

Rick's Receipts

History of Representative Rick Larsen's political career and campaign finance record.

Produced for Elect Jason Call for Congress by Ben Karpelman

December 2021

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Profile

Richard “Rick” Ray Larsen

Born June 15, 1965 (age 56) in Arlington, Washington. Son of Richard “Dick” Larsen, Sr., a PUD lineman until 1999 and Arlington City Council member until 1997. Larsen, Sr. was also on the local airport and planning commissions. His wife, Rick Larsen’s mother, was a member of the school board.



Rick Larsen, 2021

Larsen’s secondary residence is a single-family home in Bethesda, Maryland, according to Montgomery County property tax records. Purchased shortly after winning election in 2000, Larsen has for legal reasons designated an Everett, Washington condominium as his primary residence since 2003. Larsen’s legal primary residence between 2000 and 2003 was Bethesda.

Background

Graduated from Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington in 1987. Received post-graduate degree in public affairs from the University of Minnesota in 1990.

Director of Economic Development, Port of Everett

Everett, Washington – 1990 to 1991

Not much is known about Larsen’s short tenure at the Port of Everett as he rarely talks about it. Biographies of Larsen available online often do not mention this experience. Some that do talk about his career around this time inaccurately say that he was employed by the City of Everett and not the port.

Director of Public Affairs at the Washington State Dental Association (WSDA)

Seattle, Washington – 1991 to 1998

The WSDA is one of the state’s most powerful medical lobbying organizations. At the time, the national American Dental Association was spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to fight single-payer healthcare efforts^[1], a position that Larsen likely shared.

In 1997, Larsen lobbied on behalf of the WSDA regarding HB 1057. This legislation made it easier to keep records of complaints against medical practitioners hidden from the public.^{[2][3]}

He resigned his position in 1998 after winning election to the Snohomish County Council.

President of the Snohomish County Council, representing District 5

Everett, Washington – 1998 to 2001

Larsen ran for an open seat on the Snohomish County Council for district 5 in 1997. He shared the endorsement from the Snohomish County Democratic Party with all of the other Democrats in the race. In a crowded field, Larsen came in second-place in the primary at 22.7% but went on to defeat Republican Bob Kraski by just three points in the general. Larsen stated that his top-three priorities were “criminal justice, family-wage jobs, clean air and water,”^[211] and that when he took office he would “do what's best not just for Democrats or Republicans but what's best for Snohomish County as a whole.”^[212]

When Jack Metcalf announced his retirement from Congress in 1999, Democrats coalesced around Larsen, “informally annoint[ing]” him over two other potential candidates. This allowed him to spend a nearly-quarter million dollar war chest in the general election with attention from national Democratic figures.^[213]

Committees and Working Groups

Transportation and Infrastructure

Larsen is the fourth-ranking Democrat on the House T&I Committee. His influence in this policy area can be seen through the sheer volume of money that is raised from construction groups, real estate firms, freight companies, airlines, and marine shipping companies. Larsen has bet on bipartisan transportation projects bringing jobs into the district and citing them as examples of his hard work. With transportation and infrastructure policy increasingly scrutinized by climate activists for being woefully insufficient to confront the demands of the climate crisis, Larsen can be criticized for not demanding bolder climate-related provisions be included in transportation legislation.

Armed Services

Being a member since taking office. Larsen is now the third-ranking Democrat on the House Armed Services Committee (HASC). Larsen has repeatedly cited Henry “Scoop” Jackson as a political inspiration, even hanging a portrait of the late-anti-communist senator from Everett in his office.^[15] The comparison is apt since Jackson was infamously a supporter of the Vietnam War, a stance that earned him considerable scorn from the Democratic Party’s more progressive base. In that vein, Larsen has equally received mountains of criticism from local progressive activists first over his support for funding the Iraq War, then later for being soft on leaving Afghanistan. Nevertheless, Larsen’s high position in the HASC means the military-industrial complex is Larsen’s top contributing industry.

Aviation Subcommittee

With Boeing and a sizable portion of the U.S.'s domestic aerospace manufacturing base located in the district, Larsen has had a leading position on the House Aviation Subcommittee for nearly a decade. Named ranking member in 2013, then chairman in 2019, Larsen led Congress's primary aviation oversight authority during both the 787 battery fire incidents and the 737 MAX disasters. Upon being named ranking member in 2013, Larsen said he wanted to help make sure "FAA streamlines its testing and safety certification process for new technology and equipment".^[16]

U.S.–China Working Group

Larsen often will talk about how dependent Washington state, but more precisely Snohomish County, is on international trade – principally with the People's Republic of China. Seen as an expert on China issues, he has traveled to the country numerous times, often meeting with Chinese officials along with American titans of capital.^[17] See more about Larsen's opinions on China on page 8.

Campaign Finance

Total raised: \$15,606,217 (as of Q2 2021)
 From individuals: \$5,491,254 (35.2%)
 From PACs: \$8,089,923 (64.8%)
 From Business PACs: \$5,251,212 (33.6%)^[4]
 Top fundraising cycle: 2010, \$2,022,351
 Last cycle total fundraising: \$1,281,428

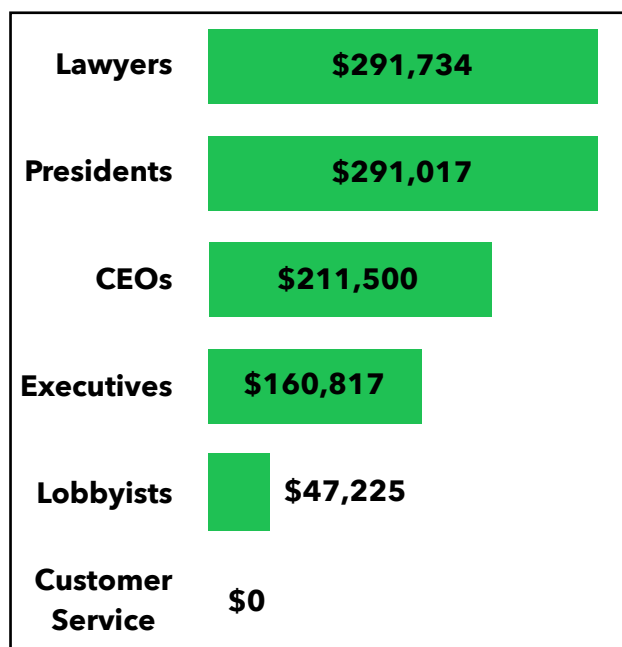
Avg. individual donation: \$507.79 (career)
 \$340.98 (2020 cycle)

2020 Campaign Funding Sources^[5]

Small donor (<\$200): 6.56%
 Large donor (\$200+): 25.25%
 Ideological PACs: 0.48%
 Labor PACs: 16.90%
 Business PACs: 50.78%

Donations, by Profession^[6]

Attorney/Lawyer: 526, \$291,734
 CEO: 274, \$211,500
 Executive: 269, \$160,817
 President: 362, \$291,017
 Lobbyist: 76, \$47,225



Source: FEC. As of Q4 2020.

Principal Talking Points

Since 2014, a majority of Larsen’s campaign funding has come from corporate sources. He is the most corporately-funded Democrat in Washington state’s House delegation.

For five years between 2003 and 2008, Larsen accepted a total of \$15,000 from thirteen contributions by Koch Industries.^[7]

Despite repeated pledges to never take money from the “cigarette lobby”^[8], Larsen accepted \$1,000 contributions each from tobacco companies Altria^[9] and United Smokeless Tobacco^[10] in 2008.

Over his career, Larsen has taken at least \$433,699 from the fossil fuel industry,^[11] including BP,^[12] Exxon Mobil,^[13] and Shell.^[14]

Foreign Policy and War

A member of the influential House Armed Services Committee (HASC) for his entire career, Larsen now ranks as the fourth-most senior Democrat on the committee. His membership on the HASC has connected him to powerful donors from the military-industrial complex who have contributed generously to his campaigns. In return, Larsen has been a steadfast supporter of the Pentagon bureaucracy and status quo, earning a reputation as a savvy defense policy insider.

An example of this close relationship can be seen in 2007 where Larsen voted against a one-year ban on military officers receiving money to lobby on behalf of defense contractors.^[35] Several years later, he led authoring a report for the HASC that recommended loosening restrictions on foreign arms sales.^[47]

Larsen's views on foreign policy and war is in the Clinton-era "humanitarian interventionist" tradition. To that end, he was generally supportive of the Obama administration's forays into Libya and Syria, and was open to the Bush administration performing military actions against Iran. On Iraq and Afghanistan, Larsen leaned on modest proposals to improve veterans' benefits in the vein of "support the troops, not the war" to blunt criticism of not being more forcefully against the wars.

Pentagon Budget

Larsen has voted against cutting the Pentagon budget by 12 percent,^[18] 10 percent,^{[19][92]} 3 percent,^[20] 2½ percent,^[21] 1 percent,^{[22][23]} or even 0.04 percent.^[24] Subsequently, he has voted for all but one (2016) Pentagon budget bill since 2001 – including all of Bush's and Trump's. The 2016 budget that he voted against was legislation that President Barack Obama already pledged to veto.

While Larsen claims to be a supporter of nuclear non-proliferation, he has helped the U.S. military expand their arsenal of nuclear weapons and delivery systems. For example, he voted to cut \$100 million from nuclear nonproliferation programs,^[33] but three weeks earlier he voted to give \$300 million to fund a new nuclear bomber project.^[34] In 2012, Larsen voted against a pair of proposals to cut nuclear weapons funding to instead provide money for environmental cleanup programs or coastal restoration projects.^[119]

Larsen protected wasteful Pentagon projects like the F-35 when he voted against a \$450 million^[64] cut to the program. The F-35 is projected to cost nearly \$1.1 trillion to just *support* the aircraft until 2070.^[37] He also voted against a \$400 million cut^[65] to the equally-flawed^[66] V-22 Osprey program. Defense contractors in the aerospace industry, like Boeing and Northrop Grumman, are among his top campaign contributors.

Larsen has also been supportive of increasing funding to what has been described as the Pentagon's "slush fund":^[38] the Overseas Contingency Operations budget. He's voted against reducing this budget at least twice.^[39]

Larsen has voted against reducing the missile defense budget at least four times.^[40] In 2011, he was the featured keynote speaker at a Missile Defense Agency conference.^[41]

Iraq and Afghanistan

Larsen supported and defended George W. Bush's War on Terror, saying in 2002 that it may take "30 or 35 years before we can say we have won the war against terrorists".^[26] He voted for the War in Afghanistan and voted against withdrawing at least six times.^[25] Larsen most recently voted against leaving Afghanistan in 2020 with a proposed withdrawal date of April 29, 2021.

Larsen has repeatedly defended the U.S. presence in Afghanistan and has dodged alluding to any failure in the country. In a 2010 interview, Larsen said that he understood people's "frustration" about Afghanistan, but defended the occupation by noting that the country was no longer a "safe haven" for terrorists.^[55] In a 2016 interview with an Afghan journalist, Larsen was asked whether he thought the Obama administration's handling of Afghanistan was "successful". He dodged the question and explained to the interviewer that the war was originally George W. Bush's idea.^[56]

However, on one occasion, Larsen did vote to withdraw from Afghanistan, in 2011.^[27] The caveat though was that *this* proposal included *no* deadline for leaving the country or for the creation of a withdrawal plan. At least three withdrawal proposals were offered in 2011, including this one, but Larsen voted for the only one that included no deadlines. Joel Connelly, a Seattle Post-Intelligencer journalist close to Larsen, wrote an article praising the congressman for the "yes" vote and noted that "Larsen has enjoyed an uneasy relationship with ultraliberal peacenik Democrats".^[28]

That uneasy relationship was marked by confrontations between anti-war protestors, Larsen's staff, and Larsen himself. In response to anti-war protestors who arrived at Larsen's Bellingham office in 2006, him or his staff sought the arrest of prominent peace activist Ellen Murphy.^[207] Murphy was arrested on trespassing charges brought by Larsen's office who claimed that she violated an order to never visit the Bellingham office ever again and stayed after office hours. Despite arresting officers noting that time of arrest being before Larsen's office closed, Larsen and his staffers maintained that Murphy was trespassing.^[208]

Murphy's arrest flared tensions between Larsen and anti-war progressives who claimed this was a part of a pattern of contempt from Larsen towards them. In a 2007 affidavit submitted in Murphy's court hearings, fellow peace advocate Carol Cates wrote:

I volunteered for Rick Larsen from March 4, 2004 to nearly the end of November 2004. I was in contact with Mr. Larsen, his staff, including his chief of staff Jeff Bjornstad, during that time. I was present for many strategy sessions in his main campaign office in Everett during this time. I can say without question that Rick Larsen and his staff shared a common prejudice and bias towards folks who were adamant about stopping U.S. military action in Iraq, and other things related to that position. He frankly exhibited complete disdain for people who felt that way.^[29]

According to Cates, Larsen and his staff didn't try to hide their disdain for progressives in the party.

