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The Forked-Tongue Awards

Melanie Sloan

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You might remember Sen. Joe Lieberman's "silver sewer" awards to those who he felt were helping along the "coarsening" of our society. Turns out Joe and some of his colleagues might be eligible for a similar accolade—how about a Forked-Tongue Award? Melanie Sloan of watchdog group CREW explains how a new report found that some of the loudest opponents of pornography in Congress are the same folks accepting big contributions from the porn industry.

Melanie Sloan is executive director of [Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington \(CREW\)](#).

Members of Congress and the companies that profit from pornography share one important trait: Both want to benefit from the lucrative profits derived from pornography while keeping information about their involvement hidden from the public.

A difference between these companies and members of Congress, however, is that while we expect corporations to be driven by profits, we expect Congress members to be driven by ideology. Namely, if a member of Congress makes opposition to pornography one of his or her central issues, we expect that he or she would reject any contribution—no matter the dollar amount—from corporations or executives who profit from pornography. Alas, as is so often the case when confronted with the actions of our elected officials, we expected too much.

Last week, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), a non-profit, progressive legal watchdog group dedicated to holding public officials accountable for their actions released a report entitled *[Addicted to Porn: Members of Congress Accept Political Contributions from Porn Purveyors](#)*. The report details how 15 members of Congress, including 11 representatives and four senators—all of whom say they revile pornography—have accepted campaign contributions from corporations and executives who derive substantial profits from selling pornography.

CREW's report includes four sections: 1) How companies make money from pornography; 2) Which companies have PACs that make campaign contributions; 3) Which members of Congress have received such contributions; and 4) The statements on pornography made by the members of Congress named in the report.

Some of the findings surprised us. For instance, the Mormon-owned Marriott and Holiday Inn hotel chains generate substantial income selling in-room adult films, and AT&T makes a lot of money through phone sex lines. This is interesting but, in and of itself, not so newsworthy.

What *is* newsworthy, though, is some of the members of Congress to whom these companies make political contributions are among pornography's greatest congressional critics. For example:

- Who would have thought that Sen. Sam Brownback, R-Kan.,—who equates pornography with crack cocaine—would accept \$17,000 from porn peddlers?
- Sen. Joe Lieberman, D-Conn., who has long campaigned against the growing coarseness of our culture —and who, along with renown gambling addict William Bennet handed out “silver sewer” awards to those who made immoral videos—accepted more than \$16,000 from porn purveyors.
- Rep. Fred Upton, R-Mich., a leader in the fight against indecency, probably spends most days thinking up new ways to protect Americans from sex and profanity. So who would have imagined that he accepted more than \$56,000 from porn profits?
- Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., wanted to be known as the anti-porn presidential candidate, or so he said in campaign ads that ran in South Carolina when he ran for president in 2000. He probably didn't focus on those ads when he pocketed \$46,000 from corporations and executives who profit from porn.
- Majority Leader DeLay—who often speaks of the need for virtue but whose own conduct is more akin to that of a mob boss—took in \$24,000.

But the award for biggest hypocrite of all must surely go to Rep. Heather Wilson, R-N.M., who signed a letter sent to then-presidential candidate Al Gore in 2000 demanding that he publicly disavow the support of and return the campaign contributions from an Internet adult entertainment trade association and a Chicago strip-club owner. In addition, Rep. Wilson had a public meltdown during a congressional hearing regarding the exposure of Janet Jackson's breast, where she charged Viacom with caring more about profits than morality. Apparently failing to recognize the irony, Rep. Wilson has accepted a whopping \$47,000 from the corporations that sell porn for profit.

Since Sen. Lieberman has his award, perhaps we ought to introduce our own version, highlighting the hypocrisy of the ‘skin caucus.’ How about the ‘Forked Tongue Award’? This could be bestowed upon members of Congress who speak out of both sides of their mouths by crusading against pornography one minute and thanking contributors for donations derived from pornography profits the next.

The next time you see one of these members stand up and rant about how pornography is destroying the moral fabric of our society, look closer. You may see that the only fabric that these folks really care about is the type on which United States currency is printed.

ADDICTED TO PORN
Members of Congress Accept Contributions from Porn Purveyors

Prepared by Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington
March 10, 2005

Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	1
Methodology.....	1
Findings.....	1
I. How Corporations Benefit from Pornography.....	1
A. Hotel Chains.....	2
B. Cable and Satellite Corporations.....	3
C. AT&T.....	5
II. Corporate PAC Campaign Contributions.....	6
III. Members of Congress who Receive Contributions.....	6
IV. Members of Congress Publicly Revile Pornography.....	7
Conclusion.....	12
Appendix A.....	13

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indecency and pornography have become hot button political issues over the past couple of years. Indeed, many Members of Congress have made “moral values” a platform on which to base political campaigns and consider themselves crusaders intent on protecting Americans from debauchery. As examples of our national moral decay, members have pointed to the baring of Janet Jackson’s breast during the 2003 Super Bowl half-time show, the Howard Stern radio show, and even the airing of “Saving Private Ryan.”

