

# KOCH INDUSTRIES: STILL FUELING CLIMATE DENIAL 2011 UPDATE

# GREENPEACE

Greenpeace is an independent campaigning organization that acts to expose global environmental problems and achieve solutions that are essential to a green and peaceful future.

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# Executive Summary

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One year ago, not many knew the name Koch Industries, a publicity-averse private company run by two brothers, David and Charles Koch. The Koch brothers each have an estimated net personal wealth of more than \$21 billion and are now tied for the fifth richest man in America, ranking among the top 20 richest people in the world.<sup>1</sup> A year ago, even reporters at major outlets responded “who?” in conversation about the Koch brothers or Koch Industries. Fortunately, the shroud of secrecy is being lifted.

Greenpeace released the report *Koch Industries: Secretly Funding the Climate Denial Machine* in March, 2010 garnering international media attention. In August, The New Yorker magazine published a ten thousand-word investigation, *Covert Operations: The billionaire brothers who are waging a war against Obama*.<sup>2</sup> David Koch tried to undermine the New Yorker story by placing a rare interview in New York magazine intended to offer a flattering portrait but instead adding fuel to the fire.<sup>3</sup> Now, a growing awareness of these oil billionaires’ destructive agenda has led to increased scrutiny and resistance from people and organizations all over the United States.

In October, The New York Times and ThinkProgress.org revealed documents detailing the secret meetings the Kochs host twice a year to rally their political allies and raise tens of millions of dollars to promote their agenda.<sup>4</sup> Greenpeace research found that the participants of the 2010 Koch meeting in Aspen, Colorado, as exposed by ThinkProgress, have contributed more than \$61 million to political campaigns since 1990.<sup>5</sup> The Koch brothers have thrown their weight around in politics for a long time. Like their father before them—Fred Koch, a free-market ideologue and founder of the John Birch Society—the Koch brothers have an extreme anti-regulatory, indeed anti-governmental agenda. They have founded and funded dozens of think tanks and front groups over the past thirty years, including the Cato Institute, the Mercatus Center, the Heritage Foundation and Americans for Prosperity. The clear intention of these groups is to forward an agenda that puts corporate profits and so called “free markets” ahead of environmental, consumer, health and other protections.

Now the Kochs are being watched as a prime example of the corporate takeover of government. Their funding and co-opting of the Tea Party movement is now well documented. They exemplify the dangers of corporate and wealthy individual spending in our elections, which was

overwhelming even before an enormous campaign finance loophole was opened by the Supreme Court’s decision in the *Citizens United v. FEC* case.<sup>6</sup> Now David Koch is recognized in New York social circles not only for funding the ballet and major museums, but for his all out assault on the Obama Administration, climate and clean energy policies, and other perceived threats to their oil profits and strong political ideology.

## Update: Funding the Denial Machine

Our March 2010 report documented well over \$48 million dollars that David Koch and his brother Charles have quietly funneled to front groups that actively deny global warming science or work to delay policies and regulations aimed at solving the crisis. Over half of that money has been donated since 2005, as climate change policy rose in prominence.

This update of our 2010 report reveals that the Kochs’ funding of the climate denial machine continued apace in 2009, the latest year for which Koch foundation tax forms are available. In 2009, they contributed over \$6.4 million dollars to some 40 organizations that continue to deny the scientific consensus on global warming while attempting to slow or block policies to solve the climate crisis. The Koch foundations continue to fund their favorite organizations like the Cato Institute and the Heritage Foundation.

## Findings:

- **In 2009 Koch family foundations gave \$6.4 million to organizations that are part of the climate denial machine, raising the total sum given to these groups since 1997 to \$55.2 million. \$31.6 million of that total has been spent in the last five years for which financial data is available (2005-2009).**
- **The biggest recipients of Koch foundations funding in 2009 included the Institute for Humane Studies, the Mercatus Center, Americans for Prosperity, the Heritage Foundation and the Cato Institute.**
- **Americans for Prosperity has now received over \$5.6 million in documented donations from the Koch foundations.**

# Executive Summary



## Update: Political Contributions

Koch Industries is now the largest political spender of the entire energy sector since the 2000 election cycle, beating heavyweights ExxonMobil, Southern Company, American Electric Power and Chevron.<sup>7</sup>

Koch Industries ranked among the top energy sector campaign spenders during the 2010 election cycle.

### Findings:

- In 2010, Koch PAC sent \$2.6 million to candidates and incumbents and to the leadership PACs of those same politicians, raising its total campaign spending since the 2008 election cycle to \$5.2 million, the largest campaign finance outlay over that time period of any oil company. Ninety two percent of 2010 Koch donations at the federal level went to Republicans.
- In 2010, Charles Koch, David Koch, and their wives spent over \$350,000 on direct individual campaign committee and party committee contributions at the federal level, raising their total individual donations since 2004 to over \$922,000.
- Koch Industries spent \$424,000 on 76 House candidates in 2010 who received endorsements from astroturf tea party groups Americans for Prosperity, FreedomWorks or the Tea Party Express. Sixty eight of these 76 candidates were elected.
- Of the eleven freshman Senators who publicly question settled climate science, ten received funding from Koch Industries in 2010, and eight of them signed the Americans for Prosperity “No Climate Tax Pledge” to obstruct policy solutions to climate change. Of the 38 freshman Representatives who deny climate science, 22 received Koch PAC funding in 2010, and all 38 signed the AFP pledge.
- Koch Industries funneled over \$600,000 in 2010 state political contributions, raising its total state-level political expenditures from 2003–2010 to \$1.89 million.

## Update: Lobbying Expenditures

Our 2010 report found that Koch Industries lobbying expenditures totaled \$37.9 million dollars since 2006. Updated lobbying expenditure data and 2010 totals have shown a substantial increase to that figure.

### Findings:

- **Koch Industries has spent over \$49.5 million dollars on lobbying since 2006, with peak lobbying spending in 2008 of over \$20 million. In 2010, Koch spent \$8,070,000 on lobbyists who continued to prowl the halls of Congress.**

## Update: New Case Studies in Global Warming Denial

This report delivers three new case studies of Koch-funded global warming denial and obstruction to add to the five case studies in our 2010 report.

First is the Proposition 23 ballot resolution fight in California where Koch joined other out-of-state oil companies to bankroll an effort to handcuff the state’s global warming law. They eventually lost at the ballot box because of a collective voter education effort across the state. Koch front groups orchestrated an effort to discredit the law that Proposition 23 would have suspended.

Second, we document a similar Koch-funded attack on the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, a greenhouse gas reduction program organized by ten northeastern and mid-Atlantic states.

Third, we have compiled a dossier on Koch connections with right wing and conservative media outlets and pundits. We are able to draw a picture of part of the Koch echo chamber from public records including the recently revealed list of attendees from the summer 2010 private Koch meeting in Colorado, where Glenn Beck and other prominent media personalities and owners were in attendance.

# Case Studies

## KOCH INDUSTRIES BACKS CALIFORNIA PROPOSITION 23

### Brief:

Koch Industries played a key role in funding Proposition 23, a California ballot initiative intended to block state commitments to reduce global warming pollution and promote the growth of the state's clean energy economy. The *Yes on 23* campaign raised \$10.6 million, over ninety two percent of which came from petroleum and energy companies, including over \$4 million from Valero Energy, \$1.5 million from Tesoro Corporation and \$1 million from Koch Industries subsidiary Flint Hills Resources.<sup>8</sup> Koch Industries also supported the Proposition through industry front groups, including the California chapter of Americans for Prosperity, which advertised heavily to support Prop 23, and the Pacific Research Institute, which published and circulated flawed economic studies of California's climate and energy legislation. Proposition 23 garnered national media attention and was defeated in the November, 2010 election by a grassroots voter education effort across the state.

### Full Scoop:

Known as the Global Warming Solutions Act, or AB 32, California's climate and energy bill was signed into law in 2006. The main provisions of AB 32 include an incremental roadmap to reduce California's greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by 2020<sup>9</sup> and implementation of a 33% renewable energy standard.<sup>10</sup> The economic benefits of AB 32 have been repeatedly documented.<sup>11</sup>

On September 20, 2010, Koch Industries' wholly-owned subsidiary,<sup>12</sup> Flint Hills Resources, gave one million dollars to the *Yes on 23* campaign.<sup>13</sup> Passage of Proposition 23 would have stalled the application of the Global Warming Solutions Act until state unemployment dropped to 5.5% and remained so for a full year, a level only achieved three times over the last forty years.<sup>14</sup>



Koch Industries supplemented their effort to promote Proposition 23 with a \$10,000 contribution to California Republican Senate candidate Carly Fiorina, while \$9,600 in additional campaign funding was donated directly to Fiorina from the Kochs and their wives.<sup>15</sup> Fiorina endorsed the Prop 23 campaign in early September, but lost her election campaign against Democratic incumbent Barbara Boxer.<sup>16</sup>



As attention was drawn to the money Koch Industries spent on Proposition 23, it became clear that the conglomerate was supporting Prop 23 through other outlets as well. The Kochs relied on cogs in the climate denial machine they fund to broadcast a false association between AB 32 and the state's economic troubles.

