

# Political Footprint of the Oil and Gas Industry Lobby



April 2014

The federal government has been subsidizing the oil and gas industry through the tax code for nearly 100 years, wasting billions of taxpayer dollars to support a mature and highly profitable industry. The industry argues that the subsidies themselves are no different than those that exist for other industries receiving taxpayer support (e.g. agriculture). These organizations and companies have spent millions of dollars in lobbying expenditures and campaign contributions to ensure that their industry continues to benefit from outdated tax write-offs at taxpayer expense.



Last year, the oil and gas industry spent \$144.7 million, or more than \$396,000 per day, lobbying the U.S. Congress and federal agencies, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.<sup>1</sup> It employed 763 lobbyists, nearly two for each member of the U.S. House of Representatives. More than 60 percent of these lobbyists were “revolving door” personnel, including former members of Congress, and Congressional staff. The industry has also spent more than \$15 million in political campaign contributions since the beginning of 2013.<sup>2</sup> [Table 3](#) lists the top 20 oil and gas industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress.<sup>3</sup> [Table 2](#) lists lobbying expenditures by the top 30 industry organizations.

The oil and gas industry boasts an impressive roster of hired guns. Among the lobbyists working for the industry, 23 lobbyists were former Members of Congress, including 15 who had served on a relevant Committee (e.g. the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee). These include:

- **Former Senator Blanche Lincoln (D-AR):** Lincoln served on the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee.<sup>4</sup> Her firm, Lincoln Policy Group, lobbies on behalf of the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America and the Valero Energy Corporation.<sup>5</sup>
- **Former Senator Trent Lott (R-MS):** Lott served as the Senate Majority Leader and as Chairman of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee. He now works for the international law firm Patton Boggs LLP, which represents Exxon Mobil and Royal Dutch Shell, among other clients.
- **Former Senator Don Nickles (R-OK):** Nickles served on the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee and was the Senate Majority Whip.<sup>6</sup> His firm, The Nickles Group, LLC, lobbies on behalf of the Anadarko Petroleum Corporation and Exxon Mobil.<sup>7</sup> Nickles has also served on the Board of

Directors of the Chesapeake Energy Corporation and currently serves on the Board of Directors of the Valero Energy Corporation.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, at least **48 lobbyists were former White House employees, 20 worked at the U.S. Department of Energy, and 10 worked at the U.S. Department of the Interior.** These lobbyists include former high-level agency executives (e.g. Assistant Secretaries). [Table 1](#) includes more information about the former employers of these lobbyists.<sup>9</sup>

The industry has also focused its political giving on members of Committees with jurisdiction over energy subsidies and regulatory issues. These include the House Energy and Commerce, House Ways and Means, Senate Energy and Natural Resources, and Senate Finance Committees. [Table 4](#) lists the campaign contribution amounts by Committee.

The subsidies for the oil and gas industry range from enhanced capital cost recovery to fossil fuel extraction. Originally, such subsidies were sold as a way to foster adequate levels of domestic energy production so as to ensure long-term U.S. energy security – an admirable goal. However, with oil and gas company profits reaching record levels – ExxonMobil alone reported \$32.6 billion in profits in 2013<sup>10</sup> – the need to keep these subsidies in place no longer exists. The Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that eliminating existing oil and gas subsidies, many of which have been on the books since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, would save taxpayers \$65.7 billion over 10 years.<sup>11</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The oil and gas industry has benefited from federal tax subsidies for nearly a century. In that time, it has become one of the largest and most profitable industries in the world while the federal government, its source of support, has accumulated a national debt of more than \$17.5 trillion.<sup>12</sup> Despite these facts, lobbyists representing oil and gas associated interests continue to work behind the scenes to keep such subsidies from being repealed. The time has come for taxpayers to stop subsidizing the oil and gas industry. At a time of record budget deficits and declining tax revenues, it is an expense we can no longer afford to bear.

*For more information, contact Taxpayers for Common Sense at 202-546-8500.*

### **Additional Materials Below:**

[Table 1:](#) Number of Revolving Door Oil and Gas Industry Lobbyists (2013)

[Table 2:](#) Lobbying Expenditures by Top 30 Oil and Gas Industry Organizations

[Table 3:](#) Top 20 Campaign Contributors to Members of Congress, 2014 Election Cycle

[Table 4:](#) Contributions to Members of Relevant Congressional Committees, 2014 Election Cycle

[Appendix A:](#) Biographies of the 23 oil and gas industry lobbyists who are former Members of Congress.

