

Paying to Pollute:

Campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures
by polluters working to weaken environmental laws

U.S. PIRG Education Fund

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Acknowledgements

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On the cover: a comparison of EPA's proposed mercury rule in the Federal Register (lower right) and a memo from Latham & Watkins, a corporate environmental law firm (top half). The highlighted text is language copied verbatim or slightly paraphrased from the industry memo into the EPA proposal. This represents a small portion of such copying found in numerous places in EPA's proposed mercury rule.

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Executive Summary

Electric utilities, oil refineries, and other large polluters have long sought changes to the Clean Air Act to weaken public health and environmental protections. By spending millions in campaign contributions to elect allies in Congress and the White House and millions more on lobbying, these industries have not only influenced the Bush administration's air policies, they have helped to craft them. For instance:

- On January 30, 2004, in response to a court-ordered deadline, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) issued a weak proposal to reduce toxic mercury emissions from power plants, which are the only remaining unregulated source of mercury air emissions in the United States. EPA's proposal would delay meaningful reductions in mercury from power plants until at least 2018 – and even then would not do enough to adequately protect children's health.

- On August 27, 2003, EPA finalized a rule that guts the Clean Air Act's New Source Review (NSR) program, which requires power plants, refineries, paper mills, and other industrial facilities to install modern pollution controls whenever they make major upgrades or modifications that increase emissions. The changes will worsen air quality for the more than 146 million Americans who already live in counties where it is unsafe to breathe the air due to high levels of ozone smog, particle soot, or other harmful pollutants.

- The Bush administration has advanced its so-called Clear Skies Initiative, a program that delays power plant cleanup by 10 years for some pollutants, sets weaker pollution caps than the current Clean Air Act, eliminates or modifies several key Clean Air

Act programs, and fails to address carbon dioxide – the leading cause of global warming.

In order to win these concessions, a powerful group of trade associations, including the Edison Electric Institute, Electric Reliability Coordinating Council, American Petroleum Institute, and the National Association of Manufacturers, have contributed heavily to congressional and presidential campaigns and spent millions lobbying to weaken the Clean Air Act's most important safeguards for public health and the environment.

This report documents the Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions and lobbying expenditures of 18 trade associations – and select member companies of the associations – actively lobbying to weaken planned mercury reductions, undermine the New Source Review program, and/or advance the President's dirty air plan. Their prolific spending has helped to elect allies to the House of Representatives and Senate—and the White House—and assured access once those allies were in office.

Campaign Contributions: The Contributors
Examining PAC contributions given to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002, we found:^a

- The 18 trade associations and select member companies profiled in this

^a This report only examines PAC hard money contributions – individual and soft money contributions are not included in any totals. As a result, these figures underestimate the actual amount of money flowing from industry to federal candidates.

report contributed \$53 million to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002.

- The Edison Electric Institute, representing large electric utilities, and select member companies gave \$17.8 million to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002; the American Petroleum Institute, representing the oil and gas industry, and select member companies gave \$12.5 million; and the National Association of Manufacturers, representing some of the country's largest manufacturers of goods, and select member companies gave \$9.8 million.
- The trade associations and select member companies in the electric utility and oil and gas sectors contributed more than \$30 million of the \$53 million total. The companies in these sectors giving the most to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002 include ExxonMobil, Southern Company, ChevronTexaco, Entergy Corporation, and Edison International.
- For comparison, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, the banking industry's PACs contributed \$27 million to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002; the defense sector's PACs contributed \$22; and the telephone utility industry's PACs contributed \$20 million.

Campaign Contributions: The Recipients

Examining PAC contributions given to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002, we found:

- In the 2000 presidential race, these trade associations and select member companies gave more than \$185,000 in PAC contributions to George W. Bush's

campaign but did not make any contributions to Al Gore's campaign.

- In the Senate, the top recipients of campaign contributions from these trade associations and select member companies were Senators Mary Landrieu (D-LA), George Voinovich (R-OH), Chuck Hagel (R-NE), Rick Santorum (R-PA), and Conrad Burns (R-MT).
- In the House, the top recipients were Representatives John Dingell (D-MI), Joe Barton (R-TX), Billy Tauzin (R-LA), Dennis Hastert (R-IL), and Tom DeLay (R-TX).

Lobbying Expenditures

Examining lobbying expenditures in 2002, we found:

- These 18 trade associations and select member companies spent more than \$173 million on in-house lobbying in 2002 alone.
- The Edison Electric Institute, representing the largest electric utilities, spent more than \$12 million on in-house lobbying in 2002.
- Of the \$173 million spent on lobbying by these trade associations and member companies, more than \$96 million came from associations and companies in the electric utility and oil and gas sectors. The companies in these sectors spending the most on in-house lobbying include ExxonMobil, Shell Oil, Southern Company, ChevronTexaco, and Marathon Oil.
- For comparison, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, the entire banking industry spent \$26 million on lobbying in 2002; the defense sector spent \$60 million; and the telephone utility industry spent \$43 million.

Health and Environmental Impacts of Air Pollution

The electric utility, oil and gas, manufacturing, and mining industries are all major sources of air pollution in the United States. Companies in each of these industries operate facilities that generate vast amounts of pollutants that endanger the health of those who breathe the air and damage the natural environment in which we live.

Power plants are the largest industrial source of air pollution in the country. The U.S. generates nearly 52 percent of its electricity from coal – the dirtiest of all fuels – and accounts for about a fifth of the world’s coal consumption.ⁱ

Approximately 146 million Americans – or half of the population – live in areas where the air is unhealthy to breathe due to high levels of ozone smog, particle soot, or other harmful pollutants.ⁱⁱ

Fine Particle ‘Soot’

Power plants and other industrial facilities emit sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and nitrogen oxides (NO_x), which are converted in the atmosphere into fine particle aerosols. When inhaled, these aerosols are extremely hazardous to our health. In the last decade, extensive research has linked these particles to dozens of health problems, including asthma attacks, chronic bronchitis, heart attacks, lung cancer, and premature mortality.

Fine particles are especially harmful to children, senior citizens, and people with preexisting lung or heart problems:

- A 2004 follow-up analysis of one of the most extensive studies of the long-term effects of air pollution on human health found a strong

link between chronic exposure to fine particle air pollution and increased risk of death from cardiovascular disease in the United States. The increased risk was comparable to that associated with being a former smoker.ⁱⁱⁱ

- Studies by the Harvard School of Public Health, the Health Effects Institute, and others have confirmed that tens of thousands of people each year die prematurely due to fine particle pollution.^{iv}
- A 2000 study estimated that 30,000 people die prematurely each year due to particles from power plants alone. Of these deaths, an estimated 18,000 could be prevented if power plants were required to install modern pollution controls.^v

Ozone ‘Smog’

Like fine-particle soot, ozone damages our respiratory systems. Ozone can cause chest pain and cough, aggravate asthma, reduce lung function, increase emergency room visits and hospital admissions for respiratory problems, and lead to irreversible lung damage.^{vi} Recent studies link ozone to the onset of asthma, birth defects, and mortality from strokes.^{vii}

Smog is formed when NO_x from power plants and cars mix with other chemicals in the air in the presence of sunlight. Power plants are the largest industrial source of NO_x in the nation.

Ozone is a severe lung irritant for anyone chronically exposed, including healthy adults who exercise outdoors in the summertime. For vulnerable populations, including children, senior citizens, and

people with asthma or other respiratory disease, smoggy days often mean staying indoors, missing work or school, and even hospitalization. Smog triggers an estimated six million asthma attacks each year and sends 150,000 Americans to hospital emergency rooms just in the eastern half of the nation.^{viii}

Mercury Poisoning

Mercury is a toxic heavy metal, which, when ingested, can cause serious neurological damage, particularly to developing fetuses, infants, and children. People are exposed to mercury when they eat fish that have been contaminated by methylmercury, the organic and most dangerous form of mercury. The neurotoxic effects of low-level mercury exposure are similar to the effects of lead toxicity in children and include delayed development and cognitive deficits, language difficulties, and problems with motor function, attention, and memory.

Fetuses exposed to mercury in the womb as well as children and infants whose nervous systems are still developing are most at risk. The risks extend to an alarming segment of our population. In January 2004, EPA reported that 1 in 6 women of childbearing age in the U.S. has unsafe levels of mercury in her blood, which means that 630,000 babies born each year in the U.S. already have been exposed to enough mercury to cause serious health problems.^{ix}

In 2002, health agencies in 43 states issued fish consumption advisories for at least one species of fish because of mercury pollution in local waterways.^x Because mercury is bioaccumulative, moving up the food chain as fish are consumed, large predator fish such as largemouth bass, walleye, shark, tuna and swordfish have higher levels of mercury than species lower in the food

chain.^{xi} In March 2004, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and EPA issued a joint advisory warning women who may become pregnant, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and young children to avoid or limit consumption of certain fish and shellfish that contain high levels of mercury.^{xii}

Power plants are the largest source of mercury emissions nationwide, responsible for 41 percent of total mercury emissions.^{xiii} EPA has yet to set any standards for mercury emissions from power plants so power companies can emit mercury without limits, unlike other sources of mercury in the U.S.

Global Warming

Perhaps the most serious environmental challenge we face in the coming decade and century is global warming. The world's most respected climate scientists have concluded that our planet is warming as a result of manmade pollution. They also conclude that unless we act quickly to reverse this trend, we will face catastrophic changes in weather systems and our climate across the globe.

The most authoritative source of scientific information has been the United Nations' International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which came out with a three-part series of reports in 2001 concluding that:

- The Earth warmed more in the 20th century than in any century in the past 1,000 years;
- The Earth could warm by another 2.5-10.4 degrees Fahrenheit over the course of this century, a warming rate not seen in the last 10,000 years;
- The most likely cause of the warming is the emission of greenhouse gases from the burning of fossil fuels; and

- The consequences of global warming could include sea level rise, unprecedented heat waves, drought, increasingly intense tropical storms, floods, soil erosion, decreased crop yields, water shortages, and spread of infectious diseases.^{xiv}

Power plants in the U.S. are responsible for upwards of 40 percent of all emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂), the leading cause of global warming. Burning coal results in more CO₂ emissions than any other method of generating electricity, yet we continue to rely on coal for more than half of our electricity generation.

Acid Rain

The sulfur and nitrogen emissions that form soot and smog also cause acid rain. These pollutants combine with water to form acids called sulfates and nitrates. These acids fall to earth in rain, snow, and fog, destroying sensitive ecosystems. In many eastern states, the rain is often as acidic as orange juice.^{xv}

Aquatic life is extremely vulnerable to the effects of acid rain. Twenty-five percent of lakes in the Adirondack region of New York cannot support any fish at all due to acidity.^{xvi} Similarly, 30 percent of trout streams in Virginia are either marginal or unsuitable for brook trout.^{xvii} Acid rain has compromised water bodies as far south as Georgia and as far west as Indiana.

Forests also are severely affected by acid deposition. In the Adirondacks, more than half of the red spruce trees have died since the 1960s; the red spruce in the Southern Appalachians are showing signs of damage as well.^{xviii} New England's famous sugar maples are in decline due to the loss of nutrients in the soil caused by acid rain.

Recent studies show that power plants will need to reduce sulfur and nitrogen emissions by up to 80 percent to allow these lakes and forests to recover.^{xix}

Recent Attacks on Clean Air Protections: Three Rollbacks

Electric utilities, the oil and gas industry, and other large polluters have long sought changes to the Clean Air Act to weaken public health and environmental protections. By spending millions in campaign contributions to elect allies in Congress and the White House and millions more on lobbying, these industries have not only influenced the Bush administration's air policies, they have helped to craft them.

The EPA Mercury Rule

In 2001, EPA's own scientists stated that cleaning up mercury from power plants could result in a 90 percent reduction of emissions by 2008, from approximately 48 tons per year to five tons per year.^{xx} Facing a court-ordered deadline, in December 2003, EPA announced its proposal to regulate mercury emissions from power plants.^{xxi} This proposal includes several alternate options – all of which are far weaker than current science indicates they should be.

Under EPA's preferred approach, instead of using the maximum achievable control technology to limit mercury emissions by 2008, existing power plants will be able to emit six to seven times more mercury between 2010 and 2018 and three times more mercury after 2018. This approach also allows power plants to buy emissions credits from other plants, which could create "hot spots," or locales where mercury emissions are concentrated.^{xxii}

Instead of protecting women and children from exposure to mercury, EPA's regulatory proposals protect electric utilities by setting targets so weak that the industry will be allowed to continue polluting without using state-of-the-art mercury controls.

Weakening New Source Review

New Source Review, or NSR, is a Clean Air Act program that requires major sources of air pollution – including electric power plants and other industrial facilities such as refineries, pulp and paper mills, and manufacturers – to install modern pollution controls whenever they make significant upgrades, modifications, or replacements that will increase emissions. NSR is a key component of the Clean Air Act, as it requires the country's oldest and dirtiest power plants – many of which are older than the original Clean Air Act – to conform to modern emissions standards.