Yet while denouncing the decline in public morality, many of those same Members accept money from corporations that derive substantial profits from pornography. Although they do not advertise it, companies as diverse as Comcast and Marriott International make enormous amounts of money by selling pornography. Ironically, some of this money winds up in the political war chests of pornography’s most outspoken Congressional critics.

In the following report, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) reveals that some of the Members of Congress who publicly rail against the evils of pornography are only too happy to accept political contributions from those who derive income from the sale of pornography. These Members allege support for legislation penalizing obscenity one moment and fill their campaign coffers with pornography profits the next. It is this rank hypocrisy that this report exposes.

METHODOLOGY

To create this report, first CREW researched which large corporations profit from pornography, relying heavily on Obscene Profits: The Entrepreneurs of Pornography in the Cyber Age by Frederick S. Lane III.¹ Once that list was compiled, we consulted the Center for Responsive Politics’ database, www.opensecrets.org, to discover which of those corporations have PACs and executives who contributed to the political campaigns of Members of Congress in the 2002 and 2004 election cycles.² We then winnowed the list down to just the Members who received over \$10,000 from these PACs and executives. Finally, relying on the internet, Westlaw and LEXIS, we searched for statements any of those Members of Congress might have made condemning pornography.

FINDINGS

I. How Corporations Profit from Pornography

- Hotels, such as Holiday Inn and Marriott, profit when guests order in-room pornographic movies, as do the media companies that provide those movies.

¹Routledge 2000.

²Once on the opensecrets website, we entered the corporation names into the PAC page to find the contributions from specific corporations. We then entered the names of these corporations into the donor giving page slot for “Occupation/Employer” to discover which of these corporations’ executives had made contributions.

- Cable and satellite companies, which earn hundreds of millions of dollars through adult programming each year, profit through subscription costs of adult channels and through consumer purchases of pay-per-view movies. This report focuses on the pornographic content offered by Comcast Cable Systems, Time Warner Cable, Charter Communication, Cablevision Systems Corporation, Echostar Communications and DirecTV.

***Hotel Chains: “We put a smile back on your face”
Holiday Inns and Marriott***

Hotels are in the business of keeping their guests satisfied, as Holiday Inn’s tagline –“We put a smile back on your face”– reflects. One way in which hotels accomplish this goal is by selling pornography in the form of pay-per-view movies. An estimated 40 percent of the nation’s hotels offer adult movie options, which account for about 90 percent of pay-per-view revenue.³ Based on estimates provided by the hotel industry, at least half of all guests at hotels such as Marriott and Holiday Inn pay to view adult movies.⁴ These orders result in approximately \$190 million a year in sales.⁵

Even with religious groups and conservative organizations such as Concerned Women for America and Morality in the Media decrying the producers and distributors of pornography, many of the top hotels chains continue to offer such movies.

Why? Because pornography offers an unusually high profit margin. “The 5 percent or 10 percent of revenue that the hotel chain gets, that’s pure profit to them because they have no cost,” says Dennis McAlpine, an entertainment industry analyst. “They didn’t put in the wiring system, they didn’t supply the programming.”⁶ Some analysts say these in-room sex movies generate more money for the hotel chains than revenue from the hotels’ mini-bars.⁷ *Id.* In fact, adult titles are estimated to be viewed 10 times as often as standard fare by business travelers, and they’re often more expensive (for example, \$6.95 compared with \$3.95).⁸

³ Timothy Egan, *Erotica Inc.: Technology Sent Wall Street Into Market for Pornography*, *New York Times*, October 23, 2000.

⁴ *60 Minutes: Porn in the USA* (CBS television broadcast, November 23, 2003); transcript at http://wcco.com/water/watercooler_story_327194837.html/resources_story

⁵ Egan, *supra* note 3.

⁶ *Frontline: American Porn* (PBS television broadcast, February 7, 2002); transcript at www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/porn/interviews/mcalpine.html.

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ B.J. Sigismund, *XXX-ceptable*, *Newsweek*, July 2, 2003.

Cable and Satellite Corporations

Americans spend upward of \$450 million per year on adult entertainment via pay-per-view TV, which provides huge profits for content providers such as AOL Time Warner and Comcast.⁹

Two decades ago, Playboy made the first major push toward delivering adult content directly to U.S. homes via the airwaves.¹⁰ Now, all of the leading cable and satellite TV providers - including EchoStar's Dish Network, DirecTV (owned by General Motors until December 2003), Comcast Corp. and Adelphia - offer such content.¹¹ Although Adelphia recently dropped its XXX hard core offerings as a result of an outcry from conservative groups,¹² the company continues to offer soft core programming, which is still sexually explicit.¹³

Six of the top ten cable companies – Comcast Cable Systems, Time Warner Cable, Cox Communications, Charter Communication, Adelphia Communications, Cablevision Systems Corporation -- as well as two of the top satellite corporations – Echostar Communications and DirecTV -- offer adult programming *and* contribute to the political campaigns of Members of Congress.¹⁴ Thanks in part to pornography sales, these companies have the resources to be generous with public officials.

