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# **PAYBACK TIME?**

## **THE SUPERCOMMITTEE**

### **AND FOSSIL FUEL SUBSIDIES**

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November 2011

 **PUBLIC  
CAMPAIGN**  
OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE.

 **OILCHANGE**  
INTERNATIONAL

## Executive Summary

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The Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction, also called the “supercommittee,” must vote by November 23<sup>rd</sup> on a plan that would reduce the deficit by at least \$1.5 trillion. Ending taxpayer subsidies to oil, gas, and coal companies has been suggested by Democratic leaders in Congress and many organizations as something for the chopping block. Numerous polls show at least two thirds of all Americans favour ending these subsidies, including majorities of Republicans, Democrats and Independents.

Subsidy removal is strongly opposed by dirty energy interests that benefit from these handouts, and they have an army of lobbyists and millions in campaign cash behind them, according to this report from Public Campaign and Oil Change International.

- The 12 members of the supercommittee have accepted at least \$4.2 million in dirty energy money over the last 11 years.
- Supercommittee members count at least 35 former or current staff with revolving door ties to energy interests.
- Subsidies to fossil fuels can be conservatively estimated<sup>1</sup> at \$10 billion a year or \$100 billion over the last decade.

While Public Campaign does not take positions on specific revenues and cuts, it believes many policies do not receive a fair hearing in a political system dominated by special interest money, particularly campaign money from big oil CEOs and lobbyists.

Oil Change International is a research and advocacy organization that conducts campaigns to expose the true price of oil, gas and coal. Oil Change hosts the Dirty Energy Money campaign, which calls on our elected officials to end all government handouts to oil, gas and coal companies and reject campaign contributions from these Dirty Energy industries.

**With tens of billions of dollars at stake, the dirty energy lobby is relying on their past and current multi-million dollar investments in friends on the deficit reduction supercommittee to keep their unwarranted and unpopular subsidies flowing. But unlike regular Americans, oil, coal, and electric utilities, in the words of convicted lobbyist Jack Abramoff, “own” large swaths of Congress. The only question that remains is will the twelve members of the Supercommittee listen to the money or the many?**

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.eli.org/Program\\_Areas/innovation\\_governance\\_energy.cfm](http://www.eli.org/Program_Areas/innovation_governance_energy.cfm)

## Introduction

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The Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction, or “supercommittee,” is charged with finding at least \$1.5 trillion in deficit reduction steps over the next ten years. One of the most obvious places to start would be the massive federal handouts that currently go to oil, gas and coal companies. According to 36 members of the House of Representatives<sup>2</sup>, as well as a coalition of 52 national and state groups<sup>3</sup>, the supercommittee could save taxpayers at least \$122 billion over ten years with some common-sense cuts to these out-dated and unnecessary programs, some of which have been in place for nearly 100 years.<sup>4</sup>

Despite their very loud and very well-financed cries to the contrary, the oil, coal and gas companies can certainly afford these cuts. These companies -- who count among their ranks some of the most profitable companies in human history -- simply do not need handouts from taxpayers. Over the last decade, the top five oil and gas companies reported over \$1 trillion in profits and over \$100 billion in profits in the first nine months of 2011.<sup>5</sup> Coal companies, which have been receiving government aid for nearly a century, have also seen their profits skyrocket in 2011. As supercommittee members look to find a balanced approach to deficit reduction, cutting Medicare or Social Security should not be done in order to keep wasteful fossil fuel subsidies in place.

Not only would ending handouts to the fossil fuel industry help reduce the deficit, it would also be good politics. Poll after poll has shown that Americans of all political orientations strongly favor ending these subsidies to the oil, gas and coal industries.<sup>6</sup>

Yet it’s clear that the members of the supercommittee are under intense pressure by the oil, coal and natural gas industries to take this huge source of deficit-savings off the table. The American Petroleum Institute for example has just launched television ads in the Republican supercommittee states of Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania making the false arguments that cutting these handouts will kill jobs and make gasoline more expensive.<sup>7</sup>

The fossil fuel industry employs a virtual army of lobbyists, more than one for every member of Congress. In 2011 the oil and gas industry has already spent more than \$75 million on lobbying, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. This lobbying is backed up by millions in campaign cash to make sure that Members of Congress -- including to the 12 members of the supercommittee -- put the interests of the fossil fuel industry ahead of the American people.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> [http://www.welch.house.gov/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1709:welch-to-supercommittee-save-122-billion-end-wasteful-subsidies-to-the-oil-industry&catid=39:2011-press-releases](http://www.welch.house.gov/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1709:welch-to-supercommittee-save-122-billion-end-wasteful-subsidies-to-the-oil-industry&catid=39:2011-press-releases)

<sup>3</sup> <http://priceofoil.org/2011/10/04/coalition-calls-for-end-to-122-billion-in-handouts-to-fossil-fuels/>

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/09/big\\_oil\\_cash.html](http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/09/big_oil_cash.html),

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/10/oilprofits\\_thirdquarter.html](http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/10/oilprofits_thirdquarter.html)

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.civilsocietyinstitute.org/media/110311release.cfm>

<sup>7</sup> <http://fuelfix.com/blog/2011/11/07/oil-group-pushes-tax-breaks-in-tv-ads/>

<sup>8</sup> All information on campaign contributions comes from analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. References to campaign contributions from “dirty energy” interests come from data analysis provided by

**Supercommittee members have accepted at least \$4.2 million in dirty energy money since 1999.**

**Table 1: Supercommittee members' campaign contributions from the oil, gas and coal industry (1999-2011)**

<b>Member</b>	<b>Dirty Energy Contributions</b>
Rep. Fred Upton (R-MI)	\$660,600
Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT)	\$580,125
Sen. Rob Portman (R-OH)	\$577,018
Rep. Dave Camp (R-MI)	\$512,744
Sen. Pat Toomey (R-PA)	\$490,065
Sen. Jon Kyl (R-AZ)	\$450,872
Rep. Jeb Hensarling (R-TX)	\$366,000
Rep. Jim Clyburn (D-SC)	\$348,300
Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA)	\$82,200
Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA)	\$80,800
Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D-MD)	\$67,000
Sen. John Kerry (D-MA)	\$48,955
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$4,264,679</b>

- The six Republicans on the committee have received 71% of dirty energy money on the committee, or just under \$3.1 million. Sen. Baucus is the only Democrat to have raised more than \$400,000 from these interests in the past decade.
- Some of the most prominent dirty energy campaign contributors to supercommittee members include CMS Energy, DTE Energy, Edison International, ExxonMobil, Koch Industries & Valero.