On October 27, 2003, EPA finalized a rule that will allow power plants to make massive upgrades, costing up to 20 percent of the total value of the plant, without triggering NSR. This "routine maintenance, repair and replacement" (RMRR) exception, which essentially punches a giant loophole in the middle of the NSR program, would affect some 17,000 facilities, allowing them to make expensive equipment replacements without triggering NSR, even if those replacements resulted in significant increases in emissions.

The Clear Skies Initiative

In February 2002, the Bush administration announced a sweeping new proposal to address power plant pollution, known as the Clear Skies Initiative. The proposal sets pollution caps for NO_x, SO₂, and mercury at levels that would allow more pollution than faithful enforcement of the current Clean Air Act. The Administration's proposal also exempts power plants from the very provisions of the Clean Air Act that would actually eliminate grandfathering if enforced.^{xxiii} Furthermore, Clear Skies fails to address carbon dioxide emissions at all.

How Industry Influences Energy and Environmental Policy

Under current campaign finance laws, the most direct and effective strategy to influence the political process, for those who can afford it, is to help elect politicians who are receptive to one's interests. While campaign contributions may provide access to and influence over decision-makers, they more importantly help determine who is elected in the first place. Thus it is not simply a matter of electric utilities, the oil industry, manufacturers, and other polluters influencing the decisions that politicians make, but these interests increasingly ensure that politicians who are elected agree with, and actively support, their agendas.

Once these allies are in office, industry is assured access—from the point of crafting policy to implementing it. For some rulemaking or legislative efforts, industry representatives are consulted extensively – to the point that their recommendations are sometimes adopted word-for-word in final text of rules or bills. This was the case from the very beginning of the Bush administration. The Department of Energy transition team charged with designing the incoming Administration's energy policy included officials from Edison Electric Institute, Southern Company, FirstEnergy, and Dominion.^{xxiv}

The extent of industry support for public health and environmental rollbacks is evident in the breadth of the trade associations profiled in this report. Each of the 18 associations detailed here publicly supports at least one of three major air quality rollbacks: the mercury proposal, the NSR rollback, or the President's air pollution plan. These associations represent not only the electric utility and oil and gas sectors, but also sectors as diverse as

mining, manufacturing, automotive, chemical, and natural resources.

For instance, one recent letter from industry to EPA Administrator Leavitt in support of EPA's New Source Review rollbacks featured the following diverse and extensive list of signatories:

- Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers
- American Boiler Manufacturers Association
- American Chemistry Council
- American Coke and Coal Chemicals Institute
- American Composites Manufacturers Association
- American Forest & Paper Association
- American Furniture Manufacturers Association
- American Gas Association
- American Iron and Steel Institute
- Arizona Association of Industries
- Associated Industries of Florida
- Associated Industries of Missouri Salt Institute
- Association of American Railroads
- Association of Washington Business
- California Manufacturers & Technology Association
- Clean Air Implementation Project
- Corn Refiners Association, Inc.
- Council of Industrial Boiler Owners
- Edison Electric Institute
- Grocery Manufacturers of America
- Indiana Coal Council, Inc.
- Indiana Manufacturers Association
- Maryland Chamber of Commerce
- National Association of Manufacturers
- National Mining Association
- National Oilseed Processors Association
- National Petrochemical & Refiners Association
- National Rural Electric Cooperative Association
- Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America
- Portland Cement Industries
- Printing Industries of America
- Puerto Rico Manufacturers Association
- Rubber Manufacturers Association
- Texas Association of Business
- The Ohio Manufacturers' Association
- The State Chamber - Oklahoma's Association of Business & Industry
- U.S. Chamber of Commerce

- Utah Manufacturers Association
- Utility Air Regulatory Group
- Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce

EPA's mercury proposal is an excellent recent example of industry enjoying an inside track in the rulemaking process. On January 31, 2004, Eric Pianin at the *Washington Post* reported,

“A side-by-side comparison of one of the three proposed rules and the memorandums prepared by Latham & Watkins -- one of Washington's premier corporate environmental law firms -- shows that at least a dozen paragraphs were lifted, sometimes verbatim, from the industry suggestions.”^{xxv}

A large number of examples of lifted language can be found in an A-B comparison of EPA's rule and the Latham & Watkins memos, including important language arguing why mercury should be regulated using a cap-and-trade scheme. And this is not an isolated occurrence: a more recent study found that language from a recommendation by West Associates, a utility trade association, regarding “possible mercury emission reduction scenarios” was copied verbatim into EPA's proposed rule.^{xxvi}

EPA's Assistant Administrator of Air and Radiation, Jeffrey Holmstead, worked for Latham & Watkins for several years before his appointment to EPA. Holmstead's chief counsel, Bill Wehrum, is also a former Latham & Watkins employee.^{xxvii} Latham & Watkins has represented Sempra Energy, one of the utilities examined in this report, as well as Energy for a Clean Air Future, an industry group that has advocated for a multi-pollutant regulatory scheme similar to – but even weaker than – the Clear Skies Initiative.^{xxviii}

To illustrate industry's role in shaping clean air policies, this report profiles four of the leading trade associations and companies working to weaken Clean Air Act protections.

Southern Company

Some of the most consistent and outspoken opposition to environmental and public health protections in recent years has come from Atlanta-based Southern Company. Southern Company currently is the second-largest emitter of SO₂, NO_x, and CO₂, behind only American Electric Power,^{xxix} but it is unparalleled in its efforts to forestall meaningful action to clean up the nation's oldest, dirtiest power plants.

Southern Company is the dominant utility holding company operating in the Southeast, owning five electric utilities – Georgia Power, Alabama Power, Mississippi Power, Gulf Power (in Florida), and Savannah Electric (in Georgia) – through which it operates 72 power plants.^{xxx} It also owns Southern Nuclear, which operates its nuclear power plants, and a number of other subsidiaries such as Southern Company GAS, Southern Company Energy Solutions, and Southern Telecom.

Southern Company relies on old, coal-burning power plants for the bulk of its capacity. In 2002, 69 percent of the company's generating capacity came from coal, and 73 percent came from generating units more than 20 years old.^{xxxi} In 2002, Southern's plants emitted nearly one million tons of soot-forming SO₂, 300,000 tons of smog-forming NO_x, more than 165 million tons of CO₂ (the equivalent of what 24.5 million cars would produce in a year).^{xxxii} In 2001, these plants also emitted more than 8,000 pounds of mercury.^{xxxiii}

As a result of its reliance on old, dirty coal-burning plants, which produce massive quantities of air pollution, Southern has put enormous effort – and capital – into influencing important elections and lobbying against environmental and public health protections, all while taking great care to project a “clean” image to consumers. Southern Executive Vice President Dwight Evans is a member of President Bush’s Rangers program, having pledged to raise at least \$200,000 for the incumbent in the 2004 election cycle.^{xxxiv} Southern also is the biggest spender in the electric utility sector when it comes to lobbying, apart from trade associations.

Merely one week after EPA weakened the NSR program, John Pemberton, the chief of staff for EPA’s Assistant Administrator of Air and Radiation resigned from the agency to take a job as a lobbyist for Southern. Shortly after, Ed Krenik, the head of EPA’s congressional liaison staff, accepted a position lobbying with Bracewell & Patterson, a law firm that represents Southern Company.^{xxxv} EPA and Southern denied any conflict of interest, but this underscores the revolving door between industry and the officials that are charged with regulating those very industries.

Haley Barbour, governor of Mississippi and chairman of the Republican National Committee from 1993-1997, also lobbied for Southern Company. Barbour played an influential role in shaping the current Administration’s air pollution policies, as illustrated by a memorandum sent to Vice President Cheney within weeks of Inauguration Day, reported by the *New York Times*:

“The question is whether environmental policy still prevails over energy policy with Bush-Cheney, as it did with

Clinton-Gore,” Mr. Barbour wrote, and called for measures to show that environmental concerns would no longer “trump good energy policy.”^{xxxvi}

In 2002 alone, Southern Company paid Haley Barbour and his colleagues at Barbour, Griffith & Rogers \$200,000. Working for Southern, lobbyists from Mr. Barbour’s firm contacted members of Congress, the Executive Office of the President, and a number of administrative agencies, including the Department of Energy, Department of Commerce, and Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.^{xxxvii} As governor of Mississippi, Barbour now regulates Mississippi Power, a subsidiary of Southern Company.

In addition to in-house lobbyists from Southern, Georgia Power, Alabama Power, and Mississippi Power, lobbyists from 13 different firms such as Barbour, Griffith & Rogers listed Southern or one of its subsidiaries as a client in 2002:^{xxxviii}

Baker & Hostetler
Balch & Bingham
Barbour, Griffith & Rogers
Cauthen & Associates
Dorsey & Whitney
Flippo & Associates, R.G.
Renkes Group
Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht, & MacKinnon
Sideview Partners, Inc.
Smith-Free Group
Troutman Sanders LLP
Van Scoyoc Associates
Barry A. Williamson

In public, Southern spends a great deal of effort trying to convey a “green” image. The company’s 2003 “Environmental Progress Report” makes the claim that “meeting or surpassing all environmental laws and regulations is the foundation of our

environmental commitment,”^{xxxix} but fails to mention that Southern has been sued by the Department of Justice and EPA for violations of New Source Review at several of its plants.^{xl} In the past few years, Southern also has run several advertising campaigns boasting of its financial success and environmental stewardship.^{xli} In 2002 alone, Southern and its affiliates spent nearly \$16 million on “general advertising,” as well as \$1.3 million on “sales advertising.”^{xlii} This represents a huge amount of image-enhancing PR on television, in newspapers, and distributed to customers.

This image engineering is directed at consumers and decision-makers. A January 2003 ad that ran in *Roll Call*, a Washington paper, made claims about Southern’s power plant emissions that were false and misleading. The ad contained a graph indicating that Southern’s “emissions” had decreased by approximately 40-45 percent between 1990 and 2000. The graph does not specify what “emissions” it refers to; in fact, there are no combinations of emissions of the four major pollutants that correspond to the claims Southern makes with this graph. Southern’s total SO₂, NO_x, and CO₂ emissions increased from about 128 million tons in 1990 to 170 million tons in 2000, an increase of 33 percent. Removing CO₂ from the equation, Southern’s SO₂ and NO_x emissions decreased during this time period, from 1.94 to 1.34 million tons, but this 31 percent reduction is far from the 40-45 percent claimed in the advertisement.

Georgia Power ran a similar ad a month earlier in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, with a different emissions graph that also failed to match up with the facts. In mid-2003, after the factual problems with these advertisements was revealed, the *Journal-Constitution* ran a multiple-page article

criticizing Southern for these misleading ads and describing the damage that Georgia Power’s plants have done to the local environment.^{xliii}

The Edison Electric Institute

The Edison Electric Institute (EEI) is the most prominent trade association representing the electric utility sector. The majority of large shareholder-owned electric companies operating in the U.S. are members of EEI, including the five biggest polluters – American Electric Power, Southern Company, Cinergy, Xcel, and TXU.^{xliv} EEI members account for nearly 70 percent of all electricity produced by utilities in the country.^{xlv} Electric utility companies pay annual dues to EEI, which in return fulfills a service to its members by “representing their interests and advocating equitable policies in legislative and regulatory arenas” – in other words, by lobbying the government for industry-friendly policies.^{xlvi}

Thomas Kuhn, president of the Edison Electric Institute, was George W. Bush’s roommate at Yale. Kuhn was a Pioneer for the Bush campaign in 2000 and is again in 2004, pledging to raise at least \$100,000 for the Bush campaign each cycle.^{xlvii} Kuhn has a great deal of close contact with decision-makers in the Bush administration, enjoying a place on Bush 2000 transition team that helped develop the incoming Administration’s energy policy. He met at least 14 times with Vice President Cheney’s energy task force,^{xlviii} which was instrumental in shaping the policies now being put into place by the Bush administration – policies that have undermined the Clean Air Act and public health protections to the benefit of the companies that Kuhn represents.

EEI has taken public stands in favor of all of the Bush administration's rollbacks to the Clean Air Act's power plant cleanup requirements; in fact, EEI likely had a hand in drafting each of the policies. EEI has been an outspoken advocate on the Clear Skies Initiative, a major player in the drafting of EPA's New Source Review rollbacks, and spoke at public hearings in favor of EPA's mercury rule. Each of these policies would benefit EEI's members at the expense of public health and the environment.

EEI's support of the New Source Review reforms is particularly notable in its deceptiveness. In its comments to the EPA docket, EEI claimed that "when finalized, EPA's RMRR proposal will encourage companies to undertake projects that make their plants operate more safely, reliably, and efficiently... EPA's RMRR proposal will be good both for the environment and for the continued reliability and improved efficiency of the nation's electricity supply."^{xlix}

However, an internal e-mail from American Electric Power – a member of EEI – to an official at the Department of Energy reveals that EEI's arguments about the necessity of NSR reform for the purposes of improved reliability and efficiency are misleading, if not false:

"...NSR changes will have VERY LITTLE IF ANY affect [sic] on reliability. Thru on-going maintenance improvements the units are being made more reliable now... There is very little of any reliability improvements being stopped today by recent politically motivated NSR interpretation revisions. ...Sure improvements in efficiency make units more competitive but most coal units are already deeply in the money.