Appendix B: Biographies of selected oil and gas industry lobbyists who are former high-level employees of the Department of Energy (DOE) and the Department of the Interior (DOI).

Appendix C: Selected companies and trade associations lobbying for favorable oil and gas regulations and/or industry subsidies.

## Revolving Door Lobbyists

<b>Table 1: Number of Revolving Door Oil and Gas Industry Lobbyists (2013)</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Lobbyists Working on Oil and Gas Issues</b>	
Lobbyists working on oil and gas issues	763
<b>Revolving Door Lobbyists</b>	
Lobbyists who previously worked or interned for a Member of Congress, congressional committee, or federal agency	471
<b>U.S. House of Representatives or U.S. Senate</b>	
Lobbyists who worked or interned for one or more Members of Congress	318
Lobbyists who were former Member of Congress	23
<b>Committees with Jurisdiction over Oil and Gas Issues</b>	
Lobbyists who were former members of the relevant committees	15
Lobbyists who worked or interned on a House or Senate Committee	74*
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the House Appropriations Committee	7
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the House Energy & Commerce Committee	13
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the House Ways & Means Committee	10
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the House Natural Resources Committee	6
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee	1
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the Senate Appropriations Committee	6
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the Senate Energy & Natural Resources Committee	10
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the Senate Environment & Public Works Committee	10
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the Senate Commerce, Science, & Transportation Committee	4
Lobbyists who worked or interned for the Senate Finance Committee	9
<b>Federal Agencies</b>	
Lobbyists who worked or interned at a federal agency	125
Lobbyists who worked or interned at the Department of Energy	20
Lobbyists who worked or interned at the Department of the Interior	10
<b>The White House</b>	
Lobbyists who worked or interned at the White House	48
Reference: Center for Responsive Politics - <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org/">http://www.opensecrets.org/</a>	
* The total counts two lobbyists who worked on multiple committees only once.	

## Lobbying Power

<b>Table 2: Lobbying Expenditures by Top 30 Oil and Gas Industry Organizations</b>	
Lobbying Organization	2013 Lobbying Expenditures
Exxon Mobil	\$13,420,000
Chevron Corp	\$10,530,000
Koch Industries	\$10,430,000
American Petroleum Institute	\$9,300,000
Royal Dutch Shell	\$9,070,000
Occidental Petroleum	\$8,271,326
BP	\$8,070,000
American Fuel and Petrochemical Manufacturers	\$5,311,107
ConocoPhillips	\$4,242,353
Phillips 66	\$3,710,000
WPX Energy	\$3,181,000
Anadarko Petroleum	\$3,120,000
Cheniere Energy	\$2,630,000
Marathon Petroleum	\$2,590,000
Marathon Oil	\$2,530,000
Apache Corp	\$2,380,000
Noble Energy	\$2,240,000
America's Natural Gas Alliance	\$1,930,000
Chesapeake Energy	\$1,800,000
Devon Energy	\$1,800,000
Independent Petroleum Association of America	\$1,573,574
Kosmos Energy	\$1,560,000
Tesoro Corp	\$1,416,889
Interstate Natural Gas Association of America	\$1,400,000
Energy Transfer Equity	\$1,380,000
Spectra Energy	\$1,300,690
Murphy Oil	\$1,190,000
Oxbow Corp	\$1,095,000
Weatherford International	\$1,090,000
TransCanada Corp	\$1,050,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$119,611,939</b>
Reference: Center for Responsive Politics - <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org/">http://www.opensecrets.org/</a>	

## Campaign Contributions to Members of Congressional Committees

<b>Table 3: Top 20 Campaign Contributors to Members of Congress, 2014 Election Cycle</b>	
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Koch Industries	\$827,200
Exxon Mobil	\$642,641
Marathon Petroleum	\$549,800
Chevron Corp	\$383,409
Devon Energy	\$311,060
Occidental Petroleum	\$280,005
Halliburton Co	\$272,240
Valero Energy	\$239,950
BP	\$231,843
Energy Transfer Equity	\$228,199
Williams Companies	\$218,750
American Gas Association	\$192,750
Chesapeake Energy	\$187,150
ConocoPhillips	\$182,401
Nustar Energy	\$177,169
Society of Independent Gasoline Marketers	\$172,500
Marathon Oil	\$161,500
PO&G Resources	\$158,800
Western Refining	\$158,100
Independent Petroleum Association of America	\$146,800
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$10,500,549</b>
Reference: Center for Responsive Politics - <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org/">http://www.opensecrets.org/</a> (Data retrieved March 2014)	

