

# **Congressional Revolving Doors:**

**The Journey from Congress to K Street**



**Congress Watch  
July 2005**

## **Acknowledgments**

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## Executive Summary

The revolving door on the journey from Capitol Hill to the lucrative world of federal lobbying is spinning at a rapid rate. Congress is no longer a mere destination for those seeking a seat in one of the world's most famous legislative bodies. For many lawmakers, it has become a way station to wealth, a necessary period of job training and network building so that after leaving their public service jobs they can sell their influence to those with deep pockets.

Public Citizen analyzed hundreds of lobbyist registration documents filed in compliance with the Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) and the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), along with news media and industry reports detailing the journey of former members of Congress through the revolving door to the lucrative influence-peddling industry.

In analyzing the members of Congress who have left Capitol Hill since 1998, when lobbyist registration documents were first posted online, several notable findings emerged:

### **Lobbying is the Top Career Choice for Departing Members of Congress**

- Forty-three percent of the 198 members who have left Congress since 1998 and were eligible to lobby have become lobbyists. (Eligible former members excludes those who died in office, moved from one congressional house to another [i.e., House to the Senate], took a job in the executive branch during the course of their term that they have yet to relinquish or were incarcerated upon leaving.)
- Fifty percent of eligible departing senators have become lobbyists (18 of 36).
- Forty-two percent of eligible departing House members have become lobbyists (68 of 162).

### **Departing Republican Members Lead Democrats in the Rush to K Street**

- Almost 52 percent of the Republican members of Congress who left Capitol Hill since 1998 became lobbyists (58 of 112). Thirty-three percent of the departing Democrats chose the same career path (28 of 86).
- In the Senate, two-thirds (66.7 percent) of departing Republicans became lobbyists (12 of 18) compared with one-third (33.3 percent) of departing Democrats (6 of 18).
- In the House of Representatives, almost 49 percent of departing Republicans became lobbyists (46 of 94) compared with more than 32 percent of departing Democrats (22 of 68).

### **Partisan Power Appears to Affect Who Becomes a Lobbyist**

- In 2000, the year George W. Bush became president and the Republicans retained control of both houses of Congress, the percentage of departing Democrats who became lobbyists dropped sharply. Only 15 percent of Democrats (2 of 13) became lobbyists after the 2000 election compared with 62 percent of Republicans (23 of 37).

- In comparison, of the departing congressional class of 1998, 52 percent of the Democrats (12 of 23) became lobbyists versus 46 percent of the Republicans (11 of 24).
- Another possible explanation for the drop in Democrats in 2000 was the “K Street Project,” an initiative pushed by anti-tax activist Grover Norquist, and supported by House Republican leaders, was aimed at getting as many Republicans as possible hired by the influence industry.
- Half of the departing members of Congress from the class of 2000 became lobbyists (25 of 50). It is the highest percentage of departing members from any of the years analyzed (1998-2004).

### **Six States Had the Most Former Members Become Lobbyists**

- New York: 26 Representatives, 1 Senator
- Texas: 20 Representatives, 2 Senators
- Pennsylvania: 20 Representatives
- California: 17 Representatives
- Illinois: 13 Representatives, 2 Senators
- Florida: 13 Representatives, 1 Senator

### **A Case Study: Super-Lobbyist Bob Livingston**

Public Citizen conducted an extensive examination of one lawmaker turned lobbyist to determine how much lobbying revenue a former member of Congress can generate and how he interacts with his former colleagues.

Bob Livingston left Congress in 1999 amid allegations of extramarital affairs. Within a week of his departure, the former chairman of the House Appropriations Committee formed a lobbying shop named the Livingston Group. The scandal that forced him from Congress did not appear to hurt his earning potential as a lobbyist.

In its first year of business, the Livingston Group pulled in \$1.1 million, even though that was during Livingston’s cooling-off period in which he was prohibited from directly lobbying his former colleagues. The cooling-off period, however, does not restrict a former member from supervising or managing lobbyists, and Livingston took full advantage of that liberty.

Six years later, the Livingston Group is ranked as the 12<sup>th</sup> largest non-law lobbying firm in Washington and had taken in almost \$40 million from 1999 through the end of 2004.

The Livingston Group represents the special interests of three foreign governments, Turkey, Morocco and the Cayman Islands. They have paid him \$11 million from 2000 through 2004, with \$9 million coming from Turkey.

Because Turkey is one of Livingston’s oldest, largest and most loyal clients, Public Citizen analyzed two of his lobbying efforts on behalf of the Turkish government.

## **Livingston Lobbying Effort #1: \$1 Billion Supplemental Appropriation for Turkey**

In the spring of 2003, in the wake of U.S. hostility toward Turkey for its refusal to allow our troops to stage and operate from Turkish soil during the invasion of Iraq, a measure was introduced in Congress to delete a \$1 billion supplemental appropriation for Turkey.

An examination of FARA records reveals that in the days prior to the supplemental vote, Livingston used his influence and connections to reach not only his former colleagues on Capitol Hill but also top executive-branch officials. Livingston and his staff contacted members and staff of the House Appropriations Committee, which he used to chair. They also reached out to staff or members of the House International Relations Committee, the Senate Appropriations Committee, the Senate Armed Services Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee. Livingston also contacted the foreign policy advisor to House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) and escorted the Turkish ambassador on a strategic trip to the Capitol.

But the lobbying blitz did not end with Congress. FARA records show that Livingston and his people contacted aides to Vice President Dick Cheney and an undersecretary of state for political affairs.

Livingston's contacts and his success in reaching key people became evident when a vote was taken on the amendment to kill the \$1 billion supplemental appropriation on April 3, 2003. It was defeated 315 to 110. Turkey paid Livingston's firm \$1.8 million in 2003.

## **Livingston Lobbying Effort #2: Fighting Against the Recognition of Armenian Genocide by Turkey**

In 2003, a resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives that would have formally recognized the Armenian genocide that occurred between 1915 and 1923. Over 1.5 million Armenian men, women and children were slaughtered by the Ottoman Turks during that period. Turkey, a strong and militarily strategic U.S. ally, has always vehemently opposed recognition of the Armenian genocide.

Rep. Adam Schiff (D-Calif.), whose district has a high concentration of Armenian-Americans, introduced a resolution (H.R. 193) in 2003 calling for formal recognition of the genocide by the U.S. Congress. But, due in no small part to Turkey's main lobbyist Bob Livingston, the measure failed to get momentum.

But the stakes were raised in mid-July 2004 when Schiff unexpectedly said he intended to attach an amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, which would have prohibited Turkey from using U.S. foreign aid money to lobby against a House resolution acknowledging the Armenian genocide.

The measure was largely symbolic because a ban on using U.S. aid for lobbying already existed, but Schiff acknowledged that his real purpose was to put the House on record as recognizing the Armenian genocide.

Upon learning of the Schiff amendment, FARA records show that the Livingston Group kicked into high gear. In two days of intense lobbying, the Livingston Group contacted members or key

staff in 20 House offices, including Speaker Hastert (R-Ill.) and House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas). Livingston and his lobbyists also called Vice President Cheney's office, the National Security Council, the State Department, and an assistant secretary for the Defense Department.

Despite Livingston's lobbying efforts, Schiff's amendment survived an initial vote. On the day after the vote, FARA records show that Livingston personally contacted the offices of Cheney, Hastert and DeLay..

At about the same time, Hastert, DeLay and Majority Whip Roy Blunt (R-Mo.) issued a statement expressing their displeasure with the Schiff amendment and saying it would be killed in the conference committee.

Later Schiff said, "The Turkish lobby does have enormous power and influence. Unfortunately the House leadership has buckled under the pressure of Turkish lobbying."

### **The Campaign Contributions of a Super Lobbyist**

Like many lobbyists along Washington's famed K Street corridor, Livingston opens his wallet for a substantial number of candidates and political action committees (PACs) engaged in key political races. And in doing so, he engages in what may be the most influential form of lobbying.

Public Citizen analyzed political contributions made by Livingston, his wife and his two PACs. Combined they contributed \$503,449 to various candidates or their PACs from 2000 through 2004. Of that amount, Livingston and his wife Bonnie personally contributed a combined total of \$157,600.

Livingston was also able to use nearly \$316,000 in leftover campaign funds to buy access, spending \$202,000 by the end of 2004.

### **Recommendations to Slow Down the Revolving Door**

Public Citizen's investigation of congressional revolving doors indicates an urgent need to implement several reforms:

- **Extend the former members' cooling-off period to two years before they can begin lobbying.** This would effectively mean that former members would have to wait until the next term of Congress convenes before they could begin to personally lobby members and staff.
- **Include a prohibition on supervising lobbyists during the cooling-off period.** Existing rules only prohibit former members from directly contacting their former colleagues, posing no restrictions on supervisory activities or arm's length lobbying conducted by staff (often the former members' relocated congressional staffs). These liberties erode the value of the cooling-off period as a deterrent to overly cozy relationships between current and former members of Congress.

- **Revoke the special privileges that are afforded to former members of Congress.** These privileges, which include access to the House and Senate floor and to members-only gymnasiums and restaurants, should be revoked for any former member who becomes a registered lobbyist. This is the only way to ensure that a member turned lobbyist will not unfairly use these privileges for his clients' benefit.
- **Require members of Congress to disclose their employment negotiations.** While federal law prohibits employees of the executive branch from seeking future employment and simultaneously working on issues of interest to their potential employers, ethics rules on negotiating future employment are more lax for senators and their staff, and looser still for House members and staff. While both the Senate and House codes of ethics prohibit members and staff from receiving compensation in exchange for any favoritism in official actions, the rules effectively leave members to serve as their own arbiters of proper conduct.
- **Prohibit registered lobbyists from making, soliciting or arranging campaign contributions to those whom they lobby.** In the absence of a more specific disclosure system than currently exists, this ban should extend to all members of the houses of Congress lobbied. For example, if a person lobbies the Senate, that lobbyist should be banned from making contributions to all senators.

## Congressional Revolving Doors

For many years, departing members of Congress have gravitated to the lobbying industry after leaving Capitol Hill, passing through the so-called revolving door. The journey for the departing members has been short and often very profitable.

Washington’s lobbying shops have always been a good place for former lawmakers to capitalize on their associations and friendships with other members by selling their influence to those with deep pockets.

A new Public Citizen analysis of former members of Congress turned lobbyists going back to 1998 when lobbyist registration documents were first posted online, reveals the pervasiveness of the practice:

- Of the 198 members who left Congress since 1998 and are eligible to lobby, 43.4 percent ended up in the influence industry. [See Figure 1. Also, Appendix A contains a list of former members turned lobbyists, 1970-present.]
- While lobbying is the clear career choice for those leaving Capitol Hill, the trend skews higher among Republicans than Democrats. Of Republicans departing since 1998, 52 percent became lobbyists, as opposed to 33 percent of departing Democrats.
- Exactly half of the 36 departing senators since 1998 who were eligible to lobby ended up doing just that. Two-thirds (66.7 percent) of departing Republican senators entered the lobbying profession, which is twice the percentage (33.3 percent) of departing Democrats.
- In the House, 42 percent (68 out of 162) of departing representatives who were eligible to lobby, did so. Of the departed Republican representatives, 48.9 percent chose a lobbying career, which is considerably higher than the 32.4 percent of Democratic representatives who opted to lobby.

**Figure 1: Departing Members of Congress Who Have Become Lobbyists, 1998-2004**

	All	R (Both Houses)	D (Both Houses)	Senators	R Senators	D Senators	House Members	R Reps	D Reps
<b>Former Members Eligible to Lobby<sup>1</sup></b>	198	112	86	36	18	18	162	94	68
<b>Former Member Lobbyists</b>	86	58	28	18	12	6	68	46	22
<b>Pct. Who Became Lobbyists</b>	43.4%	51.8%	32.6%	50.0%	66.7%	33.3%	42.0%	48.9%	32.4%

*Source:* Public Citizen’s analysis of records filed with the Secretary of the Senate (Available at [sopr.senate.org](http://sopr.senate.org))

Note: This figure considers only those former members who are eligible to lobby. It excludes those who died in office, moved from one congressional house to another (i.e., House to the Senate), took a job in the executive branch during the course of their term that they have yet to relinquish, or who were incarcerated upon leaving.

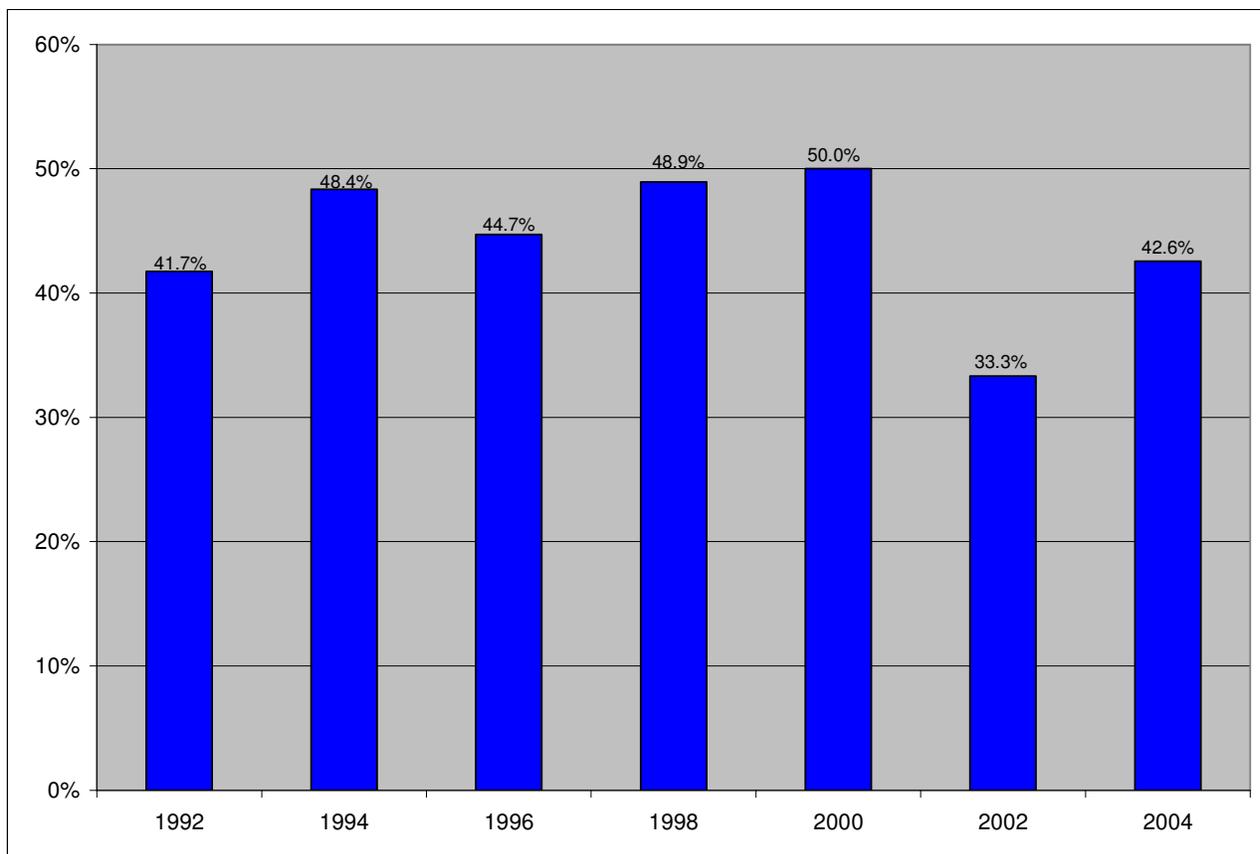
## Percentage of Members Who Became Lobbyists by Year

Public Citizen analyzed the number of lawmakers turned lobbyists from departing classes dating back to 1992. The departing congressional class of 2000 had the highest percentage of members who became lobbyists, at 50 percent (25 of 50). [See Figure 2] In the election cycle of 2002, the percentage of eligible members who became lobbyists dropped dramatically, with only one third of departing members choosing to lobby.