There may be some units where

Electric Reliability Coordinating Council

The Electric Reliability Coordinating Council (ERCC) has been a major player in the battle over the New Source review program. Essentially an industry-funded front group founded to fight for NSR rollbacks, ERCC's members include, among others, Southern Company, Texas Utilities, FirstEnergy, Duke Energy, and Progress Energy. Two lobbyists, Scott Segal and C. Boyden Gray, lead the group. Segal is a partner at Bracewell & Patterson, a law firm that has represented BP Amoco, Shell Oil, and Valero Energy. Gray is a partner at Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, a law firm that has represented Western Resources.

Gray in particular has connections to the electric utility industry and the Bush administration. He played a chief role in the formation of the Air Quality Standards Coalition, an industry front group dedicated to fighting against the strengthening of clean air standards in the mid-1990s, and whose largest contributing members in 1997 were Ford Motor Company and the American Petroleum Institute. Gray was Legal Counsel to Vice President George H.W. Bush from 1981-1989, and served as Counsel to President Bush from 1989-1993.

Other high-profile lobbyists who have represented ERCC include Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour, former head of the Republican National Committee, and former Montana Governor Marc Racicot. Racicot was named chair of the Republican National Committee in 2002, and in June 2003 President Bush chose him to chair the Bush-Cheney 2004 campaign.

By using these prolific political and industry connections, ERCC positioned itself as a powerful force in favor of EPA's weakening of the New Source Review program.

improved efficiency gained thru something that today might be precluded by NSR concerns will move the unit up on the dispatch chain, but those occasions [sic] are few and far between and the impact on emissions will be small."¹ (*capitalization in original*)

Furthermore, a separate passage in the same e-mail contradicts EEI's claim that NSR reforms will be good for the environment:

“...environmental groups will claim that substantial emissions increases (spikes) will occur at specific plant [sic] due to increased annual utilization. Such claims may be hard to refute on a plant-specific basis because some power plant changes may remove a operational constraint that has been temporarily limiting short-term production... Also... certain maintenance projects could increase substantially the annual output due to increased availability and increased dispatch.”^{li}

EPA’s NSR reforms will save the companies that EEI represents considerable amounts of money, because they will be able to avoid installing modern – and potentially expensive – pollution controls.

American Petroleum Institute

The American Petroleum Institute (API) is the largest trade association affiliated with the oil and gas industry. API’s membership consists of about 400 dues-paying companies in the oil and gas sector, and the association serves its members by providing a powerful lobbying force in Washington. Like the Edison Electric Institute, API enjoys close ties with key figures in the federal government and played an important role on Vice President Cheney’s energy task force.

API had at least six formal contacts with the Cheney task force, and a review of documents by the Natural Resources Defense Council revealed that an executive order signed by President Bush in 2001 dealing with energy supply and distribution was essentially copied verbatim from a proposal submitted by API.^{lii} After the Bush energy plan was announced, API helped launch a front group called the Alliance for

Energy and Economic Growth, whose members include the American Gas Association and Edison Electric Institute, among others. This coalition raised money to lobby for the Bush energy plan, and a condition of membership is agreement to “support the Bush energy proposal in its entirety and not lobby for changes to the bill.”^{liii}

API has lobbied extensively on air policy, particularly on the topics of New Source Review and global warming. API has a vested interest in NSR reform, as facilities such as oil refineries are major sources of air pollutants, including SO₂, NO_x, and toxics such as cancer-causing benzene, from smokestacks as well as from leaks and accidents that are preventable if the facilities use modern technology. EPA’s NSR reforms, supported by API,^{liv} allow refineries to make major upgrades and increase emissions without having to conform to modern pollution standards.

In 1998, EPA launched the National Petroleum Refinery Initiative, targeting 42 refineries for air pollution violations, resulting in 11 settlements involving \$36.8 million in fines and \$1.9 billion in investments in modern pollution controls.^{lv} One of the enforcement mechanisms used under this initiative was New Source Review. Under the EPA’s recent reforms to the NSR program, which provide a huge loophole by which refineries can avoid violating NSR, further widespread enforcement actions that would clean up or prevent thousands of tons of pollution from petroleum refineries would be much more difficult, if not impossible.

API also has played a key role in the industry fight against strict regulation of global warming pollutants; it is a member of the Global Climate Coalition, a group that

has spent millions to portray global warming as a non-issue.^{lvi} API strongly opposed the Kyoto Protocol, producing a report stressing that the Protocol would be too costly for industry and hence consumers and endorsed a number of reports by Charles River Associates, an industry-funded research and consulting firm, that make similar claims regarding the negative economic impacts of regulating global warming pollution.^{lvii} Most recently, API has opposed legislation regulating greenhouse gas emissions from cars as well as from power plants.

API has exerted its influence in more subtle ways as well. In 2003, the White House edited the section on global warming in an EPA report on the state of the environment. Data showing increases in greenhouse gas emissions in the late 1990s were replaced with references to a different report – one funded by API, among others.^{lviii}

Findings: Following the Money

The 18 trade associations examined below have all publicly supported one or more of the three rollbacks to the Clean Air Act detailed in this report. These trade associations and their member companies gave millions in PAC contributions to federal candidates in the last three election cycles (1997-2002) and spent millions more lobbying in order to elect allies and ensure access once those allies are in office.

This report looks at not only the contributions given by the trade associations themselves but also their member companies. The trade associations are only as powerful as the interests they represent. Refer to the methodology section for details on the process used for selecting member companies.

In the three election cycles between 1997 and 2002, these 18 trade associations and select member companies made \$53 million in PAC contributions to federal candidates. Of this, more than \$42 million went to members that currently hold office. The rest of the contributions went to candidates who are no longer in office or who lost their election race.

As detailed in Table 1, Edison Electric Institute and select member companies gave more than \$17.8 million to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002; American Petroleum Institute gave more than \$12.5 million; and the National Association of Manufacturers gave almost \$9.8 million.

Table 1. PAC Contributions from Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies to Federal Candidates, 1997-2002

Committee Name	Contributions to All Federal Candidates	Contributions to Current Officeholders
Edison Electric Institute	\$17,812,581	\$14,300,562
American Petroleum Institute	\$12,563,790	\$9,778,764
National Association of Manufacturers	\$9,787,302	\$7,673,006
Electric Power Supply Association	\$5,451,223	\$4,381,460
National Petrochemical and Refiners Association	\$4,813,898	\$3,689,598
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	\$2,830,271	\$2,262,833
National Mining Association	\$2,458,792	\$2,058,032
American Gas Association	\$1,863,946	\$1,297,722
American Chemistry Council	\$1,618,306	\$1,243,612
American Forest & Paper Association	\$1,290,615	\$1,017,365
Printing Industries of America	\$557,305	\$403,705
Portland Cement Association	\$439,926	\$335,897
American Furniture Manufacturers Association	\$404,273	\$321,023
Association of American Railroads	\$350,094	\$261,958
Interstate Natural Gas Association of America	\$227,104	\$174,034
American Public Power Association	\$161,839	\$141,589
American Iron and Steel Institute	\$133,988	\$110,738
National Electrical Manufacturers Association	\$81,250	\$50,250

Of the 18 trade associations on record supporting weaker air protections, the trade associations and select member companies belonging to the electric utility and oil and gas sectors contributed more than \$30 million of the \$53 million total. As shown in Table 2, the utility or oil companies

(belonging to one or more of these trade associations) that gave the most money to federal candidates between 1997 and 2002 include ExxonMobil, Southern Company, ChevronTexaco, Entergy Corporation, and Edison International.

Table 2. Member Companies in Utility/Oil/Gas Sectors Giving Most PAC Contributions to Federal Candidates, 1997-2002

Company Name	Contributions to All Federal Candidates
ExxonMobil	\$2,186,950.00
Southern Company	\$1,517,250.00
ChevronTexaco	\$1,238,767.00
Entergy Corporation	\$1,058,841.00
Edison International	\$1,032,200.00
Texas Utilities	\$936,758.00
Exelon Corporation	\$915,544.00
Florida Power & Light	\$828,800.00
DTE Energy	\$809,614.00
American Electric Power	\$754,020.00
Progress Energy	\$746,499.00
Ashland Inc	\$734,425.00
Dominion	\$713,122.00
Reliant Resources	\$682,491.00
BP America	\$673,361.00

In the 2000 presidential race, these trade associations and select member companies gave \$185,428 to now-President George W. Bush, but nothing to then-Vice President Al Gore. Additionally, 15 representatives from these companies have participated in Bush's Pioneer or Ranger programs in the 2000 or 2004 presidential campaigns – that is, they pledged to raise \$100,000 or \$200,000, respectively, for the Bush campaign.^{lix}

In Congress, these trade associations and select member companies made their contributions on a strategic basis designed to maximize industry influence on policy. In

the House, the top recipient of campaign money from these trade associations and select member companies was Representative John Dingell (D-MI), the highest ranking Democrat on the House Energy and Commerce Committee. Second was Representative Joe Barton (R-TX), now the chairman of the House Energy and Commerce committee. Representative Billy Tauzin (R-LA), a longtime industry supporter and the former chair of the Energy and Commerce committee, received the next largest sum. Fourth and fifth on the list are the two Congressmen who hold the most influential positions, House Speaker Dennis

Hastert (R-IL) and House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-TX). Also high on the list is House Majority Whip Roy Blunt (R-MO) and Representatives Rick Boucher (D-VA) and John Shimkus (R-IL), both of whom hold leadership positions on the House Energy and Commerce Committee's Energy and Air Quality Subcommittee (Table 3).

In the Senate, the top recipient of campaign money from these trade associations and select member companies was Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA), a member of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Senator Landrieu received nearly \$115,000 more than any of her colleagues. A distant second was Senator George Voinovich (R-OH), chair of the Senate Environmental and Public Works Committee's Clean Air, Climate Change and Nuclear Safety Subcommittee. Senator James Inhofe (R-OK), the chair of the full committee, also is high on the list (Table 4).

If we look at contributions to the Senate from the subset of the trade associations and companies that are within the electric utility and oil and gas sectors, the pattern of strategic giving becomes even more apparent. Senator Inhofe, chair of the Environment and Public Works Committee, received the second largest amount of money from these sectors; Senators Pete Domenici (R-NM) and Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), the chair and ranking member, respectively, of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, also appear near the top of the list (Table 5).

Refer to Appendices B and C for a full list of House members and Senators receiving PAC contributions from the profiled associations and companies.

Table 3. House Members Receiving the Most PAC Contributions from the Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies, 1997-2002

Representative	Party/State	Amount Received
Dingell, John D.	D MI	\$607,410.00
Barton, Joe	R TX	\$532,617.00
Tauzin, Wilbert J II	R LA	\$477,490.00
Hastert, J. Dennis	R IL	\$388,770.00
DeLay, Thomas D.	R TX	\$361,289.00
Wilson, Heather A.	R NM	\$348,448.00
Blunt, Roy	R MO	\$315,017.00
Northup, Anne M.	R KY	\$311,217.00
Boucher, Frederick C.	D VA	\$305,982.00
Young, Don E.	R AK	\$297,363.00
Oxley, Michael G.	R OH	\$288,084.00
Hall, Ralph Moody	D TX	\$283,607.00
Pickering, Charles W.	R MS	\$281,704.00
Shimkus, John M.	R IL	\$269,581.00
Stenholm, Charlie W.	D TX	\$263,841.00

Table 4. Senators Receiving the Most PAC Contributions from the Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies, 1997-2002

Senator	Party/State	Amount Received
Landrieu, Mary L.	D LA	\$481,442.00
Voinovich, George	R OH	\$375,420.00
Hagel, Charles T.	R NE	\$308,208.00
Santorum, Richard J.	R PA	\$305,590.00
Burns, Conrad	R MT	\$295,498.00
Craig, Larry E.	R ID	\$283,569.00
Inhofe, James M.	R OK	\$278,423.00
Coleman, Norm	R MN	\$276,623.00
Bond, Christopher S.	R MO	\$275,420.00
Baucus, Max	D MT	\$245,246.00
Ensign, John	R NV	\$241,176.00
Lincoln, Blanche Lambert	D AR	\$238,577.00
Cornyn, John	R TX	\$235,960.00
Smith, Gordon H.	R OR	\$234,304.00
Allard, A. Wayne	R CO	\$225,616.00

Table 5. Senators Receiving the Most PAC Contributions from the Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies in the Utility/Oil/Gas Sectors, 1997-2002

