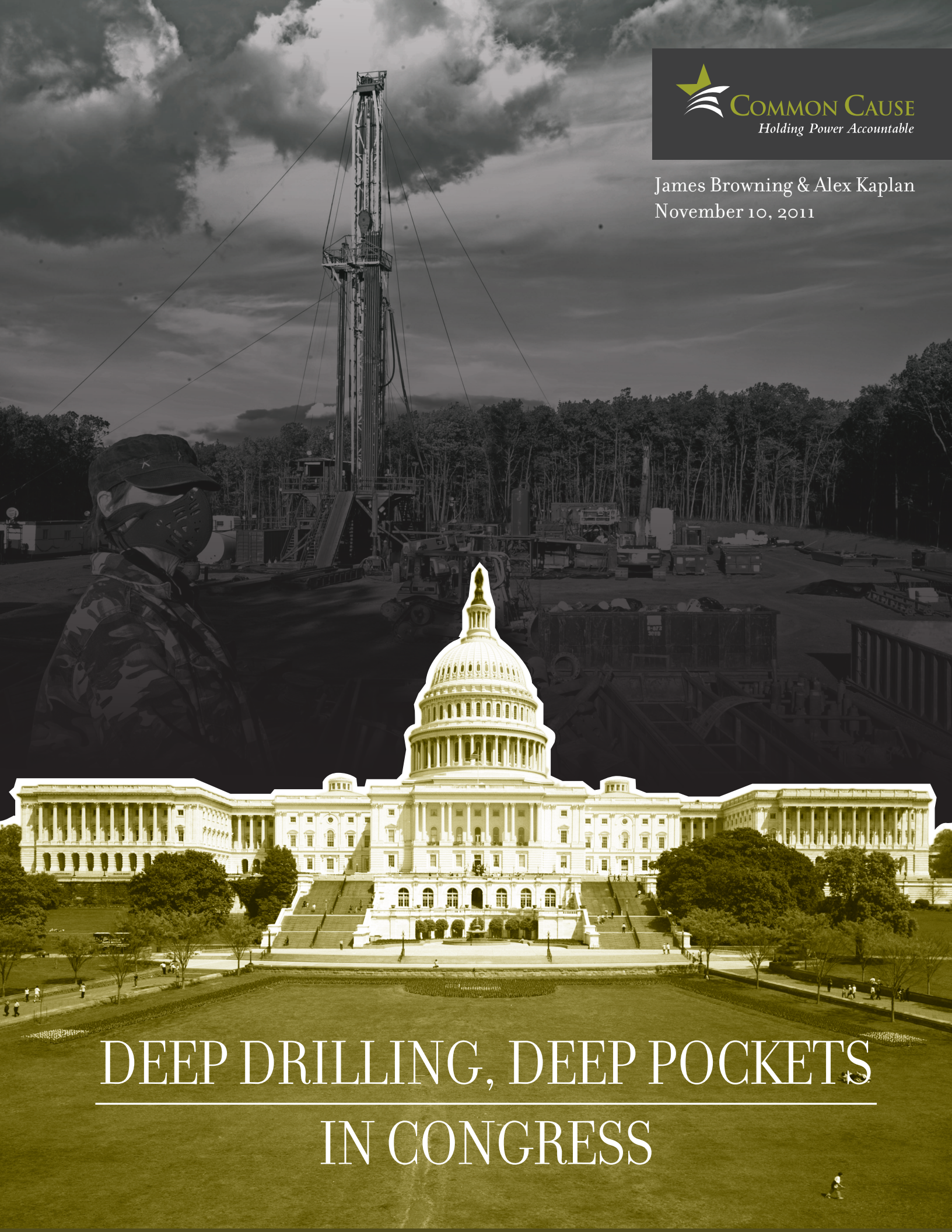


James Browning & Alex Kaplan  
November 10, 2011



# DEEP DRILLING, DEEP POCKETS

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# IN CONGRESS



## About Common Cause

Common Cause is a nonpartisan, nonprofit advocacy organization founded in 1970 by John Gardner as a vehicle for citizens to make their voices heard in the political process and to hold their elected leaders accountable to the public interest. Today, Common Cause is one of the most active, effective, and respected nonprofit organizations working for political change in America. Common Cause strives to strengthen our democracy by empowering our members, supporters and the general public to take action on critical policy issues.

In this spirit, Common Cause serves as an independent voice for change and a watchdog against corruption and abuse of power. Together with our sister organization, the Common Cause Education Fund, we employ a powerful combination of grassroots organizing, coalition building, research, policy development, public education, lobbying and litigation to win reform at all levels of government.