Anyone who felt that they were supporting our troops by trying to get them home and stop the killing was seen as naive and uneducated. At that time "these folks", as well as supporters of Howard Dean, and Mr. Dean himself were considered "out of left field", "lefties", "Deaniacs", uneducated and misinformed. Mr. Larsen held a very strong attitude that 'these people' should have their heads examined.

Larsen had no early public position on the Iraq War other than voting against it in 2002.^[30] He faced pressure from constituents in the weeks leading up to the invasion to take a stance, but refused to do so.^[31] During the Iraq War, he earned a reputation of being a "strong advocate" for funding the war^[32] and voted in 2005 against ending the war.^[61] Instead, he voted for a resolution to "express the commitment ... to achieving victory in Iraq".^[62]

Intervention in Other Countries

Larsen has voted multiple times to prevent withdrawals or reductions in troop presence from positions overseas, including Pakistan,^[41] Europe,^[42] and Libya.^[43]

He abdicated constitutional responsibility for declaring war by voting against requiring Congressional approval for military interventions in Iran,^[44] Libya,^[45] and Syria.^[109]

Israel and Palestine

Since taking office, Larsen has been a staunchly pro-Israel Democrat. Early in his career, Larsen went on record supporting the relocation of the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, saying that it would "be a huge statement" but that it may also be "politically risky".^[46] In the years following these statements, Larsen's campaign received contributions from a pro-Israel lobby group. In 2004^[53] and 2006^[54], Friends of Israel donated \$2,500 to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen.

In this period, Larsen also voted in support of pro-Israel measures. In 2007, he voted for an amendment from Mike Pence that prohibited the U.S. from sending any aid or humanitarian

assistance to Palestinians.^[48] A decade later, he voted to condemn a United Nations Security Council resolution that declared Israeli settlements in Palestine a “flagrant violation” of international law and the Fourth Geneva Convention.^[49]



Rick Larsen at AIPAC in 2020

In 2014, Larsen sent his legislative director on a trip to Israel sponsored by the American Israel Education Association, an AIPAC-affiliated lobbyist group. Among other activities, attendees watched presentations about the daily affairs of maintaining an occupation force.^[50] The purpose of the trip was to give the legislative director “a deeper and better sense of the issues in the region in relation to American policy”. In 2020, Larsen attended the American-Israel Political Action Conference.^[51] It was later deemed an early superspreader event in the COVID-19 pandemic.^[52]

China

Having co-founded the U.S.-China Working Group in 2005, Larsen has long paid close attention to Western corporate concerns about access to the Chinese economy. Larsen has travelled to China many times, often accompanied by American corporate executives engaged in trade negotiations with Chinese officials.^[17] In a 2019 interview with Brookings, Larsen said that his biggest concern was “market access” to China’s economy^[57] – presumably access by Western corporations.

During a meeting with the Washington State China Relations Council, Larsen said that he wanted all of China’s state-owned enterprises to be privatized. In response to question about limiting the privatization Larsen wanted from China, he said “I’m not even going to entertain that.”^[58] However, Larsen has been supportive of U.S. state-owned enterprises like the Export-Import Bank, for which he lobbied to renew its charter.^[59] This demonstrates a double-standard wherein the U.S. is allowed to operate state-owned enterprises but China can’t and must be forced to open the entirety of their economy to Western corporations.

Aside from economic challenges to China, Larsen has also long seen China as a military threat worthy of increasing defense budgets over. After Biden announced the U.S. withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, Larsen was quick to pivot from this massive U.S. foreign policy failure to point the finger at China. “China is the biggest loser in President Biden’s Afghanistan decision,” he said. Larsen went further to justify a continued U.S. empire around the globe saying “President Biden’s announcement officially ended China’s ability to act free of the United States’ presence in the world.”^[60]

United Nations

Larsen helped to keep the U.S. out of the International Criminal Court with a 2001 vote to prohibit any cooperation with the court.^[63] He again voted to prohibit cooperation with the ICC in 2002.^[67]

Almost a decade later, Larsen voted to seize a \$179 million overpayment made to the United Nations.^[68]

Donors

Rick Larsen has accepted at least \$635,500 from 38 companies and PACs linked to the military-industrial complex:^[69] Boeing, Honeywell, Northrop Grumman, Lockheed Martin, General Electric, Raytheon, Parsons Corporation, United Technologies, General Dynamics, Harris Corporation, Huntington Ingalls Industries, Leidos, BAE Systems, SAIC, Textron, Excel, Triumph Group, Rockwell Collins, Alliant Techsystems, Cray, Cobham Holdings, Kaman Corporation, Aerojet Rocketdyne, Texas Instruments, Electronic Data Systems, Cerner, Advanced Acoustic Concepts, Orbital ATK, TE Connectivity, Serco Incorporated, DRS Technologies, Oshkosh, Phillips Electronics, Dyncorp International, EMC Corporation, Perspecta, Security Industry Association, and Infineon Technologies.

Boeing	\$78,000
Honeywell	\$73,000
Northrop Grumman	\$71,000
Lockheed Martin	\$59,500
General Electric	\$53,500
Raytheon	\$46,500

Source: FEC. As of Q4 2020.

Climate and the Environment

As a member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, and chair of its Aviation Subcommittee, Larsen receives large amounts of money from transportation companies, construction firms, material suppliers, airlines, shipping lines, and aerospace manufacturers. Additionally, the Second Congressional District is home to four out of the five oil refineries in Washington state.^[70] Larsen has taken money from all of them including the two outside of the district:

	Refinery Location	Amount Contributed
Marathon ^[71]	Anacortes	\$46,000
BP	Cherry Point	\$17,500
U.S. Oil ^[72]	Tacoma	\$5,750
Phillips 66	Ferndale	\$5,000
Shell	Anacortes	\$1,500

While a supporter of the Obama administration’s cap-and-trade plan in 2009, Larsen remains an opponent of the Green New Deal. He clings very closely to climate talking points from Democratic leadership, and shies away from speaking on any sort of radical terms about the climate crisis. Larsen’s most common line regarding the crisis is an acknowledgment that climate change is real and human-caused. This line has been rehearsed and repeated for decades as he used to contend with a more conservative constituency prior to 2011 redistricting.

This historic trend of political centrism, money from oil producers and coal shippers, and large sums of money from aerospace and airlines has molded Larsen into a steadfast opponent of the most far-reaching of climate policies. He likes to complain that his support for Obama’s cap-and-trade proposal was more controversial in the 2010 election than supporting the Affordable Care Act. This experience, I believe, is fundamental to what keeps him from embracing more progressive climate policies – in addition to cultivating a network of fossil fuel guzzling and polluting donors.

With the climate crisis quickly becoming one of the top issues among voters,^[73] highlighting both Larsen’s campaign finance record and timidity on supporting aggressive climate policies exposes a core weakness in Larsen’s primary candidacy. His record defending fossil fuel projects is also extensive and damning. His proposed legislation on addressing the climate crisis, too, are weak and underwhelming. See more about his proposed legislation in the 117th Congress regarding climate on pages 17 and 18.

Green New Deal

Larsen has publicly opposed a Green New Deal since February 8, 2019, a mere two days after the resolution was originally introduced.^[74] His statement read:

I am going to do my due diligence to examine the potential impacts of the Green New Deal Resolution on Northwest Washington.

I have a strong record of supporting robust federal investments in greener transportation to keep the local economy thriving, create new jobs and foster the advancement of energy efficient technology.

As Chair of the Aviation Subcommittee, I also support innovation in U.S. aviation and aerospace through the development and deployment of new and greener technologies.

However, I am not yet ready to support the Green New Deal Resolution.

It is difficult to support the resolution right now when one of the lead sponsors says one of the intentions is to make air travel unnecessary.

I cannot sell that position to the 23,000 women and men who live and work in Washington's Second District who support the U.S. aviation economy by making the safest aircraft and aerospace products in the world.

There is a lot of good in the resolution, but I have a lot of questions.

In the time since releasing this statement, Larsen has never announced a new position with a more complete analysis of the Green New Deal. He echoes statements from Democratic leadership denying the GND's significance and justifies it by noting that it is a non-binding resolution instead of formal legislation. Here's what he said about it at a public appearance on October 26, 2019:

There are some folks who have supported the Green New Deal who have done nothing else as far as legislation, and there are folks who haven't supported the Green New Deal resolution and are doing a lot to fight climate change.

So, I'm in that second group, and I'm OK being in that second group. Because I think if I support the Green New Deal and come back six months later [and] say, 'well what have you done since?', I'm just skipping ahead to that point.^[75]

Since then, five pieces of legislation have been introduced that align with the principles and priorities set forth in the Green New Deal: Green New Deal for Public Housing, BUILD GREEN Act, Green New Deal for Public Schools, Green New Deal for Cities, and the Civilian Climate Corps. Larsen cosponsors none of them.^[76]

Larsen has pivoted instead to focus specifically on legislation backed by his centrist cohorts. On February 26, 2021, he began using the term “FDR-like” to describe both the Moving Forward Act’s investment in confronting the climate crisis and his own priorities regarding climate.^[77] This phrase has been repeated extensively by Larsen when talking about climate and infrastructure policy, usually paired with phrases like “aggressive and progressive”,^[78] a term he began using in January 2021. When pressed by local Democrats about why he doesn’t support a Green New Deal, Larsen is instead greenwashing his record and saying that he has “accomplished much” in confronting the climate crisis.^[79]

Keystone XL Pipeline

While Larsen voted to reject authorization of the Keystone XL Pipeline in 2015,^[80] he helped worsen legislation related to the pipeline and shield both it and its owner, TransCanada, from intense scrutiny. A corporate donor to his campaign, Larsen once tweeted out support for pipeline infrastructure the day after receiving \$1,500 from TransCanada.^[209]

Pipelines play a critical role in the nation’s infrastructure & the daily lives of people in the PNW. Since taking office, I have prioritized efforts to improve pipeline safety, increase pipeline operator accountability and mitigate the effects of climate change.

^[210]

In 2011 and 2013, Larsen voted against amendments in legislation related to the Keystone XL Pipeline that would have either studied the potential toxic impacts of the pipeline or included findings from studies already performed:

July 26, 2011: Voted to prevent findings about TransCanada’s recent safety issues with the Keystone pipeline from being included in final legislation regarding the project.^[81] That day, Larsen also voted against requiring a study to examine the health effects of toxic fumes and pollution generated by oil refineries connected to the Keystone XL pipeline network.^[82]

May 22, 2013: Larsen voted against three amendments related to studies about the Keystone XL pipeline. First, a vote against the Government Accountability Office studying the projected costs of an oil spill cleanup operation for the Keystone XL Pipeline and the impacts a spill would have on public health and the environment.^[83]

Next, Larsen voted against including findings from a study that found further development of fracking infrastructure would likely result in the rise of greenhouse gas emissions.^[84] Lastly, he

voted against mandating a study to examine the impacts on air pollution by refineries connected to the Keystone XL Pipeline network.^[85]

These votes run afoul to one of Larsen's early achievements: pipeline safety legislation passed in 2002 in response to a 1999 pipeline explosion in Whatcom County that killed three people.^[86]

Defending Fossil Fuels

A recipient of hundreds of thousands of dollars from the fossil fuel industry, Larsen has taken votes in defense of expanding fossil fuel infrastructure federal subsidies of oil and gas.