**Supercommittee members have accepted at least \$364,900 in contributions from the Koch brothers, their PAC, and spouses.**

The billionaire backers of the Tea Party, Charles and David Koch, have never seen government spending they liked, unless it came to their own oil and gas handouts. Koch Brothers campaign donations amount to over \$360,000 for just seven of the committee members. The only Democrat in receipt of Koch Brothers money, Sen. Max Baucus, accepted the most.

**Table 2: Supercommittee members' campaign contributions from the Kochs**

<b>Member</b>	<b>Koch Contributions</b>
Sen. Baucus	\$74,000
Rep. Camp	\$68,000
Rep. Upton	\$65,000
Sen. Kyl	\$59,500
Sen. Portman	\$34,000
Rep. Hensarling	\$33,000
Sen. Toomey	\$31,400
Rep. Becerra	\$0
Rep. Clyburn	\$0
Sen. Kerry	\$0
Sen. Murray	\$0
Rep. Van Hollen	\$0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$364,900</b>

**Many former aides to supercommittee members serve as lobbyists or work at firms that count dirty energy industry companies as clients.**

Almost all of the members of the supercommittee have former aides that now work as lobbyists for the fossil fuel industry, including several senior staffers like chiefs-of-staff, policy directors, and general counsels.

**At least four supercommittee members have attended fundraisers in 2011 sponsored by the fossil fuel industry**

- On March 11, 2011, Sen. Baucus held a fundraiser at the offices of the lobbying firm of Williams & Jensen whose clients in 2011 include Bass Enterprises Production (an oil and gas exploration company), Colonial Pipeline, Enbridge Pipelines, Oklahoma Gas & Electric, NextEra Energy, Pinnacle West Capital and Sunoco.<sup>9</sup>
- In August of 2011, former Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) hosted a fundraiser for Rep. Camp.<sup>10</sup> During 2011, Lott has personally lobbied on behalf of the America's Natural Gas Alliance, National Propane Gas Association, Royal Dutch Shell, and TECO Energy.<sup>11</sup>
- In June of 2011, Rep. Clyburn hosted a fundraiser at the lobbying firm Dickstein Shapiro, LLP, which represents Peabody Coal.<sup>1213</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Reception for Max Baucus. Invitation obtained by the Sunlight Foundation's PoliticalPartyTime.org. Available online at <http://politicalpartytime.org/party/25044/>.

<sup>10</sup> Sunlight Foundation, accessed [10/19/11](#)

<sup>11</sup> Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/19/11](#)

<sup>12</sup> PoliticalPartyTime.org, accessed [10/23/11](#)

<sup>13</sup> Center for Responsive Politics, accessed [10/23/11](#)

- On July 20, 2011 Sen. Toomey held a fundraiser at Johnny's Half Shell. Hosts included Mark Holman, a lobbyist at Ridge Policy Group who has represented the Marcellus Shale Coalition and Shipley Energy.

**Six supercommittee members have a personal financial interest in the profits of fossil fuel companies.**

Supercommittee members either have investments in these interests or mutual funds that invest in dirty energy interests. Rep. Camp and Sen. Kerry hold the most direct personal financial interest in these companies.

**All of the Republicans on the supercommittee have historically voted against ending fossil fuel subsidies, while the Democrats have a mixed record.**

Every Republican member of the supercommittee has voted in 2011 to keep wasteful oil subsidies in place. While Republicans on the supercommittee have voted in lockstep with dirty energy interests across the board, certain members have been more active on the issue. Democrats generally have a better voting record but also have a wildcard (Sen. Baucus) among their ranks.

Rep. Upton, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, has gotten increasingly conservative in his environmental positions just as dirty energy money took up a larger spot in his campaign coffers.

In April 2009 Upton stated, "*climate change is a serious problem that necessitates serious solutions.*" But in December 2010 he was arguing against EPA efforts to regulate greenhouse gases as "*an unconstitutional power grab that will kill millions of jobs*". The move to regulate these gases "*presumes that carbon is a problem in need of regulation. We are not convinced,*" he wrote with Tim Phillips, the president of Americans for Prosperity, a Koch Brothers funded front group.<sup>14</sup> Rep. Upton has been active in this Congress sponsoring a bill to prevent the EPA from regulating greenhouse gases and vociferously supporting the controversial Keystone XL pipeline.

Full influence profiles of all 12 supercommittee members are below.

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.americansforprosperity.org/122910-congressman-fred-upton-and-afps-tim-phillips-wsj-how-congress-can-stop-epas-power-grab#ixzz1anLVTC6E>

## Senator Max Baucus (D-MT)

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### Campaign Money

- Sen. Baucus has accepted at least \$580,125 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 58% coming from coal and 42% from oil and gas companies. Baucus' top dirty energy money contributors include Pennsylvania Power and Light (\$32,842), Dominion Resources (\$28,000), Southern Co. (\$24,000) and Edison International (\$21,800).
- Sen. Baucus's campaign committee has accepted at least \$14,500 from Koch Industries' PAC and executives. His leadership PAC has received an additional \$60,000.
- Since July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011 Baucus has accepted at least one contribution from the energy sector. The Action Committee for Rural Electrification gave \$1,000, bringing their total giving to Baucus in 2011 to \$4,000.

### Revolving Door

- Sen. Baucus' former chief of staff, David Castagnetti, is a partner at Mehlman, Vogel and Castagnetti. His clients include Koch Industries, American Petroleum Institute, Edison Electric Institute, Clean Energy Fuels, Exelon, Fluor Corporation, and Energy Futures Holdings.
- Brian Cavey, Baucus' former legislative director, is a lobbyist with the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.
- Michael Evans, Baucus' former legislative director and chief counsel for the Senate Finance Committee under Baucus, is a lobbyist with K&L Gates. His clients there include Peabody Energy and Overseas Shipholding Group. Patrick Heck, who served both as senior tax policy adviser to Baucus and chief tax counsel to the Senate Finance Committee under Baucus, is also a lobbyist at K&L Gates representing dirty energy clients.
- Jeff Forbes, former chief of staff to Baucus, lobbies with Cauthen, Forbes & Williams and has represented Bicent Power and Evergreen Energy.
- Nick Giordano, Baucus' former legislative director, is a lobbyist at Ernst & Young where he represents ExxonMobil.
- Greg Mastel was chief economist and international trade adviser to the Senate Finance Committee under Baucus. Mastel is now a lobbyist and managing director at Dutko Worldwide, where he represents Duke Energy. Prior to joining Dutko in 2010, he lobbied with Akin Gump where his clients included Royal Dutch Shell and Usibelli Coal Mine (in Alaska).

