibition’s reach is limited, in that it bars only soft-money solicitations by national party committees and party officers acting in their official capacities; the committees themselves remain free to solicit hard money on their own behalf or that of state committees and state and local candidates and to contribute hard money to state committees and candidates.”<sup>142</sup>

The McConnell court reiterated the justification for banning the solicitation of soft money by national party committees:

“Section 323(d)’s restriction on solicitations is a valid anti-circumvention measure. Absent this provision, national, state, and local party committees would have significant incentives to mobilize their formidable fundraising apparatuses, including the peddling of access to federal officeholders, into the service of like-minded tax-exempt organizations that conduct activities benefiting their candidates. All of the corruption and the appearance of corruption attendant on the operation of those fundraising apparatuses would follow.”<sup>143</sup>

## Appendix I: Congressional Contribution Laws

Contributions to the campaign committees and political action committees of members of Congress, often called leadership PACs, generally may only be made by individuals and political committees. Contributions and expenditures by corporations in direct support of candidates for federal office have been illegal since 1907.<sup>144</sup>

Corporations were able to make contributions that affect elections by donating to political parties for “non-federal election activity” – known as “soft money” contributions – before the practice was banned by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) of 2002. In the aftermath of BCRA, which took effect following the 2002 election cycle, corporations have been able to influence federal elections by contributing to independent groups registered under Section 527 of the IRS tax code. The legality of contributions to these 527 groups – and the groups’ ability to spend the money to influence federal elections – in the post-BCRA era is in dispute. Not in dispute, however, is that current law does not permit 527 groups to coordinate their activities with federal candidates or the committees of national political parties.

During the 2006 election cycle, individuals are permitted to contribute no more than \$2,100 to a single candidate for federal office, including congressional candidates, per election (meaning a person could contribute \$4,200, total, for the primary and the general elections combined.) Individuals may also contribute no more than \$5,000 to a single leadership PAC per year. Their aggregate contributions to all federal committees may not exceed \$101,400 for the entire cycle. The aggregate total is more easily reached than might appear because individuals are permitted to contribute up to \$26,700 per cycle to a national party committee and up to \$61,400 to all national party committees and PACs combined.<sup>145</sup>

BCRA increased the individual contribution limit from \$1,000 to \$2,000 and allowed for the contribution limits to candidates and parties, including the aggregate contribution limit, to be adjusted for inflation thereafter to the nearest \$100. The law left constant the annual limit on contributions to PACs.<sup>146</sup>

For the 2004 election cycle, individuals were permitted to contribute \$2,000 to a candidate for federal office per election (meaning each for the \$2,000 for the primary and general elections), and \$5,000 per year to leadership PACs, up to an aggregate total of \$95,000 per election cycle. The limit on contributions to national committees and PAC was set at \$57,500.<sup>147</sup>

In the 1998 through 2002 election cycles, individuals were permitted to contribute \$1,000 per election (meaning \$1,000 each for the primary and the general elections) and \$5,000 per year to leadership PACs, up to an aggregate total of \$25,000 per year (\$50,000 per cycle), including contributions to national parties.<sup>148</sup>

## Appendix II: State and Member Contribution Rankings

**Figure 17: States Ranked By Average Contributions Received by Current Senate Delegation, 1998-2006**

Rank	State	Average Contributions Received by Senator
1	Pennsylvania	\$1,091,439
2	Montana	\$630,482
3	Nevada	\$592,080
4	New York	\$583,016
5	Washington	\$551,786
6	Alabama	\$545,136
7	Iowa	\$543,931
8	North Dakota	\$534,750
9	Connecticut	\$516,489
10	Massachusetts	\$511,163
11	Mississippi	\$501,474
12	Alaska	\$468,943
13	Indiana	\$447,943
14	Utah	\$431,209
15	Louisiana	\$429,843
16	New Hampshire	\$393,311
17	Arizona	\$384,705
18	California	\$378,825
19	Virginia	\$375,660
20	Kentucky	\$356,536
21	North Carolina	\$342,461
22	Ohio	\$342,167
23	Missouri	\$318,098
24	Nebraska	\$305,997
25	Oregon	\$300,891
26	Delaware	\$299,364
27	South Dakota	\$293,868
28	South Carolina	\$288,645
29	Maryland	\$284,555
30	Tennessee	\$282,592
31	New Mexico	\$276,967
32	Vermont	\$274,557
33	Georgia	\$272,209
34	Arkansas	\$258,238
35	Illinois	\$255,821
36	Maine	\$235,346
37	Michigan	\$232,210
38	Florida	\$218,342
39	West Virginia	\$192,034
40	Idaho	\$189,891
41	Texas	\$174,347
42	New Jersey	\$171,180
43	Oklahoma	\$162,285
44	Rhode Island	\$160,289
45	Kansas	\$154,019
46	Hawaii	\$147,544
47	Wyoming	\$131,347
48	Colorado	\$73,184

<b>Rank</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Average Contributions Received by Senator</b>
49	Minnesota	\$69,998
50	Wisconsin	\$49,138

**Figure 18: States Ranked By Average Contributions Received by Current House Delegation, 1998-2006**

Rank	State	Average Contributions Received by Member
1	Alaska	\$652,448
2	North Dakota	\$254,830
3	Virginia	\$250,658
4	Ohio	\$207,842
5	Maryland	\$200,102
6	Louisiana	\$184,819
7	Rhode Island	\$183,078
8	Connecticut	\$156,597
9	Michigan	\$145,529
10	South Dakota	\$145,521
11	Texas	\$143,616
12	Kentucky	\$141,189
13	Massachusetts	\$138,273
14	Pennsylvania	\$133,812
15	Minnesota	\$133,094
16	Mississippi	\$129,197
17	Wisconsin	\$127,512
18	Missouri	\$123,815
19	West Virginia	\$123,408
20	California	\$121,824
21	Illinois	\$115,611
22	New York	\$109,215
23	New Jersey	\$108,876
24	Oklahoma	\$104,561
25	Nevada	\$104,321
26	Washington	\$102,851
27	Arizona	\$101,315
28	New Mexico	\$101,270
29	Tennessee	\$101,072
30	South Carolina	\$100,501
31	Alabama	\$96,827
32	Montana	\$95,290
33	Oregon	\$90,077
34	Delaware	\$87,900
35	Utah	\$85,279
36	Kansas	\$82,847
37	Florida	\$82,231
38	Indiana	\$77,388
39	Georgia	\$76,034
40	Iowa	\$73,206
41	North Carolina	\$72,938
42	Wyoming	\$71,359
43	Hawaii	\$68,865
44	Idaho	\$66,694
45	Colorado	\$45,175
46	Arkansas	\$41,679
47	New Hampshire	\$39,123
48	Maine	\$37,889
49	Nebraska	\$33,805
50	Vermont	\$5,000

**Figure 19: Current Senators' Contributions Received from Lobbyists, 1998-2006**

Senator	Rank in Senate	Total Contributions Received
<b>Alabama</b>		
Jeff Sessions (R)	68	\$203,289
Richard Shelby (R)	4	\$886,982
<b>Alaska</b>		
Lisa Murkowski (R) <sup>b</sup>	56	\$274,765
Ted Stevens (R)	10	\$633,120
<b>Arizona</b>		
Jon Kyl (R)	44	\$347,271
John McCain (R)	31	\$422,138
<b>Arkansas</b>		
Blanche Lincoln (D) <sup>a</sup>	29	\$439,270
Mark Pryor (D) <sup>c</sup>	91	\$77,206
<b>California</b>		
Barbara Boxer (D)	41	\$362,197
Dianne Feinstein (D)	35	\$395,453
<b>Colorado</b>		
Wayne Allard (R)	84	\$119,407
Ken Salazar (D) <sup>d</sup>	97	\$26,961
<b>Connecticut</b>		
Christopher Dodd (D)	8	\$666,223
Joseph Lieberman (D)	39	\$366,754
<b>Delaware</b>		
Joseph Biden (D)	59	\$262,517
Tom Carper (D) <sup>b</sup>	46	\$336,210
<b>Florida</b>		
Mel Martinez (R) <sup>d</sup>	93	\$49,050
Bill Nelson (D) <sup>b</sup>	37	\$387,634
<b>Georgia</b>		
Saxby Chambliss (R) <sup>k</sup>	43	\$351,551
Johnny Isakson (R) <sup>l</sup>	73	\$192,867
<b>Hawaii</b>		
Daniel Akaka (D)	96	\$29,650
Daniel Inouye (D)	58	\$265,438
<b>Idaho</b>		
Larry Craig (R)	78	\$158,275
Mike Crapo (R) <sup>n</sup>	65	\$221,506
<b>Illinois</b>		
Richard Durbin (D)	26	\$463,753
Barack Obama (D) <sup>d</sup>	94	\$47,889
<b>Indiana</b>		
Evan Bayh (D) <sup>a</sup>	17	\$573,589
Richard Lugar (R)	49	\$322,297
<b>Iowa</b>		
Charles Grassley (R)	14	\$586,697
Tom Harkin (D)	21	\$501,164
<b>Kansas</b>		
Sam Brownback (R)	69	\$203,176
Pat Roberts (R)	86	\$104,861

Senator	Rank in Senate	Total Contributions Received
<b>Kentucky</b>		
Jim Bunning (R) <sup>n</sup>	57	\$274,110
Mitch McConnell (R)	30	\$438,961
<b>Louisiana</b>		
Mary Landrieu (D)	11	\$613,214
David Vitter (R) <sup>l</sup>	61	\$246,471
<b>Maine</b>		
Susan Collins (R)	64	\$225,130
Olympia Snowe (R)	62	\$245,562
<b>Maryland</b>		
Barbara Mikulski (D)	32	\$418,667
Paul Sarbanes (D)	79	\$150,442
<b>Massachusetts</b>		
Edward Kennedy (D)	7	\$689,386
John Kerry (D)	48	\$332,940
<b>Michigan</b>		
Carl Levin (D)	88	\$100,394
Debbie Stabenow (D) <sup>o</sup>	40	\$364,026
<b>Minnesota</b>		
Norm Coleman (R) <sup>c</sup>	81	\$136,545
Mark Dayton (D) <sup>b</sup>	99	\$3,450
<b>Mississippi</b>		
Thad Cochran (R)	45	\$340,315
Trent Lott (R)	9	\$662,632
<b>Missouri</b>		
Christopher "Kit" Bond (R)	25	\$473,445
Jim Talent (R) <sup>o</sup>	77	\$162,750
<b>Montana</b>		
Max Baucus (D)	18	\$523,096
Conrad Burns (R)	5	\$737,868
<b>Nebraska</b>		
Chuck Hagel (R)	54	\$277,727
Ben Nelson (D) <sup>b</sup>	47	\$334,266
<b>Nevada</b>		
John Ensign (R) <sup>g</sup>	53	\$294,937
Harry Reid (D)	3	\$889,223
<b>New Hampshire</b>		
Judd Gregg (R)	38	\$372,713
John Sununu (R) <sup>k</sup>	34	\$413,908
<b>New Jersey</b>		
Frank Lautenberg (D) <sup>h</sup>	95	\$42,950
Robert Menendez (D) <sup>i</sup>	52	\$299,409
<b>New Mexico</b>		
Jeff Bingaman (D)	42	\$355,194
Pete Domenici (R)	70	\$198,739
<b>New York</b>		
Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) <sup>b</sup>	6	\$720,477
Chuck Schumer (D) <sup>n</sup>	28	\$445,554
<b>North Carolina</b>		
Richard Burr (R) <sup>i</sup>	12	\$587,921