Industry insiders and analysts estimate that consumers spend more than \$1 billion a year buying sexually graphic movies and other explicit fare on TV through pay-per-view and video-on-demand services.¹⁵ Industry analysts claim that adult programming provides cable and satellite distributors with their highest

⁹ Skin trade filling corporate coffers, *Chicago Tribune*, May 14, 2004.

¹⁰ Chris Walsh, Feeding On Flesh; Colorado Companies Are Making Millions In The Adult-Entertainment Business, *Rocky Mountain News*, April 3, 2004.

¹¹ Id.

¹² Lorenza Munoz and Sallie Hofmeister, Adelphia Reverses Decision on Porn; Soon after starting to show hard-core fare, the cable firm stops offering it amid activist pressure, *Los Angeles Times*, February 25, 2005.

¹³ Single-X-rated movies feature nudity, long range or panoramic and medium-range camera shots, simulated sex and sex between women. Double-X-rated movies show intercourse, oral sex and close-up shots. Triple-X-rated movies feature anal sex and visible ejaculation. Sallie Hofmeister, Once-Conservative Adelphia Adds Hard-Core Porn to Cable, *Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 2005.

¹⁴ A number of cable corporations that profit from pornography do not have PACs that contribute to the political campaigns of Members of Congress. These are Cox Communications, Mediacom Communications Corp., Insight Communication and CableOne. Although Bright House Networks and Adelphia have PACs, neither has contributed to any of the Members of Congress named in this report. Top executives at Cox, however, have contributed to the political campaigns of Members named in this report.

¹⁵ Hofmeister, *supra*, note 13.

profit margins.¹⁶ Suppliers of adult programming get from 5% to 15% of the average \$9 paid by consumers to view pornography on pay-per-view.¹⁷ By way of comparison, distributors of mainstream, non-pornographic content typically give Hollywood studios half of the revenue on pay-per-view movies, which usually cost under \$5 per rental.¹⁸

Comcast Corp., Cox Communications Inc., Cablevision Systems Corp., Charter Communications Inc. and Insight Communications Co. all carry the hard-core channel, the Hot Network.¹⁹ The Hot Network, when originally introduced, quickly became one of the best-selling commodities on cable and satellite television.²⁰ Available in more than 27 million homes in the United States, its programs are distributed to 40 countries through third-party distribution.²¹

Notably, there are no press releases reporting cable companies' profits from pornography.²² But industry expert Dennis McAlpine, when interviewed by the PBS television show *Frontline* explained how the cable operators profit from pornography programming:

Typically, if you look at a cable company, they are charging the consumer \$30 a month, and he's getting 50 channels or 100 channels or 200 channels. And they don't break it down from that. They have to pay a good portion of that in programming to the suppliers like CNN or Showtime, or whoever may be getting it.

The difference, when you get to the adult programming, is that New Frontier and Playboy [two pornographic content providers] supply the programming to the cable operator. The cable operator receives money directly from it. He will keep 80 percent, 85 percent, 90 percent of that money for himself, and give the rest to the supplier. So for him, adult is a source of revenue, and it has no cost against it. He doesn't have to pay for the programming, but he receives the money from it. So for him, it's an incredibly profitable operation, particularly in terms of profit and margin.²³

¹⁶ Id.

¹⁷ Id.

¹⁸ Id.

¹⁹ James Harder, Porn 500, *Insight on the News*, January 8, 2001.

²⁰ Id.

²¹ Id.

²² For example, in 2003, Comcast spokesperson Reg Griffin told a reporter that Comcast does not break out figures for how much of its business comes from adult pay-per-view movies. Phil Kloer, Upscale Vendors Cash In on Pornography, *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, August 17, 2003; see also Walsh, *supra* note 10 (“Cable and satellite companies don’t break out revenues by programming genre, much less by adult content. And few companies are willing to talk about it . . .”)

²³ *American Porn*, *supra* note 6.

Others have made similar findings:

- Jessica Williams, reporting for *The New Statesman*, stated “[i]t is clear that the cable operator is making huge profits off their adult programming, also known as premium content. When people pay to see 'premium content', the cable operator's cut may be as much as 90 percent.”²⁴
- Sallie Hofmeister, reporting for the *The Los Angeles Times*, found that “[s]ome industry experts say explicit programming has helped satellite providers carve out a 20% share of the pay TV market.”²⁵

AT&T: Reach out and Touch Someone

Phone sex generates between \$750 million and \$1 billion in revenues each year with as much as 50 percent being retained by U.S. long distance carriers.²⁶ Additional pornography related earnings are generated by the long-distance carriers in their capacity as owners of Internet backbones or as Internet service providers.²⁷ In February 1997, *U.S. News & World Report* reported that, thanks to both its broadband and telephone service, AT&T was one of the pornography industry's highest grossing businesses.²⁸

In 2002, after merging with AT&T broadband, Comcast became one of the leading cable and broadband communications providers, serving more than 21 million customers.²⁹ But even prior to the merger, AT&T Broadband carried the Hot Network.³⁰ AT&T made up to \$20 million a month from broadband pornography.³¹

Dennis McAlpine explained how a company like AT&T profits from pornography:

What we're guessing at is that we know that the particular buy rate for adult entertainment is somewhere between 5 percent and 10 percent. On some of the movies, you can assume that it's running closer to 20 percent. And that can be one person buying two times, or two people buying once a month. You just take that time and the price, and that's how you come up with that.