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## Executive Summary

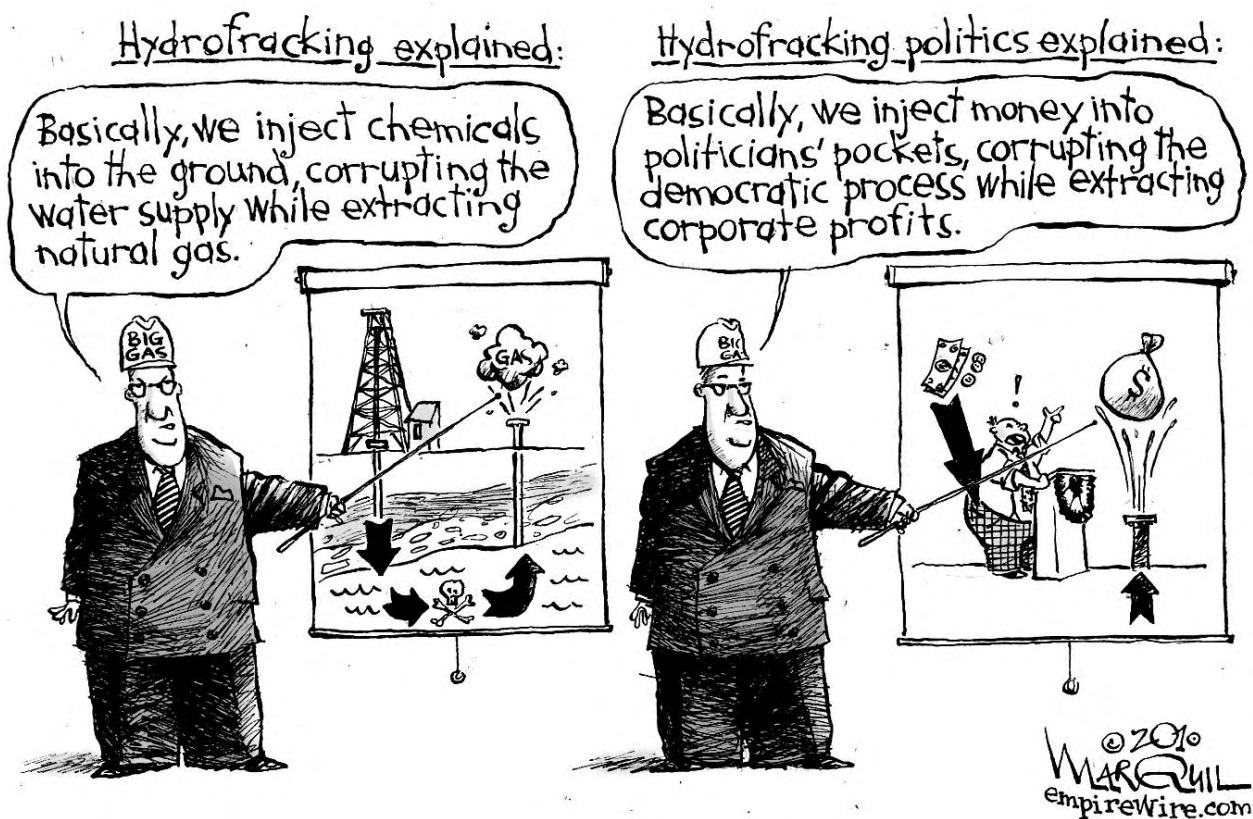
A faction of the natural gas industry has invested more than \$747 million as part of a 10-year lobbying and political spending campaign to persuade federal authorities to ignore the dangers of hydraulic fracturing, or “fracking,” a rapidly expanding but poorly regulated method of tapping gas reserves.

Fracking involves injecting a mix of sand, chemicals, and water into a well at high pressure in order to break up underground rock formations and free up natural gas. Pollution may occur underground, with fracking chemicals or methane directly contaminating aquifers and drinking wells, or above ground, as streams or tributaries are polluted by spills or improper wastewater disposal.

Nationwide, more than 1,000 complaints of water contamination due to fracking have already been reported.<sup>1</sup> Natural gas obtained from fracking and horizontal drilling in shale deposits – a combination which produces massive amounts of toxic wastewater – will rise from 16 percent of all U.S. natural gas production in 2009 to 45 percent by 2035, according to the U.S. Department of Energy.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the pollution risks, the industry has argued that regulatory exemptions for fracking are needed to give America the opportunity to tap vast reserves of natural gas that have been previously unobtainable, generate millions of new jobs, reduce energy costs for the American consumer, and dramatically reduce America’s dependence on foreign oil. This is an impressive list—suggesting a “cure-all” for some of America’s biggest domestic and foreign challenges.

From 2001 through June 2011, the fracking industry gave **\$20.5 million** to current members of Congress and **spent \$726 million** on lobbying.



Such promises have helped the natural gas industry “systematically exempt themselves from most major environmental laws,” according to Dusty Horwitt, Senior Counsel for the Environmental Working Group, and author of the 2010 study “Drilling Around the Law.” With little federal regulation in place, the public has been left to rely on industry promises to limit the use of harmful substances in the fracking process—promises which have been repeatedly broken.

The EPA is scheduled to publish new, preliminary findings about the potential dangers of fracking in 2012. That gives the natural gas industry a powerful incentive to increase its political spending now in an

attempt to shape public opinion and the debate over fracking in Congress, as well as affect the outcome of the 2012 Congressional elections. Doing so will be much easier after last year’s U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Citizens United*. This ruling threw out a century-old ban on corporate spending around elections and empowered corporations to exert even more influence over the political process. Now money spent on campaign contributions, lobbying, and through other avenues of influence such as the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) can be backed by millions spent on electioneering.

## Key Findings

- From 2001 through June 2011, companies now engaged in fracking contributed \$20.5 million to current members of Congress. Industry giving more than tripled from the 2001-02 election cycle, when \$2 million was contributed, to the 2009-10 election cycle, when \$6.8 million was contributed.
- These same companies spent \$726 million on lobbying at the federal level from 2001 through September, 2011.
- Contributions heavily favored current members of Congress who voted for the 2005 Energy Policy Act, which exempted fracking from regulation under the Safe Drinking Water Act. Current members who voted for the bill received an average of \$73,433, while those who voted against the bill received an average of \$10,894.
- Current members of the Senate Committee on the Environment and Public Works have received a total of \$1.4 million from the industry.
- Current members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee have received a total of \$3.7 million from the industry. Chair Rep. Fred Upton (R-MI) has received \$153,917 from the industry and Committee member Rep. Joe Barton (R-TX) is the single-biggest recipient of fracking money in Congress with \$514,945.
- The natural gas industry's fight against regulation has gotten important help at the state level from the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). As documented in an August 2011 Common Cause report, ALEC generates and lobbies for hundreds of model bills every year despite its status as a tax-exempt 501 (c)(3) organization. Prominent financial backers of ALEC's activities include the American Petroleum Institute, ExxonMobil, and Koch Industries, owner of the largest network of natural gas-transmitting pipelines in the country.
- The natural gas industry's political expenditures have been used to target supporters of the FRAC Act, which would regulate fracking under the Safe Drinking Water Act and require disclosure of chemicals used in the fracking process. For example, in 2010, the industry gave \$3 million to American Crossroads which in turn spent \$533,000 in an attempt to defeat FRAC Act sponsor U.S. Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-NY).