## Personal Financial Disclosure

- Based on the personal financial disclosure report he filed in May 2011, Sen. Baucus has invested in Occidental Petroleum, an oil and gas exploration and production company that ranks as the fourth largest oil and gas company in the U.S. This asset is valued between \$1,000 and \$15,000.
- In 2010, Baucus sold between \$1,000 and \$15,000 worth of the shares he held in Imperial Oil, a large petroleum company in Canada that is controlled by Exxon Mobil.

## Votes

Sen. Baucus has a **mixed** record of support for dirty energy interests:

- **Sen. Baucus voted against** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2010. [[Vote 187](#), 6/15/10]
- **Sen. Baucus voted for** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2011. [[Vote 72](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Baucus voted against** prohibiting the EPA from regulating Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2011. [[Vote 54](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Baucus voted for** energy conservation measures and support for clean energy in 2007. [[Vote 226](#), 6/21/07]
- **Sen. Baucus voted against** the federal government factoring in global warming into its planning. [[Vote 166](#), 5/15/07]

## Fundraisers

Sen. Baucus held a fundraiser on March 11, 2011 at the offices of the lobbying firm of Williams & Jensen whose clients in 2011 include Bass Enterprises Production (an oil and gas exploration company), Colonial Pipeline, Enbridge Pipelines, Oklahoma Gas & Electric, NextEra Energy, Pinnacle West Capital and Sunoco.

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

While Sen. Baucus has not said he will stop fundraising during the period that the supercommittee will be meeting, his office did announce it had canceled an October 4th fundraiser with the National Association of Realtors.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Supercommittee Supercommittee member Max Baucus cancels fundraiser (September 2, 2011), Public Campaign blog. Available online at <http://publiccampaign.org/blog/2011/09/02/SupercommitteeSupercommittee-member-max-baucus-cancels-fundraiser>.



## Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA)

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### Campaign Money

- Rep. Becerra has accepted at least \$82,200 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 79% coming from coal and 21% coming from oil and gas companies. Edison International has been by far Rep. Becerra's biggest dirty energy money contributor, having given \$55,750 since 1999. Other dirty energy donors include the American Gas Association (\$4,000), Chevron (\$3,500), BP (\$1,000) and Enron (\$500).

### Revolving Door

- John Walk, who served as Becerra's senior legislative assistant, has lobbied on behalf of Koch Industries and Southern Co.
- Gabe Francis, who served as a legislative assistant for Rep. Becerra, has lobbied on behalf of Ernst & Young since 2001. Francis has represented Exxon Mobil and the American Public Gas Association.
- Arshi Siddiqui, who served as Ways and Means counsel to Becerra, went on to lobby at Williams & Jensen and Akin, Gump. Both firms have represented dirty energy interests.

### Votes

In 2011 Rep. Becerra has consistently voted **against** dirty energy interests:

- **Rep. Becerra voted for** a motion to eliminate enhanced oil recovery tax credits and other oil industry subsidies and deductions. [[Vote 153](#), 3/1/11]
- **Rep. Becerra voted against** a bill calling on the President to expedite approval of the controversial Keystone XL pipeline. [[Vote 637](#), 7/26/11]
- **Rep. Becerra voted for** a resolution that states that Congress accepts EPA's finding that climate change is occurring, is caused largely by human activities, and poses significant risks for public health and welfare. [[Vote 236](#), 4/6/11]
- **Rep. Becerra voted against** opening the outer continental shelf to offshore drilling. [[Vote 320](#), 5/12/11]

### Fundraisers

In 2010, Rep. Becerra was the beneficiary of an "energy industry breakfast" hosted by the American Gas Association. Co-sponsors included the Edison International, Sempra Energy Employees, and PG&E Energy.

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Just hours after receiving an appointment to the supercommittee, lobbyists actively sought to court Rep. Becerra at a fundraiser.<sup>16</sup> Although Rep. Becerra denounced the public solicitation, he has continued to actively fundraise while serving on the committee.

## Rep. Dave Camp (R-MI)

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### Campaign Money

- Rep. Camp has accepted at least \$512,744 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 59% coming from coal interests and 41% coming from oil and gas companies. Camp's dirty energy contributors include DTE Energy (\$62,377), CMS Energy (\$54,300) and the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association (\$44,347).
- Since 1999, the PAC and employees of Koch Industries have contributed at least \$28,000 to Camp's election campaigns and another \$40,000 to his leadership PAC.
- Since July 1<sup>st</sup> 2011, Rep. Camp has accepted at least \$83,750 from the energy sector, including \$71,000 from the oil and gas industry. This includes \$8,000 from the Action Committee for Rural Electrification, \$5,000 from Chevron PAC, \$5,000 from Devon Energy PAC, \$2,500 from Koch Industries PAC, \$2,000 from Halliburton and \$2,500 each from the CEO and COO of Continental Resources.

### Revolving Door

- Dena Battle, Rep. Camp's former legislative director, is a principal at Capitol Counsel. In 2011, Battle personally lobbied on behalf of the American Petroleum Institute, Edison Electric Institute and Xcel Energy.
- Michael Haywood, a former legislative assistant to Rep. Camp, is a lobbyist for LTD Group. In 2011, Haywood personally lobbied on behalf of Duke Energy, Edison Electric Institute and Southern Co.

### Personal Financial Disclosure

Based on the personal financial disclosure report he filed in May of 2011, Rep. Camp holds assets in dirty energy companies worth between \$531,217 and \$1,181,000.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Politico*, [8/11/11](#)

<sup>17</sup> House Office of the Clerk, [6/15/11](#)

## Dirty Energy Assets on Rep. Camp's Personal Financial Disclosure Report

Asset Name	Value Low Estimate	Value High Estimate	Sold
Anadarko Petroleum	\$5,001	\$15,000	X
BHP Billiton Ltd ADR	\$50,001	\$100,000	
Chevron	\$50,001	\$100,000	
ConocoPhillips	\$15,001	\$50,000	
Devon Energy	\$50,001	\$100,000	
Energy Transfer Equity	\$50,001	\$100,000	
Exelon	\$1,001	\$15,000	
Exxon Mobil	\$50,001	\$100,000	
Freeport-McMoRan	\$50,001	\$100,000	
Molycorp Inc	\$15,001	\$50,000	
National Fuel Gas Co	\$15,001	\$50,000	
National Oilwell Varco	\$15,001	\$50,000	
NextEra Energy	\$15,001	\$50,000	
Occidental Petroleum	\$201	\$1,000	X
Peabody Energy	\$50,001	\$100,000	
Royal Dutch Shell	\$50,001	\$100,000	
Schlumberger Ltd	\$50,001	\$100,000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$531,217</b>	<b>\$1,181,000</b>	

## Votes

In 2011, Rep. Camp has consistently voted in favor of Dirty Energy interests.