Senator	Rank in Senate	Total Contributions Received
Elizabeth Dole (R) <sup>c</sup>	90	\$97,000
<b>North Dakota</b>		
Kent Conrad (D)	16	\$575,707
Byron Dorgan (D)	23	\$493,792
<b>Ohio</b>		
Mike DeWine (R)	24	\$474,363
George Voinovich (R) <sup>a</sup>	67	\$209,970
<b>Oklahoma</b>		
Tom Coburn (R) <sup>j</sup>	98	\$18,200
James Inhofe (R)	51	\$306,369
<b>Oregon</b>		
Gordon Smith (R)	33	\$417,162
Ron Wyden (D)	75	\$184,620
<b>Pennsylvania</b>		
Rick Santorum (R)	1	\$1,163,560
Arlen Specter (R)	2	\$1,019,317
<b>Rhode Island</b>		
Lincoln Chafee (R) <sup>b</sup>	83	\$127,515
Jack Reed (D)	72	\$193,063
<b>South Carolina</b>		
Jim DeMint (R) <sup>i</sup>	60	\$257,390
Lindsey Graham (R) <sup>k</sup>	50	\$319,899
<b>South Dakota</b>		
Tim Johnson (D)	36	\$393,395
John Thune (R) <sup>e</sup>	71	\$194,341
<b>Tennessee</b>		
Lamar Alexander (R) <sup>c</sup>	92	\$65,500
Bill Frist (R)	22	\$499,684
<b>Texas</b>		
John Cornyn (R) <sup>c</sup>	82	\$128,529
Kay Bailey Hutchinson (R)	66	\$220,164
<b>Utah</b>		
Robert Bennett (R)	55	\$277,594
Orrin Hatch (R)	15	\$584,824
<b>Vermont</b>		
James Jeffords (I)	87	\$100,869
Patrick Leahy (D)	27	\$448,245
<b>Virginia</b>		
George Allen (R) <sup>b</sup>	20	\$515,678
John Warner (R)	63	\$235,641
<b>Washington</b>		
Maria Cantwell (D) <sup>b</sup>	13	\$586,912
Patty Murray (D)	19	\$516,659
<b>West Virginia</b>		
Robert Byrd (D)	74	\$190,851
John Rockefeller IV (D)	76	\$193,217
<b>Wisconsin</b>		
Russ Feingold (D)	89	\$98,276
Herbert Kohl (D)	100	\$0

Senator	Rank in Senate	Total Contributions Received
<b>Wyoming</b>		
Michael Enzi (R)	80	\$143,903
Craig Thomas (R)	85	\$118,791

<sup>a</sup> Joined Congress in 1999

<sup>b</sup> Joined Congress in 2001

<sup>c</sup> Joined Congress in 2003

<sup>d</sup> Joined Congress in 2005

<sup>e</sup> Served in House through 2002; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>f</sup> Served in House through 2000; Joined Senate in 2003

<sup>g</sup> Served in House through 1998; Joined Senate in 2001

<sup>h</sup> Served in Senate through 2000; Re-joined Senate in 2003

<sup>i</sup> Served in House through 2005; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>j</sup> Served in House through 2000; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>k</sup> Served in House through 2003; Joined Senate in 2003

<sup>l</sup> Served in House from 1999 through 2005; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>n</sup> Served in House through 1999; Joined Senate in 1999

<sup>o</sup> Served in House through 2001; Joined Senate in 2001

**Figure 20: Current House Members' Contributions Received from Lobbyists, 1998-2006**

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
<b>Alabama</b>		
Robert Aderholt (R)	117	\$128,091
Spencer Bachus (R)	73	\$198,510
Jo Bonner (R) <sup>c</sup>	215	\$69,934
Bud Cramer (D)	168	\$94,801
Artur Davis (D) <sup>c</sup>	283	\$47,958
Terry Everett (R)	224	\$66,750
Mike Rogers (R) <sup>c</sup>	211	\$71,743
<b>Alaska</b>		
Don Young (R-At Large)	10	\$652,448
<b>Arizona</b>		
Jeff Flake (R) <sup>b</sup>	395	\$14,600
Trent Franks (R) <sup>c</sup>	384	\$18,250
Raul Grijalva (D) <sup>c</sup>	349	\$28,600
J.D. Hayworth (R)	87	\$162,251
Jim Kolbe (R)	58	\$227,885
Ed Pastor (D)	64	\$220,730
Rick Renzi (R) <sup>c</sup>	218	\$68,838
John Shadegg (R)	216	\$69,362
<b>Arkansas</b>		
Marion Berry (D)	228	\$65,100
John Boozman (R) <sup>b</sup>	343	\$29,249
Mike Ross (D) <sup>b</sup>	253	\$56,315
Vic Snyder (D)	390	\$16,050
<b>California</b>		
Joe Baca (D) <sup>a</sup>	274	\$51,430
Xavier Becerra (D)	131	\$115,857
Howard Berman (D)	100	\$143,800
Mary Bono (R) <sup>m</sup>	177	\$90,195
Ken Calvert (R)	121	\$124,959
John Campbell (R) <sup>d</sup>	422	\$6,550
Lois Capps (D)	271	\$51,575
Dennis Cardoza (D) <sup>c</sup>	397	\$14,268
Jim Costa (D) <sup>d</sup>	408	\$11,600
Susan Davis (D) <sup>b</sup>	391	\$16,000
John T Doolittle (R)	33	\$325,553
David Dreier (R)	47	\$261,985
Anna Eshoo (D)	113	\$131,298
Sam Farr (D)	317	\$38,525
Bob Filner (D)	312	\$39,977
Elton Gallegly (R)	204	\$73,819
Jane Harman (D)	115	\$128,853
Wally Herger (R)	242	\$60,390

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
Mike Honda (D) <sup>b</sup>	273	\$51,450
Duncan Hunter (R)	66	\$220,205
Darrell Issa (R) <sup>b</sup>	248	\$57,916
Tom Lantos (D)	262	\$53,800
Barbara Lee (D)	318	\$38,450
Jerry Lewis (R)	4	\$819,754
Zoe Lofgren (D)	155	\$100,582
Dan Lungren (R)	340	\$30,000
Doris Matsui (D) <sup>d</sup>	112	\$134,000
Howard P "Buck" McKeon (R)	38	\$300,215
Juanita Millender-McDonald (D)	264	\$53,023
Gary Miller (R) <sup>a</sup>	199	\$78,355
George Miller (D)	191	\$80,504
Grace Napolitano (D) <sup>a</sup>	258	\$54,925
Devin Nunes (R) <sup>c</sup>	298	\$43,605
Nancy Pelosi (D)	31	\$347,219
Richard Pombo (R)	34	\$322,610
George Radanovich (R)	171	\$93,869
Dana Rohrabacher (R)	278	\$50,500
Lucille Roybal-Allard (D)	109	\$137,288
Ed Royce (R)	143	\$107,408
Linda Sanchez (D) <sup>c</sup>	404	\$12,750
Loretta Sanchez (D)	139	\$108,822
Adam Schiff (D) <sup>b</sup>	239	\$61,650
Brad Sherman (D)	184	\$84,556
Hilda Solis (D) <sup>b</sup>	328	\$33,857
Pete Stark (D)	198	\$78,970
Ellen Tauscher (D)	69	\$211,022
Bill Thomas (R)	20	\$497,939
Mike Thompson (D) <sup>a</sup>	149	\$103,712
Maxine Waters (D)	419	\$8,625
Diane Watson (D) <sup>b</sup>	401	\$13,450
Henry Waxman (D)	55	\$232,000
Lynn Woolsey (D)	360	\$25,200
<b>Colorado</b>		
Bob Beauprez (R) <sup>c</sup>	263	\$53,775
Diana DeGette (D)	145	\$105,374
Joel Hefley (R)	394	\$15,210
Marilyn Musgrave (R) <sup>c</sup>	378	\$20,200
John Salazar (D) <sup>d</sup>	347	\$28,994
Tom Tancredo (R) <sup>a</sup>	405	\$12,750
Mark Udall (D) <sup>a</sup>	196	\$79,925
<b>Connecticut</b>		
Rosa DeLauro (D)	54	\$239,946
Nancy Johnson (R)	26	\$381,645

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
John Larson (D) <sup>a</sup>	299	\$43,500
Christopher Shays (R)	286	\$47,554
Rob Simmons (R) <sup>b</sup>	214	\$70,339
<b>Delaware</b>		
Michael Castle (R)	179	\$87,900
<b>Florida</b>		
Michael Bilirakis (R)	146	\$104,916
Allen Boyd (D)	153	\$102,069
Corrine Brown (D)	292	\$45,750
Ginny Brown-Waite (R) <sup>c</sup>	335	\$32,843
Ander Crenshaw (R) <sup>b</sup>	320	\$37,436
Jim Davis (D)	259	\$54,633
Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R)	241	\$60,600
Mario Diaz-Balart (R) <sup>c</sup>	331	\$33,376
Tom Feeney (R) <sup>c</sup>	185	\$84,331
Mark Foley (R)	65	\$220,584
Katherine Harris (R) <sup>c</sup>	219	\$68,059
Alcee L Hastings (D)	305	\$42,127
Ric Keller (R) <sup>b</sup>	243	\$60,146
Connie Mack (R) <sup>d</sup>	290	\$46,300
Kendrick Meek (D) <sup>c</sup>	323	\$34,952
John Mica (R)	83	\$168,522
Jeff Miller (R) <sup>b</sup>	336	\$32,597
Adam Putnam (R) <sup>b</sup>	229	\$64,350
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R)	260	\$54,227
E Clay Shaw Jr (R)	35	\$319,064
Cliff Stearns (R)	203	\$74,096
Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D) <sup>d</sup>	374	\$20,550
Dave Weldon (R)	268	\$52,033
Robert Wexler (D)	302	\$42,478
C W Bill Young (R)	71	\$199,737
<b>Georgia</b>		
John Barrow (D) <sup>d</sup>	416	\$9,000
Sanford Bishop Jr (D)	130	\$116,014
Nathan Deal (R)	234	\$63,005
Phil Gingrey (R) <sup>c</sup>	362	\$24,791
Jack Kingston (R)	51	\$253,606
John Lewis (D)	205	\$73,548
John Linder (R)	166	\$95,439
Jim Marshall (D) <sup>c</sup>	341	\$30,000
Cynthia McKinney (D) <sup>b</sup>	392	\$15,650
Charles Norwood (R)	188	\$82,136
Tom Price (R) <sup>d</sup>	377	\$20,236
David Scott (D) <sup>c</sup>	324	\$34,950
Lynn Westmoreland (R) <sup>d</sup>	386	\$18,000