## Campaign Contributions to Members of Congressional Committees

<b>Table 4: Contributions to Members of Relevant Congressional Committees, 2014 Election Cycle</b>	
<b>Senate Committees</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Appropriations	\$4,094,919
Environment & Public Works	\$2,329,265
Energy & Natural Resources	\$3,458,365
Commerce, Science & Transportation	\$3,588,681
Finance	\$3,740,131
<b>House Committees</b>	
Energy & Commerce	\$1,783,375
Ways & Means	\$955,424
Natural Resources	\$920,142
Appropriations	\$555,675
Science, Space & Technology	\$522,050
Reference: Center for Responsive Politics - <a href="http://www.opensecrets.org/">http://www.opensecrets.org/</a> (Data retrieved March 2014)	

## **Appendix A**

Listed in alphabetical order below are the biographies of the 23 oil and gas industry lobbyists who are former Members of Congress.

Former Representative Bill Archer (R-TX): Archer served as Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. He now works for PricewaterhouseCoopers, which lobbies on behalf of Weatherford International, one of the world's largest oil and natural gas service companies.<sup>13</sup>

Former Representative Allen Boyd (D-FL): Boyd served on the House Appropriations Committee and the House Budget Committee. He now works for Twenty-First Century Group, which lobbies on behalf of In Situ Oil Sands Alliance, which represents independent Canadian oil sands drilling companies.<sup>14</sup>

Former Senator John Breaux (D-LA): Breaux served on the Senate Finance Committee. He now works for the international law firm Patton Boggs LLP, which represents Exxon Mobil and Royal Dutch Shell, among other clients.<sup>15</sup>

Former Representative Bill Brewster (D-OK): Brewster served on the House Ways and Means Committee. He now serves as Chairman of Capitol Hill Consulting Group, a lobbying firm whose clients include the American Gas Association and the National Stripper Well Association.<sup>16</sup>

Former Representative Bud Cramer (D-AL): Cramer served on the House Appropriations Committee. He has worked for Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates, whose clients include the EQT Corporation, one of the largest natural gas producers in the Appalachian Basin.<sup>17</sup>

Former Representative Vic Fazio (D-CA): Fazio served on the House Appropriations Committee. He now works for the international law firm Akin Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLP, which lobbies for Royal Dutch Shell.<sup>18</sup>

Former Representative Jack M. Fields, Jr. (R-TX): Fields served on the House Energy and Commerce Committee. He is now the CEO of Twenty-First Century Group, which lobbies on behalf of In Situ Oil Sands Alliance, which represents independent Canadian oil sands drilling companies.<sup>19</sup>

Former Representative Martin Frost (D-TX): Frost was the Ranking Member of the House Rules Committee and was Chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. He now works for the law firm Polsinelli PC, which lobbies on behalf of the Domestic Energy Producers Alliance, which represents independent oil and natural gas producers.<sup>20</sup>

Former Representative Bart Gordon (D-TN): Gordon served on the House Energy and Commerce Committee and as Chairman of the House Science, Space and Technology

Committee. He now works for the international law firm K&L Gates, which lobbies on behalf of the Duke Energy Corporation, among other clients.<sup>21</sup>

Former Senator J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA): Johnston served on the Senate Appropriations Committee and chaired the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. He now lobbies on behalf of oil and gas industry clients, including the American Petroleum Institute. He has also served on the boards of the Chevron Corporation, Freeport-McMoran Copper & Gold, URS, and Columbia Energy Group.<sup>22</sup>

Former Senator Blanche Lincoln (D-AR): Lincoln served on the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Her firm, Lincoln Policy Group, lobbies on behalf of the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America and the Valero Energy Corporation.<sup>23</sup>

Former Senator Trent Lott (R-MS): Lott served as the Senate Majority Leader and as Chairman of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee. He now works for the international law firm Patton Boggs LLP, which represents Exxon Mobil and Royal Dutch Shell, among other clients.<sup>24</sup>

Former Representative Jim McCrery (R-LA): McCrery served as the Ranking Member of the House Ways and Means Committee. He now works for Capitol Counsel, LLC, whose clients include the Chevron Corporation.<sup>25</sup>

Former Senator Don Nickles (R-OK): Nickles served on the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee and was the Senate Majority Whip. His firm, The Nickles Group, LLC, lobbies on behalf of the Anadarko Petroleum Corporation and Exxon Mobil.<sup>26</sup> Nickles has also served on the Board of Directors of the Chesapeake Energy Corporation and currently serves on the Board of Directors of the Valero Energy Corporation.<sup>27</sup>