Typically, what happens is that the viewer will pay for a block of time. He may pay \$5.95, or if he's watching something like Vivid, they're up to as much as \$10.95 or \$11.95 for the

²⁴ Jessica Williams, Facts that should change the world, *New Statesman*, June 7, 2004.

²⁵ Hofmeister, *supra* note 13.

²⁶ Frederick S. Lane, III, Obscene Profits: The Entrepreneurs of Pornography in the Cyber Age 151(Routledge 2000).

²⁷ Id.

²⁸ Eric Schlosser, The Business of Pornography, *U.S. News & World Report*, February 10, 1997.

²⁹ AT&T News Release, AT&T Spins Off AT&T Broadband To Shareowners and Completes AT&T Broadband Merger With Comcast, November 18, 2002 (found at www.att.com/news/2002/11/18-11087).

³⁰ *American Porn*, *supra* note 6.

³¹ Jenifer Johnston, Porn to Die, *The Sunday Herald*, April 11, 2004.

more explicit product. So he pays that amount, typically on an impulse basis. He pushes the button and says, "I want to see this movie."

Let's assume it's \$10.95. That is split proportionately between the cable operator and the adult entertainment provider . . .³²

II. Corporate PAC Campaign Contributions

Corporations That Derive Pornography Profits and give to Members of Congress	Total Political Contributions Made		
	2002	2004	Total
Holiday Inns	\$29,500	\$36,000	\$65,500
Marriott International	\$105,500	\$83,500	\$189,000
Comcast Corporation	\$184,350	\$428,800	\$613,150
Time Warner Cable	\$427,352	\$402,474	\$829,826
Cox Communications	n/a	n/a	n/a
Charter Communications	\$71,125	3,250	\$74,375
Adelphia Communications	n/a	n/a	n/a
Cablevision Systems Corporation	\$106,535	\$144,500	\$251,035
Echostar	\$146,250	\$152,900	\$299,150
General Motors (Owned DirecTV)	\$271,750	\$518,570	790,320

n/a - These companies do not appear to have corporate PACs; however, many of their top executives made political contributions in the 2002 and 2004 campaign cycles. The contributions made by these executives are the subject of Appendix A.

III. Members of Congress Who Receive Contributions from Corporations and Executives who Sell Pornography

Member of Congress	Total (Pornography) Contributions Received		
	2002	2004 Cycles	Total
Joe Barton (R-TX)	\$3,000	\$31,000	\$34,000
Chris Cannon (R-UT)	\$9,500	\$14,500	\$24,000
Barbara Cubin (R-WY)	\$2,000	\$15,000	\$17,000

³² *Id.*

Tom DeLay (R-TX)	\$3,000	\$21,000	\$24,000
Bob Goodlatte (R-VA)	\$5,500	\$7,500	\$11,000
Michael Oxley (R-OH)	\$7,000	\$17,500	\$24,500
Charles Pickering (R-MS)	\$33,000	\$19,500	\$52,000
Joseph Pitts (R-PA)	\$6,500	\$9,500	\$16,000
Bart Stupak (D-MI)	\$18,000	\$9,000	\$27,000
Fred Upton (R-MI)	\$24,000	\$32,500	\$56,500
Heather Wilson (R-NM)	\$26,000	\$21,000	\$47,000
Senate			
Christopher “Kit” Bond (R-MO)	\$2,000	\$18,500	\$20,500
Sam Brownback (KS)	\$1,000	\$16,000	\$17,000
Joe Lieberman (D-CT)	\$0	\$16,200	\$16,200
John McCain (R-AZ)	\$0	\$46,000	\$46,000

IV. Members of Congress Publicly Revile Pornography

Members of the House of Representatives

Rep. Joe Barton (R-TX) accepted \$34,000 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. At the same time, Rep. Barton presents himself as a staunch defender of decency. For example, when the cable-TV industry voluntarily introduced new technology to shield subscribers from offensive programming, Rep. Barton said that “Decent people want to stop indecency from coming into their homes, and this will help.”³³ Rep. Barton also has strong ties to Concerned Women of America, a group that strongly condemns pornography.³⁴

Rep. Chris Cannon (R-UT) accepted \$24,000 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. Rep. Cannon once told Utah lawmakers that “[w]e need to sail as close to the line” of the freedoms of the U.S. Constitution as possible in order to curtail Internet pornography.³⁵ At a news

³³ Akeweli Parker, Cable to help viewers bar some shows, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 24, 2004.