The California chapter of a Koch-founded and -financed astroturf group, Americans for Prosperity (AFP), made passing Prop 23 their "highest priority."<sup>17</sup> AFP ran promotional ads and held a "No Jobs Fair" at a Republican National Committee rally to support the Proposition.<sup>18</sup>

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A second industry front group took a different approach. The San Francisco-based Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy (PRI), which has received over \$1.2 million from the Kochs since 1997 and hundreds of thousands of dollars from ExxonMobil, was at the forefront of attacks on California's climate and energy law.<sup>19</sup>

PRI recycled a widely debunked "*Spanish Study*"<sup>20</sup> (an attack on the renewable energy industry) in order to discredit California's efforts to create more clean energy jobs. PRI promoted another study that drew widespread criticism: "The Cost of AB32 on California Small Businesses," written by Sanjay B. Varshney and Dennis H. Tootelian.<sup>21</sup> Other Koch-funded groups, including the Heritage Foundation and the California chapter of Americans for Prosperity touted the discredited 'The Cost of AB32' report and its data.<sup>22</sup>

One month before the November elections, PRI published its own report,<sup>23</sup> authored by in-house economist Benjamin Zycher, who has ties to other Koch-funded groups including the Manhattan Institute and the Cato Institute.<sup>24</sup> Zycher's report was paid for by the oil-financed *Yes on 23* campaign through a \$40,000 research grant.<sup>25</sup> Zycher denied knowledge of the report's funding and challenged his critics to "point to an error in the paper."<sup>26</sup> Although errors in methodology have been publicly presented,<sup>27</sup> neither Zycher nor PRI has addressed them. The Zycher study was also disseminated by the Koch-backed Reason Foundation, based in Los Angeles.<sup>28</sup>



Koch Industries' motivation to attack AB 32 runs deeper than the precedent California is setting by reducing global warming pollution. A specific AB 32 provision of particular concern to Koch Industries is the adoption of a low carbon fuel standard (LCFS).<sup>29</sup> LCFS is a policy option designed to phase out the most carbon-intensive fuels, something extractors and refiners of the dirtiest fuels oppose. Koch is heavily invested in the tar sands<sup>30</sup> in Alberta, Canada through Flint Hills' Pine Bend Refinery in Minnesota, which was "specifically designed" to refine Canada's synthetic crude,<sup>31</sup> and through the operations of another subsidiary, Koch Exploration Company.<sup>32</sup>



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### KOCH FRONT GROUPS ATTACK RGGI – THE NORTHEAST REGIONAL GREENHOUSE GAS INITIATIVE

#### Brief:

Koch front groups campaigned against the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI), a market-based cap-and-trade program established in 2007 by ten U.S. Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from power plants. Koch-funded front groups – led by Americans for Prosperity (AFP)—joined right wing mouthpieces like Glenn Beck and others who labeled RGGI a “cap and tax” initiative. Conservative activist Clint Woods of the Koch-funded American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) stated that RGGI and other regional cap-and-trade regimes had become the “new battlefield” since federal climate legislation was defeated.<sup>33</sup> ALEC has provided template legislation for states across the country to pull out of regional climate accords such as RGGI and the Western Climate Initiative. The Kochs have already had success in New Hampshire where, on February 28, 2011, the state’s House Republicans voted to leave the RGGI program in a veto-proof vote.

Despite supporting campaigns against RGGI, a Koch subsidiary participated in the very first RGGI trade of physical carbon allowances. As a Koch Supply and Trading spokesperson said, “Koch has participated in the RGGI market since its inception.”<sup>34</sup>

#### Full Scoop:

The Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI—pronounced “Reggie”) is a market-based cap-and-trade program established in 2007 by ten Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states (CT, DE, ME, MD, MA, NJ, NH, NY, RI and VT) to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from power plants. In just over two years, RGGI states raised over \$770 million, putting most of the proceeds into clean energy development, home weatherization and other conservation programs that reduce energy consumption and lower energy bills.

#### Spreading Lies About a “Stealth Tax”

By the middle of 2010 Americans for Prosperity (AFP) and other Koch allies began protesting at RGGI offices and attacking the program as a “stealth tax” that threatens to raise electricity rates so high that they will sap the nation’s economic strength.<sup>35</sup>

AFP offers little evidence to back the charge. RGGI allowances account for 0.4% to 1% of average electricity bills across the region, or about 73 cents per month.<sup>36</sup> Under the RGGI program, ratepayers end out saving \$3 to \$4 for every dollar invested.<sup>37</sup>



Utility officials agree that RGGI has had a tiny effect on electric bills. Early projections were that RGGI would add \$3 to the average household bill in 2015. The actual cost has been less than that, according to the New Jersey-based Public Service Enterprise Group (PSEG), one of the ten largest electric companies in the U.S.<sup>38</sup>

#### Deliberate Strategy

According to Gavin Donohue, executive director of Independent Power Producers of New York, an industry lobby, the program was targeted by critics because of its potential to help build momentum for a national cap-and-trade climate program.

This strategy was confirmed in September, 2010 by conservative activist Clint Woods of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), who said RGGI and other regional cap-and-trade regimes have become the “new battlefield” since federal climate legislation was derailed.<sup>39</sup> ALEC, which has created template legislation for state lawmakers to use as a way to back out of regional climate accords,<sup>40</sup> received \$125,000 from the Koch brothers’ Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation in 2009 and has received donations totaling \$533,000 from the Koch foundations since 1997. Koch Industries consultant and former executive Mike Morgan sits on ALEC’s Private Enterprise Board, and Wall Street Journal



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editorial board member Stephen Moore, who has attended the Koch brother's political strategy meetings (see page 8), is on ALEC's Board of Scholars.<sup>41</sup>

After two states diverted a substantial portion of the RGGI program's revenues for other purposes in 2010 (\$65 million in New Jersey and \$90 million in New York), AFP and others began to focus its attacks on the program as a "stealth tax" that should be scrapped altogether.<sup>42</sup>

Environmentalists agree that RGGI revenues should not be diverted, especially since the programs have created thousands of clean energy jobs. According to RGGI officials, 80 percent of the revenues have gone to energy-efficiency and related programs, as intended.<sup>43</sup> Peter Shattuck, a carbon trading analyst with Environment Northeast, told NPR's Robert Siegel, "the vast majority" of RGGI funds had gone to hundreds of renewable energy and conservation projects, including putting solar panels on schools and helping low-income families insulate their homes.<sup>44</sup>

### New Hampshire Legislators Target RGGI

In 2008, New Hampshire committed to cut CO2 emissions from power plants 10% by 2018.

NH was one of the founding states of the RGGI program, with its first auctions taking place in 2009. Since then, the state has awarded over \$31 million to 36 different energy efficiency projects and programs.<sup>45</sup>

In the 2010 elections, the GOP took over the House, winning 297 of 400 seats, along with 19 of the 24 Senate seats, creating a majority that has not happened since 1962.<sup>46</sup> Six

New Hampshire state Representatives have signed AFP's "No Climate Tax" pledge, which dissuades lawmakers from supporting legislation designed to implement solutions to global warming.<sup>47</sup> Among state candidates who signed a separate "Anti-Tax Pledge," also created by AFP, which more broadly opposed taxes and government spending, was House speaker William O'Brien.<sup>48</sup>

O'Brien then spearheaded the GOP campaign to take down the RGGI program, and on February 23, 2011 New Hamp-



shire's House voted to repeal RGGI with a majority that ruled out a veto by the governor. The repeal legislation received full support from AFP, with NH state director Corey R. Lewandowski claiming in January that RGGI money "was taken by regulators from consumers in the form of higher electricity bills and then redistributed to environmental special interests friendly to the politicians in power."<sup>49</sup>

The weekend before the vote, Americans for Prosperity paid for automated "robo calls" across the state urging the vote against RGGI.<sup>50</sup>

In an opinion piece for FoxNews.com after the vote, Lewandowski and AFP policy director Phil Kerpen hailed the vote as "one giant leap forward," saying it would raise the pressure against similar efforts in New Jersey.<sup>51</sup>

### New Jersey Legislative and Political Attack

Americans for Prosperity has been promoting legislation

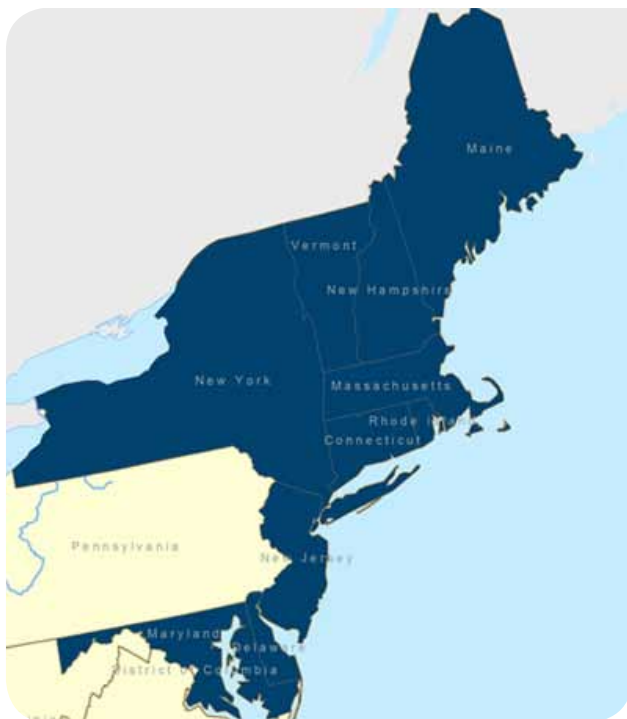


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in New Jersey that would yank the state out of the RGGI climate compact, while pressuring Gov. Christie to issue an executive order that would do the same. Although Christie has quietly maintained his support for RGGI (he has used RGGI proceeds to help develop the state's offshore wind program), AFP and its allies have threatened to oppose any future presidential nomination bid if he refuses to change his position. "It's difficult for him to be a credible option for conservatives nationally if he doesn't take a stand on cap and trade, and that's why we think we'll be able to appeal to him," AFP policy director and Fox News columnist Phil Kerpen told Politico.<sup>52</sup>

In 2010, AFP organized a series of anti-RGGI rallies in

### **STATES PARTICIPATING OR OBSERVING THE REGIONAL GREENHOUSE GAS INITIATIVE**



New Jersey and outside the RGGI's auction house in New York City. At the New York rally, AFP's New Jersey State Director Steve Lonegan declared that RGGI is "the biggest conspiracy between the public sector, big banks and government that Americans have ever seen and you—the ratepayers—are going to pay the price." Lonegan went on to blast the two-year-old program as "sketchy, shadowy, clandestine and top-secret" to a booning crowd of AFP supporters.<sup>53</sup>