Figure 1

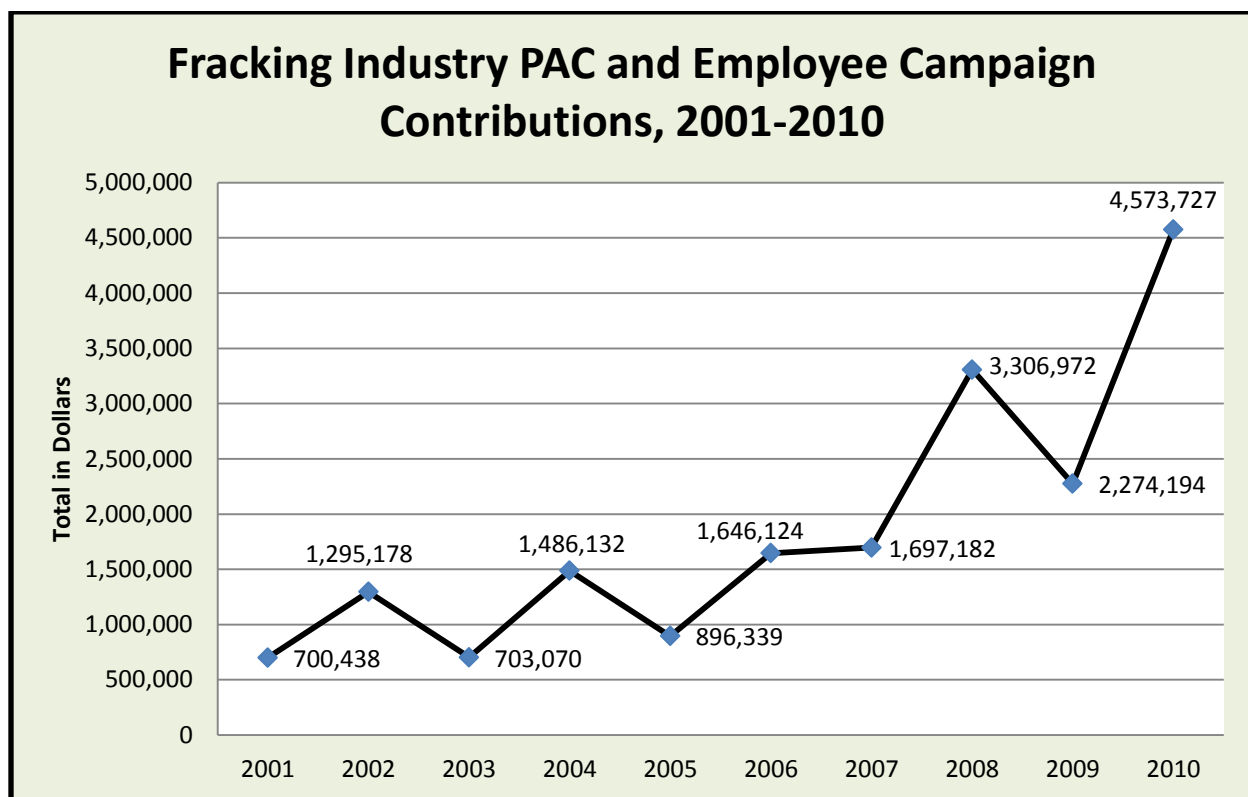
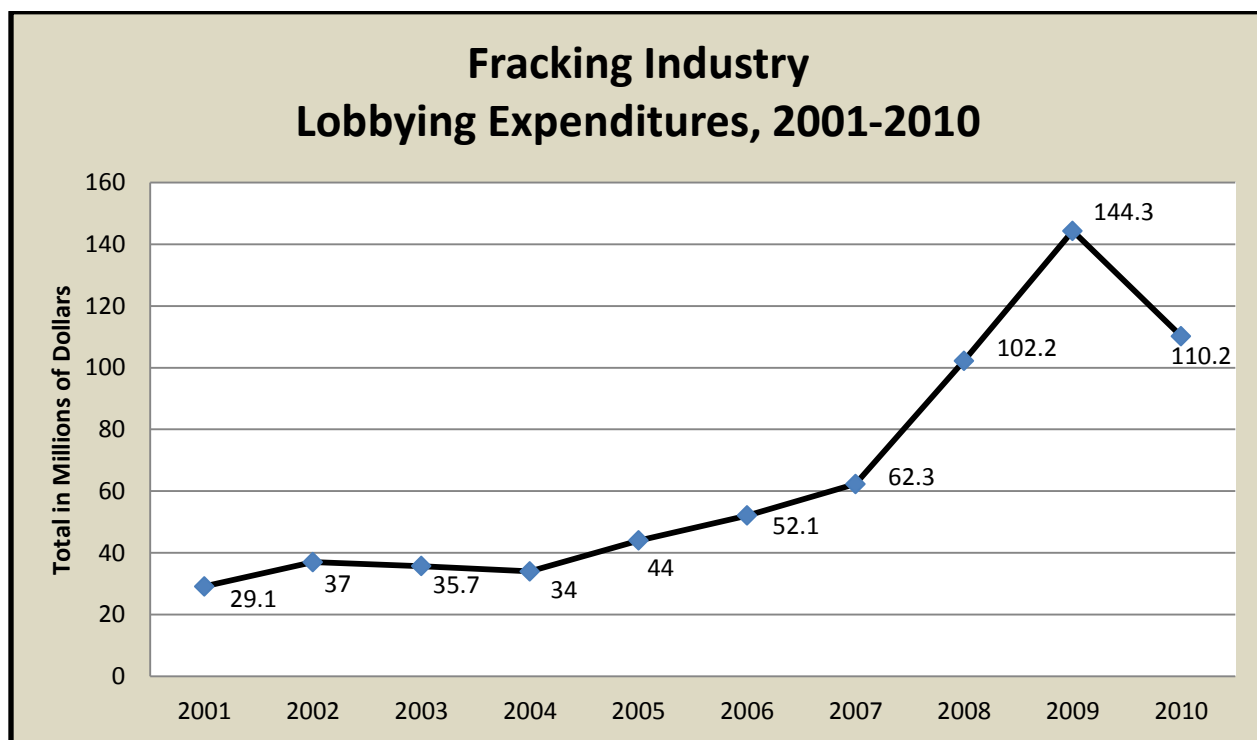


Figure 2



# Fracking Money in Politics

## Campaign Contributions

Data was retrieved from the Federal Election Commission and represent contributions made from January 1, 2001 through June 30, 2011. Custom databases were built and searched for contributions relating to the PACs and employees of the relevant companies and organizations described in the list available at the below link.