Protecting Subsidies and Tax Breaks

Shortly after taking office in 2001, Larsen voted to give fossil fuel corporations large tax breaks for new oil and gas infrastructure projects that "anticipated growth for natural gas consumption in the west".^[87] Representative Ed Markey (D-MA) denounced the proposal saying:

The Republican bill will spend \$34 billion, and these are huge breaks, a royalty holiday, meaning oil and gas companies will not have to pay for going on public lands. [...] So here is what they are doing. They are about to build their oil rigs, their gas rigs, on top of the Social Security trust fund, on top of the Medicare trust fund, and they are about to begin to drill so they can pump it dry.^[88]

Several years later, Larsen voted to maintain federal subsidies for so-called "ultra-deepwater" offshore oil drilling operations.^[89] "Ultra-deepwater" is offshore drilling more than 1,500 meters (4,291 feet; 0.93 miles) beneath sea level.^[90] *Deepwater Horizon* was named that in-part because it was an ultra-deepwater rig and at the time was the deepest oil well in the world.^[91]

Larsen has also defended federal spending on fossil fuel research and development. Funding for these programs amounts to a subsidy for oil and gas corporations as it means they are allowed to spend less of their own profits on R&D projects. In 2015, Larsen voted against three proposed cuts to these programs.^[93] Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MN-05) advocated for the cuts saying:

I do not think my constituents in the Fifth Congressional District of Minnesota need to foot the bill for R&D for Exxon Mobil, Shell, Chevron, BP, and ConocoPhillips. I think they should pay their own R&D if they are banking money like that. I think they are doing just fine, and they don't need more of the average taxpayer's dough.^[94]

This isn't the only time Larsen has stood in the way of ending these subsidies to fossil fuel corporations. In 2012, he voted against cutting fossil fuel research and development by \$100 million in order to better fund renewable energy programs.^[95] In 2017, Larsen voted against an even larger proposed cut: \$355,000,000 also to help fund renewable energy programs.^[96]

Two days after receiving \$1,000 from BP in 2006,^[97] Larsen voted against limiting how much money the Export-Import Bank could loan for an oil and gas development.^[98] The amendment's sponsor, Rep. Bernie Sanders (D-VT), strongly pushed for its approval:

It is beyond comprehension that anybody in this institution could come forward with a straight face and say that the taxpayers of America should be providing loan guarantees and subsidies to corporations like Exxon Mobil.^[99]

To aid oil and gas development, Larsen has fought against imposing additional requirements and disclosures in federal fossil fuel infrastructure permits. Larsen voted against requiring fossil fuel corporations to even *disclose* the federal subsidies they receive when applying for new permits on oil and gas projects.^[103] He voted to allow fossil fuel executives keep their bonuses a secret on those same permit applications.^[104] He also helped fossil fuel companies conceal the risks of their projects by voting against a requirement for worst-case scenarios for an oil spill caused by the proposed development to be included in permit applications.^[107]

In 2012, Larsen voted to preserve the practice of "free drilling" where oil companies are able to renew offshore drilling leases in the Gulf of Mexico entirely for free.^[108] Possibly motivated in part by the large sums of money given to him by companies like BP and Marathon Oil, Larsen has stood in the way of stricter regulation to limit fossil fuel growth.

Easing Regulations on Fossil Fuels

Several times in Larsen's career he has voted to shield oil and gas companies from facing tougher regulations or oversight from the federal government. One of the more notorious examples of this was Larsen's vote for the Energy Act of 2005.^[100] This bill enshrined what has been called the "Halliburton loophole", a set of provisions that exempted toxic fracking runoff fluids from regulation under the Clean Air Act and Clean Drinking Water Act.^[101]

The loophole was reportedly inserted at the behest of then-Vice President Dick Cheney, former CEO and Chairman of Halliburton^[102] – the same company that invented hydraulic fracturing (fracking) in the 1940s. A year after this legislation was passed with Rick Larsen's help, he voted against strengthening restrictions on oil and gas development in National Conservation Lands.^[114] This would make it easier for a company like Exxon Mobil to drill for oil in the Wild Sky Wilderness Area, for example, a federal wilderness designation that Larsen helped to achieve in 2007.

In 2015, continuing a trend of making it easier to drill in protected public lands, Larsen voted against requiring a carbon impact study for a bill that sought to strip Congress of its power to authorize natural gas pipelines built across federal lands.^[116] Urging support of the amendment, sponsor Rep. Frank Pallone (D-NJ-06) said:

As Members of this Congress, it is our responsibility to protect the interests of Americans, which includes protecting Americans from the devastating effects of climate change while we still can. This amendment will allow us to do just that by giving us the necessary information to analyze the effects of this legislation.^[117]

Unswayed by the appeals from his colleagues, Larsen continued to help fossil fuel infrastructure developments by weakening environmental reviews of the projects. In 2017, he voted to effectively exempt oil and gas projects that cross international borders from thorough environmental review under the National Environmental Policy Act.^[118] By dramatically narrowing the scope of the NEPA-mandated reviews, Larsen allowed for less scrutiny to be placed on fossil fuel corporations.

Republicans have been helped by Rick Larsen's support for weakening the EPA's ability to regulate fossil fuels. In 2011, he voted to undermine federal gasoline emissions regulations by requiring a study be performed on how such rules would impact "American competitiveness."^[105] Further diminishing the EPA's enforcement powers, Larsen also voted that year to allow oil companies to delay verifying compliance with emissions rules by up to five years.^[106] Kneecapping the EPA *even more*, in 2014, Larsen voted to cut environmental enforcement programs by \$8.5 million and instead redirect that money to grants for cops.^[110]

Lastly, Larsen has helped the fossil fuel industry export their products internationally. In 2005, he was against conducting a study to examine the safety of transporting liquified natural gas (LNG) by sea,^[111] a product coincidentally exported on tanker ships by a top campaign contributor:^[112] Puget Sound Energy.^[113] Years later, Larsen voted to use disaster relief funds to help subsidize LNG export terminals,^[115] like the one owned by Puget Sound Energy. His support for exporting fossil fuels across the globe isn't limited to legislation, either, he also went out of his way to help expand the export of fossil fuels from his own district.

Gateway Pacific Terminal

Larsen's history of involvement with the Gateway Pacific Terminal goes back to February 2011 when the project was first announced. "I am pleased to see an in-district based company making a major private investment in our nation's export infrastructure," he announced. "The Gateway Pacific Terminal will make U.S. companies more competitive in the global market and create hundreds of local family wage jobs."^[134] This proposed marine export facility would ship coal delivered by rail from the American interior across the Pacific Ocean to buyers in East Asia, primarily China. The terminal met fierce resistance from residents and

particularly members of the nearby Lummi Nation. Some protest events drew 1,000 people in Bellingham, a city of just 81,000.^[133]

Larsen's support may be due in part to the influence of SSA Marine, a marine terminal operator firm who had contributed \$6,000 to Larsen's campaign by 2011. Since 2011, they have given him an additional \$28,500.^[135] His support may also be bolstered by donations from Goldman Sachs, who in 2011, donated \$5,000 to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen.^[139] Goldman Sachs made a "significant equity investment" in SSA Marine's parent company, Carrix in 2007^[137], giving them a 49 percent stake in Carrix's pension fund. By 2014, in response to criticism of the Gateway Pacific Terminal, Goldman Sachs divested from their position in Carrix.^[138]

Larsen's support for the project also aligned with that of longtime donor and friend Craig Cole, the co-owner of local grocery chain Brown & Cole. A prolific donor and political operative supporting business-friendly initiatives and politicians, he was likewise an early vocal supporter of the Gateway Pacific Terminal. Cole's consultant firm, Straight Talk Consulting, worked on behalf of SSA Marine to promote the development of the Gateway Pacific Terminal to the region's political and capitalist class.^[136]

While Cole's connections to Rick Larsen date back to his first run for Congress in 1999,^[131] it was a fundraiser for Larsen hosted by Cole in 2012 that drew controversy. When protested by activists from Socialist Alternative who were there to confront Larsen and Cole over their support of the coal export terminal, Larsen met them with hostility.^[132] "Larsen was visibly irritated by the disruption and ordered [SA member Ramy] Khalil to leave immediately," Socialist Alternative reported, "the doormen attempted multiple times to physically shove Khalil out of the building."

Cole gave Larsen a check for \$1,000 that day,^[140] and his fight with Gateway Pacific Terminal opponents culminated in a 2014 lawsuit against local newspaper *Whatcom Watch*. He sued the volunteer journalists for libel, arguing that *Whatcom Watch* untruthfully labelled him as racist and "anti-Indian".^[141] But such opposition never deterred either Cole nor Larsen.

Larsen maintained his alliance with the Gateway Pacific Terminal's backers and ensured that federal legislation would assist efforts to complete the project. He dodged complaints from constituents by providing them misleading information about the number of coal trains that would be traveling through their communities. "I'm going to be charitable and assume that Congressman Rick Larsen (or someone on his staff) is confused, misinformed, or really bad at arithmetic," wrote Slightline Institute journalist Eric de Place in 2013 after receiving misleading information from Larsen's office about the terminal.^[144]

In 2015, it was reported that Larsen supported an amendment that would essentially allow project reviewers to disregard concerns brought forward by the Lummi Nation regarding the development's violation of treaty rights.^[136] The amendment was agreed upon by voice vote,

meaning no other record exists to verify Larsen’s position on it.^[142] Democrat Frank Pallone of New Jersey rose against the amendment specifically identifying its violation of treaty rights the Lummi Nation has with the United States:

What is more, the amendment undermines the treaty rights of the Lummi Nation and jeopardizes the sovereignty of all tribes with rights to natural resources. [...]

I am shocked to see [Republicans] standing here with straight faces arguing that, when it benefits them and their friends in the coal industry.^[143]

Finally in 2016, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers declared that, indeed, the Gateway Pacific Terminal violated the Lummi Nation’s treaty rights.^[145] The rights of the Indigenous were upheld, but with no help from their representative in Congress who palled around with donors who sought to profit off the project.

Greenwashing

A staple of Larsen’s campaigning and messaging has been to inflate the importance or impact of legislation on helping the environment or confronting the climate crisis. In the 117th Congress, he introduced a pair of bills under the name “Greenhouse Gas Reductions and Environmental Enhancement” for both ferries and buses. Endorsed by the New Democrat Coalition,^[121] Larsen has positioned these proposals as the bedrock of arguments for what he is personally doing in regards to the climate crisis. Unfortunately, both proposals offer just drops in the bucket to what the federal response should be.

GREEN Ferries Act

Introduced with Rep. Donald Payne (D-NJ-10), this legislation commits about \$250,000,000 over four years towards replacing, converting, or maintaining existing ferries with zero-emission propulsion systems.^[122] In 2019, the construction of Washington state’s first hybrid-electric ferry was estimated cost “around \$160 million”,^[123] meaning Larsen is proposing providing enough federal money to construct only one – possibly two – hybrid-electric ferries. While quotes given to Larsen by state legislators noting the need to reduce emissions from the ferry system and the help that Larsen’s bill will provide, none of them talk about the small scale of the response offered in the legislation compared to the urgency around cutting emissions by the decade’s end.^[124]

GREEN Buses Act

Introduced with Julia Brownley (D-CA-26) and Derek Kilmer (D-WA-06), this legislation similarly commits relatively little to assisting transit systems with electrifying their bus fleets. The bill provides grants to procure “at least” ten zero emission buses. For systems operating less than 50 buses during peak hours, “at least” five zero emission buses would be procured.

[125] Furthermore, transit agencies are not required to commit to transitioning their entire bus fleet to zero emission propulsion. Theoretically, a transit agency could set a goal to convert only 15% of their fleet over 10 years and still be deemed eligible for grants under this legislation.