Former Representative L.F. Payne, Jr. (D-VA): Payne served on the House Ways and Means Committee. He is now the President of McGuire Woods, LLP, whose clients include the American Petroleum Institute.<sup>28</sup>

Former Representative Charles “Chip” Pickering, Jr. (R-MS): Pickering served on the House Energy and Commerce Committee. He now works for Capitol Resources LLC, whose clients include Tellus Operating Group, an independent oil and gas operator.<sup>29</sup>

Former Representative Earl Pomeroy (D-ND): Pomeroy served on the House Ways and Means Committee. He now works for the international law firm Alston & Bird LLP, whose clients include ConocoPhillips.<sup>30</sup>

Former Representative Deborah Pryce (R-OH): Pryce served on the House Financial Services Committee and as the House Republican Conference Chair. She now works for Clark, Geduldig, Cranford & Nielsen LLC, whose clients include Koch Industries.<sup>31</sup>

Former Representative Charles W. Stenholm (D-TX): Stenholm served on the House Armed Services Committee and as the Ranking Member of the House Agriculture Committee. He now works for the law firm of Olsson, Frank & Weeda, whose clients include the Texas Alliance of



Energy Producers, an association which represents the interests of the oil and gas industry at both the state and federal levels.<sup>32</sup>

Former Representative John Tanner (D-TN): Tanner served on the House Ways and Means Committee. He is now the Vice Chairman of Prime Policy Group, a government relations firm whose clients include the In Situ Oil Sands Alliance.<sup>33</sup>

Former Representative Billy Tauzin (R-LA): Tauzin served as Chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee and the House Natural Resources Committee. Tauzin has worked for the international law firm Alston & Bird LLP, whose clients include ConocoPhillips.<sup>34</sup>

Former Representative James T. Walsh (R-NY): Walsh served on the House Appropriations Committee. He now works for the international law firm K&L Gates, which lobbies on behalf of the Duke Energy Corporation, among other clients.<sup>35</sup>

Former Representative J.C. Watts, Jr. (R-OK): Watts served on the House Armed Services Committee and as the House Republican Conference Chair. He is now the Chairman of Watts Partners, which lobbies on behalf of the Domestic Energy Producers Alliance, among other clients.<sup>36</sup>

## **Appendix B:**

Listed in alphabetical order below are the biographies of selected oil and gas industry lobbyists who are former high-level employees of the Department of Energy (DOE) and the Department of the Interior (DOI).

David Conover: Conover served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy for Policy and International Affairs under Secretaries Spencer Abraham and Samuel W. Bodman. He is also the former Staff Director and Chief Counsel to the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. Conover currently serves as Senior Vice President at the government relations firm Dutko Grayling, whose clients include the Citgo Petroleum Corporation, a Houston, TX-based oil refining, transportation and marketing company.<sup>37</sup>

Lisa Epifani: Epifani is a former Assistant Secretary of Energy for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs under Secretary Samuel W. Bodman. Prior to that, she served as Counsel to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Epifani is currently a partner at the law firm of Van Ness Feldman, LLP, whose clients include Phillips 66.<sup>38</sup>

Theresa M. Fariello: Fariello is a former Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Energy Policy with DOE's Office of International Affairs. Prior to that, she spent 12 years working for the Occidental Petroleum Corporation as Vice President for International Relations and Manager of Government Affairs. Fariello currently serves as Vice President for Government Relations at Exxon Mobil.<sup>39</sup>

Adam Ingols: Ingols was Chief of Staff to DOE Secretary Samuel W. Bodman. He also served on the staff of House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert (R) and in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs under President George W. Bush (R). Ingols currently works for the government relations firm Daryl Owen Associates, whose clients include Energy Transfer Partners.<sup>40</sup>

William Horn: Horn has served as both the Deputy Under Secretary of the Interior and Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks. He currently works for the law firm of Birch, Horton, Bittner & Cherot, whose clients include ENSTAR Natural Gas Company.<sup>41</sup>

David J. Leiter: Leiter served as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Energy, Efficiency and Renewable Energy under President Bill Clinton (D). He is currently the President of ML Strategies, a government relations firm whose clients include Exxon Mobil.<sup>42</sup>