Download the entire data sheet at [www.commoncause.org/fracking2012](http://www.commoncause.org/fracking2012)

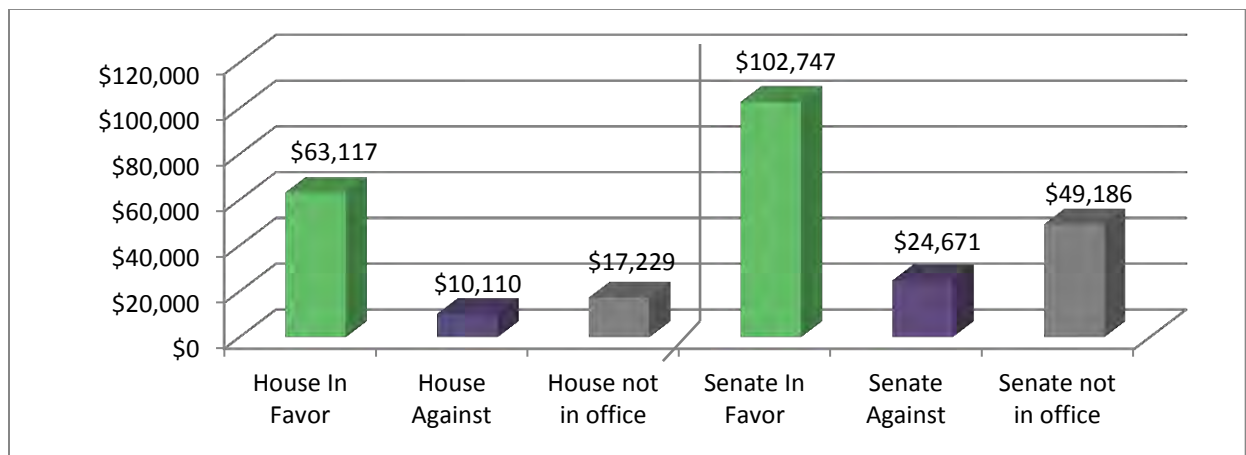
Figure 3

### Fracking money by vote on the 2005 Energy Policy Act / "Halliburton Loophole"

	Total	Count	Average	
House In Favor	\$8,655,233	137	<b>\$63,117</b>	6.2x
House Against	\$1,243,528	123	<b>\$10,110</b>	
House not in office in 2005	\$2,980,647	173	\$17,229	
Senate In Favor	\$4,931,832	48	<b>\$102,747</b>	4.1x
Senate Against	\$172,700	7	<b>\$24,671</b>	
Senate not in office in 2005	\$2,115,006	43	\$49,186	

Figure 4

### Average fracking money received by vote on the 2005 Energy Policy Act





**Fracking PAC total**

2001 – June 2011

**\$16,236,806****Fracking employee total**

2001 – June 2011

**\$4,250,851****Fracking industry total**

2001 – June 2011

**\$20,487,657**

Figure 5

**Top 10 fracking entities by PAC and employee campaign contributions**

Entity	Total	PAC	Employee
Exxon Mobil	<b>\$2,843,443</b>	\$2,563,543	\$279,900
Chevron	<b>\$1,572,175</b>	\$1,401,825	\$170,350
ConocoPhillips	<b>\$1,399,600</b>	\$1,149,750	\$249,850
Occidental Petroleum	<b>\$1,197,218</b>	\$1,075,600	\$121,618
DTE Energy	<b>\$1,083,392</b>	\$903,194	\$180,198
Williams	<b>\$1,000,300</b>	\$892,200	\$108,100
Marathon Oil	<b>\$961,350</b>	\$841,900	\$119,450
American Gas Association	<b>\$926,022</b>	\$856,622	\$69,400
Ind. Petro. Assoc. of Amer.	<b>\$898,500</b>	\$895,000	\$3,500
Anadarko	<b>\$836,000</b>	\$699,500	\$136,500

Figure 6

**Fracking money to energy committee members vs. non-members**

	Total	Count	Average
<b>Senate</b> Envir. & Public Works members	\$1,440,188	18	<b>\$80,010</b>
Senate non-energy committee members	\$5,897,100	82	<b>\$71,915</b>
<b>House</b> Energy & Commerce members	\$3,728,132	53	<b>\$70,342</b>
House non-energy committee members	\$9,343,476	382	<b>\$24,459</b>

2.8x

Figure 7

**Fracking money to Republicans vs. Democrats**

	House	Senate	Combined
<b>Republican Party/Caucus</b>	Total: \$10,551,757 241 members Average: <b>\$43,783</b>	Total: \$5,595,169 47 members Average: <b>\$119,046</b>	Total: \$16,146,926 288 members Average: <b>\$56,066</b>
<b>Democratic Party/Caucus</b>	Total: \$2,519,851 194 members Average: <b>\$12,989</b>	Total: \$1,742,119 53 members Average: <b>\$32,870</b>	Total: \$4,261,970 247 members Average: <b>\$17,255</b>

# Fracking Money in Politics

## Lobbying Expenditures

Data was compiled using both the Senate's online Lobbying Disclosure Act Database and data from the Center for Responsive Politics. Lobbying figures included in this report represent expenditures from the start of 2001 through the end of Quarter 3, 2011.

