

NO REFORMER.

Charlie Black
Logos: YUKOS, Freddie Mac, Q, OXY

John Green
Logos: DHL, FannieMae, Freddie Mac

Rick Davis
Logos: AIRBORNE EXPRESS, DHL, verizon, SBC

Frank Donatelli
Logos: ExxonMobil, Baxter, Pfizer

Wayne Berman
Logos: at&t, AIG, VIACOM, MONSANTO, verizon

Nancy Pfotenhauer
Logos: KOCH

Randy Sheunemann
Logos: BP, AMOCO, verizon

Phil Gramm
Logos: UBS

McCain PUTS LOBBYISTS FIRST WHILE AMERICANS STRUGGLE

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September 12, 2008

Prepared by the Research Department of the Democratic National Committee

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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MCCAIN PUTS LOBBYISTS FIRST WHILE AMERICANS STRUGGLE

The following report, prepared by the Research Division of the Democratic National Committee, clearly illustrates that after 26 years in Washington, John McCain's cozy relationships with his lobbyist campaign advisors and fundraisers and the backroom deals he's been involved with have harmed Americans and cost America jobs. Just recently, McCain named long-time Washington lobbyist William E. Timmons, Sr. as his senior advisor for a possible McCain Presidential transition team. *Time* wrote, "By tapping Timmons, McCain has turned to one of Washington's steadiest and most senior inside players to guide him in the event of a victory—but also to someone who would represent the antithesis of the kind of outside-of-Washington change he has recently been promising." [Time, 9/12/08; Senate Office of Public Records]. Just like George Bush, John McCain's White House would likely be run by the same lobbyists who run his campaign and put what's good for them ahead of what's good for Americans. It's the same lobbyist-influenced corruption that has characterized President Bush's term in office and Republican rule over much of the past eight years.

Since the Keating scandal that nearly derailed his career, John McCain has tried to recast himself as a reformer. Recently, the campaign has maintained that McCain "doesn't run with the Washington herd." But, as this analysis makes clear, McCain has his own herd of **more than 170 lobbyists** that are managing his campaign, speaking for him, directing his policy or fundraising. McCain's crew of lobbyists, already ubiquitous as campaign surrogates, would only become more familiar if McCain were elected. In a McCain administration, Americans would see McCain's inner circle of lobbyists take over the West Wing and win key appointments in his cabinet, directing policy at the highest levels potentially to the advantage of big corporations and at a tremendous cost to Americans already struggling with the consequences of two Bush terms that have put lobbyists and the financial interests of their clients before the interests of American families.

McCain's money trail quickly exposes the depth of the relationship between John McCain, his lobbyist advisors and the special interests they represent. McCain's herd of lobbyists have made over **\$930 million** over the last decade representing every major industry, from oil and gas to health insurance, telecommunications and pharmaceutical companies and a host of foreign governments, including dictators and despots guilty of murder and egregious human rights abuses. McCain has taken nearly **\$12 million** in contributions from donors and PACs affiliated with clients represented by those lobbyists. On the economy, energy, health care, education, and foreign policy, McCain is guided by the policies of President Bush and advised by lobbyists who have spent a lifetime and earned nearly a billion dollars putting the interests of big corporations ahead of working Americans.

MCCAIN LOBBYING INC.

Among McCain's 170-plus lobbyists, eight top advisor-lobbyists, including campaign manager **Rick Davis** and campaign chairman **Charlie Black**, have distinguished themselves for their dishonorable client lists and lobbying projects. These top lobbyist-advisors have ties ranging from long-time loyalties to Exxon-Mobil and other oil and gas corporations to health

insurance and pharmaceutical companies as well as foreign regimes guilty of murder and other egregious human rights abuses.

Campaign manager Rick Davis lobbied against American workers to push the foreign acquisition of a US company that may now cost 10,000 jobs in Ohio – with John McCain’s help. Even while running McCain’s controversial non-profit, ironically titled the Reform Institute, Davis was lobbying the Senate on behalf of a German company, **DHL**, to clear the way for DHL’s acquisition of a US company, **Airborne**. McCain played a key role in allowing foreign-owned DHL to jeopardize Ohioans’ jobs, intervening to push opponents to support the acquisition -- a harbinger for the possible consequences of an administration susceptible to Davis’ influence and steered by McCain’s judgment.

McCain campaign chairman Charlie Black has lobbied for corrupt **dictators, despots, and corporations** accused of mass murder over the course of a lobbying career that has spanned more than 30 years and seen Black pass through K St.’s revolving door to Republican presidential campaigns seven times. Black lobbied for US aid on behalf of foreign regimes notorious for human rights abuses, including **Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, Nigeria General Ibrahim Babangida, Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre, and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire**, whose government was cited in a congressional report as guilty of numerous “incidents of banishment, torture and detention without charge or trial.” Black earned more than \$1.8 million lobbying for Occidental Petroleum, accused of complicity in mass murder in Colombia. Not only has Black assisted regimes and corporations that commit crimes against citizens of other nations, Black has lobbied for foreign companies linked to **Iran**, putting business interests ahead of America’s security.

Former top economic advisor Phil Gramm, the architect of McCain’s economic plan, recently returned to the McCain campaign following a brief nominal banishment for calling Americans “**a nation of whiners**” and claiming Americans were suffering from a “**mental recession**.” In 2000, Gramm drove the passage of the Commodity Futures Modernization Act, which created the “**Enron Loophole**” allowing energy traders making trades electronically to escape US regulation. Unregulated energy speculation may be responsible for as much as a \$20 to \$30 increase per barrel in the cost of oil, driving the cost of gas up for Americans at the pump.

Chief Foreign Policy Advisor Randy Scheunemann has advised McCain in various capacities for a decade, lobbying for numerous foreign and domestic clients between his roles with McCain. Scheunemann’s firm, **Orion Strategies**, has earned \$2.6 million since 2001 for lobbying McCain and his staff. As recently as May of this year, Scheunemann was lobbying for the country of **Georgia** - earning more than \$800,000 in the process - yet now in September, he’s advising McCain on the conflict between Georgia and Russia. Despite his announcement that he had terminated all lobbying contacts, Scheunemann retains ties to his two-person lobbying firm that continues to lobby for **Georgia and Macedonia**. Scheunemann’s other notable lobbying stints include putting his McCain ties to use in 2006 advising **Greenberg Traurig, Jack Abramoff’s** former firm, as McCain served as chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, charged with investigating Abramoff.

Senior Advisor Nancy Pfothauer has lobbied for the particularly despicable **Koch Industries**, remarkable for its disregard for the safety and wellbeing of Americans even

among the many questionable clients who have benefited from the services of McCain's lobbyists. Pfothenauer lobbied for Koch on pipeline safety issues over a period during which Koch's poor safety standards and regulations resulted in **a spill of 3 million gallons of oil into lakes and streams across six states, leading to the largest civil fine ever levied under the Clean Water Act.** McCain sponsored the pipeline safety bill on which Pfothenauer lobbied, unsurprisingly recognized as the most lenient of the three pipeline safety bills proposed in 2000 – and noted as being favored by the gas industry.

Deputy Chair of the Republican National Committee Frank Donatelli has made a career of lobbying on behalf of energy giants. Most notable is his long-standing relationship with Exxon, which netted him **\$780,000** through 1999. Donatelli helped Exxon push an **\$81-million-dollar merger** with the second largest oil company, Mobil, creating **Exxon-Mobil**. He also lobbied on numerous other energy issues, including offshore drilling, and for telecom giants **Verizon** and **AT&T**, whose CEOs' and employees' contributions to McCain correspond to actions he took to advocate for AT&T interests – including a letter to the FCC.

McCain's Capitol Hill liaison John Green is a founding partner of **Ogilvy Government Relations** and may be able to claim the greatest breadth of lobbying ties, with long-standing relationships to oil and gas giants, the health insurance industry, private equity firms, and predatory lenders. Green's firm has reaped **more than \$1 million** from **Chevron Texaco** and **Amerada Hess**, and earned **more than \$600,000** lobbying to protect the interests of Americhoice, a managed care HMO, over Medicaid, Medicare, and SCHIP recipients. Green also lobbied on behalf of Blackstone, to attempt to help Blackstone and other private equity groups avoid higher taxes, and made **more than \$700,000** from predatory lender **Ameriquest**, which was forced to settle law suits from 49 states for \$325 million following the exposure of predatory lending practices that affected **725,000 American homeowners**.

Finance Committee Co-Chair, Campaign Vice Chairman, and senior advisor Wayne Berman continued lobbying actively after joining the McCain campaign. His client roster includes the **Blackstone Group, Carlyle Group, UnitedHealth, AT&T, Verizon, and Viacom**. Like Green, Berman lobbied for Big Oil, including **Chevron** and **Hess**. Berman also combined forces with Green in lobbying for managed care company **Americhoice**, private equity firm **Blackstone**, and predatory lender **Ameriquest**, for which he lobbied on the "Responsible Lending Act," which would loosen restrictions on predatory lenders attempting to take advantage of prospective homeowners.

WHAT DO MCCAIN'S DEEP TIES TO LOBBYISTS AND THEIR SPECIAL INTEREST CLIENTS MEAN FOR AMERICANS? MORE OF THE SAME

John McCain's plan to continue Bush's industry-driven policies means four more years of an administration that puts lobbyists first. Americans cannot afford four more years of a set of policies that have filled corporate coffers with record-breaking profits even as Americans' wages have failed to keep up with the costs of energy and health care.

Bush's corporate-friendly policies putting corporate tax breaks and policies that pad profits ahead of tax relief for middle-class Americans have contributed to a recession, spiraling energy costs, and rising costs for everything from food to health care. Since Bush took office,

gas prices have nearly tripled even as the oil and gas industry has posted record profits – nearly \$12 billion for Exxon-Mobil alone in the second quarter of 2008. Under Bush, health care premiums have skyrocketed, and now, after eight years of Bush-McCain policies, 17 million more Americans are uninsured than when Bush took office. August marked the eighth straight month of job losses this year, as the US economy shed an additional 84,000 jobs. Unemployment claims are at a six-year high, and unemployment is up 1.5 million since 2007.

McCain's record and his proposals on the campaign trail stand to assure CEOs that he would continue the Bush legacy of representing big business in the Oval Office. On vote after vote, McCain has sided with corporations and against Americans. McCain has voted against reducing dependence on foreign oil and for protecting oil corporations' profits; he's undercut Medicaid, Medicare, and children's health care, but rallied for the health insurance industry and drug corporations. On economic policy, taxes, health care, Medicare and Medicaid, Social Security, and even foreign policy, McCain has put lobbyists and special interests first.

George W. Bush and McCain's 170-plus lobbyists share McCain's ear. As a candidate, McCain has recycled Bush policies on taxes, health care, and energy that would give corporations a boost while doing nothing to offer Americans tax relief – and he's even thrown in a few new corporate tax breaks and loopholes. The health plan McCain cribbed from Bush would allow health insurance companies to pick which Americans to insure rather than ensuring that all Americans have access to affordable, portable health care. McCain means four more years of tax breaks for the richest corporations in America and no tax relief for more than 100 million middle-class families, continuing an energy policy that feeds US dependence on foreign oil without real solutions to resolve the energy crisis, giving \$4 billion in new tax breaks to oil companies but doing nothing to lower the cost of gas for Americans at the pump, and enacting more tax breaks for the companies that ship American jobs overseas as job losses mount.

McCain's cast of lobbyist-advisors proves his commitment to upholding and extending more of the same failed Washington policies and politics that put special interests and big business ahead of working Americans. While McCain lobbyist-advisors' influence on his policy proposals is frightening on the campaign trail, it is nothing compared to the thought of campaign manager Rick Davis as the White House Chief of Staff or the thought of Charlie Black or Randy Scheunemann leading US foreign policy.

BY THE NUMBERS

BY THE NUMBERS

177 lobbyists serving as bundlers, staff and advisors [Lobbying Records: Senate Office of Public Records; McCain Bundlers: JohnMcCain.com, Public Citizen's WhiteHouseForSale.org; McCain Staff, Advisors And Other Fundraisers: JohnMcCain.com and news accounts]

\$930,949,819 in fees McCain's lobbyist bundlers, staff and advisors have collected from domestic clients alone over the last decade. [Public Campaign Action Fund, 8/13/08 <http://www.campaignmoney.org/pressroom/2008/08/13/the-nearly-1-billion-connection-mccain-and-his-lobbyists-clients>]

\$11,750,051 in contributions to McCain from employees and PACs representing by those lobbyists. [Public Campaign Action Fund, 8/13/08 <http://www.campaignmoney.org/pressroom/2008/08/13/the-nearly-1-billion-connection-mccain-and-his-lobbyists-clients>]

76 lobbyist bundlers [Public Citizen's WhiteHouseForSale.org, accessed 8/26/08]

MCCAIN LOBBYING, INC.



LOBBYIST PROFILE: RICK DAVIS

Full Name: Richard H. Davis
Title: Campaign Manager

LOBBYING CLIENTS: DOMESTIC

Airborne Express
Bell South/SBC
Deutsche Post World Net-USA
Gtech Corp
Imagesat Intl
Omni Computer Products
Preserve Luke AFB Llc
Verizon

FOREIGN

Argentina (Alberto Pierri)
Government of Nigeria

LOBBYIST DAVIS RETURNS TO MCCAIN CAMPAIGN

LOBBYIST RICK DAVIS REPRISING ROLE AS MCCAIN CAMPAIGN MANAGER ON 2008 CAMPAIGN. Long-time McCain advisor Rick Davis reprised his 2000 role as campaign manager in McCain's latest run for the White House. Both prior to and in the years between McCain's presidential campaigns, Davis served as managing partner of Davis, Manafort, & Freedman, the lobbying firm he founded. Since 1998, Davis Manafort has taken in "at least \$2.8 million lobbying Congress." [Knight Ridder, 2/13/00; Associated Press, 2/10/00; The Hill, 3/25/98; The Politico, 7/11/08]

WHILE MCCAIN CAMPAIGN MANAGER FOR 2000 RACE, DAVIS'S FIRM REPRESENTED COMPANIES SEEKING MERGING APPROVAL FROM MCCAIN'S COMMERCE COMMITTEE. According to the Politico, "Over the past eight years, Davis' two roles often overlapped. In 1999, while he was McCain's campaign manager, his firm represented SBC Communications Inc. and Comsat Corp. At that time, both communications companies had controversial mergers pending at the Federal Communications Commission. The Senate Commerce Committee has legislative authority over the FCC, and McCain was chairman of that committee. Both mergers were eventually approved." [The Politico, 7/11/08]

BETWEEN MCCAIN CAMPAIGNS, DAVIS – RANKED THIRD MOST POWERFUL TELECOM LOBBYIST – CONTINUED REPRESENTING COMPANIES WITH ISSUES BEFORE MCCAIN COMMITTEE.

As a lobbyist with Davis Manafort, Davis represented numerous telecommunications companies, many of whose business came before McCain's Senate Commerce Committee. Davis's clients included: BellSouth (2001-02), SBC Communications (2001-05) and Verizon (2001-05). In 2003, the Telecom Policy Report ranked Davis as the third most powerful lobbyist in the telecom lobbying arena, writing "he is one of SBC Communications' most effective voices, pressing for legislation aimed at removing the regulatory yoke that constrains the behemoth Baby Bell." [USA Today, 3/24/08; Telecom Policy Report, 5/5/03]

DAVIS ONLY LOBBIED THE SENATE ON BEHALF OF CLIENTS. While most lobbyists tend to lobby both houses of Congress and/or federal agencies, according to lobbying disclosure forms, Davis only lobbied the U.S. Senate for his clients. [Davis Manafort Lobbying Disclosure Records, Senate Office of Public Records]

DAVIS LOBBIED SENATE TO CLEAR FOREIGN ACQUISITION OF AIRBORNE EXPRESS, AND MCCAIN HELPED PUSH THE DEAL THROUGH....

WHILE SERVING AS PRESIDENT OF MCCAIN'S REFORM INSTITUTE, RICK DAVIS WAS HIRED TO LOBBY FOR SENATE APPROVAL OF DEUTSCHE POST'S ACQUISITION OF AIRBORNE EXPRESS.

According to the Washington Post, while Rick Davis was running McCain's controversial non-profit, the Reform Institute, he "added several lobbying clients who needed McCain's help" such as DHL Holdings (parent company of Deutsche Post) and Airborne who "hired Davis to lobby the Senate to facilitate a merger." According to Davis's lobbying disclosures, his firm was paid "\$125,000 from Airborne in 2003 and \$465,000 from DHL parent company Deutsche Post World Net (USA) from 2003 to 2005." The 2003 work was exclusively to lobby the Senate on Deutsche Post/DHL's proposed acquisition of Airborne, while after the merger the portfolio expanded to defense & transportation appropriations, trade issues, postal regulation, industry competition, and FAA authorization. [Washington Post, 6/26/08; Davis Manafort/Deutsche Post Lobbying Disclosure, Senate Office of Public Records]

MCCAIN CONVINCED OPPONENTS TO "SCALE BACK" THEIR EFFORTS. McCain, along with Trent Lott, convinced Ted Stevens to "scale back" his effort "aimed at blocking the expansion of cargo carrier DHL Worldwide Express, owned by the German company Deutsche Post AG. A previous draft Stevens amendment, which McCain and [Trent] Lott convinced him to scale back, would have added several conditions that could make it difficult for DHL to obtain Pentagon contracts, as well as potentially block a pending merger with Seattle-based Airborne Express Inc." [Congressional Quarterly Today, 4/8/03]

WASHINGTON POST: MCCAIN "THWARTED" OPPOSITION TO DEUTSCHE-POST ACQUISITION DEAL.

