

# **Congressional Revolving Doors:**

**The Journey from Congress to K Street**



**Congress Watch  
July 2005**

## **Acknowledgments**

Congress Watch Research and Investigations Director Brad White was the primary author of *Congressional Revolving Doors: The Journey from Congress to K Street*. Congress Watch Director Frank Clemente provided significant editorial guidance for this report. Congress Watch Senior Researcher Taylor Lincoln compiled much of the data used in the report and was assisted by Administrative Assistants Kevin O'Connor and Christina Francisco. Campaign Finance Reform Legislative Representative Craig Holman furnished policy guidance. Senior Researcher Karen Robb contributed significant editorial review. Research Interns David Kling and Michael Jared also provided extensive research assistance. Intern Priya De Souza provided data and graphics assistance.

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Public Citizen's Congress Watch  
215 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003  
P: 202-546-4996  
F: 202-547-7392  
<http://www.citizen.org>

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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 registered 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 registered to lobby (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<br>(Both<br>Houses) | D<br>(Both<br>Houses) | Senators | R<br>Senators | D<br>Senators | House<br>Members | R<br>Reps | D<br>Reps |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|---------------|---------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|
| <b>Former<br/>Members<br/>Eligible to<br/>Lobby<sup>1</sup></b> | 198   | 112                   | 86                    | 36       | 18            | 18            | 162              | 94        | 68        |
| <b>Former<br/>Member<br/>Lobbyists</b>                          | 86    | 58                    | 28                    | 18       | 12            | 6             | 68               | 46        | 22        |
| <b>Pct. Who<br/>Became<br/>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.

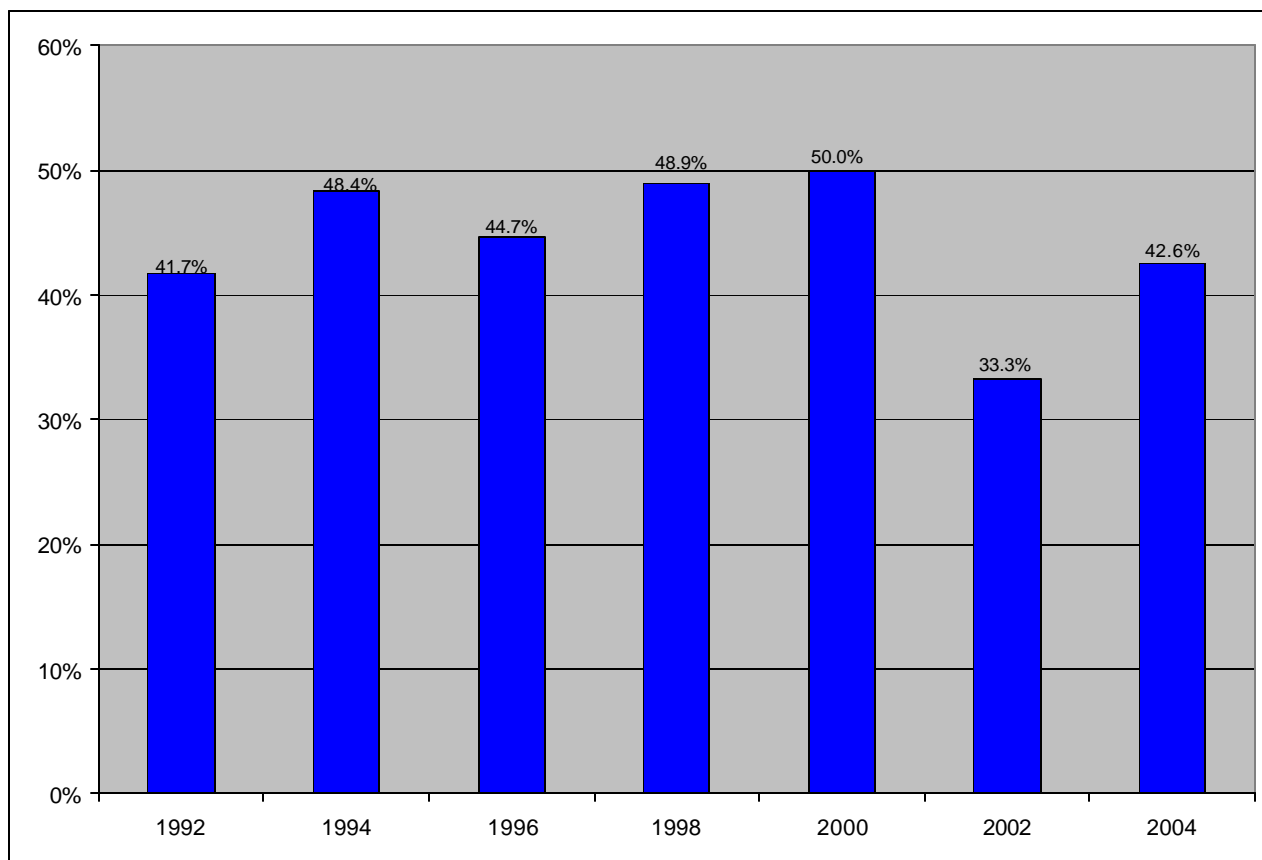
## Percentage of Members Who Became Lobbyists by Year