- **Rep. Camp voted against** a motion to eliminate enhanced oil recovery tax credits and other oil industry subsidies and deductions. [[Vote 153](#), 3/1/11]
- **Rep. Camp voted for** a bill calling on the President to expedite approval of the controversial Keystone XL pipeline. [[Vote 637](#), 7/26/11]
- **Rep. Camp voted against** a resolution that states that Congress accepts EPA's finding that climate change is occurring, is caused largely by human activities, and poses significant risks for public health and welfare [[Vote 236](#), 4/6/11]
- **Rep. Camp voted for** opening the outer continental shelf to offshore drilling. [[Vote 320](#), 5/12/11]

## Fundraisers

In August of 2011, Rep. Camp was the beneficiary of a fundraiser hosted by former Senator Trent Lott.<sup>18</sup> During 2011, Lott has personally lobbied on behalf of the America's Natural Gas Alliance, National Propane Gas Association, Royal Dutch Shell, and TECO Energy.

<sup>18</sup> Sunlight Foundation, accessed [10/19/11](#)

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

According to the *National Journal*, Camp is “mindful of the appearance of conflict for members of the deficit committee hosting political fund-raisers and will not add any additional fund-raisers to his schedule while the committee is meeting. However, Camp said he would make good on all political fund-raisers scheduled before House Speaker John Boehner, R-Ohio, appointed him to the committee. ‘My view is, anything that was scheduled before, I’m going to continue with that schedule,’ Camp said, ‘[But] I’m not going to add new items of a fund-raising nature.’”<sup>19</sup>

Camp raised the most money out of any supercommittee member in the third quarter of 2011—bringing in more than \$700,000 between July 1 and September 30.

## Rep. Jim Clyburn (D-SC)

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### Campaign Money

- Rep. Clyburn has accepted at least \$348,300 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 87% coming from coal and 13% coming from oil and gas companies. This includes \$44,250 from Progress Energy, \$27,500 from Southern Co., \$8,000 from BP and \$2,750 from Exxon Mobil.
- Since July 1, 2011, Rep. Clyburn has accepted at least \$14,000 from the energy sector, including \$4,000 from the Action Committee for Rural Electrification PAC, \$2,000 from Arcadis PAC and \$2,000 from the PAC of the Society of Independent Gasoline Marketers of America.

### Revolving Door

- Immediately prior to joining Rep. Clyburn’s staff as a senior advisor, Matt Gelman worked for the Podesta Group, which lobbied for BP and Sunoco during his tenure.
- Prior to joining Rep. Clyburn’s staff as the coalitions director, Michael Hacker worked for Quinn & Gillespie, which has lobbied for the American Petroleum Institute.

### Votes

In 2011, Rep. Clyburn has consistently voted **against** dirty energy interests:

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<sup>19</sup> *National Journal*, [9/14/11](#)

- **Rep. Clyburn voted for** a motion to eliminate enhanced oil recovery tax credits and other oil industry subsidies and deductions. [[Vote 153](#), 3/1/11]
- **Rep. Clyburn voted against** a bill calling on the President to expedite approval of the controversial Keystone XL pipeline. [[Vote 637](#), 7/26/11]
- **Rep. Clyburn voted for** a resolution that states that Congress accepts EPA's finding that climate change is occurring, is caused largely by human activities, and poses significant risks for public health and welfare. [[Vote 236](#), 4/6/11]
- **Rep. Clyburn voted against** opening the outer continental shelf to offshore drilling. [[Vote 320](#), 5/12/11]

## Fundraisers

In June of 2011, Rep. Clyburn hosted a fundraiser at the lobbying firm Dickstein Shapiro, LLP, which represents Peabody Coal.

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Following Rep. Clyburn's appointment to the supercommittee he seemed to suggest that he would not fundraise, but Rep. Clyburn continues to fundraise while serving on the supercommittee. In September of 2011, Rep. Clyburn hosted at least six fundraisers.<sup>20</sup>

## Rep. Jeb Hensarling (R-TX)

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### Campaign Money

- Rep. Hensarling has accepted at least \$366,000 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 77% coming from oil and gas companies and 23% coming from coal. Top contributors include Koch Industries (\$33,000), Valero Energy (\$22,000), Exxon Mobil (\$17,250), ConocoPhillips (\$6,000), and Occidental Petroleum (\$6,000).
- Since July 1, 2011, Rep. Hensarling has accepted at least \$17,050 from the energy sector, including \$8,800 from the oil and gas industry. During this period, Rep. Hensarling accepted \$4,000 from Energy Future Holdings and \$1,000 each from the PACs of American Electric Power, DMS Energy and Dominion.

### Personal Financial Disclosure

According to Rep. Hensarling's 2011 personal financial disclosure form, he primarily holds investments in mutual funds. Collectively, the total value of these funds is between \$962,023 and \$2,355,000. Some of these funds hold stocks in dirty energy companies, including BP,

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<sup>20</sup> *Huffington Post*, [9/14/11](#)

Chevron, Exxon Mobil, Halliburton, Massey Energy, Occidental Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell and Valero Energy.<sup>212223</sup>

## Votes

In 2011, Rep. Hensarling has consistently voted in favor of Dirty Energy interests.

- **Rep. Hensarling voted against** a motion to eliminate enhanced oil recovery tax credits and other oil industry subsidies and deductions. [[Vote 153](#), 3/1/11]
- **Rep. Hensarling voted for** a bill calling on the President to expedite approval of the controversial Keystone XL pipeline. [[Vote 637](#), 7/26/11]
- **Rep. Hensarling voted against** a resolution that states that Congress accepts EPA's finding that climate change is occurring, is caused largely by human activities, and poses significant risks for public health and welfare. [[Vote 236](#), 4/6/11]
- **Rep. Hensarling voted for** opening the outer continental shelf to offshore drilling. [[Vote 320](#), 5/12/11]

## Fundraisers

Rep. Hensarling continues to fundraise, attend other members' fundraisers, and fundraise for his leadership PAC (JEB PAC).<sup>24</sup> All told, this year Rep. Hensarling has raised \$472,000 – 33 percent more than he did at this point in 2009.<sup>25</sup>

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Hensarling has continued to raise money while serving on the supercommittee.

## Senator John Kerry (D-MA)

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### Campaign Money

- Sen. Kerry has accepted at least \$48,955 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 78% coming from oil and gas companies and 22% from coal. This includes \$8,000 from Global Petroleum, \$2,500 from Chesapeake Energy and \$1,000 from Pickens Co.
- Since July 1, 2011 Kerry has not received any money from the energy sector.