Download the entire data sheet at [www.commoncause.org/fracking2012](http://www.commoncause.org/fracking2012)

Figure 8

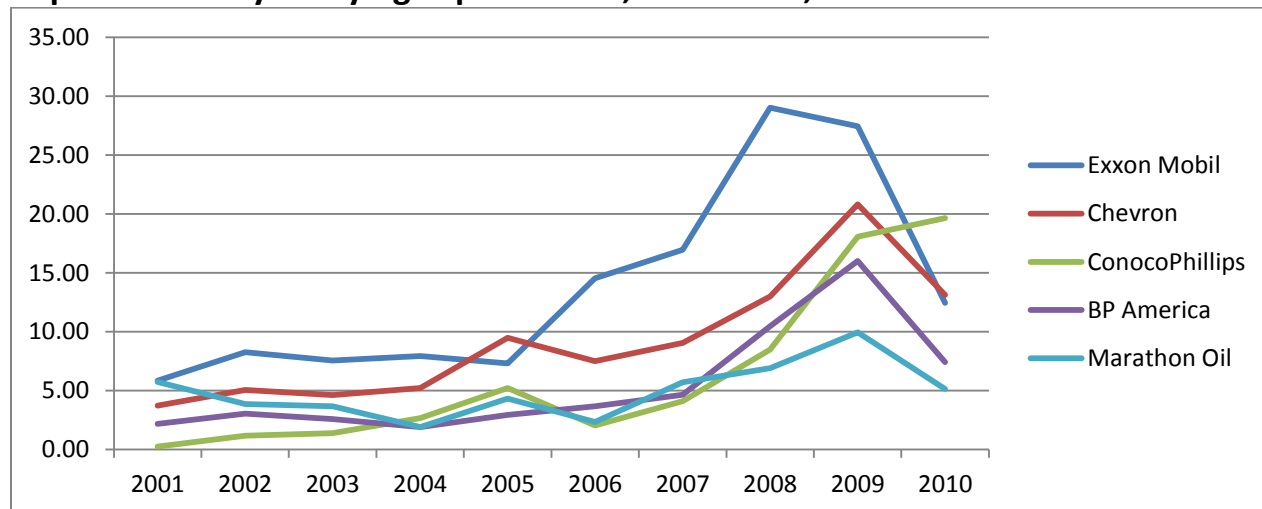
**Top 10 entities by lobbying expenditures, 2001-2011, in millions of dollars**

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011*	TOTAL	
Exxon Mobil	5.83	8.25	7.56	7.94	7.30	14.54	16.94	29.00	27.43	12.45	10.03	<b>147.27</b>	Exxon Mobil
Chevron	3.71	5.04	4.62	5.22	9.49	7.48	9.03	12.99	20.82	13.13	6.99	<b>98.51</b>	Chevron
ConocoPhillips	0.23	1.16	1.38	2.67	5.22	2.04	4.09	8.46	18.07	19.63	16.13	<b>79.07</b>	ConocoPhillips
BP America	2.18	3.03	2.57	1.90	2.92	3.65	4.64	10.45	15.99	7.41	5.71	<b>60.45</b>	BP America
Marathon Oil	5.72	3.86	3.66	1.91	4.31	2.32	5.69	6.89	9.95	5.13	2.69	<b>52.13</b>	Marathon Oil
Am. Pet. Inst.	1.14	3.04	3.14	2.87	3.64	3.38	4.00	4.85	7.32	7.30	5.98	<b>46.66</b>	Am. Pet. Inst.
Shell	0.26	0.10	0.06	0.06	0.16	0.09	3.10	4.46	10.19	10.37	11.25	<b>40.10</b>	Shell
Occidental	2.13	2.25	2.03	2.03	2.04	9.09	2.65	2.77	2.77	2.58	2.66	<b>33.00</b>	Occidental
Williams	1.83	1.62	1.14	1.17	1.18	0.83	0.68	3.86	4.16	3.94	3.01	<b>23.40</b>	Williams
DTE Energy	2.00	1.72	2.36	1.08	1.22	1.06	1.17	1.35	1.52	1.50	1.46	<b>16.44</b>	DTE Energy

\*2011 data incomplete: ends through Quarter 3 or September 2011

Figure 9

**Top 5 entities by lobbying expenditures, 2001-2010, in millions of dollars**



# Fracking Money in Politics

## Independent Political Expenditures

“Climate is gone,” veteran political strategist Karl Rove announced at a 2010 conference of the oil and gas industry.<sup>3</sup> Rove was referring to the results of the 2010 elections in which Republicans took control of the U.S. House—an election in which political committees controlled by Rove and aided by donations from oil and gas interests were a leading source of independent political expenditures.

Rove’s American Crossroads, a political action committee organized under laws that allow it to receive unlimited donations, has collected \$2 million from Trevor Rees-Jones, Chairman of Chief Oil and Gas, and \$1 million from Robert Rowling, Chairman of TNT Holdings, whose businesses include an oil and gas exploration firm. American Crossroads and Rove’s Crossroads Grassroots Political Strategies, or Crossroads GPS, a spin-off of American Crossroads organized as a non-profit

501(c)(4) organization and exempt from requirements that it reveal its donors, together accounted for \$37.5 million of the \$390 million in independent expenditures disclosed to the FEC in the 2009-10 election cycle. For the 2011-12 election cycle, these two groups have accounted for 28 percent—\$1.2 million of \$4.3 million—disclosed to the FEC as of October 2011.

Crossroads GPS is one of four groups whose tax-exempt status was challenged in a September 2011 letter to the IRS from the Campaign Legal Center and Democracy 21. “The idea that these organizations are social welfare groups is nonsense,” wrote Fred Wertheimer, President of Democracy 21. “The groups have sought tax-exempt status under section 501(c)(4) in order to keep secret from the American people the donors financing their campaign expenditures.”

*“The idea that these organizations are social welfare groups is nonsense. The groups have sought tax-exempt status under section 501(c)(4) in order to keep secret from the American people the donors financing their campaign expenditures.”*

- Fred Wertheimer, President of Democracy 21

# Regulation

## Failure to Regulate

When the EPA announced in 2000 that it was designing a study to investigate the potential for groundwater contamination from hydraulic fracturing, the United States Department of Energy warned that regulations could hinder economic growth in the industry.<sup>4</sup> When released in 2004, the EPA study concluded that the process is environmentally harmless, and then-Vice President Dick Cheney and his former employer Halliburton used this finding to insert language into the 2005 Energy Policy Act to exempt fracking from regulation under the Safe Drinking Water Act. Current members of Congress who voted for this bill have received an average of \$73,433 from industry, while current members who voted against the bill have received an average of \$10,894.