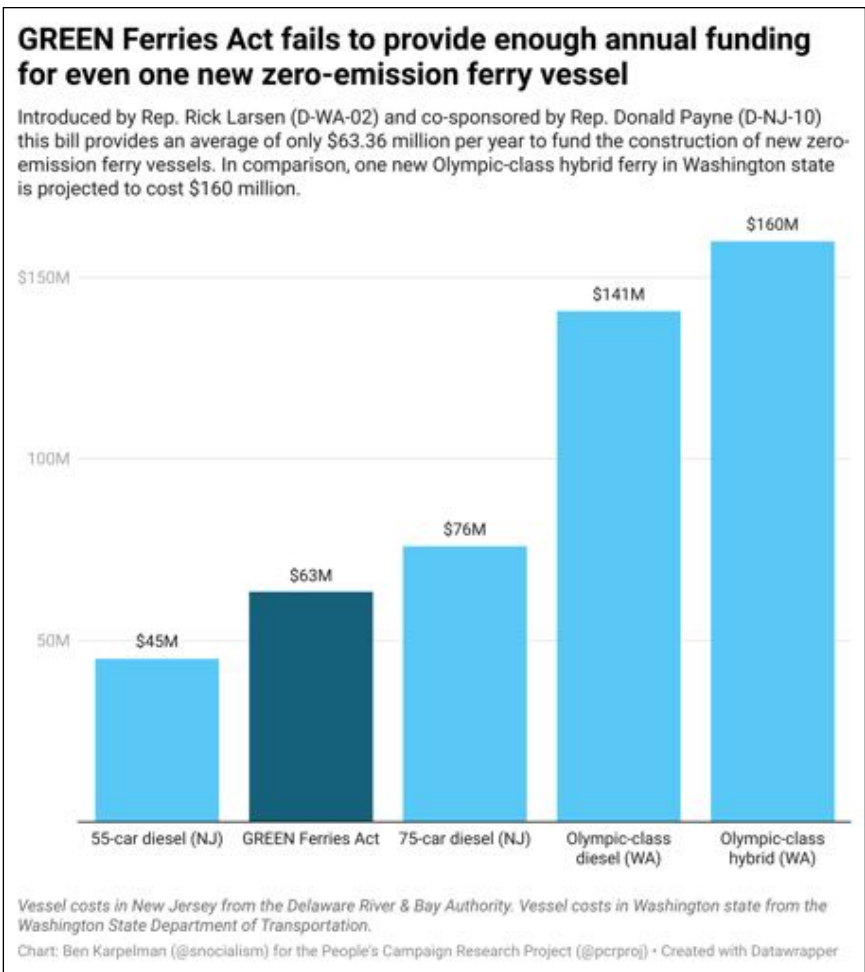
There are only 1,000 electric buses in the U.S. with only another 1,700 zero-emission buses on order.[126] This legislation does not do nearly enough to rapidly increase those numbers. In comparison there are over 13,000 buses powered by natural gas[126] and around 35,000 diesel or gasoline buses.[127]

Aerospace

As Chairman of the House Aviation Subcommittee, Larsen has acted as a shield in Congress for the aviation industry and increasing calls to reduce reliance on air travel. Notably, this is the principal reason why Larsen does not support a Green New Deal.[74] He instead chooses to focus on efficiency gains made by the aviation industry such as use of alternative fuels, lighter materials and improved design, and electrification of airport ground infrastructure.[75]

As chairman, he regularly lauds the aviation industry on technical achievements meant to make consumers believe that growing air travel is compatible with a habitable planet. "Once only seen in science fiction or dropping Judy and Elroy off at school, 'flying cars' and 'air taxis' will soon be a reality," Larsen said in a 2021 hearing he chaired. "With over 70 advanced air mobility concepts in development. Electric vertical takeoff (eVTOL) and landing vehicles could reduce traffic congestion and improve mobility options, particularly in dense urban environments." [128] To further promote this technology, Larsen invited the CEO of an in-district business developing a concept eVTOL aircraft.

Similarly, Larsen repeats airline and aerospace industry myths about efficiency gains made from use of lighter materials and implementation of better design. In a 2009 press release, Larsen repeated one of Boeing's core selling points for the 787 airliner: "[the 787] produces



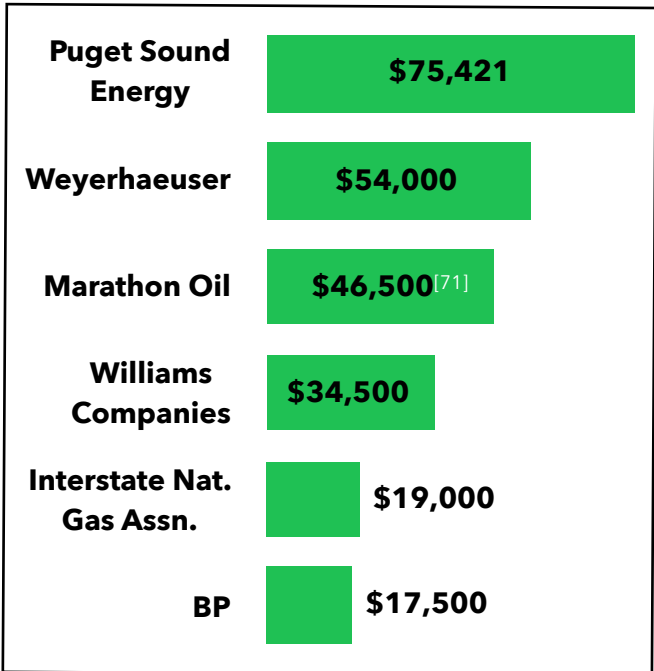
fewer emissions and uses 20 percent less fuel than comparable aircraft.^[129] While it is true that aircraft like the 787 consume less fuel, growth of the airline industry overall and maintenance of aging aircraft offset cuts achieved through technological innovation. In 2020, the International Council on Clean Transportation found that emissions from commercial aircraft had increased 29 percent between 2013 and 2019.^[146]

Additionally, carbon offsets promoted by airlines (and Larsen donors) like Alaska Airlines, Atlas Air, and Delta are “worse than doing nothing.”^[147] “[Offsetting] is without scientific legitimacy,” says Kevin Anderson in an article in the scientific journal *Nature*, “[it] is dangerously misleading and almost certainly contributes to a net increase in the absolute rate of global emissions growth.”

Fossil Fuel Donors

Since 2002, 47 fossil fuel corporations and political action committees have donated at least \$433,699 to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen:^[130]

Cloud Peak Energy, CMS Energy, National Mining Association (also known as COALPAC), Columbia Pipeline Group, National Grid, National Propane Gas Association, NextEra Energy, Nustar Energy, Xcel Energy, Avista Corporation, Exxon Mobil, International Bottled Water Association, AGL Resources, Edison International, Enbridge Incorporated, American Fuel and Petrochemical Manufacturers Association, Entergy Corporation, Petroleum Marketers Association, Alliant Energy, National Fuel Gas Supply, Sempra Energy, Shell Oil, MDU Resources Group, Chesapeake Energy, NiSource Energy, TransCanada (now TC Energy), DTE Energy, Phillips 66, Edison Electric, El Paso Corporation, Constellation Energy, Alcoa Incorporated, Pacific Gas and Electric, Dominion Energy, Marathon Oil, International Paper, Spectra Energy, American Gas Association, Association of Oil Pipe Lines, Koch Industries, Dow Chemical, BP, Interstate Natural Gas Association, Tesoro Petroleum, Williams Companies, Weyerhaeuser, and Puget Sound Energy.



Source: FEC. As of Q4 2020.

Transportation Donors

Since 2002, 55 corporations and political action committees affiliated with aviation, aerospace, or other modes oil-dependent transportation have contributed \$1,180,132 to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen:^[148]

Boeing, Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association, Union Pacific Railroad, Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railways, United Parcel Service, Alaska Airlines, United Airlines, Southwest Airlines, Norfolk Southern Railway, CSX Corporation, Delta Air Lines, SSA Marine, Atlas Air, Federal Express (FedEx), NetJets Association of Share Aircraft Pilots, National Business Aviation Association, American Airlines, Toyota, General Aviation Manufacturers Association, Brunswick, American President Lines, Maersk, Airports Council International, American Shipping Group, Saltchuck Resources, Rolls-Royce, Shipbuilders Council of America, Association of American Railroads, National Association of Truck Stop Owners, Vigor Industrial, Crowley Maritime, American Association of Airport Executives, JetBlue Airways, Horizon Lines, Airbus, Cruise Lines International Association, Airlines for America, American Trucking Association, National Marine Manufacturers Association, National Agricultural Aviation Association, National Air Transportation Association, Holland America Line, Enterprise Holdings, Embraer Aircraft, PACCAR, Bombardier, Transdigm Group, Air Transport Association of America, General Motors, Airborne Freight Corporation, Automotive Free International Trade Association, Overseas Shipholding Group, American Shipping and Logistics Group, and American Commercial Lines.

Boeing	\$78,000
Aircraft Owners and Pilots PAC	\$77,000
Union Pacific Railroad	\$75,000
BNSF Railway	\$73,500
UPS	\$62,032
Alaska Airlines	\$47,000

Source: FEC. As of Q4 2020.

Deficit and Austerity Politics

In an interview with C-SPAN shortly after winning election to Congress in 2000, Larsen was asked what national issues he wanted to be involved with when he took office. “Well, I think in Congress we need to reach across the aisle as Democrats,” he said, “and really institutionalize paying down the debt.”^[149] Despite campaigning in 2002 for “responsible tax cuts”^[150] Larsen voted for deficit-destroying measures like funding the War in Iraq and Bush’s repeal of the estate tax. In 2004, Larsen participated in a panel called “Youth and Deficit Spending” wherein right-wing propagandists from the American Enterprise Institute advocated for broad cuts to government spending.

In the Obama Era, Larsen was eager to join Tea Party Republicans in efforts to further restrict federal spending and cut programs in the name of deficit reduction. First voting for PAYGO in 2010,^[151] Larsen had even bigger ambitions to fulfill his original goal to “institutionalize paying down the debt”. In 2011 he backed demands for a special committee on deficit reduction to “go big”. “To succeed, all options for mandatory and discretionary spending and revenues must be on the table,” said the letter that Larsen signed along with Republicans like Ron Paul (TX-22) and Devin Nunes (CA-22).^[152]

Larsen went on C-SPAN in 2012 to represent the New Democrat Coalition and other centrist Democrats who were supportive of working with Republicans on budget cuts. “I’m one of the few members of Congress who voted for a *four* trillion dollar deficit reduction package,” he boasted while appearing on Washington Journal. “It takes revenue, it takes spending cuts. Spending cuts meaning as well reductions in spending growth for some programs.”^[153]

Responding to a question from a caller in that same 2012 appearance on C-SPAN, Larsen laid out his take on the ongoing negotiations to cut budgets and strictly restrict spending growth.

As a Democrat who is active in the New Democratic Coalition, we tend to be more moderate Democrats. For us, as moderate Democrats, this is kind of a “Back to the Future” moment. The New Dems Coalition started in the mid-90s, in the Clinton administration. New Dems were a part of helping to put together the budget package that resulted in surpluses in the late-90s. I say it’s a “Back to the Future” moment because moderate Dems are in the same place now, same position to be able to help craft a balanced longer-term deficit reduction approach that not everyone’s going to like. There are going to be plenty of things that people will not like. Longer term, you know, ten years down the road we’ll be a stronger country for it, the budget will be sustainable, we’ll be able to move forward from here.^[154]

At the close of the Obama presidency, Larsen incorporated deficit politics into his healthcare platform. “I support the public option and am a cosponsor of the Public Option Deficit

Reduction Act,” read a 2017 letter issued by Larsen’s office in response to demands to support Medicare for All. “Under this bill, the public option would operate alongside private insurance to provide consumers with more affordable and diverse health plans on the ACA’s exchanges and stimulate competition the [sic] insurance marketplace.”^[154] The bill’s sponsor, on the other hand, crafted the legislation with a different intention. “This bill would create a publicly run health insurance plan that would be available in every Obamacare marketplace,” wrote Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-IL-09) in a 2015 press release, “an option that would save \$158 billion over 10 years.”^[156] Even when trying to guarantee the right to healthcare, Larsen couldn’t help put place the deficit at an equal or higher priority. More about this bill in Healthcare on pages 23 and 24.

Healthcare

Rick Larsen became a lobbyist for the dental industry at the same time they were spending huge sums of money to combat healthcare reform by the Clinton administration. “Donations from the political action committees of individual companies and trade coalitions, most of whom oppose a government-administered, ‘single-payer’ system,” wrote Dana Priest in *The Washington Post* in 1992, “are up 22 percent compared with the same period during the 1990 election season.”^[15] In a 2017 town hall, Larsen remarked that he has opposed single-payer healthcare since at least 2001.^[157]

Healthcare, and reform of the health system more broadly, was not a significant domestic policy issue during the Bush administration after Clinton’s failures in the 1990s. As such, Larsen’s positions on healthcare reform during this period are difficult to pin down. However, not long after taking office he voted against an amendment from Bernie Sanders that would have ended the monopoly Big Pharma has on the reimportation of prescription drugs.^[161]

It is about telling the drug companies that they can no longer charge the American people \$1 for drugs when those same exact products are sold in Germany for 60 cents, France for 51 cents, and Italy for 49 cents. [...] [I]t is high time that we end the monopoly that the drug companies have on the importation and reimportation of prescription drugs in this country.^[162]

An early backer of Obama’s healthcare reform efforts in the House in 2009, Larsen has made the Affordable Care Act the focal point of his healthcare agenda. Press releases and statements about healthcare have mostly been about opposing Republican efforts to repeal and replace the ACA rather than demands for further improvements to the healthcare system. On at least one occasion, Larsen joined Tea Party Republicans in weakening provisions of the Affordable Care Act.