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**



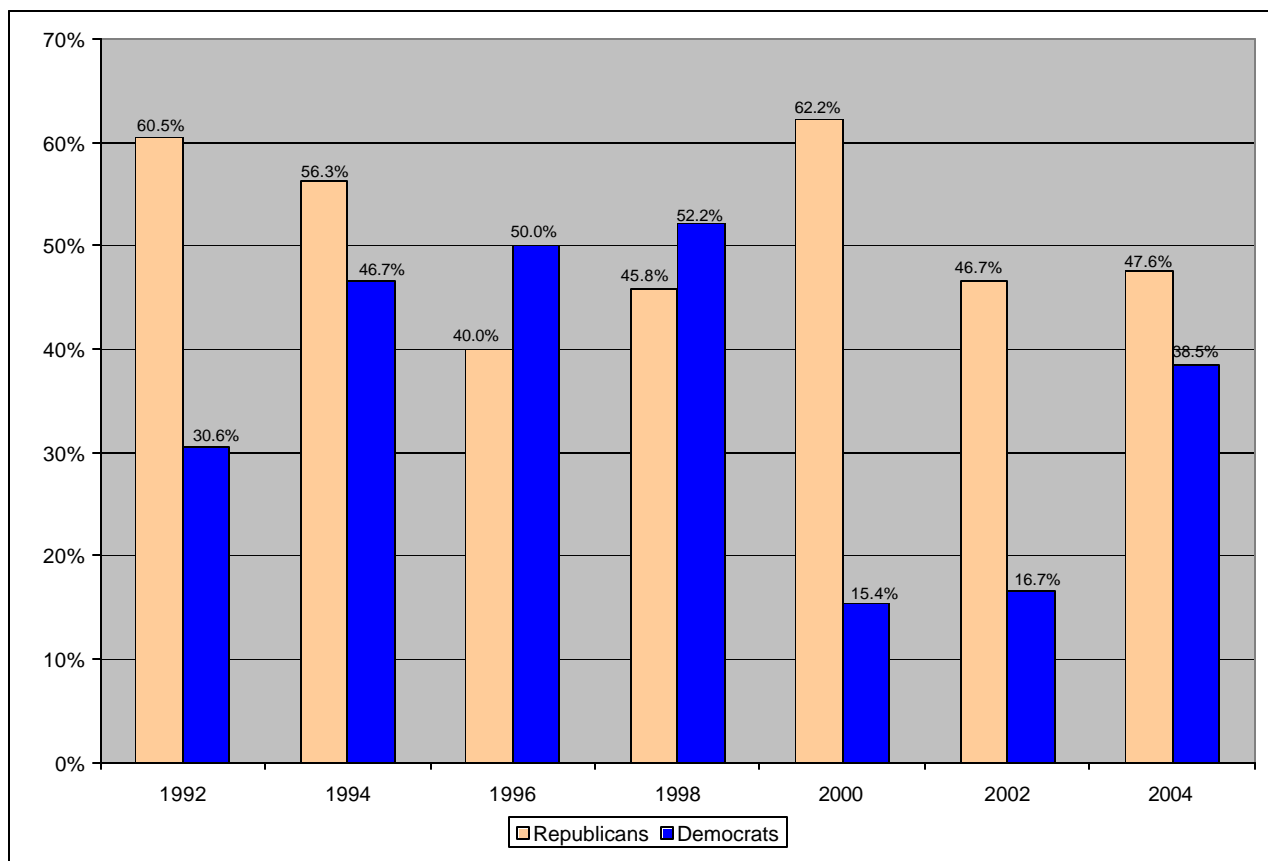
Source: Analysis of data from Public Citizen's lobbying database at [www.lobbyinginfo.org](http://www.lobbyinginfo.org)