When the EPA study was released in June 2004, many environmentalists criticized it for not adequately testing the potential for fracking to contaminate groundwater. Then, in October 2004, EPA environmental engineer Weston Wilson sought protection under the Federal Whistleblower Protection Act and charged that five of the seven members of the study's external peer review panel of experts had conflicts of interest (three of those five were at the time employed by the gas industry) and criticized its authors for making no attempt

to investigate the migration of methane as a result of fracking. Highlighting the fact that the agency could come to such concrete conclusions despite the fact that, as written in the report, the "EPA was unable to find complete chemical analyses of any fracturing fluids," Wilson called the study's findings "scientifically unsound and contrary to the purposes of the [Safe Drinking Water Act]."<sup>5</sup>

The industry's exemption from the Safe Drinking Water Act has been called "the Halliburton loophole," but the industry's political influence runs much deeper. The *New York Times* has reported that the findings of a 1987 EPA study were also heavily influenced by the industry. "It was like the science didn't matter. The industry was going to get what it wanted, and we were not supposed to stand in the way," said Carla Greathouse, author of the 1987 EPA study.<sup>6</sup> The *Times* has also noted that the industry is exempt from seven of the 15 major laws designed to protect air and water from contamination by harmful substances, including the Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act, and the Superfund Act.

"It was like the science didn't matter. The industry was going to get what it wanted, and we were not supposed to stand in the way."

-Carla Greathouse, author of 1987 EPA study

# Regulation

## Can the Natural Gas Industry Regulate Itself?

The fight to keep fracking largely free from federal regulation has been led by some of the biggest recipients of fracking money in Congress. The FRAC Act, a bill that would eliminate the “Halliburton loophole,” remains bottled up in the House Energy & Commerce Committee, whose chair, Rep. Fred Upton (R-MI), has received \$153,917 from the industry. After Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar announced plans to regulate fracking through his department Rep. Dan Boren (D-OK) and Rep. Tim Murphy (R-PA), who co-chair the House Natural Gas Caucus, sent Salazar a letter in January 2011 urging him not to act until completion of a new study by the EPA.<sup>7</sup> Boren ranks eighth among all members of Congress with \$328,300 in contributions from companies engaged in fracking. Murphy ranks tenth with \$275,499.<sup>8</sup>

Most recently, the Securities and Exchange Commission has stepped in and begun asking drillers to confidentially disclose which chemicals they are using in hydraulic fracturing as a way of determining these companies’ potential liabilities for fracking-related damage to the environment. Confidential disclosure addresses the industry’s long-standing objection to public release of proprietary information about fracking fluid. Yet even this modest step

was opposed by Rep. Steve Pearce (R-NM) at a September 2011 hearing of the Committee on Financial Services. Pearce, whose campaigns have collected \$351,650 from fracking interests, more than all but five other current lawmakers, suggested that SEC Chair Mary Schapiro’s concerns about having insufficient resources for her agency were ill-founded at a time when her agency was “drifting off into this environmental question.”<sup>9</sup>

Such extraordinarily lax government oversight leaves the industry, in many cases, free to regulate itself. But in May of this year, the shareholders of Chevron and ExxonMobil rejected proposals calling for more disclosure of the environmental impacts and risks of drilling for natural gas.<sup>10</sup>

**Current members of Congress who voted for the “Halliburton loophole” have received an average of \$73,433 from the industry, while current members who voted against the bill have received an average of \$10,894.**

The industry's failure to abide by its promise not to use diesel fuel in fracking highlights the dangers of relying on self-regulation. In 2003, the EPA and the three major fracturing companies at the time (Halliburton, BJ Services, and Schlumberger) signed a voluntary memorandum of agreement (MOA) to discontinue the use of diesel fuel in fracking fluids. In an inquiry initiated by the Energy and Commerce Committee's then-chairman, Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA), Halliburton and BJ Services were found to have knowingly violated the MOA between 2005 and 2007; the committee concluded that the companies used fracking fluid with hundreds of thousands of gallons of diesel fuel containing chemicals that have confirmed negative health effects.<sup>11,12</sup>

Even after the EPA gained authority to regulate the use of diesel fuel in fracking fluids, Reps. Waxman, Edward J. Markey (D-MA), and Dianna DeGette (D-CO) discovered that the practice had continued in apparent violation of federal law. A letter released by the three in January 2011 stated: "The congressional investigation finds that oil and gas service companies have injected over 32 million gallons of diesel fuel or hydraulic fracturing fluids containing diesel fuel in wells in 19 states between 2005 and 2009. In addition, the investigation finds that no oil and gas service companies have sought – and no state and federal regulators have issued – permits for diesel fuel use in hydraulic fracturing, which appears to be a violation of the Safe Drinking Water Act."

Even after the EPA gained authority to regulate the use of **diesel fuel in fracking fluids**, Reps. Waxman, Edward J. Markey (D-MA), and Dianna DeGette (D-CO) **discovered that the practice had continued in apparent violation of federal law.**

# Regulation

## Regulation in the States

The natural gas industry's success in Congress contrasts starkly with the "go slow" or "don't go" approach that a growing number of state and local elected officials are taking toward fracking. New Jersey has imposed a one-year moratorium on fracking until its risks to the environment and human health can be further studied. New York imposed a six-month moratorium that expired in July 2011, while Maryland has effectively halted fracking by ordering a three-year environmental impact study. Several municipalities have banned fracking entirely, including Pittsburgh, PA; Albany, Ithaca, and Buffalo, NY; and Morgantown and Westover, West Virginia.

Two states that have long depended on oil and gas revenues, Texas and Wyoming, have taken the lead on requiring disclosure of fracking chemicals. Fracking using vertical wells has been conducted in both states since the 1950s, and unlike some states where the fracking boom is just beginning, both states have ample evidence of the threats to human health from drilling-related pollution.<sup>13,14</sup> In 2010, Wyoming became the first state to issue regulations requiring disclosure of fracking chemicals. Meanwhile Texas, which has ranked as one of the worst states for per capita spending on maintaining water quality<sup>15</sup>, became the first state to pass a law requiring disclosure of fracking chemicals in June 2011.