According to the Washington Post, "McCain took steps that helped Davis's clients," including DHL and Airborne Express. McCain "thwarted [Sen. Ted] Stevens's effort to insert language into legislation that would prohibit foreign-controlled companies such as DHL from holding certain military contracts," a change that would potentially kill the

acquisition. [Washington Post, 6/26/08]

...NOW THE FOREIGN COMPANY IS PULLING OUT OF SOUTHWESTERN OHIO, PUTTING UP TO 10,000 JOBS AT RISK

LOSING LARGEST EMPLOYER IN SIX COUNTIES WITH ALMOST 10,000 WORKERS.

“Any way one looks at it, in the short term, Wilmington is between a rock and a hard place if DHL leaves. The air shipper and its predecessor companies, such as Airborne Express, have for years had their largest U.S. hub in the town of 12,000 people 60 miles southwest of Columbus. Wilmington processes billions of pounds of cargo each year and employs close to 10,000 people...It draws workers from more than two dozen counties; in six of those, it’s the largest employer.” [Columbus Dispatch, 6/29/08]

DHL “STUNNED THE COMMUNITY” BY ANNOUNCING ITS DECISION TO PULL AIR HUB OUT OF WILMINGTON, CONTRACT TO UPS.

“DHL’s German parent company, Deutsche Post World Net, stunned the community in late May when it announced a deal that would shift its U.S. air shipments to UPS, which has a major hub in Louisville, Ky. ‘The potential job loss is enormous,’ said Lt. Gov. Lee Fisher, who’s also the state’s economic-development chief.” [Columbus Dispatch, 6/29/08]

CONFLICT OF INTEREST: DAVIS & THE REFORM INSTITUTE

WHILE LOBBYING, DAVIS ALSO PAID \$110,000 A YEAR TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT OF MCCAIN NONPROFIT.

While “lobbying on behalf of clients who had interests before the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee when McCain chaired the panel,” Rick Davis also served as the president of McCain’s non-profit Reform Institute which “focused on overhauling campaign finance laws,” earning \$110,000 from the Institute annually. To some McCain critics, the institute served as a means to keep “some of the senator’s advisors busy in the months before any formal presidential campaign operation would be established.” [The Politico, 7/11/07; New York Times, 3/8/05; Roll Call, 7/28/05]

AS REFORM INSTITUTE PRESIDENT, DAVIS RAISED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS FROM COMPANIES WITH BUSINESS BEFORE COMMERCE COMMITTEE.

“Davis solicited tens of thousands in contributions for the institute from communications companies such as Cablevision and Echosphere. Several of these same companies had business before the Commerce Committee while McCain was chairman.” [The Politico, 7/11/07]

DAVIS SOLICITED TWO \$100,000 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM CABLEVISION WHILE MCCAIN PROMOTED COMPANY POLICY.

“In between two \$100,000 donations to the Reform Institute, Cablevision’s CEO testified before the committee in favor of a la carte pricing, and McCain wrote a letter of support to the FCC and asked other cable companies to support the pricing scheme, according to a 2005 story by the

Associated Press.” [The Politico, 7/11/07]

DAVIS’ FOREIGN WORK “SORE POINT” FOR MCCAIN

MCCAIN CAMP: DAVIS’S WORK FOR PRO-KREMLIN PARTY WAS A “SORE POINT” FOR MCCAIN. According to a July 2007 Wall Street Journal article, a “sore point” for McCain about Rick Davis and his lobbying firm Davis Manafort “was the work the firm did for a pro-Kremlin politician opposed by Mr. McCain and the U.S. government: [then] current Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.” [Wall Street Journal, 7/23/07]

MCCAIN SO OUTRAGED HE AGREED TO REMOVE DAVIS...THEN CHANGED HIS MIND. According to John Weaver, McCain’s former chief strategist, Davis’s work for Yanukovych and the revelation that he was steering campaign money toward firms he or friends owned prompted McCain to agree to discharge Davis from his role as campaign manager. However, after acceding to Davis’s removal, McCain subsequently “changed his mind.” [Wall Street Journal, 7/23/07]



LOBBYIST PROFILE: CHARLIE BLACK

Full Name: Charles Black
Title: Senior Advisor

LOBBYING CLIENTS:

Accenture
Albert D. Huddleston
Alcoa Inc
American Airlines
AMS
AT&T
Authentix Inc
Bethlehem Steel
Biochem Resources
Bioport
Center of the Development of Information
Chenega Corporation
Chiquita Brands Inc
Cintas Corporation
Citizens for Liberty in Cuba
Conservation Trust of Puerto Rico
Cook Children's Health Care System
Cummins Engine Co
Dairy Fresh
DARE America
Delware North COS
Education Finance Council
Eistream
El Pomar Foundation
Energy Finance Team
Featherlite Inc
Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp
Fluor Corporation
Fort Lauderdale Downtown Development
General Electric Capital Services
General Motors
Geovox Seucurity Inc
Goodman Corporation
Domestic
Haiti

GTECH
Harper Meyer Perez & Hegen LLP
Harris Corporatoin
Health Industry Manufacturers Assn
Honeywell
Impulso 2000
Instinet
Institute For Legal Reform
International Organization of Masters Mates and Pilots
Ion America
JP Morgan
Lincoln Group
Liquidnet
Lucent Technologies
MacAndrews & Forbes
Magellan Systems International
Mariner Post-Acute Network
MDS America
Methodist Healthcare
Michigan State University
Foundation
Mortgage Bankers Assn of America
M-Unit
National Assn of Mortgage Brokers
National Automobile Dealers Assn
National Broadcasting Company
National Center for the American Revolution
National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers
National Football League
National Mentoring Partnership
National Renal Administrators Association
Natl Assn of Home Builders

NEC USA Inc
Nielsen Media Research
Noble Ventures
North America's Supercorridor Coalition
Northeast Utilities
Occidental International Corp
Ocean Duke Corporation
Oryxe Energy International
Osмосe
Pacific Supreme
Payne Shea & Associates
Peter N.G. Schwartz Management Corporation
Philip Morris Management Corp.
Policom
Popular Democratic Party
Public Broadcasting Service
Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration
Puerto Rico Highway and Transportation Authority
Puerto Rico Industrial Development Co. - Puerto Rico
Federal Affairs Adminstration
Repeal PUHCA Now Coalition
Safety-Kleen
Safeview Incorporated
Salomon Brothers
SAP America
Shan Industries
Silverleaf Resorts, Incorporated
Stand Up For Steel Coalition
Strategy Group
Sybase, Inc
Teck Cominco American
United Parcel Service
United Technologies Corporation
US Airways Group

USEC
UST Public Affairs
Values Government Relations/
Values First
Visiting Intl Faculty Program

Vital Basics
Washington Mutual Bank
Waste Control Specialists
Webb County, Texas
Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-

Cohen LLP
WPP Group USA
Yukos Oil Company

FOREIGN

Adcom Group (Lebanon)
Agency For Humanitarian
Technologies (Ukraine)
Aston Martin Lagonda, Ltd.
(UK)
Barbados
Bermuda
Chamber Of Philippine
Manufacturers',
Exporters' & Tourism
Cnooc (China)
Comision Ejecutiva
Hidroelectrica Del Rio
Lempa Cel (El Salvador)
Comision Ejecutiva
Hidroelectrica Del Rio
Lempa Cel (El Salvador)
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Eitaro Itoyama (Japan)
El Salvador
Equatorial Guinea
Fiat Ferroviaria (Italy)
Forest Products Association Of
Canada
Greece
Haiti
His ExcEllency Ibrahim
Saminu Turaki, Governor

Jigawa State, Nigeria
Horsahm Corporation
(Canada)
Institute For Financial &
Fiscal Studies Of
Curacao
Intercultural Association
Of Korea
Kenya
Korea Silo Company, Ltd.
League Of Leaders For
Philippine Development
Liberia
Luso American Foundation
For International
Relations (Portugal)
Magal Security Systems,
Ltd. (Israel)
Maldives Democratic Party
Matirosyan, Stepan
(Armenia)
Minpeco U.S.A., Inc. (Peru)
National Convention
For ReconstRuction &
Development (UK)
News Corporation, Ltd.
(Australia)
Nigeria
Noemi Sanin (Colombia)

Nordion International
Pakistan People's Party
Peru
Republic Of Cyprus
Republic Of Iraq
Russian Information Agency
Somalia
St. Lucia
Taipei Economic And
Cultural Representative
Office In The United
States
Thailand
The Bahamas
The Dominican Republic
The Republic Of Djibouti, The
Republic Of Kenya
The Republic Of Togo
Transitional Liberia
Union For National Action
(Philippines)
Union For National Action
(Philippines)
Unita (Angola)
Vittoria Consultants, Ltd.
(Isle Of Man)
Zaire

BLACK LOBBIED FOR THE PHILIPPINES, ZAIRE, NIGERIA, SOMALIA, KENYA, EQUITORIAL GUINEUA

BLACK WAS FOREIGN AGENT FOR “REMARKABLE COLLECTION” OF FOREIGN LEADERS WITH HARSHLY CRITICIZED HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS. “Black and his partners were at times registered foreign agents for a remarkable collection of U.S.-backed foreign leaders whose human rights records were sometimes harshly criticized, even as their opposition to communism was embraced by American conservatives. They include Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Nigerian Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre, and the countries of Kenya and Equatorial Guinea, among others.” [Washington Post, 5/22/08]

BLACK IS UNAPOLOGETIC ABOUT HIS LOBBYING CAREER; DEFENDED FIRMS INVOLVEMENT WITH FOREIGN LEADERS. In 2008, the Washington Post reported that Black “says he has no intention of leaving the campaign and is unapologetic about a lobbying career spanning 30 years and seven presidential campaigns.” [Washington Post, 5/22/08]

FLASHBACK TO 1992: BLACK CRITICIZED FOR PUSHING FOR FOREIGN AID FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSERS. In 1992, Black was heavily criticized for his firm’s roster of lobbying clients, due to his role in President George H.W. Bush’s re-election campaign. “The Republican public relations firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly received more than \$3 million from Nigeria, Kenya, the Philippines and Angola’s UNITA rebels,” reported the Boston Herald. “All four human-rights abusing countries receive millions of dollars in U.S. aid -thanks to Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly,” said a spokesman with the Center for Public Integrity. [Boston Herald, 12/26/92]

BLACK LOBBIED FOR CHINESE GOVERNMENT-OWNED OIL COMPANY WITH IRANIAN TIES

BLACK LOBBIED FOR CHINESE OIL FIRM TRYING TO BUY US ENERGY COMPANY. According to lobbying disclosure reports for Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey (BKSH), McCain chief political strategist Charlie Black lobbied for Chinese state-owned oil conglomerate CNOOC Ltd. According to disclosure documents, BKSH worked to allow foreign ownership of US energy companies, saying they “engaged in telephone calls and meetings dealing with legislation in Congress to prohibit foreign energy companies from acquiring U.S. based energy companies.” For two months of work – July 2005 until August 2005 – the firm was paid \$60,000 for its efforts. At the time of BKSH’s lobbying, CNOOC was attempting a takeover of American oil company Unocal, a bid that “awakened broad tensions in the United States over economic security and economic competition with China.” The firestorm over CNOOC’s bid for a Unocal centered on national security concerns as well as accusations that CNOOC was acting “as a proxy for the Chinese government and seeking to secure strategic energy assets that were arguably valuable to the United States.” [BKSH Supplemental Statement, 12/31/05; BKSH Amendment, 8/15/05; BKSH Amendment, 3/27/06; New York Times, 8/3/05]

CNOOC ALSO LINKED WITH IRAN. In late 2006, state-owned China National Offshore Oil Corp. (CNOOC), the country’s largest offshore oil producer, signed a deal with Iran to construct liquefied natural gas facilities and develop Iran’s huge North Pars gas field worth \$16 Billion over 8 years. [Forbes Asia, 1/29/2007; Wall Street Journal, 12/22/2006]

BLACK LOBBIED FOR OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM, LINKED TO KILLING PEASANTS AND POLLUTING RURAL AREAS

ON BEHALF OF OCCIDENTAL, BLOCK LOBBIED ON ENERGY, TRADE ISSUES AND TO SECURE “FOREIGN ASSISTANCE” TO COLOMBIA. “Since 1998,” reported the New York Times, BKSH, the “lobbying firm headed until recently by Charlie Black, one of Mr. McCain’s closest confidants, has earned more than \$1.8 million representing the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, the leading foreign producer of gas and oil in Colombia.” According

to lobbying disclosure filings, Black – who only resigned from his lobbying firm in March 2008 – lobbied the federal government on “general energy issues” and “general trade issues” pertaining to Colombia, as well as to obtain “foreign assistance” and stymie attempts to install an economic embargo against Colombia for its “questionable human rights record.” [New York Times, 7/1/08]

ON EVE OF COLOMBIA SOJOURN, MCCAIN CAMPAIGN REFUSED TO

COMMENT ON BLACK’S COLOMBIA LOBBYING. In the days before McCain took a campaign trip to Colombia in the summer of 2008, “The McCain campaign declined to make him available to discuss his lobbying activities on behalf of Colombia for BKSH. ‘The campaign has no connection to that firm and therefore no connection to the questions you are asking,’ said Tucker Bounds, a campaign spokesman.” [New York Times, 7/1/08]

OCCIDENTAL ACCUSED OF KILLING PEASANTS IN COLOMBIA; BLAMED FOR POLLUTING OF RURAL AREAS.

“Occidental’s activities in Colombia have long been controversial, both within that country and among human-rights, indigenous-rights and environmental groups abroad. The groups have accused the company of complicity in the killing of peasants thought to be sympathetic to the left-wing guerrilla groups that operate in the area where Occidental has pipelines or drilling activities. They have also blamed Occidental for the polluting of rural areas and have accused it of intimidating Indian tribes seeking to prevent drilling on their ancestral lands. Occidental has long denied the accusations, maintaining that its practices are environmentally sound and describing its critics as unrepresentative.” [New York Times, 7/1/08]

CHARLIE BLACK: LOBBYING FOR CORRUPT, ABUSIVE GOVERNMENT IN ZAIRE

CHARLIE BLACK LOBBIED US GOVERNMENT ON BEHALF OF ZAIRE’S STRONGMAN, MOBUTU SESE SEKO.

Throughout his career as a “longtime uber-lobbyist,” Charlie Black, “John McCain’s man in Washington,” and top advisor to the Republican nominee lobbied for “a remarkable collection of U.S.-backed foreign leaders whose human rights records were sometimes harshly criticized, even as their opposition to communism was embraced by American conservatives,” including Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who ruled the sub-Saharan nation with an iron fist for 32 years. [Washington Post, 5/22/08; Timeline: Democratic Republic of Congo, BBC News, 4/30/08, accessed 5/23/08, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1072684.stm]

ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT FILINGS, BLACK LOBBIED FOR ZAIRE FROM JULY 1989 UNTIL DECEMBER 1990.

According to filings with the Department of Justice’s foreign agent registration unit, Black’s firm, Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly began lobbying for the Government of Zaire on July 1, 1989. The firm terminated its lobbying contract with Zaire a year and a half later, on December 14, 1990. [Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA) Filings]

CONGRESSIONAL REPORT CITED “CONTINUOUS PATTERN OF HUMAN RIGHTS

ABUSES.” In 1990 “A congressional report...cited ‘numerous reports from reputable human rights organizations detailing a continuous pattern of human rights abuses by Zairian security forces.’” Similarly Amnesty International accused Zaire in another report “of continued violations by government security forces, including violent repression of government opponents. The report said that although abuses have diminished in recent years, incidents of banishment, torture and detention without charge or trial are being uncovered.” [Associated Press, 10/29/90]

CONGRESS: IT IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE U.S. TO “PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO A CORRUPT GOVERNMENT THAT CONTINUES TO...VIOLATE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.”

A congressional report said that it is not in the “interest of the United States to provide financial support to a corrupt government that continues to flagrantly violate fundamental human rights.” The report continued to say that ‘while the committee recognizes the dire needs of the Zairian people who are among the poorest in the world, it cannot support aid that legitimizes or supports the Mobutu regime,’ it said.” [Associated Press, 10/29/90]

CHARLIE BLACK & BRUTAL ANGOLAN GUERRILLAS

BLACK WORKED FOR YEARS WORKED FOR LOBBYING FIRM THAT RECEIVED MILLIONS FROM “BRUTAL” ANGOLAN GUERRILLA LEADER.

“For half a decade in the 1980s,” McCain’s chief political strategist Charlie Black, “was also [Angolan UNITA leader] Jonas Savimbi’s man in the capital city. His lobbying firm received millions from the brutal Angolan guerrilla leader and took advantage of Black’s contacts in Congress and the White House. Justice Department records that Black’s firm submitted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act detail frequent meetings with lawmakers and their staffs and lavish spending by Black and his partners as they attempted to ensure support for Savimbi, whose UNITA movement was fighting the Marxist Angolan government.” [Washington Post, 5/22/08]

BLACK WORKED ON SAVIMBI’S VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES.