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
<b>Hawaii</b>		
Neil Abercrombie (D)	128	\$118,730
Ed Case (D) <sup>c</sup>	382	\$19,000
<b>Idaho</b>		
C.L. 'Butch' Otter (R) <sup>b</sup>	326	\$34,534
Mike Simpson (R) <sup>a</sup>	158	\$98,853
<b>Illinois</b>		
Melissa Bean (D) <sup>d</sup>	306	\$41,500
Judy Biggert (R) <sup>a</sup>	356	\$25,995
Jerry Costello (D)	310	\$40,907
Danny Davis (D)	240	\$61,000
Rahm Emanuel (D) <sup>c</sup>	210	\$71,792
Lane Evans (D)	352	\$27,846
Luis Gutierrez (D)	409	\$11,300
Dennis Hastert (R)	2	\$926,454
Henry Hyde (R)	93	\$150,707
Jesse Jackson Jr (D)	124	\$122,760
Timothy V Johnson (R) <sup>b</sup>	376	\$20,250
Mark Kirk (R) <sup>b</sup>	202	\$74,564
Ray LaHood (R)	84	\$168,488
Daniel Lipinski (D) <sup>d</sup>	430	\$2,422
Don Manzullo (R)	181	\$85,734
Bobby Rush (D)	366	\$23,350
Jan Schakowsky (D) <sup>a</sup>	338	\$30,101
John Shimkus (R)	193	\$80,131
Jerry Weller (R)	56	\$231,302
<b>Indiana</b>		
Dan Burton (R)	159	\$98,323
Steve Buyer (R)	207	\$72,760
Julia Carson (D)	368	\$22,741
Chris Chocola (R) <sup>c</sup>	334	\$33,084
John Hostettler (R)	402	\$13,201
Mike Pence (R) <sup>b</sup>	277	\$50,548
Michael Sodrel (R) <sup>d</sup>	423	\$6,464
Mark Souder (R)	389	\$16,450
Pete Visclosky (D)	24	\$382,920
<b>Iowa</b>		
Leonard Boswell (D)	247	\$57,994
Steven King (R) <sup>c</sup>	427	\$5,488
Tom Latham (R)	89	\$156,755
Jim Leach (R)	433	\$0
Jim Nussle (R)	97	\$145,794
<b>Kansas</b>		
Dennis Moore (D) <sup>a</sup>	152	\$102,147
Jerry Moran (R)	285	\$47,559

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
Jim Ryun (R)	365	\$23,750
Todd Tiahrt (R)	88	\$157,932
<b>Kentucky</b>		
Ben Chandler (D) <sup>p</sup>	370	\$22,111
Geoff Davis (R) <sup>d</sup>	380	\$19,650
Ron Lewis (R)	311	\$40,656
Anne Northup (R)	169	\$94,752
Hal Rogers (R)	17	\$544,282
Ed Whitfield (R)	120	\$125,684
<b>Louisiana</b>		
Rodney Alexander (R) <sup>c</sup>	303	\$42,445
Richard Baker (R)	37	\$308,098
Charles W Boustany Jr (R) <sup>d</sup>	379	\$20,194
William J Jefferson (D)	72	\$199,150
Bobby Jindal (R) <sup>d</sup>	280	\$49,488
Jim McCrery (R)	12	\$641,271
Charles J Melancon (D) <sup>d</sup>	333	\$33,087
<b>Maine</b>		
Tom Allen (D)	261	\$54,027
Mike Michaud (D) <sup>c</sup>	371	\$21,750
<b>Maryland</b>		
Roscoe Bartlett (R)	284	\$47,700
Ben Cardin (D)	44	\$267,691
Elijah Cummings (D)	227	\$65,750
Wayne Gilchrest (D)	393	\$15,250
Steny Hoyer (D)	5	\$780,880
Dutch Ruppersberger (D) <sup>c</sup>	403	\$12,900
Chris Van Hollen (D) <sup>c</sup>	36	\$315,072
Albert Wynn (D)	165	\$95,570
<b>Massachusetts</b>		
Michael Capuano (D) <sup>a</sup>	183	\$84,743
Bill Delahunt (D)	252	\$56,318
Barney Frank (D)	110	\$136,268
Stephen Lynch (D) <sup>b</sup>	319	\$37,550
Edward J Markey (D)	15	\$566,908
James McGovern (D)	104	\$140,379
Marty Meehan (D)	77	\$182,952
Richard Neal (D)	162	\$96,730
John Olver (D)	256	\$55,483
John Tierney (D)	357	\$25,400
<b>Michigan</b>		
Dave Camp (R)	82	\$168,695
John Conyers Jr (D)	101	\$142,079
John Dingell (D)	18	\$528,153
Vernon Ehlers (R)	313	\$39,800

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
Peter Hoekstra (R)	220	\$67,738
Dale Kildee (D)	269	\$51,610
Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D)	246	\$58,017
Joe Knollenberg (R)	41	\$280,882
Sander Levin (D)	59	\$225,421
Thad McCotter (R) <sup>c</sup>	400	\$13,832
Candice Miller (R) <sup>c</sup>	348	\$28,881
Mike Rogers (R) <sup>b</sup>	46	\$262,852
Joe Schwarz (R) <sup>d</sup>	414	\$9,821
Bart Stupak (D)	137	\$112,445
Fred Upton (R)	75	\$192,709
<b>Minnesota</b>		
Gil Gutknecht (R)	301	\$42,900
Mark Kennedy (R) <sup>b</sup>	95	\$147,487
John Kline (R) <sup>c</sup>	332	\$33,351
Betty McCollum (D) <sup>b</sup>	275	\$50,884
James Oberstar (D)	23	\$389,775
Collin Peterson (D)	244	\$59,300
Jim Ramstad (R)	96	\$146,570
Martin Olav Sabo (D)	74	\$194,483
<b>Mississippi</b>		
Charles "Chip" Pickering Jr (R)	40	\$282,937
Gene Taylor (D)	297	\$44,850
Bennie Thompson (D)	226	\$65,850
Roger Wicker (R)	123	\$123,150
<b>Missouri</b>		
Todd Akin (R) <sup>b</sup>	375	\$20,450
Roy Blunt (R)	9	\$653,571
Russ Carnahan (D) <sup>d</sup>	411	\$10,375
William L Clay Jr (D) <sup>b</sup>	383	\$18,549
Emanuel Cleaver (D) <sup>d</sup>	417	\$8,802
Jo Ann Emerson (R)	126	\$120,019
Sam Graves (R) <sup>b</sup>	251	\$56,842
Kenny Hulshof (R)	208	\$72,688
Ike Skelton (D)	92	\$153,040
<b>Montana</b>		
Denny Rehberg (R) <sup>b</sup>	167	\$95,290
<b>Nebraska</b>		
Jeffrey Fortenberry (R) <sup>d</sup>	428	\$5,250
Tom Osborne (R) <sup>b</sup>	432	\$200
Lee Terry (R) <sup>a</sup>	164	\$95,964
<b>Nevada</b>		
Shelley Berkley (D) <sup>a</sup>	134	\$114,588
Jim Gibbons (R)	172	\$93,562
Jon Porter (R) <sup>c</sup>	147	\$104,814



Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
<b>New Hampshire</b>		
Charles Bass (R)	281	\$49,121
Jeb Bradley (R) <sup>c</sup>	345	\$29,125
<b>New Jersey</b>		
Robert Andrews (D)	108	\$138,631
Mike Ferguson (R) <sup>b</sup>	48	\$260,604
Rodney Frelinghuysen (R)	78	\$181,288
Scott Garrett (R) <sup>c</sup>	327	\$34,500
Rush Holt (D) <sup>a</sup>	296	\$45,050
Frank LoBiondo (R)	230	\$64,125
Frank Pallone Jr (D)	156	\$100,247
Bill Pascrell Jr (D)	180	\$86,118
Donald Payne (D)	294	\$45,550
Steven Rothman (D)	154	\$101,506
Jim Saxton (R)	60	\$224,620
Chris Smith (R)	363	\$24,278
<b>New Mexico</b>		
Steve Pearce (R) <sup>c</sup>	307	\$41,475
Tom Udall (D) <sup>a</sup>	276	\$50,787
Heather Wilson (R)	68	\$211,547
<b>New York</b>		
Gary Ackerman (D)	304	\$42,250
Timothy Bishop (D) <sup>c</sup>	282	\$48,500
Sherwood Boehlert (R)	67	\$218,034
Joseph Crowley (D) <sup>a</sup>	195	\$80,051
Eliot Engel (D)	182	\$85,300
Vito Fossella (R)	151	\$103,080
Brian Higgins (D) <sup>d</sup>	407	\$12,586
Maurice Hinchey (D)	344	\$29,171
Steve Israel (D) <sup>b</sup>	288	\$47,220
Sue Kelly (R)	221	\$67,558
Pete King (R)	194	\$80,100
Randy Kuhl (R) <sup>d</sup>	387	\$17,750
Nita Lowey (D)	178	\$88,741
Carolyn Maloney (D)	231	\$64,010
Carolyn McCarthy (D)	200	\$77,250
John McHugh (R)	173	\$93,151
Michael McNulty (D)	337	\$30,550
Gregory Meeks (D) <sup>m</sup>	250	\$57,000
Jerrold Nadler (D)	270	\$51,600
Major Owens (D)	420	\$8,400
Charles Rangel (D)	13	\$598,742
Tom Reynolds (R) <sup>a</sup>	21	\$463,566
Jose Serrano (D)	359	\$25,230
Louise Slaughter (D)	267	\$52,257

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
John Sweeney (R) <sup>a</sup>	45	\$266,889
Edolphus Towns (D)	170	\$94,717
Nydia Velazquez (D)	213	\$70,850
James Walsh (R)	42	\$276,077
Anthony Weiner (D) <sup>a</sup>	388	\$16,600
<b>North Carolina</b>		
G.K. Butterfield (D) <sup>p</sup>	415	\$9,750
Howard Coble (R)	79	\$176,126
Bob Etheridge (D)	316	\$38,704
Virginia Foxx (R) <sup>d</sup>	426	\$6,000
Robin Hayes (R) <sup>a</sup>	80	\$174,189
Walter B Jones Jr (R)	174	\$91,977
Patrick McHenry (R) <sup>d</sup>	350	\$28,582
Mike McIntyre (D)	314	\$39,800
Brad Miller (D) <sup>c</sup>	322	\$35,369
Sue Myrick (R)	206	\$72,909
David Price (D)	118	\$127,889
Charles Taylor (R)	144	\$105,624
Melvin Watt (D)	308	\$41,278
<b>North Dakota</b>		
Earl Pomeroy (D)	50	\$254,830
<b>Ohio</b>		
John Boehner (R)	6	\$734,868
Sherrod Brown (D)	107	\$138,711
Steve Chabot (R)	201	\$74,730
Paul Gillmor (R)	225	\$66,127
Dave Hobson (R)	16	\$549,405
Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D) <sup>a</sup>	232	\$63,858
Marcy Kaptur (D)	238	\$61,850
Dennis Kucinich (D)	396	\$14,300
Steven LaTourette (R)	111	\$134,877
Bob Ney (R)	61	\$224,115
Michael Oxley (R)	7	\$711,494
Deborah Pryce (R)	30	\$349,175
Ralph Regula (R)	25	\$382,782
Tim Ryan (D) <sup>c</sup>	351	\$28,300
Jean Schmidt (R) <sup>q</sup>	406	\$12,750
Ted Strickland (D)	293	\$45,592
Patrick Tiberi (R) <sup>b</sup>	125	\$120,773
Michael Turner (R) <sup>c</sup>	353	\$27,450
<b>Oklahoma</b>		
Dan Boren (D) <sup>d</sup>	364	\$24,200
Tom Cole (R) <sup>c</sup>	129	\$116,268
Ernest Istook (R)	39	\$299,610
Frank Lucas (R)	339	\$30,045