Senator	Party/State	Amount Received	Senator	Party/State	Amount Received
Landrieu, Mary L.	D LA	\$359,942.00	Smith, Gordon H.	R OR	\$154,958.00
Inhofe, James M.	R OK	\$213,813.00	Cornyn, John	R TX	\$151,500.00
Voinovich, George	R OH	\$212,745.00	Nickles, Donald	R OK	\$151,227.00
Hagel, Charles T.	R NE	\$196,807.00	Bingaman, Jeff	D NM	\$149,850.00
Craig, Larry E.	R ID	\$184,186.00	Bond, Christopher	R MO	\$147,436.00
Burns, Conrad	R MT	\$183,978.00	Santorum, Richard	R PA	\$145,980.00
Domenici, Pete V.	R NM	\$165,914.00	Breaux, John B.	D LA	\$143,773.00
Coleman, Norm	R MN	\$155,708.00			

Lobbying Expenditures

While making extensive campaign contributions allows industry to help the types of candidates likely to be supportive of business interests to be elected to office, once they are elected, industry has another method of making sure they get what they want: by hiring an army of well-paid professional lobbyists. In 2002 alone, 98 of

the 145 trade associations and select member companies profiled in this report reported their lobbying expenditures under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995. These 98 companies alone spent more than \$173 million on in-house lobbyists, as reported to the Senate Office of Public Records (Table 6).^{lx}

Table 6. In-House Lobbying Expenditures by Profiled Trade Associations, 2002

Association Name	2002 In-House Lobbying Expenditures
Edison Electric Institute	\$12,053,000
Association of American Railroads	\$5,625,984
National Association of Manufacturers	\$4,660,000
National Mining Association	\$4,360,000
American Forest & Paper Association	\$3,380,000
American Petroleum Institute	\$3,040,000
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	\$2,540,000
American Public Power Association	\$2,380,000
American Chemistry Council	\$2,140,000
National Electrical Manufacturers Association	\$860,000
Printing Industries of America	\$424,868
American Gas Association	\$424,500
American Iron and Steel Institute	\$400,000
Interstate Natural Gas Association of America	\$300,000
Electric Power Supply Association	\$190,000
National Petrochemical and Refiners Association	\$111,000

Of the \$173 million spent on lobbying by these trade associations and member companies, more than \$96 million came from associations and companies in the

electric utility and oil and gas sectors (Table 7). Refer to Appendix F for a full list member companies with lobbying expenditures in 2002.

Table 7. In-House Lobbying Expenditures by Member Companies in Utility/Oil/Gas Sectors, 2002: Top 15

Company Name	2002 In-House Lobbying Expenditures
ExxonMobil	\$8,372,729.00
Shell Oil	\$6,162,182.00
Southern Company	\$4,900,000.00
ChevronTexaco	\$4,620,000.00
Marathon Oil	\$3,680,000.00
BP America	\$2,700,000.00
Florida Power & Light	\$2,380,000.00
Texas Utilities	\$2,320,000.00
Duke Energy	\$2,270,000.00
FirstEnergy	\$2,259,375.30
Exelon Corporation	\$2,172,570.00
Occidental Petroleum	\$2,132,725.00
PG&E Corporation	\$2,020,000.00
CMS Energy	\$2,000,000.00
Sempra Energy	\$1,956,301.00

Southern Company

As detailed above, Southern Company is one of the most outspoken members of the electric utility industry, advocating against a wide range of environmental and public health protections. To that end, Southern is the largest spender in the utility industry, aside from trade associations, in both lobbying and campaign contributions.

In 2002, Southern’s expenditure of nearly \$5 million on lobbying was more than double that spent by second-place Florida Power & Light, which spent slightly less than \$2.4 million on lobbying in the same time period.

Between 1997 and 2002, Southern and its subsidiaries gave more than \$1.5 million to Congressional candidates, plus President

Bush, with a strong focus on members from Georgia and Alabama – members more likely to represent the company’s local interests. This is the most of any electric utility company, well above the next largest contributor, Exelon Corporation, which gave \$1.1 million. This money was not given haphazardly; on the contrary, it was targeted strategically, in such a way that would maximize Southern’s pull in key elections and on key swing votes, even outside of purely geographical considerations. In particular, Southern gave heavily to members of Congress sitting on relevant committees, including the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, which is responsible for environmental regulations, and the House Energy and

Commerce Committee, which is responsible for energy and environmental policy.

Southern contributed to 11 of the 18 current members of the Senate Environment and

Public Works Committee (Table 8). On the House side, Southern contributed to the campaigns of 38 of the 57 members currently sitting on the House Energy and Commerce Committee (Table 9).

Table 8. Members of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee Receiving PAC Contributions from Southern Company, 1997-2002

Senator	Party/ State	Amount Received
James Inhofe (<i>Chair</i>)	R OK	\$10,000.00
Craig Thomas	R WY	\$10,000.00
Mike Crapo	R ID	\$9,500.00
George Voinovich	R OH	\$9,000.00
John Cornyn	R TX	\$7,000.00
Christopher “Kit” Bond	R MO	\$6,500.00
John Warner	R VA	\$4,000.00
Wayne Allard	R CO	\$2,000.00
Bob Graham	D FL	\$1,500.00
Max Baucus	D MT	\$1,000.00
Ron Wyden	D OR	\$1,000.00

Table 9. Members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee Receiving PAC Contributions from Southern Company, 1997-2002

Representative	Party/ State	Amount Received
Charles Norwood	R GA	\$29,750.00
Nathan Deal	R GA	\$29,000.00
Charles “Chip” Pickering	R MS	\$25,600.00
W.J. “Billy” Tauzin (<i>former chair</i>)	R LA	\$19,500.00
John Dingell (<i>ranking member</i>)	D MI	\$18,000.00
Joe Barton (<i>chair</i>)	R TX	\$16,500.00
Richard Burr	R NC	\$16,500.00
John Shadegg	R AZ	\$10,750.00
Ralph Hall	R TX	\$10,000.00
Michael Rogers	R AL	\$10,000.00
Rick Boucher	D VA	\$9,000.00
John Shimkus	R IL	\$9,000.00
Barbara Cubin	R WY	\$8,500.00
Chris John	D LA	\$8,000.00
Albert Wynn	D MD	\$8,000.00
Edolphus Towns	D NY	\$7,500.00
Ed Whitfield	R KY	\$7,500.00
Cliff Stearns	R FL	\$7,250.00
Paul Gillmore	R OH	\$7,000.00

Representative	Party/ State	Amount Received
Michael Bilirakis	R FL	\$5,500.00
Steve Buyer	R IN	\$5,000.00
Mike Doyle	D PA	\$5,000.00
Terry Lee	R NE	\$4,500.00
Gene Green	D TX	\$3,500.00
Vito Fossella	R NY	\$3,000.00
Ted Strickland	D OH	\$3,000.00
C.L. Otter	R ID	\$2,500.00
Greg Walden	R OR	\$2,500.00
Charles Bass	R NH	\$2,000.00
Bart Gordon	D TN	\$2,000.00
Heather Wilson	R NM	\$2,000.00
Jim Davis	D FL	\$1,500.00
Bobby Rush	D IL	\$1,500.00
Bart Stupak	D MI	\$1,500.00
Mary Bono	R CA	\$1,000.00
Christopher Cox	R CA	\$1,000.00
Sherrod Brown	D OH	\$500.00
Mike Ferguson	R NJ	\$500.00

Methodology

Selecting the Trade Associations to Profile

We analyzed the campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures of the following 18 trade associations: American Chemistry Council, American Forest & Paper Association, American Furniture Manufacturers Association, American Gas Association, American Iron and Steel Institute, American Petroleum Institute, American Public Power Association, Association of American Railroads, Edison Electric Institute, Electric Power Supply Association, Interstate Natural Gas Association of America, National Association of Manufacturers, National Electrical Manufacturers Association, National Mining Association, National Rural Electric Cooperative, Portland Cement Association, and Printing Industries of America. These associations are publicly advocating for one or more of the three clean air rollbacks detailed in this report.

Every association profiled except for the Electric Power Supply Association and the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America was a signatory on a letter opposing legislation that would prevent EPA from rolling back the New Source Review program. Many of these associations are also signatories on a letter to EPA Administrator Mike Leavitt in support of the NSR rollbacks. Many of the associations also have position statements or press releases posted on their websites indicating their public support for the NSR rollbacks or the so-called Clear Skies Initiative. The Electric Power Supply Association, one of the only two associations not on the aforementioned NSR letter, has such position statements on its website.

Public comments into the EPA docket regarding relevant rulemakings represents another form of public support. The Interstate Natural Gas Association of America, the other association not on the NSR letter, has submitted comments to the EPA docket in support of the NSR rollbacks – as have many of the other associations profiled, including Edison Electric Institute, American Petroleum Institute, American Gas Association, National Petrochemical and Refiners Association, American Public Power Association, and others.

EPA dockets are available for search at http://cascade.epa.gov/RightSite/dk_public_home.htm.

The relevant NSR docket is docket number OAR-2002-0068.

Selecting the Member Companies to Profile

In order to demonstrate the weight these associations carry on Capitol Hill, we also analyzed the campaign contributions of select members of these associations.

Because many of these associations have hundreds of members, in some cases we included only a subset of each association's member companies. For electric utility trade associations, we included member companies that are among the top 100 electric generation owners in 2000, as determined in a 2002 report by the Natural Resources Defense Council, Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies, and the Public Service Enterprise Group.^{lxi} For all other trade associations, we selected member companies based on the following criteria:

- If the association has 25 or fewer member companies, we included all of the companies;
- If the association has more than 25 member companies and lists its board of directors on its website, we included each company represented on the board; or
- For large trade associations that do not post board membership lists on their websites, we included the 10 largest member companies in the association, based on market capitalization.^{lxii}

In some cases, there are very few member companies profiled from a given trade association. This is the case if few of the largest member companies made PAC contributions in the time period analyzed (1997-2002). See Appendix F for a full list of the trade associations and member companies included in this analysis.

Calculating PAC Contributions

Once the list of companies was determined, we downloaded the campaign contribution data directly from the Federal Election Commission website. All relevant files are available at <http://www.fec.gov/nance/ftpdet.htm>. We looked at contributions from the last three election cycles (1998, 2000, and 2002). Hence, the numbers for each member of the House of Representatives might include

contributions from three election cycles, whereas the numbers for each member of the Senate will include contributions from one election cycle. The numbers for the Presidential race include 1999-2000 data only. We did not look at data for the 2004 cycle, as it is incomplete at this time. For total contributions from each PAC to all federal candidates, we relied on data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics at www.opensecrets.org.

Significantly, this report only tabulates campaign contributions from PACs; contributions from individuals are not examined. Also, this report does not examine soft money that was given before Congress passed the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, which banned soft money contributions and doubled hard money limits.

Calculating Lobbying Expenditures

Data for lobbying expenditures were downloaded from reports available at the Senate Office of Public Records's website at <http://sopr.senate.gov/>. These reports are made public under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995. We looked only at data for 2002; data for 2003 are available, but for many companies it remains incomplete. We included only in-house lobbying expenditures and excluded expenditures on out-of-house lobbying firms.

Appendix A. PAC Contributions by Selected Member Companies (Electric Utility and Oil and Gas Sectors Only), 1997-2002: By Company

These companies are members of the trade associations that have publicly supported weaker clean air protections, as detailed in the methodology.