“Black’s work on behalf of foreign dictators has been no secret in Washington. In the mid-1980s, media reports frequently mentioned his firm as the choreographer of Savimbi’s visits to the United States, often providing him the trappings of a foreign leader...The firm’s contract with Savimbi in 1985 was for \$600,000. In late 1989, as the firm prepared for another Savimbi visit to Washington, the foreign-agent records document hundreds of thousands of dollars it spent on behalf of UNITA, including \$76,491 for limousines, \$13,675 for photography and \$216,186 for lodging at the Grand Hotel and the Waldorf-Astoria. In addition to introducing Savimbi to powerful politicians, Black’s team booked him on ‘60 Minutes’ and ‘Nightline,’ as part of a media campaign aimed at emphasizing to the public UNITA’s desire for freedom from Angola’s Marxist government.” [Washington Post, 5/22/08]

CHARLIE BLACK: HELPING IMPROVE IMAGE OF BAHAMIAN GOVERNMENT TIED TO DRUG TRAFFICKING

BLACK’S FIRM LOBBIED FOR BAHAMAS WHILE BAHAMANIAN LEADERSHIP WAS

“UNDER FIRE” FOR TIES TO DRUG TRAFFICKERS. In 1988, the New York Times reported that Charlie Black’s firm, “was paid \$800,000 to improve the image of the Bahamas at a time when the leadership of the island nation was under fire for purported ties to drug traffickers. The concern, Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly, contacted the Office of Vice President Bush at least 18 times in 1985 and 1986 on behalf of the Bahamas, according to Federal records. A memorandum written to solicit the contract with the Bahamas boasted that the concern’s ‘back-channel’ relationships with American Government officials could deflect bad publicity.” [New York Times, 9/8/88]

BLACK’S FIRM PROMISED BAHAMAS GOVERNMENT TO USE ITS PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S. OFFICIALS TO ESTABLISH “A BACK-CHANNEL RELATIONSHIP” IN POLICY SPHERES. News reports at the time noted that “all three partners in the company, Charles R. Black Jr., Paul J. Manafort and Roger J. Stone, have strong ties to the Reagan White House and are now advising Bush’s campaign...According to a copy of the contract obtained by the Globe, the lobbying firm was hired to help the Bahamas receive more resources in battling drugs, and to help the nation improve its image and credibility inside the US government. ‘Personal relationships between the Department of State officials and Black, Manafort and Stone can be utilized to upgrade a back-channel relationship in the economic and foreign policy spheres,’ according to the company’s proposal to the Bahamas.” [Boston Globe, 9/8/88]



LOBBYIST PROFILE: PHIL GRAMM

Full Name: William Philip Graham
Title: Chief Economic Advisor
Architect of McCain Economic Plan

LOBBYING CLIENT:

UBS

GRAMM IS ARCHITECT OF MCCAIN ECONOMIC POLICY

FORTUNE MAGAZINE: MOST OF MCCAIN'S POSITIONS ON ECONOMY ARE

"VINTAGE GRAMM." Despite John McCain's admission that he doesn't know as much about the economy as he should, "economic conservatives should take heart" in Phil Gramm – "the ultimate pure play in free market faith" – and his role as "McCain's chief economic advisor." Wrote Fortune Magazine: "If McCain follows Gramm's counsel, and most of his current positions are vintage Gramm indeed, his policies as president would represent not just a sharp departure from the Bush years, but an assault on government growth that Republicans have boasted about, but failed to achieve, for decades." [FORTUNE, 2/19/08]

"ICON OF TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIVES" AND "THE TOWERING INTELLECTUAL FIGURE IN THE MCCAIN CAMPAIGN" PHIL GRAMM PROVIDED FOREIGN POLICY AND ECONOMIC POLICY ADVICE.

"Long an icon of traditional conservatives, Mr. Gramm was considered the towering intellectual figure in the McCain campaign, dispensing not only economic but foreign policy advice the candidate could not find elsewhere." [Washington Times, 7/20/08]

WASHINGTON POST: "GRAMM PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN CRAFTING MCCAIN'S ECONOMIC PLAN."

Addressing the recent fall-out over McCain advisor Phil Gramm's remarks about a "nation of whiners," the Washington Post reported that "Gramm played an important role in crafting McCain economic plan, and he occasionally appeared at rallies or spoke to editorial boards on the presumptive GOP's behalf." [Washington Post, 7/14/08]

THE MCCAIN-GRAMM BOND DATES BACK 15 YEARS, "MCCAIN HAS BEEN "SO DEPENDENT ON MR. GRAMM FOR ECONOMIC POLICY THAT HE SENT HIM TO NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL BOARD MEETINGS.

"Mr. McCain's fiscal ineptitude has received so little scrutiny in some press quarters that his chief economic advisor, the former Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, got a free pass until the moment he self-immolated on video

by whining about ‘a nation of whiners.’ The McCain-Gramm bond, dating back 15 years, is more scandalous than Mr. Obama’s connection with his pastor, the Rev. Jeremiah Wright. Mr. McCain has been so dependent on Mr. Gramm for economic policy that he sent him to newspaper editorial board meetings, no doubt to correct the candidate’s numbers much as Joe Lieberman cleans up after his confusions of Sunni and Shia.” [Frank Rich column, New York Times, 7/20/08]

GRAMM HAS CALLED ECONOMIC MALAISE A “MENTAL RECESSION”

JULY 2008: PHIL GRAMM: AMERICANS IN A “MENTAL RECESSION,” “NATION OF WHINERS.”

“You’ve heard of mental depression; this is a mental recession,’ Gramm, a leading supporter of McCain, said recently, a less-than-sympathetic description of an election-year economy that features rising joblessness, a spike in mortgage foreclosures and a declining stock market. ‘We have sort of become a nation of whiners,’ he added – not all that helpfully in the opinion of the man he is trying to help win the White House.” [Washington Times, 7/11/08]

GRAMM SAID “EVERY WORD I SAID IS TRUE,” STOOD BY RECESSION

COMMENTS. “Former senator Phil Gramm – under fire for saying the United States has ‘become a nation of whiners’ – said in an interview today that he meant the nation’s leaders were whiners, not its citizens. But the top advisor to Sen. John McCain repeated his assertion that the economy is not in recession, and he declined to retract the comments quoted yesterday in the Washington Times. ‘I’m not going to retract any of it. Every word I said was true,’ Gramm said. Gramm stirred up controversy when he called the nation’s economic malaise a ‘mental recession,’ then added, ‘We have sort of become a nation of whiners,’ he said. ‘You just hear this constant whining, complaining about a loss of competitiveness, America in decline.’” [Washington Post, 7/10/08, blog.washingtonpost.com]

SEPTEMBER 2008: PHIL GRAMM SAID MCCAIN’S SUPPORTERS ARE NOT “ECONOMICALLY ILLITERATE” AND NOT “WHINERS,” REPEATING EARLIER

COMMENTS In September 2008, Gramm told members of the Financial Services Roundtable in Minneapolis that “if you’re sitting here today, you’re not economically illiterate and you’re not a whiner, so I’m not worried about who you’re going to vote for.” This was a direct reference to the comments he made in July about the U.S. being a “nation of whiners’ facing a ‘mental recession.’” [Bloomberg, 9/2/08, bloomberg.com]

GRAMM STILL HAS MCCAIN’S EAR

AUGUST 2008: “SEN. PHIL GRAMM APPEARS TO BE BACK IN JOHN MCCAIN’S GOOD GRACES.”

“In exile from the McCain campaign since calling the U.S. ‘a nation of whiners,’ former Sen. Phil Gramm appears to be back in John McCain’s good graces. McCain singled out Gramm, among others, at a dinner Thursday night honoring more than 200 people who have raised at least \$100,000 for his campaign. ‘Thank you, Phil, for all your friendship and support,’ McCain said.” [Associated Press, 8/15/08]

AUGUST 2008: GRAMM “RETURNS TO THE MCCAIN FOLD.” “Former Sen. Phil

Gramm, the lawmaker-turned-lobbyist who was unceremoniously sent to the cooler by his friend, Sen. John McCain for saying that the recession was “mental,” appeared in Aspen with the GOP nominee today” [Washington Post, Blog “The Trail,” 8/14/08 http://voices.washingtonpost.com/the-trail/2008/08/14/phil_gramm_returns_to_mccain_f.html]

AUGUST 2008: GRAMM “ BACK WITH CAMPAIGN’S TOP ADVISORS.” “Ousted John McCain campaign co-chairman Phil Gramm is back with the campaign’s top advisors this weekend,” wrote a Wall Street Journal blog, “as the campaign gathers top supporters for a series of briefings in scenic Aspen, Colo. The former Texas senator stepped down from his position after he said in an interview last month that the country is in a ‘mental recession’ and that we had become a ‘nation of whiners. Gramm was seated in the front row, with other top supporters, this afternoon as McCain addressed the Aspen Institute in a ‘conversation’ with Walter Isaacson, president of the institute and a former editor of Time magazine.” The Aspen briefing was part of a gathering of more than 100 top fundraisers and supporters being briefed by McCain’s top advisors including Rick Davis, Steve Schmidt and Charlie Black. [The Wall Street Journal, 8/14/08, blogs.wsj.com]

LATE JULY 2008: ADVISOR STEVE FORBES SAID MCCAIN-GRAMM RELATIONSHIP IS “STRONGER THAN EVER” AND HIS ADVICE WILL BE “TAKEN TO HEART.” In an appearance on CNBC’s Kudlow & Company, McCain’s economic advisor Steve Forbes said “Oh I think in terms of advice, Phil Gramm will be critical, which is good, because on things like trade he’s absolutely right. I think John McCain has a long friendship with Phil Gramm. ..But in terms of the relationship, I think it’s as strong as ever. And in a McCain administration, I think Phil Gramm’s advice will be taken to heart.” [CNBC, Kudlow & Company, 7/21/08, “Kudlow’s Money & Politics,” [kudlowsmoneyandpolitics](http://kudlowsmoneyandpolitics.com)]

PHIL GRAMM INSERTED DISASTROUS “ENRON EXEMPTION” INTO BILL

THE COMMODITIES FUTURES MODERNIZATION ACT WAS CALLED A “MILESTONE IN DEREGULATION” BY THE NEW YORK TIMES. A “milestone in the deregulation” of the derivatives market came in the fall of 2000, “when a lame-duck session of Congress passed a little-noticed piece of legislation,” wrote the New York Times, “called the Commodity Futures Modernization Act. The bill effectively kept much of the market for derivatives and other exotic instruments off-limits to agencies that regulate more conventional assets like stocks, bonds and futures contracts.” The “262-page amendment to a far larger appropriations bill” was supported by Phil Gramm, former Republican Senator from Texas and currently an economic advisor to Senator John McCain. [The New York Times, 3/23/08]

PHIL GRAMM “SLIPPED IN PROVISION AT LAST MINUTE” GRANTING ENRON ABILITY TO CONDUCT UNREGULATED ONLINE TRADES. An editorial by the Philadelphia Inquirer observed that “a loophole had been tucked into” the 262-page Commodity Futures Modernization Act of 2000 at the last minute by then-Sen. Phil Gramm. “It came to be known as the ‘Enron Loophole,’ and it allowed Enron and other large energy traders to be exempt from federal oversight of over-the-counter transactions in energy markets.” [The Philadelphia Inquirer, Editorial, 6/11/08]

RESULT #1: UNREGULATED COMMODITIES TRADING HAS CREATED “HIGH PROBABILITY OF EXCESSIVE SPECULATION AND ILLEGAL MANIPULATION” AND “NEEDLESSLY HIGH PRICES.” According to testimony before a U.S. Senate committee in June from the former director of the Division of Trading and Markets at the CFTC from 1997 to 1999 , the “unregulated or poorly regulated futures and derivatives trading [has caused] dysfunctions within those markets and within the U.S. economy as a whole, including causing the needlessly high prices which energy consumers now pay because of the high probability of excessive speculation and illegal manipulation and fraud within those markets.” [Professor Michael Greenberger, Testimony before U.S. Senate, 6/3/08]

THE RESULT #2: SPIKING INVESTMENT IN COMMODITIES MARKET POTENTIALLY INCREASED OIL PRICES. The passage of the CFMA has drastically “increased investment in index funds tied to commodities” in the futures markets. These large funds tend to “put upward pressure on commodities prices,” claimed BusinessWeek article. Although there is debate about just what proportion of the price at the pump is due to commodities speculation, the CFTC’s [Acting Chairman Walter Lukken] acknowledged that new, large investments and the agency’s inability to track the impact of them on the market. At a Senate Hearing on June 4th, he said, “A lot of money is flowing into [commodities] markets, potentially creating a bubble... We don’t have the regulatory tools needed to spot that sort of situation.” [BusinessWeek, 6/9/08, <http://www.businessweek.com>, BusinessWeek, 5/21/08, <http://www.businessweek.com>; Professor Michael Greenberger, Testimony before U.S. Senate, 6/3/08]

FORMER OFFICIAL: UNREGULATED COMMODITIES CURRENTLY ACCOUNT FOR 25% SPIKE IN OIL PRICES. Professor Greenberger, a former official at the CFTC, credited the unregulated commodities trading with a 25% spike in oil prices, “If we go back to the way the market was regulated on Dec. 20, 2000, 25% of the [oil] price would disappear.” He also said that “two prominent and detailed bipartisan studies of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (“SPI”) staff represent what is now conventional wisdom: hedge funds, large banks and energy companies, and wealthy individuals have used ‘exempt commercial energy futures markets’ to drive up needlessly the price of energy commodities over what economic fundamentals dictate, adding, for example, what the SPI estimated to be @ \$20-\$30 per barrel to the price of a barrel of crude oil at a time when that commodity had reached a then record high of \$77.” [Professor Michael Greenberger, Testimony before U.S. Senate, 6/3/08].



LOBBYIST PROFILE: RANDY SCHEUNEMANN

Full Name: Randy Scheunemann
Title: Chief Foreign Policy Advisor

LOBBYING CLIENTS:

FOREIGN

Government of Georgia
Government of Romania
Government of Macedonia
Latvian Defense Ministry
Taipei Economic & Cultural Rep.
Office

DOMESTIC

Air Force Memorial Foundation	National Rifle Association
BP Amoco	National Shooting Sports Foundation
Caspian Alliance	Natl Shooting Sports Foundation
Cellular Telecom. & Internet Assn.	Open Society Policy Center
Cubalibertad	Premier Parks
Intl Business & Energy Development Corp	Privacy Right
Lockheed Martin Corp	Sporting Arms & Ammunition Manufacturer
Motivation Inc	Worldwide Strategic Partners

SCHEUNEMANN “BLURRED” LINES BETWEEN FOREIGN LOBBYIST & ADVISOR

SCHEUNEMANN’S “POLITICAL & IDEOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP” WITH MCCAIN “BLURRED THE LINES BETWEEN LOBBYIST & AIDE.

“His political and ideological relationship with Sen. McCain has blurred the lines between his roles as lobbyist and aide...In 2000, Mr. Scheunemann was an advisor in Sen. McCain’s unsuccessful bid for the Republican nomination. After Sen. McCain was defeated, Mr. Scheunemann started Orion Strategies in 2001. Orion quickly signed contracts with Romania and Latvia worth a combined \$240,000 to help them win NATO admission. Contracts with Georgia, Macedonia and Taiwan followed. Like Romania and Latvia, they are all U.S. allies.” [Wall Street Journal, 5/23/08]

SCHEUNEMANN’S FIRM EARNED \$2.6 MILLION FROM CLIENTS FOR WHOM HE DIRECTLY LOBBIED MCCAIN AND HIS STAFF.

“For a decade, Randy Scheunemann has been a campaign staffer to John McCain, an ideological ally in the fight to contain Russian power -- and a lobbyist seeking the Arizona senator’s support for former Soviet states...The lobbying group Mr. Scheunemann founded in 2001, Orion Strategies LLC, has earned \$2.6 million from clients for whom Mr. Scheunemann directly lobbied Sen. McCain and his staff,

Justice Department records show.” [Wall Street Journal, 5/23/08]

SCHEUNEMANN “MET SEVERAL TIMES” WITH MCCAIN TO DISCUSS FOREIGN CLIENTS, AND ACCOMPANIED MCCAIN ON TRIPS FOR HIS CLIENTS.

“Over the past several years, Mr. Scheunemann met several times with Mr. McCain to discuss his clients’ interests. He introduced the senator to the foreign ministers of Albania, Croatia and Macedonia as they tried to win admission to NATO, and a representative of Taiwan as it lobbied for free trade, records show. Mr. Scheunemann also accompanied Mr. McCain to Latvia in 2001 and Georgia in 2006.” [New York Times, 5/20/08]

LOBBYING DISCLOSURES “SHOW DOZENS OF PHONE CALLS & MEETINGS” BETWEEN MCCAIN’S SENATE OFFICE AND SCHEUNEMANN OR PARTNER.

“Lobbying disclosure records for Scheunemann’s two-person company, Orion Strategies, show dozens of phone calls and meetings with McCain and his staff between 2001 and 2008, as well as regular contributions to McCain’s campaign and political action committee. In 2006 McCain cosponsored legislation that passed the Senate endorsing an expansion of NATO to include Georgia and Macedonia as well as Albania and Croatia.” [Salon, 6/9/08]

SCHEUNEMANN & PARTNER “REPEATEDLY LOBBIED” MCCAIN AND HIS STAFF ON BEHALF OF FOREIGN CLIENTS; MCCAIN SPONSORED LEGISLATION AT SCHEUNEMANN’S BEHEST.