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<sup>21</sup> Fidelity Overseas Fund, [2010 Annual Report](#)

<sup>22</sup> Fidelity VIP Dynamic Capital Appreciation Fund, [2010 Annual Report](#)

<sup>23</sup> Fidelity VIP Contra Fund, [2010 Annual Report](#)

<sup>24</sup> PoliticalPartyTime.org, [10/5/11](#)

<sup>25</sup> Center for Responsive Politics, [10/17/11](#)

## Revolving Door

- James Jones, a former speechwriter to Sen. Kerry's, joined APCO Worldwide in 2001. Since then, APCO has lobbied for Parker Drilling, Moncrief International and Yukos Oil. Jonathan Winer, who served as a former chief counsel and legislative assistant for Sen. Kerry, joined APCO Worldwide in 2008.
- Christopher Greeley, Sen. Kerry's former chief of staff, has worked for several firms that during his tenure have represented dirty energy interests including Alberta Energy, Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, Enron, and Nexen.
- James Houton, who served as a legislative aide for Sen. Kerry, has lobbied for Ameren and Royal Dutch Shell.
- Barry LaSala, who served as counsel for Sen. Kerry, personally lobbied for Ameren.
- Davod Leiter, who served as Kerry's chief of staff, has personally lobbied for Exxon Mobil since 2006.
- Frank Lowenstein, who served as a foreign policy advisor for Sen. Kerry, joined the Podesta Group in 2011. The firm lobbies for BP, Sunoco, and the National Mining Association.

## Personal Financial Disclosure

A majority of Sen. Kerry's assets are held in mutual funds and only a fraction of his overall wealth is held in stock. According to his 2011 personal financial disclosure form, he holds between \$1,073,014 and \$2,427,000 in dirty energy interests. Sen. Kerry's spouse holds at least an additional \$2 million in dirty energy interests.

### Dirty Energy Assets on Sen. Kerry's Personal Financial Disclosure Report

Asset Name	Value Low Estimate	Value High Estimate	Spouses' Asset
Alliant Energy Corp	\$1,001	\$15,000	
Apache Corp	\$250,001	\$500,000	
BP	\$1,001	\$17,000	
ConocoPhillips	\$2,002	\$33,000	
Devon Energy	\$200,002	\$500,000	
Exelon Corp	\$2,002	\$31,000	
Exxon Mobil	\$16,002	\$65,000	
Hess Corp	\$100,001	\$250,000	
Newfield Exploration Co	\$1,000,000		*
Noble Energy Inc	\$1,000,000		*
Southern Co.	\$1,001	\$15,000	
Ultra Petroleum	\$500,001	\$1,000,000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,073,014</b>	<b>\$2,427,000</b>	

*\*Spouses assets not factored into Sen. Kerry's personal dirty energy holdings*

## Votes

Sen. Kerry has a **mixed** record on supporting dirty energy interests

- **Sen. Kerry voted against** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2010. [[Vote 187](#), 6/15/10]
- **Sen. Kerry voted for** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2011. [[Vote 72](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Kerry voted against** prohibiting the EPA from regulating Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2011. [[Vote 54](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Kerry voted against** opening the outer continental shelf to drilling. [[Vote 73](#), 5/18/11]
- **Sen. Kerry voted for** energy conservation measures and support for clean energy in 2007. [[Vote 226](#), 6/21/07]
- **Sen. Kerry voted for** the federal government factoring in global warming into its planning. [[Vote 166](#), 5/15/07]

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Shortly after Sen. Kerry's appointment to the supercommittee, he pledged to abstain from fundraising until the committee adjourns.<sup>26</sup> Sen. Kerry's third quarter fundraising report revealed that he raised \$16,315, compared to the two previous quarters when he raised \$90,468 and \$185,057, respectively.<sup>27</sup> Most of that money came before he was appointed to the committee, essentially keeping his pledge.

## Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ)

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### Campaign Money

- Sen. Kyl has accepted at least \$450,872 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 52% coming from coal and 48% coming from oil and gas companies. This includes \$18,000 from ExxonMobil, \$14,500 from Koch Industries and \$14,000 from Chevron and \$7,000 from Halliburton.
- Koch Industries PAC has given an additional \$45,000 to Sen. Kyl's leadership PAC over his career.
- Since Sen. Kyl is not seeking reelection, he is currently fundraising on behalf of his leadership PAC and raising money for other candidates.

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<sup>26</sup> *Boston Globe*, [9/12/11](#)

<sup>27</sup> *Boston Globe*, [10/17/11](#)



## Revolving Door

- David Hoppe, will become Sen. Kyl's chief of staff, leaving his position as president of lobbying powerhouse Quinn & Gillespie. Hoppe has lobbied for the American Petroleum Institute and Entergy.<sup>28</sup>
- Cynthia Berry, who served as a legislative assistant for Sen. Kyl, is a lobbyist for Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates and has lobbied for BP.
- Corey McDaniel, who served as a legislative assistant for Sen. Kyl, previously lobbied for the American Petroleum Institute, Edison Electric Institute and the Gas Technology Institute.
- Manny Rossman, who served as Sen. Kyl's chief of staff, has subsequently lobbied for Chevron, Entergy, Limerick Energy, Royal Dutch Shell, TECO Energy and Triton Energy.
- Lawrence Willcox, who served as tax counsel for Sen. Kyl, has lobbied for Clean Coal Solutions, Edison Electric Institute, Exelon Corp, Gary-Williams Energy, and Koch Industries.

## Personal Financial Disclosure

According to Sen. Kyl's personal financial disclosure form, in 2010 his retirement funds held stock in ConocoPhillips, NRG Energy, Occidental Petroleum, Talisman Energy and Halliburton.

## Votes

Sen. Kyl has consistently voted **in favor of** dirty energy interests.

- **Sen. Kyl voted against** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2010. [[Vote 187](#), 6/15/10]
- **Sen. Kyl voted against** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2011. [[Vote 72](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Kyl voted for** prohibiting the EPA from regulating Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2011. [[Vote 54](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Kyl voted for** opening the outer continental shelf to drilling. [[Vote 73](#), 5/18/11]
- **Sen. Kyl voted against** energy conservation measures and support for clean energy in 2007. [[Vote 226](#), 6/21/07]
- **Sen. Kyl voted against** the federal government factoring in global warming into its planning. [[Vote 166](#), 5/15/07]

## Fundraisers

In September 2010, the National Mining Association PAC cosponsored a fundraiser benefiting Sen. Kyl's leadership PAC, the Senate Majority Fund.