Alex McGee: McGee served as the Principal Deputy Secretary of Energy for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs under Secretaries Spencer Abraham and Samuel W. Bodman. He is the former Director of Federal Affairs for Koch Industries Public Sector and currently serves as

Managing Director for Public Policy and Regulatory Affairs at the international law firm of McKenna, Long & Aldrige LLP.<sup>43</sup>

Rick Roldan: Roldan served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Land and Minerals Management under President Geogre H.W. Bush (R). He is currently the President and CEO of the National Propane Gas Association, a trade association representing more than 3,200 companies in the US propane industry.<sup>44</sup>

Donald F. Santa, Jr: Santa is a former member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. Prior to that, he served as the Majority Counsel to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Santa is currently the President and CEO of the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America (INGAA), a 25-member trade association representing the legislative and regulatory interests of the North American natural gas pipeline industry.<sup>45</sup>

C. Kyle Simpson: Simpson served as the Associate Deputy Secretary for Energy Programs and as Staff Director for Energy Deputy Secretaries Charles Curtis and Bill White. He currently works for the law firm of Hogal Lovells International LLP, whose clients include the Anadarko Petroleum Corporation.<sup>46</sup>

Linda G. Stuntz: Stuntz held a number of positions at DOE, including that of Deputy Secretary of Energy under President George H. W. Bush (R). Prior to that, she served as Minority Counsel to the House Energy and Commerce Committee. Stuntz is a founding partner at the law firm of Stuntz, Davis & Staffier, P.C. and serves on the Board of Directors of Royal Dutch Shell.<sup>47</sup>

Dan C. Tate, Jr: Tate served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy for Legislative Affairs under Secretary Hazel O'Leary. He was also Special Assistant for Legislative Affairs under President Bill Clinton (D) and Legislative Director to Representative Billy Tauzin (R-LA). Tate is a Founding Partner at Forbes-Tate, a public policy consulting firm.<sup>48</sup>

## Appendix C

Listed in alphabetical order below are descriptions of selected companies and trade associations lobbying for favorable oil and gas regulations and/or industry subsidies.

American Fuel and Petrochemical Manufacturers (AFPM): Formerly known as the National Petrochemical and Refiners Association (NPRA), the AFPM is a Washington, DC-based trade association representing high-tech manufacturers of gasoline, diesel, jet fuel, home heating oil as well as other fuels and petrochemicals used in consumer products. Notable AFPM members include the Chevron Corporation and Exxon Mobil. AFPM had total revenues of \$19.7 million in 2012.<sup>49</sup> In 2013, it spent over \$5.3 million in lobbying expenditures.

America's Natural Gas Alliance (ANGA): The ANGA is a Washington, DC-based advocacy group representing leading independent natural gas exploration and production companies throughout North America. Its purpose is to promote increased demand for the US's natural gas resources and ensure their continued availability. Notable ANGA members include the Apache Corporation, the Anadarko Petroleum Corporation, and Chesapeake Energy. ANGA had total revenues of \$90.8 million in 2012.<sup>50</sup> In 2013, it spent over \$1.9 million in lobbying expenditures.

American Petroleum Institute (API): Based in Washington, DC, API is the largest trade association representing the over 500 US oil and natural gas industry organizations and companies. Notable API members include Chesapeake Energy, the Chevron Corporation and Exxon Mobil. API had total revenues of \$237.9 million in 2012.<sup>51</sup> In 2013, it spent \$9.3 million in lobbying expenditures, more than any other oil and gas industry trade association.

Anadarko Petroleum Corporation: The Anadarko Petroleum Corporation is one of the world's largest independent oil and natural gas exploration and production companies. Its core operating areas include the Wattenberg field of northeastern Colorado, the Marcellus Shale in North-central Pennsylvania, and the Delaware Basin in West Texas. It is a member of the ANGA, API, and the Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA).

Apache Corporation: Based in Houston, TX, the Apache Corporation is an oil and natural gas exploration and production company with operations in the Australia, Canada, Egypt, the UK, and the US. The company's US-based operations encompass the Anadarko and Permian basins as well as on and offshore areas of Texas and Louisiana. The company also has leasehold acreage holdings in Alaska. In 2013, Apache spent over \$2.3 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of the ANGA.

BP: Headquartered in London, UK, BP is one of the largest oil and natural gas companies with operations in over 80 countries throughout the world. It spent \$8.1 million in lobbying

expenditures in 2013 and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of the AFPM and API.