## 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>

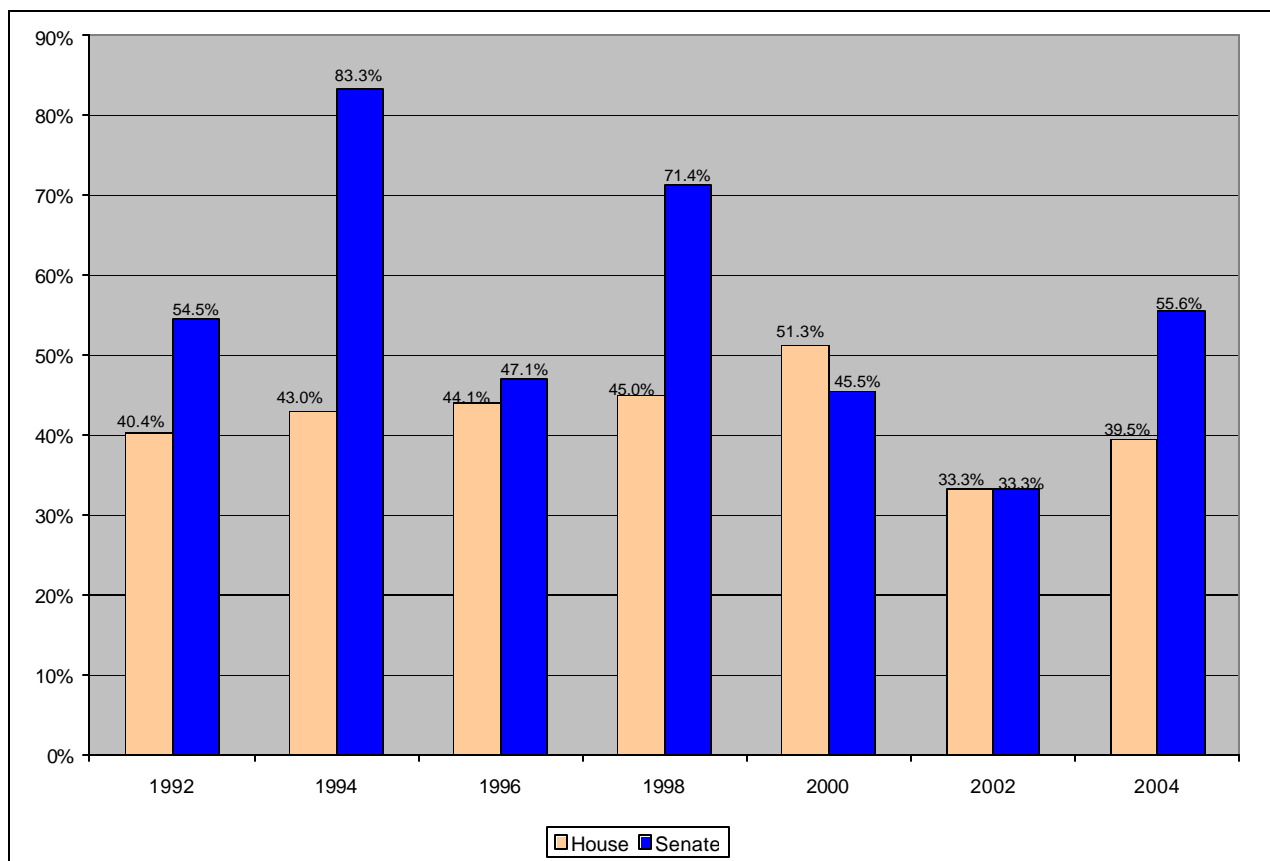
After investigating the incident, the House ethics committee sent DeLay a private letter of reprimand, effectively admonishing him for heavy-handed tactics.