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
John Sullivan (R) <sup>r</sup>	266	\$52,680
<b>Oregon</b>		
Earl Blumenauer (D)	133	\$115,081
Peter DeFazio (D)	287	\$47,450
Darlene Hooley (D)	186	\$84,280
Greg Walden (R) <sup>a</sup>	103	\$140,422
David Wu (D) <sup>a</sup>	233	\$63,150
<b>Pennsylvania</b>		
Robert Brady (D) <sup>m</sup>	272	\$51,498
Charles Dent (R) <sup>d</sup>	355	\$26,212
Mike Doyle (D)	140	\$108,022
Phil English (R)	85	\$164,519
Chaka Fattah (D)	236	\$62,703
Michael Fitzpatrick (R) <sup>d</sup>	329	\$33,848
Jim Gerlach (R) <sup>c</sup>	135	\$113,146
Melissa Hart (R) <sup>b</sup>	90	\$155,762
Tim Holden (D)	119	\$126,740
Paul Kanjorski (D)	106	\$139,650
Tim Murphy (R) <sup>c</sup>	254	\$56,164
John Murtha (D)	3	\$869,100
John Peterson (R)	209	\$72,123
Joe Pitts (R)	300	\$43,054
Todd Platts (R) <sup>b</sup>	425	\$6,275
Allyson Schwartz (D) <sup>d</sup>	315	\$39,000
Don Sherwood (R) <sup>a</sup>	116	\$128,350
Bill Shuster (R) <sup>b</sup>	102	\$142,000
Curt Weldon (R)	70	\$204,267
<b>Rhode Island</b>		
Patrick Kennedy (D)	32	\$332,356
Jim Langevin (D) <sup>b</sup>	330	\$33,800
<b>South Carolina</b>		
Gresham Barrett (R) <sup>c</sup>	289	\$46,616
Henry Brown (R) <sup>b</sup>	235	\$62,788
James Clyburn (D)	132	\$115,488
Bob Inglis (R) <sup>d</sup>	361	\$24,975
John M Spratt Jr (D)	62	\$223,676
Joe Wilson (R) <sup>b</sup>	114	\$129,464
<b>South Dakota</b>		
Stephanie Herseth (D) <sup>q</sup>	98	\$145,521
<b>Tennessee</b>		
Marsha Blackburn (R) <sup>c</sup>	222	\$67,079
Jim Cooper (D) <sup>c</sup>	325	\$34,550
Lincoln Davis (D) <sup>c</sup>	413	\$10,248
John J Duncan Jr (R)	63	\$222,252
Harold E Ford Jr (D)	52	\$252,056

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>Rank in House</b>	<b>Total Contributions Received</b>
Bart Gordon (D)	163	\$96,574
Bill Jenkins (R)	369	\$22,333
John Tanner (D)	122	\$123,721
Zach Wamp (R)	189	\$80,839
<b>Texas</b>		
Joe Barton (R)	19	\$519,303
Henry Bonilla (R)	14	\$585,568
Kevin Brady (R)	190	\$80,670
Michael Burgess (R) <sup>c</sup>	309	\$41,185
John Carter (R) <sup>c</sup>	176	\$91,527
Mike Conaway (R) <sup>d</sup>	398	\$14,117
Henry Cuellar (D) <sup>d</sup>	410	\$10,750
John Culberson (R) <sup>b</sup>	295	\$45,200
Tom DeLay (R)	1	\$1,322,906
Lloyd Doggett (D)	160	\$97,587
Chet Edwards (D)	57	\$230,052
Louis Gohmert (R) <sup>d</sup>	412	\$10,249
Charlie Gonzalez (D) <sup>a</sup>	223	\$67,000
Kay Granger (R)	81	\$171,130
Al Green (D) <sup>d</sup>	431	\$2,000
Gene Green (D)	192	\$80,195
Ralph Hall (R)	138	\$110,476
Jeb Hensarling (R) <sup>c</sup>	141	\$107,710
Ruben Hinojosa (D)	346	\$29,125
Sheila Jackson Lee (D)	279	\$49,625
Eddie Bernice Johnson (D)	367	\$23,050
Sam Johnson (R)	136	\$112,483
Kenny Marchant (R) <sup>d</sup>	381	\$19,005
Michael McCaul (R) <sup>d</sup>	372	\$21,750
Randy Neugebauer (R) <sup>c</sup>	245	\$58,715
Solomon Ortiz (D)	161	\$96,950
Ron Paul (R)	424	\$6,350
Ted Poe (R) <sup>d</sup>	421	\$7,325
Silvestre Reyes (D)	148	\$104,729
Pete Sessions (R)	43	\$269,517
Lamar Smith (R)	76	\$184,214
Mac Thornberry (R)	358	\$25,250
<b>Utah</b>		
Rob Bishop (R) <sup>c</sup>	385	\$18,250
Chris Cannon (R)	91	\$154,914
Jim Matheson (D) <sup>b</sup>	187	\$82,672
<b>Vermont</b>		
Bernie Sanders (I)	429	\$5,000
<b>Virginia</b>		
Rick Boucher (D)	49	\$255,973

Member of Congress	Rank in House	Total Contributions Received
Eric Cantor (R) <sup>b</sup>	22	\$448,997
Jo Ann Davis (R) <sup>b</sup>	257	\$55,014
Tom Davis (R)	8	\$672,769
Thelma Drake (R) <sup>d</sup>	399	\$14,050
Randy Forbes (R) <sup>b</sup>	255	\$55,518
Virgil H Goode Jr (R)	249	\$57,718
Bob Goodlatte (R)	99	\$143,900
Jim Moran (D)	11	\$644,310
Bobby Scott (R)	291	\$46,044
Frank Wolf (R)	27	\$362,947
<b>Washington</b>		
Brian Baird (D) <sup>a</sup>	265	\$52,979
Norm Dicks (D)	29	\$356,682
Doc Hastings (R)	197	\$79,642
Jay Inslee (D) <sup>a</sup>	175	\$91,580
Rick Larsen (R) <sup>b</sup>	127	\$119,972
Jim McDermott (D)	321	\$36,894
Cathy McMorris (R) <sup>d</sup>	354	\$26,507
Dave Reichert (R) <sup>d</sup>	373	\$21,525
Adam Smith (D)	105	\$139,876
<b>West Virginia</b>		
Shelley Moore Capito (R) <sup>b</sup>	157	\$99,008
Alan Mollohan (D)	86	\$163,800
Nick Rahall (D)	142	\$107,416
<b>Wisconsin</b>		
Tammy Baldwin (D) <sup>a</sup>	217	\$69,300
Mark Green (R) <sup>a</sup>	342	\$29,563
Ron Kind (D)	237	\$62,202
Gwen Moore (D) <sup>d</sup>	418	\$8,750
David Obey (D)	28	\$357,115
Tom Petri (R)	53	\$240,543
Paul Ryan (R) <sup>a</sup>	150	\$103,650
F James Sensenbrenner Jr (R)	94	\$148,974
<b>Wyoming</b>		
Barbara Cubin (R)	212	\$71,359

<sup>a</sup> Joined House in 1999

<sup>b</sup> Joined House in 2001

<sup>c</sup> Joined House in 2003

<sup>d</sup> Joined House in 2005

<sup>m</sup> Joined House after special election in 1998

<sup>p</sup> Joined House after special election in 2004

<sup>q</sup> Joined House after special election in 2004

<sup>r</sup> Joined House after special election in 2002

**Figure 21: All Current Members' Contributions Received from Lobbyists, 1998-2006**

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
1	Rep. Tom DeLay (R)	Texas	\$1,322,906
2	Sen. Rick Santorum (R)	Pa.	\$1,163,560
3	Sen. Arlen Specter (R)	Pa.	\$1,019,317
4	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R)	Ill.	\$926,454
5	Sen. Harry Reid (D)	Nev.	\$889,223
6	Sen. Richard Shelby (R)	Ala.	\$886,982
7	Rep. John Murtha (D)	Pa.	\$869,100
8	Rep. Jerry Lewis (R)	Calif.	\$819,754
9	Rep. Steny Hoyer (D)	Md.	\$780,880
10	Sen. Conrad Burns (R)	Mont.	\$737,868
11	Rep. John Boehner (R)	Ohio	\$734,868
12	Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) <sup>b</sup>	N.Y.	\$720,477
13	Rep. Michael Oxley (R)	Ohio	\$711,494
14	Sen. Edward Kennedy (D)	Mass.	\$689,386
15	Rep. Tom Davis (R)	Va.	\$672,769
16	Sen. Christopher Dodd (D)	Conn.	\$666,223
17	Sen. Ted Stevens (R)	Alaska	\$663,120
18	Sen. Trent Lott (R)	Miss.	\$662,632
19	Rep. Roy Blunt (R)	Mo.	\$653,571
20	Rep. Don Young (R- At Large)	Alaska	\$652,448
21	Rep. Jim Moran (D)	Va.	\$644,310
22	Rep. Jim McCrery (R)	La.	\$641,271
23	Sen. Mary Landrieu (D)	La.	\$613,214
24	Rep. Charles Rangel (D)	N.Y.	\$598,742
25	Sen. Richard Burr (R) <sup>1</sup>	N.C.	\$587,921
26	Sen. Maria Cantwell (D) <sup>b</sup>	Wash.	\$586,912
27	Sen. Charles Grassley (R)	Iowa	\$586,697
28	Rep. Henry Bonilla (R)	Texas	\$585,568
29	Sen. Orrin Hatch (R)	Utah	\$584,824
30	Sen. Kent Conrad (D)	N.D.	\$575,707
31	Sen. Evan Bayh (D) <sup>a</sup>	Ind.	\$573,589
32	Rep. Edward J Markey (D)	Mass.	\$566,908
33	Rep. Dave Hobson (R)	Ohio	\$549,405
34	Rep. Hal Rogers (R)	Ky.	\$544,282
35	Rep. John Dingell (D)	Mich.	\$528,153
36	Sen. Max Baucus (D)	Mont.	\$523,096
37	Rep. Joe Barton (R)	Texas	\$519,303
38	Sen. Patty Murray (D)	Wash.	\$516,659
39	Sen. George Allen (R) <sup>b</sup>	Va.	\$515,678
40	Sen. Tom Harkin (D)	Iowa	\$501,164
41	Sen. Bill Frist (R)	Tenn.	\$499,684
42	Rep. Bill Thomas (R)	Calif.	\$497,939
43	Sen. Byron Dorgan (D)	N.D.	\$493,792
44	Sen. Mike DeWine (R)	Ohio	\$474,363