The actual percentage of ex-members turned lobbyists for the departing classes of 1992-1996 was probably higher than indicated in the figure below because records of lobbying registrations filed with Congress date only to 1998. Thus, the figure does not reflect ex-members from the classes of 1992-1996 who took lobbying jobs but quit lobbying before 1998.

These findings suggest that the choice of a lobbying career after serving in office has remained remarkably common and steady over the last decade.

**Figure 2: Percentage of Members of Congress Turned Lobbyists by Year of Departure, 1992-2004**



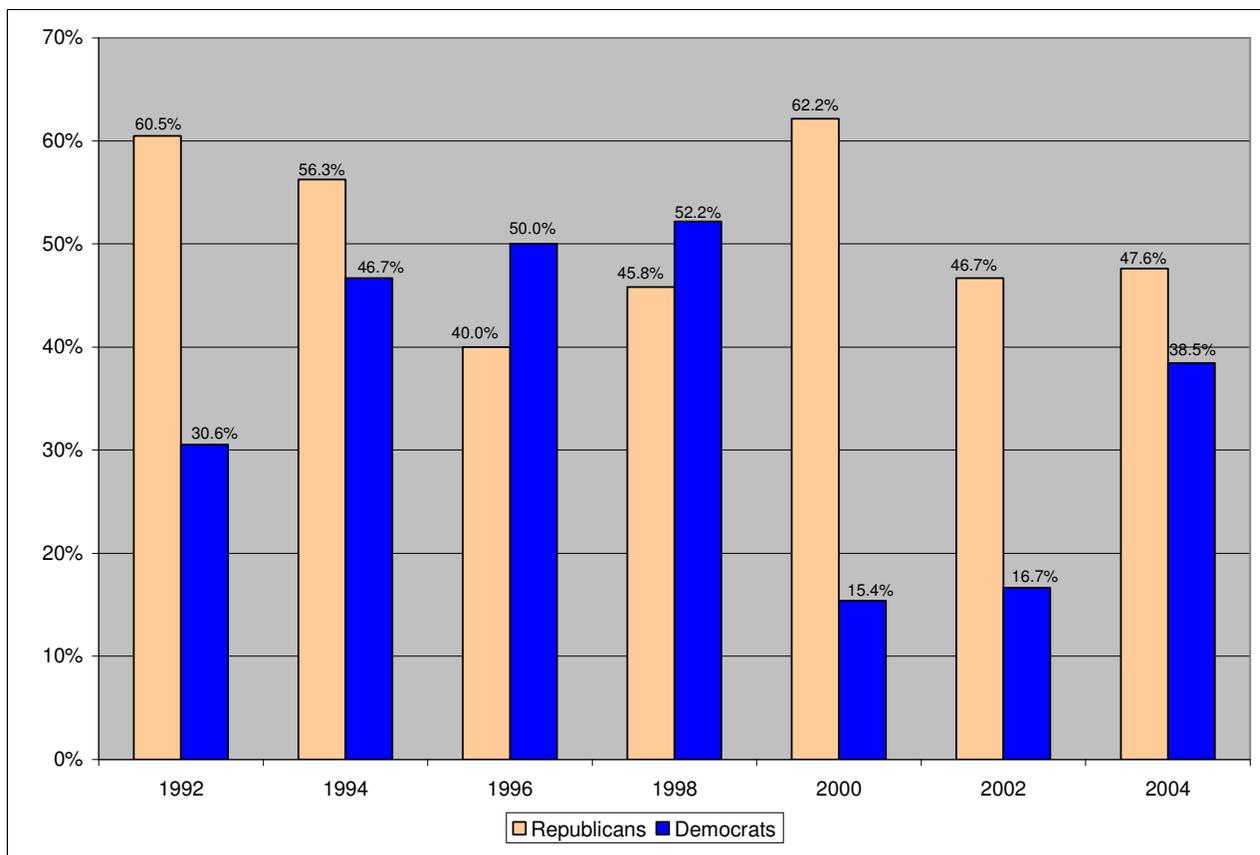
Source: Analysis of data from Public Citizen's lobbying database at [www.lobbyinginfo.org](http://www.lobbyinginfo.org)

## Party Breakdowns of Members-Turned-Lobbyists

In 2000, George W. Bush became president while the Republicans retained their control of both houses of Congress. In other words, it was a hostile landscape for lobbyists whose contacts were squarely in Democratic camps. This environment is reflected in a partisan breakdown of who became a lobbyist.

The percentage of Democrats who passed through the revolving door dropped dramatically for the class of 2000, when 62 percent of Republicans became lobbyists but only 15 percent of Democrats did so. [See Figure 3]

**Figure 3: Percentage of Members of Congress by Party Who Became Lobbyists, 1992-2004**



Source: Analysis of Public Citizen's data from lobbying database at [www.lobbyinginfo.org](http://www.lobbyinginfo.org)

By comparison, in 1996 and 1998, about half (50 percent in 1996 and 52 percent in 1998) of the Democrats became lobbyists, slightly outnumbering their Republican counterparts (40 percent in 1996 and 46 percent in 1998).

Another problem for Democrats trying to land lobbying jobs may have come in the form of the "K Street Project." It was a plan pushed by anti-tax activist Grover Norquist and backed by House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas). A primary aim of the project was to get as many Republicans as possible placed in Washington's K Street lobbying shops.<sup>1</sup>

One of the K Street Project's most notable efforts occurred in 1998 when DeLay and House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) held up a vote on intellectual property legislation, in part, to punish the Electronics Industry Association (EIA) for planning to hire former Democrat Rep. David McCurdy (D-Okla.) to run the group. The EIA had extensively lobbied for passage of the copyright measure.<sup>2</sup>

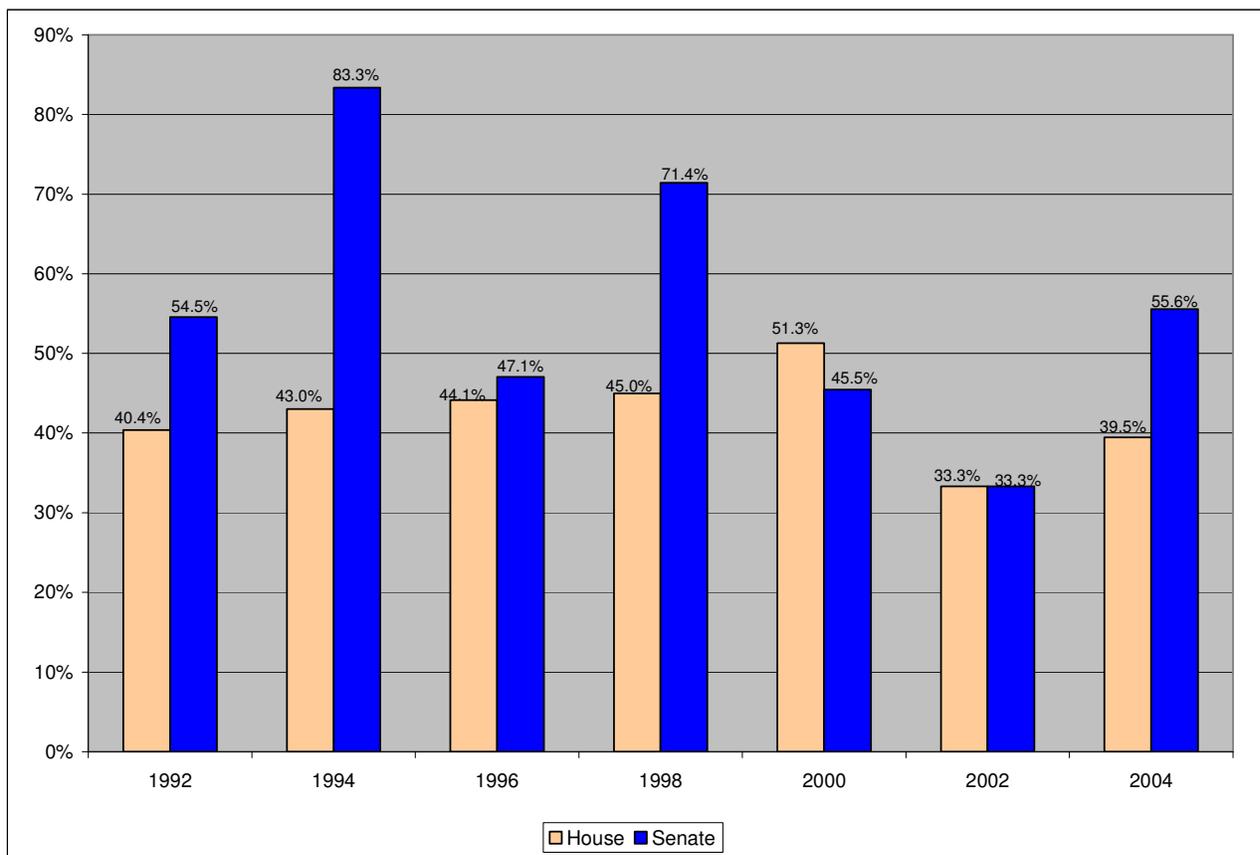
After investigating the incident, the House ethics committee sent DeLay a private letter of reprimand, effectively admonishing him for heavy-handed tactics.

The Republican advantage in the percentage who became lobbyists moderated slightly in 2002 and moved close to parity in 2004.

### House of Representatives vs. the Senate

Since 1992, a higher percentage of departing senators have become lobbyists than their House counterparts except for the departing class of 2000. [See Figure 4]

**Figure 4: Members of Congress Turned Lobbyists in House v. Senate, 1992-2004**



Source: Analysis of data from Public Citizen's lobbying database at [www.lobbyinginfo.org](http://www.lobbyinginfo.org)

The biggest gap between departing senators who became lobbyists and their House counterparts occurred in 1994 when 83 percent of departing senators became lobbyists while only 43 percent of Representatives chose to work on K Street.

In 2002, the percentage of departing members from both houses was the same, one-third entered the lobbying profession.

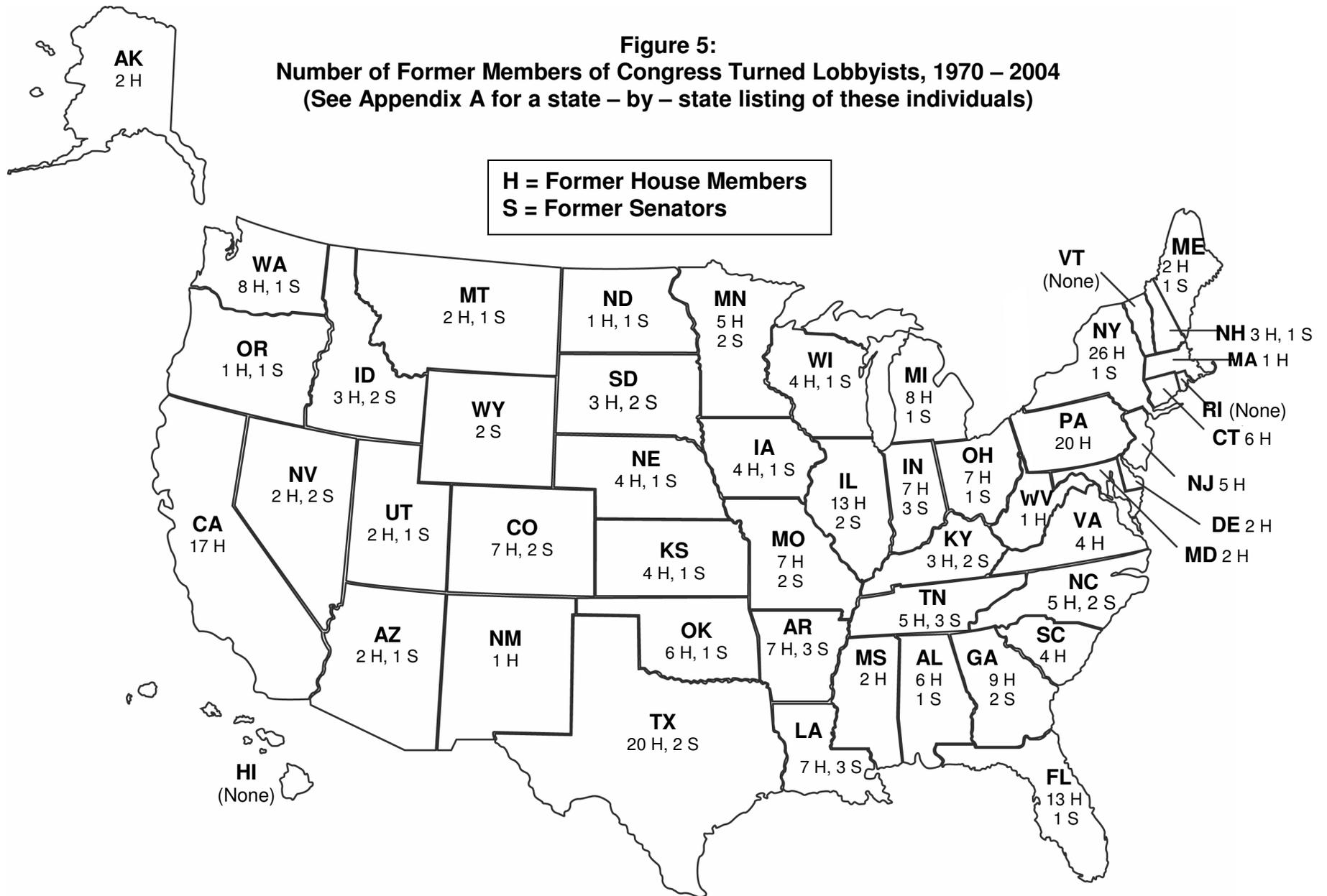
### **State by State Breakdown of Members-Turned-Lobbyists**

Public Citizen analyzed the number of departing members of Congress from each state from 1970 to 2004. Almost every state has at least a handful of former lawmakers who have worked the halls of the nation's capitol as lobbyists. [See Figure 5 and Appendix A for a state-by-state listing of members-turned-lobbyists]

The top six states in terms of numbers of former members of Congress who have gone to work for the influence industry are:

- New York: 26 Representatives, 1 Senator
- Texas: 20 Representatives, 2 Senators
- Pennsylvania: 20 Representatives
- California: 17 Representatives
- Florida: 13 Representatives, 1 Senator
- Illinois: 13 Representatives, 2 Senators

**Figure 5:  
Number of Former Members of Congress Turned Lobbyists, 1970 – 2004  
(See Appendix A for a state – by – state listing of these individuals)**



## A Case Study: Super-Lobbyist Bob Livingston

To spotlight the easy manner in which members of Congress can turn their tenures on Capitol Hill into lucrative lobbying careers, Public Citizen did an extensive examination of one federal lawmaker-turned-lobbyist.