Company Name	Contributions to All Federal Candidates	Contributions to Current Officeholders
ExxonMobil	\$2,186,950.00	\$1,506,000.00
Southern Company	\$1,517,250.00	\$1,158,550.00
ChevronTexaco	\$1,238,767.00	\$890,987.00
Entergy Corporation	\$1,058,841.00	\$845,591.00
Edison International	\$1,032,200.00	\$827,857.00
Texas Utilities	\$936,758.00	\$809,158.00
Exelon Corporation	\$915,544.00	\$805,294.00
Florida Power & Light	\$828,800.00	\$644,050.00
DTE Energy	\$809,614.00	\$650,791.00
American Electric Power	\$754,020.00	\$640,470.00
Progress Energy	\$746,499.00	\$609,500.00
Ashland Inc	\$734,425.00	\$540,325.00
Dominion	\$713,122.00	\$599,761.00
Reliant Resources	\$682,491.00	\$530,125.00
BP America	\$673,361.00	\$551,750.00
Duke Energy	\$669,125.00	\$555,500.00
CMS Energy	\$651,223.00	\$546,523.00
Anadarko Petroleum	\$640,162.00	\$523,278.00
PG&E Corporation	\$607,107.00	\$492,760.00
Occidental Petroleum	\$603,750.00	\$497,250.00
Dow Chemical	\$535,575.00	\$525,825.00
Halliburton Company	\$522,002.00	\$368,376.00
Bechtel Group	\$509,100.00	\$411,400.00
ConocoPhillips	\$488,474.00	\$361,998.00
FirstEnergy	\$474,230.00	\$354,400.00
Marathon Oil	\$442,175.00	\$359,175.00
NiSource Inc	\$439,135.00	\$315,666.00
Pinnacle West Capital Corporation	\$388,250.00	\$321,750.00
Shell Oil	\$360,890.00	\$307,890.00
Kerr-McGee Corporation	\$324,250.00	\$249,250.00
PPL	\$315,630.00	\$262,730.00
Sempra Energy	\$310,310.00	\$246,960.00
Valero Energy	\$294,523.00	\$246,523.00
Northeast Utilities	\$282,791.00	\$199,285.00
Cinergy Corp	\$275,925.00	\$235,125.00
Xcel Energy	\$270,669.00	\$209,234.00
TECO Energy	\$258,500.00	\$214,250.00
Dynegy Inc	\$251,795.00	\$207,995.00
Allegheny Energy	\$249,850.00	\$206,850.00
Constellation Energy	\$233,930.00	\$172,750.00

Company Name	Contributions to All Federal Candidates	Contributions to Current Officeholders
Ameren	\$222,050.00	\$176,300.00
Burlington Resources	\$204,800.00	\$163,600.00
PECO Energy	\$185,658.00	\$124,500.00
MidAmerican Energy Company	\$171,325.00	\$129,613.00
National Fuel Gas Company	\$148,283.00	\$114,658.00
Aquila Inc	\$142,500.00	\$100,250.00
Union Oil (Unocal)	\$142,250.00	\$100,000.00
Kansas City Power & Light	\$112,150.00	\$88,200.00
Mirant Corporation	\$107,300.00	\$94,500.00
Puget Sound Energy Inc	\$98,651.00	\$80,964.00
Devon Energy Corporation	\$95,200.00	\$81,700.00
Pepco Holdings	\$89,940.00	\$75,440.00
Niagara Mohawk Holdings Inc	\$88,934.00	\$67,960.00
KeySpan Energy	\$76,218.00	\$54,068.00
ALLETE	\$73,100.00	\$57,000.00
OGE Energy	\$67,517.00	\$36,017.00
Vectren Corporation	\$66,540.00	\$48,290.00
Peoples Energy	\$64,900.00	\$60,700.00
Hunt Oil Company	\$50,684.00	\$36,684.00
Avista Corp	\$46,941.00	\$37,441.00
Alliant Energy	\$45,425.00	\$39,475.00
ONEOK Inc	\$38,000.00	\$26,500.00
Sierra Pacific	\$35,590.00	\$35,590.00
AES Corporation	\$29,050.00	\$16,800.00
Murphy Oil	\$28,500.00	\$23,000.00
CLECO Inc	\$24,500.00	\$18,550.00
CenterPoint Energy	\$21,499.00	\$19,000.00
Dayton Power & Light	\$20,670.00	\$17,010.00
Piedmont Natural Gas Co	\$17,050.00	\$11,100.00
Tesoro Petroleum	\$16,500.00	\$14,500.00
NRG Energy Inc	\$15,800.00	\$13,800.00
Questar	\$15,000.00	\$12,000.00
Westar Energy	\$14,872.00	\$12,872.00
El Paso Electric Company	\$13,300.00	\$12,800.00
MDU Resources Group	\$11,350.00	\$8,150.00
UniSource Energy Corp	\$9,650.00	\$7,650.00
Pennsylvania Power Company	\$9,350.00	\$5,400.00
Wisconsin Public Service Corporation	\$8,325.00	\$6,825.00
Total Petroleum Inc	\$6,702.00	\$3,702.00
Equitable Resources Inc	\$4,450.00	\$3,800.00
Tractebel Power Inc	\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
Nstar	\$2,125.00	\$2,125.00

Appendix B. PAC Contributions by Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies, 1997-2002: By Senator

Senators omitted from this table accepted no contributions from the 145 trade associations and selected member companies profiled in this report.

Senator	Party/ State	Contributions Received	Senator	Party/ State	Contributions Received
Landrieu, Mary L	D LA	\$481,442.00	Johnson, Tim	D SD	\$139,381.00
Voinovich, George	R OH	\$375,420.00	Campbell, Ben N.	R CO	\$133,725.00
Hagel, Charles T	R NE	\$308,208.00	Enzi, Michael B	R WY	\$133,440.00
Santorum, Richard J	R PA	\$305,590.00	Sessions, Jefferson B	R AL	\$131,230.00
Burns, Conrad	R MT	\$295,498.00	Chambliss, Saxby	R GA	\$122,745.00
Craig, Larry E	R ID	\$283,569.00	Hollings, Ernest F	D SC	\$118,749.00
Inhofe, James M	R OK	\$278,423.00	Daschle, Thomas A.	D SD	\$118,051.00
Coleman, Norm	R MN	\$276,623.00	Mccain, John S	R AZ	\$115,125.00
Bond, Christopher S	R MO	\$275,420.00	Hatch, Orrin G	R UT	\$112,550.00
Baucus, Max	D MT	\$245,246.00	Dorgan, Byron L	D ND	\$111,514.00
Ensign, John Eric	R NV	\$241,176.00	Rockefeller, John D.	D WV	\$109,964.00
Lincoln, Blanche Lambert	D AR	\$238,577.00	Cochran, Thad	R VA	\$108,000.00
Cornyn, John	R TX	\$235,960.00	Kyl, Jon L	R AZ	\$104,250.00
Smith, Gordon H.	R OR	\$234,304.00	Roberts, Pat	R KS	\$101,872.00
Allard, A Wayne	R CO	\$225,616.00	Brownback, Sam	R KS	\$101,859.00
Lott, C Trent	R MS	\$223,433.00	Graham, Bob	D FL	\$101,819.00
Nickles, Donald Lee	R OK	\$222,227.00	Alexander, Lamar	R TN	\$101,500.00
Breaux, John B	D LA	\$218,873.00	Nelson, E Benjamin	D NE	\$89,035.00
Allen, George	R VA	\$217,767.00	Levin, Carl	D MI	\$88,617.00
Domenici, Pete V	R NM	\$216,037.00	Feinstein, Dianne	D CA	\$86,250.00
Talent, James M.	R MO	\$212,726.00	Byrd, Robert C	D WV	\$83,661.00
Bunning, Jim	R KY	\$210,388.00	Bennett, Robert F	R UT	\$80,000.00
Hutchison, Kay Bailey	R TX	\$187,972.00	Dodd, Christopher J	D CT	\$76,730.00
Bingaman, Jeff	D NM	\$186,350.00	Mikulski, Barbara A	D MD	\$75,300.00
Fitzgerald, Peter G	R IL	\$182,913.00	Reid, Harry	D NV	\$71,250.00
Dewine, Richard	R OH	\$181,931.00	Durbin, Richard J	D IL	\$70,500.00
Dole, Elizabeth H	R NC	\$181,561.00	Schumer, Charles E	D NY	\$68,306.00
Specter, Arlen	R PA	\$176,514.00	Nelson, Bill	D FL	\$67,500.00
Crapo, Michael D	R ID	\$172,160.00	Harkin, Thomas R.	D IA	\$63,202.00
McConnell, Mitch	R KY	\$169,808.00	Stabenow, Debbie	D MI	\$62,500.00
Bayh, Evan	D IN	\$163,426.00	Murray, Patty	D WA	\$61,000.00
Shelby, Richard C	R AL	\$161,373.00	Snowe, Olympia J	R ME	\$59,520.00
Warner, John William	R VA	\$158,164.00	Jeffords, James M	I VT	\$59,020.00
Thomas, Craig	R WY	\$157,660.00	Miller, Zell Bryan	D GA	\$55,863.00
Graham, Lindsey Olin	R SC	\$150,460.00	Gregg, Judd A	R NH	\$53,004.00
Sununu, John E	R NH	\$146,500.00	Chafee, Lincoln D	R RI	\$52,770.00
Conrad, Kent	D ND	\$144,544.00	Lieberman, Joseph I	D CT	\$51,214.00
Grassley, Charles E.	R IA	\$143,500.00	Sarbanes, Paul S	D MD	\$41,500.00
Collins, Susan M	R ME	\$142,670.00	Carper, Thomas R	D DE	\$38,420.00
Lugar, Richard G	R IN	\$142,590.00	Wyden, Ronald Lee	D OR	\$37,400.00
Frist, William H	R TN	\$142,500.00	Boxer, Barbara	D CA	\$35,200.00
Stevens, Theodore F.	R AK	\$141,750.00			

Appendix C. PAC Contributions by Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies, 1997-2002: By House Member

House members omitted from this table accepted no contributions from the 145 trade associations and selected member companies profiled in this report.

Candidate Name	Party/State	Contributions Received
Dingell, John D.	D MI	\$607,410.00
Barton, Joe	R TX	\$532,617.00
Tauzin, Wilbert J II	R LA	\$477,490.00
Hastert, J Dennis	R IL	\$388,770.00
Delay, Thomas Dale	R TX	\$361,289.00
Wilson, Heather A	R NM	\$348,448.00
Blunt, Roy	R MO	\$315,017.00
Northup, Anne Meagher	R KY	\$311,217.00
Boucher, Frederick C.	D VA	\$305,982.00
Young, Don E	R AK	\$297,363.00
Oxley, Michael G	R OH	\$288,084.00
Hall, Ralph Moody	R TX	\$283,607.00
Pickering, Charles W.	R MS	\$281,704.00
Shimkus, John M	R IL	\$269,581.00
Stenholm, Charlie W.	D TX	\$263,841.00
John, Christopher C.	D LA	\$250,045.00
English, Philip S	R PA	\$249,736.00
Dooley, Calvin M	D CA	\$247,190.00
Whitfield, Ed	R KY	\$246,984.00
Knollenberg, Joseph K	R MI	\$243,050.00
Cubin, Barbara L	R WY	\$225,475.00
Capito, Shelley Moore	R WV	\$221,111.00
Johnson, Nancy L	R CT	\$211,936.00
Thomas, William M.	R CA	\$201,750.00
Dunn, Jennifer	R WA	\$201,143.00
Emerson, Jo Ann	R MO	\$191,597.00
Hayes, Robert C (Robin)	R NC	\$189,823.00
Shaw, E Clay Jr	R FL	\$189,387.00
Stupak, Bart	D MI	\$183,859.00
Boehner, John A	R OH	\$177,928.00
Upton, Frederick Stephen	R MI	\$176,300.00
Burr, Richard	R NC	\$175,194.00
Frost, Martin	D TX	\$174,606.00
Bonilla, Henry	R TX	\$173,918.00
Sandlin, Max	D TX	\$173,423.00
Green, Raymond 'Gene'	D TX	\$173,131.00
Weller, Gerald C Jerry	R IL	\$172,728.00
Hayworth, Jd	R AZ	\$168,772.00
Aderholt, Robert B	R AL	\$166,551.00
Baker, Richard Hugh	R LA	\$166,236.00
Crane, Philip M	R IL	\$164,192.00

Candidate Name	Party/State	Contributions Received
Towns, Edolphus	D NY	\$162,864.00
Kolbe, James T	R AZ	\$162,100.00
Camp, David Lee	R MI	\$157,801.00
Gephardt, Richard A	D MO	\$152,482.00
Spratt, John Mckee Jr	D SC	\$152,000.00
Jefferson, William Mr	D LA	\$149,200.00
Nethercutt, George Jr.	R WA	\$148,934.00
Levin, Sander	D MI	\$147,750.00
Mccrery, James O Iii	R LA	\$147,179.00
Shadegg, John B	R AZ	\$143,280.00
Gillmor, Paul E	R OH	\$141,402.00
Rangel, Charles B	D NY	\$141,170.00
Tiberi, Patrick Joseph	R OH	\$139,156.00
Granger, N Kay	R TX	\$139,020.00
Bilirakis, Michael	R FL	\$138,500.00
Hart, Melissa	R PA	\$138,030.00
Cramer, Robert E.	D AL	\$136,727.00
Latham, Tom	R IA	\$136,184.00
Nussle, Jim	R IA	\$135,750.00
Sherwood, Donald L	R PA	\$134,261.00
Sessions, Pete	R TX	\$133,454.00
Ney, Robert W	R OH	\$133,217.00
Edwards, Chet	D TX	\$132,199.00
Chabot, Steve	R OH	\$132,020.00
Wynn, Albert	D MD	\$130,608.00
Norwood, Charles W.	R GA	\$129,936.00
Brady, Kevin	R TX	\$129,300.00
Murtha, John P Mr	D PA	\$127,250.00
Toomey, Patrick J	R PA	\$122,700.00
Buyer, Steve	R IN	\$119,100.00
Hulshof, Kenny Charles	R MO	\$118,477.00
Matsui, Robert	D CA	\$118,250.00
Hobson, David Lee	R OH	\$117,215.00
Tanner, John S	D TN	\$115,545.00
Berry, Marion	D AR	\$114,731.00
Ryan, Paul D	R WI	\$113,200.00
Wicker, Roger F	R MS	\$111,960.00
Pryce, Deborah D	R OH	\$111,732.00
Simpson, Michael Keith	R ID	\$111,206.00
Foley, Mark	R FL	\$110,750.00
Rogers, Michael J	R MI	\$108,750.00