Before organizing the protest, Lonegan and AFP do not appear to have checked the list of prospective auction bidders, which included Koch Supply and Trading of Wichita, KS, a subsidiary of Koch Industries, AFP's key backer. Koch traders proudly purchased the very first trade of physical carbon allowances made at a RGGI auction in 2008.<sup>54</sup> According to the *Albany Times Union*, Koch's traders took part in at least three of RGGI's first nine credit auctions—including the auction that AFP recently protested as "secretive". As a Koch Supply and Trading spokesperson said "Koch has participated in the RGGI market since its inception."<sup>55</sup>

Ironically, the David H. Koch Institute at the Massachusetts Institute for Technology has received a fifth of its funding for energy efficiency from the RGGI program.<sup>56</sup>

Despite RGGI's positive impact on Koch companies and outlets, Americans for Prosperity has continued its assault on regional climate initiatives in numerous other states, complimenting the template legislation provided by the American Legislative Exchange Council and political support from the Koch-funded Heritage Foundation.<sup>57</sup>



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### THE KOCHTOPUS MEDIA NETWORK

A memo obtained by ThinkProgress.org in October, 2010 revealed an extensive guest list of business and political elites who attended the Koch brothers' secretive biannual strategy meeting in Aspen, Colorado.<sup>58</sup> The Aspen meeting occurred in June, 2010, four months before the memo was revealed. Many of the elite attendees represented at this meeting provide the Koch network with tremendous propaganda power through their ownership positions and ties to major media outlets.<sup>59</sup>

The Koch influence on this sector of media outlets is particularly apparent in their repeated publication of articles defending Koch Industries from increased public scrutiny over the last year, especially following the Aspen meeting.<sup>60</sup>

Some of the attendees with major media influence in Aspen were:

#### **GLENN BECK—Fox News and talk radio program host.**

Beck was a featured speaker at the secret Koch Industries meeting in Aspen. Shortly afterwards, Beck credited Charles Koch during a segment of his show mocking an Al Gore presentation of climate trends.<sup>61</sup> Glenn Beck has also worked in cooperation with Americans for Prosperity (AFP) to coordinate Tea Party rallies and provide material for his broadcasts.<sup>62</sup> Beck publicly defended AFP on air after President Obama's characterization of the group as a front for "a big oil company."<sup>63</sup> Americans for Prosperity has received over \$5.6 million from Koch foundations in the last five years.

#### **STEPHEN MOORE—Wall Street Journal editorial board member and senior economics writer and former President of the Club for Growth.**<sup>64</sup>

Moore has ties to the Heritage Foundation and the Cato Institute, two of the top Koch beneficiaries, and was a *National Review* magazine contributing editor.<sup>65</sup>

The *Wall Street Journal's* opinion section serves as a podium for prominent skeptics with ties to the Kochtopus, such as Richard Lindzen and Patrick Michaels.<sup>66</sup> Michaels, the champion denier of the Cato Institute and other Koch-backed institutions, used the *Wall Street Journal's* opinion section to continue pushing "climategate" even after



scientists were exonerated by formal investigations. Michaels himself is coming under scrutiny for being dishonest during a 2009 Congressional testimony about the funding he receives from the oil industry.<sup>67</sup>

Between moving to the *Wall Street Journal* and being forced out of the Club for Growth, Moore founded the Free Enterprise Fund with Arthur Laffer and Mallory Factor, both former Club for Growth directors.<sup>68</sup> Arthur Laffer's Laffer Center for Global Economic Growth is tied to Koch Industries through its Vice Chairman, Richard Fink, and Executive Director Wayne Gable, both prominent Koch executives, and a \$100,000 grant from the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation in 2009.<sup>69</sup>

Moore is also a frequent commentator on CNBC's Kudlow & Co. and Fox News' On the Record with Greta van Susteren.<sup>70</sup>

#### **PHILIP ANSCHUTZ—Owner of the Washington Examiner, the San Francisco Examiner, Examiner.com and the Weekly Standard, via Clarity Media Group.**<sup>71</sup>

Philip Anschutz, CEO of the Anschutz Corporation, has served on the boards of both the American Petroleum Institute and the National Petroleum Council and has ties to Union Pacific Railroad and Forest Oil.<sup>72</sup> He owns the Oil & Gas Asset Clearinghouse, an industry auction house.<sup>73</sup> Anschutz founded telecommunications company Qwest, owns the Regal Entertainment theater chain and NRC broadcasting, which operates a string of radio stations in Colorado.<sup>74</sup>

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Anschutz's Clarity Media Group has played a flagship role in standing up for the billionaire Kochs over the last year. Since the Aspen meeting, pro-Koch publications from both Examiner.com and the *Weekly Standard* have been featured on Koch Industries' "Koch Facts" webpage,<sup>75</sup> created to dismiss allegations of Koch's various unsavory business practices. Clarity's outlets also published articles attacking Greenpeace after our March, 2010 release of *Koch Industries: Secretly Funding the Climate Denial Movement*.<sup>76</sup>

The *Weekly Standard*, which published a lengthy defense of the Koch brothers in March, 2011,<sup>77</sup> has also been a promoter of so-called "climategate" emails.<sup>78</sup> The magazine has served as a platform for prominent career climate skeptics Steven Hayward and Kenneth Green of the Koch-funded American Enterprise Institute (AEI).<sup>79</sup>

Forbes estimates that Anschutz is the 34th richest American, just above Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg, with a net worth of seven billion dollars.<sup>80</sup>



**CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER**—*Washington Post* syndicated columnist, pundit and contributor to the *Weekly Standard* and *Town Hall Magazine*.<sup>81</sup>

Krauthammer is a fervent climate obstructionist who refers to global warming as a "religion," and more broadly claims that "scientists are flip floppers, constantly changing their theories."<sup>82</sup> Krauthammer focuses on vilifying environmentalists and political icon Al Gore, rather than debating actual climate scientists, in attempts to cast doubt upon the science of global warming.<sup>83</sup> His disregard for accurate climate science

is demonstrated by his references to Czech President Vaclav Klaus.<sup>84</sup> Klaus, a notorious climate science denier, was a keynote speaker at the 2009 International Conference on Climate Change. This event, run by the Heartland Institute, was a who's who of career skeptic scientists and pseudo-experts for hire, working for institutions heavily funded by Koch foundations and ExxonMobil, among other polluters and associated foundations.<sup>85</sup>

**MICHAEL BARONE**—Resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, paid Senior Political Analyst for the *Washington Examiner*, and Fox News commentator.<sup>86</sup>

Barone was formerly a senior writer with *U.S. News & World Report*, an outlet that has come to the Kochs' defense,<sup>87</sup> and a member of the *Washington Post* editorial board. Barone is also the principal coauthor of the *Almanac of American Politics*, published annually by the National Journal Group.<sup>88</sup> The American Enterprise Institute, which has received \$150,000 from Koch foundations and over \$2.8 million from ExxonMobil since 1997, has used its *American* blog since the Aspen meeting to defend Koch Industries.<sup>89</sup>

**TIMOTHY CARNEY**—Lobbying editor and senior political columnist for the *Washington Examiner* and author of *Obamanomics*.<sup>90</sup>

Carney has written articles specifically justifying his presence at the Koch meeting in Aspen, using them to defend the private conglomerate. Despite shielding the Koch brothers in his writing, Carney claims to have spoken at the Aspen meeting on, "the evils of corporate welfare and bailouts, and the destructive influence of the Big Business lobby in Washington."<sup>91</sup> Koch Industries has spent over \$49 million on federal lobbying since 2006—see pg. 15. Carney also disclosed that he has been paid by the Institute for Humane Studies (IHS) for speaking events. The George Mason University-based IHS received over \$2.4 million from the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation in 2009.

Carney's writing often promotes Senator James DeMint (R-SC),<sup>92</sup> one of the Kochs' favorite Senators, who has also attended Koch Industries strategy meetings and has received at least \$76,000 from the Kochs and company PAC since 2004 (see pg. 21). Carney's columns have passionately discouraged environmentally sound considerations, such as improved lighting efficiency standards.

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**RAMESH PONNURU**—Senior editor for *National Review* magazine and contributor to the *Weekly Standard*, *Reason* magazine, the *New York Times*, *TIME* and other major print and television news outlets.<sup>93</sup>

The *National Review Online* is host to the “Planet Gore” blog, a space dedicated to climate science misinformation.<sup>94</sup> Contributors from Koch-funded institutions include but are not limited to:

- Chris Horner and Iain Murray of the Competitive Enterprise Institute<sup>95</sup>
- Patrick Michaels and Jerry Taylor of the Cato Institute<sup>96</sup>
- Jim Manzi of the Manhattan Institute<sup>97</sup>
- Jonathan Adler of the Federalist Society, with ties to the Competitive Enterprise Institute, and the Property and Environment Research Center<sup>98</sup>
- Deroy Murdock, who has ties to the Cato and Manhattan Institutes, the Heritage Foundation, and the Institute for Humane Studies<sup>99</sup>
- Steven Hayward of the American Enterprise Institute, Pacific Research Foundation, Institute for Energy Research, with ties to the Cato Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Reason Foundation and *Reason* magazine<sup>100</sup>
- Tim Phillips and Phil Kerpen of Americans for Prosperity<sup>101</sup>

**NANCY PFOTENHAUER**—President of PR firm Media-Speak Strategies, TV pundit and former Senior Policy Advisor and spokesperson for the 2008 John McCain presidential campaign.<sup>102</sup>