Cheniere Energy: Cheniere Energy is a Houston, TX-based energy company that primarily engages in Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) related business activities. The company owns and operates the Sabine Pass LNG receiving terminal and the Creole Trail Pipeline in Louisiana, among other infrastructure assets. In 2013, it spent over \$2.6 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America (INGAA).

Chesapeake Energy Corporation: Headquartered in Oklahoma City, OK, the Chesapeake Energy Corporation is the second largest natural gas producer in the US as well as the tenth largest oil and natural gas liquid producer. In 2013, Chesapeake spent \$1.8 million in lobbying expenditures and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of the ANGA and API.

Chevron Corporation: Headquartered in San Ramon, CA, the Chevron Corporation is the second largest integrated energy company in the US, specializing in oil and natural gas exploration and production as well as petrochemicals, mining, and other services. In 2013, Chevron spent over \$10.5 million in lobbying expenditures, second only to Exxon Mobil, which spent over \$13.4 million. Chevron is also among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of the AFPM and API.

ConocoPhillips: Headquartered in Houston, TX, ConocoPhillips is the world's largest independent oil and natural gas exploration and production company with operations in 30 countries. In 2013, ConocoPhillips spent over \$4.2 million on lobbying expenditures. It is also among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of the AFPM and API.

Devon Energy Corporation: Headquartered in Oklahoma City, OK, Devon Energy Corporation is a leading independent oil and natural gas exploration and production company with onshore operations in the US and Canada. Devon is also one of the largest processors of natural gas liquids in North America. In 2013, it spent \$1.8 million in lobbying expenditures and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of ANGA and API.

Energy Transfer: Established in 1995, Energy Transfer is a Dallas, TX-based company specializing in natural gas storage and transportation services. It is comprised of four publicly traded partnerships, which are as follows: (1) Energy Transfer Partners, LP; (2) Energy Transfer Equity, LP; (3) Regency Energy Partners, LP; and (4) Sunoco Logistics Partners, LP. In 2013, Energy Transfer Equity spent over \$1.3 million in lobbying expenditures and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. Energy Transfer Partners is a member of the INGAA.

Exxon Mobil: Established in 1999, Exxon Mobil is the world's largest publicly traded oil and gas company, as well as one of the largest refiners and marketers of petrochemical products. In 2013, it spent over \$13.4 million in lobbying expenditures, more than any other oil and gas

industry company or organization, and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. Headquartered in Irving, TX, it is a member of the AFPM and API, among others.

Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA): Established in 1929, the IPAA is a Washington, DC-based national trade association representing thousands of independent crude oil and natural gas producers and service companies throughout the US. As part of its activities, the IPAA advocates on behalf of its members before the US Congress, the White House and federal agencies. In 2012, it had total revenues of \$10.3 million.<sup>52</sup> In 2013, it spent over \$1.5 million in lobbying expenditures and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle.

Interstate Natural Gas Association of America (INGAA): Based in Washington, DC, the INGAA is a 25-member trade association representing the legislative and regulatory interests of the North American natural gas pipeline industry. INGAA members, which include Cheniere Energy, Inc. and Energy Transfer Partners, LP, represent the vast majority of the interstate natural gas transmission companies throughout the US and Canada, and operate approximately 200,000 miles of pipelines. Its two principal federal regulators are the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, which oversees the economic regulation of pipelines, and the U.S. Department of Transportation's Office of Pipeline Safety, which provides oversight for the natural gas pipeline industry's safety measures. In 2012, INGAA had total revenues of \$8.9 million.<sup>53</sup> In 2013, it spent \$1.4 million in lobbying expenditures.

Koch Industries: Headquartered in Wichita, KS, Koch Industries is a privately-owned multinational corporation with operations in nearly 60 countries throughout the world. Koch Industries provides services the following areas: (1) refining, chemicals and biofuels; (2) forest and consumer products; (3) fertilizers; (4) polymers and fibers; (5) electronic components; (6) process and pollution control equipment and technologies; (7) commodity trading; (8) minerals; (9) energy; (10) ranching; (11) glass; and (12) investments. As it is not a public company, Koch Industries does not release its financial statements or other financial data to the public. In 2013, it spent over \$10.4 million in lobbying expenditure and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle.

Kosmos Energy: Kosmos Energy is an international oil and natural gas exploration and production company. Kosmos's corporate office is based in Hamilton, Bermuda – a well-known tax haven for numerous US and international companies. It also has offices in Dallas, TX as well as in Ghana, Mauritania, Morocco and Suriname. The company's primary areas of operation are the underexplored regions located along the Atlantic Margin. In 2013, it spent over \$1.5 million in lobbying expenditures.