Candidate Name	Party/State	Contributions Received
Myrick, Sue	R NC	\$106,500.00
Collins, Michael A	R GA	\$105,820.00
Houghton, Amory Jr	R NY	\$105,000.00
Lampson, Nicolas	D TX	\$102,629.00
Jones, Walter B	R NC	\$102,527.00
Rehberg, Dennis R	R MT	\$102,370.00
Strickland, Ted	D OH	\$101,806.00
Reynolds, Thomas M	R NY	\$101,794.00
Walden, Gregory Paul	R OR	\$100,458.00
Etheridge, Bob	D NC	\$98,850.00
Hoyer, Steny Hamilton	D MD	\$97,889.00
Davis, Thomas M	R VA	\$97,750.00
Cardin, Benjamin L	D MD	\$95,955.00
Dicks, Norm	D WA	\$95,519.00
Stearns, Clifford B	R FL	\$95,203.00
Boehlert, Sherwood L	R NY	\$94,770.00
Sweeney, John E	R NY	\$94,452.00
Johnson, Samuel Robert	R TX	\$94,350.00
Doyle, Mike	D PA	\$94,097.00
LaHood, Ray	R IL	\$93,995.00
Tauscher, Ellen O	D CA	\$93,000.00
Turner, James	D TX	\$92,937.00
Bishop, Sanford D Jr	D GA	\$91,897.00
Kilpatrick, Carolyn	D MI	\$89,725.00
Rogers, Harold D	R KY	\$89,300.00
Oberstar, James L.	D MN	\$88,950.00
Pomeroy, Earl Ralph	D ND	\$88,269.00
Quinn, Jack	R NY	\$88,198.00
Kirk, Mark Steven	R IL	\$87,149.00
Coble, John Howard	R NC	\$87,000.00
Graves, Samuel B	R MO	\$86,749.00
Cantor, Eric	R VA	\$86,154.00
Fossella, Vito J Jr	R NY	\$86,066.00
Calvert, Kenneth Stanton	R CA	\$85,875.00
Lewis, Jerry	R CA	\$85,450.00
Terry, Lee R	R NE	\$84,382.00
Obey, David R	D WI	\$84,025.00
Radanovich, George	R CA	\$83,426.00
Davis, James Oscar	D FL	\$83,000.00
Otter, C L	R ID	\$82,502.00
Linder, John	R GA	\$81,850.00
Thornberry, Mac	R TX	\$81,350.00
Moran, Jerry	R KS	\$80,520.00
Hastings, Doc	R WA	\$79,959.00
Lucas, Ken	D KY	\$79,517.00
Peterson, John E	R PA	\$79,422.00
Deal, Nathan	R GA	\$79,356.00
McInnis, Scott	R CO	\$77,696.00

Candidate Name	Party/State	Contributions Received
Walsh, James T	R NY	\$77,569.00
Tiahrt, W. Todd	R KS	\$75,500.00
Herger, Walter W.	R CA	\$75,282.00
Boyd, F Allen Jr	D FL	\$75,268.00
Culberson, John	R TX	\$75,000.00
Pallone, Frank Jr.	D NJ	\$74,849.00
Visclosky, Peter J	D IN	\$74,745.00
Bass, Charles F	R NH	\$74,600.00
Isakson, John Hardy	R GA	\$74,440.00
Mollohan, Alan B	D WV	\$74,356.00
Ballenger, Thomas Cass	R NC	\$74,000.00
Ose, Doug	R CA	\$73,700.00
Brown, Sherrod	D OH	\$73,308.00
Goodlatte, Robert W	R VA	\$73,250.00
Kennedy, Mark Raymond	R MN	\$73,250.00
Simmons, Rob	R CT	\$72,700.00
Kildee, Dale E.	D MI	\$72,035.00
Rush, Bobby Lee	D IL	\$70,729.00
Vitter, David B	R LA	\$70,520.00
Wolf, Frank R	R VA	\$70,000.00
Putnam, Adam H	R FL	\$69,885.00
Gordon, Barton Jennings	D TN	\$69,350.00
Moore, Dennis	D KS	\$69,162.00
Doolittle, John T Rep	R CA	\$68,850.00
Latourette, Steven C	R OH	\$68,600.00
Ferguson, Mike	R NJ	\$67,270.00
Lucas, Frank D	R OK	\$67,243.00
Ramstad, James M	R MN	\$67,106.00
Taylor, Charles H	R NC	\$66,835.00
Carson, Brad R	D OK	\$66,749.00
McIntyre, Mike	D NC	\$66,437.00
Pombo, Richard	R CA	\$63,440.00
Pastor, Edward L	D AZ	\$62,350.00
Kingston, John Heddens	R GA	\$62,270.00
Petri, Tom	R WI	\$61,600.00
Tancredo, Thomas Gerald	R CO	\$61,250.00
Cox, Christopher Hon.	R CA	\$60,300.00
Sensenbrenner, F James	R WI	\$60,231.00
Keller, Richard A	R FL	\$60,000.00
Price, David Eugene	D NC	\$59,800.00
Gutknecht, Gilbert W.	R MN	\$59,750.00
Dreier, David	R CA	\$59,000.00
Miller, Candice S	R MI	\$59,000.00
Galleghy, Elton	R CA	\$58,885.00
Gibbons, James A	R NV	\$58,034.00
Istook, Ernest J Jr	R OK	\$58,017.00
Holden, Tim	D PA	\$57,789.00
Becerra, Xavier	D CA	\$57,700.00

Candidate Name	Party/State		Contributions Received
Castle, Michael N	R	DE	\$57,328.00
Goode, Virgil H Jr	R	VA	\$54,700.00
Clyburn, James E	D	SC	\$54,050.00
Bachus, Spencer T	R	AL	\$53,500.00
Moran, James P Jr	D	VA	\$53,500.00
Cannon, Christopher B	R	UT	\$53,250.00
Ehlers, Vernon J	R	MI	\$53,080.00
Porter, Jon C Jr.	R	NV	\$52,250.00
Akin, William Todd	R	MO	\$52,000.00
Ross, Michael Avery	D	AR	\$51,476.00
Kline, John P Jr	R	MN	\$51,450.00
Pitts, Joseph R	R	PA	\$50,954.00
Hyde, Henry John	R	IL	\$50,300.00
Everett, Terry	R	AL	\$50,250.00
Royce, Ed Mr	R	CA	\$50,250.00
Bonner, Josiah Robins Jr.	R	AL	\$49,000.00
Mica, John L	R	FL	\$49,000.00
Taylor, Gene	D	MS	\$48,940.00
Kanjorski, Paul E	D	PA	\$48,785.00
Young, C W Bill	R	FL	\$48,770.00
Skelton, Ike	D	MO	\$48,200.00
Rahall, Nick Joe li	D	WV	\$46,730.00
Bereuter, Douglas K	R	NE	\$46,700.00
Biggert, Judy	R	IL	\$46,500.00
Weldon, W Curtis	R	PA	\$46,360.00
Eshoo, Anna	D	CA	\$46,000.00
Pence, Mike	R	IN	\$46,000.00
Manzullo, Donald A.	R	IL	\$45,913.00
Hensarling, Thomas Jeb	R	TX	\$45,681.00
Duncan, John Rep. Jr.	R	TN	\$45,500.00
Larsen, Richard Ray	D	WA	\$45,160.00
Cole, Tom Jeffery	R	OK	\$44,250.00
Costello, Jerry F	D	IL	\$42,948.00
Green, Mark A	R	WI	\$42,745.00
Kelly, Sue W	R	NY	\$42,500.00
Schrock, Edward Lee	R	VA	\$42,475.00
Carter, John Rice	R	TX	\$42,250.00
McCarthy, Karen	D	MO	\$41,500.00
Ryun, Jim R	R	KS	\$41,150.00
Boswell, Leonard L.	D	IA	\$40,692.00
Sabo, Martin Olav	D	MN	\$40,500.00
Shuster, William Franklin	R	PA	\$40,250.00
Brown, Henry E Jr.	R	SC	\$39,850.00
Smith, Adam	D	WA	\$39,781.00
Engel, Eliot L	D	NY	\$39,544.00
Bono, Mary	R	CA	\$39,450.00
Lewis, Ron	R	KY	\$39,000.00
Rogers, Michael	R	AL	\$38,500.00

Candidate Name	Party/State		Contributions Received
McCotter, Thaddeus G	R	MI	\$38,100.00
Frelinghuysen, Rodney P	R	NJ	\$38,000.00
Farr, Sam	D	CA	\$37,775.00
Rodriguez, Ciro D	D	TX	\$37,728.00
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	D	TX	\$37,500.00
Baca, Joe	D	CA	\$37,395.00
Pearce, Steve	R	NM	\$36,500.00
Thompson, Mike	D	CA	\$36,420.00
Jackson Lee, Sheila	D	TX	\$36,100.00
Deutsch, Peter Russell	D	FL	\$36,000.00
Sullivan, John	R	OK	\$36,000.00
Murphy, Tim	R	PA	\$35,500.00
Neal, Richard E	D	MA	\$35,500.00
Thompson, Bennie G	D	MS	\$35,500.00
Jenkins, William L	R	TN	\$35,250.00
Johnson, Tim	R	IL	\$34,700.00
Gonzalez, Charles A.	D	TX	\$34,500.00
Issa, Darrell E	R	CA	\$34,500.00
Smith, Lamar Seeligson	R	TX	\$34,250.00
Harman, Jane	D	CA	\$34,000.00
Pelosi, Nancy	D	CA	\$33,500.00
McKeon, Howard P	R	CA	\$33,250.00
Musgrave, Marilyn N	R	CO	\$33,000.00
Turner, Mike	R	OH	\$33,000.00
Miller, Gary G. Hon.	R	CA	\$32,776.00
Napolitano, Grace	D	CA	\$32,600.00
Hill, Baron P.	D	IN	\$32,344.00
Ford, Harold Jr	D	TN	\$32,203.00
Ortiz, Solomon P	D	TX	\$32,082.00
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	D	CA	\$32,000.00
Peterson, Collin Clark	D	MN	\$31,979.00
Millender-McDonald, Juanita	D	CA	\$31,950.00
Snyder, Victor Frederick	D	AR	\$31,500.00
Gerlach, Jim	R	PA	\$31,000.00
Beauprez, Robert Louis	R	CO	\$30,500.00
Nunes, Devin G	R	CA	\$30,500.00
Kaptur, Marcy	D	OH	\$30,300.00
Garrett, E Scott	R	NJ	\$30,250.00
Kind, Ronald James	D	WI	\$30,148.00
Lewis, John	D	GA	\$30,000.00
Chocola, J Christopher	R	IN	\$28,500.00
Hoefel, Joseph M	D	PA	\$28,500.00
Matheson, Jim Mr.	D	UT	\$28,500.00
McGovern, James P	D	MA	\$28,310.00
Blumenauer, Earl	D	OR	\$27,350.00
Forbes, J. Randy	R	VA	\$27,200.00
Burns, O Maxie	R	GA	\$27,000.00
Hinojosa, Ruben E.	D	TX	\$26,584.00

Candidate Name	Party/State	Contributions Received
Reyes, Silvestre	D TX	\$26,550.00
Burton, Danny L	R IN	\$26,350.00
Feeney, Tom	R FL	\$25,950.00
Souder, Mark E	R IN	\$25,750.00
Hunter, Duncan	R CA	\$24,750.00
Davis, Jo Ann S.	R VA	\$24,500.00
Miller, Jefferson B.	R FL	\$24,500.00
Menendez, Robert	D NJ	\$24,000.00
Conyers, John Jr	D MD	\$23,850.00
Andrews, Robert E	D NJ	\$23,500.00
Harris, Katherine	R FL	\$23,292.00
Wilson, Addison (Joe)	R SC	\$23,000.00
Capps, Lois	D CA	\$22,020.00
Bell, R Christopher	D TX	\$22,000.00
Saxton, H James	R NJ	\$21,750.00
Larson, John B	D CT	\$21,250.00
Janklow, William J*	R SD	\$21,007.00
Diaz-Balart, Lincoln	R FL	\$21,000.00
Filner, Bob	D CA	\$21,000.00
Klecza, Gerald	D WI	\$20,950.00
Sanchez, Loretta	D CA	\$20,799.00
Berkley, Shelley	D NV	\$20,500.00
Sherman, Brad	D CA	\$20,500.00
Defazio, Peter A	D OR	\$20,270.00
Flake, Jeffry Lane	R AZ	\$20,171.00
Lipinski, William O	D IL	\$19,700.00
Davis, Artur Genestre	D AL	\$19,500.00
Boozman, John Nichols	R AR	\$18,850.00
Carson, Julia	D IN	\$18,800.00
Bradley, Joseph Iii	R NH	\$18,083.00
Berman, Howard L	D CA	\$18,000.00
Cunningham, Randy	R CA	\$18,000.00
Davis, Danny K	D IL	\$18,000.00
Majette, Denise L.	D GA	\$18,000.00
Maloney, Carolyn B	D NY	\$18,000.00
Meeks, Gregory W	D NY	\$18,000.00
Bartlett, Roscoe G Jr	R MD	\$17,900.00
Gingrey, J Phillip	R GA	\$17,000.00
Hefley, Joel	R CO	\$17,000.00
Weldon, Dave	R FL	\$17,000.00
Hinchey, Maurice D.	D NY	\$16,663.00
Barrett, James Gresham	R SC	\$16,500.00
Crenshaw, Ander	R FL	\$16,500.00
Delahunt, William D	D MA	\$16,500.00
Fattah, Chaka	D PA	\$16,500.00
Waxman, Henry A.	D MD	\$16,500.00
Degette, Diana L	D CO	\$16,300.00
Lofgren, Zoe	D CA	\$16,140.00