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
45	Sen. Christopher "Kit" Bond (R)	Mo.	\$473,445
46	Sen. Richard Durbin (D)	Ill.	\$463,753
47	Rep. Tom Reynolds (R) <sup>a</sup>	N.Y.	\$463,566
48	Rep. Eric Cantor (R) <sup>b</sup>	Va.	\$448,997
49	Sen. Patrick Leahy (D)	Vt.	\$448,245
50	Sen. Chuck Schumer (D) <sup>n</sup>	N.Y.	\$445,554
51	Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D) <sup>a</sup>	Ark.	\$439,270
52	Sen. Mitch McConnell (R)	Ky.	\$438,961
53	Sen. John McCain (R)	Ariz.	\$422,138
54	Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D)	Md.	\$418,667
55	Sen. Gordon Smith (R)	Ore.	\$417,162
56	Sen. John Sununu (R) <sup>k</sup>	N.H.	\$413,908
57	Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D)	Calif.	\$395,453
58	Sen. Tim Johnson (D)	S.D.	\$393,395
59	Rep. James Oberstar (D)	Minn.	\$389,775
60	Sen. Bill Nelson (D) <sup>b</sup>	Fla.	\$387,634
61	Rep. Pete Visclosky (D)	Ind.	\$382,920
62	Rep. Ralph Regula (R)	Ohio	\$382,782
63	Rep. Nancy Johnson (R)	Conn.	\$381,645
64	Sen. Judd Gregg (R)	N.H.	\$372,713
65	Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D)	Conn.	\$366,754
66	Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D) <sup>o</sup>	Mich.	\$364,026
67	Rep. Frank Wolf (R)	Va.	\$362,947
68	Sen. Barbara Boxer (D)	Calif.	\$362,197
69	Rep. David Obey (D)	Wis.	\$357,115
70	Rep. Norm Dicks (D)	Wash.	\$356,682
71	Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D)	N.M.	\$355,194
72	Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R) <sup>k</sup>	Ga.	\$351,551
73	Rep. Deborah Pryce (R)	Ohio	\$349,175
74	Sen. Jon Kyl (R)	Ariz.	\$347,271
75	Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D)	Calif.	\$347,219
76	Sen. Thad Cochran (R)	Miss.	\$340,315
77	Sen. Tom Carper (D) <sup>b</sup>	Del.	\$336,210
78	Sen. Ben Nelson (D) <sup>b</sup>	Neb.	\$334,266
79	Sen. John Kerry (D)	Mass.	\$332,940
80	Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D)	R.I.	\$332,356
81	Rep. John T Doolittle (R)	Calif.	\$325,553
82	Rep. Richard Pombo (R)	Calif.	\$322,610
83	Sen. Richard Lugar (R)	Ind.	\$322,297
84	Sen. Lindsey Graham (R) <sup>k</sup>	S.C.	\$319,899
85	Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr (R)	Fla.	\$319,064
86	Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D) <sup>c</sup>	Md.	\$315,072
87	Rep. Richard Baker (R)	La.	\$308,098
88	Sen. James Inhofe (R)	Okla.	\$306,369
89	Rep. Howard P "Buck" McKeon (R)	Calif.	\$300,215
90	Rep. Ernest Istook (R)	Okla.	\$299,610

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
91	Sen. Robert Menendez (D) <sup>i</sup>	N.J.	\$299,409
92	Sen. John Ensign (R) <sup>g</sup>	Nev.	\$294,937
93	Rep. Charles "Chip" Pickering Jr (R)	Miss.	\$282,937
94	Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R)	Mich.	\$280,882
95	Sen. Chuck Hagel (R)	Neb.	\$277,727
96	Sen. Robert Bennett (R)	Utah	\$277,594
97	Rep. James Walsh (R)	N.Y.	\$276,077
98	Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R) <sup>b</sup>	Alaska	\$274,765
99	Sen. Jim Bunning (R) <sup>n</sup>	Ky.	\$274,110
100	Rep. Pete Sessions (R)	Texas	\$269,517
101	Rep. Ben Cardin (D)	Md.	\$267,691
102	Rep. John Sweeney (R) <sup>a</sup>	N.Y.	\$266,889
103	Sen. Daniel Inouye (D)	Hawaii	\$265,438
104	Rep. Mike Rogers (R) <sup>b</sup>	Mich.	\$262,852
105	Sen. Joseph Biden (D)	Del.	\$262,517
106	Rep. David Dreier (R)	Calif.	\$261,985
107	Rep. Mike Ferguson (R) <sup>b</sup>	N.J.	\$260,604
108	Sen. Jim DeMint (R) <sup>i</sup>	S.C.	\$257,390
109	Rep. Rick Boucher (D)	Va.	\$255,973
110	Rep. Earl Pomeroy (D)	N.D.	\$254,830
111	Rep. Jack Kingston (R)	Ga.	\$253,606
112	Rep. Harold E Ford Jr (D)	Tenn.	\$252,056
113	Sen. David Vitter (R) <sup>i</sup>	La.	\$246,471
114	Sen. Olympia Snowe (R)	Maine	\$245,562
115	Rep. Tom Petri (R)	Wis.	\$240,543
116	Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D)	Conn.	\$239,946
117	Sen. John Warner (R)	Va.	\$235,641
118	Rep. Henry Waxman (D)	Calif.	\$232,000
119	Rep. Jerry Weller (R)	Ill.	\$231,302
120	Rep. Chet Edwards (D)	Texas	\$230,052
121	Rep. Jim Kolbe (R)	Ariz.	\$227,885
122	Rep. Sander Levin (D)	Mich.	\$225,421
123	Sen. Susan Collins (R)	Maine	\$225,130
124	Rep. Jim Saxton (R)	N.J.	\$224,620
125	Rep. Bob Ney (R)	Ohio	\$224,115
126	Rep. John M Spratt Jr (D)	S.C.	\$223,676
127	Rep. John J Duncan Jr (R)	Tenn.	\$222,252
128	Sen. Mike Crapo (R) <sup>n</sup>	Idaho	\$221,506
129	Rep. Ed Pastor (D)	Ariz.	\$220,730
130	Rep. Mark Foley (R)	Fla.	\$220,584
131	Rep. Duncan Hunter (R)	Calif.	\$220,205
132	Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchinson (R)	Texas	\$220,164
133	Rep. Sherwood Boehlert (R)	N.Y.	\$218,034
134	Rep. Heather Wilson (R)	N.M.	\$211,547
135	Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D)	Calif.	\$211,022
136	Sen. George Voinovich (R) <sup>a</sup>	Ohio	\$209,970



Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
137	Rep. Curt Weldon (R)	Pa.	\$204,267
138	Sen. Jeff Sessions (R)	Ala.	\$203,289
139	Sen. Sam Brownback (R)	Kan.	\$203,176
140	Rep. C W Bill Young (R)	Fla.	\$199,737
141	Rep. William J Jefferson (D)	La.	\$199,150
142	Sen. Pete Domenici (R)	N.M.	\$198,739
143	Rep. Spencer Bachus (R)	Ala.	\$198,510
144	Rep. Martin Olav Sabo (D)	Minn.	\$194,483
145	Sen. John Thune (R) <sup>e</sup>	S.D.	\$194,341
146	Sen. John Rockefeller IV (D)	W.Va.	\$193,217
147	Sen. Jack Reed (D)	R.I.	\$193,063
148	Sen. Johnny Isakson (R) <sup>l</sup>	Ga.	\$192,867
149	Rep. Fred Upton (R)	Mich.	\$192,709
150	Sen. Robert Byrd (D)	W.Va.	\$190,851
151	Sen. Ron Wyden (D)	Ore.	\$184,620
152	Rep. Lamar Smith (R)	Texas	\$184,214
153	Rep. Marty Meehan (D)	Mass.	\$182,952
154	Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen (R)	N.J.	\$181,288
155	Rep. Howard Coble (R)	N.C.	\$176,126
156	Rep. Robin Hayes (R) <sup>a</sup>	N.C.	\$174,189
157	Rep. Kay Granger (R)	Texas	\$171,130
158	Rep. Dave Camp (R)	Mich.	\$168,695
159	Rep. John Mica (R)	Fla.	\$168,522
160	Rep. Ray LaHood (R)	Ill.	\$168,488
161	Rep. Phil English (R)	Pa.	\$164,519
162	Rep. Alan Mollohan (D)	W.Va.	\$163,800
163	Sen. Jim Talent (R) <sup>o</sup>	Mo.	\$162,750
164	Rep. J.D. Hayworth (R)	Ariz.	\$162,251
165	Sen. Larry Craig (R)	Idaho	\$158,275
166	Rep. Todd Tiahrt (R)	Kan.	\$157,932
167	Rep. Tom Latham (R)	Iowa	\$156,755
168	Rep. Melissa Hart (R) <sup>b</sup>	Pa.	\$155,762
169	Rep. Chris Cannon (R)	Utah	\$154,914
170	Rep. Ike Skelton (D)	Mo.	\$153,040
171	Rep. Henry Hyde (R)	Ill.	\$150,707
172	Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D)	Md.	\$150,442
173	Rep. F James Sensenbrenner Jr (R)	Wis.	\$148,974
174	Rep. Mark Kennedy (R) <sup>b</sup>	Minn.	\$147,487
175	Rep. Jim Ramstad (R)	Minn.	\$146,570
176	Rep. Jim Nussle (R)	Iowa	\$145,794
177	Rep. Stephanie Herseth (D) <sup>q</sup>	S.D.	\$145,521
178	Sen. Michael Enzi (R)	Wyo.	\$143,903
179	Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R)	Va.	\$143,900
180	Rep. Howard Berman (D)	Calif.	\$143,800
181	Rep. John Conyers Jr (D)	Mich.	\$142,079
182	Rep. Bill Shuster (R) <sup>b</sup>	Pa.	\$142,000