Marathon Petroleum Corporation: Headquartered in Findlay, OH, the Marathon Petroleum Corporation is one of the largest petroleum product refiners, marketers and transporters in the US. The company's business operations are primarily concentrated in the nation's Midwest, Gulf Coast and Southeast regions. In 2013, it spent over \$2.5 million in lobbying expenditures and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of the AFPM and API.

Marathon Oil Company: Headquartered in Houston, TX, Marathon Oil Company is an independent international energy company with business operations in North America, Europe and Africa. It is comprised of three segments, which are as follows: (1) North American Exploration and Production, which explores for, produces and makes liquid hydrocarbons and natural gas in North America; (2) International E&P, which explores for, produces and markets liquid hydrocarbons and natural gas outside of North America; and (3) Oil Sands Mining, which mines, extracts and transports bitumen oil from oil sand deposits in Alberta, Canada. In 2013, it spent over \$2.5 million in lobbying expenditures and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of API.

Murphy Oil Corporation: Headquartered in El Dorado, AR, Murphy Oil Corporation is an independent oil and natural gas exploration and production company with business operations in the US, Canada, Malaysia and other countries. In 2013, the company spent nearly \$1.2 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of API.

Noble Energy: Established in 1932, Noble Energy is Houston, TX-based oil and natural gas exploration and production company. The company maintains onshore business operations primarily in the DJ Basin and Marcellus Shale regions of the US. It also has offshore operations in the Gulf of Mexico, the Eastern Mediterranean and West Africa. In 2013, the company spent over \$2.2 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of the ANGA.

Occidental Petroleum Corporation (Oxy): Established in 1920, the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, or Oxy, is a Los Angeles, CA-based international oil and natural gas exploration and production company. The company also has a subsidiary, OxyChem, which is a major chemical manufacturer in North America. In 2013, the company spent over \$8.2 million in lobbying expenditures and is among the top 20 industry campaign contributors to Members of Congress for the 2014 election cycle. It is a member of AFPM and API.

Oxbow Corporation: Founded by William Koch, formerly of Koch Industries, the Oxbow Corporation is among the world's largest refinery and natural gas byproduct recyclers. The company has business operations in North America, South America, Europe and Asia. In 2013, it spent over \$1 million in lobbying expenditures.

Phillips 66: Formerly a part of ConocoPhillips, Phillips 66 is a Houston, TX-based energy manufacturing and logistics company. Among its business activities, the company gathers, processes and transports crude oil, refined products, natural gas and natural gas liquids. The company also refines crude oil into gasoline, diesel, jet fuel and lubricants, as well as other products. In 2013, it spent over \$3.7 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of AFPM and API.

Royal Dutch Shell: Headquartered in The Hague, NL, Royal Dutch Shell, or Shell, is one of the world's largest oil and natural gas companies with business operations in over 70 countries and territories. In 2013, it spent over \$9 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of AFPM and API.

Spectra Energy Corp: Spectra Energy Corp is a Houston, TX-based company that develops pipelines and related infrastructure which is used to connect supply sources to premium markets. One of the company's core customer groups are natural gas producers and gas-fired electric generators. In 2013, it spent over \$1.3 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of API and the INGAA.

Tesoro Corporation: Headquartered in San Antonio, TX, the Tesoro Corporation is one of the largest independent refiners and marketers of petroleum products in the US. In 2013, it spent over \$1.4 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of AFPM.

TransCanada Corporation: The TransCanada Corporation is a Calgary, Alberta-based energy company that develops and operates oil and natural gas pipelines and infrastructure. It owns nearly 42,500 miles of pipelines and is one of the largest providers of gas storage and related services in North America. In 2013, it spent over \$1 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of API and the INGAA.

Weatherford International: Based in Geneva, Switzerland, Weatherford International is one of the world's largest oil and natural gas service companies. The company provides products and services related to the drilling, evaluation, completion, production and intervention cycles of oil and natural gas wells. In 2013, it spent over \$1 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of API.

WPX Energy: WPX Energy is a Tulsa, OK-based energy company that specializes in the production of oil, natural gas and natural gas liquids from non-conventional resources, including sands and shale formations, as well as coalbed methane reserves. In 2013, it spent over \$3.1 million in lobbying expenditures. It is a member of API.