Additional in-depth studies of the natural gas industry's political spending in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Michigan are available at [commoncause.org/fracking2012](http://commoncause.org/fracking2012)

## Conclusion

The absence of strong federal regulation means that states with little or no fracking may still find their water supplies at risk of pollution produced outside their boundaries. In 2009, the group American Riverkeeper declared the Delaware River, which provides water to 15 million people in four states, to be the most endangered river in the country. In 2010, the group declared the Susquehanna River, which provides drinking water to six million people in Pennsylvania and Maryland, to be the most endangered.

The ability of the natural gas industry to tap vast new reserves through fracking is a good metaphor for its enhanced political clout in the post-*Citizens United* era, in which the industry and its backers can now spend unlimited amounts of money on electioneering, often in secret. A full and fair debate about the degree to which the natural gas industry should be more transparent about the chemicals used in fracking, and more forthcoming about their potential to damage the environment and human health, depends on forcing the industry to more fully disclose its political expenditures.

## Recommendations

- I. Independent political expenditures should be disclosed in a timely manner so the public can better understand their impact on Congressional elections.
- II. As with all corporations, the shareholders of natural gas companies should have the right to approve or disapprove any political expenditures by their companies, and the extent of corporations' political expenditures should be disclosed to their shareholders.
- III. The U.S. Senate should join the U.S. House in requiring that reports of campaign contributions be filed electronically.



**About This Report**

“Deep Drilling, Deep Pockets In Congress” was written and researched by James Browning and Alex Kaplan, with additional research by Jaron Raab and John Ammon. This is the third in a series of Common Cause studies of political spending by the natural gas industry.

The previous two studies of political spending by the industry in New York and Pennsylvania are available at [www.commoncause.org/ny](http://www.commoncause.org/ny) and [www.commoncause.org/pa](http://www.commoncause.org/pa).

Cover design by Anagramist ([www.anagramist.com](http://www.anagramist.com))

**Figure 10**

**Top 100 current members of Congress by campaign money received from the fracking industry, 2001-June 11** 15

Rank	Total \$	PACs	Individuals	Loophole Vote	Chamber	Party	Name	State	Committee
1	514,945	410,895	104,050	In Favor	House	R	Barton, Joe	TX	Energy & Comm.
2	417,556	202,400	215,156	In Favor	Senate	R	Cornyn, John	TX	-
3	372,450	232,000	140,450	In Favor	Senate	R	Murkowski, Lisa	AK	-
4	367,925	271,000	96,925	In Favor	Senate	D	Landrieu, Mary	LA	-
5	357,788	204,800	152,988	In Favor	Senate	R	Inhofe, Jim	OK	Env. & Pub. Works
6	351,650	329,000	22,650	In Favor	House	R	Pearce, Steve	NM	-
7	329,000	225,900	103,100	In Favor	House	R	Sullivan, John	OK	Energy & Comm.
8	328,300	270,050	58,250	In Favor	House	D	Boren, Dan	OK	-
9	326,149	253,499	72,650	In Favor	Senate	R	Blunt, Roy	MO	-
10	275,499	178,397	97,102	In Favor	House	R	Murphy, Tim	PA	Energy & Comm.
11	257,950	191,750	66,200	In Favor	Senate	R	McConnell, Mitch	KY	-
12	244,050	166,500	77,550	Not in office	Senate	R	Barrasso, John	WY	Env. & Pub. Works
13	237,775	182,000	55,775	In Favor	House	R	Young, Don	AK	-
14	230,860	175,500	55,360	In Favor	Senate	R	Vitter, David	LA	Env. & Pub. Works
15	223,797	180,250	43,547	In Favor	House	D	Matheson, Jim	UT	Energy & Comm.
16	216,233	198,483	17,750	In Favor	Senate	R	Burr, Richard	NC	-
17	215,349	179,499	35,850	Not in office	House	R	Lummis, Cynthia M.	WY	-
18	211,720	140,370	71,350	Not in office	House	R	Cole, Tom	OK	-
19	203,453	138,903	64,550	Against	House	D	Dingell, John	MI	Energy & Comm.
20	197,150	191,500	5,650	In Favor	House	R	Brady, Kevin	TX	-
21	194,550	121,300	73,250	Not in office	Senate	R	Wicker, Roger	MS	-
22	191,700	150,000	41,700	Not voting	House	R	Sessions, Pete	TX	-
23	187,795	152,995	34,800	In Favor	House	R	Culberson, John	TX	-
24	186,900	173,500	13,400	In Favor	House	R	Boehner, John A.	OH	-
25	186,300	180,000	6,300	In Favor	House	D	Green, Gene	TX	Energy & Comm.
26	182,149	151,849	30,300	In Favor	House	R	Hall, Ralph M.	TX	-
27	173,100	159,500	13,600	In Favor	House	R	Cantor, Eric	VA	-
28	160,750	106,300	54,450	Not in office	Senate	R	Toomey, Pat	PA	-
29	154,900	139,000	15,900	In Favor	Senate	R	Enzi, Mike	WY	-
30	154,627	138,927	15,700	In Favor	House	R	Camp, Dave	MI	-
31	153,917	143,000	10,917	In Favor	House	R	Upton, Fred	MI	Energy & Comm.
32	152,032	91,000	61,032	Not in office	Senate	R	Hoeven, John	ND	-
33	144,603	112,205	32,398	In Favor	House	R	Capito, Shelley M.	WV	-
34	144,150	129,200	14,950	In Favor	Senate	R	Chambliss, Saxby	GA	-
35	142,350	125,500	16,850	In Favor	House	D	Ross, Mike	AR	Energy & Comm.
36	137,250	128,600	8,650	Not in office	Senate	R	Thune, John	SD	-
37	136,150	93,000	43,150	In Favor	House	R	Lucas, Frank	OK	-
38	127,050	118,750	8,300	In Favor	House	R	Rehberg, Dennis	MT	-
39	127,009	111,500	15,509	In Favor	Senate	R	DeMint, Jim	SC	-
40	124,500	124,500	0	In Favor	House	R	Shimkus, John	IL	Energy & Comm.
41	123,800	98,500	25,300	In Favor	House	R	Conaway, K. Michael	TX	-
42	123,546	108,000	15,546	In Favor	Senate	R	Grassley, Chuck	IA	-
43	123,271	106,271	17,000	In Favor	House	R	Hastings, Doc	WA	-
44	121,350	96,500	24,850	In Favor	Senate	D	Baucus, Max	MT	Env. & Pub. Works
45	118,300	104,000	14,300	In Favor	Senate	R	Coburn, Tom	OK	-
46	117,700	110,500	7,200	Not in office	House	R	McCarthy, Kevin	CA	-
47	115,900	108,500	7,400	In Favor	House	R	Boustany Jr., Charles	LA	-
48	115,050	38,250	76,800	Not in office	House	R	Lankford, James	OK	-
49	111,800	96,500	15,300	In Favor	Senate	R	Hatch, Orrin	UT	-
50	109,150	97,000	12,150	In Favor	Senate	R	Crapo, Mike	ID	Env. & Pub. Works