“Over the years, Mr. Scheunemann and his partner, Michael Mitchell, repeatedly lobbied Sen. McCain and his Senate staff on behalf of foreign clients, the Justice records show. The company also worked for Taiwan. In 2005, Mr. Scheunemann asked Sen. McCain to introduce a Senate resolution expressing support for peace in the Russia-influenced region of South Ossetia that wants to break away from Georgia, the records show. Such resolutions are symbolic but helpful to countries in diplomatic relations. The Senate approved Sen. McCain’s resolution in December 2005.” [Wall Street Journal, 5/23/08]

SCHEUNEMANN CONTINUED LOBBYING FOR FOREIGN CLIENTS – EVEN LOBBYING MCCAIN’S SENATE OFFICE -- WHILE WORKING FOR MCCAIN CAMPAIGN

SCHEUNEMANN CONTINUED TO LOBBY MCCAIN’S OFFICE, EVEN WHILE HE WAS WORKING FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

In 2007, “while he worked on the McCain presidential campaign, Mr. Scheunemann continued to lobby members of Congress and administration officials, Justice records show. One of his contacts was Richard Fontaine, an aide in Sen. McCain’s Senate office whom Mr. Scheunemann called in November to discuss Georgia, the records show.” [Wall Street Journal, 5/23/08]

SCHEUNEMANN LOBBIED UNTIL MARCH, THOUGH HE JOINED MCCAIN CAMPAIGN “SEVERAL MONTHS EARLIER.”

According to the New York Times, “Scheunemann was a registered foreign agent until March, when he ended his registrations for several countries. He had joined the McCain campaign several months earlier. A campaign spokesman, Tucker Bounds, said he would not comment on questions raised about Mr. Scheunemann or any other campaign advisors.” Salon said that he was “simultaneously

working for the McCain campaign and as a lobbyist for a shifting menu of Eastern European and former Soviet Bloc countries with NATO aspirations [New York Times, 5/20/08; Salon, 6/9/08]

SCHEUNEMANN LOBBIED MCCAIN'S SENATE OFFICE AS RECENTLY AS NOVEMBER 2007, WHILE HE WAS ADVISING CAMPAIGN. “John McCain’s top foreign policy advisor lobbied the Arizona senator’s staff on behalf of the republic of Georgia while he was working for the campaign, public records show. Randy Scheunemann, founder of Orion Strategies, represented the governments of Macedonia, Georgia and Taiwan from 2003 to March 1, according to the firm’s filings with the Justice Department. In its latest semiannual report, the firm disclosed that Scheunemann had a phone conversation in November about Georgia with Richard Fontaine, an aide in McCain’s Senate office.” [USA Today, 5/21/08]

CAMPAIGN GIVES SCHUENEMANN LOOPHOLE IN LOBBYIST POLICY

IN EARLY MAY 2008, SCHEUNEMANN TOLD WALL STREET JOURNAL HE HAD “TERMINATED ALL LOBBYING CONTRACTS.” “The campaign’s top foreign-policy staffer, Randy Scheunemann, said he had terminated all lobbying contracts as well.” [Wall Street Journal, 5/20/08]

BUT HIS LOBBYING FIRM’S CONTRACTS WITH FOREIGN CLIENTS STILL ACTIVE. Scheunemann’s firm’s contracts with Georgia and Macedonia, reported the Wall Street Journal, “worth a combined \$240,000, appear still to be in effect. A spokeswoman for the Georgian Embassy in Washington said the country’s contract with Orion is active. The Macedonian contract is listed as active in Justice Department records. Mr. Scheunemann, 48 years old, didn’t respond to requests for comment.” [Wall Street Journal, 5/23/08]

FIRM WAS ONLY TWO PEOPLE TO BEGIN WITH: He had a “two-person company, Orion Strategies.” [Salon, 6/9/08]



LOBBYIST PROFILE: NANCY PFOTENHAUER

Full Name: Nancy Pfothenhauer
Title: Senior Policy Advisor

LOBBYING CLIENT:

Koch Industries

PFOTENHAUER LOBBIED FOR KOCH INDUSTRIES UNTIL END OF 2000. Until the end of 2000, Nancy Pfothenhauer – under her maiden name Nancy Mitchell – lobbied on behalf of Koch Industries as a member of its in-house government affairs department. Koch industries spent a total of \$480,000 on in-house lobbying expenditures in 1999 & 2000. . [Pfothenhauer/Koch Industries Lobbying Disclosures, Senate Office of Public Records]

PFOTENHAUER’S LOBBYING FOCUSED ON PIPELINE SAFETY STANDARDS. Most of Pfothenhauer’s lobbying was focused on gas pipelines, in particular safety issues. In 1999, she lobbied for a bill to make more valuable tax depreciation rules for natural gas gathering lines. In 2000, she lobbied on a number of pipeline measure including: S.2004, a proposal to expand state authority on pipeline safety and establish new federal requirements to improve pipeline safety, as well as and S.2438, the (King & Tsiorvas) Pipeline Safety Improvement Act of 2000, which would also set new standards to ensure pipeline safety. [Pfothenhauer/Koch Industries Lobbying Disclosures, Senate Office of Public Records]

DURING TIME OF PFOTENHAUER’S LOBBYING, KOCH UNDER FIRE FOR NEGLECTING TO MAINTAIN ITS PIPELINES, RESULTING IN HUNDREDS OF LEAKS.

In January 2000, the Environmental Protection Agency reached “a landmark \$35 million settlement,” with Koch Industries, “one of the country’s largest oil pipeline operators.” In the “biggest civil fine ever levied under the Clean Water Act,” Koch “agreed to pay the penalties for leaking 3 million gallons of oil into lakes and streams in six states.” The EPA-Koch “settlement resolved two lawsuits charging that for years Koch’s pipeline subsidiary had left thousands of miles of pipeline in disrepair, leading to hundreds of oil leaks.” In official complaints, the government “Koch could have prevented most of the spills, caused mainly by corrosion, through prompt maintenance and safe operations.” [Associated Press, 1/14/00]

MCCAIN SPONSORED PIPELINE SAFETY BILL ON WHICH PFOTENHAUER

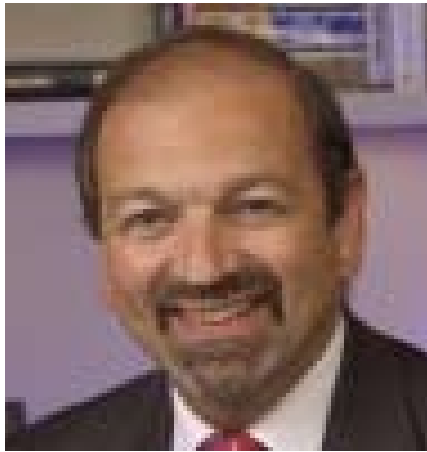
LOBBIED. According to Senate records, McCain sponsored one of the pipeline bills on which Pfothenhauer lobbied, S.2438, the (King & Tsiorvas) Pipeline Safety Improvement Act in April of 2000.[Pipeline & Gas Journal, 6/1/00; S.2438, 106th Congress]

COMPARED TO TWO COMPETING MEASURES, MCCAIN’S BILL WAS THE MOST LENIENT TOWARD PIPELINE INDUSTRY. In 2000, McCain introduced his own pipeline safety proposal within days of proposals from the Clinton administration and Senator Patty Murray. Terry Boss, vice president of environmental affairs for the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America “says the Clinton bill is the toughest, Murray’s bill is notquite as tough, and McCain’s is the most reasonable.” McCain was at the time chair of the Commerce Committee, which had jurisdiction over all of the proposals. [Pipeline & Gas Journal, 6/1/00]

GAS INDUSTRY “FAVORED THE MCCAIN BILL AS LESS PRESCRIPTIVE.”

Though Murray’s bill, McCain’s bill, and President Clinton’s bill “are bipartisan,” reported Foster Natural Gas Report, “Pipeline trade associations...favored the McCain bill as less prescriptive” in terms of its safety regulations. [Foster Natural Gas Report, 5/11/00]

PFOTENHAUER ALSO LOBBIED ON DEATH TAX ELIMINATION ACT, HIGHWAY INFRASTRUCTURE BONDS, AND FEDERAL CROP INSURANCE ACT. In addition to energy issues, Pfothenauer lobbied the House and Senate on a variety of issues relating to taxation, appropriations, and infrastructure. According to lobbying disclosures, Pfothenauer lobbied on the estate tax; tax exempt private activity for highway infrastructure construction; and a bill which would amend the Federal Crop Insurance Act to strengthen the safety net for agricultural producers. [Pfothenauer/Koch Industries Lobbying Disclosures, Senate Office of Public Records]



LOBBYIST PROFILE: FRANK DONATELLI

Full Name: Frank J. Donatelli

Title:Deputy Chair of Republican National Committee

LOBBYING CLIENTS:

DOMESTIC

American Airlines
American Legion
American Network of Community Options
American Phosphate Trade Committee
Americast
APM Terminals North America Inc
AT&T
Baxter INTL
Belvoir New Vision Planners (BNVP)
Berger Group Holdings Inc
Blue Cross Blue Shield
Carmeuse NA
Center for Governmental Studies of the University
Chesapeake Bay Foundation
Christopher Cos
Cities of Richmond and Lynchburg VA
City of Alexandria VA Sanitation Authority
City of Galax Virginia
City of Staunton Virginia
City of Hampton Virginia
Communications Technology Inc

Conservation Trust of Puerto Rico
Council for Americas First
Freedom
CSO Partnership
CSX Corp
DC Water & Sewer Authority
Dogwood Development Group
Dominion Resources Inc
Eastman Chemical
Embassy of the Republic of Korea
Eurest Support Services Worldwide
Exxon Mobil Corp
Franklin L Haney Company LLC
Freemarkets Online
Gannon International LTD
Global Info Tek
Inova Health System
Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation
Knoll Pharmaceutical Co
Maersk Inc
Magna Entertainment Corp
National Basketball Association
National Capital Area Boy Scouts Of America
National Hockey League
National Lime Association
National Star Route Mail Contract
Natl Assn of State Treasurers
Natl Basketball League

Natl Hockey League
Nehemiah Corp
Paulson & Co
Pegasus Capital Advisors LP
Pfizer Inc
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturing Assn
Pittsburgh Tissue Engineering Initiative
Pre-Paid Legal Services Inc
Prince Willion County (VA) Service Authority
Ryder System
Samsung Electronics America
Sandi Group
Smithfield Foods Inc
Time Warner
Trigon Healthcare
United Network For Organ Sharing
Universal Leaf Corporation
Vac-Alert Industries Inc
Verizon
Victims of Terrorism-Beirut Lebanon and East Africa
Virginia Military Institute Foundation
Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission

FOREIGN

Bulgaria (Technoexportstroy Ltd).
Colombia (Colombia Flower Council)
France (New California Life

Holdings, Inc.)
Government of Bolivia
Government Of Ethiopia
Government of Japan
Indonesia (Asosiasi Panel Kayu
Indonesia ("APKINDO"))

Japan (Ajinomoto U.S.A., Inc.
Japan (Ajinomoto U.S.A., Inc.
Japan (Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., Ltd.)
Japan (Mazda)

DONATELLI AS TOP ENERGY LOBBYIST

MCCAIN'S HAND-PICKED RNC CHAIRMAN LOBBIED FOR OFFSHORE DRILLING.

For six years, Frank Donatelli – whom McCain appointed as Deputy Chairman of the RNC – lobbied for energy company Dominion Resources, helping to earn his firm \$380,000. According to lobbying disclosure records, Donatelli lobbied on offshore drilling legislation, pipeline safety, and energy reform legislation, and. [IRS Bulletin, 4/25/05; Donatelli/McGuireWoods Disclosures, Senate Office of Public Records]

DONATELLI LOBBIED ON YUCCA MOUNTAIN. His work for Dominion Resources included lobbying on Yucca Mountain nuclear storage. He also lobbied on oil industry tax credits. [Donatelli Lobbying Records, Senate Office of Public Records]

DONATELLI LOBBIED ON BEHALF OF EXXON UNTIL 1999, EARNING FIRM \$780,000 FROM LOBBYING GIANT. Donatelli lobbied for Exxon until 1999 on “educational efforts pursuant to merger activities,” helping to earn his firm of Akin Gump \$780,000 in lobbying fees from Exxon in 1999 alone. [Exxon Lobbying Disclosures, Senate Office of Public Records]

1999: DONATELLI HELP TO WIN APPROVAL OF \$81 BILLION MERGER WITH MOBIL, WHICH CREATED LARGEST OIL COMPANY IN THE WORLD. At the time of Donatelli’s lobbying for Exxon on “merger activities,” the company had been engaged in a year-long effort to win approval of a massive merger that had been delayed by “antitrust concerns” between itself and Mobil, “the No. 2 company in the field.” In November 1999, “roughly a year after industry leader Exxon (XON) announced its plan to buy Mobil,” the Federal Trade Commission approved the \$81 billion merger, which “create[d] the largest oil company and the third largest company in the world behind GE and Microsoft.” [CNN Money, 11/30/99; BBC News, 12/1/98]

DONATELLI'S AT&T TIES RAISE QUESTIONS

DONATELLI LOBBIED FOR AT&T. According to lobbying disclosures, Donatelli lobbied for AT&T from 1998 until the end of 2001; his firm Akin Gump & Strauss was paid \$4,970,000 for its lobbying, which concerned “all policy issues relating to the telecommunications industry.” During that time, AT&T had lobbied for bill in front of the Senate Commerce Committee, of which McCain was chairman. [Donatelli Lobbying Records, Senate Office of Public Records; McClatchy, 2/13/00]

MCCAIN'S AT&T LOBBYIST CONNECTIONS UNDER FIRE IN 2000. MCCAIN'S AT&T LOBBYIST CONNECTIONS WERE UNDER SUSPICION DURING HIS 2000 CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENT. According to the American Prospect: “At a Washington fundraiser hosted by advisor Vin Weber, who lobbies for AT&T, McCain raised \$ 120,000. A few days later, according to Associated Press reporter Jonathan Salant, McCain hinted that he would introduce a bill eliminating the role of the FCC in policing mergers. Then in May, after FCC Chairman William Kennard had said that AT&T’s purchase of MediaOne ‘warrants careful scrutiny,’ McCain introduced this bill. Within two weeks, McCain received 10 contributions of

\$ 1,000 from AT&T executives.” [American Prospect, 1/17/00]

1998: MORE MCCAIN ACTIONS FOR AT&T. According to a 2000 Boston Globe article on the efforts McCain took on behalf of his donors, McCain “wrote to the FCC on behalf of AT&T...in June 1998. In October 1998, McCain raised another \$25,800 from AT&T officials at a fund-raiser.” During this period, Donatelli was an AT&T lobbyist. [Boston Globe, 1/9/00]

MORE TELECOM LOBBYING. Donatelli lobbying clients also have included industry giant Verizon. [Donatelli Lobbying Records, Senate Office of Public Records]

DONATELLI ALSO WORKED FOR HEALTH INSURANCE AND PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES

DONATELLI LOBBIED FOR HMO BLUE CROSS BLUE SHIELD. Donatelli lobbied for HMO Anthem Blue Cross Blue Shield from the beginning of 2003 until the end of 2007, earning McGuireWoods \$1,055,000 from Blue Cross. Donatelli lobbied for a variety of topics included health related tax legislation, Medicare & Medicaid, insurance regulation and health care mandates. [Donatelli Lobbying Records, Senate Office of Public Records]

DONATELLI LOBBIED FOR PHARMACEUTICAL GIANT PFIZER ON REGULATION OF ANTIHISTAMINES FOR COMMERCIAL VEHICLE OPERATORS. While at Akin Gump, Donatelli lobbied for pharmaceutical giant Pfizer on regulation of the use of certain antihistamines by operators of commercial vehicles. At the time, federal regulators were looking into “over 100 accidents in all modes of passenger transportation that involved prescription or over-the-counter medications whose effects could potentially impair the vehicle’s operator.” [Donatelli Lobbying Records, Senate Office of Public Records; Associated Press, 1/19/00]

LOBBYING FOR TOP PHARMACEUTICAL TRADE GROUP. Another industry clients was the trade group PHRMA [Donatelli Lobbying Records, Senate Office of Public Records]



LOBBYIST PROFILE: JOHN GREEN

Full Name: John Green
Title: Capitol Hill liaison

LOBBYING CLIENTS:

Advanced Materials and Research Center LLC
Affiliated Computer Systems
Aflac
Alabama A&M University
Alabama Wildlife Federation
Alliance for Downtown New York
Aloha Airlines
Alternative Investment Management
Altria Corporate Services
Amerada Hess
American Association of Nurse Anesthetists
American Chemistry Council
American Council of Life Insurers
American Electric Power
American Insurance Association
American Intl Group (AIG)
American Magline Group
American Petroleum Institute
American Trucking Association
America's Health Insurance Plans
Americhoice
Ameriquel Foods
Ameriquest Mortgage Company
AMN Healthcare
Armour of America
Association of International Automobile Manufacturers
AT&T
Bay Area Rapid Transit Dist.
Bell South Communications
Bell South Corp.
BICSI
Bird Shippers of America
Birmingham Airport Authority
Black Beauty Coal
Black, Kelly, Scruggs and Healey