- <sup>1</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/indusclient.php?id=E01&year=2013>
- <sup>2</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/industries/totals.php?cycle=2014&ind=E01>
- <sup>3</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/industries/indus.php?ind=E01>
- <sup>4</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/politicians/summary.php?cid=N00008092&cycle=2010>
- <sup>5</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/lobbyist.php?id=Lincoln%2C%20Blanche&id=Y0000048146L&year=2013>
- <sup>6</sup> <http://www.nicklesgroup.com/bios/nickles.php>
- <sup>7</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/lobbyist.php?id=Nickles%2C%20Don&id=Y0000022381L&year=2013>
- <sup>8</sup> <http://www.valero.com/ourbusiness/pages/boardofdirectors.aspx>
- <sup>9</sup> [http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/indusclient\\_lobs.php?id=E01&year=2013](http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/indusclient_lobs.php?id=E01&year=2013)
- <sup>10</sup> [http://corporate.exxonmobil.com/~media/Datasets/Investor%20earnings/2013/Q1/news\\_release\\_earnings\\_1q13.pdf](http://corporate.exxonmobil.com/~media/Datasets/Investor%20earnings/2013/Q1/news_release_earnings_1q13.pdf)
- <sup>11</sup> Joint Committee on Taxation, ESTIMATED REVENUE EFFECTS OF S. 3080/KR. 5745, THE "END POLLUTER WELFARE ACT, Fiscal Years 2012-2022
- <sup>12</sup> <http://www.treasurydirect.gov/NP/debt/current>
- <sup>13</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Bill+Archer&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>14</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Allen+Boyd&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>15</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=John+Breaux&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>16</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Bill+Brewster&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>17</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Bud+Cramer&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>18</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Vic+Fazio&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>19</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Jack+Fields&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>20</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Martin+Frost&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>21</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/index.php?q=Bart+Gordon&sa=Search&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11&siteurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.opensecrets.org%2Fusearch%2F%3Fq%3DMartin%2BFrost%26cx%3Do10677907462955562473%253Anlldkvojam%26cof%3DFORID%253A11>
- <sup>22</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Johnston%2C+J+Bennett&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>23</sup> [http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/index.php?q=Blanche+Lincoln&sa=Search&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11&siteurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.opensecrets.org%2Frevolving%2Frev\\_summary.php%3Fid%3D13760](http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/index.php?q=Blanche+Lincoln&sa=Search&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11&siteurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.opensecrets.org%2Frevolving%2Frev_summary.php%3Fid%3D13760)
- <sup>24</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Trent+Lott&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>25</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Jim+McCrery&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>26</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Don+Nickles&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>27</sup> <http://www.valero.com/ourbusiness/pages/boardofdirectors.aspx>
- <sup>28</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Payne%2C+LF&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>29</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Pickering%2C+Jr.&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>30</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Earl+Pomeroy&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>31</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Deborah+Pryce&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>32</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Stenholm&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>33</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=John+Tanner&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>34</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Billy+Tauzin&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>35</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=James+Walsh&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>36</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Watts%2C+J+C&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>37</sup> <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/staff/david-conover>
- <sup>38</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Epifani%2C+Lisa&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>39</sup> <http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/?q=Theresa+Fariello&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkvojam&cof=FORID%3A11>
- <sup>40</sup> <http://www.owendc.com/team/>
- <sup>41</sup> <http://birchhorton.com/attorney-profiles/attorneys-by-name20/william-p-horn>
- <sup>42</sup> <http://mlstrategies.com/professionals/david-leiter.htm>
- <sup>43</sup> <https://www.mckennalong.com/professionals-AlexMcGee.html>
- <sup>44</sup> <http://www.npga.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=1>
- <sup>45</sup> <http://www.ingaa.org/Foundation/16424/11192/13437/13540/13542/115.aspx>
- <sup>46</sup> <http://www.hoganlovells.com/kyle-simpson/>
- <sup>47</sup> <http://www.shell.com/global/aboutshell/who-we-are/leadership/the-board.html>
- <sup>48</sup> <http://forbes-tate.com/our-team/daniel-c-tate-jr/>
- <sup>49</sup> <http://www.guidestar.org/organizations/53-0115970/american-fuel-petrochemical-manufacturers.aspx>
- <sup>50</sup> <http://www.scribd.com/doc/185197780/Anga-2012-990-Public-Inspection-Copy>
- <sup>51</sup> <http://citizenaudit.org/130433430/>
- <sup>52</sup> <http://citizenaudit.org/730296927/>
- <sup>53</sup> <http://www.guidestar.org/organizations/73-0529079/interstate-natural-gas-association-america.aspx>