The story of super-lobbyist Bob Livingston is a story of how legislative power can be translated into personal financial fortune by taking a very short spin through the revolving door that connects Congress and the federal lobbying industry.

In six short years, former House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston (R-La.) went from being a \$136,000 a year congressman to serving as the leading rainmaker for a lobbying shop that has pulled in almost \$40 million. The Livingston Group is ranked as the 12<sup>th</sup> largest non-law firm lobby shop in Washington.<sup>3</sup>

By analyzing Livingston's annual filings under the Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) and the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), Public Citizen charted the growing revenues of Livingston's company, The Livingston Group.

Livingston's filings under FARA provide a rare glimpse into how a high-powered and well-connected Washington lobbyist is able to navigate the political bureaucracy on behalf of foreign governments who have hired Livingston and his associates to protect their own special interests.

In 2004, the Livingston Group generated \$3 million in fees by representing foreign governments. Only two other Washington lobbying firms brought in more by representing foreign nations.<sup>4</sup>

### Background

Three days before Livingston resigned from Congress, on Feb. 25, 1999, he told reporters, "I just have to worry about the next paycheck."<sup>5</sup>

But if Livingston actually did worry about his paycheck, it was not for very long. Since leaving Congress, he has built an extremely lucrative lobbying business that allows him to cash in on relationships with former colleagues on Capitol Hill and in the executive branch.

Livingston gave his resignation speech on the floor of the House of Representatives on a Thursday. On the following Monday, he started the Livingston Group. In its first year of operation, the firm pulled in \$1.1 million.<sup>6</sup>

Livingston's firm managed to make more than \$1 million in its first year despite the one-year cooling period which bans former lawmakers from lobbying their former colleagues. The ban does not prohibit former members from supervising lobbyists.

When asked in 1999 about his new career, the former Louisiana congressman was quick to concede that he does not “mind making a little bit more money,”<sup>7</sup> which is good, since “a little bit more money” does not come close to describing the way Livingston’s earnings have climbed.

A review of lobbying disclosure statements reveals that the Livingston Group’s client list and its total collection of fees have soared over the years. Over the past six years, it has taken in \$26.1 million from U.S. clients alone. [See Figure 6 and Appendix B for a complete list of Livingston’s clients and the amount they paid]

When one adds in the lobbying revenues of two other Livingston lobbying firms and an additional \$11 million collected from foreign governments, Livingston has taken in lobbying revenues of \$39.5 million in the six years he has been in business. While Public Citizen does not know how much Livingston pays himself, it is likely considerably more than he was making as a federal lawmaker.

**Figure 6: Lobbying Revenue for All Livingston Lobbying Businesses and From Foreign Clients, 1999-2004**

Year	The Livingston Group	Livingston-Solomon	Livingston-Moffett Global	Foreign Clients	Total
1999	\$1,140,000	-	-	-	\$1,140,000
2000	\$3,080,000	-	-	\$1,800,000	\$4,880,000
2001	\$3,380,000	-	\$340,000	\$1,800,000	\$5,520,000
2002	\$3,780,000	\$600,000	\$705,000	\$1,800,000	\$6,885,000
2003	\$6,660,000	\$360,000	\$340,000	\$2,800,000	\$10,160,000
2004	\$8,080,000	-	-	\$2,807,688	\$10,887,688
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$26,120,000</b>	<b>\$960,000</b>	<b>\$1,385,000</b>	<b>\$11,007,688</b>	<b>\$39,472,688</b>

Source: Public Citizen analysis of records filed with the Secretary of the Senate (Available at [sopr.senate.org](http://sopr.senate.org)), and FARA records filed with the Justice Department.

Livingston abruptly left Congress because of a scandal that he said would adversely affect his ability to work on Capitol Hill. Yet, that scandal does not appear to have diminished his ability to make a successful transition into the influence industry.

During his farewell speech on the floor of the House, Livingston summed up his 22 years in Congress in part, by referring vaguely to “a few failures” and “a few moments of heartache.”<sup>8</sup> One of those “moments” occurred at the very end of Livingston’s congressional career when self-described “smut peddler” Larry Flynt exposed the fact that Livingston had been engaged in extra-marital affairs.

The revelation could not have come at a worse time for Livingston, as Congress was embroiled in the controversial impeachment of President Bill Clinton following his sexual liaisons with intern Monica Lewinsky.

In the midst of the scandal, Flynt had taken out an advertisement in the *Washington Post*, promising \$1 million for credible information about the adulterous dealings of federal lawmakers. Livingston was caught in Flynt’s sweep, when the publisher learned of some infidelities in the congressman’s past.

Coming at a different time, there is a possibility Livingston might have weathered the storm of scandal, but not in early 1999.

Not only was the House about to vote on articles of impeachment, but the embattled Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) had resigned as speaker and Livingston had been named as his successor.

After weighing what to do, Livingston addressed his colleagues, “I was prepared to lead our narrow majority as speaker, and I believe I had it in me to do a fine job. But I cannot do that job or be the kind of leader that I would like to be under current circumstances. So, I must set the example that I hope President Clinton will follow. I will not stand for speaker of the House on Jan. 6.”<sup>9</sup>

Clinton stayed and Livingston left only to return a short time later as one of Washington’s most successful and best connected lobbyists.

Based on the success of the Livingston Group, it appears that a scandal that can bring down a member of Congress is quickly forgotten on the other side of the revolving door that spins at a rapid rate between Congress and the lobbying industry.

Some might have thought that Livingston would have rejected a lobbying career to avoid the obvious criticism that he was cashing in on his two decades on the Hill by selling his influence to special interests. But Livingston is unapologetic. “Everybody in America is a special interest,” he said. “And every one of us has a right to have their voice heard.”<sup>10</sup>

While everyone has a right to be heard, few individuals can afford the cost of high-priced lobbying needed to raise one’s volume to a level that can be heard on Capitol Hill. Yet corporations, associations and even foreign governments can make certain their words are heard by hiring high-priced lobbyists like Livingston. “We’re so darn busy,” Livingston told the *Wall Street Journal* only a year after he started the Livingston Group.<sup>11</sup>

Livingston’s corporate clients have included Oracle, Northrop Grumman, and Raytheon, some of the largest and most powerful corporations in the country. [See Appendix B] His foreign client roster includes the governments of Turkey, Morocco and the Cayman Islands.

Livingston frequently cashes in on his service as the chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee. Though it does not carry the clout of the title, “Speaker” it is still considered one of the most influential assignments in the House of Representatives. It is also a position that has served him well as a Washington lobbyist.

“Nobody understands the appropriation process better than me,” Livingston told the *Washington Post*. “If we understand the process and can get through the front door, that’s primarily the reason why clients hire me.”<sup>12</sup>

Another reason clients hire Livingston is that he proved his value to many of them while serving as chairman.

When he left Congress to become a lobbyist, one of the first clients he signed on was Litton Avondale Industries Inc., a California defense contractor that operated the Avondale shipyard in

New Orleans. As committee chairman, Livingston used his influence to steer defense contracts to Avondale.<sup>13</sup>

In January, 2000, just after Livingston formed his lobbying group, he told the *Wall Street Journal*, “I just made a 10-day run through Louisiana, trying to see if I could entice folks we had been working for over the years to hire us.”<sup>14</sup>

Livingston’s trip was apparently successful, because two-thirds of the 30 clients whom Livingston reported representing at the time came from Louisiana. The list included International Shipholding Corp., JRL Enterprises Inc., which made educational software, and Tulane University in New Orleans.<sup>15</sup>

### Livingston’s Other Lobbying Shops

In January 2002, the Livingston Group took over the lobbying firm of former House Rules Committee Chairman Jerry Solomon (R-N.Y.). Solomon died in October 2001.<sup>16</sup>

In the two years before Livingston-Solomon was fully absorbed by the Livingston Group, the firm took in \$960,000. [See Figure 7]

**Figure 7: Lobbying Fees Paid to Livingston-Solomon, LLC**

Client Company	2002	2003	Total
Energy East Corp.	\$80,000	\$20,000	\$100,000
Catskill Mountain Federation	\$40,000	-	\$40,000
Kwon Ho Sung	\$80,000	\$60,000	\$140,000
Natl Milk Producers Federation	\$80,000	\$20,000	\$100,000
United to Secure America	\$200,000	\$100,000	\$300,000
Hoverround Corp.	\$40,000	\$120,000	\$160,000
Irish Cultural And Sports Centre	\$60,000	\$20,000	\$80,000
MIC Industries	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$40,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$600,000</b>	<b>\$360,000</b>	<b>\$960,000</b>

Source: Public Citizen analysis of records filed with the Secretary of the Senate. (Available at [sopr.senate.org](http://sopr.senate.org))

Yet another lobbying enterprise formed by Livingston was Livingston-Moffett Global Consultants LLC, which he formed with former Rep. Toby Moffett (D-Conn.) in August 2000.<sup>17</sup>

The union of apparent political opposites like Moffett and Livingston is not uncommon in the lobbying world. It allows the firms to solicit business regardless of which party holds the White House or who is in the majority in Congress.

At the time of its formation, Livingston told the Baton Rouge *Sunday Advocate*, “The Livingston group is primarily Republican.... The Livingston-Moffett firm may have something of a Democratic tilt.”<sup>18</sup>

For the three years that Livingston-Moffett filed separate lobbying disclosure statements, it took in almost \$1.4 million in lobbying fees. [See Figure 8]

**Figure 8: Lobbying Fees Paid to Livingston-Moffett Global, LLC**

Client Company	2001	2002	2003	Total
Caithness Energy LLC	\$10,000	\$200,000	\$100,000	\$310,000
Pharmacia	\$100,000	\$200,000	\$80,000	\$380,000
Take the Field Inc.	\$40,000	-	-	\$40,000
Africa American Inst.	\$60,000	\$80,000	\$20,000	\$160,000
African Virtual Univ. Intl.	\$40,000	\$80,000	\$60,000	\$180,000
Streaming Text	\$20,000	-	-	\$20,000
Boston Autopart	\$10,000	-	-	\$10,000
Collegiate Funding Services	\$60,000	\$120,000	\$40,000	\$220,000
MIC Industries	-	\$25,000	-	\$25,000
Collis Assoc.	-	-	\$40,000	\$40,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$340,000</b>	<b>\$705,000</b>	<b>\$340,000</b>	<b>\$1,385,000</b>

Source: Public Citizen analysis of records filed with the Secretary of the Senate. (Available at [sopr.senate.org](http://sopr.senate.org))

## Representing Foreign Governments

Among the Livingston Group's most lucrative contracts are some that do not show up on lobby disclosure records filed with Congress. Since 2000, Livingston has taken in more than \$11 million from foreign governments and the vast majority of that money, \$9 million, has come from Turkey, with \$1 million more each from Morocco and the Cayman Islands. [See Figure 9] Livingston's representation of these foreign governments brought in a quarter of his company's annual revenue in 2003 and 2004.

In 2005, it was reported that Livingston picked up yet another foreign government client. Azerbaijan has signed a \$300,000 a year contract with the Livingston Group.<sup>19</sup>

Timur Solylemez, the congressional liaison and first secretary of the Turkish embassy made it clear why the Livingston Group has his government's lobbying business. "I don't need to tell you who Mr. Livingston is, and having someone of his stature is obviously very helpful," Solylemez said.<sup>20</sup> He added that it is Livingston's connections and former experience on the Hill that makes him a valuable resource. "His presence is a powerful one in Washington. With friends and allies like that, obviously your agenda becomes less difficult to pursue," he said.<sup>21</sup>

Livingston told *Influence* magazine last year, "There are a lot of ways to advance the cause of a particular country through contact with members of Congress and people in the administration, the Pentagon, various agencies of the government."<sup>22</sup>

**Figure 9: Lobbying Fees Paid to the Livingston Group  
by Foreign Governments**

Year	Turkey	Morocco	Cayman Islands	Total
2000	\$1,800,000	-	-	\$1,800,000
2001	\$1,800,000	-	-	\$1,800,000
2002	\$1,800,000	-	-	\$1,800,000
2003	\$1,800,000	\$500,000	\$500,000	\$2,800,000
2004	\$1,800,000	\$500,000	\$507,688	\$2,807,688
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$9,000,000</b>	<b>\$1,000,000</b>	<b>\$1,007,688</b>	<b>\$11,007,688</b>

*Source:* Public Citizen analysis of records filed with the Justice Department in Compliance with the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA).

Those observations are borne out by the Livingston Group’s Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA) filings. Under FARA, lobbyists representing foreign governments are required to file disclosure forms with the Justice Department. These forms require lobbyists to list their activities in far more detail than they must provide for their domestic clients.

The firm’s filings reveal not only the extensive lobbying for the government of Turkey, but also provide a fascinating glimpse inside the typically closed workings of one of Washington’s most powerful lobbying shops.

### **\$1 Billion Supplemental Appropriation for Turkey**

How he helped defeat a Republican amendment in the spring of 2003 that would have eliminated \$1 billion in U.S. aid to Turkey illustrates how much influence Livingston still wields on the Hill and how he uses his contacts to build support, or in this case opposition, to a particular legislative measure. [See Figure 10]

In 2003, Republicans and many others were angry over Turkey’s refusal to allow U.S. troops to stage and operate from their country during the invasion of Iraq. The Turkish parliament, dominated by the governing Justice and Development Party (AKP), refused the U.S. permission to open a northern front to Iraq through southeast Turkey.

The opportunity for Congress to convey its anger toward Turkey arose on April 3, 2003, when an emergency spending bill came up for a vote. Rep. Randy “Duke” Cunningham introduced an amendment (H. AMDT. 32 to H.R. 1559) to delete the \$1 billion intended for Turkey.

“I have personally witnessed the actions of other countries that caused the loss of many of my friends.” Cunningham said on the house floor. “The insurgency today would be less,” had U.S. troops had access to Iraq from the north, since the resulting thrust of the U.S. invasion through southern Iraq had enabled many insurgents to evade capture in the north.

**Figure 10: Livingston-Moffett Global Lobbying Activity during Congressional Action on \$1 Billion Supplemental Appropriation for Turkey (H. AMDT. 32 to H.R. 1559)**

**March 26, 2003**

- Contacted the following people:
  - Rep. Mike Rogers (R - Ala.), House Armed Services Committee.
  - John Magill, staffer for Rep. Wally Herger (R - Calif.), House Ways and Means Committee.
  - Elise Finley, staffer for Rep. John Shadegg (R - Ariz.), House Homeland Security Committee.
  - Fran McNaught, staffer for Rep. Jim Kolbe (R - Ariz.), Chairman of the House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee.
  - Claire Coleman, staffer for Rep. Nita Lowey (D - N.Y.), House Homeland Security Committee.
  - Hal Weatherman, staffer for Rep. Sue Myrick (R - N.C.), House Rules Committee.
  - Charlie Flickner, staffer for House Appropriations Committee.

**March 27, 2003**

- Contacted Joe Woods, aide to Vice President Cheney.
- Accompanied the Turkish Ambassador to a meeting with Rep. Tom Davis (R - Va.).

**March 29, 2003**

- Contacted Chris Walker, foreign policy advisor to Hastert (R - Ill.).

**March 31, 2003**

- Contacted the following people:
  - Marc Grossman, undersecretary for political affairs for the State Department and former ambassador to Turkey.
  - Chris Walker, foreign policy advisor to Hastert.
  - Tom Mooney, Republican staff director for the House International Relations Committee.
  - John Blazey, staffer for the House Appropriations Committee.
  - Paul Grove, staffer for the Senate Appropriations Committee.
  - Joe Woods, aide to Vice President Cheney.