³⁴ Ted Hearn, Some A La Carte Calls Cite Net ‘Porn’, *Multichannel News*, May 17, 2004.

³⁵ Cannon resumes fight against Internet Porn, *Deseret Morning News*, January 27, 2004.

conference announcing the U.S./Canadian alliance to launch a “War on Pornography,” Cannon said that steps must be taken to stop “an onslaught unlike any other in the history of the world.”³⁶

Rep. Barbara Cubin (R-WY) accepted \$17,000 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. Nonetheless, in September 2000, Rep. Cubin joined with 11 other Republican Congresswomen in signing a letter addressed to Vice President Al Gore, asking him to publicly disavow the support and return donations from an Internet adult entertainment trade association and a Chicago strip club owner. The letter urged Gore to “allay women’s concerns immediately that a Gore-Lieberman administration would give any credence to organizations and activities that are degrading to women.”³⁷

Rep. Tom DeLay (R-TX) accepted \$24,000 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. In 1999, the National Republican Congressional Committee sent a letter signed by Rep. DeLay, in which he pointed to “pornographer Larry Flynt” as a “pro-Clinton tool” and said he was “fighting back against this porn-and-smut peddler.”³⁸ Further, the Majority Leader of the House has called pornography “a destructive force in society.”³⁹ Rep. DeLay, like Rep. Barton, has close ties to Concerned Women of America.⁴⁰

Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-VA) accepted \$11,000 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. Nonetheless, in 1997, when Vice President Al Gore said that the Internet industry needed to develop more anti-smut technology tools, Rep. Goodlatte called for more prosecution of purveyors of online obscenity, saying “[t]here are many strong anti-pornography laws on the books if prosecutors will only use them.”⁴¹ In 2004, he again spoke out against obscenity while showing his support for the Broadcast Decency Enforcement Act, designed to strengthen the penalties against FCC violators saying, “[i]t is time to take a stand against the constant bombardment of obscene and profane materials into our living rooms.”⁴²

³⁶ Mike Cronin, Alliance forms to declare new War on Pornography, *The Salt Lake Tribune*, July 6, 2004.

³⁷ Jennifer Harper, Congresswomen urge Gore to say no to smut; Letter urges him to return donations from porn trade, *The Washington Times*, September 28, 2000.

³⁸ Juliet Eilprin, House GOP’s High-Risk Front Man, *The Washington Post*, March 20, 1999.

³⁹ Patty Reinert, Child pornography opponents regroup after court’s ruling, *Houston Chronicle*, April 18, 2002.

⁴⁰ Hearn, *supra* note 34.

⁴¹ Rory J. O’Connor, Gore: Net must lead porn fight, *San Jose Mercury News*, December 3, 1997.

⁴² 150 Cong. Rec. H1028 (daily ed. March 11, 2004).

Rep. Michael Oxley (R-OH) accepted \$24,500 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. In 1998, Oxley said “[t]here are literally thousands of sites devoted to every manner of perversion and brutality...unfortunately, the Web is awash in degrading smut.”⁴³ In addition, Rep. Oxley has made it a personal mission to “. . . protect young people from the corrosive, debasing effects of the voluminous graphic adult content readily available on the World Wide Web.”⁴⁴

Rep. Charles Pickering (R-MS) accepted \$52,500 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. In a press release issued by the Concerned Women of America, Rep. Pickering stated “[a] culture of obscenity leads to a greater culture and exploitation of children....They contribute to each other. And until you address both, you are going to see a dramatic increase.”⁴⁵

Rep. Joseph Pitts (R-PA) accepted \$16,000 from corporations and executives who benefit from pornography. Nevertheless, in March 2000, while on the floor of the House, Rep. Pitts stated: “Mr. Speaker, pornographers in this country make more money than rock and country music combined.” “Pornographers bring in more dollars in a year than all Broadway productions, all theater shows, all ballet, jazz and classical music combined. And this administration is doing nothing about it...since 1992, prosecutions for interstate distribution and sale of illegal pornography are down 75 percent.” Rep. Pitts concluded that “[t]he cause and effect between pornography and crime, violence against women and children, rape and child abuse, is clearly defined.”⁴⁶

Rep. Bart Stupak (D-MI) accepted \$27,000 in contributions from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. In remarks about the Illegal Pornography Act of 2000, Rep. Stupak said, “[o]bscenity is not protected speech, and it should not be protected just because we do not have the money to protect it. This bill will give the authorization to put forth \$5 million to begin the crackdown on Internet obscenity.”⁴⁷ Rep. Stupak also said “everyone is aware of the explosion of the Internet, the explosion of Web sites on the Internet, and with the aggressive marketing tactics of the adult entertainment industry. Obscene material is being brought into our homes of millions of American families, without their request or without our consent.”⁴⁸

⁴³ Ted Bridis, House approves limits on Internet Pornography, *Associated Press*, October 7, 1998.

⁴⁴ Darlene Superville, Panel Clears Internet Porn Bill, *Associated Press*, September 17, 1998.