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.

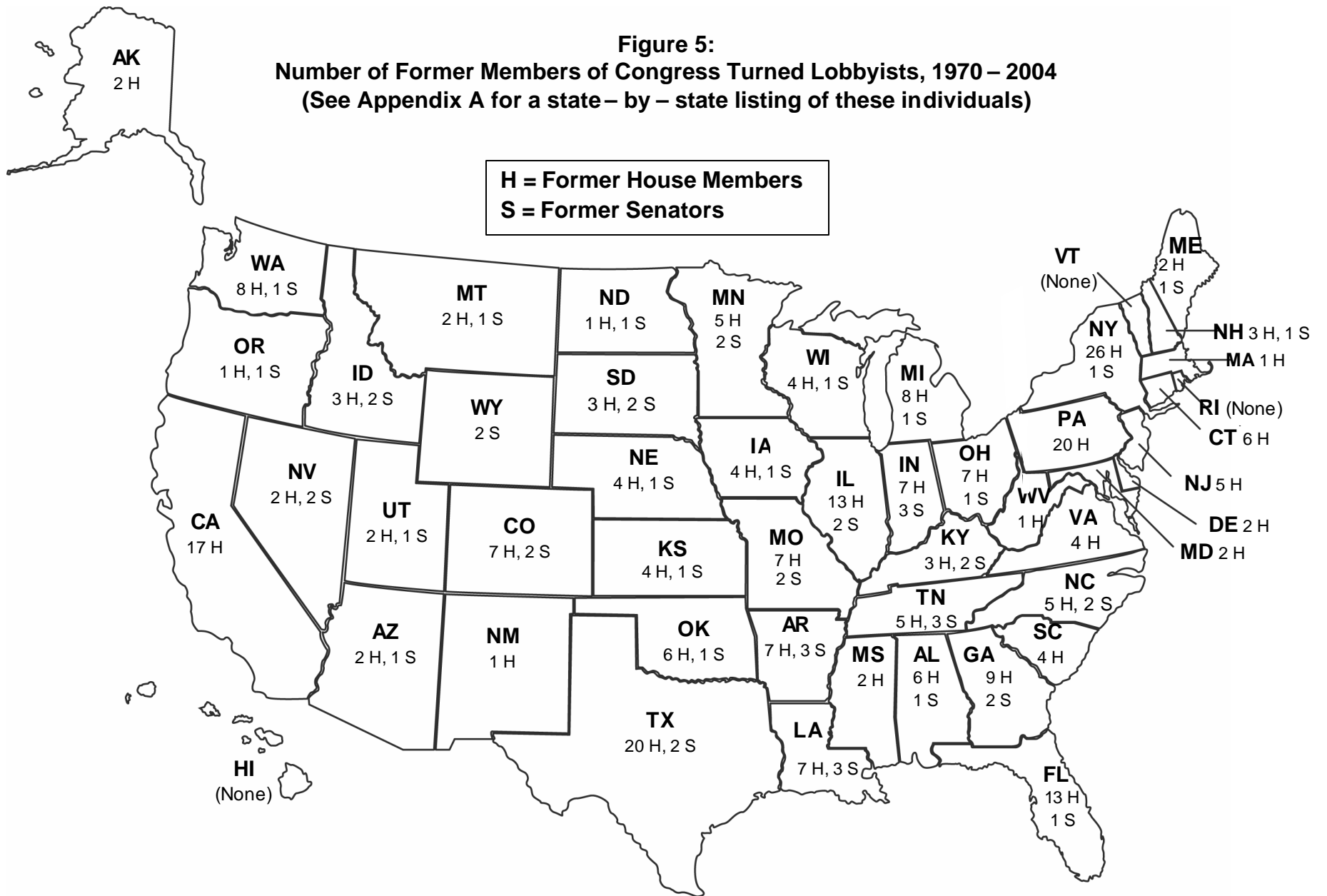
### **State by State Breakdown of Members-Turned-Lobbyists**