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<sup>28</sup> *The Hill*, [10/21/11](#)

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

While Sen. Kyl is not seeking reelection and is no longer actively fundraising for his campaign account, he reported earning at least \$85,110 for his leadership PAC – the Senate Majority Fund – on his midyear FEC filing. He is also raising money for Republican Senate candidates.

## Senator Patty Murray (D-WA)

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### Campaign Money

- Sen. Murray has accepted at least \$80,800 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 52% coming from oil and gas companies and 48% coming from coal.
- According to the *Seattle Times*, as Chairwoman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) during the 2012 election cycle, Sen. Murray solicited a “five figure contribution” in a letter to a Koch Industries executive, but the committee later blamed it on a “staff error.”<sup>29</sup>

### Revolving Door

- James Jones, who served as a speechwriter to Sen. Murray, joined APCO Worldwide in 2001. Since then, APCO has lobbied for Parker Drilling, National Atomic Co, Moncrief International and Yukos Oil.
- Ben McMakin, who previously served as Sen. Murray’s legislative director, is a lobbyist for Van Ness Feldman. Van Ness Feldman has lobbied for America’s Natural Gas Alliance, Peabody Energy, Doyon Drilling Corporation and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, Gulf South Pipeline Corporation, Gilbarco, Northern Star Natural Gas and the Coal Utilization Research Council.
- Heather Meade, who previously served as Sen. Murray’s deputy scheduler and assistant to the chief of staff, joined Ernst & Young in 2009 as a senior manager. Since 2009, Ernst & Young has lobbied on behalf of the American Public Gas Association, Exxon Mobil and Transocean.
- Casey Sixkiller, who served as a policy advisor to Sen. Murray, joined McBee Strategic Consulting, a firm that has lobbied for Great Point Energy.
- Rick Desimone, Sen. Murray’s former chief-of-staff, also works for McBee Strategic Consulting.

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<sup>29</sup> *Seattle Times*, [7/7/11](#)

## Personal Financial Disclosure

According to Sen. Murray's 2010 personal financial disclosure form, she primarily holds investments in low-yield funds. These funds invest in dirty energy interests such as BP, Chevron, Exxon Mobil, Halliburton, Massey Energy, Occidental Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell and Transocean.

## Votes

Sen. Murray has consistently voted **against** dirty energy interests.

- **Sen. Murray voted for** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2010. [[Vote 187](#), 6/15/10]
- **Sen. Murray voted for** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2011. [[Vote 72](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Murray voted against** prohibiting the EPA from regulating Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2011. [[Vote 54](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Murray voted against** opening the outer continental shelf to drilling. [[Vote 73](#), 5/18/11]
- **Sen. Murray voted for** energy conservation measures and support for clean energy in 2007. [[Vote 226](#), 6/21/07]
- **Sen. Murray voted for** the federal government factoring in global warming into its planning. [[Vote 166](#), 5/15/07]
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## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

As chair of the DSCC, Murray has not given up fundraising during the supercommittee deliberations and she has indicated that she will continue to attend fundraising events.<sup>30</sup>

## Senator Rob Portman (R-OH)

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### Campaign Money

- Sen. Portman has accepted \$577,018 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 53% coming from oil and gas companies and 47% coming from coal. Portman's top dirty energy contributors include Marathon Oil (\$39,800), Duke Energy (\$32,250), Alliance Resource Partners (\$27,800) and Murray Energy (\$27,285).
- Portman has taken at least \$24,000 from Koch Industries PAC, Koch executives, and their spouses over his career, including \$9,600 in 2010 from each of the Koch brothers

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<sup>30</sup> *The Hill*, [8/10/11](#)

and their spouses (\$2,400 each from Charles and Elizabeth Koch, \$2,400 each from David and Julia Koch). Koch Industries PAC has also given an additional \$10,000 to Portman's leadership PAC, all in 2011.

- Since July 1, 2011 Portman has accepted at least \$10,000 from the energy sector, including \$2,500 each from Donald Evans (board chair of Energy Future Holdings) and his wife Susan, \$2,000 from Duke Energy PAC, and \$1,000 each from the PACs of Xcel Energy, Exelon and NextEra Energy.
- The Karl Rove-led American Crossroads spent \$820,605 to benefit Portman's 2010 election campaign. The group received substantial contributions from dirty energy interests, including a \$1 million donation from Chief Oil & Gas CEO Trevor Rees-Jones.

## Revolving Door

- Robert Lehman, currently serving his second stint as Portman's chief of staff (he was also chief of staff from 2003-2005), has been a lobbyist at Squire, Sanders & Dempsey where he has represented companies such as AES Corporation.
- Barbara Pate, Portman's former tax counsel and legislative director when he served in the House, is a lobbyist for Davis & Harman. One of her clients is NextEra Energy.

## Fundraisers

On July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011, Portman held an "Annual and Awesome Chili Fest" fundraiser with a slew of lobbyists at the National Republican Senatorial Committee offices. One of the event hosts was lobbyist Pat Raffaniello, whose clients include the National Mining Association and TECO Energy. Other hosts included Mark Valente a lobbyist who represents NACCO Industries, a holding company involved in coal mining.

## Personal Financial Disclosure

Based on the personal financial disclosure report he filed in May 2011, Portman holds between \$100,000 to \$250,000 in the Vanguard Energy Fund Admiral Series, which focuses investments in the energy sector, including oil, natural gas and coal. He also holds between \$50,000 and \$100,000 in the AMEX Utilities Select Sector SPDR fund, which invests primarily in electric and natural gas power producers and distributors, including Exelon Corporation, Southern Company and Dominion Resources Inc.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> <http://www.sectorspdr.com/eqsnaps/?do=snapshot&symbol=XLU>

## Votes

In 2011, Sen. Portman consistently voted in favor of dirty energy interests.

- **Sen. Portman voted against** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2011. [[Vote 72](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Portman voted for** prohibiting the EPA from regulating Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2011. [[Vote 54](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Portman voted for** opening the outer continental shelf to drilling. [[Vote 73](#), 5/18/11]

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Although Sen. Portman has continued to raise money during his tenure on the supercommittee, although he did say, “Personally, I’ve canceled a bunch of events.”<sup>32</sup>

## Senator Pat Toomey (R-PA)

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### Campaign Money

- Sen. Pat Toomey has accepted at least \$490,065 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 59% coming from oil and gas companies, and 41% coming from coal. Sen. Toomey’s top dirty energy contributor is Pennsylvania Power and Light (\$48,100).
- In the 2010 cycle, Koch Industries PAC, executives and their spouses gave a total of \$26,400 to Sen. Toomey’s campaign. The Koch brothers and their wives gave \$12,000 total. In 2011, Koch Industries PAC has given \$5,000 to Toomey’s leadership PAC.
- In the 2010 cycle, Halliburton’s PAC gave Toomey \$9,500.
- Since July 1<sup>st</sup>, Sen. Toomey has accepted at least \$2,000 from the energy sector, including from the PAC of GenOn Energy.
- Sen. Toomey benefited from \$1.5 million in spending by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a corporate trade group that has said the supercommittee “should not single out specific industries or individuals for punishment.”<sup>33</sup>

### Revolving Door

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<sup>32</sup> Public Campaign, [9/11/11](#).