⁴⁵ J. Robert Flores, Blind to the Law, *Family Voice*, November/December 2000 (found at www.cwfa.org/familyvoice/2000-11/20-25.asp).

⁴⁶ 146 Cong. Rec. H1289 (daily ed. March 23, 2000).

⁴⁷ 146 Cong. Rec. H6943 (daily ed. July 25, 2000).

⁴⁸ Id.

Rep. Fred Upton (R-MI) accepted \$56,500 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. Rep. Upton once stated, “[t]his triple x smutt stuff should never be broadcast on the public airways.”⁴⁹ Nonetheless, Rep. Upton accepted campaign contributions from Comcast which, in Rep. Upton’s own district, has offered such hard-core fare as ‘Young, Fresh and Ripe’ on pay-per-view.⁵⁰ In response to critics who questioned his acceptance Comcast’s contributions, Rep. Upton said that he takes money from PACs “whether they agree or disagree” with his efforts.⁵¹

Rep. Heather Wilson (R-NM) accepted \$47,000 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. Yet along with Rep. Cubin and 10 other Republican Congresswomen, Rep. Wilson signed a letter to Vice President Al Gore in 2000, calling on him to return contributions from an Internet adult entertainment trade association and a Chicago strip club owner.⁵² Rep. Wilson has also been a strong proponent of broadcast decency, including proposing that decency be considered as a factor in license renewals. In 2004, after the Janet Jackson breast-baring incident during the Superbowl half-time show, Rep. Wilson erupted at a Commerce subcommittee on indecency, targeting Viacom president Mel Karmazin, *The Hill* newspaper described the scene: “‘You knew what you were doing!’ said Wilson, who was so angry that her voice cracked and her eyes filled with tears. You knew that shock and indecency creates a buzz that moves market share and lines your pockets.”⁵³

Members of the United States Senate

Sen. Christopher “Kit” Bond (R-MO) accepted \$20,500 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. In 1997, when Bond urged the Supreme Court to uphold the Communications Decency Act that Congress enacted in 1996, he stated “[c]ontrary to what the ACLU will tell you, the Communications Decency Act does not ban speech or interrupt the free exchange of ideas among adults. I’m not going to lose sleep if we make it a little tougher for pornographers to do business over the Internet.”⁵⁴

Sen. Sam Brownback (R-KS) accepted \$17,000 in contributions from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. As chair of the Senate Commerce Committee’s Science, Technology and Space

⁴⁹ Susan Crabtree, Fast forward for indecency law, *Variety*, March 12, 2004.

⁵⁰ Frank Rich, Hollywood Bets on Chris Rock’s ‘Indecency’, *The New York Times*, February 27, 2005.

⁵¹ Barbara Walters, Columnist blasts Upton for accepting donations, *Kalamazoo Gazette*, March 5, 2005.

⁵² Harper, *supra* note 37.

⁵³ Betsy Rothstein, Rep. Heather Wilson: A buzz kill or a mom who wants kids to grow up with some decency?, *The Hill*, March 30, 2004.

⁵⁴ Press Release from Office of Sen. Christopher “Kit” Bond, Bond Hopes Supreme Court Will Ban Internet Porn, March 19, 1997 (found on NEXIS).

Subcommittee, Sen. Brownback held a hearing on pornography addiction in November, 2004. After hearing testimony from experts about how porn affects the brain, Sen. Brownback said, “[i]t is the crack cocaine of sexual addiction” and “its pervasiveness affects our families.”⁵⁵ In early 2005, Sen. Brownback praised U.S. Attorney General Alberto Gonzales when he announced he would appeal the dismissal of federal criminal indictments against a California pornography producer, stating “[t]he Justice Department’s decision indicates a renewed effort to go against purveyors of pornography, whose products are so damaging to our culture, our families, and our nation.”⁵⁶

Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) accepted \$16,200 in contributions from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. Still, Sen. Lieberman, along with recovering gambling addict William Bennett gave out “Silver Sewer Awards” for immoral videos.⁵⁷ He has stated that there is “. . . too much violence, too much sex, too much incivility in entertainment, which makes it very difficult for parents, who are working so hard to give their kids values and discipline.”⁵⁸ Sen. Lieberman has also complained about the number of porn stars featured on MTV.⁵⁹

Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) accepted \$46,000 from corporations and executives who profit from pornography. In 1998, when the Clinton administration was pushing to wire all the nation’s classrooms for the Internet, McCain introduced a bill to prohibit the government from granting subsidies to any school or library that didn’t screen the material on its computers, saying “[i]n order to get rid of the smut and the peddlers of smut, you have to energize communities.... We have to make them aware they’re on the Internet and they’re awful hard to get off the Internet.”⁶⁰ In addition, when Sen. McCain ran for President in 2000, he ran television ads touting his anti-pornography record.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Danielle Belopotosky, Porn is ‘crack cocaine of sexual addiction’ Senator says, *National Journal Technology Daily*, November 18, 2004.