Candidate Name	Party/State	Contributions Received
Lowey, Nita M	D NY	\$16,000.00
Miller, George	D CA	\$15,900.00
Schiff, Adam	D CA	\$15,639.00
Wu, David	D OR	\$15,250.00
Cummings, Elijah E	D MD	\$15,200.00
Olver, John Walter	D MA	\$15,000.00
Renzi, Richard George	R AZ	\$15,000.00
Weiner, Anthony D	D NY	\$15,000.00
Brady, Robert A	D PA	\$14,750.00
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	R FL	\$14,750.00
Udall, Mark E	D CO	\$14,750.00
McHugh, John M	R NY	\$14,500.00
Udall, Tom	D NM	\$14,401.00
Doggett, Lloyd A Mr.	D TX	\$14,250.00
Watt, Melvin L	D NC	\$14,250.00
Jackson, Jesse Jr	D IL	\$14,050.00
Brown-Waite, Virginia	R FL	\$14,000.00
Nadler, Jerrold L	D NY	\$14,000.00
Solis, Hilda	D CA	\$14,000.00
McNulty, Michael R	D NY	\$13,900.00
Tubbs Jones, Stephanie	D OH	\$13,520.00
Wexler, Robert	D FL	\$13,500.00
Rohrabacher, Dana	R CA	\$13,250.00
Diaz-Balart, Mario	R FL	\$13,000.00
Scott, Robert C Bobby	D VA	\$13,000.00
Hooley, Darlene	D OR	\$12,414.00
Shays, Christopher	R CT	\$12,250.00
Emanuel, Rahm	D IL	\$12,000.00
Inslee, Jay	D WA	\$12,000.00
Kennedy, Patrick J	D RI	\$12,000.00
Slaughter, Louise M	D NY	\$11,750.00
King, Peter	R NY	\$11,500.00
Lee, Barbara	D CA	\$11,500.00
Scott, David Albert	D GA	\$11,500.00
Crowley, Joseph	D NY	\$11,450.00
Clay Jr, William Lacy	D MO	\$11,000.00
DeLauro, Rosa	D CT	\$11,000.00
Woolsey, Lynn C	D CA	\$11,000.00
Bishop, Robert William	R UT	\$10,600.00
Kucinich, Dennis J	D OH	\$10,541.00
Baird, Brian	D WA	\$10,500.00
Ballance, Frank W Jr	D NC	\$10,500.00
Gutierrez, Luis V	D IL	\$10,500.00
Honda, Mike	D CA	\$10,250.00
Capuano, Michael E.	D MA	\$9,500.00
Velazquez, Nydia M	D NY	\$9,000.00
Abercrombie, Neil	D HI	\$8,500.00
Burgess, Michael	R TX	\$8,500.00

Candidate Name	Party/State		Contributions Received
Cooper, James H S	D	TN	\$8,500.00
Davis, Lincoln	D	TN	\$8,500.00
Davis, Susan	D	CA	\$8,500.00
Faleomavaega, Eni	D	AS	\$8,500.00
McCarthy, Carolyn	D	NY	\$8,200.00
Cardoza, Dennis	D	CA	\$8,000.00
Holt, Rush Dew	D	NJ	\$8,000.00
Paul, Ronald E	R	TX	\$8,000.00
Allen, Thomas H	D	ME	\$7,500.00
Blackburn, Marsha W	R	TN	\$7,500.00
Pascrell, William J Jr	D	NJ	\$7,500.00
Ryan, Timothy J	D	OH	\$7,500.00
Israel, Steve	D	NY	\$7,250.00
Van Hollen, Chris	D	MD	\$7,250.00
Brown, Corrine	D	FL	\$7,000.00
Evans, Lane A	D	IL	\$7,000.00
Rothman, Steven	D	NJ	\$7,000.00
Meek, Kendrick	D	FL	\$6,500.00
Miller, Ralph Bradley	D	NC	\$6,500.00
Grijalva, Raul M	D	AZ	\$6,000.00
Marshall, Jim	D	GA	\$6,000.00
Case, Edward E	D	HI	\$5,500.00
Ackerman, Gary L.	D	NY	\$5,400.00
King, Steven A	R	IA	\$5,250.00
Alexander, Rodney	D	LA	\$5,000.00
Owens, Major Robert	D	NY	\$5,000.00
Tierney, John	D	MA	\$5,000.00
Payne, Donald M	D	NJ	\$4,950.00

Candidate Name	Party/State		Contributions Received
Lobiondo, Frank A.	R	NJ	\$4,600.00
Norton, Eleanor Holmes	D	DC	\$4,500.00
Sanchez, Linda	D	CA	\$4,500.00
Baldwin, Tammy	D	WI	\$4,000.00
Goss, Porter J	R	FL	\$4,000.00
Hastings, Alcee L	D	FL	\$4,000.00
McCollum, Betty	D	MN	\$4,000.00
Lynch, Stephen F	D	MA	\$3,000.00
Michaud, Michael H	D	ME	\$3,000.00
Smith, Christopher H	R	NJ	\$3,000.00
Waters, Maxine	D	CA	\$3,000.00
Langevin, James R	D	RI	\$2,500.00
Lantos, Tom	D	CA	\$2,500.00
McDermott, Jim	D	WA	\$2,500.00
Christensen, Donna M	D	VI	\$2,000.00
Schakowsky, Janice D	D	IL	\$2,000.00
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	\$2,000.00
Watson, Diane E	D	CA	\$2,000.00
Franks, Trent	R	AZ	\$1,500.00
Leach, Jim	R	IA	\$1,500.00
Acevedo-Vila, Anibal	D	PR	\$1,000.00
DeMint, James W	R	SC	\$1,000.00
Gilchrest, Wayne T	R	MD	\$1,000.00
Greenwood, James C	R	PA	\$1,000.00
Meehan, Martin T	D	MA	\$1,000.00
Portman, Robert J	R	OH	\$1,000.00
Ruppersberger, C.A.	D	MD	\$1,000.00
Serrano, Jose E	D	NY	\$1,000.00

* Representative Janklow is no longer in office.

Appendix D. Senators Receiving PAC Contributions from the Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies in the Utility/Oil/Gas Sectors, 1997-2002

Senators omitted from this table accepted no contributions from the 89 electric utility and oil and gas trade associations and selected member companies profiled in this report between 1997 and 2002.

Candidate Name	Party/ State	Amount Received
Landrieu, Mary L	D LA	\$359,942.00
Inhofe, James M	R OK	\$213,813.00
Voinovich, George	R OH	\$212,745.00
Hagel, Charles T	R NE	\$196,807.00
Craig, Larry E	R ID	\$184,186.00
Burns, Conrad	R MT	\$183,978.00
Domenici, Pete V	R NM	\$165,914.00
Coleman, Norm	R MN	\$155,708.00
Smith, Gordon Harold	R OR	\$154,958.00
Cornyn, John	R TX	\$151,500.00
Nickles, Donald Lee	R OK	\$151,227.00
Bingaman, Jeff	D NM	\$149,850.00
Bond, Christopher S	R MO	\$147,436.00
Santorum, Richard J	R PA	\$145,980.00
Breaux, John B	D LA	\$143,773.00
Lott, C Trent	R MS	\$139,433.00
Hutchison, Kay Bailey	R TX	\$139,250.00
Lincoln, Blanche L.	D AR	\$138,807.00
Baucus, Max	D MT	\$133,250.00
Ensign, John Eric	R NV	\$127,340.00
Crapo, Michael D	R ID	\$121,660.00
Bunning, Jim	R KY	\$118,740.00
Allard, A Wayne	R CO	\$115,616.00
Fitzgerald, Peter G	R IL	\$111,613.00
Thomas, Craig	R WY	\$103,527.00
Sununu, John E	R NH	\$97,500.00
McConnell, Mitch	R KY	\$96,108.00
Johnson, Tim	D SD	\$95,381.00
Stevens, Theodore F.	R AK	\$94,500.00
Bayh, Evan	D IN	\$94,426.00
Allen, George	R VA	\$94,405.00
Dole, Elizabeth H	R NC	\$94,061.00
Conrad, Kent	D ND	\$94,044.00
Talent, James Matthes	R MO	\$93,600.00
Warner, John William	R VA	\$92,664.00
Specter, Arlen	R PA	\$86,325.00
Shelby, Richard C	R AL	\$85,373.00
DeWine, Richard M.	R OH	\$84,711.00
Campbell, Ben N.	R CO	\$79,225.00

Candidate Name	Party/ State	Amount Received
Dorgan, Byron L	D ND	\$76,914.00
Sessions, Jefferson B	R AL	\$75,730.00
Graham, Lindsey Olin	R SC	\$75,500.00
Chambliss, Saxby	R GA	\$75,200.00
Enzi, Michael B	R WY	\$74,940.00
Graham, Bob	D FL	\$71,819.00
Hollings, Ernest F	D SC	\$68,750.00
Collins, Susan M	R ME	\$66,750.00
Feinstein, Dianne	D CA	\$64,750.00
Kyl, Jon L	R AZ	\$61,500.00
McCain, John S	R AZ	\$60,125.00
Rockefeller, John D.	D WV	\$59,464.00
Cochran, Thad	R VA	\$58,000.00
Nelson, Bill	D FL	\$57,000.00
Grassley, Charles E	R IA	\$56,500.00
Brownback, Sam	R KS	\$55,109.00
Lugar, Richard G	R IN	\$54,090.00
Daschle, Thomas A.	D SD	\$52,551.00
Alexander, Lamar	R TN	\$49,000.00
Frist, William H	R TN	\$48,500.00
Roberts, Pat	R KS	\$46,872.00
Bennett, Robert F	R UT	\$44,500.00
Hatch, Orrin G	R UT	\$44,000.00
Levin, Carl	D MI	\$43,250.00
Murray, Patty	D WA	\$43,000.00
Durbin, Richard J	D IL	\$42,500.00
Nelson, E Benjamin	D NE	\$41,500.00
Dodd, Christopher J	D CT	\$37,500.00
Schumer, Charles E	D NY	\$34,806.00
Stabenow, Debbie	D MI	\$32,000.00
Harkin, Thomas	D IA	\$29,749.00
Byrd, Robert C	D WV	\$29,500.00
Miller, Zell Bryan	D GA	\$29,363.00
Reid, Harry	D NV	\$29,250.00
Chafee, Lincoln D	R RI	\$28,750.00
Jeffords, James M	I VT	\$28,500.00
Snowe, Olympia J	R ME	\$28,500.00
Sarbanes, Paul S	D MD	\$28,000.00
Boxer, Barbara	D CA	\$26,700.00

Candidate Name	Party/ State	Amount Received
Carper, Thomas R	D DE	\$26,190.00
Lieberman, Joseph I	D CT	\$24,464.00
Mikulski, Barbara A	D MD	\$22,000.00
Wyden, Ronald Lee	D OR	\$20,900.00
Kennedy, Edward	D MA	\$15,000.00
Clinton, Hillary Rodham	D NY	\$14,000.00
Gregg, Judd A	R NH	\$13,500.00

Candidate Name	Party/ State	Amount Received
Reed, Jack	D RI	\$13,000.00
Feingold, Russell D	D WI	\$7,148.00
Akaka, Daniel K	D HI	\$7,000.00
Inouye, Daniel K	D HI	\$5,500.00
Pryor, Mark Lunsford	D AR	\$5,500.00
Kerry, John F	D MA	\$2,000.00
Lautenberg, Frank R	D NJ	\$1,000.00

Appendix E. House Members Receiving PAC Contributions from the Profiled Trade Associations and Select Member Companies in the Utility/Oil/Gas Sectors, 1997-2002

House members omitted from this table accepted no contributions from the 89 electric utility and oil and gas trade associations and selected member companies profiled in this report between 1997 and 2002.