<sup>33</sup> The Hill, [8/16/11](#).

Brian Wild, Sen. Toomey's chief of staff when he served in the House, has lobbied with the Nickles Group and now works for Mehlman, Vogel and Castagnetti. His clients include Koch Industries, American Petroleum Institute, Clean Energy Fuels and Energy Future Holdings.

## Personal Financial Disclosure

Based on the personal financial disclosure report he filed in May 2011, Sen. Toomey's assets include dirty energy mutual funds: one listing for the SPDR S&P Oil & Gas Equipment and Services fund (valued between \$50,000 and \$100,000) and two listings for the SPDR S&P Oil & Gas Exploration and Production fund (combined value between \$2,001 and \$30,000).

## Votes

Senator Toomey has consistently voted **in favor of** dirty energy interests.

- **Sen. Toomey voted against** eliminating oil and gas tax loopholes in 2011. [[Vote 72](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Toomey voted for** prohibiting the EPA from regulating Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2011. [[Vote 54](#), 5/17/11]
- **Sen. Toomey voted for** opening the outer continental shelf to drilling. [[Vote 73](#), 5/18/11]

## Fundraisers

On July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011, Sen. Toomey held a fundraiser at Johnny's Half Shell. Hosts included Mark Holman, a lobbyist at Ridge Policy Group who has represented the Marcellus Shale Coalition and Shipley Energy.

## Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Sen. Toomey has explicitly said that he will continue to fundraise while serving on the committee.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Public Campaign Action Fund, [9/14/11](#).

## Representative Fred Upton (R-MI)

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### Campaign Money

- Rep. Fred Upton has accepted at least \$660,600 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 65% coming from coal and 35% coming from oil and gas companies. Since 2007, he has accepted three times more dirty energy money (\$500,500) than he did from 1999 to 2006 (\$160,100). As his dirty energy money increased, Upton's position on climate changed.
- Rep. Upton's top dirty energy contributors include CMS Energy (\$70,200), DTE Energy (\$62,100), and American Electric Power (\$36,150). CMS Energy CEO John Russell recently gave Upton \$2,000.
- Koch Industries is another significant donor to Rep. Upton, giving \$25,000 directly to Upton's campaign committee and another \$40,000 to his leadership political action committee over his career.
- In the third quarter of 2011, Rep. Upton accepted at least \$60,900 from the energy sector, including \$45,000 from the oil and gas industry. His biggest dirty energy contributor in the third quarter was Southern Company, whose executives, including president and CEO Thomas Fanning, gave a total of \$13,250. Other recent dirty energy donors included the PACs of the American Petroleum Institute (\$2,500), Chevron (\$5,000), ConocoPhillips (\$2,500), Devon Energy (\$5,000), the Independent Petroleum Association of America (\$5,000), Halliburton (\$2,500), and Marathon Petroleum (\$5,000).

### Revolving Door

- Scott Aliferis, Rep. Upton's former legislative director, is now a lobbyist with K&L Gates. His clients include Peabody Energy, Shaw Group, and Overseas Shipholding Group.
- In early 2011, Michael Bloomquist became deputy general counsel of the committee Rep. Upton chairs (the House Energy and Commerce Committee), leaving the lobbying firm of Wiley Rein, where he lobbied for America's Natural Gas Alliance.

### Personal Financial Disclosure

Based on the personal financial disclosure report he filed in May 2011, Rep. Upton holds multiple assets in dirty energy companies.

- His two holdings of Chesapeake Energy, one jointly held with his spouse and one held as a family trust for his dependent child, have a combined value between \$150,002 and \$350,000. Chesapeake Energy is the second largest producer of natural gas in the U.S.
- Rep. Upton also holds stock in CME Group, Chevron, ConocoPhillips, Devon Energy, ExxonMobil and Southern Company.

- In total, he and his immediate family hold up to \$720,000 in dirty energy investments.

### Dirty Energy Assets on Upton's Personal Financial Disclosure Report (May 2011)<sup>35</sup>

Asset Name*	Value Low Estimate	Value High Estimate
Chesapeake Energy	\$150,002	\$350,000
Exxon Mobil (mostly held by spouse)	\$115,002	\$265,000
BP (Spouse)	\$1,001	\$15,000
Chester N. Antrim Drilling	\$1,001	\$15,000
CME Group	\$1,001	\$15,000
ConocoPhillips	\$1,001	\$15,000
Chevron	\$1,001	\$15,000
Devon Energy	\$1,001	\$15,000
Southern Company	\$1,001	\$15,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$272,011</b>	<b>\$720,000</b>

### Votes

In 2011, Rep. Upton has consistently voted **in favor of** dirty energy interests.

- **Rep. Upton voted against** a motion to eliminate enhanced oil recovery tax credits and other oil industry subsidies and deductions. [[Vote 153](#), 3/1/11].
- **Rep. Upton voted for** a bill calling on the President to expedite approval of the controversial Keystone XL pipeline. [[Vote 637](#), 7/26/11]
- **Rep. Upton voted against** a resolution that states that Congress accepts EPA's finding that climate change is occurring, is caused largely by human activities, and poses significant risks for public health and welfare. [[Vote 236](#), 4/6/11]
- **Rep. Upton voted for** opening the outer continental shelf to offshore drilling. [[Vote 320](#), 5/12/11]

### Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Rep. Upton has said that he will not schedule additional fundraisers while serving on the supercommittee,<sup>36</sup> but has continued to attend those already scheduled.

<sup>35</sup> Note: For most of these stocks, some or all of the reported value was listed under family trusts, which Upton reports as not being managed or controlled by him. The assets directly controlled by him or his spouse are Chesapeake Energy (\$50,001 to \$100,000 in value), Exxon Mobil (\$100,001 to \$250,000 in value), and Chester N. Antrim Drilling (\$1001 to \$15,000 in value).