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 registered 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<br/>Bonnie Livingston</b> | <b>Contributions From Friends of<br/>Bob Livingston PAC</b> | <b>Contributions From<br/>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;<br>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.<br>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;<br>U.S. Rep. (R – Idaho), 1967 – 1972 | R     |
| Steve Symms            | Idaho | 102nd         | U.S. Sen. (R – Idaho), 1981 – 1992;<br>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,<br>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;<br>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;<br>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;<br>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 – 1996                                    | 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     |

| Lobbyist               | State | Last Congress | Position and Term Length                                               | Party |
|------------------------|-------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 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 Armey             | 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     |

| Lobbyist               | State | Last Congress | Position and Term Length                                             | Party |
|------------------------|-------|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 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**

| Client Companies                                                                                  | 1999     | 2000     | 2001      | 2002      | 2003      | 2004      | Total     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 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  |

| Client Companies                                | 1999     | 2000      | 2001      | 2002      | 2003      | 2004      | Total     |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 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 |

| Client Companies                                 | 1999      | 2000      | 2001      | 2002      | 2003      | 2004      | Total     |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 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<br>(Candidate and/or PAC)                                | Contributions<br>From Bob or<br>Bonnie<br>Livingston<br>(Wife) | Contributions<br>From<br>Friends of Bob<br>Livingston PAC | Contributions<br>From<br>Livingston<br>Group<br>PAC | Total    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Peter Jon Abair<br>(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 Armey (R – Texas) (1985 – 2002)                          |                                                                |                                                           | \$500                                               | \$500    |
| Sen. John Ashcroft (R – Mo.) (1995 – 2000)                         |                                                                | \$1,000                                                   |                                                     | \$1,000  |
| Lisa Ann Atkins<br>(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<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)      |                                                                |                                                           | \$500                                               | \$500    |
| Rep. Bob Barr (R – Ga.) (1995 – 2002)                              |                                                                |                                                           | \$500                                               | \$500    |
| Bradley Linus Barton<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2002)   |                                                                |                                                           | \$42                                                | \$42     |
| Helen Delich Bentley<br>(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<br>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<br>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<br>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<br>Every Republican is Crucial PAC  |                                                                |                                                           | \$1,000                                             | \$1,000  |
| Rep. Shelley Moore Capito (R – W.Va.)                              |                                                                | \$500                                                     |                                                     | \$500    |
| Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R – Ga.) and<br>Common Sense Leadership Fund |                                                                | \$500                                                     |                                                     | \$500    |
| Calder Clay<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)            |                                                                |                                                           | \$500                                               | \$500    |