Blackstone Group
Boland & Madigan
Broady Capital Management
Brown International Corp.
Business Software Alliance
Calhoun Community College
Carlyle Group
Cellular Telecommunications & Internet Association
Cephalon
Chevron Texaco
Citigroup
City of North Las Vegas
City of Ontario, CA
Coalition for Fair Lumber Imports
College Loan Corp
Colsa Corporation
Community Financial Services Association of America
Credit Suisse First Boston
Daimler Chrysler
Desert Rock Energy
Detroit Int'l Bridge Co
DEUTSCHE POST WORLD NET-USA
DFW International Airport
Digital Defense
Eads North America
El Paso Corporation
Electric Power Supply Assn
Enhanced Business Reporting Consortium
Energy
Enterprise Rent-a-Car
Fannie Mae
FDX Corp.
Federal Home Loan Bank of Seattle
Federal Mogul Group

Fidelity Investment
First Energy
Flight Safety Technology
Ford Foundation
Freddie Mac
GAF Corp
Ghazal and Associates, Jay
Highstar Capital
Hoffman-La Roche Inc.
Huntsville Chamber of Commerce
HydroStar
Icahn
IDefense
International Packaged Ice Assn
Intuit
Investor Protection Coalition
Ionatron
Iridian
JC Bamford
Kentucky Community & Technical College System
Laredo National Bank
Legend Airlines
Maguire Properties
MDVIP
Meadwestvaco Corp
Medical Device Manufacturing Assoc.
Memberworks
Metropolitan Transit Authority
Midwest Research Inst.
Mirant
Monsanto
Morgan Meguire
Motorola
National Assn of Government Vending
National Association of Business Political Action Committees

National Beer Wholesalers Assn	Property Casualty Insurers Assn of America	Texas Office of State-Federal Realties
Natl Architectural Trust	Recording Industry Association of America	Texas Utilities (TXU)
Natl Assn of Chain Drug Stores	Reliant Energy	Thermofisher Scientific
Natl Federation of Independent Business	Rhoads Group	Time Warner Inc
Natl Rifle Association	Rivada Networks	U.S. Space & Rocket Center
New Markets	Safari Club International	Unigroup
North Alabama Science Center	SAIC	United Parcel Service (UPS)
North American Gamebird Assoc.	SAP America	United Site Services
NUCOR Corp	Sault Ste Marie Tribe of Chippewa	UnitedHealth Group
Office Furniture Manufacturers Coalition	Schering-Plough Corp	University of Alabama-Huntsville
Orange County Transportation Authority	Second Chance Body Armor	University of California
Outdoor Advertising Assn	Sempra Energy	University of Chicago
Parry Romani Deconcini & Symms	Sithe Global Power LLC	University of South Alabama
Pernod Ricard	Sony Music Entertainment	US Strategies
Pfizer	Southeastern Consulting	US Telecom Assn
PJM Interconnection	Southern Research Inst	UST Public Affairs
Poker Player's Alliance	Southern Star Central Gas Pipeline	Verizon
Ports America	Star Atlantic	Verizon Wireless
Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy LLP	Station Casinos	Viacom
Power Plant	Tampa Hillsborough Expressway Authority	Village of Key Biscayne, FL
	Telcordia	Virgin America
		Visa
		Walter Industries

TOP LOBBYIST JOHN GREEN IS MCCAIN'S LIASON TO CONGRESS

JOHN GREEN SERVES AS MCCAIN'S CAPITOL HILL LIAISON. In March 2008, the McCain campaign announced that John Green “a founding partner of what is now Ogilvy Government Relations” would take a leave from lobbying to join the campaign full-time as its Capitol Hill liaison [The Politico, 3/4/08]

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BLACKSTONE PAYMENTS TO OGILVY WERE “LARGEST LOBBYING CONTRACT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 2007.”

“Private equity firms are lobbying hard against the proposed tax hike: The Center for Responsive Politics, a nonprofit research group that tracks money in politics, this month reported that Blackstone signed the largest lobbying contract for the first half of 2007 - \$3.7 million with Ogilvy Government Relations.” [Roll Call, 9/24/07]

BILL CLOSING LOOPHOLES DUBBED “BLACKSTONE BILL.” “The U.S. Congress could move as early as July toward passage of a bill to raise taxes on Blackstone Group LP BG.UL and other private equity firms that go public, congressional staffers said on Friday...The bill is aimed at closing what some lawmakers see as a tax loophole that would allow private equity firms and hedge funds to become publicly traded companies without having to pay the same taxes paid by corporations.” [Reuters, 7/15/08]

ROLL CALL: “BLACKSTONE LOBBY RECEIPTS CLOSES – AND DRAMATICALLY – PARALLEL THE RISE & SUBSEQUENT FALL OF PRIVATE EQUITY TAX ISSUES.”

“The proposals that sparked such brouhaha last year were aimed at raising the tax rate on carried interest and the tax on publicly traded partnerships that become public companies. Carried interest, now taxed at the 15 percent capital gains rate, refers to the percentage cut that partnerships pocket after profitable deals. A proposal floated last year would have changed it to the income tax rate, effectively raising it to more than 30 percent...But clearly, the Blackstone lobby receipts closely - and dramatically - parallel the rise and subsequent fall of private equity tax issues, which have received surprisingly little attention so far this year.” [Roll Call, 5/19/08]

GREEN LOBBIED FOR PREDATORY LENDER AMERIQUEST

BERMAN LOBBIED FOR SUBPRIME LENDER AMERIQUEST. Green was a lobbyist for Ameriquest Mortgage, “a notorious lender in the mortgage meltdown.” Ameriquest, which

has been described as “the most blatant and aggressive predatory lenders out of everybody,” was “forced to settle suits with 49 states for \$325 million.” According to disclosure forms, Green and his firm “billed more than \$720,000 in lobbying fees from 2005 through last year to Ameriquest Mortgage through their lobbying firm.” [New York Daily News, 3/31/08]

MCCAIN CAMPAIGN DENIED LOBBYIST-ADVISORS INFLUENCED MCCAIN’S INDUSTRY-FRIENDLY PROPOSALS FOR MORTGAGE CRISIS. The McCain campaign denied that Green and lobbying colleague and campaign vice-chair Wayne Berman, “despite their past familiarity with the issue...had any input into McCain’s plan for dealing with the lending crisis.” However, McCain’s plan – in stark contrast to the Democrats’ proposals on the mortgage crisis – “focuses on less regulation for lenders...and suggests as a first step convening a big meeting of top mortgage lenders.” [New York Daily News, 3/31/08]

AMERIQUEST DEEMED “WORST OF THE WORST” PREDATORY LENDERS. Bruce Marks, executive director of the According to Bruce Marks, executive director of the non-profit Neighborhood Assistance Corp. of America, Ameriquest was the “worst of the worst,” in the predatory lending business. “They incentivized brokers and lenders to throw money at people knowing they couldn’t afford these loans,” said Marks. “Predatory and illegal lending practices that Ameriquest may have used to encourage homeowners to refinance mortgages,” contended state Attorney Generals, “included misrepresenting and failing to disclose loan terms, charging excessive loan origination fees, and inflating appraisals to qualify borrowers for loans” [Los Angeles Times, 1/31/06; Washington Post, 1/29/06; Associated Press, 11/26/07; States News Service, Spitzer/Cuomo Release, 12/24/07]

AMERIQUEST WAS SUED BY 49 STATES FOR PREDATORY LENDING PRACTICES; SETTLED FOR \$325 MILLION. In January 2006, Ameriquest reached a \$325 million legal settlement with the attorney generals of 49 states and the District of Columbia. \$295 million was given directly to borrowers who fell victim to Ameriquest’s predatory lending tactics, and \$30 million was used to reimburse state governments for the cost of investigations. Approximately 725,000 homeowners who took out Ameriquest mortgages between 1999 and 2004 were eligible for restitution. Citigroup purchased what remained of Ameriquest in 2007, acquiring servicing rights to the \$45 billion in loans still held by the defunct lender. [Los Angeles Times, 1/31/06; Washington Post, 1/29/06; Orange County Register, 1/24/06; Associated Press, 9/1/07]

BERMAN ALSO LOBBIED FOR MEASURE ALLOWING PREDATORY LENDERS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PROSPECTIVE HOMEOWNERS. According to lobbying disclosure forms, Berman lobbied Congress on the “Responsible Lending Act,” a measure sought by predatory lenders which would “gut existing strong [anti-predatory lending] laws in 24 states.” According to the Center for Consumer Affairs, while the legislation “would create uniform federal guidelines for predatory lending laws,” it would also supersede far tougher “laws on the books in many states.” [Consumer Affairs, 1/12/06; US Banker, 2/06; Federalist Group/Ogilvy Government Relations Ameriquest Lobbying Records, 2005 – 2007, Senate Office of Public Records]

PREEMPTING STATE LAWS WOULD ALSO HELP AMERIQUEST “FEND OFF” INVESTIGATIONS BY NUMEROUS STATES. “Ameriquest, the home-lending giant that spent millions of dollars to help President Bush win re-election,” would be a prime beneficiary

from Congressional efforts to “create federal standards for the sub-prime mortgage lending market.” According to Roll Call, such legislation, which “would require that federal law pre-empt the patchwork of state laws that currently regulates the market... could come as good news to Ameriquest” and “help it fend off investigations currently under way by state regulators.” [Roll Call, 3/21/05]



LOBBYIST PROFILE: WAYNE BERMAN

Full Name: Wayne Berman
Title: Vice-Chair; Advisor; Bundler

LOBBYING CLIENTS:

DOMESTIC

Advanced Materials and Research Center LLC
Affiliated Computer Systems
Alliance for Downtown New York
Aloha Airlines
Alternative Investment Management
Amerada Hess
Ameren
American Council of Life Insurers
American Intl Group (AIG)
American Petroleum Institute
American Trucking Association
America's Health Insurance Plans
Americhoice
Ameriqual Foods
Ameriquest Mortgage Company
AMN Healthcare
Amports
AON
AT&T
Black, Kelly, Scruggs and Healey
Blackstone Group
Canton Group
Carlyle Group
Cendant Corp
ChemBio Diagnostics
Chevron Texaco
CIBT
Coalition for Fair Lumber Imports
College Loan Corp
Constellation Energy
Credit Suisse First Boston
Creditors Interchange
Desert Rock Energy
Detroit Int'l Bridge Co

E Higher Education
Electric Power Supply Assn
Enhanced Business Reporting Consortium
Fannie Mae
Federal Mogul Group
Fitch Ratings
Flo-Sun Corp
Ford Foundation
Freddie Mac
Ghazal and Associates, Jay
Greater New York Hospital Assn
Greeting Card Association
Highstar Capital
HydroStar
Icahn
Inter-Con Security
Intuit
Inverness Medical Innovations
Ionatron
Iridian
JC Bamford
JMI Realty
Lifecare
Lightyear Capital
Maguire Properties
Manning Salvage & Lee
MDVIP Inc
Medical Device Manufacturing Assoc.
Monsanto
Motorola
Natl Architectural Trust
Natl Assn of Chain Drug Stores
Natl Federation of Independent Business

Natl Rifle Association
New York Academy of Medicine
NUCOR Corp
Park Strategies
PJM Interconnection
Poker Player's Alliance
Power Plant
Property Casualty Insurers Assn of America
Reliant Energy
Roche Diagnostics
SAIC
SAP America
Scruggs Millette Lawson
Bozeman & Dent
Sempra Energy
Shinsei Bank LTD
Southern Star Central Gas Pipeline
Star Atlantic
Texas Office of State-Federal Realitions
United Site Services
UnitedHealth Group
University of California
University of Chicago
University of Missouri
Verizon
Verizon Wireless
Viacom
Virgin America
Visa
Wackenhut Services
Walt Disney Co
Wiley, Rein & Fielding LLP
Yeshiva University

FOREIGN

Government Of Barbados

Government Of Bermuda

Colombia (Avianca, Inc)

Republic of Cyprus

Government of the Dominican

Republic

Germany (Friendship In Freedom

Association)

Government of Iceland, Embassy

Government Of The Republic Of

Korea

Panama (Woolsey Corporation)

Saudi Arabia

St Lucia

Taiwan (China External Trade

Development Council)

Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

SUPERLOBBYIST HELPS RUN MCCAIN CAMPAIGN

SUPER-LOBBYIST WAYNE BERMAN SERVES IN HIGH-LEVEL MCCAIN CAMPAIGN

POSITIONS. In March 2008, the McCain campaign announced that John Green “a founding partner of what is now Ogilvy Government Relations” would take a leave from lobbying to join the campaign full-time as its Capitol Hill liaison. John Green’s colleague Wayne Berman, who remains an active lobbyist, serves as co-chairman of McCain’s national finance committee, as well as the campaign’s vice chairman and as a senior advisor. Additionally, Berman also handles congressional outreach and “talks to lawmakers on McCain’s behalf.” [New York Times, 2/7/08; Financial Times, 11/27/07; Washington Post, 11/20/07; The Hill, 7/19/07; The Politico, 3/4/08; John McCain Supporters, <http://www.johnmccain.com/Supporters/>]

BERMAN CONTINUES TO LOBBY FOR CLIENTS WHILE HOLDING MCCAIN

CAMPAIGN ROLE. Despite his plethora of roles within the McCain campaign, Berman -- managing director of the all-Republican Federalist Group -- continues to lobby lawmakers for his “impressive client list,” which includes the Blackstone Group, Carlyle Group, UnitedHealth, AT&T, Verizon, Viacom, Monsanto, and American International Group. [Federalist Group Lobbying Disclosure Records 2008 2nd Quarter Reports; US News & World Reports, 5/28/07; The Hill, 3/8/06]

BERMAN LOBBYING FOR BIG OIL

BERMAN AND GREEN LOBBIED FOR CHEVRON AND HESS. Berman and Green, working for Ogilvy Government Relations/Federalist Group, both lobbied for Chevron Texaco and Amerada Hess oil/gas companies, helping to earn their lobbying firm over \$1,000,000. Their lobbying included the Alaska pipeline, oil and gas accounting, foreign tax credits, measures related to price gouging, offshore exploration, and the 2005 and 2007 energy bills. [Federalist Group Lobbying Disclosures 2002 – 2007, Senate Office of Public Records]

BERMAN LOBBIED FOR CHEVRON’S PURCHASE OF UNOCAL. “In the Chinese oil company’s [CNOOC] bid to buy Unocal, it was [Wayne] Berman who stirred up the hornet’s nest that killed the deal and allowed his client, Chevron, to buy Unocal for \$2 billion less than the Chinese had offered. Berman’s take? A modest \$360,000-some \$1.8 million less than Akin Gump got from the losing party.” [Washingtonian, 6/07]

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BERMAN'S PAY FOR LOBBYING COINCIDE WITH LEGISLATION'S MOMENTUM.

“Last year, during the height of proposals to increase taxes on private equity companies and hedge funds, one firm, The Blackstone Group, paid its lobbying shop more than \$4.4 million, a meteoric sum by any K Street standards. But this year, as the Congressional and campaign rhetoric has cooled, so it seems has Blackstone’s lobbying spending. For the first quarter of this year, the company reported paying its lobby shop, Ogilvy Government Relations, less than \$5,000.” [Roll Call, 5/19/08]

BLACKSTONE PAYMENTS TO OGILVY WERE “LARGEST LOBBYING CONTRACT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 2007.”

“Private equity firms are lobbying hard against the proposed tax hike: The Center for Responsive Politics, a nonprofit research group that tracks money in politics, this month reported that Blackstone signed the largest lobbying contract for the first half of 2007 - \$3.7 million with Ogilvy Government Relations.” [Roll Call, 9/24/07]

BILL CLOSING LOOPHOLES DUBBED “BLACKSTONE BILL.”

“The U.S. Congress could move as early as July toward passage of a bill to raise taxes on Blackstone Group LP BG.UL and other private equity firms that go public, congressional staffers said on Friday...The bill is aimed at closing what some lawmakers see as a tax loophole that would allow private equity firms and hedge funds to become publicly traded companies without having to pay the same taxes paid by corporations.” [Reuters, 7/15/08]

ROLL CALL: “BLACKSTONE LOBBY RECEIPTS CLOSES – AND DRAMATICALLY – PARALLEL THE RISE & SUBSEQUENT FALL OF PRIVATE EQUITY TAX ISSUES.”