In 2011, Larsen voted to narrow the means-testing for ACA plans by factoring in more of people’s Social Security benefits as income.^[163] He was one of only 27 Democrats to vote for the legislation that meant “fewer people would ultimately qualify for the health exchange subsidy and other federal health programs.”^[164]

Amid escalating calls for him to support Medicare for All, Larsen instead chose to back the Public Option Deficit Reduction Act. This legislation would:^[165]

- Allow premiums to be adjusted by geographic location rather than income in order to meet “administrative costs”. As a result, rural areas may experience higher healthcare prices than urban cores.
- Limit the application of Medicare coverage rates to only the benefits provided by Medicare – which does not include dental, hearing, or vision.

- Allow the Department of Health and Human Services to “accommodate payment for services not otherwise covered in Medicare” by increasing fees on those other services.
- Artificially inflate payments to insurers by 5% over Medicare rates to “incentivize provider participation”, amounting to a large public subsidy to insurance companies.
- Allow providers to arbitrarily drop-out of the system when, for example, the inflated payment rates expire after five years – unless they’re extended.

Altogether, the legislation offered a mediocre approach to reforming the health system and achieving universal healthcare. It may come as no surprise then that the bill garnered only four co-sponsors in the 116th Congress.^[165]

The first, and only, time that Larsen posted to social media that he believed healthcare was a right was on September 29, 2020.^[158] To achieve that, Larsen believes that a public option – much like the model proposed in the House version of the ACA – is the best route.^[159]

When confronted by constituents with demands to support Medicare for All, Larsen often becomes irritated. On at least three documented occasions, Larsen audibly sighed or was visibly annoyed responding to the public about single-payer healthcare.^[159] In a 2017 encounter, Larsen entirely dismissed the comments from one constituent who declared he “didn’t get it” after providing a tepid respond to a mother who couldn’t afford medication for her child.^[157] During another confrontation in 2019 a constituent pressed Larsen on his lack of work towards achieving healthcare for all. “[My wife] has a very rare disease that costs \$6,500 a week to treat. In Canada, it costs \$1,600 a month. The same treatment,” a constituent told Larsen. He then asks “you’ve been in Congress for twenty years, why have you allowed this to happen?”

Larsen snapped. “So, I didn’t personally allow that to happen.”^[160]

While Larsen has faced direct demands to support Medicare for All, he hasn’t been asked on record what about the Affordable Care Act he believes is superior to single-payer.

Healthcare Donors

Since 2002, 30 healthcare companies and political action committees affiliated with the healthcare industry have contributed \$303,250 to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen:^[166]

American Dental Assn.	\$55,500
Premiera Blue Cross	\$35,000
McKesson	\$34,500
American Hospital Assn.	\$31,000
American Medical Assn.	\$23,000
Amgen	\$12,000

Source: FEC. As of Q4 2020.

Wellpoint Health Networks, PacifiCare Health Systems, Merck & Company, Humana, American Healthcare Association, AbbVie Pharmaceutical, Triwest Healthcare Alliance, Molina Healthcare, Ambulatory Surgery Center Association, Wyeth, United Health Group, National Association of Health Underwriters, American Medical Group Association, Medtronic Incorporated, Air Methods Corporation, Abbott Laboratories, Washington Dental Service PAC, Glaxosmithkline, Pfizer, Baxter International, National Community Pharmacists Association, Emergent Biosolutions, Amgen, American Medical Association, American Hospital Association, McKesson, Premera Blue Cross, and the American Dental Association.

Civil Rights

Larsen has never been someone who has put racial justice and civil rights at the forefront of his politics. Over his career, he has tacked closely to the messaging approved by Democratic Party leadership when it comes to race, marriage equality, and ending the drug war.

Police Demilitarization and Racial Justice

In July 2020, a member of the Whatcom Peace and Justice Center had a chance to ask Rick Larsen about his perspectives on racial justice and police violence. Among the topics discussed was elimination the 1033 Program, a federal program that sells military equipment to state and municipal governments. Instead of speaking to the concerning amount of weapons and tactical gear transferred to police departments that was then used against Black Lives Matter protestors,^[167] Larsen wanted to argue semantics. He noted that the 1033 Program doesn't just provide cops with military-grade weapons but also office furniture for other local civilian agencies. Therefore, Larsen implies, the program has its benefits and radical change isn't needed.

"What such a position fails to grasp is that all of these transfers," explains Josh Ceretti from the WPJC, "whether it's the mine-resistant vehicle owned by Whatcom County Sheriff's or a comfy office chair used by a country health department worker, increases militarization." They did note that Larsen recently co-sponsored Rep. Hank Johnson's (D-GA-04) Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act which would decrease the amount and narrow the types of military equipment shipped to police departments. However, Larsen only did so only after George Floyd's murder and was not one of the original co-sponsors.

When pointed out to Larsen that he wasn't an original co-sponsor, he again chose to argue. "[Larsen] told our team to 'dig a little deeper'" claiming that he had been working with the bill's sponsor on the issue since 2015. Larsen's claim is false. Rep. Johnson introduced the Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act for the 114th Congress on March 4, 2015. Among the 49 co-sponsors, Larsen was not one of them.^[169] WPJC concluded that "in our estimation, [Larsen] took credit for the work of his Black colleague."^[168]

At the time, Rep. Johnson was trying to draw attention to the military gear deployed by cops.

Recently, dozens of small towns have been given tank-like Mine Resistant, Ambush-Protected vehicles (MRAPs). Others have received grenade launchers and high-caliber assault rifles. Even campus police are receiving advanced equipment and weaponry.^[171]

Larsen did not publish a press release or a social media post acknowledging the Black Lives Matter movement until June 2020, after George Floyd's murder. Additionally, no press

releases or social media posts address the killings by police of unarmed People of Color like Freddie Gray, Sandra Bland, Breonna Taylor, Tamir Rice, or others. In fact, Larsen had made zero mention of police violence for the first twenty years of his career.^[170]

Contrary to how he now frames his record, Larsen has in the past supported efforts to escalate the War on Drugs. In 2005, he voted to increase federal funding given to police departments that was explicitly meant to fight the War on Drugs.^[172] The bill's sponsor, Rep. Terry Lee (R-NE-02), said:

[The] grants go directly to our police departments, our sheriff's departments to fight the drug dealers on the ground, they are our first line in the war on drugs, and it just makes no sense to me that we are moving towards a policy of nationalizing our drug crime right at a time when it is our police officers on the streets that are fighting meth and other drugs.^[173]

The very next day, Larsen voted to allow the Department of Justice to attack states that legalized cannabis for medical use, including Washington state.^[174] More on cannabis on page 29.

A few months before Michael Brown was murdered in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014, Larsen voted to cut over \$8.5 million from environmental regulation enforcement to instead redirect that money to police department grants.^[175]

Aversion to LGBTQ+ Rights in the 2000s

It wasn't until 2014 that Rick Larsen received a 100% rating from the Human Rights Campaign for his support of LGBTQ+ legislation introduced in the House. For the first thirteen years of his career, Larsen mostly got less-than-perfect ratings from the HRC as he declined to support important LGBTQ+ legislation in those years. Every year, the Human Rights Campaign approaches members of Congress to ask that they support legislation important to advancing LGBTQ+ rights. Since 2004, they have reported publicly on those efforts in the form of lawmaker scorecards.^[176]

In their first report in 2004, they stated that Larsen did not choose to support legislation that would have extended immigration benefits to same-gender spouses of U.S. citizens. 129 other Democrats and even 2 Republicans co-sponsored it, but Larsen didn't.

In 2006, Larsen chose not to co-sponsor legislation that would have repealed the U.S. military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy that banned LGBTQ+ people from serving openly. 116 other Democrats backed the bill, but not Larsen. The next year, Larsen voted to strip protections for unmarried same-gender couples and to add the definition for marriage used in the Defense of Marriage Act to the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.^[177] In 2009, the

Human Rights Campaign reported that Larsen chose not to support legislation that would have repealed the Defense of Marriage Act.

In 2007, the HRC reported that Larsen chose not to support the Early Treatment for HIV Act. This legislation would have allowed Medicaid to cover low-income, HIV-positive people before they develop AIDS. Three years later, Larsen would choose not to support legislation that would have extended healthcare, retirement, and other benefits to LGBTQ+ domestic partners of federal employees.

Support for LGBTQ+ rights did not become a significant campaign issue until 2010. “[T]he Arlington Republican’s very conservative social views – against a woman’s right to choose and gay rights – and his skepticism that humans have any role in climate change disqualify him for our endorsement,” wrote the editorial board of *The Seattle Times* about their endorsement of Larsen over Republican challenger John Koster.^[178] Offering performative support and tacking closely to messaging on LGBTQ+ rights given by the Obama administration, Larsen was able to avoid criticism for his lackluster support in contrast to the social conservatism of his opponents.

For example, Larsen published a press release *after* the Supreme Court’s verdict in *Obergefell v. Hodges* but did not join his fellow Democrats *beforehand* to demand the Court rule in favor of marriage equality^[181] – one of only 21 Democrats to not do so.^[180] This isn’t the first time he chose not to lobby the Supreme Court when his Democratic colleagues did. An amicus brief submitted to the Supreme Court supporting the overturning of the Defense of Marriage Act in *United States v. Windsor* garnered the support of all but 29 Democrats, including Larsen.^[179]

Cannabis and the Drug War

Larsen’s earliest on-the-record statements about the legal status of cannabis came in May 2006 during an interview with Stephen Colbert. Then the host of *The Colbert Report* on Comedy Central, Larsen was interviewed as a part of Colbert’s “Better Know a District” series that met with members of Congress across the country and subjected them to Colbert’s antics. “Your state is one of the few that has a medical marijuana program,” Colbert says to Larsen before asking, “are you high right now?”

“I am not, nor have I ever been,” replies a visibly stiff Larsen.

“I didn’t ask that part,” says a suspicious Colbert, “you jumped to that pretty quickly.”^[182]

Larsen’s answer, while awkward and funny, is an accurate reflection of his thoughts about cannabis at the time. As a moderate Democrat, he was likely nervous about being portrayed as somebody sympathetic to loosening the legal restrictions on cannabis. Indeed, his votes

around that time endorse a position of hostility when it came to cannabis legalization. In a 2006 interview with Edmonds College, Larsen talked about the need to promote tough-on-drugs politics:

I think what we haven't done is focus on what we [Democrats] stand for and we haven't put what we want to have happen in terms of a policy in terms of what we stand for. Explaining, for instance, on methamphetamine: [we're] doing a lot of work on meth in Congress to try to prevent kids from taking meth, to try to crack down on meth cooks in our neighborhoods, make sure our communities are free from meth. Well, everybody benefits from that. Everybody would benefit from that. We passed the first comprehensive piece of methamphetamine legislation, but what that means to a community is that their kids will be safe.

Then he pivoted to attacking the Bush administration for not giving enough money to police to fight the War on Drugs:

[W]hen the [Bush] administration wants to cut to zero the amount of dollars that our local drug task forces get to fight meth, that means our communities won't be safe, and Democrats should be talking more about – not so much, you know, dollars for our local drug task forces, but about what it means to keep our communities safe by using these federal tax dollars and bringing them home. Everybody will be made safer as a result of it.^[190]

It makes sense then why in 2005 he voted to allow the Department of Justice to attack states with legal medical cannabis.^[174] This was followed by similar votes in 2006,^[183] 2007,^[184] and 2012.^[185] Even after cannabis had been legalized for recreational purposes in Washington state, Larsen continued to maintain roadblocks at the federal-level to decriminalization or legalization. In 2014, he voted against allowing doctors with the Department of Veterans Affairs provide recommendations for use of medical cannabis.^[186] “Our antiquated drug laws must catch up with the real suffering of so many of our veterans,” Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (D-CA-48) said. “This is now a moral cause and a matter of supreme urgency.”^[187]

Despite years of advocacy from civil rights activists and medical professionals alike, Larsen still has no clear position on cannabis legalization. As recently as 2019, he voted against taking steps to decriminalize cannabis at the federal-level. In that year's appropriations bill for the Department of Health and Human Services, he voted to prevent HHS from using funds for “any activity that promotes the legalization of any drug or other substance in Schedule I,” of which cannabis is included.^[188]

The only pro-cannabis legislation that Larsen has publicly come out in support of is the SAFE Banking Act. This bill would allow for cannabis retailers and businesses to access more financial tools that they are currently prohibited from due to federal restrictions on cannabis sales.^[189] While a positive change, his support for this legislation but disregard for federal

rescheduling, decriminalization, or legalization of cannabis shows that he is performing the work of his donors while hoping to deceive voters into thinking he has a pro-cannabis stance. In 2019, Business Insider reported that federally-chartered banks like Goldman Sachs – a donor to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen – are “focused on getting derisked” by having federal banking laws accommodate cannabis businesses.^[190] It is apparent that Larsen would sooner allow Wall Street to financialize cannabis before fighting for justice for those convicted of cannabis-related crimes.