Pfotenhauer was a lobbyist for Koch Industries in its Washington, DC office before becoming the President, CEO and later Vice Chairwoman of the Independent Women’s Forum, which has received almost \$500,000 from Koch foundations since 1997. She also was Executive Vice President of Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE), which was established by Charles Koch and affiliate Richard Fink and was propelled by \$13 million in grants from Koch foundations.<sup>103</sup> After CSE split into FreedomWorks and Americans for Prosperity (AFP), Pfotenhauer served as President and CEO of AFP.<sup>104</sup>

While studying at George Mason University for a graduate degree in economics, Pfotenhauer served as a research assistant to Walter Williams, a substitute host on the Rush Limbaugh Show.<sup>105</sup> Williams is also director of the Americans for Prosperity Foundation, the Cato Institute, and the Reason Foundation.<sup>106</sup>



**FOSTER FRIESS**—Billionaire Republican investor who spent \$3 million to help launch the *Daily Caller*.<sup>107</sup>

The *Daily Caller* abandoned an attempt to accuse the *New Yorker*’s Jane Mayer of plagiarism, including in her comprehensive expose of Koch Industries.<sup>108</sup> Tucker Carlson, who runs the *Daily Caller*, is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, which has received over \$5.5 million from Koch foundations since 1997. Charles Koch co-founded Cato, and Cato’s directors include David Koch and Kevin Gentry of the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation.<sup>109</sup>

**ARTHUR BROOKS**—President and Director of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI).

Brooks’ influence as the head of AEI leads to frequent media exposure, including through other outlets financed by Koch Foundations (the *American Spectator* and the Reason Foundation) or tied to Koch through other attendees at the Aspen meeting (*Washington Examiner*, *Wall Street Journal* editorials, *National Review*, and *Daily Caller*).<sup>110</sup> Also on AEI’s Board: former Vice President and ex-Halliburton CEO Dick Cheney.<sup>111</sup>



**JEFF CRANK**—Radio pundit and Colorado State Director of Americans for Prosperity.<sup>112</sup>

The Jeff Crank show on Colorado station KVOR AM 720 is promoted as a “weekly respite from socialism.”<sup>113</sup> Crank led AFP Colorado at a tea party rally in early 2010 in cooperation with the Independence Institute, which has received \$141,000 from Koch foundations since 1997.<sup>114</sup>

**GRETCHEN HAMEL**—Former Bush administration spokesperson, Executive Director of Public Notice and founder of PR firm Endeavour Global Strategies.<sup>115</sup>

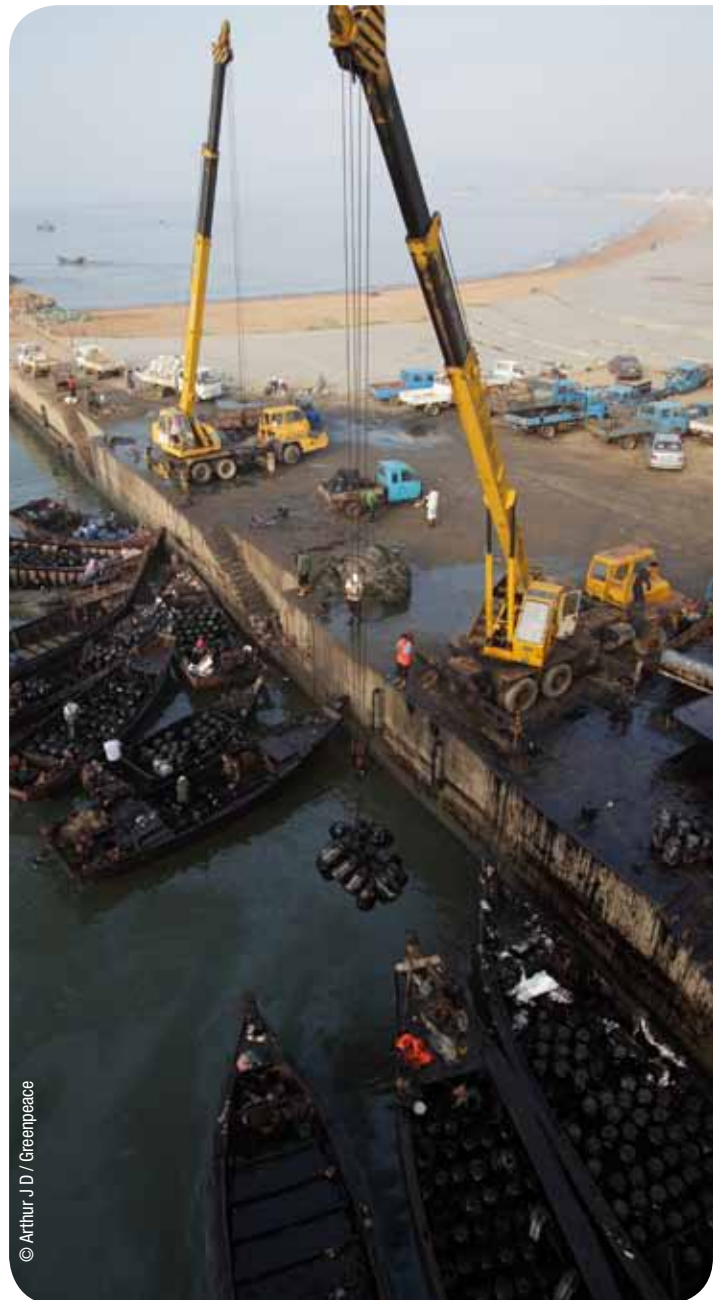
Through Public Notice, which is currently devoted to an anti-government spending campaign, Hamel has widespread influence through her work with “the editorial boards of all the nation’s leading daily newspapers, including *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, and with specialty entertainment and news programs such as Oprah, Lou Dobbs Tonight and 60 Minutes.”<sup>116</sup>

**STAN S. HUBBARD**—chairman and CEO of Hubbard Broadcasting Inc.

Hubbard Broadcasting owns a variety of TV and radio stations in Minnesota, Wisconsin, New Mexico and New York. Through a \$505 million purchase of 17 radio stations from Bonneville International, Hubbard is significantly expanding its radio presence in the District of Columbia, Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. This purchase includes WTOP, a major Washington, DC news station with the nation’s second highest 2010 radio station revenue, as well as WFED, which appeals primarily to federal employees and contractors.<sup>117</sup>

**PETER WALLISON**—American Enterprise Institute scholar and pundit on economic issues.<sup>118</sup>

The Kochs also gave \$4,500 to the *American Spectator* in 2009. The *American Spectator* includes writing by denier Pat Michaels, the Competitive Enterprise Institute’s Chris Horner, and Paul Chesser of the John Locke Foundation. The John Locke Foundation is a recipient of funding from the Kochs and Art Pope.<sup>119</sup> Pope has contributed over \$24 million to organizations that deny climate change and is on the boards of Americans for Prosperity and its associated Foundation.<sup>120</sup>



# Koch Climate Opposition Funding

## TOTAL KOCH FOUNDATION FUNDING

**\$31,670,444**

**RECENTLY CONTRIBUTED TO CLIMATE OPPOSITION GROUPS, BETWEEN 2005–2009**

**\$55,288,018**

**TOTAL CONTRIBUTED TO CLIMATE OPPOSITION GROUPS, BETWEEN 1997–2009**

DATA FOR KOCH FOUNDATION DONATIONS IN 2009 CAN BE FOUND ON THE [GREENPEACE INVESTIGATIONS WEBSITE](#)

In our 2010 report, ***KOCH INDUSTRIES: SECRETLY FUNDING THE CLIMATE DENIAL MACHINE***, funding to climate denial organizations from the Kochs were calculated from 1997 to 2008, and are described in detail in that report (pp. 21–28). Koch foundation tax records from 2009 shows that the Kochs contributed an additional \$6.4 million to organizations that are part of the climate denial machine.

In total, the Koch foundations have spent over \$55 million on grants to climate denial groups since 1997. Over \$31 million of this figure was spent from 2005 to 2009. Over the same period of time, ExxonMobil provided \$10.2 million to groups with similar activities.

Koch Foundations climate denial Funding, '97–2009

| Organization  | Total 1997–2009 | Total 2005–2009 |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty         | \$348,750       | \$203,750       |
| American Council for Capital Formation                        | \$325,000       | \$315,000       |
| American Council on Science and Health                        | \$155,000       | \$155,000       |
| American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research      | \$150,000       | \$100,000       |
| American Legislative Exchange Council                         | \$533,000       | \$200,000       |
| Americans for Prosperity Foundation                           | \$5,610,781     | \$5,610,781     |
| Americans for Tax Reform                                      | \$60,000        | \$40,000        |
| Atlas Economic Research Foundation                            | \$161,100       | \$152,600       |
| Ayn Rand Institute (ARI)                                      | \$25,000        | \$25,000        |
| Capital Research Center                                       | \$640,000       | \$110,000       |
| Cato Institute, The   | \$5,528,400     | \$1,278,400     |
| Center for Freedom & Prosperity Foundation                    | \$54,266        | \$54,266        |
| Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change      | \$85,000        | \$60,000        |
| Collegians for a Constructive Tomorrow                        | \$12,285        | \$12,285        |
| Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives        | \$84,532        | \$84,532        |
| Competitive Enterprise Institute                              | \$511,746       | \$40,326        |
| Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies          | \$1,931,999     | \$723,799       |
| Foundation for Economic Education                             | \$27,592        | \$27,592        |
| Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment FREE | \$1,525,000     | \$430,000       |
| Fraser Institute, The   | \$350,500       | \$350,500       |
| FreedomWorks (formerly Citizens for a Sound Economy)          | \$6,510,375     | —               |
| Frontiers of Freedom  | \$175,000       | \$150,000       |
| George C. Marshall Institute                                  | \$310,000       | \$280,000       |
| Goldwater Institute   | \$75,000        | \$70,427        |
| Heartland Institute   | \$30,000        | —               |
| Heritage Foundation, The                                      | \$3,976,571     | \$2,238,571     |
| Independence Institute  | \$141,000       | \$85,000        |
| Independent Women's Forum                                     | \$485,000       | \$440,000       |
| Institute for Energy Research                                 | \$235,000       | \$175,000       |
| Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University         | \$6,384,548     | \$4,428,091     |
| James Madison Institute                                       | \$121,924       | \$121,924       |
| John Locke Foundation   | \$122,472       | \$47,472        |
| Mackinac Center for Public Policy                             | \$84,151        | \$79,151        |
| Manhattan Institute for Policy Research                       | \$1,525,000     | \$1,000,000     |
| Media Research Center   | \$15,005        | \$14,030        |
| Mercatus Center, George Mason University                      | \$10,524,500    | \$9,847,500     |
| National Center for Policy Analysis                           | \$595,000       | \$155,000       |
| National Taxpayers Union Foundation                           | \$32,500        | \$5,000         |
| Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy                  | \$1,200,000     | \$460,000       |
| Property and Environment Research Center                      | \$213,144       | \$108,644       |
| Reason Foundation   | \$1,786,509     | \$285,309       |
| State Policy Network  | \$39,000        | \$30,000        |
| Tax Foundation  | \$637,369       | \$437,369       |
| Texas Pubic Policy Foundation                                 | \$493,999       | \$383,125       |
| Washington Legal Foundation                                   | \$1,455,000     | \$855,000       |