“The proposals that sparked such brouhaha last year were aimed at raising the tax rate on carried interest and the tax on publicly traded partnerships that become public companies. Carried interest, now taxed at the 15 percent capital gains rate, refers to the percentage cut that partnerships pocket after profitable deals. A proposal floated last year would have changed it to the income tax rate, effectively raising it to more than 30 percent...But clearly, the Blackstone lobby receipts closely - and dramatically - parallel the rise and subsequent fall of private equity tax issues, which have received surprisingly little attention so far this year.” [Roll Call, 5/19/08]

BERMAN AND GROUP LOBBY FOR PREDATORY LENDER AMERIQUEST

BERMAN LOBBIED FOR SUBPRIME LENDER AMERIQUEST. Berman was a lobbyist for Ameriquest Mortgage, “a notorious lender in the mortgage meltdown.” Ameriquest, which has been described as “the most blatant and aggressive predatory lenders out of everybody,” was “forced to settle suits with 49 states for \$325 million.” According to disclosure forms, Berman and his firm “billed more than \$720,000 in lobbying fees from 2005 through last year to Ameriquest Mortgage through their lobbying firm.” [New York Daily News, 3/31/08]

MCCAIN CAMPAIGN DENIED LOBBYIST-ADVISORS INFLUENCED MCCAIN'S INDUSTRY-FRIENDLY PROPOSALS FOR MORTGAGE CRISIS. The McCain campaign denied that Berman and lobbying colleague and legislative liaison John Green, “despite their past familiarity with the issue...had any input into McCain’s plan for dealing with the lending crisis.” However, McCain’s plan – in stark contrast to the Democrats’ proposals on the mortgage crisis – “focuses on less regulation for lenders...and suggests as a first step convening a big meeting of top mortgage lenders.” [New York Daily News, 3/31/08]

AMERIQUEST DEEMED “WORST OF THE WORST” PREDATORY LENDERS. Bruce Marks, executive director of the According to Bruce Marks, executive director of the non-profit Neighborhood Assistance Corp. of America, Ameriquest was the “worst of the worst,” in the predatory lending business. “They incentivized brokers and lenders to throw money at people knowing they couldn’t afford these loans,” said Marks. “Predatory and illegal lending practices that Ameriquest may have used to encourage homeowners to refinance mortgages,” contended state Attorney Generals, “included misrepresenting and failing to disclose loan terms, charging excessive loan origination fees, and inflating appraisals to qualify borrowers for loans” [Los Angeles Times, 1/31/06; Washington Post, 1/29/06; Associated Press, 11/26/07; States News Service, Spitzer/Cuomo Release, 12/24/07]

AMERIQUEST WAS SUED BY 49 STATES FOR PREDATORY LENDING PRACTICES; SETTLED FOR \$325 MILLION. In January 2006, Ameriquest reached a \$325 million legal settlement with the attorney generals of 49 states and the District of Columbia. \$295 million was given directly to borrowers who fell victim to Ameriquest’s predatory lending tactics, and \$30 million was used to reimburse state governments for the cost of investigations. Approximately 725,000 homeowners who took out Ameriquest mortgages between 1999 and 2004 were eligible for restitution. Citigroup purchased what remained of Ameriquest in 2007, acquiring servicing rights to the \$45 billion in loans still held by the defunct lender. [Los Angeles Times, 1/31/06; Washington Post, 1/29/06; Orange County Register, 1/24/06; Associated Press, 9/1/07]

BERMAN ALSO LOBBIED FOR MEASURE ALLOWING PREDATORY LENDERS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PROSPECTIVE HOMEOWNERS. According to lobbying disclosure forms, Berman lobbied Congress on the “Responsible Lending Act,” a measure sought by predatory lenders which would “gut existing strong [anti-predatory lending] laws in 24 states.” According to the Center for Consumer Affairs, while the legislation “would create uniform federal guidelines for predatory lending laws,” it would also supersede far tougher “laws on the books in many states.” [Consumer Affairs, 1/12/06; US Banker, 2/06; Federalist Group/Ogilvy Government Relations Ameriquest Lobbying Records, 2005 – 2007, Senate Office of Public Records]

PREEMPTING STATE LAWS WOULD ALSO HELP AMERIQUEST “FEND OFF” INVESTIGATIONS BY NUMEROUS STATES. “Ameriquest, the home-lending giant that spent millions of dollars to help President Bush win re-election,” would be a prime beneficiary from Congressional efforts to “create federal standards for the sub-prime mortgage lending market.” According to Roll Call, such legislation, which “would require that federal law pre-empt the patchwork of state laws that currently regulates the market... could come as good news to Ameriquest” and “help it fend off investigations currently under way by state regulators.” [Roll Call, 3/21/05]

WHAT MCCAIN'S DEEP TIES
TO LOBBYISTS AND THEIR
SPECIAL INTEREST CLIENTS
MEAN FOR AMERICANS

WHAT IT MEANS: ECONOMY & JOBS

\$500 BILLION BUDGET DEFICIT ANNOUNCED. The White House announced that the federal budget deficit could exceed \$500 billion next year as a result of “lower tax receipts and government spending on economic-stimulus programs.” [Wall Street Journal, 7/29/08, [online.wsj.com](#)]

ECONOMY CONTRACTED AT END OF 2007. “Consumer spending slowed more than previously estimated and the housing slump worsened. The economy shrank 0.2 percent in the fourth quarter last year, compared with a previously reported 0.6 percent gain.” [Bloomberg.com, 7/31/08, [bloomberg.com](#)]

OFFSHORE TAX HAVENS HAVE GROWN BY 66% UNDER BUSH. The GAO revealed that “the number of U.S. entities reporting that they control Caymans bank accounts jumped to 7,937 last year, up from 2,677 in 2002”—a 66% increase. [Wall Street Journal, 7/24/08, [online.wsj.com](#)]

UNEMPLOYMENT UP TO FIVE-YEAR HIGH OF 6.1%, MISERY INDEX HIGHEST SINCE 1991. “The U.S. lost more jobs than forecast in August and the unemployment rate climbed to a five-year high of 6.1 percent, a sign that the economic slowdown is worsening two months before Americans elect their next president.” [Bloomberg, 9/5/08, [bloomberg.com](#)]

84,000 JOBS LOST IN AUGUST; EIGHT MONTH OF JOB LOSSES. The U.S. economy shed 84,000 jobs in July and 605,000 since January of 2008. [U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 9/5/08, [bls.gov](#)]

UNEMPLOYMENT UP 45% SINCE BUSH TOOK OFFICE. The unemployment rate for August of 2008 was 6.1%, an increase of 45% since President Bush took office in January 2001. [U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed 9/7/08, [data.bls.gov](#)]

UNEMPLOYMENT CLAIMS AT SIX-YEAR HIGH. “The number of Americans filing first-time claims for unemployment benefits unexpectedly rose last week to the highest level in six years, signaling the labor market continues to weaken. Initial jobless claims increased by 7,000 to 455,000 in the week ended Aug. 2, the most since March 2002, from 448,000 the prior week.” [Bloomberg, 8/7/08, [bloomberg.com](#)]

UNEMPLOYMENT UP 1.5 MILLION SINCE 2007. The number of unemployed workers was at 8.5 million in June 2008, with the unemployment rate held at 5.5 percent. A year earlier, the number of unemployed persons was 7.0 million, and the jobless rate was 4.6 percent, the Labor Department reported. [Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment Situation Summary, 7/3/08, [bls.gov](#)]

JOBLESS RATE AMONG YOUTHS HIGHEST IN SIX DECADES. “The national youth jobless rate for June was at its highest in six decades, with 37 percent of teenagers ages 16 to 19 employed, compared with 51 percent in June 2000, according to Northeastern University’s Center for Labor Market Studies, which analyzed Labor Department data.” [Washington Post, 7/15/08, washingtonpost.com]

BANKRUPTCIES UP 30% IN 2008. “U.S. consumer bankruptcy filings increased 30 percent nationwide during the first six months of 2008 (Jan. 1-June 30) from the same period a year ago, according to the American Bankruptcy Institute (ABI), relying on data from the National Bankruptcy Research Center (NBKRC). The overall June consumer filing total of 82,770 was 20.7 percent more than the 68,559 consumer filings recorded in June 2007. While the June total represented an increase over the previous year, it was a 9.3 percent decrease from the May 2008 total of 91,214 consumer filings. Chapter 13 filings constituted 32.6 percent of all consumer cases in June, a slight increase from May.” [American Bankruptcy Institute, Press Release, 7/2/08, abiworld.org]

1 MILLION BANKRUPTCIES EXPECTED IN 2008 BY EXPERTS. “The sharp spike in consumer bankruptcies reflects the growing financial stress faced by American families, saddled with household debt and mortgage woes,” said ABI Executive Director Samuel J. Gerdano. “We expect consumer bankruptcies to top 1 million new cases this year.” [Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Office of Public Affairs, 5/2/08, abiworld.org]

LATEST DATA INDICATES THAT AT LEAST 36 MILLION AMERICANS ARE LIVING IN POVERTY. According to data from the Census Bureau, in 2006 36.5 million Americans were living below the poverty line, or 12.3 percent of the total population. [Census Bureau, Poverty Status of People by Family Relationship, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1959 to 2006, 7/15/08]

45% OF RECENT POLL CITED RISING PRICES AS TOP ECONOMIC PROBLEM—DOUBLE SINCE FEBRUARY. The Wall Street Journal’s editorial page wrote, “opinion polls support what the misery index and common sense tell us. According to a Pew Research poll in July, no less than 45% of the public cited rising prices as the top economic problem. That was nearly double the 24% who cited prices in February.” [Wall Street Journal, Editorial, 9/4/08, online.wsj.com]

FOOD PRICES AT 18-YEAR HIGH. “Consumer prices rose by 4.1% for all of 2007, up sharply from a 2.5% increase in 2006, the Labor Department said.” The Consumer Price Index for food rose 5% last year, the highest increase “in two decades.” The price of a gallon of milk rose 27% since March of 2007 and the price of a dozen eggs rose 38%. [BBC, 1/16/08, bbc.co.uk; The Associated Press, 5/18/08, abcnews.go.com]

JOHN MCCAIN: MORE OF THE SAME

DHL AND OHIO: RICK DAVIS AND JOHN MCCAIN HELP PUT OHIO JOBS ON THE CHOPPING BLOCK. In 2003, Rick Davis was lobbying to push through the controversial acquisition by foreign-owned DHL of Airborne Express, and John McCain used his influence to

keep the deal moving forward. Now DHL is planning to layoff 8200 workers in a move which will devastate the economy in southwestern Ohio.

TAX CUTS “FOR CORPORATIONS AND WEALTHY INDIVIDUALS” ARE “THE CENTERPIECE OF MCCAIN’S ECONOMIC AGENDA.” “Tax cuts, mostly for corporations and wealthy individuals, remain the centerpiece of McCain’s economic agenda,” The Washington Post noted in April. [Washington Post, 4/16/08, washingtonpost.com]

MCCAIN DECRIED “CORPORATE CHIEFTAINS” IN SPEECH BUT PROPOSED GIVING THEM A DREAM TAX CUT. McCain called out “corporate chieftains” in his speech, saying “in my administration, there will be no more subsidies for special pleaders, no more corporate welfare.” However, “much of what he detailed was a corporate special pleader’s dream: a cut in the corporate income tax rate, from 35 percent to 25 percent, a proposal to allow businesses to write off the cost of new equipment and technology from their taxes, a ban on Internet and new cellphone taxes, and a permanent tax credit for research and development.” [Washington Post, 4/16/08]

MCCAIN’S PRIORITY IS CORPORATE GROWTH. According to the Washington Post, McCain, “offered sweeping rhetoric about the economic plight of working-class Americans, promising immediate assistance even as he spelled out a tax and spending agenda whose benefits are aimed squarely at spurring corporate growth.” [Washington Post, 4/16/08, washingtonpost.com]

MCCAIN’S TAX PLAN IS NOT FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS. Despite McCain’s claims that he would help the middle class, “it turns out that middle-class families would do better under Obama (who would cut their taxes by \$1000 in 2009) than McCain (who would cut them by only \$300). McCain, who once opposed President Bush’s 2001 and 2003 tax cut as a give-away to the rich, but now embraces them, has designed a plan more consistent with the New McCain than the old.” In a McCain tax regime, “the top 20% of taxpayers get a 3% reduction in after-tax income in 2009, while the lowest-earning 60% would get less than 1%.” [Tax Policy Center, Urban Institute and Brookings Institution, 6/12/08, <http://taxvox.taxpolicycenter.org/>]

WHAT IT MEANS: HEALTH CARE

NEARLY 47 MILLION AMERICANS ARE WITHOUT HEALTH INSURANCE. According to State Health Facts and the Kaiser Family Foundation, 46,994,627 million Americans were living without health insurance during 2006. One in five adults and over 12 percent of all children lacked health insurance. [Kaiser Family Foundation, statehealthfacts.org, accessed on 4/17/08]

MORE THAN 9.4 MILLION CHILDREN IN U.S. HAVE NO HEALTH INSURANCE. 9,442,071 kids in the U.S. have no health insurance, or 12% of the U.S. children. [Statehealthfacts.org, accessed 7/15/08, statehealthfacts.org]

37 MILLION ADULTS LACK HEALTH INSURANCE. Of adults 19-64, 37 million, or 20%, lack health insurance in the U.S.. [Statehealthfacts.org, accessed 7/15/08, statehealthfacts.org]

13 MILLION POOR ADULTS LACK HEALTH INSURANCE. Of adults 19-64 living in poverty in 2005-2006, 2.76 million are uninsured, which is 46%. [Statehealthfacts.org, accessed 7/15/08, statehealthfacts.org]

NEARLY 90 MILLION WERE UNINSURED AT SOME POINT DURING 2006-2007. A study released by Families USA in September 2007 found that “89.6 million people under the age of 65 were uninsured for some or all of” the two year period between 2006 and 2007. “This constitutes more than one out of every three non-elderly Americans. That also represents an increase of 17 million uninsured Americans from 1999-2000 to 2006-2007.” [Families USA, “Wrong Direction: One Out of Every Three Americans Are Uninsured,” September 2007, <http://familiesusa.org/assets/pdfs/wrong-direction.pdf>]

HEALTHCARE PREMIUMS HAVE SKYROCKETED UNDER BUSH. In 2005, the average premium for an individual healthcare plan from an employer was \$3,991 a year, a 72% increase from 1999. For the same year, the average premium for a family healthcare plan from an employer was \$10,728 a year, a 77% increase since 1999. [Medical Expenditure Panel Survey Insurance Component, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, http://www.meps.ahrq.gov/mepsweb/data_stats/MEPSnetI.C.jsp]

HALF OF BANKRUPTCIES DUE TO HEALTH CARE COSTS. A study conducted by Harvard University in 2005 found that “half of U.S. bankruptcy filers say that out-of-pocket medical expenses led to their financial hardship.” The study also revealed that “the average out-of-pocket medical debt for those who filed for bankruptcy was 12,000. The study noted that 68 percent of those who filed for bankruptcy had health insurance. In addition, the study found that 50 percent of all bankruptcy filings were partly the result of medical expenses. Every 30 seconds in the United States someone files for bankruptcy in the aftermath of a serious health problem.” [Bloomberg, 2/2/2005; National Coalition on Health Care, accessed 4/29/08, <http://www.nchc.org/facts/cost.shtml>]

JOHN MCCAIN: MORE OF THE SAME

MCCAIN'S HEALTH CARE PLAN DOES LITTLE TO HELP AMERICA'S UNINSURED.

McCain's plan does not focus on "reducing the ranks of the uninsured," of which there are about 47 million, or one in seven Americans. According to the New York Times, "The McCain campaign has no estimate of how many of America's 47 million uninsured would likely gain coverage under its plan." It "has been estimated to reduce the number of uninsured in the U.S...by three to nine million." [Wall Street Journal, 10/11/2007, 4/30/2008; New York Times, 3/2/2008]

MCCAIN'S EROSION OF EMPLOYER SYSTEM WOULD TAKE AWAY MILLIONS OF AMERICANS' INSURANCE.

According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, "158 million people nationally" had "employer-sponsored health insurance" in 2007. McCain's elimination of the employer tax incentive to provide coverage would put these 158 million Americans' coverage in jeopardy. According to an analysis conducted by the Center For American Progress, "business owners would no longer need to cover their workers to get tax benefits for their own coverage...The entire employer health insurance system could unravel, ending this as an option for Americans who prefer it." In addition, the McCain plan "would not require insurers to provide health coverage to people with pre-existing conditions." [Kaiser Family Foundation, "Employer Health Benefits 2007 Annual Survey, <http://kff.org/insurance/ehbs091107nr.cfm> ; Center For American Progress Action Fund, "Analysis of McCain's Health Care Announcement," 4/29/2008; New York Times Political Blog, "The Caucus," 4/29/2008, <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/04/29/mccains-health-care-plan/#more-4961>]

WASHINGTON POST: MCCAIN PLAN DOES NOTHING TO ADDRESS PROBLEMS IN HEALTH INSURANCE INDUSTRY.

According to a Washington Post editorial, McCain's health care plan "is weakest on the underlying problem with the health-insurance market, in which insurers have every incentive to cherry-pick the healthiest purchasers." McCain claims, "we should give additional help to those who face particularly expensive care. If it is done right and the additional money is there, insurance companies will compete for these patients -- not turn them away," yet his plan does very little to address this problem. [Washington Post Editorial, 12/26/2007, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/12/21/AR2007122102111.html>]

MCCAIN HEALTH PLAN JUST LIKE BUSH PLAN. "President Bush proposed a similar idea" to the tax credits in McCain's plan, which was dead-on-arrival in Congress in early 2007, because the plan only awarded those who purchased insurance in the private market. [Wall Street Journal, 10/11/2007]

TAX CREDIT DO LITTLE TO COVER AVERAGE HEALTH COSTS. According to Emory University health policy professor Ken Thorpe, the tax credits "have limited value because average family health care plans cost about \$12,000 a year." The Kaiser Family Foundation puts the number at \$12,106 for a family. "Paul B. Ginsburg, the president of the Center for Studying Health System Change, a nonpartisan research organization financed by foundations and government agencies, said, 'For a lot of people, the tax credits he's talking about would not be enough to afford coverage.'" [New York Times, 4/30/2008; USA Today, 4/28/2008]

MCCAIN’S HEALTH PLAN COULD RESULT IN TAX INCREASE FOR SOME

AMERICANS. McCain’s campaign “acknowledged. . .that the health plan he outlined. . .would have the effect of increasing tax payments for some workers, primarily those with high incomes and expensive health plans.” According to the New York Times, “the campaign cannot yet project how many taxpayers might see their taxes go up.” [New York Times, 5/1/2008]

MCCAIN WOULD ALLOW PEOPLE TO BUY INSURANCE ACROSS STATE LINES, WOULD LEAD TO RACE-TO-THE-BOTTOM.