⁵⁶ Press Release from Office of Sen. Sam Brownback, Brownback Commends Bush Administration Push Against Porn, February 16, 2005 (found at <http://brownback.senate.gov/pressapp/record.cfm?id=232260&&days=365&>).

⁵⁷ Robert McFadden, With Bill Bennett, “Silver Sewer Awards” for immoral videos, August 8, 2000.

⁵⁸ John Diamond and Rick Pearson, Lieberman Berates Hollywood; Entertainers Still Open Wallets, *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 2000.

⁵⁹ Press Release from Office of Sen. Joe Lieberman, Lieberman Decries TV, Movie Makers for Merchandizing Mayhem, September 22, 1999 (found at <http://lieberman.senate.gov/newsroom/release.cfm?id=298728>).

⁶⁰ Rory J. O’Connor, Passions over protecting children, maintaining freedom could lead to bad Internet policy, some observers warn, *Knight Ridder/Tribune News Service*, March 25, 1998.

⁶¹ Declan McCullagh, McCain Goes With the Offensive, *Wired*, January 8, 2000 (found at www.wired.com/news/politics/0,1283,33473,00.html).

CONCLUSION

There are members of both the House and Senate who see no conflict in accepting significant political campaign contributions from corporations and executives who have profited by selling pornography. Self-righteous proclamations of morality notwithstanding, these Members are apparently blind to the vice of greed.

APPENDIX A			
PAC AND EXECUTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE 2002 AND 2004 CAMPAIGN CYCLES			
CONGRESSIONAL MEMBER	2002 CYCLE	2004 CYCLE	TOTAL
Rep. Joe Barton(R-TX)			
General Motors	\$2,000	\$9,500	\$11,500
AT&T	\$500	\$0	\$500
Holiday Inns	\$0	\$500	\$500
Time Warner	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Echostar Communications	\$0	\$3,500	\$3,500
Jimmy W Hayes, Cox Communications-CFO	\$500	\$0	\$500
Lee A Clayton, Charter Communications-VP of Operations	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000
William Schleyer, Adelphia-Chairman and CEO	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000
Stephen Burch, Comcast Corp.-President Atlantic		\$1,000	\$1,000
Stephen B Burke, Comcast Corp.-President	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000
Kerry A Knott, Comcast Corp.-Government Affairs Manager		\$1,500	\$1,500
Brian L Roberts, Comcast Corp.-President/CEO		\$1,000	\$1,000
Lawrence S Smith, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP and CO-CFO		\$1,500	\$1,500
Michael S Tallent, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP Finance		\$1,000	\$1,000
Charles W Thurston, Comcast Spotlight-President		\$1,000	\$1,000
Gerald Degrazia, Time Warner-Cable Division President		\$500	\$500
David N Watson, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP Operations		\$1,000	\$1,000
TOTAL	\$3,000	\$31,000	\$34,000
Rep. Chris Cannon(R-UT)			
Marriot International	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000
Holiday Inns	\$0	\$500	\$500
Time Warner	\$3,500	\$2,000	\$5,500
AT&T	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$15,000
Echostar Communications	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000
Comcast Corp.	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000
TOTAL	\$9,500	\$14,500	\$24,000
Rep. Barbara Cubin(R-WY)			
Echostar Communications	\$2,000	\$7,000	\$9,000
General Motors	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000

Comcast Corp.	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Time Warner	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
AT&T	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Charles W Ergen, Echostar Communications-CEO	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Cantey Ergen, Echostar Communications	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
TOTAL	\$2,000	\$15,000	17,000	
Rep. Tom Delay(R-TX)				
General Motors	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000	
Charter Communications	\$2,000	\$0	\$2,000	
Comcast Corp.	\$0	\$10,000	\$10,000	
AT&T	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Echostar Communications	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Stephen B Burke, Comcast Corp.-President	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
John Dyer, Cox Communications-Senior VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Patrick Esser, Cox Communications-Executive VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Jimmy Hayes, Cox Communications-Executive VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Robert O'leary, Cox Communications-Executive VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
James Robbins, Cox Communications-President/CEO	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
TOTAL	\$3,000	\$21,000	24,000	
Rep. Bob Goodlatte(R-VA)				
Time Warner	\$2,500	\$0	\$2,500	
Echostar Communications	\$3,000	\$2,000	\$3,000	
Holiday Inns	\$0	\$500	\$500	
General Motors	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Comcast Corp.	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Time Warner	\$0	\$3,000	\$3,000	
TOTAL	\$5,500	\$7,500	11,000	
Rep. Michael Oxley(R-OH)				
General Motors	\$2,000	\$5,000	\$7,000	
Time Warner	\$4,000	\$7,000	\$11,000	
Echostar Communications	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000	
Holiday Inns	\$0	\$500	\$500	
Cablevision Systems	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Thomas G Baxter, Time Warner-President	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	