**Top 100 current members of Congress by campaign money received from the fracking industry, 2001-June 11** 16

Rank	Total \$	PACs	Individuals	Loophole Vote	Chamber	Party	Name	State	Committee
51	109,146	107,200	1,946	In Favor	House	R	Rogers (MI), Mike J	MI	Energy & Comm.
52	108,900	99,500	9,400	Against	House	D	Hoyer, Steny H.	MD	-
53	106,350	61,000	45,350	In Favor	House	R	Hensarling, Jeb	TX	-
54	103,550	61,000	42,550	In Favor	House	R	Johnson, Sam	TX	-
55	103,450	92,500	10,950	In Favor	House	R	Burgess, Michael	TX	Energy & Comm.
56	102,500	99,500	3,000	In Favor	House	R	Walden, Greg	OR	Energy & Comm.
57	102,500	80,250	22,250	In Favor	Senate	D	Nelson, Ben	NE	-
58	102,400	95,000	7,400	In Favor	House	R	Davis, Geoff	KY	-
59	101,329	56,000	45,329	Not in office	Senate	D	Begich, Mark	AK	-
60	99,800	92,000	7,800	In Favor	Senate	R	Isakson, Johnny	GA	-
61	97,395	26,498	70,897	Not in office	Senate	D	Manchin, Joe	WV	-
62	97,350	84,000	13,350	In Favor	Senate	R	Alexander, Lamar	TN	Env. & Pub. Works
63	96,600	75,500	21,100	Not in office	House	R	Lamborn, Doug	CO	-
64	93,150	51,500	41,650	In Favor	Senate	D	Rockefeller, Jay	WV	-
65	93,125	87,575	5,550	In Favor	House	R	Whitfield, Ed	KY	Energy & Comm.
66	92,700	85,500	7,200	Not voting	Senate	R	Sessions, Jeff	AL	Env. & Pub. Works
67	91,000	90,000	1,000	Not in office	Senate	R	Portman, Rob	OH	-
68	87,829	73,429	14,400	In Favor	House	R	Granger, Kay	TX	-
69	87,595	33,745	53,850	In Favor	Senate	D	Bennet, Michael	CO	-
70	87,100	81,500	5,600	Not in office	Senate	R	Moran, Jerry	KS	-
71	86,000	73,500	12,500	Against	House	D	Costa, Jim	CA	-
72	85,250	82,500	2,750	Not in office	Senate	R	Corker, Bob	TN	-
73	82,600	75,000	7,600	In Favor	House	R	Poe, Ted	TX	-
74	82,600	78,000	4,600	In Favor	Senate	D	Bingaman, Jeff	NM	-
75	81,489	0	81,489	In Favor	Senate	D	Stabenow, Debbie	MI	-
76	80,700	73,000	7,700	In Favor	House	R	Issa, Darrell	CA	-
77	80,100	39,500	40,600	In Favor	Senate	D	Pryor, Mark	AR	-
78	80,000	79,000	1,000	Against	House	D	Barrow, John	GA	Energy & Comm.
79	77,500	72,750	4,750	Not in office	House	R	Gardner, Cory	CO	Energy & Comm.
80	76,750	73,500	3,250	In Favor	House	R	Carter, John	TX	-
81	75,300	56,400	18,900	Not in office	House	R	Olson, Pete	TX	Energy & Comm.
82	73,750	73,750	0	Not in office	House	R	Scalise, Steve	LA	Energy & Comm.
83	73,000	73,000	0	In Favor	House	R	Nunes, Devin	CA	-
84	71,650	51,600	20,050	In Favor	House	R	Bishop, Rob	UT	-
85	70,550	61,500	9,050	In Favor	House	R	Simpson, Mike	ID	-
86	70,500	68,000	2,500	In Favor	House	R	Terry, Lee	NE	Energy & Comm.
87	69,600	65,000	4,600	In Favor	Senate	R	Roberts, Pat	KS	-
88	68,076	53,000	15,076	In Favor	Senate	R	Collins, Susan	ME	-
89	67,600	57,500	10,100	In Favor	House	R	Mica, John	FL	-
90	66,725	59,000	7,725	In Favor	House	R	McCaul, Michael T.	TX	-
91	66,550	49,000	17,550	Not in office	House	R	McKinley, David	WV	Energy & Comm.
92	66,270	66,270	0	In Favor	Senate	R	Hutchison, Kay Bailey	TX	-
93	66,200	38,900	27,300	Not in office	House	R	Flores, Bill	TX	-
94	66,100	62,500	3,600	In Favor	House	D	Cuellar, Henry	TX	-
95	65,800	51,500	14,300	Not in office	Senate	R	Ayotte, Kelly	NH	-
96	65,635	32,010	33,625	Not in office	House	D	Altmire, Jason	PA	-
97	65,350	59,000	6,350	Not in office	Senate	R	Coats, Dan	IN	-
98	64,350	42,250	22,100	Not in office	House	R	Griffin, Tim	AR	-
99	64,200	51,000	13,200	In Favor	House	R	Marchant, Kenny	TX	-
100	63,750	54,000	9,750	Not in office	Senate	R	Kirk, Mark	IL	-



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