# Koch Climate Opposition Funding

## UPDATE: ADDITIONAL KOCH-FUNDED CLIMATE DENIAL ORGANIZATIONS

### AYN RAND INSTITUTE



Koch Funding in 2009: \$25,000

Based in Irvine, California, the Ayn Rand Institute (ARI) is dedicated to laissez faire capitalism and the pursuit of self-interest as developed by Russian-American author Ayn Rand. ARI's writers have referred to a climate science report published by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) as "a lie," and have cited the notoriously fabricated "Oregon Petition."<sup>121</sup> The Oregon Petition was created by the Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine in cooperation with the George C. Marshall Institute, a notable recipient of Koch and Exxon money, to look like official NAS material. Some scientists signed the petition assuming it was indeed created by NAS, others signed with the backing of the oil industry, and some names were simply fictional characters lifted from the show M\*A\*S\*H\* and elsewhere.<sup>122</sup>

ARI Senior Fellow Keith Lockitch, who spoke at the Heartland Institute's 2009 International Conference on Climate Change, authored a paper denouncing the viability of clean energy and simultaneously denying the scientific consensus of climate change despite arguing that "development under capitalism has actually made us safer from climate-related risks than ever before in human history."<sup>123</sup>

### ACTON INSTITUTE



Koch Funding in 2009: \$153,750

The Acton Institute, which has received over \$500,000 from ExxonMobil, is an institution that claims to be guided by "Judeo-Christian truths." Acton operates out of Grand Rapids, Michigan and Rome, Italy.<sup>124</sup> The Acton Institute is intended to counter evangelical Christians who have publicly expressed the need to address climate change with urgency, citing the fabricated "Oregon Petition" and Bjorn Lomborg, a widely known pseudo-scholar who mainly tours among organizations promoting climate skepticism.<sup>125</sup>

Acton's media director, Jay W. Richards, states, "climate is changing all the time, the real question is if humans are causing it."<sup>126</sup> Richards also has ties to the Cato Institute and sits on the Board of Advisors for the Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT), one of the most vocal anti-environmental fronts for the petrochemical and biotechnology industries.<sup>127</sup> Acton's governing boards reveals other Koch connections through Dr. Alejandro A. Chafuen of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation and Michael Novak of the American Enterprise Institute, as well as affiliates of Amoco (BP) and Wolverine Gas and Oil.



### CENTER FOR FREEDOM & PROSPERITY FOUNDATION

Koch Funding in 2009: \$54,266

Located in Alexandria, Virginia, the Center for Freedom & Prosperity (CF&P) and its associated Foundation have taken adamant positions against global warming science as part of a pro-big business mission "to lobby lawmakers in favor of market liberalization."<sup>128</sup> CF&P's Dan Mitchell helped disseminate the manufactured "climategate" story of stolen emails in 2009, and claims that organizations and businesses striving to find solutions to climate change "have invested money in the scam and they will not give up."<sup>129</sup> The think tank defended ExxonMobil when Senators Jay Rockefeller and Olympia Snowe asked them to stop funding climate deniers and applauded oil supermajors BP and ConocoPhillips for pulling out of the "statist" U.S. Climate Action Partnership, a coalition that intended to pass global warming legislation.<sup>130</sup>

The CF&P Foundation's board reveals numerous connections to other climate change deniers funded by the Kochs.<sup>131</sup> Director John Blundell has ties to the Fraser Institute and the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and sits on the Board of the Institute for Humane Studies (IHS) at George Mason University. IHS is one of Charles Koch's most heavily funded projects—he granted \$2.5 million to IHS in 2009 on top of a previous \$4 million from Koch foundations since 1997. Blundell was also president of both the Charles G. Koch and Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundations, which finance IHS, Atlas, the Fraser Institute, and the Center for Freedom and Prosperity. Other directors are affiliated with the Cato Institute, the Mercatus Center, the Heritage Foundation, and the defunct Citizens for a Sound Economy, which split into FreedomWorks and Americans for Prosperity.



# Koch Climate Opposition Funding

## COLLEGIANS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE TOMORROW



Koch Funding in 2009: \$12,285

Collegians for a Constructive Tomorrow, or CFACT Campus, is the university arm of the Committee for A Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT). CFACT students purport to be pro-environment operating under the slogan “a smarter future for people...and nature too!” CFACT students paradoxically run small-scale environmentally themed events, such as beach clean ups, while disrupting international climate negotiations and supporting broader policies designed to shut out clean energy development and perpetuate the burning of fossil fuels.<sup>132</sup>

Aligned with the views of Paul Driessen, a CFACT senior fellow and industry consultant who claims environmentalists are subjecting the Global South to perpetual poverty,<sup>133</sup> a CFACT Campus blog falsely proclaims that there is no scientific consensus, “that global warming is man-caused or that more affordable energy methods such as nuclear, coal, and natural gas play a significant role in climate change.”<sup>134</sup> CFACT offered up a total \$6,000 in prizes to students willing to make YouTube videos denying the conclusions of climate science for AllPainNoGain.org, a CFACT website hyping economic doom and government restrictions of personal freedom.<sup>135</sup>

## COMMONWEALTH FOUNDATION FOR PUBLIC POLICY ALTERNATIVES



Koch Funding in 2009: \$41,828  
Total Koch Funding, 1997–2009: \$84,532

The Commonwealth Foundation is a free market think tank that focuses on state issues in Pennsylvania. Commonwealth’s CEO personally called the integrity of climatologist Michael Mann into question following “climategate,” announcing the release of a Commonwealth report calling for an independent investigation of scientists whose emails were stolen.<sup>136</sup> The organization’s “Energy Facts PA” website makes little attempt to hold back the bias of its financiers, citing the debunked “Spanish study” (see case study in *Koch Industries: Secretly Funding the Climate Denial Machine*, p. 12) to conflate clean energy with job loss, promoting “climategate” as evidence that Pennsylvania does not need a climate policy, and denying pollution problems associated with hydraulic fracturing for natural gas.<sup>137</sup> Commonwealth’s Board of Directors links them to the Sarah Scaife and Carthage

Foundations, through chairman Michael Gleba, and the Philip M. McKenna Foundation, through T. William Boxx.<sup>138</sup> These foundations have collectively provided millions of dollars to Commonwealth, and millions more to other climate denial institutions also funded by the Koch foundations.<sup>139</sup>

## FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION



Koch Funding in 2009: \$27,592

The Foundation for Economic Education (FEE) is a free market organization with offices in Irvington, New York and Atlanta, Georgia that publishes *The Freeman: Ideas on Liberty*, a largely libertarian publication. Skepticism and obstructionism regarding global warming are promoted both on FEE’s blogs and through *The Freeman*.<sup>140</sup> In an apparent rebuttal to an article in *Nature* linking global warming to increased extinction rates, *The Freeman* cites the Koch-funded Marshall Institute and the Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change, a project of the Western Fuels Association (a coal industry front), which has received grants from Koch foundations and ExxonMobil.<sup>141</sup> FEE also recycled a list promoted by Senator James Inhofe, whose top political contributor is Koch Industries, naming 400 scientists who supposedly doubt the climate change scientific consensus.<sup>142</sup> In examination of the authenticity of this list, the Daily Green found that of the 400 names, 44 were TV weathermen, 70 have no background in climate science, and 84 were recipients of industry money. FEE staff are linked to the Mackinac Institute, Americans for Prosperity and the Cato Institute.<sup>143</sup>

## JAMES MADISON INSTITUTE



Koch Funding in 2009: \$9,667

The James Madison Institute (JMI) is a Florida-based libertarian organization. JMI publishes seasonal journals that have included a plea to Florida legislators not to act on global warming following “climategate,” the promotion of fossil fuel use, and the dismissal of American jobs created by the clean energy sector.<sup>144</sup> JMI director Susan Story is the President and CEO of Gulf Power, a subsidiary of Southern Company, and JMI’s research advisory council members have connections to other Koch-funded groups, including the Institute for Humane Studies, the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, and the American Legislative Exchange Council.<sup>145</sup>