**April 1, 2003**

- Contacted Sen. James Inhofe (R - Okla.), member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, concerning meeting with Turkish Ambassador.

**April 2, 2003**

- Accompanied the Turkish Ambassador to meeting with the following people:
  - Rep. Ander Crenshaw (R - Fla.), House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee.
  - Rep. Mike Rogers (R - Ala.), House Armed Services Committee.
  - Rep. Roger Wicker (R - Miss.), House Appropriations Committee.
  - Rep. David Hobson (R - Ohio), House Appropriations Committee.

**April 3, 2003**

- Contacted Paul Grove, staffer for the Senate Appropriations Committee.
- Amendment banning supplemental appropriation for Turkey is introduced (H.AMDT.32 to H.R. 1559)
- Amendment is defeated 315 to 110.

*Source:* Public Citizen's analysis of records filed with the Justice Department in Compliance with the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA).

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld confirmed the strategic significance of Turkey's cooperation during an interview on Fox News earlier this year. He said, "Given the level of the insurgency today, two years later, clearly if we had been able to get the 4th Infantry Division in from the north, in through Turkey, more of the Iraqi, Saddam Hussein, Baathist regime would have been captured or killed."<sup>23</sup>

Livingston's ability to cash in on his status as a former member of Congress was not only evident in the days preceding the vote on the \$1 billion supplemental appropriation to Turkey but also on the day the vote was recorded.

Just before the vote, Livingston arranged for a delegation of Turkish officials to stand just off the House floor where they would meet his former colleagues as they stopped by to pay their respects to the former chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.<sup>24</sup>

The effectiveness of Livingston's strategy was made clear by the reaction of Rep. Zach Wamp (R-Tenn.). Wamp said he was uneasy about rewarding Turkey in the context of its lack of strategic support for U.S. military action in Iraq, but he said seeing Bob Livingston with the Turks made a difference.<sup>25</sup>

Livingston was instrumental in securing Wamp's 1995 appointment to the Appropriations Committee.<sup>26</sup>

Wamp told the *Washington Post*, "There's no question that's why I slowed down to talk to them and greet them is because they're with Bob Livingston. I'm more willing to hear them out because he took them on, and that gives them credibility."<sup>27</sup>

In the end, Wamp was one of 315 House members who voted against the amendment, meaning that Livingston's client, the government of Turkey, got its \$1 billion supplemental appropriation.

## **Fighting Against the Recognition of Armenian Genocide by Turkey**

Another example of Livingston cashing in on his connections with Congress and the executive branch occurred during the 108<sup>th</sup> congressional session, again while he was representing Turkey.

In 2003, a resolution was introduced in the House that would have formally recognized the Armenian genocide that occurred between 1915 and 1923. Over 1.5 million Armenian men, women and children were slaughtered by the Ottoman Turks during that pre-World War I period.

Turkey, a strong and militarily strategic U.S. ally, has always vehemently opposed recognition of the Armenian genocide.

Rep. Adam Schiff (D-Calif.), whose district has a high concentration of Armenian-Americans, introduced a resolution (H.R. 193) in 2003 calling for formal recognition of the genocide by the U.S. Congress. But, due in no small part to Turkey's main lobbyist, the Livingston Group, the measure failed to get momentum.

Even though there was never much chance of the measure passing, the Livingston Group did discuss the Turkish-Armenian issue with various high-ranking officials in the executive branch,

including Vice President Cheney's office, in the spring of 2004, around the time of the 89th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, which is commemorated on April 24. [See Figure 11]

### **Figure 11: Initial Lobbying by the Livingston Group during House Consideration of an Amendment Acknowledging the Armenian Genocide**

#### **March 8, 2004**

- Exchanged e-mail with Rep. Richard Baker (R-La.).
- Spoke via telephone with Larry Silverman, the deputy director of southern European affairs for the State Department.

#### **March 18, 2004**

- Exchanged e-mail with James Marrs, aide to Vice President Cheney.

#### **April 12, 2004**

- Spoke via telephone with Lisa Heald, the country director for Turkey in the office of the Secretary of Defense.

#### **April 15, 2004**

- Spoke via telephone with Larry Silverman, the deputy director of southern European affairs for the State Department.

#### **April 22, 2004**

- Spoke via telephone with David McCormick, the Turkey desk officer for the State Department.

#### **April 23, 2004**

- Spoke via telephone with the following people:
  - Douglas Hengel, the director of the State Department's office of southern European affairs.
  - Matt Bryza, the director of European and Eurasian Affairs for the National Security Council.

#### **June 3, 2004**

- Exchanged e-mail with James Marrs, aide to Vice President Cheney's office.

*Source:* Public Citizen's analysis of records filed with the Justice Department in Compliance with the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA).

But the stakes became much higher for Livingston on July 14, when Schiff unexpectedly let it be known that he intended to attach an amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill. His amendment (H. AMDT. 709 to H.R. 4818) would have prohibited Turkey from using U.S. foreign aid money to lobby against a House resolution acknowledging the Armenian genocide.

The measure was largely symbolic because a ban on using U.S. aid for lobbying already existed, but Schiff acknowledged that his real purpose was to put the House on record as recognizing the Armenian genocide.<sup>28</sup>

Upon learning of the Schiff amendment, FARA records show that the Livingston Group kicked into high gear. Livingston and his lobbyists called Vice President Cheney's office, the National Security Council, the State Department and an assistant secretary of Defense. [See Figure 12]

On Capitol Hill, Livingston and his associates sent e-mails and faxes to DeLay, Hastert and a deputy parliamentarian for the House.

The call to the parliamentarian's office is interesting since the office is seldom the recipient of outreach efforts by lobbyists. A Democratic congressional staffer, who asked Public Citizen not to reveal his identity, said it is very unusual for a lobbyist to contact the parliamentarian's office and the call may help explain why Schiff had a difficult time getting the language of his amendment through the House Parliamentarian.

In two days of intense lobbying, the Livingston Group contacted either members or key staffers in 20 House offices in an effort to kill Schiff's amendment.

As massive as Livingston's lobby effort was, Schiff's amendment survived an initial vote. The Livingston Group had lost a legislative battle, but it was not about to admit defeat. It was merely time for Livingston himself to reach out to some of his former congressional colleagues.

The Foreign Operations Appropriation bill was passed by the House on July 15, 2004. On that same day, FARA records show that a Livingston staffer e-mailed an Hastert aide. On the following day, FARA records show that Livingston personally contacted Hastert's and DeLay's office and the office of Vice President Cheney.

Around this same time Hastert, DeLay and Majority Whip Roy Blunt (R-Mo.) issued a joint statement saying:

“We are strongly opposed to the Schiff Amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, and we will insist that conferees drop that provision in conference. We have contacted the Bush Administration, and they have indicated their strong opposition to the amendment. We have also conveyed our opposition to Chairman [Jim] Kolbe (House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee) and he has assured us that he will insist on it being dropped in the conference committee.”<sup>29</sup>

Schiff later said, “The Turkish lobby does have enormous power and influence. Unfortunately, the House leadership has buckled under the pressure of Turkish lobbying.”<sup>30</sup>

After hearing the joint statement of the House leadership, Rep. Frank Pallone, Jr. (D-N.J.) wrote a letter to Hastert, “I disagree with your statement on a number of levels. First and foremost, the Schiff amendment put the House on record that it would no longer tolerate Turkey's intimidating lobbying efforts towards any recognition of the Armenian Genocide.”<sup>31</sup>

Not surprisingly Pallone's letter had no affect on the House leadership, nor did a letter signed by 60 lawmakers asking Hastert to reconsider his position opposing the Schiff Amendment.<sup>32</sup>

**Figure 12: Lobbying by the Livingston Group on Amendment to Ban Use of U.S. Aid Money to Lobby Against Recognition of the Armenian Genocide (H. AMDT. 709 to H.R. 4818)**

**July 14, 2004**

- Spoke with the following people via telephone:
  - Matt Bryza, director of European and Eurasian affairs, National Security Council.
  - Craig Albright, legislative director for Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R – Mich.), House Appropriations Committee.
  - Harry Glenn, chief of staff for Rep. Bill Young (R – Fla.), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.
  - Jeff Miles, press secretary for Rep. Ed Whitfield (R – Ky.), House Energy and Commerce Committee
  - Rob Neal, appropriations associate for Rep. George Nethercutt (R – Wash.), House Appropriations Committee.
  - John Shank, staff assistant for the House Appropriations Foreign Operations and Export Financing Subcommittee.
  - Greg Facchiano, legislative director for Rep. David Vitter (R – La.), House Appropriations Foreign Operations and Export Financing Subcommittee.
  - Daniel Keniry, deputy assistant to the president for legislative affairs, office of the Vice President (Left a voice mail message).
  - Rachael Leman, deputy policy director for the House Rules Committee.
  - Mark Murray, staff assistant for the House Appropriations Committee.
  - Bob Van Wicklin, chief of staff for Rep. Amory Houghton (R – N.Y.), House International Relations Committee.
  - Larry Silverman, deputy director of southern European affairs for the State Department.
  - Lisa Heald, country director for Turkey in the office of the secretary of Defense.
  - Dana O’Brien, legislative director for Rep. Ike Skelton (R – Mo.), House Armed Services Committee.
  - Idil Oyman, press secretary for Rep. Philip English (R – Pa.), House Ways and Means Committee.
  - Todd Sommers, legislative assistant for Rep. J.C. Hayworth (R – Ariz.), House Ways and Means Committee.
  - Rep. Jim Kolbe (R – Ariz.), chairman of the House Appropriations Foreign Operations and Export Financing Subcommittee.
  - Christopher Walker, assistant for policy for Hastert.
  - Johnnie Kaberle, policy advisor for House Majority Whip Roy Blunt (R – Mo.).
  - Billy Pitts, majority staff director, House Rules Committee.
  - Amy Flachbart, chief of staff for Rep. George Nethercutt (R – Wash.), House Appropriations Committee.
  - John Sullivan, deputy parliamentarian of the House of Representatives.
- Exchanged e – mails with the following people:
  - Jeff Miles, press secretary for Rep. Ed Whitfield (R – Ky.), House Energy and Commerce Committee.
  - Thomas Mooney, general counsel for the House International Relations Committee.
  - Brett Shogen, senior advisor and director of national security policy for DeLay.
- Sent faxes to the following people:
  - Hastert.
  - John Sullivan, deputy parliamentarian for the House of Representatives.

**(Continued on following page)**

## Figure 12 Continued

**July 15, 2004**

- Sent a fax to Brian Diffell, policy advisor to House Majority Whip Blunt (R – Mo.).
- Exchanged e – mail with the following people:
  - John Shank, staff assistant to the House Appropriations Foreign Operations and Export Financing Subcommittee.
  - Powell Moore, assistant secretary of Defense for legislative affairs.
  - John McGregor, senior legislative assistant to Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D – Texas), House Armed Services Committee.
  - Blair Milligan, legislative assistant to Rep. Mike McIntyre (D – N.C.), House Armed Services Committee.
- Spoke via telephone with the following people:
  - Jeff Miles, press secretary for Rep. Ed Whitfield (R – Ky.), House Energy and Commerce Committee.
  - Jean LaPlace, senior policy advisor to Rep. William Jefferson (D – La.), House Ways and Means Committee.
  - Alan Makovsky, aide for the House International Relations Committee.
  - Scott Palmer, chief of staff, Office of Speaker Dennis Hastert (R – Ill.).

*Source:* Public Citizen analysis of records filed with the Justice Department in Compliance with the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA).

On Nov. 20, 2004, the appropriations bill (H.R. 4818) passed both houses of Congress, with the Schiff amendment noticeably absent.

The Livingston Group collected \$1.8 million in lobbying fees from the Turkish government for its work in 2004.<sup>33</sup>

### **Livingston's Campaign Contributions**

No one knows more about the value of campaign contributions and the influence it can buy than a successful congressman like Livingston, a veteran of 10 House elections. But now as a lobbyist, Livingston is on the giving end of the equation.

Like most lobbyists along Washington's famed K Street corridor, Livingston opens his wallet for a substantial number of candidates and political action committees (PACs) engaged in key political races.

Since forming the Livingston Group six years ago, the former congressman, his wife and his two PACs have made political contributions totaling \$503,449. [See Figure 14]

Between 2000 and 2004, Livingston and his wife, Bonnie, personally contributed a combined total of \$157,600 to candidates and various PACs, including a total of \$100,000 to Livingston's own PACs, which in turn made contributions to various candidates and political action committees. [See Appendix C]

**Figure 13: Campaign Contributions by Bob Livingston,  
His Wife (Bonnie) and His Two PACs, 2000-2004**

<b>Contributions From Bob or Bonnie Livingston</b>	<b>Contributions From Friends of Bob Livingston PAC</b>	<b>Contributions From Livingston Group PAC</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>\$157,600</b>	<b>\$201,868</b>	<b>\$243,981</b>	<b>\$503,449*</b>

*Source:* Public Citizen analysis of data supplied by the Center for Responsive Politics

\*This figure does not include \$100,000 in contributions made by Bob Livingston to his own PACs, since that amount is reflected in contributions made by his PACs to candidates.

Rather conveniently, Livingston was also able to use nearly \$316,000<sup>34</sup> from his leftover campaign funds to buy access, spending \$202,000 by the end of 2004.

## Proposals to Limit the Congressional Revolving Doors

Reforms are needed to ensure that members of Congress turned lobbyists cannot use the honors, privileges and access the public bestowed upon them for the benefit of their clients. Public Citizen recommends the following:

### **Extend the Cooling-Off Period**

Currently, former members of Congress must wait one year from the time they leave office until they can personally make lobbying contacts with their former colleagues. It is the so-called cooling-off period, which is designed to reduce a government official's ability to leverage networks and information gained while in public service for personal benefit or the benefit of clients.

This restriction should be extended to two years, which is the same length of time as a congressional term. This would effectively mean that a former member would have to wait until the next term of Congress convenes before he or she could begin to personally lobby members and staff.

It would effectively limit a former member's ability to immediately cash in on the influence acquired while serving in Congress.

Public Citizen's analysis of Bob Livingston's lobbying revenues shows that during his cooling-off period, he brought in respectable revenues of \$1.1 million, but in the following year when there was no prohibition but still the same members of Congress, staff and committee composition when Livingston was in office, his revenues more than quadrupled to \$4.8 million.

### **Include the Supervision of Lobbyists During the Cooling-Off Period**

When Livingston was forced to wait a year before he could lobby his former colleagues, it did not mean that he could not direct or manage the activities of the other lobbyists under his employ. In other words, he could still lobby if he did so at an arm's length through his staff.

The fact that Livingston brought in more than \$1 million in fees during his cooling-off period shows that his lobbying clients believed that his insider knowledge and connections still wielded influence on Capitol Hill, even if he did not make direct personal contact with his former colleagues.

Public Citizen supports a change in the cooling-off period to include "lobbying activities" by former members. Lobbying activities include any action taken in support of making a lobbying contact, including planning and preparation, research, and the supervision and management of other lobbyists. Such a change would eliminate a major loophole in the current prohibition against lobbying during the cooling-off period.