| Recipient<br>(Candidate and/or PAC)                                   | Contributions<br>From Bob or<br>Bonnie<br>Livingston<br>(Wife) | Contributions<br>From<br>Friends of Bob<br>Livingston PAC | Contributions<br>From<br>Livingston<br>Group<br>PAC | Total   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Sen. Thad Cochran (R – Miss.) and<br>Senate Victory Fund PAC          |                                                                | \$2,000                                                   | \$1,000                                             | \$3,000 |
| Mac Collins<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate , 2004)              |                                                                |                                                           | \$1,000                                             | \$1,000 |
| John Cooksey<br>(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<br>(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<br>Federal Victory Fund                  |                                                                |                                                           | \$750                                               | \$750   |
| Rep. Tom DeLay (R – Texas) and<br>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<br>(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<br>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<br>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<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate , 2000)        |                                                                |                                                           | \$2,000                                             | \$2,000 |
| Douglas R. Forrester<br>(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<br>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<br>(Candidate and/or PAC)                                              | Contributions<br>From Bob or<br>Bonnie<br>Livingston<br>(Wife) | Contributions<br>From<br>Friends of Bob<br>Livingston PAC | Contributions<br>From<br>Livingston<br>Group<br>PAC | Total    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Rep. Kay Granger (R – Texas)                                                     |                                                                |                                                           | \$3,600                                             | \$3,600  |
| Carolyn W. Grant<br>(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<br>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<br>(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<br>Fund for a Conservative Future PAC          |                                                                | \$1,000                                                   |                                                     | \$1,000  |
| Rep. Ernest J. Istook (R – Okla.) and<br>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<br>(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<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)                     | \$1,000                                                        |                                                           |                                                     | \$1,000  |
| Rep. Jack Kingston (R – Ga.) and<br>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<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2000)                          |                                                                | \$500                                                     |                                                     | \$500    |
| Rep. Steven T. Kuykendall (R – Calif.) (1999 –<br>2000)                          |                                                                | \$500                                                     |                                                     | \$500    |
| Rep. Ray LaHood (R – Ill.) and<br>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<br>Future Leaders PAC                          | \$500                                                          | \$5,433                                                   | \$3,000                                             | \$8,933  |

| Recipient<br>(Candidate and/or PAC)                                                                         | Contributions<br>From Bob or<br>Bonnie<br>Livingston<br>(Wife) | Contributions<br>From<br>Friends of Bob<br>Livingston PAC | Contributions<br>From<br>Livingston<br>Group<br>PAC | Total     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Rep. Ron Lewis (R – Ky.)                                                                                    | \$500                                                          |                                                           |                                                     | \$500     |
| Rep. John Linder (R – Ga.)                                                                                  |                                                                |                                                           | \$500                                               | \$500     |
| Rep. Robert L. Livingston (R – La.) (1977 – 2000)<br>Livingston Group PAC,<br>Friends of Bob Livingston PAC | \$110,000                                                      |                                                           |                                                     | \$110,000 |
| Sen. Trent Lott (R – Miss.) and<br>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.)<br>(R – Unsuccessful Senate Candidate, 2004)                                  | \$1,000                                                        | \$500                                                     |                                                     | \$1,500   |
| Sen. Mitch McConnell (R – Ky.)                                                                              |                                                                | \$1,000                                                   |                                                     | \$1,000   |
| Rep. James McCrery (R – La.) and<br>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<br>(R – Unsuccessful House Candidate, 2004)                                                  |                                                                | \$1,000                                                   |                                                     | \$1,000   |
| Dan Miller<br>(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<br>Congressional Committee                                                              | \$1,000                                                        | \$25,500                                                  | \$16,500                                            | \$43,000  |
| National Republican<br>Senatorial Committee                                                                 |                                                                | \$5,000                                                   | \$19,500                                            | \$24,500  |
| Rep. George Nethercutt<br>(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<br>Leadership PAC                                                      |                                                                |                                                           | \$3,500                                             | \$3,500   |
| Ron Packard<br>(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<br>CARE PAC                                                                | \$1,500                                                        |                                                           | \$1,000                                             | \$2,500   |

| Recipient<br>(Candidate and/or PAC)                                 | Contributions<br>From Bob or<br>Bonnie<br>Livingston<br>(Wife) | Contributions<br>From<br>Friends of Bob<br>Livingston PAC | Contributions<br>From<br>Livingston<br>Group<br>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<br>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<br>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<br>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<br>(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<br>(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<br>(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<br>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<br>Bayou Leader PAC   | \$1,500                                                        | \$4,416                                                   | \$3,299                                             | \$9,215  |

| Recipient<br>(Candidate and/or PAC)                                      | Contributions<br>From Bob or<br>Bonnie<br>Livingston<br>(Wife) | Contributions<br>From<br>Friends of Bob<br>Livingston PAC | Contributions<br>From<br>Livingston<br>Group<br>PAC | Total             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Rep. Charles H. Taylor (R – N.C.)                                        |                                                                | \$1,000                                                   | \$2,500                                             | \$3,500           |
| Suzanne Terrell<br>(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<br>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<br>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>)