# Lobbying and Political Spending

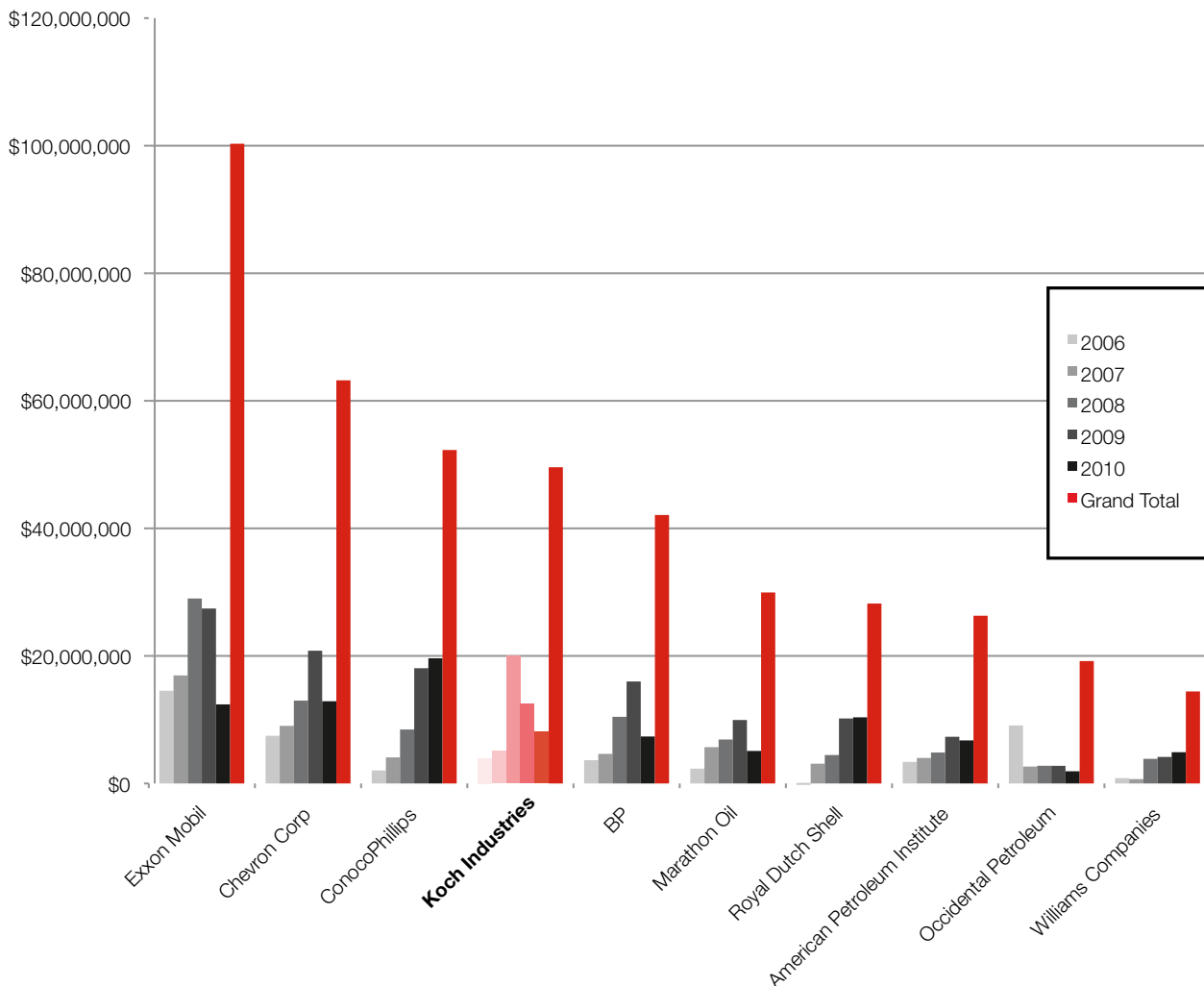
Note on Sources: Federal lobbying expenditures as well as federal PAC and individual contributions to federal candidates are disclosed on the Center for Responsive Politics' [OpenSecrets](#) website. Additional lobbying data can be found at the Senate's Lobbying Disclosure site.<sup>146</sup>

## 1. Federal Direct Lobbying

### LOBBYING SUMMARY:

**KOCH INDUSTRIES SPENT \$8,070,000 ON DIRECT LOBBYING IN 2010, RAISING THEIR TOTAL 2006–2010 REPORTED LOBBYING EXPENDITURES TO \$49,580,500.**<sup>147</sup>

## KOCH INDUSTRIES HAS SPENT \$49.5 MILLION ON OIL AND GAS LOBBYING SINCE 2006.



## Lobbying and Political Spending

Koch Industries had 30 registered lobbyists in 2010, 25 of whom have prior federal experience.<sup>148</sup> Notable revolving door lobbyists include:

**MATTHEW SCHLAPP—a lobbyist for Koch through Cove Strategies.** Schlapp was the executive director of federal affairs for Koch Industries' lobbying subsidiary, Koch Companies Public Sector, and was a chief of staff to former Kansas Republican Representative Todd Tiahrt, a top Koch beneficiary. Schlapp worked on the Bush/Cheney 2000 campaign before taking a position as the deputy director of political affairs in the Bush/Cheney White House.

The Cove Strategies website notes, "During his tenure at the White House, Schlapp advised the President, Vice President, the Cabinet, and senior advisors on domestic and political issues."<sup>149</sup> Schlapp told congressional investigators that during his White House tenure he had "monthly" contact with disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff during which they discussed various subjects, including government business.<sup>150</sup>



**JOSEPH STANKO JR.—a Koch lobbyist through Hunton & Williams.** Stanko's other clients include Southern Company, Future Energy Holdings, and the Electric Reliability Coordinating Council, a utility front group run by Bracewell & Giuliani lobbyists Scott Segal and Frank Maisano.<sup>151</sup> Stanko was a counsel to the U.S. House Energy & Commerce Committee from 1997-2003. Stanko specializes in representing industry clients, advocating their positions on "global climate change, renewable and bio-fuels, the Clean Air Act and other environmental laws, energy policy and Homeland Security."<sup>152</sup>

**RAYMOND PAUL—the director of federal government affairs for Koch Companies Public Sector.** Paul was a legislative assistant to former Democratic Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (LA), who helped deregulate the natural gas industry and now has his own lobbying firm representing the American Petroleum Institute, Constellation Energy, Edison Electric Institute and Edison International.<sup>153</sup>

**ALEX MCGEE—a lobbyist for McKenna, Long & Aldridge.** McGee also represents TransCanada, an oil and gas pipeline company with primary business niches in the tar sands of Alberta, Canada.<sup>154</sup> TransCanada is currently running a large-scale public relations and lobbying campaign, aided by McGee and his firm, to promote the construction of the controversial Keystone XL pipeline, the completion of which is in the interest of Koch Industries.<sup>155</sup>



# Lobbying and Political Spending

McGee was previously the director of federal affairs for Koch Companies Public Sector. McGee joined Koch after five years as an official in the Department of Energy, where he was “a strategic player in the passage of the Energy Policy Act of 2005.”<sup>156</sup> This law was a blockbuster industry handout, providing \$27 billion to fossil fuel and nuclear energy companies compared to \$6.4 billion in renewable energy provisions.<sup>157</sup> The 2005 Energy Policy Act also stripped away restrictions on offshore drilling, exempted oil and gas companies from provisions of the Safe Drinking Water Act for hydraulic fracturing operations, and paved the way for large mergers of public utility companies.<sup>158</sup>

These lobbyists worked to influence bills regarding a multitude of issues Koch has interest in.<sup>159</sup> Some specific examples concern:

- **Climate change and greenhouse gas reduction. The Clean Air Act has been a key target, specifically to prevent lawful EPA monitoring and regulation of greenhouse gases on polluting facilities<sup>160</sup> and to declassify greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide and methane as “air pollutants.”<sup>161</sup>**
- **Clean energy development and energy efficiency.<sup>162</sup>**
- **A low carbon fuel standard (LCFS), which Koch strongly opposes.<sup>163</sup>**
- **Chemical security, including the Chemical Facility Anti-Terrorism Act of 2009 (H.R.2868), which Koch Industries and its subsidiaries oppose through the Fertilizer Institute and the National Petrochemical Refiners Association.<sup>164</sup>**
- **Formaldehyde emissions standards and health affects of formaldehyde.<sup>165</sup>**
- **The Clean Water Restoration Act, a measure to update and strengthen the 1972 Clean Water Act.<sup>166</sup>**
- **Oil industry subsidies and tax breaks.<sup>167</sup>**
- **Reduction of energy market manipulation through excessive speculation.<sup>168</sup>**

Additionally, the chairman and CEO of Koch Companies Public Sector, the lobbying subsidiary of Koch Industries, is Richard Fink.<sup>169</sup> Fink has long been a top associate to Charles and David Koch and is currently an executive vice president and director of Koch Industries, as well as director of subsidiaries Flint Hills Resources and Invista.<sup>170</sup>

Fink has ties to numerous climate science denial front groups:

- **Co-founder and director of the Americans for Prosperity Foundation**
- **Co-founder and director of the Mercatus Center at George Mason University**
- **Co-founder and former president of Citizens for a Sound Economy, the predecessor to Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks**
- **Former director of the Reason Foundation**
- **Former director of the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University**
- **Former director of the Tax Foundation**

Fink serves as president and director of both the Charles G. Koch and Claude R. Lambe charitable foundations, two of three Koch foundations that allocate money to groups that undermine credible climate science, including the groups he directs.<sup>171</sup>



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# Lobbying and Political Spending

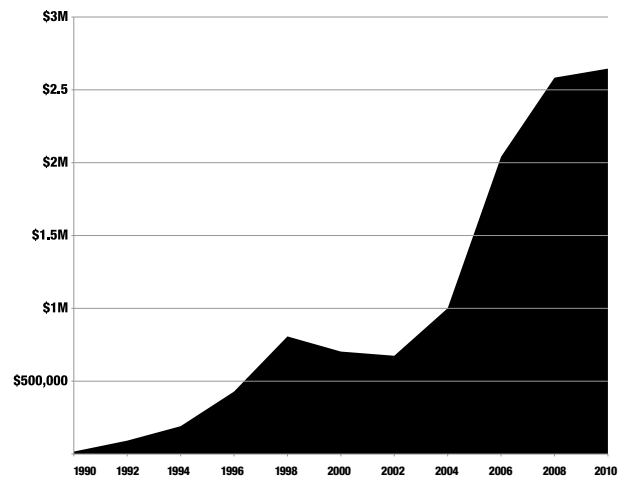
## 2. Koch PAC

In 2010, Koch Industries' political action committee stood at the forefront of direct political contributions to political candidate and incumbents. Totalling \$2,645,589 in expenditures from 2009–2010, Koch PAC is the US's top oil and gas industry contributor.<sup>172</sup>

From the 2006 election cycle through 2010, Koch spent a total of \$7.27 million, more than any other member of their industry.<sup>173</sup> Over \$3.4 million of this was donated directly to federal candidates.