## **Revoke Special Access Privileges**

Garnering connections and policy expertise is a natural consequence of legislative service. A number of perks currently being extended to former members of both houses of Congress, however, are not. Former members of Congress have special access to cloak rooms, an exclusive gymnasium and even the floor of the House and the Senate. It means that a member turned lobbyist has access that other lobbyists might only dream about, since face time with a member or staff is the stock-in-trade of lobbyists.

Public Citizen believes that once a former member registers to become a lobbyist, his or her special access should be immediately suspended and remain so while a lobbyist. This is the only way to ensure that a member turned lobbyist will not be able to unfairly use these privileges for personal benefit and the benefit of clients.

## **Require Full Disclosure of All Employment Negotiations**

Public Citizen believes that members of Congress and their staff should be required to disclose their employment negotiations while in public service. While federal law prohibits executive branch employees from seeking future employment while working on issues of interest to their potential employers, ethics rules on negotiating future employment are more lax for members and staff of the Senate, and even looser for those of the House. Both the Senate and House codes of ethics prohibit members and staff from receiving compensation in exchange for any favoritism in official actions. To this end, the Senate and House rules advise members and staff to recuse themselves from official actions of interest to a prospective employer while job negotiations are underway. But that is about as far as congressional ethics currently go in regulating this conflict of interest, leaving the members and staffers themselves to serve as the arbiters of their ethics.

## **Ban Campaign Contributions by Lobbyists to Those Whom They Lobby**

Registered lobbyists should be prohibited from making, soliciting or arranging campaign contributions to those whom they lobby. Since lobbyists direct their lobbying efforts at whole congressional bodies or executive agencies, this ban should extend to all members of the governmental agencies lobbied. This would mean that registered lobbyists would be prohibited from making campaign contributions to, or arranging fundraisers for, either candidates for Congress, or candidates for the executive branch, or both, depending on the scope of activities of the particular lobbyist.

As part of an influence-peddling arsenal, nearly all well-financed lobbyists make contributions on their own behalf to key officeholders, encourage their clients to make contributions, and organize fundraisers for these same officeholders. In a complaint filed with the FEC, Public Citizen documented the vociferous activities of one lobbyist, Mitch Delk of Freddie Mac, arranging fundraising events for officeholders and candidates. In the 2002 election cycle alone, Delk hosted 45 fundraising events for federal officeholders, candidates and party committees. More than half (24) of the fundraising events organized by Delk featured as a special guest Rep. Michael Oxley (R-Ohio), chair of the House Financial Services Committee which regulates Freddie Mac, and 19 of these events were held explicitly for the benefit of congressional members with oversight responsibility over Freddie Mac.

## Appendix A: Former Members of Congress Turned Lobbyists, 1970-Present (Organized by State)

Lobbyist	State	Last Congress	Position and Term Length	Party
John Hall Buchanan	Alaska	96th	U.S. Rep. (R – Alaska), 1965 – 1980	R
Howard Wallace Pollock	Alaska	91st	U.S. Rep. (R – Alaska.), 1966 – 1970	R
Tom Bevill	Ala.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ala.), 1967 – 1996	D
H.L. “Sonny” Callahan	Ala.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ala.), 1985 – 2002	R
Bill Dickinson	Ala.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ala.), 1965 – 1992	R
William Jackson “Jack” Edwards	Ala.	99th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ala.), 1965 – 1984	R
Ben Erdreich	Ala.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ala.), 1983 – 1992	D
Ronnie Flippo	Ala.	101st	U.S. Rep. (D – Ala.), 1971 – 1990	D
Howell Heflin	Ala.	104th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ala.), 1979 – 1996	D
Dennis DeConcini	Ariz.	103rd	U.S. Sen. (D – Ariz.), 1977 – 1994	D
John Jacob Rhodes	Ariz.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ariz.), 1987 – 1992	R
Matthew Salmon	Ariz.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ariz.), 1995 – 2000	R
Beryl Anthony	Ark.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ark.), 1979 – 1992	D
Bill Alexander	Ark.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ark.), 1969 – 1992	D
Ed Bethune	Ark.	98th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ark.), 1979 – 1984	R
Dale Bumpers	Ark.	105th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ark.), 1975 – 1998	D
Jay Dickey	Ark.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ark.), 1993 – 2000	R
Asa Hutchinson	Ark.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ark.), 1997 – 2002	R
Tim Hutchinson	Ark.	107th	U.S. Sen. (R – Ark.), 1997 – 2002; U.S. Rep. (R – Ark.), 1993 – 1996	R
David Pryor	Ark.	104th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ark.), 1979 – 1996; U.S. Rep. (D – Ark.), 1965 – 1972	D
William Baker	Calif.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1993 – 1996	R
Brian P. Bilbray	Calif.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1995 – 2000	R
James Corman	Calif.	96th	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1961 – 1980	D
Bill Dannemeyer	Calif.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1979 – 1992	R
Ronald Dellums	Calif.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1971 – 1998	D
Calvin Dooley	Calif.	108th	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1991 – 2004	D
Vic Fazio	Calif.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1979 – 1998	D
Steven Kuykendall	Calif.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1999 – 2000	R
Richard Lehman	Calif.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1983 – 1994	D
Mel Levine	Calif.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1983 – 1992	D
William David Lowery	Calif.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1981 – 1992	R
Dan Lungren	Calif.	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1979 – 1988; 2005 – present	R
Ron Packard	Calif.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1983 – 2000	R
Leon Panetta	Calif.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1977 – 1994	D
Jerry Patterson	Calif.	98th	U.S. Rep. (D – Calif.), 1975 – 1984	D
Frank Riggs	Calif.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1991 – 1992	R
James Rogan	Calif.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Calif.), 1997 – 2000	R
Ben Nighthorse Campbell	Colo.	108th	U.S. Sen. (R – Colo.), 1993 – 2004; U.S. Rep. (D – Colo.), 1987 – 1992	R
Raymond Peter Kogovsek	Colo.	99th	U.S. Rep. (D – Colo.), 1979 – 1984	D

Lobbyist	State	Last Congress	Position and Term Length	Party
Scott McInnis	Colo.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – Colo.), 1993 – present	R
Dan Schaefer	Colo.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – Colo.), 1983 – 1998	R
Robert Schaffer	Colo.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Colo.), 1997 – 2002	R
Patricia S. Schroeder	Colo.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Colo.), 1973 – 1996	D
Timothy Wirth	Colo.	102nd	U.S. Sen. (D – Colo.), 1987 – 1992; U.S. Rep. (D – Colo.), 1975 – 1986	D
Gary Franks	Conn.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Conn.), 1991 – 1996	R
Barbara Kennelly	Conn.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Conn.), 1981 – 1998	D
Anthony Moffett	Conn.	97th	U.S. Rep. (D – Conn.), 1975 – 1982	D
Bruce Morrison	Conn.	101st	U.S. Rep. (D – Conn.), 1983 – 1990	D
William Ratchford	Conn.	98th	U.S. Rep. (D – Conn.), 1979 – 1984	D
Ronald Sarasin	Conn.	95th	U.S. Rep. (R – Conn.), 1973 – 1978	R
Pete duPont	Del.	94th	U.S. Rep. (R – Del.), 1971 – 1976	R
Thomas B. Evans	Del.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – Del.), 1977 – 1982	R
James Bacchus	Fla.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Fla.), 1991 – 1994	D
L.A. “Skip” Bafalis	Fla.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – Fla.), 1973 – 1982	R
Dante Fascell	Fla.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Fla.), 1955 – 1992	D
Tillie K. Fowler	Fla.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Fla.), 1993 – 2000	R
Sam Melville Gibbons	Fla.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Fla.), 1963 – 1996	D
Bill Grant	Fla.	101st	U.S. Rep. (R – Fla.), 1987 – 1990	R
Andrew Poysell Ireland	Fla.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Fla.), 1977 – 1992	R
Connie Mack	Fla.	106th	U.S. Sen. (R – Fla.), 1989 – 2000; U.S. Rep. (R – Fla.), 1983 – 1988	R
Bill McCollum	Fla.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Fla.), 1981 – 2000	R
Dan Mica	Fla.	100th	U.S. Rep. (D – Fla.), 1979 – 1988	D
Paul Grant Rogers	Fla.	95th	U.S. Rep. (D – Fla.), 1955 – 1978	D
Lawrence Jack Smith	Fla.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Fla.), 1983 – 1992	D
Karen Thurman	Fla.	107th	U.S. Rep. (D – Fla.), 1993 – 2002	D
Bob Barr	Ga.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ga.), 1995 – 2002	R
Max Burns	Ga.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ga.), 2003 – 2004	R
George “Buddy” Darden	Ga.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ga.), 1983 – 1994	D
Billy Lee Evans	Ga.	97th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ga.), 1977 – 1982	D
Ed Jenkins	Ga.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ga.), 1977 – 1992	D
C. Donald Johnson	Ga.	104th	U.S. Rep., (D – Ga.) 1993 – 1994	D
Elliott Levitas	Ga.	98th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ga.), 1975 – 1984	D
M. Dawson Mathis	Ga.	96th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ga.), 1971 – 1980	D
Mack Mattingly	Ga.	99th	U.S. Sen. (R – Ga.), 1981 – 1986	R
Zell Miller	Ga.	108th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ga.), 1999 – 2004	D
Richard B. Ray	Ga.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ga.), 1983 – 1992	D
Larry LaRocco	Idaho	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Idaho), 1991 – 1994	D
James McClure	Idaho	101st	U.S. Sen. (R – Idaho), 1973 – 1990; U.S. Rep. (R – Idaho), 1967 – 1972	R
Steve Symms	Idaho	102nd	U.S. Sen. (R – Idaho), 1981 – 1992; U.S. Rep. (R – Idaho), 1973 – 1980	R
Thomas Corcoran	Ill.	98th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1977 – 1984	R

Lobbyist	State	Last Congress	Position and Term Length	Party
Phil Crane	Ill.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1969 – 2004	R
Alan J. Dixon	Ill.	102nd	U.S. Sen. (D – Ill.), 1981 – 1992	D
Thomas W. Ewing	Ill.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1991 – 2000	R
Harris Fawell	Ill.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1985 – 1998	R
Michael Flanagan	Ill.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1995 – 1996	R
Robert P. Hanrahan	Ill.	93rd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1972 – 1974	R
Bill Lipinski	Ill.	108th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ill.) 1976 – 2004	D
Robert H. Michel	Ill.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1957 – 1994	R
John Porter	Ill.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1979 – 2000	R
Glenn Poshard	Ill.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ill.), 1989 – 1998	D
Thomas Railsback	Ill.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ill.), 1967 – 1982	R
Martin A. Russo	Ill.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ill.), 1975 – 1992	D
Paul Simon	Ill.	104th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ill.), 1985 – 1996; U.S. Rep. (D – Ill.), 1975 – 1984	D
Birch Bayh	Ind.	96th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ind.), 1963 – 1980	D
Daniel Coats	Ind.	105th	U.S. Sen. (R – Ind.), 1989 – 1998; U.S. Rep. (R – Ind.), 1981 – 1988	R
David Walter Evans	Ind.	97th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ind.), 1975 – 1982	D
Vance Hartke	Ind.	94th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ind.), 1959 – 1976	D
David M. McIntosh	Ind.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ind.), 1995 – 2000	R
John T. Myers	Ind.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ind.), 1967 – 1996	R
Ed Pease	Ind.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ind.), 1997 – 2000	R
Philip Sharp	Ind.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ind.), 1975 – 1994	D
Roger Zion	Ind.	93rd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ind.), 1967 – 1974	R
John C. Culver	Iowa	96th	U.S. Sen. (D – Iowa), 1975 – 1980; U.S. Rep. (D – Iowa), 1965 – 1974	D
Fred Grandy	Iowa	103rd	U.S. Rep. (R – Iowa), 1987 – 1994	R
James Lightfoot	Iowa	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Iowa), 1985 – 1996	R
Thomas Tauke	Iowa	101st	U.S. Rep. (R – Iowa), 1979 – 1990	R
Robert Dole	Kansas	104th	U.S. Sen. (R – Kan.), 1969 – 1996; U.S. Rep. (R – Kan.), 1961 – 1968	R
Daniel Robert Glickman	Kansas	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Kan.), 1977 – 1994	D
James Charles Slattery	Kansas	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Kan.), 1983 – 1994	D
Bob Whittaker	Kansas	101st	U.S. Rep. (R – Kan.), 1979 – 1990	R
Thomas Barlow	Ky.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ky.), 1993 – 1994	D
Wendell Ford	Ky.	105th	U.S. Sen. (D – Ky.), 1975 – 1998	D
Larry Hopkins	Ky.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ky.), 1979 – 1992	R
Walter D Huddleston	Ky.	98th	U.S. Sen. (R – Ky.), 1973 – 1984	R
Michael Ward	Ky.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ky.), 1995 – 1996	D
John Breaux	La.	108th	U.S. Sen. (D – La.), 1987 – 2004; U.S. Rep. (D – La.), 1971 – 1986	D
James Allison Hayes	La.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – La.), 1987 – 1996	D
Jerry Huckaby	La.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – La.), 1977 – 1992	D
Chris John	La.	108th	U.S. Rep. (D – La.) 1997 – 2004	D
J. Bennett Johnston	La.	104th	U.S. Sen. (D – La.), 1971 – 1996	D
Robert Livingston	La.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – La.), 1977 – 2000	R

Lobbyist	State	Last Congress	Position and Term Length	Party
Russell B. Long	La.	99th	U.S. Sen. (D – La.), 1947 – 1986	D
W. Henson Moore	La.	99th	U.S. Rep. (R – La.), 1975 – 1986	R
W.J. “Billy” Tauzin	La.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – La.), 1979 – 2004	R
Tom Andrews	Maine	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Maine.), 1991 – 1994	D
Peter Kyros	Maine	93rd	U.S. Rep., (D – Maine), 1967 – 1974	D
George Mitchell	Maine	103rd	U.S. Sen. (D – Maine), 1980 – 1994	D
Michael Barnes	Md.	99th	U.S. Rep. (D – Md.), 1979 – 1986	D
Helen Delich Bentley	Md.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (R – Md.), 1985 – 1994	R
James Shannon	Mass.	98th	U.S. Rep. (D – Mass.), 1979 – 1984	D
James J. Blanchard	Mich.	97th	U.S. Rep. (D – Mich.), 1975 – 1982	D
Bob Carr	Mich.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Mich.), 1975 – 1980, 1983 – 1994	D
Robert William Davis	Mich.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Mich.), 1979 – 1992	R
Dennis Hertel	Mich.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Mich.), 1981 – 1992	D
Jack H. McDonald	Mich.	92nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Mich., 1967 – 1972)	R
Donald Riegle	Mich.	103rd	U.S. Sen. (D – Mich.), 1975 – 1994; U.S. Rep. (D – Mich.), 1967 – 1974	D
Mark Siljander	Mich.	99th	U.S. Rep. (R – Mich.), 1981 – 1986	R
Guy Vander Jagt	Mich.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Mich.), 1965 – 1992	R
David Durenberger	Minn.	103rd	U.S. Sen. (R – Minn.), 1977 – 1994	R
Arlen Erdahl	Minn.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – Minn.), 1979 – 1982	R
Rodney Grams	Minn.	106th	U.S. Sen. (R – Minn.), 1995 – 2000; U.S. Rep. (R – Minn.), 1993 – 1994	R
Richard Michael Nolan	Minn.	96th	U.S. Rep. (D – Minn.), 1975 – 1980	D
Gerry Sikorski	Minn.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Minn.), 1983 – 1992	D
Vin Weber	Minn.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Minn.), 1981 – 1992	R
Michael Parker	Mo.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – Miss.), 1989 – 1998	R
Gillespie “Sonny” Montgomery	Miss.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Miss.), 1967 – 1996	D
John Ashcroft	Mo.	106th	U.S. Sen. (R – Mo.) 1994 – 2000	R
John William Buechner	Mo.	101st	U.S. Rep. (R – Mo.), 1987 – 1990	R
Tom Coleman	Mo.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Mo.) 1976 – 1990	R
John C. Danforth	Mo.	103rd	U.S. Sen. (R – Mo.), 1976 – 1994	R
Dick Gephardt	Mo.	108th	U.S. Rep. (D – Mo.) 1977 – 2004	D
James Symington	Mo.	94th	U.S. Rep. (D – Mo.), 1969 – 1976	D
James Talent	Mo.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Mo.), 1993 – 2000	R
Harold Volkmer	Mo.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Mo.), 1977 – 1996	D
Alan Wheat	Mo.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Mo.), 1983 – 1994	D
Ron Marlenee	Mont.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Mont.), 1977 – 1992	R
John Melcher	Mont.	100th	U.S. Sen. (D – Mont.), 1977 – 1988; U.S. Rep. (D – Mont.), 1969 – 1976	D
John J. Cavanaugh	Neb.	96th	U.S. Rep. (D – Neb.), 1977 – 1980	D
Jon Lynn Christensen	Neb.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – Neb.), 1995 – 1998	R
Harold Daub	Neb.	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – Neb.), 1981 – 1988	R
Peter Hoagland	Neb.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Neb.), 1989 – 1994	D
David Karnes	Neb.	100th	U.S. Sen. (R – Neb.), 1987 – 1988	D