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
183	Rep. Greg Walden (R) <sup>a</sup>	Ore.	\$140,422
184	Rep. James McGovern (D)	Mass.	\$140,379
185	Rep. Adam Smith (D)	Wash.	\$139,876
186	Rep. Paul Kanjorski (D)	Pa.	\$139,650
187	Rep. Sherrod Brown (D)	Ohio	\$138,711
188	Rep. Robert Andrews (D)	N.J.	\$138,631
189	Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard (D)	Calif.	\$137,288
190	Sen. Norm Coleman (R) <sup>c</sup>	Minn.	\$136,545
191	Rep. Barney Frank (D)	Mass.	\$136,268
192	Rep. Steven LaTourette (R)	Ohio	\$134,877
193	Rep. Doris Matsui (D) <sup>d</sup>	Calif.	\$134,000
194	Rep. Anna Eshoo (D)	Calif.	\$131,298
195	Rep. Joe Wilson (R) <sup>b</sup>	S.C.	\$129,464
196	Rep. Jane Harman (D)	Calif.	\$128,853
197	Sen. John Cornyn (R) <sup>c</sup>	Texas	\$128,529
198	Rep. Don Sherwood (R) <sup>a</sup>	Pa.	\$128,350
199	Rep. Robert Aderholt (R)	Ala.	\$128,091
200	Rep. David Price (D)	N.C.	\$127,889
201	Sen. Lincoln Chafee (R) <sup>b</sup>	R.I.	\$127,515
202	Rep. Tim Holden (D)	Pa.	\$126,740
203	Rep. Ed Whitfield (R)	Ky.	\$125,684
204	Rep. Ken Calvert (R)	Calif.	\$124,959
205	Rep. John Tanner (D)	Tenn.	\$123,721
206	Rep. Roger Wicker (R)	Miss.	\$123,150
207	Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr (D)	Ill.	\$122,760
208	Rep. Patrick Tiberi (R) <sup>b</sup>	Ohio	\$120,773
209	Rep. Jo Ann Emerson (R)	Mo.	\$120,019
210	Rep. Rick Larsen (R) <sup>b</sup>	Wash.	\$119,972
211	Sen. Wayne Allard (R)	Colo.	\$119,407
212	Sen. Craig Thomas (R)	Wyo.	\$118,791
213	Rep. Neil Abercrombie (D)	Hawaii	\$118,730
214	Rep. Tom Cole (R) <sup>c</sup>	Okla.	\$116,268
215	Rep. Sanford Bishop Jr (D)	Ga.	\$116,014
216	Rep. Xavier Becerra (D)	Calif.	\$115,857
217	Rep. James Clyburn (D)	S.C.	\$115,488
218	Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D)	Ore.	\$115,081
219	Rep. Shelley Berkley (D) <sup>a</sup>	Nev.	\$114,588
220	Rep. Jim Gerlach (R) <sup>c</sup>	Pa.	\$113,146
221	Rep. Sam Johnson (R)	Texas	\$112,483
222	Rep. Bart Stupak (D)	Mich.	\$112,445
223	Rep. Ralph Hall (R)	Texas	\$110,476
224	Rep. Loretta Sanchez (D)	Calif.	\$108,822
225	Rep. Mike Doyle (D)	Pa.	\$108,022
226	Rep. Jeb Hensarling (R) <sup>c</sup>	Texas	\$107,710
227	Rep. Nick Rahall (D)	W.Va.	\$107,416
228	Rep. Ed Royce (R)	Calif.	\$107,408

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
229	Rep. Charles Taylor (R)	N.C.	\$105,624
230	Rep. Diana DeGette (D)	Colo.	\$105,374
231	Rep. Michael Bilirakis (R)	Fla.	\$104,916
232	Sen. Pat Roberts (R)	Kan.	\$104,861
233	Rep. Jon Porter (R) <sup>c</sup>	Nev.	\$104,814
234	Rep. Silvestre Reyes (D)	Texas	\$104,729
235	Rep. Mike Thompson (D) <sup>a</sup>	Calif.	\$103,712
236	Rep. Paul Ryan (R) <sup>a</sup>	Wis.	\$103,650
237	Rep. Vito Fossella (R)	N.Y.	\$103,080
238	Rep. Dennis Moore (D) <sup>a</sup>	Kan.	\$102,147
239	Rep. Allen Boyd (D)	Fla.	\$102,069
240	Rep. Steven Rothman (D)	N.J.	\$101,506
241	Sen. James Jeffords (I)	Vt.	\$100,869
242	Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D)	Calif.	\$100,582
243	Sen. Carl Levin (D)	Mich.	\$100,394
244	Rep. Frank Pallone Jr (D)	N.J.	\$100,247
245	Rep. Shelley Moore Capito (R) <sup>b</sup>	W.Va.	\$99,008
246	Rep. Mike Simpson (R) <sup>a</sup>	Idaho	\$98,853
247	Rep. Dan Burton (R)	Ind.	\$98,323
248	Sen. Russ Feingold (D)	Wis.	\$98,276
249	Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D)	Texas	\$97,587
250	Sen. Elizabeth Dole (R) <sup>c</sup>	N.C.	\$97,000
251	Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D)	Texas	\$96,950
252	Rep. Richard Neal (D)	Mass.	\$96,730
253	Rep. Bart Gordon (D)	Tenn.	\$96,574
254	Rep. Lee Terry (R) <sup>a</sup>	Neb.	\$95,964
255	Rep. Albert Wynn (D)	Md.	\$95,570
256	Rep. John Linder (R)	Ga.	\$95,439
257	Rep. Denny Rehberg (R) <sup>b</sup>	Mont.	\$95,290
258	Rep. Bud Cramer (D)	Ala.	\$94,801
259	Rep. Anne Northup (R)	Ky.	\$94,752
260	Rep. Edolphus Towns (D)	N.Y.	\$94,717
261	Rep. George Radanovich (R)	Calif.	\$93,869
262	Rep. Jim Gibbons (R)	Nev.	\$93,562
263	Rep. John McHugh (R)	N.Y.	\$93,151
264	Rep. Walter B Jones Jr (R)	N.C.	\$91,977
265	Rep. Jay Inslee (D) <sup>a</sup>	Wash.	\$91,580
266	Rep. John Carter (R) <sup>c</sup>	Texas	\$91,527
267	Rep. Mary Bono (R) <sup>m</sup>	Calif.	\$90,195
268	Rep. Nita Lowey (D)	N.Y.	\$88,741
269	Rep. Michael Castle (R)	Del.	\$87,900
270	Rep. Bill Pascrell Jr (D)	N.J.	\$86,118
271	Rep. Don Manzullo (R)	Ill.	\$85,734
272	Rep. Eliot Engel (D)	N.Y.	\$85,300
273	Rep. Michael Capuano (D) <sup>a</sup>	Mass.	\$84,743
274	Rep. Brad Sherman (D)	Calif.	\$84,556

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
275	Rep. Tom Feeney (R) <sup>c</sup>	Fla.	\$84,331
276	Rep. Darlene Hooley (D)	Ore.	\$84,280
277	Rep. Jim Matheson (D) <sup>b</sup>	Utah	\$82,672
278	Rep. Charles Norwood (R)	Ga.	\$82,136
279	Rep. Zach Wamp (R)	Tenn.	\$80,839
280	Rep. Kevin Brady (R)	Texas	\$80,670
281	Rep. George Miller (D)	Calif.	\$80,504
282	Rep. Gene Green (D)	Texas	\$80,195
283	Rep. John Shimkus (R)	Ill.	\$80,131
284	Rep. Pete King (R)	N.Y.	\$80,100
285	Rep. Joseph Crowley (D) <sup>a</sup>	N.Y.	\$80,051
286	Rep. Mark Udall (D) <sup>a</sup>	Colo.	\$79,925
287	Rep. Doc Hastings (R)	Wash.	\$79,642
288	Rep. Pete Stark (D)	Calif.	\$78,970
289	Rep. Gary Miller (R) <sup>a</sup>	Calif.	\$78,355
290	Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D)	N.Y.	\$77,250
291	Sen. Mark Pryor (D) <sup>c</sup>	Ark.	\$77,206
292	Rep. Steve Chabot (R)	Ohio	\$74,730
293	Rep. Mark Kirk (R) <sup>b</sup>	Ill.	\$74,564
294	Rep. Cliff Stearns (R)	Fla.	\$74,096
295	Rep. Elton Gallegly (R)	Calif.	\$73,819
296	Rep. John Lewis (D)	Ga.	\$73,548
297	Rep. Sue Myrick (R)	N.C.	\$72,909
298	Rep. Steve Buyer (R)	Ind.	\$72,760
299	Rep. Kenny Hulshof (R)	Mo.	\$72,688
300	Rep. John Peterson (R)	Pa.	\$72,123
301	Rep. Rahm Emanuel (D) <sup>c</sup>	Ill.	\$71,792
302	Rep. Mike Rogers (R) <sup>c</sup>	Ala.	\$71,743
303	Rep. Barbara Cubin (R)	Wyo.	\$71,359
304	Rep. Nydia Velazquez (D)	N.Y.	\$70,850
305	Rep. Rob Simmons (R) <sup>b</sup>	Conn.	\$70,339
306	Rep. Jo Bonner (R) <sup>c</sup>	Ala.	\$69,934
307	Rep. John Shadegg (R)	Ariz.	\$69,362
308	Rep. Tammy Baldwin (D) <sup>a</sup>	Wis.	\$69,300
309	Rep. Rick Renzi (R) <sup>c</sup>	Ariz.	\$68,838
310	Rep. Katherine Harris (R) <sup>c</sup>	Fla.	\$68,059
311	Rep. Peter Hoekstra (R)	Mich.	\$67,738
312	Rep. Sue Kelly (R)	N.Y.	\$67,558
313	Rep. Marsha Blackburn (R) <sup>c</sup>	Tenn.	\$67,079
314	Rep. Charlie Gonzalez (D) <sup>a</sup>	Texas	\$67,000
315	Rep. Terry Everett (R)	Ala.	\$66,750
316	Rep. Paul Gillmor (R)	Ohio	\$66,127
317	Rep. Bennie Thompson (D)	Miss.	\$65,850
318	Rep. Elijah Cummings (D)	Md.	\$65,750
319	Sen. Lamar Alexander (R) <sup>c</sup>	Tenn.	\$65,500
320	Rep. Marion Berry (D)	Ark.	\$65,100

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
321	Rep. Adam Putnam (R) <sup>b</sup>	Fla.	\$64,350
322	Rep. Frank LoBiondo (R)	N.J.	\$64,125
323	Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D)	N.Y.	\$64,010
324	Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D) <sup>a</sup>	Ohio	\$63,858
325	Rep. David Wu (D) <sup>a</sup>	Ore.	\$63,150
326	Rep. Nathan Deal (R)	Ga.	\$63,005
327	Rep. Henry Brown (R) <sup>b</sup>	S.C.	\$62,788
328	Rep. Chaka Fattah (D)	Pa.	\$62,703
329	Rep. Ron Kind (D)	Wis.	\$62,202
330	Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D)	Ohio	\$61,850
331	Rep. Adam Schiff (D) <sup>b</sup>	Calif.	\$61,650
332	Rep. Danny Davis (D)	Ill.	\$61,000
333	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R)	Fla.	\$60,600
334	Rep. Wally Herger (R)	Calif.	\$60,390
335	Rep. Ric Keller (R) <sup>b</sup>	Fla.	\$60,146
336	Rep. Collin Peterson (D)	Minn.	\$59,300
337	Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R) <sup>c</sup>	Texas	\$58,715
338	Rep. Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D)	Mich.	\$58,017
339	Rep. Leonard Boswell (D)	Iowa	\$57,994
340	Rep. Darrell Issa (R) <sup>b</sup>	Calif.	\$57,916
341	Rep. Virgil H Goode Jr (R)	Va.	\$57,718
342	Rep. Gregory Meeks (D) <sup>m</sup>	N.Y.	\$57,000
343	Rep. Sam Graves (R) <sup>b</sup>	Mo.	\$56,842
344	Rep. Bill Delahunt (D)	Mass.	\$56,318
345	Rep. Mike Ross (D) <sup>b</sup>	Ark.	\$56,315
346	Rep. Tim Murphy (R) <sup>c</sup>	Pa.	\$56,164
347	Rep. Randy Forbes (R) <sup>b</sup>	Va.	\$55,518
348	Rep. John Olver (D)	Mass.	\$55,483
349	Rep. Jo Ann Davis (R) <sup>b</sup>	Va.	\$55,014
350	Rep. Grace Napolitano (D) <sup>a</sup>	Calif.	\$54,925
351	Rep. Jim Davis (D)	Fla.	\$54,633
352	Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R)	Fla.	\$54,227
353	Rep. Tom Allen (D)	Maine	\$54,027
354	Rep. Tom Lantos (D)	Calif.	\$53,800
355	Rep. Bob Beauprez (R) <sup>c</sup>	Colo.	\$53,775
356	Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D)	Calif.	\$53,023
357	Rep. Brian Baird (D) <sup>a</sup>	Wash.	\$52,979
358	Rep. John Sullivan (R) <sup>r</sup>	Okla.	\$52,680
359	Rep. Louise Slaughter (D)	N.Y.	\$52,257
360	Rep. Dave Weldon (R)	Fla.	\$52,033
361	Rep. Dale Kildee (D)	Mich.	\$51,610
362	Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D)	N.Y.	\$51,600
363	Rep. Lois Capps (D)	Calif.	\$51,575
364	Rep. Robert Brady (D) <sup>m</sup>	Pa.	\$51,498
365	Rep. Mike Honda (D) <sup>b</sup>	Calif.	\$51,450
366	Rep. Joe Baca (D) <sup>a</sup>	Calif.	\$51,430