<sup>36</sup> *Politico*, [9/11/11](#)



## Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D-MD)

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### Campaign Money

- Rep. Van Hollen has accepted at least \$67,000 in dirty energy money since 1999, with 54% coming from coal and 46% coming from oil and gas companies. This includes \$9,000 each from Constellation Energy and DTE Energy and \$6,000 from Edison International.
- From July 1 through September 30, 2011, Rep. Van Hollen seems to have only accepted \$500 from the energy sector in the form of one donation from EnerNOC.

### Revolving Door

Robert Friedman, who served as an aide to Rep. Van Hollen, joined Venable LLP as an associate. Venable lobbies on behalf of Nobel Energy, Vitol Inc. and Westmoreland Coal.

### Votes

In 2011 Rep. Van Hollen has consistently voted **against** dirty energy interests.

- **Rep. Van Hollen voted for** a motion to eliminate enhanced oil recovery tax credits and other oil industry subsidies and deductions. [[Vote 153](#), 3/1/11]
- **Rep. Van Hollen voted against** a bill calling on the President to expedite approval of the controversial Keystone XL pipeline. [[Vote 637](#), 7/26/11]
- **Rep. Van Hollen voted for** a resolution that states that Congress accepts EPA's finding that climate change is occurring, is caused largely by human activities, and poses significant risks for public health and welfare. [[Vote 236](#), 4/6/11]
- **Rep. Van Hollen voted against** opening the outer continental shelf to offshore drilling. [[Vote 320](#), 5/12/11]

### Position on Fundraising During Supercommittee Deliberations

Rep. Van Hollen has not indicated whether he will or will not continue fundraising during the supercommittee. Rep. Van Hollen has previously co-sponsored the Fair Elections Now Act, legislation that would allow candidates to run competitive campaigns for office without having to rely on wealthy campaign donors. In addition, he was the leading force behind the DISCLOSE Act, legislation introduced in response to the Supreme Court's *Citizens United* decision.

## Conclusion

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One lobbyist said he was going to prepare for the supercommittee by “writing 12 really large checks.”<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, middle class families struggling to put food on the table or Medicare recipients concerned about budget cuts can’t write big checks. They, likely, can’t even write a single one.

Supercommittee members must create a balanced approach to deficit reduction that’s not balanced on the backs of middle class families. Unfortunately, they’ll face intense pressure from wealthy special interests that like their tax breaks, loopholes and unnecessary subsidies.

The American people are concerned about this too. In a poll taken last month 72 percent of Americans, including 62 percent of Republicans, 74 percent of Independents, 54 percent of Tea Party supporters agreed with the statement that “America's oil, coal and natural gas companies have a disproportionate influence on Congress and the White House when it comes to making national energy policy.”<sup>38</sup>

Despite the fact that they are among the most profitable companies in human history and in the face of budget cuts to essential services for the poor and middle class, these industries continue to receive billions in government handouts every year in the form of subsidies and tax breaks shows just how broken Congress has become.

Supercommittee members are faced with stark choices as they try to get our nation’s fiscal house in order. At a time when families are struggling to make ends meet, we simply cannot afford to continue to waste billions of dollars each year in giveaways to fossil fuel companies. By eliminating these handouts they can reduce the deficit, safeguard a healthy environment for our children and help restore the American peoples’ constituents' faith in the ability of Congress to represent them.

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<sup>37</sup> Politico, [8/2/11](#).

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.civilsocietyinstitute.org/media/110311release.cfm>

**Oil Change International** campaigns to expose the true costs of fossil fuels and facilitate the coming transition towards clean energy. We are dedicated to identifying and overcoming political and economic barriers to that transition. Learn more at [www.priceofoil.org](http://www.priceofoil.org).

Oil Change International  
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Washington, DC 20002

For more information, contact Steve Kretzmann ([steve@priceofoil.org](mailto:steve@priceofoil.org)).

**Public Campaign** is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to sweeping campaign reform that aims to dramatically reduce the role of big special interest money in American politics. Public Campaign is laying the foundation for reform by working with a broad range of organizations, including local community groups, around the country that are fighting for change and national organizations whose members are not fairly represented under the current campaign finance system. Learn more at [www.publiccampaign.org](http://www.publiccampaign.org).

Public Campaign  
1133 19<sup>th</sup> Street NW, 9<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20036

For more information, contact Adam Smith ([asmith@publiccampaign.org](mailto:asmith@publiccampaign.org)).

### **Dirty Energy Money Campaign**

Both Oil Change International and Public Campaign are founding members of the Dirty Energy Money Campaign, which aims to eliminate government handouts to the oil, coal and gas industries and convince our elected officials to stop taking campaign contributions from these Dirty Energy Industries. Find out more at <http://dirtyenergymoney.com/>

## **Appendix: Methodology Notes**

### **Campaign Money**

Total amounts reported since 1999 from “dirty energy interests,” refer to data obtained from the Dirty Energy Money [website](#) profile for each Supercommittee member. Totals for top donors and the share of money from oil and gas compared to coal also comes from this site. For the most part, total amounts given by the PAC and employees of Koch Industries also come from the Dirty Energy Money site. At times, additional contributions, particularly from spouses of key senior Koch Industries executives were found using the Sunlight Foundation’s [Transparency Data](#) site, which draws upon data made available by the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP). All totals from Koch Industries to the leadership political action committees (“leadership PACs”) of members comes from analysis of data from Transparency Data, again drawing upon data made available by the Center for Responsive Politics.

Amounts reported for the period from July 1 through September 30, 2011 come from analysis of quarterly reports filed by members in October 2011 with the Federal Elections Commission. References to the “energy sector” and “oil and gas industry” follow the categorization schemes developed by the Center for Responsive Politics, but also include independent categorization of contributions, particularly those made by individuals.

Outside spending information was obtained from [CRP](#) and searches were done for notable expenditures for all cycles available for all Supercommittee members. Other campaign contribution information is cited on a case-by-case basis.

### **Revolving Door and Fundraisers**

Information on current and former staff who have also lobbied on behalf of dirty energy interests was obtained through searches on CRP’s [Revolving Door](#) and [Lobbying](#) sections.

Fundraiser invitations were obtained from Sunlight Foundation’s [Political Party Time](#) and information on hosts was obtained from CRP.

### **Personal Financial Disclosure**

Reports filed in May 2011 were examined and found on the CRP profile for each member under Other Data and Personal Finances ([e.g. for Kerry](#)). Information about mutual funds was found through general web searches.

### **Votes**

Voting records were obtained from [GovTrack](#) for house votes and [www.senate.gov](#) for Senate votes. The particular votes examined were chosen for their relevance to current debates on energy, offshore drilling and subsidies. The same votes were tracked for each candidate in the relevant chamber. In some cases the candidate was absent or not serving.