Lobbyist	State	Last Congress	Position and Term Length	Party
James Bilbray	Nev.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Nev.), 1987 – 1994	D
Richard Bryan	Nev.	106th	U.S. Sen. (D – Nev.), 1989 – 2000	D
Paul Laxalt	Nev.	99th	U.S. Sen. (R – Nev.), 1973 – 1986	R
James Santini	Nev.	97th	U.S. Rep. (D – Nev.), 1975 – 1982	D
Norman D'Amours	N.H.	98th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.H.), 1975 – 1984	D
Warren Rudman	N.H.	102nd	U.S. Sen. (R – N.H.), 1979 – 1992	R
Dick Swett	N.H.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – N.H.), 1991 – 1994	D
William Zeliff Jr.	N.H.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.H.), 1991 – 1996	R
James Courter	N.J.	101st	U.S. Rep. (R – N.J.), 1979 – 1990	R
Herb Klein	N.J.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – N.J.), 1993 – 1994	D
William Martini	N.J.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.J.), 1995 – 1996	R
Matthew Rinaldo	N.J.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – N.J.), 1973 – 1992	R
Richard Zimmer	N.J.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.J.), 1991 – 1996	R
Manuel Lujan	N.M.	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.M.), 1969 – 1988	R
William Carney	N.Y.	99th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1979 – 1986	R
Alfonse D'Amato	N.Y.	105th	U.S. Sen. (R – N.Y.), 1981 – 1998	R
Joseph DioGuardi	N.Y.	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1985 – 1988	R
Thomas Joseph Downey	N.Y.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1975 – 1992	D
Geraldine Ferraro	N.Y.	98th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1979 – 1984	D
Michael P. Forbes	N.Y.	106th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1995 – 2000	R
Robert Garcia	N.Y.	101st	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1977 – 1990	D
Benjamin Gilman	N.Y.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1973 – 2002	R
George Hochbrueckner	N.Y.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1987 – 1994	D
Elizabeth Holtzman	N.Y.	96th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1973 – 1980	D
Frank J. Horton	N.Y.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1963 – 1992	R
Jack Kemp	N.Y.	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1969 – 1988	R
John Joseph LaFalce	N.Y.	107th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1975 – 2002	D
Rick Lazio	N.Y.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1993 – 2000	R
Norman Lent	N.Y.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1971 – 1992	R
Thomas Manton	N.Y.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1985 – 1998	D
David O'Brien Martin	N.Y.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1981 – 1992	R
Ray McGrath	N.Y.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1981 – 1992	R
Guy Molinari	N.Y.	101st	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1981 – 1990	R
Susan Molinari	N.Y.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1989 – 1998	R
Robert Mrazek	N.Y.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1983 – 1992	D
Bill Paxon	N.Y.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1989 – 1998	R
Jack Quinn	N.Y.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1993 – 2004	R
Stephen Solarz	N.Y.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1975 – 1992	D
Gerald B.H. Solomon	N.Y.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1979 – 1998	R
George C. Wortley	N.Y.	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.Y.), 1981 – 1988	R
Leo C. Zeferetti	N.Y.	97th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.Y.), 1973 – 1982	D
William Wilfred Cobey	N.C.	99th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.C.), 1985 – 1986	R
D. Mclauchlin "Lauch" Faircloth	N.C.	105th	U.S. Sen. (R. N.C.), 1993 – 1998	R

Lobbyist	State	Last Congress	Position and Term Length	Party
David Funderburk	N.C.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.C.), 1995 – 1995	R
James G. Martin	N.C.	98th	U.S. Rep. (R – N.C.), 1973 – 1984	R
J. Alexander McMillan	N.C.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (R – N.C.), 1985 – 1994	R
Robert Morgan	N.C.	96th	U.S. Sen. (D – N.C.), 1975 – 1980	D
Charlie Rose	N.C.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – N.C.), 1973 – 1996	D
Mark Andrews	N.D.	99th	U.S. Sen. (R – N.D.), 1981 – 1986; U.S. Rep. (R – N.D.), 1963 – 1980	R
Dennis Eckart	Ohio	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ohio), 1981 – 1992	D
Willis Gradison	Ohio	103rd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ohio), 1975 – 1994	R
Delbert Latta	Ohio	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – Ohio), 1959 – 1988	R
Bob McEwen	Ohio	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Ohio), 1981 – 1992	R
Howard Metzenbaum	Ohio	103rd	U.S. Sen. (D – Ohio), 1973 – 1994	D
Mary Rose Oakar	Ohio	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ohio), 1977 – 1992	D
James Stanton	Ohio	94th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ohio), 1971 – 1976	D
Louis Stokes	Ohio	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Ohio), 1969 – 1998	D
Bill Brewster	Okla.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Okla.), 1991 – 1996	D
Glenn English	Okla.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Okla.), 1975 – 1994	D
James Jones	Okla.	99th	U.S. Rep. (D – Okla.), 1973 – 1986	D
Steve Largent	Okla.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Okla.), 1993 – 2002.	R
Dave McCurdy	Okla.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Okla.), 1981 – 1994	D
Don Nickles	Okla.	108th	U.S. Sen. (R – Okla.), 1981 – 2004	R
J.C. Watts	Okla.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Okla.), 1995 – 2002	R
Michael Kopetski	Ore.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Ore.), 1991 – 1994	D
Bob Packwood	Ore.	104th	U.S. Sen. (R – Ore.), 1969 – 1996	R
Lucien Blackwell	Pa.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1991 – 1994	D
Robert Borski	Pa.	107th	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1983 – 2002	D
R. Lawrence Coughlin	Pa.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1969 – 1992	R
James Coyne	Pa.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1981 – 1982	R
Charles Dougherty	Pa.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1979 – 1982	R
Tom Foglietta	Pa.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1981 – 1998	D
William Goodling	Pa.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1975 – 2000	R
William H. Gray	Pa.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1979 – 1992	D
William Green	Pa.	94th	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1965 – 1976	D
Jim Greenwood	Pa.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1993 – 2004	R
Joseph Hoeffel	Pa.	108th	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1999 – 2004	D
Ronald Klink	Pa.	106th	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1993 – 2000	D
Peter Kostmayer	Pa.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1977 – 1980, 1983 – 1992	D
Joseph Michael McDade	Pa.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1963 – 1998	R
Paul McHale	Pa.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1993 – 1998	D
Fred B. Rooney	Pa.	95th	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1963 – 1978	D
Richard Schulze	Pa.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1975 – 1992	R
E.G. “Bud” Shuster	Pa.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1973 – 2002	R
Doug Walgren	Pa.	101st	U.S. Rep. (D – Pa.), 1977 – 1990	D

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Robert Walker	Pa.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Pa.), 1977 – 1996	R
Butler Derrick	S.C.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – S.C.), 1975 – 1994	D
Thomas Hartnett	S.C.	99th	U.S. Rep. (R – S.C.), 1981 – 1986	R
John Napier	S.C.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – S.C.), 1981 – 1982	R
Robin Tallon	S.C.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (D – S.C.), 1983 – 1992	D
Tom Daschle	S.D.	108th	U.S. Sen. (D – S.D.), 1987 – 2004; U.S. Rep. (D – S.D.), 1979 – 1986	D
Larry Pressler	S.D.	104th	U.S. Sen. (R – S.D.), 1979 – 1996; U.S. Rep. (R – S.D.), 1975 – 1978	R
John Thune	S.D.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – S.D.), 1997 – 2002	R
Howard Baker	Tenn.	98th	U.S. Sen. (R – Tenn.), 1967 – 1984	R
Ed Bryant	Tenn.	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Tenn.), 1995 – 2002	R
Bob Clement	Tenn.	107th	U.S. Rep. (D – Tenn.), 1987 – 2002	D
Harold Ford	Tenn.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Tenn.), 1975 – 1996	D
Marilyn Lloyd	Tenn.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Tenn.), 1975 – 1994	D
Harlan Matthews	Tenn.	103rd	U.S. Sen. (D – Tenn.), 1993 – 1994	D
Don Sundquist	Tenn.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (R – Tenn.), 1983 – 1994	R
Fred Thompson	Tenn.	107th	U.S. Sen. (R – Tenn.), 1993 – 2002	R
Michael Andrews	Texas	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1983 – 1994	D
Bill Archer	Texas	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Texas), 1971 – 2000	R
Dick Arme	Texas	107th	U.S. Rep. (R – Texas), 1985 – 2002	R
Steve Bartlett	Texas	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Texas), 1983 – 1992	R
Lloyd Bentsen	Texas	103rd	U.S. Sen. (D – Texas), 1971 – 1994; U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1949 – 1954	D
Beau Boulter	Texas	100th	U.S. Rep. (R – Texas), 1985 – 1988	R
John Bryant	Texas	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1983 – 1996	D
Jim Chapman	Texas	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1985 – 1996	D
Ronald D’Emory Coleman	Texas	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1983 – 1996	D
Jack Fields	Texas	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Texas), 1981 – 1996	R
Phil Gramm	Texas	107th	U.S. Sen. (R – Texas), 1985 – 2002	R
Kent R. Hance	Texas	98th	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1979 – 1984	D
Robert Krueger	Texas	103rd	U.S. Sen. (D – Texas), 1993 – 1994; U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1975 – 1978	D
Gregory Laughlin	Texas	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Texas), 1989 – 1996	R
Marvin Leath	Texas	101st	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1979 – 1990	D
Tom Loeffler	Texas	99th	U.S. Rep. (R – Texas), 1979 – 1986	R
Bill Sarpalius	Texas	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1989 – 1994	D
Charles Stenholm	Texas	108th	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1979 – 2004	D
Jim Turner	Texas	108th	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1997 – 2004	D
Charles Wilson	Texas	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Texas), 1973 – 1996	D
E.J. “Jake” Garn	Utah	102nd	U.S. Sen. (R – Utah), 1973 – 1992	R
Allan Howe	Utah	94th	U.S. Rep. (D – Utah), 1975 – 1976	D
Bill Orton	Utah	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Utah), 1991 – 1996	D
Thomas Bliley Jr.	Va.	106th	U.S. Rep. (R – Va.), 1981 – 2000	R
Herbert Harris	Va.	96th	U.S. Rep. (D – Va.), 1975 – 1980	D

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Stan Parris	Va.	101st	U.S. Rep. (R – Va.), 1973 – 1990	R
L.F. Payne	Va.	104th	U.S. Rep. (D – Va.), 1987 – 1996	D
Don Bonker	Wash.	100th	U.S. Rep. (D – Wash.), 1975 – 1988	D
Rodney Dennis Chandler	Wash.	102nd	U.S. Rep. (R – Wash.), 1983 – 1992	R
Jennifer Dunn	Wash.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – Wash.), 1993 – 2004	R
Thomas S. Foley	Wash.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Wash.), 1965 – 1994	D
Slade Gorton	Wash.	106th	U.S. Sen. (R – Wash.), 1981 – 2000	R
Lloyd Meeds	Wash.	95th	U.S. Rep. (D – Wash.), 1965 – 1978	D
George Nethercutt	Wash.	108th	U.S. Rep. (R – Wash.), 1995 – 2004	R
Al Swift	Wash.	103rd	U.S. Rep. (D – Wash.), 1979 – 1994	D
Randy Tate	Wash.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Wash.), 1995 – 1996	R
David Michael Staton	W.Va.	97th	U.S. Rep. (R – W.Va.), 1981 – 1982	R
Jay Johnson	Wis.	105th	U.S. Rep. (D – Wis.), 1997 – 1998	D
Robert W. Kasten	Wis.	102nd	U.S. Sen. (R – Wis.), 1981 – 1992; U.S. Rep. (R – Wis.), 1975 – 1978	R
Scott Klug	Wis.	105th	U.S. Rep. (R – Wis.), 1991 – 1998	R
Toby Roth	Wis.	104th	U.S. Rep. (R – Wis.), 1979 – 1996	R
Alan Simpson	Wyo.	104th	U.S. Sen. (R – Wyo.), 1977 – 1996	R
Malcolm Wallop	Wyo.	103rd	U.S. Sen. (R – Wyo.), 1977 – 1994	R

Source: Analysis of data from Public Citizen's lobbying database at [www.lobbyinginfo.org](http://www.lobbyinginfo.org)

**Appendix B:  
Lobbying Fees Paid to the Livingston Group by U.S. Clients**

<b>Client Companies</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>Total</b>
3001	\$60,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$20,000	\$120,000	\$100,000	\$460,000
321 Studios	–	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$60,000
Accenture	–	–	–	\$80,000	\$180,000	\$220,000	\$480,000
ACS Government Solutions Group	–	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
American Association of Nurse Anesthetists	\$40,000	\$80,000	\$120,000	–	–	–	\$240,000
Audubon Institute	\$20,000	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
Aztec Software Associates, Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$200,000	\$200,000
BAE Systems	–	–	\$80,000	\$300,000	\$320,000	\$60,000	\$760,000
Bailey Link	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000
Blue Cross & Blue Shield Association	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
Bollinger Shipyards Inc.	\$60,000	\$80,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	–	–	\$180,000
Broward County	–	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
Brunswick Corporation	–	–	–	–	\$100,000	\$80,000	\$180,000
Bunge North America Inc.	–	–	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	–	\$120,000
Burk – Kleinpeter Inc.	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000
Business Council of New Orleans and River Region	–	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$60,000	\$240,000
CACI	–	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$20,000	\$180,000
Cacique Del Mar	–	–	\$20,000	–	–	–	\$20,000
Calthness Energy LLC	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$200,000	\$240,000
Case Western Reserve University	–	–	–	–	–	\$160,000	\$160,000
Chamber – New Orleans and River Region/ Metro Vision (Greater New Orleans Development Foundation)	\$20,000	\$80,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$260,000
Chevron Texaco	–	–	\$120,000	\$200,000	–	–	\$320,000
Children’s Hospital and Research Center of Oakland	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	–	\$40,000
City of Baton Rouge	–	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$60,000	\$40,000	\$340,000
City of Mesa Arizona	–	\$20,000	\$80,000	\$60,000	\$80,000	–	\$240,000
City of New Orleans	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$100,000	\$160,000
City of New Port News	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	\$20,000