McCain’s proposal to permit people to buy their health insurance across state lines “would allow health-insurance companies to escape state regulations they don’t like, such as rules allowing for appeals when companies deny coverage and rules requiring insurers to cover people with various conditions or to cover particular types of treatments. The companies would likely gravitate to the states with the regulations they most favored.” [Wall Street Journal, 4/19/2008]

MCCAIN’S PLAN WOULD UNDERMINE REGULATIONS AND PERHAPS LEAD TO LESS COVERAGE.

Economist and Urban Institute research associate Dr. Linda Blumberg criticized McCain’s plan as possibly undermining health regulations. “Allowing purchases of insurance across state lines undermines the ability of states to regulate health insurance markets through broader-based sharing of health care risk, she said.” She said this could lead to “higher financial burdens for the less healthy, and potentially less coverage as well.” [Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 4/30/2008]

WHAT IT MEANS: OIL & GAS

GAS PRICES HAVE MORE THAN TRIPLED. In January of 2001, a regular gallon of unleaded gas averaged \$1.18 nationally. Currently the average is \$4.11—an increase of \$2.93, or 248%. [Energy Information Administration, tonto.eia.doe.gov; U.S. Dept. of Transportation, State Motor Fuel Taxes, fhwa.dot.gov; AAA Daily Fuel Gauge Report, fuelgaugereport.com; accessed 7/15/08]

EXXON MOBIL POSTED A RECORD \$11.68 BILLION IN EARNINGS IN THE 2ND QUARTER. “Exxon Mobil Corp. posted second-quarter earnings of \$11.68 billion, once again topping its own record for the biggest three-month profit ever by a U.S. corporation... Exxon’s second-quarter net income was 14% higher than the \$10.26 billion it earned in the same quarter last year.” [Los Angeles Times, 8/1/08]

OIL COMPANIES’ PROFITS ARE UP WHILE PRODUCTION IS DOWN. Record crude prices boosted profits of oil companies to new highs, with Exxon Mobil recording the largest profits in U.S. corporate history, even though production was down. Exxon made a profit of \$11.68 billion last quarter, Royal Dutch Shell made \$11.56 billion, ConocoPhillips made \$5.44 billion, and Chevron made \$5.98 billion, while oil production fell 7.8% (including gas), 6% (crude-oil only), 8.4%, and 3.4% at those companies, respectively. Exxon’s decline in production was the largest fall in a decade. [Bloomberg, 8/1/08, bloomberg.com; AP, 7/31/08; Wall Street Journal, 7/24/08, 8/1/08]

PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE: BUSH TO BLAME FOR SOARING GAS PRICES AND OIL COMPANY PROFITS. “Gasoline at more than \$3 a gallon, while oil company profits soar, is simply enraging, and no American can be unaware that both Mr. Bush and his vice president, Dick Cheney, came to government from the oil industry. The price didn’t go from \$20 a barrel in 2002 to nearly \$100 today simply because of growing Chinese and Indian demand. The riling of the Middle East that Mr. Bush’s Iraq war created has played an important role in that phenomenon.” [Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Editorial, 11/17/2007]

2005: OIL INDUSTRY “ENJOYING ONE OF THE BIGGEST WINDFALLS IN ITS HISTORY.” According to MSNBC, “When major oil companies report their quarterly profits next week, they’re once again expected to post record numbers. With crude trading around \$60 a barrel, the oil industry is enjoying one of the biggest windfalls in its history... By just about any measure, the past three years have produced one of the biggest cash gushers in the oil industry’s history. Since January of 2002, the price of crude has tripled, leaving oil producers awash in profits. During that period, the top 10 major public oil companies have sold some \$1.5 trillion worth of crude, pocketing profits of more than \$125 billion.” [<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/8646744/>, 7/21/2005]

JOHN MCCAIN: MORE OF THE SAME

MCCAIN PROMISED TO “KEEP AN EYE ON THE OIL COMPANIES.” When O’Reilly pointed out that the oil companies are “exploiting the War on Terror” and that McCain’s

“solution is going to enrich the oil companies,” McCain said, “I’m sure that we would keep an eye on the oil companies.” He added that the oil companies “are brazen in some respects...” [Fox News Transcript, “The O’Reilly Factor,” 5/8/2008]

TOP MCCAIN ADVISOR CHARLIE BLACK LOBBIED FOR OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM FOR 8 YEARS. From 2001 until taking a leave from his lobbying firm BKSH & Associates, McCain chief political advisor Charlie Black lobbied on behalf of Occidental Petroleum, for which Occidental paid his firm \$1,610,000. Much of Black’s recent lobbying for Occidental pertained to Colombia; his most recent lobbying disclosure forms from 2007 cite general energy issues affecting Colombia as well “trade issues including economic embargo on Colombia” as topics on which he lobbied. [Black/BKSH Lobbying Disclosures, Senate Office of Public Records]

PREVIOUSLY, OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY WAS NOT “MAJOR SOURCE OF CAMPAIGN MONEY FOR MCCAIN.” According to the Washington Post, “Oil and gas executives have not traditionally been a major source of campaign money for McCain. A breakdown of giving by the Center for Responsive Politics shows the industry falls 12th on a list of top donors, well behind securities firms, lawyers, banks, and real estate and health professionals. McCain has historically sided against a number of the industry’s interests, opposing efforts to open certain public lands to drilling and embracing proposals aimed at tackling global warming well before oil executives were ready to do so.” [Washington Post, 7/27/2008]

MCCAIN’S TAX PLAN WOULD SAVE LARGEST AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES NEARLY \$4 BILLION. According to the Center for American Progress, “The centerpiece of Sen. McCain’s plan to stimulate the economy — actually, the whole plan — is large tax cuts for corporations. It would deliver \$3.8 billion in tax cuts to the five largest American oil companies, according to an analysis released today by the Center for American Progress Action Fund.” According to the Center for American Progress’ Analysis, Exxon/Mobil would save as much as \$1.2 Billion under McCain’s corporate tax cut. [Work Room, Thinkprogress.org, 3/27/2008]

MCCAIN HAS VOTED REPEATEDLY TO PROTECT OIL COMPANIES PROFITS BY SUPPORTING TAX BREAKS. [2006 Senate Vote #3, 2/2/2006; 2005 Senate Vote #341, 11/17/2005; 2005 Senate Vote #339, 11/17/2005; 1995 Senate Vote #521, 10/27/1995; 1990 Senate Vote #288, 10/18/1990]

MCCAIN CALLED FOR LIFTING THE FEDERAL MORATORIUM ON OFF SHORE GAS, OIL DRILLING. During a speech on energy, McCain said, “But a broad federal moratorium stands in the way of energy exploration and production. And I believe it is time for the federal government to lift these restrictions and to put our own reserves to use.” [Speech, johnmccain.com, 6/17/2008]

2005: MCCAIN VOTED AGAINST REDUCING US DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL BY ESTABLISHING GOAL OF 40 PERCENT REDUCTION In Foreign Oil Over 20 Years. McCain voted against an amendment to the 2005 Energy Policy Act that proposed to establish

a U.S. goal of reducing dependence on foreign oil by 40 percent over next 20 years, require the president to develop and implement measures to reduce dependence on foreign oil by reducing petroleum in end-uses throughout the U.S. economy by an amount sufficient to achieve a reduction in demand of 7.6 million barrels per day from the amount projected for calendar year 2025 and require the president to report to Congress annually on progress toward this goal. Obama: Y, McCain: N [2005 Senate Vote #140, 6/16/2005]

MCCAIN CALLED LIFTING THE OIL MORATORIUM A SHORT TERM SOLUTION TO “OUR ENERGY CRISIS.”

Speaking to reporters at a media availability, McCain said, “Tomorrow, I’ll call for lifting the federal moratorium for states that choose to permit exploration. I think that this -- and perhaps providing additional incentives for states to permit exploration off their coasts --- would be very helpful in the short term in resolving our energy crisis.” [CNN Live Feed, Media Availability (Crystal City, VA), 6/16/2008]

MCCAIN PROPOSED A GAS TAX “HOLIDAY.”

To help people with the cost of gas, McCain suggested a “gas-tax holiday” from Memorial Day to Labor Day, removing the 18.4 cent gas and 24.4 cent diesel tax over that period. He reiterated his call for the US to stop contributing to the Strategic Petroleum Reserve and said these two proposals would reduce gas prices and “help to spread relief across the American economy.” [Associated Press, 4/15/08]

MCCAIN SPOKESMAN SAID HE COULD NOT SUPPORT SENATE ENERGY COMPROMISE BECAUSE IT RAISED TAXES ON ENERGY GROUPS.

“A group of Democratic lawmakers is banding with Republicans to draft legislation that would ease the federal moratorium on offshore oil drilling while ending a tax break for oil companies... A spokesman for Sen. McCain said that while he “applauds the bipartisan effort,” he wouldn’t support the proposal because “he cannot and will not support legislation that raises taxes.” [Wall Street Journal, 8/2/2008]

WHAT IT MEANS: AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

ADMIRAL MULLEN SAID, "I AM NOT CONVINCED THAT WE'RE WINNING IT IN AFGHANISTAN."

"The nation's top military officer issued a blunt assessment yesterday of the war in Afghanistan and called for an overhaul in U.S. strategy there, warning that thousands more U.S. troops as well as greater U.S. military involvement across the border in Pakistan's tribal areas are needed to battle an intensifying insurgency. 'I am not convinced that we're winning it in Afghanistan,' Adm. Michael Mullen, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the House Armed Services Committee yesterday. But, he added, 'I'm convinced we can.'" [Washington Post, 09/11/08]

IRAQI GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE \$79 BILLION SURPLUS BY YEAR'S END, NOT SPENDING IT.

"Soaring oil prices will leave the Iraqi government with a cumulative budget surplus of as much as \$79 billion by year's end, according to an American federal oversight agency. But Iraq has spent only a minute fraction of that on reconstruction costs, which are now largely borne by the United States. The unspent windfall, which covers surpluses from oil sales since 2005, appears likely to reinforce growing debate about the approximately \$48 billion in American taxpayer money devoted to rebuilding Iraq since the American-led invasion." [New York Times, 08/06/08]

DR. HARLAN ULLMAN, FORMER U.S. NAVAL COMMANDER SAID, "WE ARE LOSING IN AFGHANISTAN."

"The same thing is true in Afghanistan, and quite frankly when Admiral Fallon made the understatement that Afghanistan was very much the invisible war, he was absolutely right. I have been part of two study groups and have been intimately involved in Afghanistan and quite frankly we are losing in Afghanistan, not on the military front, but on the political, civil sector side, because nobody is helping to rebuild Afghanistan despite all the promises. Admiral Fallon is well aware of all that." [Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Lateline, 3/12/08]

MILITARY OFFICERS OVERWHELMINGLY ADMIT THAT THE US MILITARY IS STRETCHED DANGEROUSLY THIN.

A survey of over 3,400 retired and active military officers found that 88% thought that war had stretched the military dangerously thin. 60% think that the U.S. military is weaker than it was five years ago. [Center for New American Security, Feb. 2008]

"MAKE NO MISTAKE, NATO IS NOT WINNING IN AFGHANISTAN," ACCORDING TO INDEPENDENT STUDY, CHAIRED BY GENERAL JAMES JONES.

"NATO forces in Afghanistan are in a 'strategic stalemate,' as Taliban insurgents expand their control of sparsely populated areas and as the central government fails to carry out vital reforms and reconstruction, according to an independent assessment released yesterday by NATO's former commander. 'Make no mistake, NATO is not winning in Afghanistan,' said the report by the Atlantic Council of the United States, chaired by retired Gen. James L. Jones, who until the summer of 2006 served as the supreme allied commander of NATO." [Washington Post, 1/31/08]

2005 PEW RESEARCH SURVEY FOUND LOW REGARD FOR PRESIDENT BUSH WAS MAJOR FACTOR IN U.S.'S UNFAVORABILITY RATING.

"Among the publics around the

world, a low regard for President Bush is more heavily correlated with an unfavorability rating for the United States than is any other attitude or opinion tested in this survey, according to an analysis of the data.” [Pew Research Survey, 6/23/05, <http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?PageID=801>]

2008 PEW RESEARCH SURVEY FOUND THAT A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS SAW OUR LOSS OF INTERNATIONAL RESPECT AS A MAJOR PROBLEM. “For the first time since Pew Research began asking this question in 2004, a majority of Americans now sees the loss of international respect for the United States as a major problem. The percentage of Americans saying this is has risen from 43% in 2005 to 48% in 2006 and 56% currently. The most recent national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted May 21-25 among 1,505 adults, finds that majorities of Democrats (81%), independents (72%) and Republicans (60%) believe that the United States has lost global respect in recent years.” [Pew Research Survey, 6/16/08, <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/870/america-loss-of-respect>]

JOHN MCCAIN: MORE OF THE SAME

FEBRUARY 2003: MCCAIN SAID POST-WAR IRAQ WOULD BE “PAID FOR BY THE IRAQIS.” Appearing on Fox News’s “Hannity and Colmes,” McCain said, “But post-Saddam Hussein Iraq going to be paid for by the Iraqis....They have billions of dollars of income. They have vast oil reserves. And I think they will pay for it.” [Fox News, Hannity and Colmes, 2/21/03]

FEBRUARY 2003: PRIOR TO THE INVASION OF IRAQ MCCAIN SAID, “I HAVE NO QUALMS ABOUT OUR STRATEGIC PLANS.” “I have no qualms about our strategic plans. I thought we were very successful in Afghanistan,” McCain told the Hartford Courant in March 2003, just prior to the invasion of Iraq. [Hartford Courant, 3/5/03]

MARCH 2003: MCCAIN SAID GETTING RID OF SADDAM HUSSEIN WOULD IMPROVE STABILITY – AND THE U.S.’S IMAGE -- IN THE REGION. In an Op-Ed for the New York Times, McCain wrote, “[N]o one can plausibly argue that ridding the world of Saddam Hussein will not significantly improve the stability of the region and the security of American interests and values....Isn’t it more likely that antipathy toward the United States in the Islamic world might diminish amid the demonstrations of jubilant Iraqis celebrating the end of a regime that has few equals in its ruthlessness?” [New York Times, McCain Op-Ed, 3/12/03]

MARCH 2003: MCCAIN DECLARED HE WOULD HAVE DONE NOTHING DIFFERENTLY FROM BUSH IN THE RUN-UP TO THE IRAQ WAR IF HE WERE PRESIDENT. Bill O’Reilly asked McCain, “All right, Senator, if you were president, what would you have done differently in the run-up to this war?” McCain stated: “Nothing.” O’Reilly followed up: “Nothing?” McCain elaborated, “The president has handled this, in my view, skillfully.” [Fox News, The O’Reilly Factor, 3/18/03]

NOVEMBER 2003: THE U.S. WOULD “MUDDLE THROUGH.” In an appearance at the Council on Foreign Relations, McCain was asked how he saw the situation in Afghanistan. McCain answered: “I think Afghanistan is dicey. I think that there are certain areas of the country, particularly along the Pakistani border, that are clearly not under the control of either Pakistan or the Afghan government. I think it was true -- it’s not necessarily all true -- but that Karzai -- President Karzai, who I happen to admire, controls all of Iraq (sic) till you get to the city limits of Kabul. But I -- there have been some improvements. He’s fired some people. He’s tried to bring some of the warlords under control. There has been a rise in al Qaeda activity along the border. There has been some increase in U.S. casualties. I am concerned about it, but I’m not as concerned as I am about Iraq today, obviously, or I’d be talking about Afghanistan. But I believe that if Karzai can make the progress that he is making, that -- in the long term, we may muddle through in Afghanistan.” [McCain at the Council on Foreign Relations, 11/5/2003, http://www.cfr.org/publication/6502/us_situation_in_iraq_and_afghanistan.html]

APRIL 2007: MCCAIN: “BOMB BOMB BOMB, BOMB BOMB IRAN.” UPI reported: “U.S. Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., speaking in South Carolina, answered a question about Iran by singing ‘Bomb, bomb Iran’ to the tune of ‘Barbara Ann.’ A man in the audience at a Murrells Inlet VFW hall asked McCain about sending ‘an air mail message to Tehran,’ The Georgetown (S.C.) Times reported. McCain began his answer by putting new words to the oldie -- made popular by the Beach Boys and the Regents. ‘Bomb bomb bomb, bomb bomb Iran,’ he sang.” [UPI, 4/19/07]

MAY 2007: MCCAIN SAID, “IRAN POSES ONE OF THE GREATEST THREATS TO THE SECURITY OF THE WORLD.” During a presidential primary debate, McCain was asked if Iran “has already committed acts of war.” McCain said, “Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism. We all know that. Iran continues their efforts to build nuclear weapons. Iran is now exporting lethal IEDs and jihadists and suicide bombers into Iraq, killing American soldiers. The Iranians encouraged Hezbollah to attack Israel from Lebanon recently. Iran poses one of the greatest threats to the security of the world, and in the Middle East.” [MSNBC, GOP Presidential Debate, 5/3/07]