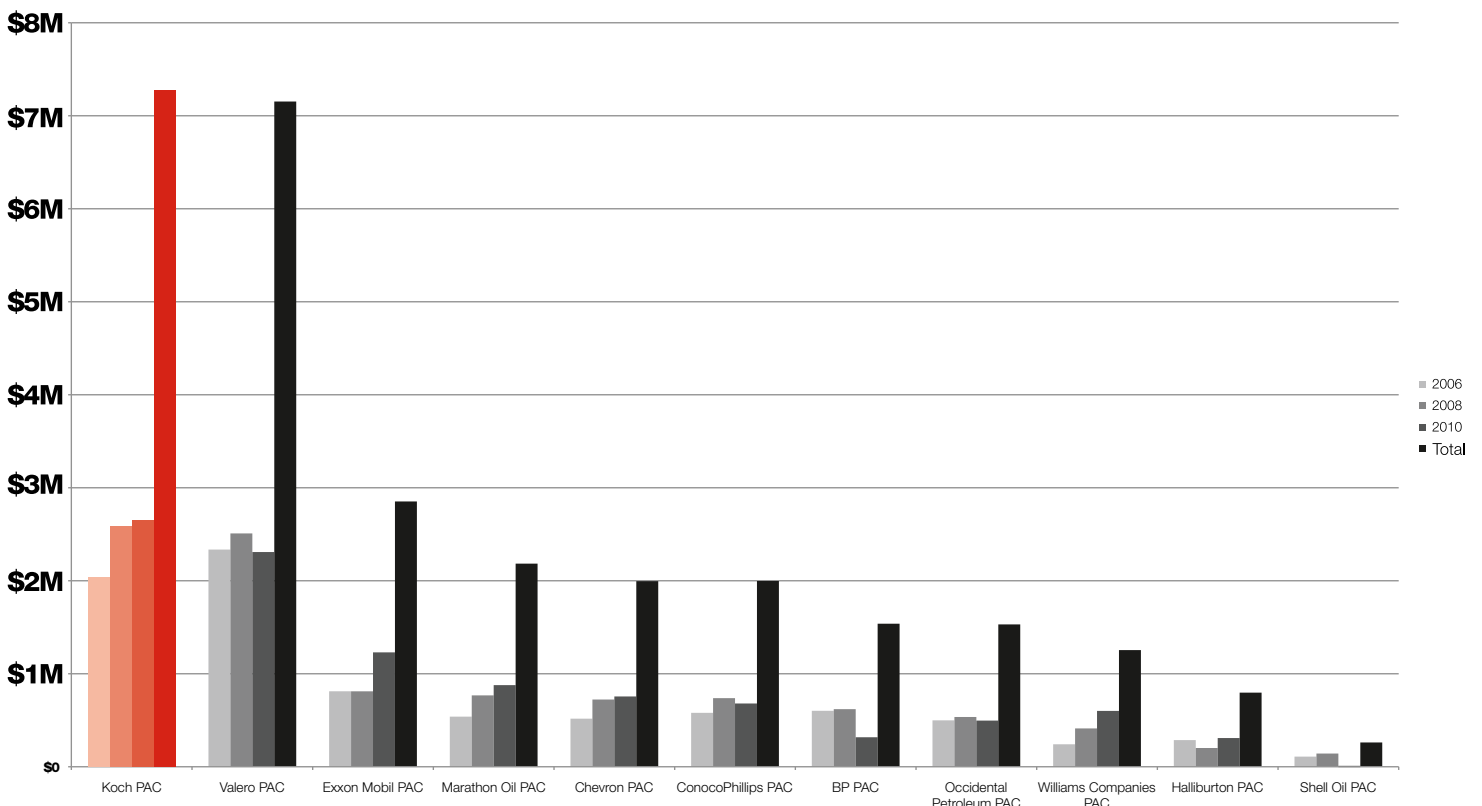
In 2010, Koch PAC overtook Valero as the biggest oil and gas PAC spender since 2006 and continues to outspend PACs of ExxonMobil, Chevron, ConocoPhillips, and BP. With revenue notably smaller than oil supermajors like ExxonMobil and Chevron, Koch's investment in political expenditures is significant. ExxonMobil's \$310 billion annual income is three times that of estimates for Koch Industries.<sup>174</sup>

**KOCH PAC SPENDING FROM 1990 TO 2010:**



Graph provided by [OpenSecrets](#), a project of the Center for Responsive Politics.

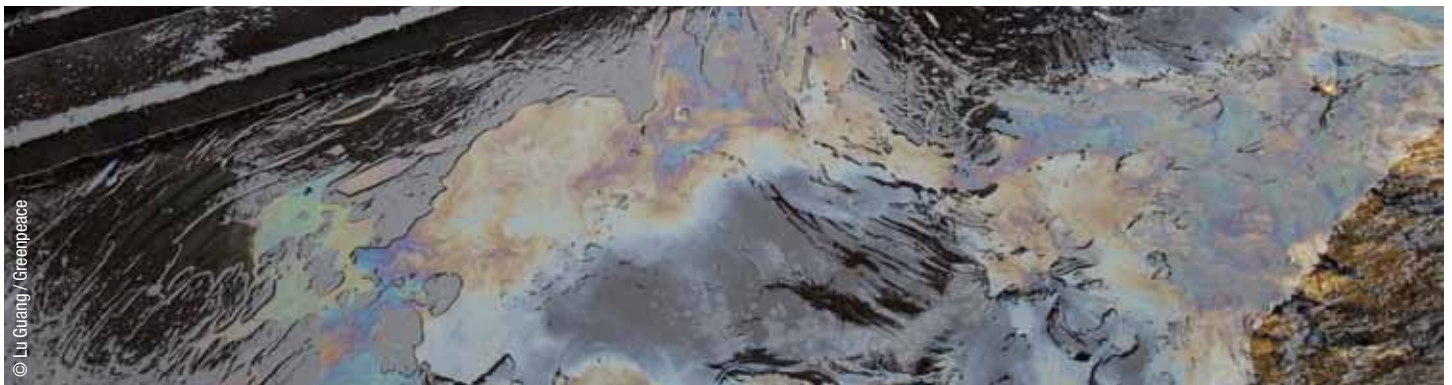
# OIL INDUSTRY PAC SPENDING



# Lobbying and Political Spending

Koch's donations became more polarized in favor of the Republican Party in 2010, with 92% of its contributions going toward Republican candidates and party committees. This divide is greater than any other major U.S. oil and gas company.<sup>175</sup> Notable party PAC beneficiary donations from Koch PAC in 2010 include:<sup>176</sup>

- **\$45,000 to the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), plus a total \$110,300 directly from Charles, Elizabeth, David and Julia Koch. NRCC is chaired by Rep. Pete Sessions (R-TX), who also received a \$10,000 donation to his political campaign and another \$10,000 to his Leadership PAC from Koch in the 2009-2010 election cycle (plus \$4,000 directly from the four Kochs).**<sup>177</sup>
- **\$35,000 to the Target State Victory Fund, which routs federal money to state Republican committees.**<sup>178</sup>
- **\$30,000 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), plus \$64,400 directly from the Kochs. NRSC is chaired by Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX), who also received a \$10,000 donation to his Leadership PAC from Koch in the 2009-2010 election cycle, and \$6,900 directly from the Kochs.**<sup>179</sup>
- **\$30,000 to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC).**
- **\$15,000 to the Congressional Trust 2010, set up by the NRC, NRCC and NRSC to “make sure this Democrat majority pays the price for the radical and unpopular agenda it is imposing.”**<sup>180</sup>
- **\$15,000 to the 2009 Senators Classic Committee, another fund for major Republican candidates.**<sup>181</sup>



## Lobbying and Political Spending

### U.S. HOUSE MEMBERS RECEIVING MORE THAN \$40,000 FROM KOCH INDUSTRIES SINCE 2006 ELECTION CYCLE

| KochPAC Recipient (House)       | Koch money to campaign committee since 2006 election cycle | Recipient's Leadership PAC                    | Additional Koch money to recipient's PAC since 2006 election cycle | Individual contributions from Kochs from 2006–2010† | Total Koch Donations, 2006–2010 | Recipients who signed AFP “No Climate Tax” Pledge” |
|---------------------------------|--|---|--|---|---------------------------------|--|
| <b>Cantor, Eric (R-VA)</b>      | \$28,000   | Every Republican is Crucial                   | \$30,000   | \$2,400   | \$60,400                        | X  |
| <b>Rogers, Mike (R-MI)</b>      | \$30,000   | Majority Initiative—Keep Electing Republicans | \$30,000   |   | \$60,000                        |  |
| <b>Sessions, Pete (R-TX)</b>    | \$25,000   | People for Enterprise/Trade/Economic Growth   | \$30,000   | \$4,000   | \$59,000                        | X  |
| <b>Barton, Joe (R-TX)</b>       | \$27,000   | Texas Freedom Fund                            | \$30,000   |   | \$57,000                        | X  |
| <b>Boehner, John (R-OH)</b>     | \$30,000   | Freedom Project                               | \$25,000   |   | \$55,000                        | X  |
| <b>Ryan, Paul (R-WI)</b>        | \$27,500   | Prosperity PAC                                | \$25,000   | \$1,500   | \$54,000                        |  |
| <b>Kline, John (R-MN)</b>       | \$30,000   | Freedom & Security PAC                        | \$20,000   | \$2,300   | \$52,300                        |  |
| <b>Shimkus, John (R-IL)</b>     | \$25,000   | John S Fund                                   | \$25,000   |   | \$50,000                        |  |
| <b>Blackburn, Marsha (R-TN)</b> | \$30,000   | Wedge PAC                                     | \$17,500   |   | \$47,500                        |  |
| <b>Nunes, Devin (R-CA)</b>      | \$25,000   | New PAC                                       | \$20,000   |   | \$45,000                        |  |
| <b>Boyd, Allen (D-FL)</b>       | \$21,500   | Harvest PAC                                   | \$22,500   |   | \$44,000                        |  |
| <b>Conaway, Mike (R-TX)</b>     | \$23,500   | CONA PAC                                      | \$20,000   |   | \$43,500                        | X  |
| <b>Roskam, Peter (R-IL)</b>     | \$22,500   | Republican Operation/Secure & Keep a Majority | \$20,000   |   | \$42,500                        | X  |
| <b>Smith, Lamar (R-TX)</b>      | \$21,000   | Longhorn PAC                                  | \$21,000   |   | \$42,000                        | X  |
| <b>Peterson, Collin (D-MN)</b>  | \$26,500   | Valley PAC                                    | \$15,000   |   | \$41,500                        |  |