Net Neutrality

The first legislative proposals to federally enact a net neutrality policy came in 2006, and it was fiercely opposed by the telecommunications industry. “Now what they would like to do is use my pipes free, but I ain’t going to let them do that because we have spent this capital and we have to have a return on it,” said the CEO of SBC Internet Services Edward Whitacre, who would later go on to become CEO of AT&T.^[192] Industry forces aligned against net neutrality efforts ahead of Congress’s consideration of the Communications Act of 2006, which sought to enact large reforms to the Telecommunications Act of 1936. During debate on the bill, Rep. Ed Markey (D-MA-02) introduced an amendment aimed to codify net neutrality federally. Rep. Markey tapped Rep. Rick Boucher (D-VA-09) to speak in support of the amendment:

[I]nnovation on the Internet is now at risk. The openness and accessibility that have defined the Internet experience are now threatened. Broadband providers are planning a two-lane Internet with a fast lane for their content and for the content of those who pay, and a slow lane for everyone else. Start-ups cannot afford the fast lane fees, and in the slow lane they cannot succeed. Innovation is at risk.

The Markey amendment which I am pleased to cosponsor will keep the Internet open. It will keep the toll booths from being erected. It is essential to the promotion of the American economy.^[193]

Larsen joined Republicans to vote down the amendment, thus defeating an early chance at securing net neutrality rights over 15 years ago.^[194] Four months later, Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen would receive their only contribution from the U.S. Telecom Association,^[195] an industry group that represents Internet Service Providers like AT&T, Comcast, and Time Warner.

Wall Street and Labor

Larsen has had a mixed history with organized labor, but a cozy one with Wall Street. Early in his career, Larsen was singled out as a Democrat in a safe district who seemed to be appeasing Wall Street's deregulatory agenda. "[Larsen] voted in favor of the bankruptcy bill crafted by the credit-card industry, the Bush administration's estate-tax repeal, and the tort 'reform' bill supported by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce limiting the right to sue," wrote Robert Kuttner in *The American Prospect* in September 2005. "With a closely divided House, faithless Democrats like these are helping Bush serve corporations at the expense of working Americans."^[196]

Larsen's friendliness with Wall Street shows itself in a range of votes that restrict consumer rights and empower big banks to take larger risks.

September 10, 2003: Voted against an amendment from Rep. Bernie Sanders (D-VT) that would have prevented credit card companies from raising interest rates for any reason they wanted.^[197] Rep. Sanders criticized this practice saying "That is absurd, that is unfair, and that is a rip-off of the American people."^[198]

March 18, 2004: Voted against banning bank fees when depositing a check from an account with insufficient funds.^[199]

April 13, 2008: Voted against extending foreclosure and homeownership assistance to undocumented immigrants just before the Great Recession.^[200]

December 11, 2009: Voted against allowing bankruptcy courts to extend repayment periods, reduce excessive interest rates, and adjust a home's fair market value to help prevent foreclosures.^[201]

While a supporter of Obama's Wall Street reform efforts, Larsen joined Republicans to roll back some provisions of Dodd-Frank. Opposed by a majority of Democrats, Larsen defended this 2018 vote to loosen regulations imposed by Dodd-Frank saying that community banks and credit unions were "suffering". Fellow Democrats like Financial Services Committee member Rep. Denny Heck (D-WA-10) acknowledged that community banks and credit unions may be struggling with some of Dodd-Frank's rules but that the proposed roll back "does not solve the problem it aims for and may create new ones."

Larsen went on to say that the largest banks like JP Morgan Chase, Goldman Sachs, and others would still face the same regulations as before even after being explained that the roll back may exempt large companies like American Express and Key Bank.^[202]

Larsen’s concern about the viability of local capitalists isn’t limited to supporting “local community banks”, but also massively financialized conglomerates like Boeing. In 2014, Larsen backed the company over organized labor by pressuring the union to vote on Boeing’s proposed contract. Boeing wanted to strip worker pensions and convert them into 401(k) funds, investments that can be tied to risky Wall Street securities. The Machinists Union, who endorsed Larsen in his 2014 re-election campaign, voted to rescind it.

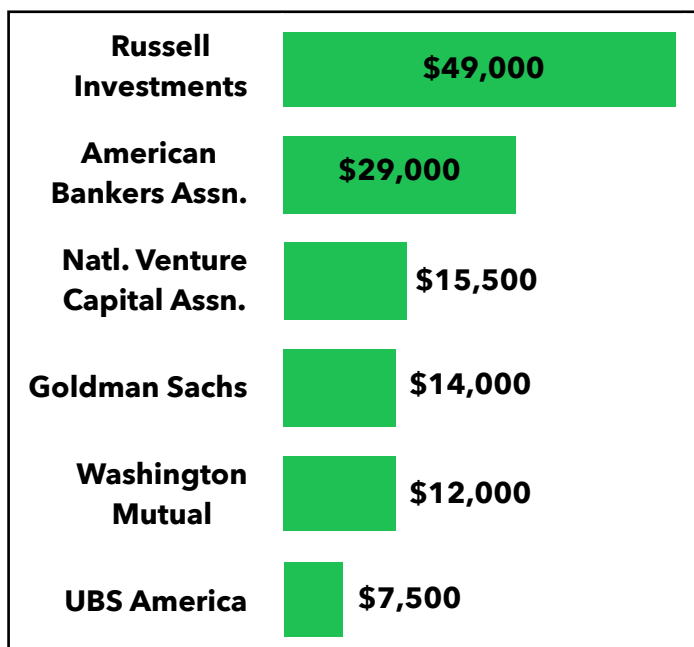
By pressing for a vote, Larsen helped Boeing strip away pensions and health care benefits. While we don’t expect the Congressman to side with us, Boeing doesn’t need Larsen’s help to drive down wages and benefits for working families.^[203]

The *Seattle Times* quoted Paul Schubert, a Machinist shop steward who said of Larsen’s interference: “Here we are, we campaign for this guy. We do doorbelling on Saturdays. We’ve given this guy our time, we’ve given him our money ... and he turned on us.”^[204] The following year, Larsen was the *only* Democrat to vote against prohibiting giving federal contracts to firms guilty of violating the Fair Labor Standards Act.^[205]

Wall Street Donors

Since 2002, 28 companies and political action committees affiliated with finance capital contributed \$189,500 to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen:^[206]

Russell Investment Group, American Bankers Association, National Venture Capital Association, Goldman Sachs, Washington Mutual, USB America, JPMorgan Chase, Ameriprise Financial, Citigroup, National Association of Insurance and Financial Advisors, New York Mercantile Exchange, HSBC, Morgan Stanley, Aloha PAC, American Financial Services Association, American Life, The Financial Services Roundtable, Homestreet Bank, Aegon USA, Chicago Board of Options Exchange, American Council of Life Insurers, Zurich Capital, Wells Fargo, The Bank of New York, and Chicago Mercantile Exchange.



Source: FEC. As of Q4 2020.

References

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2. Text of HB 1057, "Limiting public disclosure of complaints filed under the uniform disciplinary act" introduced on January 9, 1997 by Washington state representative Eileen Cody (D-LD34) and Bill Backlund (R-LD45).
3. Public Disclosure Commission Form L2, "Monthly Expense Report" from Rick Larsen dated July 3, 1997.
4. Sourced from the sums of contributions from organizations considered a "Business PAC" by OpenSecrets as a share of total campaign fundraising in a cycle.
5. Sourced from OpenSecrets by determining the sum of contributions from each donor category over the course of Larsen's tenure in Congress.
6. Self-identified profession or employer given by individual donors and made available on contribution receipts disclosed to the Federal Election Commission by Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen. Analysis performed on July 17, 2021 and includes Q2 2021 FEC filings.
7. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by Koch Industries, Inc. Political Action Committee (C00236489).
8. Audio recording of Larsen from October 2019 at Loft Coffee Bar in Everett, Washington.
9. FEC Schedule A (Form 3), Itemized Receipts, Image #2991938603 dated January 31, 2008. \$1,000 contribution from Altria Group, Inc. Political Action Committee (C00089136) to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546).
10. FEC Schedule A (Form 3), Itemized Receipts, Image #29934000374 dated September 30, 2008. \$1,000 contribution from UST Inc. Executives, Administrators, and Managers Political Action Committee (C00104851) to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546).
11. "Rick's Climate Criminals" from Call for Congress, April 22, 2021. Analysis performed by Ben Karpelman identifying contributions from industries and organizations affiliated with the fossil fuel industry, including natural gas and timber.
12. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by BP Corporation North America, Inc. Political Action Committee (C00060103).
13. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by Exxon Mobil Corporation-Mobil Political Action Committee (C00095406).

14. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by Shell Oil Company Employees' Political Awareness Committee (C00039503).
15. YouTube video titled "Congressman Rick Larsen's Video Mail Bag: Detainee Provisions" posted by Rick Larsen on May 18, 2012. In the background is a portrait of former Washington Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson.
16. January 12, 2013 press release from Rick Larsen titled "Larsen Tapped to Be Top House Democrat on Aviation Issues".
17. April 12, 2019 tweet from @RickonAP: "Last month, @RepLaHood and I led a six-member, bipartisan Congressional delegation trip to China. We traveled to Hong Kong, Beijing, and Hangzhou to discuss trade with high-level Chinese and U.S. officials, as well as U.S. businesses operating in China."
18. Nolan amendment to H.R. 1960 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2014" offered on June 13, 2013. Larsen voted no.
19. Pocan amendment to H.R. 6395 "William M. Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021" offered on July 20, 2020. Larsen voted no.
20. Amodel amendment to H.R. 2216 "Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2014" offered on June 4, 2013. Larsen voted no.
21. Mulvaney amendment to H.R. 2219 "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2012" offered on July 7, 2011. Larsen voted no.
22. Lee amendment to H.R. 2397 "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2014" offered on July 23, 2013. Larsen voted no.
23. Polis amendment to H.R. 2810 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018" offered on July 12, 2017. Larsen voted no.
24. Tonko amendment to H.R. 2354 "Energy and Water Development and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2012" offered on July 11, 2011. Larsen voted no.
25. House Concurrent Resolution 248 "Directing the President, pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, to remove the United States Armed Forces from Afghanistan" introduced on March 10, 2010 by Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH. Larsen voted no.

House Concurrent Resolution 28 "Directing the President, pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, to remove the United States Armed Forces from Afghanistan" introduced on March 17, 2011 by Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH. Larsen voted no.

Chaffetz amendment to H.R. 1540 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012" offered on May 26, 2011. Larsen voted no.

Lee amendment to H.R. 2219 "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2012" offered on July 6, 2011. Larsen voted no.

Lee amendment to H.R. 4310 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013" offered on May 17, 2012. Larsen voted no.

Omar amendment to H.R. 6395 "William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021" offered on July 20, 2020. Larsen voted no.