Glenn Britt, Time Warner-Chairman and CEO	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Terry O'Connell, Time Warner-Executive VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
TOTAL	\$7,000	\$17,500	24,500	
Rep. Charles Pickering(R-MS)				
Marriot International	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000	
General Motors	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$4,000	
Comcast Corp.	\$10,000	\$7,000	\$17,000	
Time Warner	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000	
AT&T	\$9,000	\$10,000	\$19,000	
Echostar Communications	\$2,500	\$0	\$2,500	
Charter Communications	\$2,000	\$0	\$2,000	
Holiday Inns		\$500	\$500	
Joseph W Waz Jr., Comcast Corp.-Senior VP	\$500	\$0	\$500	
Ralph J Roberts, Comcast Corp.-Executive	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000	
TOTAL	\$33,000	\$19,500	52,500	
Rep. Joseph Pitts(R-PA)				
Comcast Corp.	\$1,000	\$2,500	\$3,500	
AT&T	\$5,500	\$6,000	\$11,500	
Time Warner	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
TOTAL	\$6,500	\$9,500	16,000	
Rep. Bart Stupak(D-MI)				
General Motors	\$4,000	\$3,000	\$7,000	
Comcast Corp.	\$2,000	\$1,000	\$3,000	
Time Warner	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000	
AT&T	\$6,000	\$5,000	\$11,000	
Echostar Communications	\$3,000	\$0	\$3,000	
Charter Communications	\$2,000	\$0	\$2,000	
TOTAL	\$18,000	\$9,000	27,000	
Rep. Fred Upton(R-MI)				
General Motors	\$8,500	\$7,000	\$15,500	
Comcast Corp.	\$4,500	\$10,000	\$14,500	
Time Warner	\$4,000	\$5,500	\$9,500	
AT&T	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000	

Echostar Communications	\$3,000	\$4,000	\$7,000	
Charter Communications	\$2,000	\$1,000	\$3,000	
Holiday Inns	\$0	\$500	\$500	
Cablevision Systems	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Stephen B Burke, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP and COO	\$1,000	\$2,000	\$3,000	
Michael Tallent, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP	\$0	\$500	\$500	
TOTAL	\$24,000	\$32,500	56,500	
Rep. Heather Wilson(R-NM)				
General Motors	\$2,000	\$6,000	\$8,000	
Comcast Corp.	\$10,000	\$4,000	\$14,000	
Time Warner	\$5,000	\$1,000	\$6,000	
AT&T	\$8,000	\$10,000	\$18,000	
Joseph Waz Jr., Comcast Corp.-Senior VP	\$500	\$0	\$500	
Stephen B Burke, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP and COO	\$500	\$0	\$500	
TOTAL	\$26,000	\$21,000	47,000	
Rep. Kit Bond(R-MO)				
Comcast Corp.	\$1,000	\$3,500	\$4,500	
AT&T	\$1,000	\$2,000	\$3,000	
General Motors	\$0	\$10,000	\$10,000	
Time Warner	\$0	\$3,000	\$3,000	
TOTAL	\$2,000	\$18,500	20,500	
Sen. Sam Brownback(R-KS)				
Time Warner	\$1,000	\$3,000	\$4,000	
General Motors	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000	
Comcast Corp.	\$0	\$6,500	\$6,500	
Jay Albaugh, Cox Communications-VP of Public Affairs	\$0	\$1,500	\$1,500	
TOTAL	\$1,000	\$16,000	\$17,000	
Sen. Joseph Lieberman(D-CT)				
Comcast Corp.	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
James L Dolan, Cablevision Systems-President and CEO	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Kristin A Dolan, Cablevision Systems-VP	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Irwin Polinsky, Cablevision Systems-Executive	\$0	\$200	\$200	
Hank Ratner, Cablevision Systems-Vice Chairman	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	

Beverly Greenberg, Time Warner-VP of Public Affairs	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Richard Ferguson, Cox Communications-Executive VP Director	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
David L Cohen, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
John Alchin, Comcast Corp.-Executive VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Karen Munro, Comcast Corp.-VP of Government Affairs	\$0	\$500	\$500	
Ralph Roberts, Comcast Corp.-Chairman	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Joseph Waz Jr., Comcast Corp.-Senior VP	\$0	\$500	\$500	
TOTAL	\$0	\$16,200	\$16,200	
Sen. John McCain(R-AZ)	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000	
Comcast Corp.	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000	
Time Warner	\$0	\$10,000	\$10,000	
AT&T	\$0	\$4,000	\$4,000	
Echostar Communications	\$0	\$10,000	\$10,000	
Cablevision Systems	\$0	\$4,000	\$4,000	
Herbert J Siegel, News Corporation -Sr. Advisor	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
Seth G Abraham, Cablevision - Former Member of Mgmt. Group	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,000	
John M Dyer, Cox Communications-Senior VP of Operations	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Patrick Esser, Cox Communications-Executive VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Scott A Hatfield, Cox Communications-Senior VP	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
Stephen J Rizley, Cox Communications-VP and GM Arizona	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	
James O Robbins, Cox Communications-Chief Executive	\$0	\$46,000	\$46,000	
TOTAL				
All contribution amounts compiled from Center for Responsive Politics				