<b>Client Companies</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>Total</b>
Clarke Environmental Mosquito Management, Inc.	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	–	\$20,000
Coalition for Equitable Regulation and Taxation	–	–	\$80,000	\$40,000	–	–	\$120,000
Collegiate Funding Services	–	–	–	–	\$100,000	\$200,000	\$300,000
Collis Associates	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	–	\$20,000
Columbus General L.L.C	\$20,000	\$60,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$20,000	–	\$180,000
Committee of Unsecured Creditors	–	–	\$260,000	\$180,000	–	–	\$440,000
Commonwealth Atlantic Properties Inc.	–	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
Commonwealth of Kentucky, Homeland Security	–	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$60,000
Community Oncology Alliance	–	–	–	–	\$180,000	\$240,000	\$420,000
De La Rue International Limited	–	–	–	–	\$140,000	–	\$140,000
Decherts LLP	–	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$60,000
Dechet LLP	–	–	–	–	\$120,000	–	\$120,000
Diamond Game Enerprise	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	–	\$20,000
Digital Commerce Corporation	–	\$40,000	\$20,000	–	–	–	\$60,000
Doley Securities, Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	\$20,000
Duke University – School of Medicine	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	–	\$40,000
El Paso Electric Company	\$40,000	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	\$80,000
Energy Conversion Devices	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$80,000	\$120,000
Feld Entertainment, Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$100,000	\$100,000
Florida Department of Citrus	–	–	–	–	–	\$140,000	\$140,000
General Category Tuna Association	–	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	\$20,000
General Electric	–	\$220,000	–	–	–	–	\$220,000
George Washington University	–	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$40,000
Girls and Boys Town USA	–	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$80,000	\$280,000
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company	–	–	–	–	\$140,000	\$240,000	\$380,000
Halter Marine Group Inc.	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
Hoveround Corporation	–	–	–	–	\$100,000	\$260,000	\$360,000

<b>Client Companies</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>Total</b>
Illinois Department of Human Services	–	\$120,000	\$60,000	\$100,000	–	–	\$280,000
Innovative Emergency Management Inc.	–	–	\$40,000	\$80,000	\$140,000	\$180,000	\$440,000
Inspec Foam	–	–	–	\$100,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$260,000
International Ship Holding Corporation	\$80,000	\$120,000	\$60,000	\$100,000	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$580,000
International Systems Inc.	–	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
International Technology Resources inc.	\$40,000	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	\$60,000
Jacobus Tenbroek Memorial Fund	–	\$60,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$120,000	\$300,000
Jefferson Parish Council	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$60,000	\$340,000
JRL Enterprises	\$60,000	\$140,000	\$100,000	\$280,000	\$200,000	\$120,000	\$900,000
Kwen Ho Sung	–	–	–	–	–	\$200,000	\$200,000
LA County Metropolitan Transportation Authority	–	–	–	–	\$140,000	\$40,000	\$180,000
Link Plus Corporation	–	\$40,000	\$60,000	–	–	–	\$100,000
Lockheed Martin Global Telecommunications	\$100,000	\$140,000	\$220,000	–	–	–	\$460,000
Louisiana State University Health Science Center	–	–	\$20,000	\$60,000	\$40,000	–	\$120,000
M.I.C Industries	–	–	–	–	\$200,000	\$100,000	\$300,000
Marine Desalination Systems, LLC	–	\$20,000	–	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$20,000	\$100,000
McDermott International, Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$160,000	\$160,000
MCI WorldCOM	–	–	–	–	\$160,000	–	\$160,000
MCNC – RDI	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$140,000	\$180,000
Metropolitan Area Networks	–	–	\$20,000	–	\$60,000	–	\$80,000
midAmerican Energy Holdings Company	–	\$260,000	–	–	–	–	\$260,000
Mirrian Group	–	–	–	–	–	\$80,000	\$80,000
Montgomery Watson/ Khafra	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$40,000	\$100,000
Morgan City Harbor & Terminal District	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	\$20,000
Mote Marine Laboratory	–	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$40,000
Nacto Group	–	–	–	–	\$80,000	–	\$80,000
NASA Aeronautics Support Team Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$40,000

Client Companies	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
National Capitol Concepts	–	\$20,000	–	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$80,000
National Milk Producers Federation	–	–	–	–	–	\$140,000	\$140,000
Nevada Cancer Institute	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$140,000	\$40,000	\$220,000
New York Blood Center	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$200,000	\$260,000
Northpoint Technology Ltd.	–	–	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$80,000	–	\$300,000
Northrop Grumman	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$140,000	\$80,000	\$60,000	\$100,000	\$600,000
Omega Protein Inc.	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$120,000	\$160,000
Oracle Corporation	\$140,000	\$240,000	\$240,000	\$320,000	\$340,000	\$420,000	\$1,700,000
Orleans Parish 911	–	–	–	–	\$120,000	\$120,000	\$240,000
PACE	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	–	\$20,000
Partnership for a Drug – Free America	–	–	–	–	–	\$180,000	\$180,000
Peoplesoft	\$40,000	\$60,000	–	–	–	–	\$100,000
PKD Foundation	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$40,000	\$100,000
Plaquemines Parish Sheiffs Office	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	\$20,000
Port of New Orleans	–	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$400,000
Production Supply Company	–	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	\$20,000
Production Supply Company Inc.	\$20,000	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
Raytheon Company	–	\$60,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$380,000
Rinker Materials, Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$80,000	\$80,000
Roz Group	–	–	\$60,000	–	–	–	\$60,000
Rush – Presbyterian – St. Lukes Medical Center	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$320,000	\$340,000	\$720,000
Sapient Corp.	–	–	–	–	\$140,000	–	\$140,000
Schering – Plough	–	\$40,000	–	–	–	–	\$40,000
Science & Engineering Associates INC. (APOGEN Technology, Inc.)	\$40,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$440,000
Sewage and Water Board of New Orleans	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$20,000	–	\$160,000
Shell Exploration & Production Company	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	\$20,000
Sippican Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$120,000	\$120,000
Sonoma Entertainment Investors	–	–	\$40,000	–	–	–	\$40,000
Southern Florida Museum	–	–	–	–	–	\$80,000	\$80,000
Southern Shrimp Alliance	–	–	–	–	\$80,000	\$100,000	\$180,000

<b>Client Companies</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>Total</b>
Southwest Missouri State University	–	–	–	–	\$160,000	\$160,000	\$320,000
Stanwich Group LLC	–	–	–	–	\$200,000	–	\$200,000
Stewart Enterprises Inc.	–	\$20,000	–	–	–	–	\$20,000
Tammany Holding Corporation	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$20,000	–	–	\$140,000
Tefen Yazamot LTD	–	–	–	–	\$320,000	\$100,000	\$420,000
The African – American Institute	–	–	–	–	\$80,000	\$40,000	\$120,000
The History Makers	–	–	–	–	–	\$20,000	\$20,000
Themogenesis	–	–	–	–	\$120,000	\$80,000	\$200,000
Tulane University	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$60,000	\$260,000
United to Secure America	–	–	–	–	\$100,000	\$180,000	\$280,000
University of New Orleans Foundation	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$220,000
US Oil and Gas Association	–	\$40,000	\$60,000	–	–	–	\$100,000
UStar	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$20,000	–	–	–	\$120,000
Verizon Communication, Inc.	–	–	–	–	–	\$320,000	\$320,000
Virginia Living Museum	–	–	–	–	–	\$60,000	\$60,000
VitaRx	–	–	\$80,000	\$20,000	–	–	\$100,000
Voyager Expanded Learning	–	–	\$120,000	\$160,000	\$40,000	–	\$320,000
Waterways Work	–	–	\$160,000	\$140,000	\$140,000	\$160,000	\$600,000
Williams Connolly, LLP	–	–	–	\$360,000	–	–	\$360,000
Yeshiva	–	–	\$60,000	–	–	–	\$60,000
Zeliff Enterprises	–	–	–	–	–	\$40,000	\$40,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,140,000</b>	<b>\$3,080,000</b>	<b>3,380,000</b>	<b>\$3,780,000</b>	<b>\$6,660,000</b>	<b>\$8,080,000</b>	<b>\$26,120,000</b>

Source: Public Citizen analysis of records filed with the Secretary of the Senate. (Available at [sopr.senate.org](http://sopr.senate.org))

## Appendix C: Campaign Contributions Controlled by Bob Livingston, 2000 – 2004

Recipient (Candidate and/or PAC)	Contributions From Bob or Bonnie Livingston (Wife)	Contributions From Friends of Bob Livingston PAC	Contributions From Livingston Group PAC	Total
Peter Jon Abair (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)		\$500		\$500
Sen. Spencer Abraham (R – Mich.) (1995 – 2000)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Robert B. Aderholt (R – Ala.)		\$1,000	\$500	\$1,500
Rep. Rodney Alexander (R – La.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Sen. George Allen (R – Va.)		\$500	\$1,000	\$1,500
America’s PAC	\$250			\$250
Rep. Dick Arme y (R – Texas) (1985 – 2002)			\$500	\$500
Sen. John Ashcroft (R – Mo.) (1995 – 2000)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Lisa Ann Atkins (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Richard Baker (R – La.)	\$2,000	\$3,000	\$2,000	\$7,000
Rep. Cass Ballenger (R – N.C.) (1985 – 2004)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Louis J. Barletta (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Bob Barr (R – Ga.) (1995 – 2002)			\$500	\$500
Bradley Linus Barton (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)			\$42	\$42
Helen Delich Bentley (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Doug Bereuter (R – Neb.) (1979 – 2004)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Brian P. Bilbray (R – Ca.) (1995 – 2000)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Roy Blunt (R – Mo.) and Rely on Your Beliefs PAC	\$1,000		\$3,500	\$4,500
Rep. Sherwood Boehlert (R – N.Y.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. John Boehner (R – Ohio)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Henry Bonilla (R – Texas) and American Dream PAC			\$3,000	\$3,000
Rep. Jo Bonner (R – Ala.)	\$750	\$1,000		\$1,750
Rep. John Boozman (R – Ark.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Charles W. Boustany (R – La.)	\$1,000		\$1,000	\$2,000
Rep. Ed Bryant (R – Tenn.) (1995 – 2002)			\$500	\$500
Sen. Jim Bunning (R – Ky.)		\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000
Sen. Conrad Burns (R – Mont.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Sen. Richard Burr (R – N.C.)		\$2,000		\$2,000
Rep. Dan Burton (R – Ind.) and Hoosier PAC			\$2,515	\$2,515
President George W. Bush	\$5,150		\$5,000	\$10,150
Rep. Steve Buyer (R – Ind.)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Sonny Callahan (R – Ala.) (1985 – 2002)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Eric Cantor (R – Va.) and Every Republican is Crucial PAC			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Shelley Moore Capito (R – W.Va.)		\$500		\$500
Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R – Ga.) and Common Sense Leadership Fund		\$500		\$500
Calder Clay (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)			\$500	\$500

<b>Recipient (Candidate and/or PAC)</b>	<b>Contributions From Bob or Bonnie Livingston (Wife)</b>	<b>Contributions From Friends of Bob Livingston PAC</b>	<b>Contributions From Livingston Group PAC</b>	<b>Total</b>
Sen. Thad Cochran (R – Miss.) and Senate Victory Fund PAC		\$2,000	\$1,000	\$3,000
Mac Collins (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)			\$1,000	\$1,000
John Cooksey (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)	\$500	\$500		\$1,000
Sen. Larry Craig (R – Idaho)			\$2,000	\$2,000
Rep. Phil Crane (R – Ill.) (1969 – 2004)			\$2,946	\$2,946
James F. Cunneen (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Randy “Duke” Cunningham (R – Calif.)		\$1,000	\$2,000	\$3,000
Rep. Jo Ann Davis (R – Va.)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Tom Davis (R – Va.) and Federal Victory Fund			\$750	\$750
Rep. Tom DeLay (R – Texas) and Americans for a Republican Majority		\$4,500	\$3,500	\$8,000
Sen. James W. DeMint (R – S.C.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Mike DeWine (R – Ohio)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Larry William Diedrich (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Sen. Elizabeth Dole (R – N.C.)			\$1,044	\$1,044
Sen. Pete V. Domenici (R – N.M.) and Pete’s PAC		\$1,000	\$3,000	\$4,000
Rep. John T. Doolittle (R – Calif.)		\$3,500	\$2,000	\$5,500
Rep. David Dreier (R – Calif.) and American Success PAC	\$500	\$1,000		\$1,500
Rep. John J. Duncan Jr. (R – Tenn.)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Bob Ehrlich (R – Maryland)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Sen. John Ensign (R – Nev.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Terry Everett (R – Ala.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Mike Ferguson (R – N.J.)	\$500	\$500		\$1,000
Rep. Ernie Fletcher (R – Ky.) (1999 – 2004)		\$500		\$500
Rep. J. Randy Forbes (R – Va.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Michael P. Forbes (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)			\$2,000	\$2,000
Douglas R. Forrester (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)	\$500			\$500
Rep. Jeffrey Lane Fortenberry (R – Neb.)	\$500			\$500
Rep. Vito Fossella (R – N.Y.)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Bob Franks (R – N.J.) (1993 – 2000)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen (R – N.J.)		\$1,000	\$1,500	\$2,500
Rep. Elton Gallegly (R – Calif.)	\$500	\$500		\$1,000
Rep. George W. Gekas (R – Pa.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Jim Gerlach (R – Pa.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R – N.Y.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Phil Gingrey (R – Ga.)			\$500	\$500
Rudolph W. Giuliani (R – Unsuccessful Senate Candidate, 2000)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R – Va.)		\$2,000	\$1,000	\$3,000
Sen. Lindsey Graham (R – S.C.)		\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000