26. "Students get political view" from the *South Whidbey Record*: January 23, 2002.
27. McGovern amendment to H.R. 1540 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012" offered on May 26, 2011. Larsen voted yes.
28. "Larsen on Afghanistan: Time for us to go" from *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*: May 26, 2011.
29. "Uneducated and misinformed" from Northwest Citizen: March 29, 2007.
30. House Joint Resolution 114 "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002" introduced on October 16, 2002 by Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-IL). Larsen voted no.
31. March 9, 2003 and March 16, 2003 entries from Northwest Citizen.
32. "Rick Larsen a rare voice of moderation in Congress" from *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*: July 17, 2006.
33. Burgess amendment to H.R. 5325 "Energy and Water Development and Related Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on June 5, 2012. Larsen voted no.
34. Markey amendment to H.R. 4310 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013" offered on May 17, 2012. Larsen voted no.
35. Conyers amendment to H.R. 2316 "Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007" offered on May 24, 2007. Larsen voted no.
36. Gutierrez amendment to H.R. 1 "Disaster Relief Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on February 15, 2011. Larsen voted no.
37. "F-35 Program Costs Jump to \$406.5 Billion in Latest Estimate" from Bloomberg: July 10, 2017.
38. "Overseas Contingency Operations: The Pentagon Slush Fund" from the National Priorities Project.
39. Lee amendment to H.R. 2219 "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2012" offered on July 6, 2011. Larsen voted no.

Nolan amendment to H.R. 5515 "John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019" offered on May 22, 2018. Larsen voted no.

40. Tierney amendment to H.R. 5122 "John Warner National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007" offered on May 11, 2006. Larsen voted no.

Tierney amendment to H.R. 1585 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008" offered on May 16, 2007. Larsen voted no.

Tierney amendment to H.R. 5658 "Duncan Hunter National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2009" offered on May 22, 2008. Larsen voted no.

Markey amendment to H.R. 5856 "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on July 18, 2012. Larsen voted no.

41. House Conference Resolution 301 "Directing the President, pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, to remove the United States Armed Forces from Pakistan" introduced on July 27, 2010 by Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH). Larsen voted no.
42. Polis amendment to H.R. 1540 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012" offered on May 25, 2011. Larsen voted no.
43. House Conference Resolution 51 "Directing the President, pursuant to section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, to remove the United States Armed Forces from Libya" introduced on June 3, 2011 by Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH). Larsen voted no.
44. Hinchey amendment to H.R. 5631 "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2007" offered on June 20, 2006. Larsen voted no.

DeFazio amendment to H.R. 1585 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008" offered on May 16, 2007. Larsen voted no.

45. House Joint Resolution 68 "Authorizing the limited use of United States Armed Forces in support of the NATO mission in Libya" introduced on June 24, 2011 by Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-OR). Larsen voted yes.

Kucinich amendment to H.R. 2219 "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2012" offered on July 8, 2011. Larsen voted no.

46. "'Democracy is not a Spectator Sport' Congressman Rick Larsen's UW Visit Highlights U.S.-Israel Relations" from *Right Turn*: February 25, 2003.
47. "Sequestration could force industry to skirt export controls" from *The Hill*: July 2, 2012.
48. Pence amendment to H.R. 2764 "Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008" offered on June 21, 2007. Larsen voted yes.

49. House Resolution 11 “Objecting to United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 as an obstacle to Israeli-Palestinian peace, and for other purposes” introduced on January 4, 2017 by Rep. Edward Royce (R-CA). Larsen voted yes.
50. May 11, 2021 tweet from @snocialism: “In 2014, @RepRickLarsen sent his legislative director on a trip to Israel sponsored by the American Israel Education Association, an AIPAC-affiliated lobby group. Among other activities, attendees watched presentations about the daily struggles of maintaining an occupying force” and attached image.
51. March 2, 2020 tweet from @RepRickLarsen: “Pleased to be annual @AIPAC conference with Washington State friends to show support for the people of Israel. Shared values and shared interests” and attached image.
52. “Sixth person present at AIPAC conference diagnosed with coronavirus” from *The Times of Israel*: March 12, 2020.
53. FEC Schedule A (Form 3), Itemized Receipts, Image #24971681538 dated September 29, 2004. \$2,500 contribution from Friends of Israel (C00265470) to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546).
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55. YouTube video posted by PublicolaTV on September 7, 2010: “Rick Larsen interview.m4v”.
56. YouTube video posted by Nazira Karimi on April 19, 2016: “Nazira Karimi Interviews Rick Larsen 2016 Part 3 of 3”.
57. February 4, 2019 tweet from @BrookingInst: “.@RepRickLarsen lays out the five biggest concerns the US has over trade with China brook.gs/@TxgqjS” and attached video.
58. June 4, 2021 tweet from @snocialism: “When speaking to the @WSCRCWA, @RepRickLarsen was asked how many of the fifty Chinese state-owned enterprises he would like to see privatized to make him ‘feel more comfortable’.

His answer? Fifty. All of them. What breathtaking greed.” and attached video.

59. June 24, 2015 tweet from @RepRickLarsen: “The Ex-Im Bank levels the playing field for US businesses so they can better compete in foreign markets. Let’s renew its charter. #ExIm4Jobs”.
60. August 16, 2021 tweet from @snocialism: “So where has @RickonAP’s eyes turned to next? China. Will the next 20 years feature Larsen defending the Pentagon’s increasingly hostile moves toward China until (and after) there is an outright war?

We can’t right it.” and attached image.



61. Woolsey amendment to H.R. 1815 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006". Larsen voted no.
62. House Resolution 612 "Expressing the commitment of the House of Representatives to achieving victory in Iraq" introduced on December 16, 2006 by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL). Larsen voted yes.
63. DeLay amendment to H.R. 1646 "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 2003" offered on May 10, 2001. Larsen voted yes.
64. Rooney amendment to H.R. 1 "Disaster Relief Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on February 16, 2011. Larsen voted no.
65. Gutierrez amendment to H.R. 1 "Disaster Relief Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on February 15, 2011. Larsen voted no.
66. "Your Periodic Reminder That the V-22 Is a Piece of Junk" from War is Boring: July 15, 2014.
67. Paul amendment to H.R. 4546 "Bob Stump National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003" offered on May 10, 2002. Larsen voted yes.
68. H.R. 519 "United Nations Tax Equalization Refund Act of 2011" introduced on February 9, 2011 by Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL). Larsen voted yes.
69. Analysis of the contribution receipts submitted by Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen between 2002 and Q4 2020 to the Federal Election Commission. Identified 38 companies, political action committees, and industry associations affiliated or linked to a contractor for the Department of Defense or Department of Homeland Security.
70. "Petroleum refining in Washington state" from Wikipedia.
71. Marathon Oil acquired Tesoro Petroleum in 2018. Tesoro's contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen is \$34,500 and Marathon Oil has contributed \$11,500. The amount shown in the table is a sum of these two amounts.
72. U.S. Oil's political action committee has not contributed to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen, but a number of their CEOs have. The amount shown in the table is a sum of the contributions given by U.S. Oil President and CEO Cameron Proudfoot, Robert Redd, and Thomas Temple.
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74. February 8, 2019 tweet from @RepRickLarsen: "My statement on the #GreenNewDeal resolution." and attached image.
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79. "Summary of SJC Democrats Meeting March 14, 2020" from the San Juan Democratic Party website.
80. "Here are the 28 House Democrats Who Voted to Approve the Keystone XL Pipeline" from *The Atlantic*: January 9, 2015.
81. Cohen amendment to H.R. 1938 "North American-Made Energy Security Act" offered on July 26, 2011. Larsen voted no.
82. Johnson amendment to H.R. 1938 "North American-Made Energy Security Act" offered on July 26, 2011. Larsen voted no.
83. Chu amendment to H.R. 3 "Northern Route Approval Act" offered on May 22, 2013. Larsen voted no.
84. Waxman amendment to H.R. 3 "Northern Route Approval Act" offered on May 22, 2013. Larsen voted no.
85. Johnson amendment to H.R. 3 "Northern Route Approval Act" offered on May 22, 2013. Larsen voted no.
86. April 20, 2016 press release from Rick Larsen titled "Larsen Pushes Progress On Pipeline Safety".
87. Tauzin amendment to H.R. 4 "Energy Policy Act of 2002" offered on August 1, 2001. Larsen voted yes.
88. Page H5108 of the Congressional Record - House for August 1, 2001.
89. Markey amendment to H.R. 5427 "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 2007" offered on May 24, 2006. Larsen voted no.
90. "Ultra Deep Water" dictionary term from Petropedia.
91. "Transocean's Deepwater Horizon drills world's deepest oil and gas well" from Your Industry News: September 3, 2009.
92. Ocasio-Cortez amendment to H.R. 4350 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022". Larsen voted no.
93. Ruiz amendment to H.R. 2028 "Further Continuing and Security Assistance Appropriations Act, 2017" offered on April 30, 2015. Larsen voted no.

Swallwell amendment to H.R. 2028 "Further Continuing and Security Assistance Appropriations Act, 2017" offered on April 30, 2015. Larsen voted no.

Ellison amendment to H.R. 2028 "Further Continuing and Security Assistance Appropriations Act, 2017" offered on April 30, 2015. Larsen voted no.

94. Page H2687 of the Congressional Record - House for April 30, 2015.
95. Hahn amendment to H.R. 5325 "Energy and Water Development and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on June 1, 2012. Larsen voted no.
96. Castor amendment to H.R. 3219 "Make American Secure Appropriations Act, 2018" offered on July 26, 2017. Larsen voted no.
97. FEC Schedule A (Form 3), Itemized Receipts, Image #26960203381 dated June 7, 2006. \$1,000 contribution from BP Amoco Corporation Political Action Committee (C00060103) to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546).
98. Sanders amendment to H.R. 5522 "Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2007" offered on June 9, 2006. Larsen voted no.
99. Page H3694 of the Congressional Record - House for June 9, 2006.
100. H.R. 6 "Energy Policy Act of 2005" introduced on April 18, 2005 by Rep. Joe Barton (R-TX). Larsen voted yes.
101. "The Halliburton Loophole" from *The New York Times*: November 2, 2009.
102. "What is the Halliburton loophole?" From Big Think: June 25, 2019.
103. Welch amendment to H.R. 2021 "Jobs and Energy Permitting Act of 2011" offered on June 22, 2011. Larsen voted no.
104. Keating amendment to H.R. 2021 "Jobs and Energy Permitting Act of 2011" offered on June 22, 2011. Larsen voted no.
105. Kinzinger amendment to H.R. 2401 "Transparency in Regulatory Analysis of Impacts on the Nation Act of 2011" offered on September 23, 2011. Larsen voted yes.
106. Doyle amendment to H.R. 2250 "EPA Regulatory Relief Act of 2011" offered on October 6, 2011. Larsen voted yes.
107. Deutch amendment to H.R. 3408 "PIONEERS Act" offered on February 15, 2012. Larsen voted no.
108. Holt amendment to H.R. 4480 "Domestic Energy and Jobs Act" offered on June 21, 2012. Larsen voted no.

109. Bowman amendment to H.R. 4350 "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022" offered on September 22, 2021. Larsen voted no.
110. Cicilline amendment to H.R. 4660 "Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2015" offered on May 29, 2014. Larsen voted yes.
111. Markey amendment to H.R. 889 "Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Act of 2006" offered on September 15, 2005. Larsen voted no.
112. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by Puget Sound Energy Inc. PAC for Good Government (C00101592).
113. "Puget Sound Energy LNG Facility" from the Port of Tacoma.
114. Bishop amendment to H.R. 2016 "National Landscape Conservation System Act" offered on April 9, 2008. Larsen voted yes.
115. Wu amendment to H.R. 1 "Disaster Relief Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on February 18, 2011. Larsen voted no.
116. Pallone amendment to H.R. 8 "North American Energy Security and Infrastructure Act of 2015" offered on December 2, 2015. Larsen voted no.
117. Page H8964 of the Congressional Record - House for December 2, 2015.
118. H.R. 2883 "Promoting Cross-Border Energy Infrastructure Act" introduced by Rep. Markwayne Mullin (R-OK) on June 12, 2017. Larsen voted yes.
119. Hahn amendment to H.R. 5325 "Energy and Water Development and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on June 2, 2012. Larsen voted no.
- Matheson amendment to H.R. 5325 "Energy and Water Development and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on June 5, 2012. Larsen voted no.
120. H. Res. 11 "Objecting to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 as an obstacle to Israeli-Palestinian peace, and for other purposes." introduced by Rep. Edward Royce (R-CA) on January 3, 2017. Larsen voted yes.
121. September 29, 2021 tweet from @RepRickLarsen: "A cleaner & greener transportation network must include cleaner & greener ferries & buses.
- Great to have @NewDemCoalition endorse my two bills, the GREEN Ferries Act & the GREEN Buses Act, to pull carbon emissions from  &  fight climate change."
122. Full text of the Greenhouse Gas Reduction and Environmental Enhancement through New Ferries Act" as introduced on May 18, 2021. Section 2, subparagraph B provides \$249,440,447 between fiscal year 2022 and 2025.