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
367	Rep. Betty McCollum (D) <sup>b</sup>	Minn.	\$50,884
368	Rep. Tom Udall (D) <sup>a</sup>	N.M.	\$50,787
369	Rep. Mike Pence (R) <sup>b</sup>	Ind.	\$50,548
370	Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R)	Calif.	\$50,500
371	Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D)	Texas	\$49,625
372	Rep. Bobby Jindal (R) <sup>d</sup>	La.	\$49,488
373	Rep. Charles Bass (R)	N.H.	\$49,121
374	Sen. Mel Martinez (R) <sup>d</sup>	Fla.	\$49,050
375	Rep. Timothy Bishop (D) <sup>c</sup>	N.Y.	\$48,500
376	Rep. Artur Davis (D) <sup>c</sup>	Ala.	\$47,958
377	Sen. Barack Obama (D) <sup>d</sup>	Ill.	\$47,889
378	Rep. Roscoe Bartlett (R)	Md.	\$47,700
379	Rep. Jerry Moran (R)	Kan.	\$47,559
380	Rep. Christopher Shays (R)	Conn.	\$47,554
381	Rep. Peter DeFazio (D)	Ore.	\$47,450
382	Rep. Steve Israel (D) <sup>b</sup>	N.Y.	\$47,220
383	Rep. Gresham Barrett (R) <sup>c</sup>	S.C.	\$46,616
384	Rep. Connie Mack (R) <sup>d</sup>	Fla.	\$46,300
385	Rep. Bobby Scott (R)	Va.	\$46,044
386	Rep. Corrine Brown (D)	Fla.	\$45,750
387	Rep. Ted Strickland (D)	Ohio	\$45,592
388	Rep. Donald Payne (D)	N.J.	\$45,550
389	Rep. John Culberson (R) <sup>b</sup>	Texas	\$45,200
390	Rep. Rush Holt (D) <sup>a</sup>	N.J.	\$45,050
391	Rep. Gene Taylor (D)	Miss.	\$44,850
392	Rep. Devin Nunes (R) <sup>c</sup>	Calif.	\$43,605
393	Rep. John Larson (D) <sup>a</sup>	Conn.	\$43,500
394	Rep. Joe Pitts (R)	Pa.	\$43,054
395	Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D) <sup>h</sup>	N.J.	\$42,950
396	Rep. Gil Gutknecht (R)	Minn.	\$42,900
397	Rep. Robert Wexler (D)	Fla.	\$42,478
398	Rep. Rodney Alexander (R) <sup>c</sup>	La.	\$42,445
399	Rep. Gary Ackerman (D)	N.Y.	\$42,250
400	Rep. Alcee L Hastings (D)	Fla.	\$42,127
401	Rep. Melissa Bean (D) <sup>d</sup>	Ill.	\$41,500
402	Rep. Steve Pearce (R) <sup>c</sup>	N.M.	\$41,475
403	Rep. Melvin Watt (D)	N.C.	\$41,278
404	Rep. Michael Burgess (R) <sup>c</sup>	Texas	\$41,185
405	Rep. Jerry Costello (D)	Ill.	\$40,907
406	Rep. Ron Lewis (R)	Ky.	\$40,656
407	Rep. Bob Filner (D)	Calif.	\$39,977
408	Rep. Vernon Ehlers (R)	Mich.	\$39,800
409	Rep. Mike McIntyre (D)	N.C.	\$39,800
410	Rep. Allyson Schwartz (D) <sup>d</sup>	Pa.	\$39,000
411	Rep. Bob Etheridge (D)	N.C.	\$38,704
412	Rep. Sam Farr (D)	Calif.	\$38,525

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
413	Rep. Barbara Lee (D)	Calif.	\$38,450
414	Rep. Stephen Lynch (D) <sup>b</sup>	Mass.	\$37,550
415	Rep. Ander Crenshaw (R) <sup>b</sup>	Fla.	\$37,436
416	Rep. Jim McDermott (D)	Wash.	\$36,894
417	Rep. Brad Miller (D) <sup>c</sup>	N.C.	\$35,369
418	Rep. Kendrick Meek (D) <sup>m</sup>	Fla.	\$34,952
419	Rep. David Scott (D) <sup>c</sup>	Ga.	\$34,950
420	Rep. Jim Cooper (D) <sup>c</sup>	Tenn.	\$34,550
421	Rep. C.L. 'Butch' Otter (R) <sup>b</sup>	Idaho	\$34,534
422	Rep. Scott Garrett (R) <sup>c</sup>	N.J.	\$34,500
423	Rep. Hilda Solis (D) <sup>b</sup>	Calif.	\$33,857
424	Rep. Michael Fitzpatrick (R) <sup>d</sup>	Pa.	\$33,848
425	Rep. Jim Langevin (D) <sup>b</sup>	R.I.	\$33,800
426	Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R) <sup>c</sup>	Fla.	\$33,376
427	Rep. John Kline (R) <sup>c</sup>	Minn.	\$33,351
428	Rep. Charles J Melancon (D) <sup>d</sup>	La.	\$33,087
429	Rep. Chris Chocola (R) <sup>c</sup>	Ind.	\$33,084
430	Rep. Ginny Brown-Waite (R) <sup>c</sup>	Fla.	\$32,843
431	Rep. Jeff Miller (R) <sup>b</sup>	Fla.	\$32,597
432	Rep. Michael McNulty (D)	N.Y.	\$30,550
433	Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D) <sup>a</sup>	Ill.	\$30,101
434	Rep. Frank Lucas (R)	Okla.	\$30,045
435	Rep. Dan Lungren (R)	Calif.	\$30,000
436	Rep. Jim Marshall (D) <sup>c</sup>	Ga.	\$30,000
437	Sen. Daniel Akaka (D)	Hawaii	\$29,650
438	Rep. Mark Green (R) <sup>a</sup>	Wis.	\$29,563
439	Rep. John Boozman (R) <sup>b</sup>	Ark.	\$29,249
440	Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D)	N.Y.	\$29,171
441	Rep. Jeb Bradley (R) <sup>c</sup>	N.H.	\$29,125
442	Rep. Ruben Hinojosa (D)	Texas	\$29,125
443	Rep. John Salazar (D) <sup>d</sup>	Colo.	\$28,994
444	Rep. Candice Miller (R) <sup>c</sup>	Mich.	\$28,881
445	Rep. Raul Grijalva (D) <sup>c</sup>	Ariz.	\$28,600
446	Rep. Patrick McHenry (R) <sup>d</sup>	N.C.	\$28,582
447	Rep. Tim Ryan (D) <sup>c</sup>	Ohio	\$28,300
448	Rep. Lane Evans (D)	Ill.	\$27,846
449	Rep. Michael Turner (R) <sup>c</sup>	Ohio	\$27,450
450	Sen. Ken Salazar (D) <sup>d</sup>	Colo.	\$26,961
451	Rep. Cathy McMorris (R) <sup>d</sup>	Wash.	\$26,507
452	Rep. Charles Dent (R) <sup>d</sup>	Pa.	\$26,212
453	Rep. Judy Biggert (R) <sup>a</sup>	Ill.	\$25,995
454	Rep. John Tierney (D)	Mass.	\$25,400
455	Rep. Mac Thornberry (R)	Texas	\$25,250
456	Rep. Jose Serrano (D)	N.Y.	\$25,230
457	Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D)	Calif.	\$25,200
458	Rep. Bob Inglis (R) <sup>d</sup>	S.C.	\$24,975

Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
459	Rep. Phil Gingrey (R) <sup>c</sup>	Ga.	\$24,791
460	Rep. Chris Smith (R)	N.J.	\$24,278
461	Rep. Dan Boren (D) <sup>d</sup>	Okla.	\$24,200
462	Rep. Jim Ryun (R)	Kan.	\$23,750
463	Rep. Bobby Rush (D)	Ill.	\$23,350
464	Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D)	Texas	\$23,050
465	Rep. Julia Carson (D)	Ind.	\$22,741
466	Rep. Bill Jenkins (R)	Tenn.	\$22,333
467	Rep. Ben Chandler (D) <sup>p</sup>	Ky.	\$22,111
468	Rep. Mike Michaud (D) <sup>c</sup>	Maine	\$21,750
469	Rep. Michael McCaul (R) <sup>d</sup>	Texas	\$21,750
470	Rep. Dave Reichert (R) <sup>d</sup>	Wash.	\$21,525
471	Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D) <sup>d</sup>	Fla.	\$20,550
472	Rep. Todd Akin (R) <sup>b</sup>	Mo.	\$20,450
473	Rep. Timothy V Johnson (R) <sup>b</sup>	Ill.	\$20,250
474	Rep. Tom Price (R) <sup>d</sup>	Ga.	\$20,236
475	Rep. Marilyn Musgrave (R) <sup>c</sup>	Colo.	\$20,200
476	Rep. Charles W Boustany Jr (R) <sup>d</sup>	La.	\$20,194
477	Rep. Geoff Davis (R) <sup>d</sup>	Ky.	\$19,650
478	Rep. Kenny Marchant (R) <sup>d</sup>	Texas	\$19,005
479	Rep. Ed Case (D) <sup>c</sup>	Hawaii	\$19,000
480	Rep. William L Clay Jr (D) <sup>b</sup>	Mo.	\$18,549
481	Rep. Trent Franks (R) <sup>c</sup>	Ariz.	\$18,250
482	Rep. Rob Bishop (R) <sup>c</sup>	Utah	\$18,250
483	Sen. Tom Coburn (R) <sup>j</sup>	Okla.	\$18,200
484	Rep. Lynn Westmoreland (R) <sup>d</sup>	Ga.	\$18,000
485	Rep. Randy Kuhl (R) <sup>d</sup>	N.Y.	\$17,750
486	Rep. Anthony Weiner (D) <sup>a</sup>	N.Y.	\$16,600
487	Rep. Mark Souder (R)	Ind.	\$16,450
488	Rep. Vic Snyder (D)	Ark.	\$16,050
489	Rep. Susan Davis (D) <sup>b</sup>	Calif.	\$16,000
490	Rep. Cynthia McKinney (D) <sup>d</sup>	Ga.	\$15,650
491	Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (D)	Md.	\$15,250
492	Rep. Joel Hefley (R)	Colo.	\$15,210
493	Rep. Jeff Flake (R) <sup>b</sup>	Ariz.	\$14,600
494	Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D)	Ohio	\$14,300
495	Rep. Dennis Cardoza (D) <sup>c</sup>	Calif.	\$14,268
496	Rep. Mike Conaway (R) <sup>d</sup>	Texas	\$14,117
497	Rep. Thelma Drake (R) <sup>d</sup>	Va.	\$14,050
498	Rep. Thad McCotter (R) <sup>c</sup>	Mich.	\$13,832
499	Rep. Diane Watson (D) <sup>b</sup>	Calif.	\$13,450
500	Rep. John Hostettler (R)	Ind.	\$13,201
501	Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger (D) <sup>c</sup>	Md.	\$12,900
502	Rep. Linda Sanchez (D) <sup>c</sup>	Calif.	\$12,750
503	Rep. Tom Tancredo (R) <sup>a</sup>	Colo.	\$12,750
504	Rep. Jean Schmidt (R) <sup>q</sup>	Ohio	\$12,750