Recipient (Candidate and/or PAC)	Contributions From Bob or Bonnie Livingston (Wife)	Contributions From Friends of Bob Livingston PAC	Contributions From Livingston Group PAC	Total
Rep. Kay Granger (R – Texas)			\$3,600	\$3,600
Carolyn W. Grant (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)			\$500	\$500
Sen. Chuck Grassley (R – Iowa)		\$1,000	\$4,000	\$5,000
Rep. Mark Green (R – Wis.)		\$500		\$500
Sen. Judd Gregg (R – N.H.)	\$1,000		\$3,000	\$4,000
Rep. Felix J. Grucci Jr. (R – N.Y.)			\$500	\$500
Sen. Chuck Hagel (R – Neb.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Katherine Harris (R – Fla.)			\$2,000	\$2,000
Rep. Melissa Hart (R – Pa.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Dennis Hastert (R – Ill.) and Keep Our Majority PAC	\$250	\$10,500	\$500	\$11,250
Rep. Robin Hayes (R – N.C.)		\$500	\$500	\$1,000
Rep. J. D. Hayworth (R – Ariz.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Dave Hobson (R – Ohio)		\$1,500	\$1,176	\$2,676
Clyde Cecil Holloway (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)		\$500	\$500	\$1,000
Rep. Duncan Hunter (R – Calif.)		\$1,653	\$2,000	\$3,653
Rep. Tim Hutchinson (R – Ark.) (1993 – 2002)		\$1,000	\$1,085	\$2,085
Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R – Texas)			\$1,500	\$1,500
Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R – Ill.)		\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000
Sen. James Inhofe (R – Okla.) and Fund for a Conservative Future PAC		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Ernest J. Istook (R – Okla.) and Fund for a Conservative Future	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,621	\$4,621
Rep. Bobby Jindal (R – La.)	\$1,000		\$2,000	\$3,000
Rep. Chris John (D – La.) (1997 – 2004)		\$500		\$500
Joan B. Johnson (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Nancy L. Johnson (R – Conn.)		\$500	\$500	\$1,000
Rep. Timothy V. Johnson (R – Ill.)		\$3,500		\$3,500
Rep. Ric Keller (R – Fla.)		\$500		\$500
Alice Forgy Kerr (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)	\$1,000			\$1,000
Rep. Jack Kingston (R – Ga.) and 13 <sup>th</sup> Colony Leadership Committee	\$500	\$500	\$2,013	\$3,013
Rep. Mark Kirk (R – Ill.)		\$732	\$1,000	\$1,732
Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R – Mich.)		\$1,000	\$1,500	\$2,500
Rep. Jim Kolbe (R – Ariz.)		\$2,000	\$1,000	\$3,000
John Koster (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Steven T. Kuykendall (R – Calif.) (1999 – 2000)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Ray LaHood (R – Ill.) and Abraham Lincoln Leadership PAC		\$1,500	\$2,019	\$3,519
Rep. Steve Largent (R – Okla.) (1993 – 2002)		\$250	\$500	\$750
Rep. Tom Latham (R – Iowa)			\$1,029	\$1,029
Rep. Rick A. Lazio (R – N.Y.) (1993 – 2000)	\$500		\$5,000	\$5,500
Rep. Jerry Lewis (R – Calif.) and Future Leaders PAC	\$500	\$5,433	\$3,000	\$8,933

Recipient (Candidate and/or PAC)	Contributions From Bob or Bonnie Livingston (Wife)	Contributions From Friends of Bob Livingston PAC	Contributions From Livingston Group PAC	Total
Rep. Ron Lewis (R – Ky.)	\$500			\$500
Rep. John Linder (R – Ga.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Robert L. Livingston (R – La.) (1977 – 2000) Livingston Group PAC, Friends of Bob Livingston PAC	\$110,000			\$110,000
Sen. Trent Lott (R – Miss.) and New Republican Majority Fund		\$3,500	\$2,000	\$5,500
Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R – Ind.)			\$2,000	\$2,000
Rep. Dan Lungren (R – Calif.)	\$2,000			\$2,000
Rep. Connie Mack (R – Fla.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Don Manzullo (R – Ill.)			\$500	\$500
Sen. Mel Martinez (R – Fla.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Bill McCollum (R – Fla.) (R – Unsuccessful Senate Candidate, 2004)	\$1,000	\$500		\$1,500
Sen. Mitch McConnell (R – Ky.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. James McCreery (R – La.) and Committee for the Preservation of Capitalism		\$5,000	\$2,500	\$7,500
Rep. John M. McHugh (R – N.Y.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. Howard P. “Buck” McKeon (R – Ca.)		\$1,000	\$2,000	\$3,000
Tim J. Michels (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Dan Miller (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)			\$500	\$500
Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R – Alaska)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Marilyn Musgrave (R – Colo.)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Sue Myrick (R – N.Y.)	\$500			\$500
National Republican Congressional Committee	\$1,000	\$25,500	\$16,500	\$43,000
National Republican Senatorial Committee		\$5,000	\$19,500	\$24,500
Rep. George Nethercutt (R – Wash.) (1995 – 2004)	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$3,695	\$5,695
Northpoint Technology (PAC)	\$1,000			\$1,000
Rep. Anne M. Northup (R – Ky.)		\$2,500	\$1,000	\$3,500
Rep. Jim Nussle (R – Iowa)			\$500	\$500
Rep. C. L. ‘Butch’ Otter (R – Idaho)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Michael G. Oxley (R – Ohio) and Leadership PAC			\$3,500	\$3,500
Ron Packard (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Charles “Chip” Pickering (R – Miss.)		\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000
Rep. Jon Porter (R – Nev.)			\$1,500	\$1,500
Rep. Deborah Pryce (R – Ohio)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Adam H. Putnam (R – Fla.)		\$2,000		\$2,000
Rep. Jack Quinn (R – N.Y.) (1993 – 2004)		\$500		\$500
Rep. George Radanovich (R – Calif.)		\$500	\$500	\$1,000
Rep. Bill Redmond (R – N.M.) (1997 – 1998)			\$652	\$652
Rep. Ralph Regula (R – Ohio) and CARE PAC	\$1,500		\$1,000	\$2,500

Recipient (Candidate and/or PAC)	Contributions From Bob or Bonnie Livingston (Wife)	Contributions From Friends of Bob Livingston PAC	Contributions From Livingston Group PAC	Total
Rep. Denny Rehberg (R – Mont.)		\$1,250	\$500	\$1,750
Rep. Rick Renzi (R – Ariz.)	\$500		\$1,000	\$1,500
Republican Campaign Committee of New York			\$1,000	\$1,000
Republican Central Committee of South Dakota	\$500			\$500
Republican National Committee	\$7,250	\$7,500	– \$7,000	\$7,750
Republican Party of Louisiana	\$950	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$15,950
Rep. Tom Reynolds (R – N.Y.) and Together for Our Majority			\$1,500	\$1,500
Rep. Bob Riley (R – Ala.) (1997 – 2002)		\$500		\$500
Sen. Pat Roberts (R – Kansas)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Hal Rogers (R – Ky.) and Help America’s Leaders		\$4,000	\$1,031	\$5,031
Rep. Mike Rogers (R – Ala.)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R – Calif.)		\$100	\$1,000	\$1,100
Rep. Ileana Ros – Lehtinen (R – Fla.)		\$500		\$500
Rep. Paul Ryan (R – Wisc.)		\$500		\$500
Sen. Rick Santorum (R – Pa.) and America’s Foundation		\$2,000	\$1,111	\$3,111
Rep. Jim Saxton (R – N.J.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Ed Schrock (R – Va.) (2001 – 2004)		\$1,500	\$500	\$2,000
Rep. Pete Sessions (R – Texas)	\$500	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,500
Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R – Fla.)		\$1,000	\$2,000	\$3,000
Rep. Richard C. Shelby (R – Ala.)	\$1,000	\$1,000		\$2,000
Rep. Don Sherwood (R – Pa.)		\$1,500	\$500	\$2,000
Rep. John M. Shimkus (R – Ill.)		\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000
Philip Granville Short (R – Unsuccessful Senate Candidate, 2000)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Bud Shuster (R – Pa.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Joe Skeen (R – N.M.)		\$2,000		\$2,000
Sen. Bob Smith (R – N.H.)		\$1,500		\$1,500
Derek W. Smith (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)			\$500	\$500
Sen. Gordon H. Smith (R – Ore.)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Sen. Olympia J. Snowe (R – Maine)		\$250		\$250
Sen. Arlen Specter (R – Pa.)		\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000
Rep. Floyd D. Spence (R – S.C.) (1971 – 2002)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Donald B. Stenberg (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)		\$500	\$500	\$1,000
Sen. Ted Stevens (R – Alaska)		\$5,000	\$4,000	\$9,000
Rep. Bob Stump (R – Ariz.) (1977 – 2002)		\$34	\$2,000	\$2,034
Sen. John E. Sununu (R – N.H.) and Daniel Webster PAC	\$500	\$2,000	\$1,500	\$4,000
Susan B. Anthony List (PAC)	\$1,000			\$1,000
Rep. John E. Sweeney (R – N.Y.)		\$1,000	\$500	\$1,500
Sen. James M. Talent (R – Mo.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. Tom Tancredo (R – Colo.)		\$1,500		\$1,500
Rep. Billy Tauzin (R – La.) (1979 – 2004) and Bayou Leader PAC	\$1,500	\$4,416	\$3,299	\$9,215

Recipient (Candidate and/or PAC)	Contributions From Bob or Bonnie Livingston (Wife)	Contributions From Friends of Bob Livingston PAC	Contributions From Livingston Group PAC	Total
Rep. Charles H. Taylor (R – N.C.)		\$1,000	\$2,500	\$3,500
Suzanne Terrell (R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)			\$5,000	\$5,000
Rep. Lee Terry (R – Neb.)			\$2,000	\$2,000
Rep. Bill Thomas (R – Calif.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Sen. John Thune (R – S.D.)		\$500	\$1,000	\$1,500
Rep. Todd Tiahrt (R – Kan.)		\$500	\$2,500	\$3,000
Rep. David C. Treen (R – La.)	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$10,000	\$12,000
Rep. Fred Upton (R – Mich.)		\$500	\$1,000	\$1,500
Sen. David Vitter (R – La.)	\$4,000	\$2,000	\$7,000	\$13,000
Sen. George V. Voinovich (R – Ohio)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Rep. James T. Walsh (R – N.Y.)		\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000
Rep. Zach Wamp (R – Tenn.)			\$1,000	\$1,000
Sen. John W. Warner (R – Va.)			\$500	\$500
Rep. J. C. Watts Jr. (R – Okla.) (1995 – 2002)		\$1,000		\$1,000
Rep. Curt Weldon (R – Va.) and Committee for a United Republican Team		\$1,000	\$500	\$1,500
Rep. Jerry Weller (R – Ill.)			\$1,500	\$1,500
Rep. Ed Whitfield (R – Ky.)		\$500	\$1,000	\$1,500
Rep. Roger Wicker (R – Miss.)		\$1,500		\$1,500
Rep. Heather Wilson (R – N.M.)	\$500	\$1,500	\$500	\$2,500
Rep. Joe Wilson (R – S.C.)			\$250	\$250
Rep. Frank R. Wolf (R – Va.)	\$1,000	\$3,000	\$2,563	\$6,563
Rep. C. W. “Bill” Young (R – Fla.) and Victory PAC		\$1,000	\$3,540	\$4,540
Rep. Don Young (R – Alaska)		\$750		\$750
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$157,600</b>	<b>\$201,868</b>	<b>\$243,981</b>	<b>\$503,449*</b>

Source: Public Citizen analysis of data supplied by the Center for Responsive Politics

\*This figure does not include \$100,000 in contributions made by Bob Livingston to his own PACs, since that amount is reflected in contributions made by his PACs to candidates.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> Gail Russell Chaddock, "Republicans Take Over K Street," *The Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 29, 2003.
- <sup>2</sup> John B. Judis, "Tamany Fall," *The New Republic*, June 10, 2005.
- <sup>3</sup> Anna Palmer, "Top Lobbying Firms," *Influence Magazine*, Mar. 16, 2005.
- <sup>4</sup> Anna Palmer, "Top Lobbying Firms," *Influence Magazine*, Mar. 16, 2005.
- <sup>5</sup> Katharine Q. Seelye, "Livingston Bids Farewell to House That He Might Have Led," *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1999.
- <sup>6</sup> Public Citizen's analysis of records filed with the Secretary of the Senate (Available at [sopr.senate.org](http://sopr.senate.org)).
- <sup>7</sup> Bruce Alpert, "Livingston Remembers His Big, Though Brief, Moment," *Newhouse News Service*, Dec. 17, 1999.
- <sup>8</sup> Katharine Q. Seelye, "Livingston Bids Farewell to House That He Might Have Led," *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1999.
- <sup>9</sup> Bruce Alpert, "Livingston Remembers His Big, Though Brief, Moment," *Newhouse News Service*, Dec. 17, 1999.
- <sup>10</sup> Greg Hiatt, "Former Speaker Re-Emerges as Lobbyist," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 21, 2000.
- <sup>11</sup> Greg Hiatt, "Former Speaker Re-Emerges as Lobbyist," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 21, 2000.
- <sup>12</sup> Juliet Eilperin, "Ex-Lawmakers' Edge is Access; Flourishing Class of Lobbyists Capitalizing on Privileges," *Washington Post*, Sept. 13, 2003.
- <sup>13</sup> Greg Hiatt, "Former Speaker Re-Emerges as Lobbyist," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 21, 2000.
- <sup>14</sup> Greg Hiatt, "Former Speaker Re-Emerges as Lobbyist," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 21, 2000.
- <sup>15</sup> Greg Hiatt, "Former Speaker Re-Emerges as Lobbyist," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 21, 2000.
- <sup>16</sup> Melanie Fonder, "Livingston Absorbs Solomon Firm," *The Hill*, Jan. 9, 2002.
- <sup>17</sup> "Politics," *Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate*, Aug. 20, 2000.
- <sup>18</sup> "Politics," *Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate*, Aug. 20, 2000.
- <sup>19</sup> Kate Ackley and Tory Newmyer, "K STREET FILES," *Roll Call*, Feb. 14, 2005.
- <sup>20</sup> Kate Ackley, "Livingston Group's Access Opens Doors for Turkey," *Influence Magazine*, Sept. 29, 2004.
- <sup>21</sup> Kate Ackley, "Livingston Group's Access Opens Doors for Turkey," *Influence Magazine*, Sept. 29, 2004.
- <sup>22</sup> Kate Ackley, "Livingston Group's Access Opens Doors for Turkey," *Influence Magazine*, Sept. 29, 2004.
- <sup>23</sup> Thom Shanker, "Rumsfeld Faults Turkey for Barring Use of Its Land in '03 to Open Northern Front in Iraq," *New York Times*, March 21, 2005.
- <sup>24</sup> Juliet Eilperin, "Ex-Lawmakers' Edge Is Access; Flourishing Class of Lobbyists Capitalizing on Privileges," *Washington Post*, Sept. 13, 2003.
- <sup>25</sup> Juliet Eilperin, "Ex-Lawmakers' Edge Is Access; Flourishing Class of Lobbyists Capitalizing on Privileges," *Washington Post*, Sept. 13, 2003.
- <sup>26</sup> Juliet Eilperin, "Ex-Lawmakers' Edge Is Access; Flourishing Class of Lobbyists Capitalizing on Privileges," *Washington Post*, Sept. 13, 2003.
- <sup>27</sup> Juliet Eilperin, "Ex-Lawmakers' Edge Is Access; Flourishing Class of Lobbyists Capitalizing on Privileges," *Washington Post*, Sept. 13, 2003.
- <sup>28</sup> Lisa Friedman, "Measure on Armenian Killings Fought by GOP Leaders," *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, July 17, 2004.
- <sup>29</sup> Statement of Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, Majority Leader Tom DeLay and Majority Whip Roy Blunt Regarding the Schiff Amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill, July 16, 2004.
- <sup>30</sup> Kate Ackley, "Livingston Group's Access Opens Doors for Turkey," *Influence Magazine*, Sept. 29, 2004.
- <sup>31</sup> Letter from Rep. Frank Pallone, Jr. to Rep. Dennis Hastert, July 16, 2004.
- <sup>32</sup> Lisa Friedman, "Hastert Rejecting Calls to Consider Recognition of Armenian Genocide," *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, Sept. 29, 2004.
- <sup>33</sup> Analysis of The Livingston Group's filings under FARA for 2004.
- <sup>34</sup> Provided by Center for Responsive Politics (Available at <http://www.opensecrets.org>)