123. "Work underway for new hybrid-electric state ferry" from the *Kitsap Sun*: September 9, 2019.
124. May 21, 2021 press release from Rep. Rick Larsen: "Larsen, Payne: Investment in Green Ferries Steers U.S. Toward Cleaner Transportation Future".
125. Full text of the Generating Reduced Emissions by Electrifying New Buses Act" as introduced on May 18, 2021. In Section 2, paragraph 5, subsection A describes how many buses the minimal grant could procure. In Section 2, paragraph 5, subparagraph B requires transit agencies either set a date to convert the entire fleet to zero emissions buses or a "set percentage of the total bus fleet".
126. "Federal program to cut bus emissions gets a Senate mandate: Some buses must pollute" from *The Washington Post*: August 17, 2021.
127. "Electric Buses in America: Lessons from Cities Pioneering Clean Transportation" from the U.S. Public Interest Research Group: October 2019.
128. April 27, 2021 press release from Rep. Rick Larsen: "Chair Larsen Opening Statement at Aviation Subcommittee Hearing on 'The Leading Edge: Innovation in U.S. Aerospace'".
129. December 15, 2009 press release from Rep. Rick Larsen: "Larsen Applauds 787 Flight, Congratulates Boeing Workers Who Made it Happen".
130. Analysis of the contribution receipts submitted by Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen between 2002 and Q4 2020 to the Federal Election Commission. Identified 47 companies, political action committees, and industry associations affiliated or linked to the fossil fuel industry, timber industry, mining, or other sector of the extraction economy.
131. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by "COLE, CRAIG".
132. "70 Protesters Crash Congressman's Coal Party!" From Socialist Alternative: April 13, 2012.
133. "Coal-for-China debate burns its way into Bellingham's mayor race" from Crosscut: June 2, 2011.
134. February 28, 2011 press release from Rep. Rick Larsen: "Larsen Applauds SSA Marine for Moving Forward with Project to Create Jobs, Help Local Economy".
135. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by SSA Marine Inc. Good Government Fund (C00397893).
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138. "Goldman Sachs pulls out of proposed coal terminal" from Marketplace: January 8, 2014.
139. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by The Goldman Sachs Group, Inc. Political Action Committee (C00350744) between January 1, 2011 and December 31, 2011.
140. FEC Schedule A (Form 3), Itemized Receipts, Image #2991938603 dated April 10, 2012. \$1,000 contribution from Craig Cole to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546).
141. "Craig Cole's legal threat against Whatcom Watch 'resolved'" from *The Bellingham Herald*: June 27, 2014.
142. McKinley amendment to H.R. 8 "North American Energy Security and Infrastructure Act of 2015" offered on December 2, 2015. Amendment was agreed upon by voice vote.
143. Page H8932 of the Congressional Record - House for December 2, 2015.
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146. "CO2 emissions from commercial aviation: 2013, 2018, and 2019" from The International Council on Clean Transportation: October 8, 2020.
147. "The inconvenient truth of carbon offsets" from *Nature*: April 4, 2012.
148. Analysis performed by Ben Karpelman identifying contributions from industries and organizations affiliated with transportation industries, including airlines, aerospace, rail, and other marine and ground transportation groups.
149. Video from C-SPAN titled "New Congressional Member Interview" originally aired on November 14, 2000.
150. November 7, 2002 capture of "ricklarsen.org" hosted on the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine.
151. H.J. Res. 45 "Increasing the statutory limit on the public debt." Introduced on April 29, 2009. Larsen voted yes.
152. November 2, 2011 press release from Rep. Rick Larsen: "Larsen One of 100 Members of Both Parties to Tell Super Committee: Go Big".
153. Clip of video from C-SPAN titled "Representative Rick Larsen on Fiscal Cliff" originally aired on December 21, 2012.
154. Clip of video from C-SPAN titled "Representative Rick Larsen on Fiscal Cliff" originally aired on December 21, 2012.

155. Letter from Rep. Rick Larsen delivered to activists at his Everett, Washington office in November 2017 explaining his position on Medicare for All.
156. January 9, 2015 press release from Rep. Jan Schakowsky: "Schakowsky Introduces the Public Option Deficit Reduction Act"
157. YouTube video titled "Rep. Rick Larsen Langley WA Town Hall March 4, 2017 (part 1 of 2)" posted by Indivisible Whidbey on January 7, 2019.
158. September 29, 2020 tweet from @larsenrick: "The ACA is in real jeopardy. I believe health care is a right & I will continue to fight in the House to protect the ACA from this administration's actions. 2/3".
159. YouTube video titled "Does Rep. Rick Larsen support Medicare for All? 'NO'" posted by Rick's Receipts on May 28, 2021.
160. YouTube video titled "Constituent to Rep. Rick Larsen: 'WHY HAVE YOU ALLOWED THIS TO HAPPEN?'" posted by Rick's Receipts on May 21, 2021.
161. Sanders amendment to H.R. 2330 "Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2002" offered on July 11, 2001. Larsen voted no.
162. Page H3880 of the Congressional Record - House for July 11, 2001.
163. H.R. 2576 "To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to modify the calculation of modified adjusted gross income for purposes of determining eligibility for certain healthcare-related programs" introduced by Rep. Diane Black (R-TN) on July 18, 2011. Larsen voted yes.
164. "House Approves Bill Narrowing Eligibility to Receive Certain Health Care Subsidies" from Littler: October 28, 2011.
165. H.R. 1419 "Public Option Deficit Reduction Act" introduced by Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-OR) on March 1, 2019.
166. Analysis of the contribution receipts submitted by Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen between 2002 and Q4 2020 to the Federal Election Commission. Identified 30 companies, political action committees, and industry associations affiliated or linked to the healthcare industry including non-union professional associations, hospitals, pharmaceutical companies, medical device manufacturers, and health insurers.
167. "The Pentagon's Hand-Me-Downs Helped Militarize the Police. Here's How" from *Wired*: June 2, 2020.
168. "Call to Action: Report Back from Community Call with Rick Larsen on Police Demilitarization & Email Template" from the Whatcom Peace and Justice Center: July 16, 2020.

169. H.R. 1232 "Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act" introduced by Rep. Hank Johnson (D-GA) on March 4, 2015.
170. Analysis by Ben Karpelman of mentions of "Black Lives Matter", names of People of Color killed by police, and related police violence terms in Rick Larsen's published press releases and social media posts.
171. March 4, 2015 press release from Rep. Hank Johnson: "Rep. Johnson reintroduces bipartisan bill to de-militarize police".
172. Lee amendment to H.R. 2862 "Science, State, Justice, Commerce, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2007" offered on June 14, 2005. Larsen voted yes.
173. Page H4443 of the Congressional Record - House for June 14, 2005.
174. Maurice amendment to H.R. 2862 "Science, State, Justice, Commerce, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2007" offered on June 15, 2005. Larsen voted yes.
175. Cicilline amendment to H.R. 4660 "Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2015" offered on May 29, 2014. Larsen voted yes.
176. Analysis by Ben Karpelman of annual lawmaker scorecard reports published by the Human Rights Campaign between 2004 and 2015.
177. Miller amendment to H.R. 3685 "Employment Non-Discrimination Act of 2007" offered on November 7, 2007. Larsen voted yes.
178. "In the 2nd Congressional District, vote for Rep. Rick Larsen" from *The Seattle Times*: October 13, 2010.
179. March 1, 2013 press release from Sen. Diane Feinstein: "212 Members of Congress File Amicus Brief on Supreme Court DOMA Case".
180. Amicus brief submitted to the Supreme Court "Brief of 167 Members of the U.S. House of Representatives and 44 U.S. Senators as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Petitioners".
181. June 26, 2015 press release from Rep. Rick Larsen: "Larsen: Marriage Equality Finally Counts As Equal Justice".
182. Video from Comedy Central titled "Better Know a District - Washington's 2nd - Rick Larsen" originally aired on July 12, 2006.
183. Hinchey amendment to H.R. 5672 "Departments of Commerce and Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2007" offered on June 28, 2006. Larsen voted no.
184. Hinchey amendment to H.R. 3093 "Departments of Commerce and Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2008" offered on July 25, 2007. Larsen voted no.
185. Rohrabacher amendment to H.R. 5326 "Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2013" offered on May 9, 2012. Larsen voted no.

186. Blumenauer amendment to H.R. 4486 "Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2015" offered on April 30, 2014. Larsen voted no.
187. "Lawmakers seek to give veterans easier access to medical marijuana" from *Military Times*: November 25, 2014.
188. Ocasio-Cortez amendment to H.R. 2740 "Labor, Health and Human Services, Defense, State, Foreign Operations, and Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 2020" offered on June 13, 2019. Larsen voted no.
189. September 26, 2019 tweet from @RepRickLarsen: "Yesterday, the House passed the #SAFE Banking Act, a bipartisan bill I cosponsored that applies federal banking laws to legal marijuana businesses in Washington State and across the U.S. to improve public safety, transparency and accountability.
190. "Here's how the largest and most powerful Wall Street banks are cautiously opening their doors to the potentially \$80 billion US cannabis industry" from Business Insider: October 17, 2019.
191. YouTube video titled "Rick Larsen, US House of Representatives, 2nd District, WA State, May 30th, 2006" posted by Civic Engagement at Edmonds College on April 11, 2016.
192. "Online Extra: At SBC, It's All About 'Scale and Scope'" from Bloomberg: November 6, 2005.
193. Page H3577 of the Congressional Record - House for June 8, 2006.
194. Markey amendment to H.R. 5252 "Communications Act of 2006" offered on June 8, 2006. Larsen voted no.
195. Federal Election Commission: Contributions to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546) by United States Telecom Association Political Action Committee (C00000984).
196. "The Defectors" from *The American Prospect*: September 18, 2005.
197. Sanders amendment to H.R. 2622 "Fair and Accurate Credit Transactions Act of 2003" offered on September 10, 2003. Larsen voted no.
198. Page H8153 of the Congressional Record - House for September 10, 2003.
199. Weiner amendment to H.R. 1375 "Financial Services Regulatory Relief Act of 2004" offered on March 18, 2004. Larsen voted no.
200. Altmire amendment to H.R. 5818 "Neighborhood Stabilization Act of 2008" offered on May 7, 2008. Larsen voted yes.
201. Marshall amendment to H.R. 4173 "Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act" offered on December 11, 2009. Larsen voted no.

202. "Congressman Rick Larsen on why he voted to roll back Dodd-Frank regulations" from KUOW: May 23, 2018.
203. "Machinists Union Rescinds Endorsement in Response to Congress Rick Larsen's Comments on Boeing Contract" from *The Stranger*: January 13, 2014.
204. "Rep. Larsen loses backing of Machinists over Boeing offer" from *The Seattle Times*: January 13, 2014.
205. Ellison amendment to H.R. 2577 "Military Construction, Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017 and Zika Response and Preparedness Act" offered on June 9, 2015. Larsen voted no.
206. Analysis of the contribution receipts submitted by Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen between 2002 and Q4 2020 to the Federal Election Commission. Identified 28 companies, political action committees, and industry associations affiliated or linked to finance capital.
207. "Doth she protesteth too much?" from Northwest Citizen: February 6, 2007.
208. "Larsen: a cold political operator" from Northwest Citizen: March 4, 2007
209. FEC Schedule A (Form 3), Itemized Receipts, Image #202001319185877298 dated November 19, 2019. \$1,500 contribution from TransCanada USA Services, Inc. PAC (C00525055) to Citizens to Elect Rick Larsen (C00345546).
210. November 20, 2019 tweet from @RepRickLarsen: "Pipelines play a critical role in the nation's infrastructure & the daily lives of people in the PNW. Since taking office, I have prioritized efforts to improve pipeline safety, increase pipeline operator accountability and mitigate the effects of climate change."
211. "Snohomish County Council" from *The Seattle Times*: September 10, 1997.
212. "Snohomish County Council -- It's Democrats' Night: Somers Wins; Cothorn, Larsen Ahead" from *The Seattle Times*: November 5, 1997.
213. "CONGRESS 2000: Metcalf's retirement sets off scramble" from the *Kitsap Sun*: December 12, 1999.

Questions?

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