MARCH 2008: MCCAIN SAID, “NO ONE HAS SUPPORTED PRESIDENT BUSH ON IRAQ MORE THAN I HAVE.” During a March 2008 interview on The Mike Gallagher Show, McCain stated, “no one has supported President Bush on Iraq more than I have.” [The Mike Gallagher Show, 3/28/08, For audio, Think Progress Blog, <http://thinkprogress.org/2008/04/02/mccain-no-one-has-supported-president-bush-on-iraq-more-than-i-have/>]

APPENDIX: MCCAIN'S LOBBYISTS

A: JOHN MCCAIN'S 177 LOBBYISTS

1. Aiken, Robert
2. Aldonas, Grant
3. Anderson, Phil
4. Anderson, Rebecca
5. Anderson, Stanton
6. Andres , Susan Auther
7. Aniboli, Paul
8. Asher, Robert
9. Asher, Robert
10. Bailey , William J. III
11. Baker , Howard
12. Ball, William
13. Beightol , David
14. Bentz, Rhonda
15. Berman, Wayne L.
16. Betts, Steven A.
17. Black, Charles
18. Black, Judy
19. Blalock, Kirk
20. Bonilla, Carlos
21. Brooks, Brian
22. Burgeson, Christine
23. Burgeson, Eric
24. Burnley , Jane
25. Buse, Mark
26. Calio, Nicholas
27. Cammack, Kerry
28. Campbell, Ben Nighthorse
29. Cantor, Andrew (Drew)
30. Cardenas, Alberto
31. Chadwick, Kirsten
32. Chamberlin, Robert
33. Charlton, Susan
34. Clerici, John
35. Cooper , Josephine "Jo"
36. Courter , James
37. Courter, John
38. Crane , David
39. Crank , Jeffrey
40. Crippen, Dan
41. Cullen , Richard
42. Culvahouse, Arthur
43. Cunningham, Bryan
44. D'Amato , Alfonse
45. Davenport, Doug
46. Davis, Ashley
47. Davis, Kurt
48. Davis, Rick
49. Dawson, Mimi
50. Diamond, John
51. Dick, Zimmer
52. Donatelli, Frank
53. Edwards, Melissa
54. Fay, Kevin
55. Ferry, Christian
56. Fidler, Chris
57. Fiorentino, T. Marty
58. Fisher, Robert
59. Furman , Sally
60. Furman, Harold/Hal
61. Gay, Laurance W.
62. Geduldig, Samuel
63. Ginsberg, Ben
64. Girard-Dicarlo, David
65. Glassner, Michael
66. Glover Weiss, Juleanna
67. Goldberg, Steve
68. Gorton , Slade
69. Gramm, Phil
70. Green, John
71. Grissom , Janet M.
72. Gullett, Wes
73. Gullott, Kristen
74. Hance, Kent
75. Harding, Robert
76. Hart, Vicki
77. Hartwell, Rob
78. Hawley, Buzz
79. Heubusch , John D.
80. Hilleary, William "Van"
81. Hohlt , Deborah
82. Hohlt, Richard
83. Hughey, Gaylord T.
84. Hull, Kate
85. Huntsman, Peter
86. Hutchinson , Asa
87. Hyland , James "Jim"
88. Jarvis, Aleix
89. Javdan, David,
90. Jenner Greg,
91. Johnson Edwin "Ned" II ,
92. Johnson Nancy,
93. Johnson, Mary Kate
94. Jones, Christine
95. Kahn, Charles
96. Keating Frank ,
97. Kilberg, William
98. Koch Christopher,
99. Kuykendall, Steven T.
100. Leshner William "Bill" ,
101. Lichtenstein, Jack
102. Loeffler, Tom
103. Lugar, Kelly
104. MacKinnon Gail ,
105. Madigan, Peter
106. Manaigo Aaron ,
107. Mann Mary ,
108. Martino Paul ,
109. McAuliffe Mary ,
110. McGovern, John
111. McIntyre, David
112. McKay, Michael
113. McKeag Jana ,
114. McKone, Timothy
115. McSlarrow , Alison
116. McSlarrow, Kyle
117. Meece, Mike
118. Metzner, David
119. Molinari, Susan
120. Moran, John A.
121. Munger, John F.
122. Nahigian Ken,
123. Nancy, Pfothenauer
124. Napier John L.,
125. Nelson, Susan
126. Nick, Calio
127. Oliver, Jack
128. Otellini Paul ,
129. Perry Steve,
130. Pfautch Roy,
131. Phillips Steve,
132. Pickering-Finley, Elise
133. Pitts, James
134. Powers, Tim
135. Price Walter,
136. Principi, Anthony
137. Racy, Michael
138. Rappoport Sloan W. ,
139. Rickhoff, Hans
140. Ridge, Tom
141. Rill James ,
142. Roman Steve ,
143. Rudman Warren ,
144. Russell Phil P. ,
145. Salmon, Matt
146. Scheunemann, Randy
147. Shanahan Kathleen M. ,
148. Shore, Andrew
149. Skinner Samuel K,
150. Sotak, Sonya
151. Stahl Katie ,
152. Stanges Milly,
153. Suarez , Aquiles
154. Sundquist Don ,
155. Symington, Fife
156. Terpeluk Peter ,

157. Thompson Fred ,
158. Thompson Jeri,
159. Thurmond Strom Jr. ,
160. Timmons, John
161. Timmons, William
162. van Dongen, Dirk
163. Vennett David,

164. Villamil J. Antonio ,
165. Vin, Weber
166. Wagner, Raymond
167. Walcher Greg,
168. Weiss, Jeffery
169. Whitmore Martha “Marti” ,
170. Wiley, Richard

171. Wilkinson, Scott
172. William (Bill) J., Bailey
173. Williams, Tony
174. Williamson Richard ,
175. Woolsey James,
176. Wright Joseph ,
177. Zeidman, Fred

[Lobbying Records: Senate Office of Public Records; McCain Bundlers: JohnMcCain.com, Public Citizen’s WhiteHouseForSale.org; McCain Staff, Advisors And Other Fundraisers: JohnMcCain.com and news accounts]

B: JOHN MCCAIN’S PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY LOBBYISTS

32 LOBBYISTS

1. Anderson, Phil
2. Black, Charles
3. Black, Judy
4. Blalock, Kirk
5. Chadwick, Kirsten
6. Chamberlin, Robert
7. Clerici, John
8. Cunningham, Bryan
9. Davenport, Doug
10. Davis, Ashley
11. Edwards, Melissa

12. Fidler, Chris
13. Geduldig, Samuel
14. Girard-Dicarlo, David
15. Glover Weiss, Juleanna
16. Green, John
17. Gullott, Kristen
18. Hohit, Richard
19. Hull, Kate
20. Loeffler, Tom
21. Madigan, Peter
22. McGovern, John

23. Nelson, Susan
24. Pickering-Finley, Elise
25. Pitts, James
26. Powers, Tim
27. Principi, Anthony
28. Rickhoff, Hans
29. Shore, Andrew
30. Sotak, Sonya
31. Timmons, William
32. Williams, Tony

59 CLIENTS

1. AAI Pharma Inc
2. Actelion
3. Advanced Life Sciences
4. Allergan
5. Alphavax
6. Amgen, Inc
7. Amylin Pharmaceuticals Inc
8. Astellas Pharma Inc
9. Astrazeneca Pharmaceuticals
Lp
10. Aventis
11. Barr Laboratories Inc
12. Baxter INTL
13. Bio Marin Pharmaceutical
14. Bioport
15. Boehringer Ingelheim
Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
16. Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
17. Celgene Cellular Therapeutics
18. Cephalon
19. DOR BioPharma
20. Eli Lilly & Co

21. EMD Pharmaceuticals
22. Emergent Biosolutions
23. Fleming & Co Pharmaceuticals
24. Forest Laboratories Inc
25. Genentech
26. Generic Pharmaceutical
Association
27. Gilead Sciences
28. GlaxoSmithKline
29. Hemispherix Biopharma
30. Heyl Chem-Pharm Fabrik
31. Hoffman LaRoche
32. Human Genome Sciences
33. Immunex
34. Insmed Inc
35. Introgen Therapeutics
36. Ivax Corp
37. Johnson & Johnson Shared
Services Inc
38. Knoll Pharmaceutical Co
39. Medactinium Inc
40. Merck & Co Inc

41. MGI Pharma Inc
42. Momenta Pharmaceuticals Inc
43. Mylan Laboratories
44. Neuren Pharmaceuticals Inc.
45. Neuromolecular
Pharmaceuticals
46. Novartis
47. Novo Nordisk Pharmaceuticals
48. Oscient Pharmaceuticals Corp
49. Osi Eyetech
50. Pfizer
51. PHRMA
52. Procter & Gamble
53. Ranbaxy Laboratories
54. Sanofi Pasteur
55. Schering-Plough Corp
56. Teva Pharmaceuticals USA
57. Twinstrand Therapeutics
58. Uri Mutual
59. Watson Pharmaceuticals

C: JOHN MCCAIN'S HEALTH INSURANCE INDUSTRY LOBBYISTS

11 LOBBYISTS

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Berman, Wayne L. | 5. Green, John | 9. Nelson, Susan |
| 2. Blalock, Kirk | 6. Hull, Kate | 10. Pickering-Finley, Elise |
| 3. Chadwick, Kirsten | 7. Loeffler, Tom | 11. Rickhoff, Hans |
| 4. Fidler, Chris | 8. Metzner, David | |

7 COMPANIES

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Americhoice | 4. Kaiser Permanente | 7. Pacificare |
| 2. Humana | 5. Medco Health Solutions | |
| 3. Independence Blue Cross | 6. Oxford Health Plans | |

D: JOHN MCCAIN'S OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY LOBBYISTS

28 LOBBYISTS

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Anderson, Rebecca | 11. Green, John | 21. Pfothauer, Nancy |
| 2. Berman, Wayne L. | 12. Hart, Vicki | 22. Pickering-Finley, Elise |
| 3. Black, Charles | 13. Hohlt, Richard | 23. Rappoport, Sloan |
| 4. Buse, Mark | 14. Hughey, Gaylord T. | 24. Rickhoff, Hans |
| 5. Calio, Nick | 15. Hyland, Jim | 25. Salmon, Matt |
| 6. Cammack, Kerry | 16. Loeffler, Tom | 26. Weber, Vin |
| 7. Chadwick, Kirsten | 17. Madigan, Peter | 27. Weiss, Jeff |
| 8. Donatelli, Frank | 18. Metzner, David | 28. Zimmer, Dick |
| 9. Edwards, Melissa | 19. Molinari, Susan | |
| 10. Fay, Kevin | 20. Oliver, Jack | |

24 COMPANIES

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Amerada Hess | 10. Kennedy Oil | 19. Shell Oil |
| 2. Ameresco | 11. Koch Industries | 20. Southern Star Central Gas Pipeline |
| 3. Atlantic Richfield Company | 12. Mobil | 21. Sunoco |
| 4. BP Amoco | 13. Occidental International | 22. Tetco |
| 5. Chevron Texaco | 14. Oceaneering International | 23. Trifinery |
| 6. CNOOC | 15. Orion Refining Corp. | 24. Yukos Oil Company |
| 7. El Paso Corporation | 16. Petroport | |
| 8. EOG Resources | 17. Pilgrim's Pride Corp. | |
| 9. Exxon Mobil Corp | 18. Schlumberger | |

E: JOHN MCCAIN'S LOBBYISTS AND FOREIGN CLIENTS

10 LOBBYISTS

1. Black, Charlie
2. Davis, Rick
3. Chadwick, Kirsten
4. Berman, Wayne
5. Burgeson, Eric
6. Donatelli, Frank
7. Loeffler, Tom
8. Madigan, Peter
9. Nelson, Susan
10. Scheunemann, Randy

99 FOREIGN CLIENTS...

1. UNITA
2. Alberto Pierri
3. Matirosyan, Stepan
4. News Corporation, Ltd.
5. Government Of The Bahamas
6. Government Of The Kingdom Of Bahrain
7. Government of Barbados
8. Government of Bermuda
9. Republic of Bolivia
10. Technoexportstroy Ltd.
11. Forest Products Association Of Canada
12. Horsahm Corporation
13. Nordion International
14. CNOOC
15. Avianca, Inc.
16. Colombia Flower Council
17. Noemi Sanin
18. Proexport Colombia
19. Government Of The Republic Of Cote D'ivoire
20. Institute For Financial & Fiscal Studies Of Curacao
21. Republic Of Cyprus
22. Government Of The Republic Of Djibouti
23. Government Of The Dominican Republic
24. Republic of Ecuador
25. Comision Ejecutiva Hidroelectrica del Rio Lempa Cel (El Salvador)
26. Government Of El Salvador
27. Government of Equatorial Guinea
28. Government Of Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia
29. New California Life Holdings, Inc.
30. Government Of Georgia
31. Friendship In Freedom Association
32. Aston Martin Lagonda, LTD. (UK)
33. National Convention For Reconstruction & Development
34. Government Of Greece
35. Government Of Haiti
36. Hong Kong Trade Development Council
37. Government Of Iceland
38. Republic Of India
39. Asosiasi Panel Kayu Indonesia ("Apkindo")
40. Allawi, Ayad
41. Embassy Of The Republic Of Iraq
42. Kurdish Democratic Party - Iraq
43. Vittoria Consultants, Ltd.
44. Magal Security Systems, Ltd.
45. Fiat Ferroviaria
46. Ajinomoto U.S.A., Inc.
47. Eitaro Itoyama
48. Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., Ltd.
49. Mazda
50. Government of Kenya
51. Cheil Industries, Inc.
52. Government Of The Republic Of Korea
53. Intercultural Association Of Korea
54. Korea International Trade Association
55. Korea Silo Company, Ltd.
56. Samsung Corporation
57. Ministry Of The Defense Of The Republic Of Latvia
58. Adcom Group
59. Government Of Liberia
60. Government Of The Republic Of Macedonia
61. Maldives Democratic Party
62. County Of Naucalpan
63. State Of Hidalgo
64. Kingdom Of Morocco
65. Union Of Myanmar State Peace & Development Council (SPDC)
66. Federal Republic Of Nigeria
67. His Excellency Ibrahim Saminu Turaki, Governor Jigawa State
68. Pakistan People's Party
69. Government Of Panama
70. Woolsey Corporation
71. Republic Of Paraguay
72. Country Of Peru
73. Minpeco U.S.A., Inc.
74. Chamber Of Philippine Manufacturers', Exporters' & Tourism
75. League Of Leaders For Philippine Development
76. Union For National Action
77. Republic Of Poland
78. Luso American Foundation For International Relations
79. State Of Qatar
80. Government Of Romania
81. Russian Information Agency
82. Kingdom Of Saudi Arabia
83. Serbia (Through Serbian-American Center)
84. GOVERNMENT OF SOMALIA
85. Government Of St. Lucia

- 86. SGS Control Services, Inc.
- 87. China External Trade Development Council
- 88. Republic Of China
- 89. Taipei Economic & Cultural Representative Office In The U.S. (TECRO)
- 90. Taiwan Research Institute

- 91. Thailand
- 92. Government Of The Republic Of Togo
- 93. Republic Of Trinidad And Tobago
- 94. Agency For Humanitarian Technologies
- 95. Dubai Aerospace Enterprise

- (DAE) Ltd.,
- 96. Executive Office Of His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashad Al Maktoum
- 97. Republic Of Venezuela
- 98. Embassy Of Vietnam
- 99. Government Of Zaire

...IN 72 COUNTRIES

- 1. Angola
- 2. Argentina
- 3. Armenia
- 4. Australia
- 5. Bahamas
- 6. Bahrain
- 7. Barbados
- 8. Bermuda
- 9. Bolivia
- 10. Bulgaria
- 11. Canada
- 12. China
- 13. Colombia
- 14. Cote D'Ivoire/Ivory Coast
- 15. Curacao
- 16. Cyprus
- 17. Djibouti
- 18. Dominican Republic
- 19. Ecuador
- 20. El Salvador
- 21. Equatorial Guinea
- 22. Ethiopia
- 23. France
- 24. Georgia

- 25. Germany
- 26. Great Britain
- 27. Greece
- 28. Haiti
- 29. Hong Kong
- 30. Iceland
- 31. India
- 32. Indonesia
- 33. Iraq
- 34. Isle of Man
- 35. Israel
- 36. Italy
- 37. Japan
- 38. Kenya
- 39. Korea, Republic of
- 40. Latvia
- 41. Lebanon
- 42. Liberia
- 43. Macedonia
- 44. Maldives
- 45. Mexico
- 46. Morocco
- 47. Myanmar/Burma
- 48. Nigeria

- 49. Pakistan
- 50. Panama
- 51. Paraguay
- 52. Peru
- 53. Philippines
- 54. Poland
- 55. Portugal
- 56. Qatar
- 57. Romania
- 58. Russia
- 59. Saudi Arabia
- 60. Serbia
- 61. Somali democratic republic
- 62. St Lucia
- 63. Switzerland
- 64. Taiwan
- 65. Thailand
- 66. Togo
- 67. Trinidad & Tobago
- 68. Ukraine
- 69. United Arab Emirates
- 70. Venezuela
- 71. Vietnam
- 72. Zaire

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