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## Lobbying and Political Spending

### U.S. SENATE MEMBERS RECEIVING MORE THAN \$35,000 FROM KOCH INDUSTRIES SINCE 2004 ELECTION CYCLE

| KochPAC Recipient (Senate)     | Koch money to campaign committee since 2004 election cycle | Recipient's Leadership PAC(s)           | Additional Koch money to recipient's PAC(s) since 2004 election cycle | Individual contributions from Kochs from 2004-2010† | TOTAL KOCH DONATIONS, 2004-2010 | Recipients who signed AFP "No Climate Tax" Pledge |
|--------------------------------|--|---|---|---|---------------------------------|---|
| <b>Tiahrt, Todd** (R-KS)</b>   | \$25,000   | Heart PAC                               | \$30,000  | \$44,300  | \$99,300                        | X   |
| <b>DeMint, James (R-SC)</b>    | \$20,000   | Senate Conservatives Fund PAC; MINT PAC | \$40,000  | \$16,000  | \$76,000                        |   |
| <b>Blunt, Roy* (R-MO)</b>      | \$30,000   | Rely on Your Beliefs                    | \$20,000  | \$12,000  | \$62,000                        | X   |
| <b>Roberts, Pat (R-KS)</b>     | \$15,000   | Preserving America's Traditions         | \$30,000  | \$13,800  | \$58,800                        | X   |
| <b>Thune, John (R-SD)</b>      | \$20,000   | Heartland Values PAC                    | \$25,000  | \$8,800   | \$53,800                        | X   |
| <b>Coburn, Tom (R-OK)</b>      | \$15,000   | TACPAC                                  | \$30,000  | \$8,800   | \$53,800                        | X   |
| <b>Lincoln, Blanche (D-AR)</b> | \$23,000   | Leadership in the New Century           | \$30,000  |   | \$53,000                        |   |
| <b>Inhofe, James (R-OK)</b>    | \$13,500   | Fund for a Conservative Future          | \$30,000  | \$9,200   | \$52,700                        | X   |
| <b>Burr, Richard (R-NC)</b>    | \$20,000   | Next Century Fund                       | \$27,500  | \$4,000   | \$51,500                        | X   |
| <b>McConnell, Mitch (R-KY)</b> | \$10,000   | Bluegrass Committee                     | \$30,000  | \$6,900   | \$46,900                        |   |
| <b>Murkowski, Lisa (I-AK)</b>  | \$20,000   | Denali Leadership PAC                   | \$22,500  | \$4,000   | \$46,500                        |   |
| <b>Moran, Jerry* (R-KS)</b>    | \$30,000   | Eisenhower PAC                          | \$5,000   | \$10,750  | \$45,750                        | X   |
| <b>Cornyn, John (R-TX)</b>     | \$12,500   | Alamo PAC                               | \$25,000  | \$6,900   | \$44,400                        |   |
| <b>Chambliss, Saxby (R-GA)</b> | \$15,000   | Republican Majority Fund                | \$20,000  | \$9,200   | \$44,200                        |   |
| <b>Dole, Elizabeth (R-NC)</b>  | \$7,500  | Leadership Circle PAC                   | \$20,000  | \$13,800  | \$41,300                        |   |
| <b>Brownback, Sam (R-KS)</b>   | \$6,000  | Restore America PAC                     | \$25,000  | \$8,600   | \$39,600                        |   |
| <b>Vitter, David (R-LA)</b>    | \$12,500   | Louisiana Reform PAC                    | \$25,000  |   | \$37,500                        | X   |
| <b>Isakson, Johnny (R-GA)</b>  | \$7,000  | 21st Century Majority Fund              | \$25,000  | \$4,000   | \$36,000                        | X   |

† Individuals contributions from Charles Koch and wife Elizabeth, David Koch and wife Julia

\* Senators Blunt and Moran obtained Senate seats in 2010 after holding positions in the U.S. House of Representatives. Methodology for obtaining their totals includes Koch PAC donations since the 2006 election cycle, as used to calculate figures for House members, not including the 2004 cycle as used to calculate figures for other Senate members.

\*\* Todd Tiahrt unsuccessfully ran for a Senate seat in 2010, losing to Sen. Jerry Moran in the Kansas primary. Tiahrt had previously served in the House of Representatives. Methodology for obtaining Tiahrt's donations from Koch PAC match that of Senators Blunt and Moran, described above.



# Lobbying and Political Spending

Charles Koch, David Koch, and their wives, Elizabeth and Julia, spent over \$363,000 in direct contributions to political campaign committees and party committees in 2010. The Koch brothers and their spouses have spent over \$922,000 in individual political contributions from 2004–2010.<sup>182</sup>

## TOP RECIPIENTS OF 2010 DONATIONS FROM THE KOCH BROTHERS AND THEIR SPOUSES:

|  | Rubio, Marco | Toomey, Pat  | Blunt, Roy  | Moran, Jerry | Fiorina, Carly | Johnson, Ron | Paul, Rand    |
|--|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| <b>2010 total donations over \$5,000</b> | \$16,800     | \$12,000     | \$12,000    | \$10,750     | \$9,600        | \$9,600      | \$9,600       |
|  | Pompeo, Mike | Portman, Rob | Rossi, Dino | Kirk, Mark   | Buck, Ken      | Thune, John  | Ayotte, Kelly |
| <b>2010 total donations over \$5,000</b> | \$9,600      | \$9,600      | \$9,600     | \$9,600      | \$8,600        | \$7,800      | \$7,200       |

### Koch Donations to Freshman Congressional Climate Deniers

Of the freshman members of the 112th Congress, the Center for American Progress' Wonk Room identified eleven freshman Senators and 38 freshman House Representatives who have publicly questioned the science of climate change.<sup>183</sup> Of the eleven Senators, ten received funding from Koch Industries in 2010, and eight of them signed the Americans for Prosperity "No Climate Tax Pledge" to obstruct policy solutions to climate change. Of the 38 Representatives, 22 received Koch PAC funding in 2010, and all 38 signed the AFP pledge.<sup>184</sup>

Donation figures obtained from the Center for Responsive Politics through OpenSecrets:

[Koch PAC contributions to Candidates](#)  
[Koch PAC contributions to other PACs](#)

Koch Industries invested in numerous U.S. House candidates with official endorsements from astroturf tea party groups Americans for Prosperity, FreedomWorks or the Tea Party Express. Koch Industries spent at least \$424,000 on 76 of these House candidates, 68 of which won their elections.<sup>185</sup>

### Koch Industries Influence on State Elections

Koch Industries and its subsidiaries are also active in the state political arenas. According to the National Institute on Money in State Politics, Koch Industries has spent \$2.6 million at the state level on direct political contributions from 2005 to 2009.<sup>186</sup> The majority of this money—\$1.9 million—was distributed to over 1,000 state candidates. Koch favored State-level Republican candidates and committees by 84%.

Results for the Kochs' 2010 state election donations, as of March, 2011, demonstrate over \$600,000 in state political contributions, over \$300,000 of which was spent in Texas alone.<sup>187</sup> From 2003–2010, Koch Industries has spent \$1.89 million on state-level political contributions.

### Among top state level donations from Koch Industries in the 2010 cycle:<sup>188</sup>

- **\$50,000 from Koch Industries plus \$25,000 from David Koch to Texas Republican Governor Rick Perry for his successful re-election.<sup>189</sup> Governor Perry has received \$116,000 from the Kochs since 2004.**
- **\$37,700 from David Koch and \$37,000 from his wife Julia (\$74,700 total) to aid the election of New York Democratic Governor Andrew Cuomo.<sup>190</sup>**
- **\$43,000 from Koch Industries to newly-elected Wisconsin Republican Governor Scott Walker, who is a public ally to Americans for Prosperity and a signatory of AFP's "No Climate Tax Pledge."<sup>191</sup>**
- **\$22,000 from Charles and Elizabeth Koch to newly-elected Ohio Republican Governor John Kasich.**
- **\$20,000 from the Kochs and their companies to newly-elected Kansas Republican Governor Sam Brownback.**
- **\$10,000 from Koch Industries to newly-elected New Mexico Republican Governor Susana Martinez.**

David and Julia Koch have played prominent roles as personal financiers for New York candidates for Governor. In 2006, David Koch and Julia Koch contributed an aggregate \$50,000 to Republican gubernatorial candidate John Faso.<sup>192</sup> From 1998 to 2004, David and Julia Koch contributed \$144,000 to Republican Governor George Pataki.<sup>193</sup>



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