Rank	Member of Congress	State	Total Contributions Received
505	Rep. Brian Higgins (D) <sup>d</sup>	N.Y.	\$12,586
506	Rep. Jim Costa (D) <sup>d</sup>	Calif.	\$11,600
507	Rep. Luis Gutierrez (D)	Ill.	\$11,300
508	Rep. Henry Cuellar (D) <sup>d</sup>	Texas	\$10,750
509	Rep. Russ Carnahan (D) <sup>d</sup>	Mo.	\$10,375
510	Rep. Louis Gohmert (R) <sup>d</sup>	Texas	\$10,249
511	Rep. Lincoln Davis (D) <sup>c</sup>	Tenn.	\$10,248
512	Rep. Joe Schwarz (R) <sup>d</sup>	Mich.	\$9,821
513	Rep. G.K. Butterfield (D) <sup>p</sup>	N.C.	\$9,750
514	Rep. John Barrow (D) <sup>d</sup>	Ga.	\$9,000
515	Rep. Emanuel Cleaver (D) <sup>d</sup>	Mo.	\$8,802
516	Rep. Gwen Moore (D) <sup>d</sup>	Wis.	\$8,750
517	Rep. Maxine Waters (D)	Calif.	\$8,625
518	Rep. Major Owens (D)	N.Y.	\$8,400
519	Rep. Ted Poe (R) <sup>d</sup>	Texas	\$7,325
520	Rep. John Campbell (R) <sup>d</sup>	Calif.	\$6,550
521	Rep. Michael Sodrel (R) <sup>d</sup>	Ind.	\$6,464
522	Rep. Ron Paul (R)	Texas	\$6,350
523	Rep. Todd Platts (R) <sup>b</sup>	Pa.	\$6,275
524	Rep. Virginia Foxx (R) <sup>d</sup>	N.C.	\$6,000
525	Rep. Steven King (R) <sup>c</sup>	Iowa	\$5,488
526	Rep. Jeffrey Fortenberry (R) <sup>d</sup>	Neb.	\$5,250
527	Rep. Bernie Sanders (I)	Vt.	\$5,000
528	Sen. Mark Dayton (D) <sup>b</sup>	Minn.	\$3,450
529	Rep. Daniel Lipinski (D) <sup>d</sup>	Ill.	\$2,422
530	Rep. Al Green (D) <sup>d</sup>	Texas	\$2,000
531	Rep. Tom Osborne (R) <sup>b</sup>	Neb.	\$200
532	Rep. Jim Leach (R)	Iowa	\$0
533	Sen. Herbert Kohl (D)	Wis.	\$0

<sup>a</sup> Joined Congress in 1999

<sup>b</sup> Joined Congress in 2001

<sup>c</sup> Joined Congress in 2003

<sup>d</sup> Joined Congress in 2005

<sup>e</sup> Served in House through 2002; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>f</sup> Served in House through 2000; Joined Senate in 2003

<sup>g</sup> Served in House through 1998; Joined Senate in 2001

<sup>h</sup> Served in Senate through 2000; Re-joined Senate in 2003

<sup>i</sup> Served in House through 2005; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>j</sup> Served in House through 2000; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>k</sup> Served in House through 2003; Joined Senate in 2003

<sup>l</sup> Served in House from 1999 through 2005; Joined Senate in 2005

<sup>m</sup> Joined House after special election in 1998

<sup>n</sup> Served in House through 1999; Joined Senate in 1999

<sup>o</sup> Served in House through 2001; Joined Senate in 2001

<sup>p</sup> Joined House after special election in 2004

<sup>q</sup> Joined House after special election in 2004

<sup>r</sup> Joined House after special election in 2002

## Appendix III: Methodology

Contributions by individuals were calculated by obtaining from the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) all Federal Election Commission (FEC) records of contributions to members of Congress, from 1998 through March 2006, from people living in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area; from individuals nationwide who listed employers that had been categorized by CRP as lobbying firms; and from individuals nationwide who listed any of about a dozen lobbying-oriented occupations, such as “lobbyist,” “government affairs,” or “legislative affairs.” These records were then matched with a list of 27,121 individuals who have registered as lobbyists with the secretary of the Senate since 1998, the earliest year for which the Senate maintains lobbying disclosure data online. The list of lobbyists also was obtained from CRP.

Campaign contributions of all individuals in the data set who have registered as lobbyists were included. This study’s methodology did not call for determining whether individuals were lobbyists at the time their campaign contributions were made.

Public Citizen also obtained all political action committee (PAC) contributions from organizations categorized by CRP as law firms or lobbying firms. Contributions from those firms that have registered to lobby on behalf of clients were included in this study.

Contributions to the campaign accounts and leadership PACs of members of Congress were treated equally. This study did not include contributions to the presidential campaign committees of members of Congress.

This study categorizes all contributions by a lobbyist’s household as contributions by that lobbyist. Because CRP assigns the same contributor ID to members of the same household, it was not possible in this study to distinguish between the contributions of husbands and wives who are both lobbyists. Consequently, certain prominent lobbyist couples, such as former representatives Bill Paxon and Susan Molinari (both R-N.Y.), are treated as a single campaign contributor.

Because the practice of matching first and last names carried the risk of producing incorrect matches, a significant percentage of the contributions identified and totaled in this report were closely examined. The contributions of each individual identified as a lobbyist who gave \$50,000 or more since 1998 were examined to confirm consistency in their records. (Those who gave \$50,000 or more contributed \$37.6 million to members of Congress in the time period studied, accounting for 48.7 percent of the money contributed by individuals.)

The lists of contributions of lobbyists who gave at least \$10,000 since 1998 and had one of the 20 most common surnames in the United States, as identified by the Census Bureau in 2000, were also closely examined. (Lobbyists who gave \$10,000 or more since 1998 contributed a total of \$64.3 million to members of Congress, accounting for 83.4 percent of the amount given.) Correcting the false-positive matches discovered by examining the records of all \$50,000-plus donors and the \$10,000-plus donors with popular surnames resulted in a reduction of only 0.5 percent in our assessment of the amount given by lobbyists since 1998.

Public Citizen sent each of the lobbyists who ranked in the top 20 an itemized list of their contributions via e-mail, and asked if any additions or subtractions to the FEC data were warranted. Two responded with concerns that were germane to this study. Lobbyist Gary Andres responded that his records contained inaccuracies that appeared to be double entries. A representative of lobbyist James Boland said the data forwarded to him contained errors. Boland's representative provided no specifics and did not respond to a follow-up e-mail message.

After re-examining Andres' and Boland's contributions, we eliminated from both of their data sets duplicative contributions – contributions of the same amount given on the same day to the same candidate. This was done in response to Andres' comment and the observation of campaign finance experts that FEC data is occasionally duplicative, due to committees filing amended reports. Cutting duplicate entries from the logs of Andres and Boland resulted in a reduction of \$7,500, or 3.3 percent, in Andres' contributions and a reduction of \$4,750, or 1.7 percent, in Boland's contributions.

We did not eliminate every "duplicate" record from our data set, as it was not possible to distinguish between spouses, who often give the same amount on the same date to the same candidate. In addition, separate contributions could be given on the same day for both a primary and general election, and therefore appear to be "duplicates."

## Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> This report dates to the beginning of 1998 because that is the earliest year for which lobbying disclosure data is available online.
- <sup>2</sup> Public Citizen analyzed the three lobbying firm PACs that made the most contributions to members of Congress. More than 99 percent of the contributors to these three PACs were made by the firms' employees.
- <sup>3</sup> The Center for Responsive Politics identifies contributions by employees of lobbying firms, so called hired guns, as coming from the lobbying industry. But it does not identify contributions by individuals who work as in-house lobbyists for non-lobbying firms as coming from the lobbying industry. Also, CRP does not include contributions to the leadership PACs of members of Congress in its calculations of contributions by the lobbying industry.
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- <sup>133</sup> New Jersey Statutes, Title 5, Chapter 12, Article 10.
- <sup>134</sup> Virginia Code, Title 59.1, Chapter 29, Article 2.
- <sup>135</sup> *Casino Association of Louisiana Inc. v. Louisiana*, U.S. Supreme Court, 2003; *Soto v. State of New Jersey*, Superior Court of New Jersey, Appellate Division, 1989.
- <sup>136</sup> Michigan Attorney General Opinion 7002, Dec. 17, 1998.
- <sup>137</sup> Delaware Code Title 18, Part I, Chapter 23, Section 2304; Florida Statutes Title XXXVII, Chapter 627, Part I, Section 0623; Montana Code Title 33, Chapter 18, Part 3; Washington Code, Title 48, Chapter 30, Section 110.
- <sup>138</sup> Florida Statutes Title IX, Chapter 106, Section 082.
- <sup>139</sup> Code of Georgia Title 21, Chapter 5, Article 2, Section 30(f).
- <sup>140</sup> Code of Georgia Title 21, Chapter 5, Article 2, Section 30.1.
- <sup>141</sup> *Buckley v. Valeo*, U.S. Supreme Court, 1976; *McConnell v. FEC*, U.S. Supreme Court, 2003.
- <sup>142</sup> *McConnell v. FEC*, U.S. Supreme Court, 2003.
- <sup>143</sup> *McConnell v. FEC*, U.S. Supreme Court, 2003.
- <sup>144</sup> “Federal Election Campaign Laws: A Short History,” available at Federal Election Commission Web site. ([www.fec.gov](http://www.fec.gov))
- <sup>145</sup> Chart created by the Center for Responsive Politics (available at [www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp](http://www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp)).
- <sup>146</sup> Chart created by the Center for Responsive Politics (available at [www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp](http://www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp)).
- <sup>147</sup> Chart created by the Center for Responsive Politics (available at [www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp](http://www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp)).
- <sup>148</sup> Chart created by the Center for Responsive Politics (available at [www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp](http://www.opensecrets.org/basics/law/index.asp)).