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
Barton, Joe	R TX	\$431,057.00
Dingell, John D.	D MI	\$397,619.00
Tauzin, Wilbert J II	R LA	\$340,314.00
Hall, Ralph Moody	R TX	\$247,587.00
Hastert, J Dennis	R IL	\$234,730.00
DeLay, Thomas Dale	R TX	\$231,750.00
Wilson, Heather A	R NM	\$220,069.00
Boucher, Frederick C.	D VA	\$216,929.00
Young, Don E	R AK	\$212,408.00
Pickering, Charles W.	R MS	\$209,470.00
Shimkus, John M	R IL	\$198,143.00
John, Christopher C.	D LA	\$197,416.00
Oxley, Michael G	R OH	\$188,954.00
Blunt, Roy	R MO	\$175,449.00
Stenholm, Charlie W.	D TX	\$161,803.00
Green, Raymond 'Gene'	D TX	\$153,631.00
Cubin, Barbara L	R WY	\$142,546.00
Knollenberg, Joseph K	R MI	\$135,500.00
English, Philip S	R PA	\$134,073.00
Burr, Richard	R NC	\$133,421.00
Frost, Martin	D TX	\$132,106.00
Sandlin, Max	D TX	\$131,107.00
Dooley, Calvin M	D CA	\$127,900.00
Whitfield, Ed	R KY	\$127,515.00
Wynn, Albert	D MD	\$124,608.00
Towns, Edolphus	D NY	\$124,364.00
Bonilla, Henry	R TX	\$123,368.00
Brady, Kevin	R TX	\$123,300.00
Northup, Anne Meagher	R KY	\$120,800.00
Stupak, Bart	D MI	\$120,439.00
Shaw, E Clay Jr	R FL	\$116,867.00
Norwood, Charles W	R GA	\$114,486.00
Shadegg, John B	R AZ	\$113,280.00
Weller, Gerald C Jerry	R IL	\$112,473.00
Edwards, Chet	D TX	\$112,199.00
Hayes, Robert C (Robin)	R NC	\$110,500.00
Baker, Richard Hugh	R LA	\$102,236.00
Sessions, Pete	R TX	\$101,681.00
Spratt, John Mckee Jr	D SC	\$101,000.00

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
Granger, N Kay	R TX	\$100,500.00
Bilirakis, Michael	R FL	\$99,500.00
Jefferson, William Mr	D LA	\$98,680.00
Capito, Shelley Moore	R WV	\$97,440.00
Latham, Tom	R IA	\$95,434.00
Thomas, William Marshall	R CA	\$94,000.00
Cramer, Robert "Bud"	D AL	\$89,557.00
Strickland, Ted	D OH	\$89,206.00
Camp, David Lee	R MI	\$89,045.00
McCrery, James O Iii	R LA	\$88,580.00
Johnson, Nancy L	R CT	\$86,666.00
Lampson, Nicolas	D TX	\$86,129.00
Gillmor, Paul E	R OH	\$84,752.00
Aderholt, Robert B	R AL	\$83,431.00
Emerson, Jo Ann	R MO	\$83,327.00
Hayworth, Jd	R AZ	\$82,700.00
Upton, Frederick Stephen	R MI	\$81,700.00
Dunn, Jennifer	R WA	\$80,934.00
Boehner, John A	R OH	\$80,730.00
Kolbe, James T	R AZ	\$77,500.00
Buyer, Steve	R IN	\$76,750.00
Tiberi, Patrick Joseph	R OH	\$76,656.00
Johnson, Samuel Robert	R TX	\$76,350.00
Hart, Melissa	R PA	\$75,510.00
Gephardt, Richard A	D MO	\$74,482.00
Pallone, Frank Jr.	D NJ	\$73,349.00
Doyle, Mike	D PA	\$73,222.00
Ney, Robert W	R OH	\$71,967.00
Culberson, John	R TX	\$71,500.00
Walden, Gregory Paul	R OR	\$70,938.00
Nethercutt, George Jr.	R WA	\$70,715.00
Hoyer, Steny Hamilton	D MD	\$70,389.00
Thornberry, Mac	R TX	\$70,100.00
Crane, Philip M	R IL	\$69,422.00
Jones, Walter B	R NC	\$69,308.00
Murtha, John P	D PA	\$68,250.00
Turner, James	D TX	\$66,500.00
Cardin, Benjamin L	D MD	\$65,955.00
Simpson, Michael Keith	R ID	\$65,436.00

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
Nussle, Jim	R IA	\$65,250.00
Stearns, Clifford B	R FL	\$64,926.00
Rush, Bobby Lee	D IL	\$64,229.00
Fossella, Vito J Jr	R NY	\$64,066.00
Obey, David R	D WI	\$63,525.00
Calvert, Kenneth Stanton	R CA	\$63,375.00
Foley, Mark	R FL	\$62,250.00
Davis, Thomas M	R VA	\$61,750.00
Rogers, Michael J	R MI	\$61,750.00
Terry, Lee R	R NE	\$61,632.00
Deal, Nathan	R GA	\$61,499.00
Wicker, Roger F	R MS	\$60,750.00
Sherwood, Donald L	R PA	\$60,455.00
Reynolds, Thomas M	R NY	\$59,873.00
Radanovich, George	R CA	\$59,106.00
Hobson, David Lee	R OH	\$58,965.00
Etheridge, Bob	D NC	\$58,600.00
Carson, Brad R	D OK	\$58,000.00
Tauscher, Ellen O	D CA	\$57,750.00
Lucas, Frank D	R OK	\$56,743.00
Levin, Sander	D MI	\$56,500.00
Brown, Sherrod	D OH	\$56,308.00
Boyd, F Allen Jr	D FL	\$55,748.00
Doolittle, John T	R CA	\$55,350.00
Linder, John	R GA	\$54,750.00
Matsui, Robert	D CA	\$54,750.00
Rehberg, Dennis R	R MT	\$54,250.00
Isakson, John Hardy	R GA	\$53,940.00
Pastor, Edward L	D AZ	\$53,850.00
Toomey, Patrick J	R PA	\$53,700.00
Cantor, Eric	R VA	\$53,654.00
Vitter, David B	R LA	\$53,500.00
Pomeroy, Earl Ralph	D ND	\$53,269.00
Hastings, Doc	R WA	\$53,250.00
Bishop, Sanford D Jr	D GA	\$52,050.00
Ose, Doug	R CA	\$51,950.00
Sweeney, John E	R NY	\$51,515.00
Moran, Jerry	R KS	\$51,270.00
Visclosky, Peter J	D IN	\$51,245.00
Collins, Michael A	R GA	\$51,050.00
Lucas, Ken	D KY	\$50,100.00
Chabot, Steve	R OH	\$50,000.00
Davis, James Oscar III	D FL	\$50,000.00
Herger, Walter W.	R CA	\$49,035.00
Berry, Marion	D AR	\$48,211.00
Rangel, Charles B	D NY	\$48,170.00
Dicks, Norm	D WA	\$47,500.00

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
Rogers, Harold D	R KY	\$46,800.00
Becerra, Xavier	D CA	\$46,200.00
Bass, Charles F	R NH	\$46,080.00
Lahood, Ray	R IL	\$45,995.00
Lewis, Jerry	R CA	\$45,950.00
Peterson, John E	R PA	\$45,905.00
Gordon, Barton Jennings	D TN	\$45,350.00
Quinn, Jack	R NY	\$45,178.00
Boehlert, Sherwood L	R NY	\$45,000.00
Tanner, John S	D TN	\$45,000.00
Hulshof, Kenny Charles	R MO	\$44,582.00
Galleghy, Elton	R CA	\$43,665.00
Tancredo, Thomas Gerald	R CO	\$43,000.00
McIntyre, Mike	D NC	\$42,750.00
Ryan, Paul D	R WI	\$42,150.00
Otter, C L	R ID	\$41,895.00
Simmons, Rob	R CT	\$41,200.00
Istook, Ernest J Jr	R OK	\$41,017.00
Keller, Richard A	R FL	\$41,000.00
Ehlers, Vernon J	R MI	\$40,840.00
Kildee, Dale E.	D MI	\$40,535.00
Coble, John Howard	R NC	\$40,500.00
Putnam, Adam H	R FL	\$40,385.00
Kanjorski, Paul E	D PA	\$40,285.00
Pryce, Deborah D	R OH	\$40,110.00
Taylor, Charles H	R NC	\$39,985.00
Latourette, Steven C	R OH	\$39,850.00
Kingston, John Heddens	R GA	\$39,750.00
Graves, Samuel B (Sam)	R MO	\$39,500.00
Myrick, Sue	R NC	\$39,500.00
Cox, Christopher Hon.	R CA	\$39,300.00
Houghton, Amory Jr	R NY	\$39,250.00
Royce, Ed Mr	R CA	\$38,850.00
Tiahrt, W. Todd	R KS	\$38,500.00
Hensarling, Thomas Jeb	R TX	\$38,431.00
Costello, Jerry F	D IL	\$37,648.00
Farr, Sam	D CA	\$37,275.00
Carter, John Rice	R TX	\$37,000.00
Bachus, Spencer T	R AL	\$36,500.00
Everett, Terry	R AL	\$36,500.00
Taylor, Gene	D MS	\$36,400.00
Holden, Tim	D PA	\$35,769.00
Ballenger, Thomas Cass	R NC	\$35,500.00
Pence, Mike	R IN	\$35,500.00
Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks	D MI	\$35,475.00
Kirk, Mark Steven	R IL	\$35,422.00
Cole, Tom Jeffery	R OK	\$34,750.00

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
McInnis, Scott	R CO	\$34,402.00
Ferguson, Mike	R NJ	\$34,250.00
Rodriguez, Ciro D	D TX	\$34,228.00
Clyburn, James E	D SC	\$34,050.00
Sullivan, John	R OK	\$34,000.00
Oberstar, James L.	D MN	\$33,950.00
Gutknecht, Gilbert W.	R MN	\$33,750.00
Pitts, Joseph R	R PA	\$33,454.00
Baca, Joe	D CA	\$33,395.00
Kennedy, Mark Raymond	R MN	\$33,250.00
Jackson Lee, Sheila	D TX	\$33,100.00
Bonner, Josiah Robins Jr.	R AL	\$33,000.00
Bono, Mary	R CA	\$32,450.00
Smith, Lamar Seeligson	R TX	\$31,750.00
Walsh, James T	R NY	\$31,550.00
Millender-Mcdonald, Juanita	D CA	\$31,450.00
Pombo, Richard	R CA	\$30,920.00
Larsen, Richard Ray	D WA	\$30,660.00
Ramstad, James M	R MN	\$30,606.00
Johnson, Tim	R IL	\$30,200.00
Napolitano, Grace	D CA	\$30,100.00
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	D CA	\$30,000.00
Price, David Eugene	D NC	\$29,750.00
Goodlatte, Robert W	R VA	\$29,500.00
Miller, Candice S	R MI	\$29,500.00
Moore, Dennis	D KS	\$29,162.00
Ross, Michael Avery	D AR	\$28,976.00
Skelton, Ike	D MO	\$28,800.00
Shuster, William Franklin	R PA	\$28,750.00
Issa, Darrell E	R CA	\$28,500.00
Moran, James P Jr	D VA	\$28,500.00
Pearce, Steve	R NM	\$28,500.00
Rogers, Michael	R AL	\$28,500.00
Ortiz, Solomon P	D TX	\$27,582.00
Dreier, David	R CA	\$27,500.00
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	D TX	\$27,500.00
Biggert, Judy	R IL	\$27,000.00
Gibbons, James A	R NV	\$26,749.00
Gonzalez, Charles A.	D TX	\$26,500.00
Murphy, Tim	R PA	\$26,500.00
Wolf, Frank R	R VA	\$26,500.00
Mollohan, Alan B	D WV	\$26,356.00
Goode, Virgil H Jr	R VA	\$26,200.00
Weldon, W Curtis	R PA	\$25,900.00
Porter, Jon C Jr.	R NV	\$25,750.00
Boswell, Leonard L.	D IA	\$25,692.00

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
Rahall, Nick Joe II	D WV	\$25,608.00
Petri, Tom	R WI	\$25,550.00
McCotter, Thaddeus G.	R MI	\$25,500.00
Mica, John L	R FL	\$25,500.00
Miller, Gary G.	R CA	\$25,500.00
Bereuter, Douglas K	R NE	\$25,450.00
Kline, John P Jr	R MN	\$25,450.00
Miller, Jefferson B.	R FL	\$24,500.00
Ryun, Jim R	R KS	\$24,150.00
Engel, Eliot L	D NY	\$24,044.00
Schrock, Edward Lee	R VA	\$23,975.00
Manzullo, Donald A.	R IL	\$23,913.00
Cannon, Christopher B	R UT	\$23,500.00
Gerlach, Jim	R PA	\$23,500.00
Thompson, Bennie G	D MS	\$23,500.00
Smith, Adam	D WA	\$22,644.00
Hinojosa, Ruben E.	D TX	\$22,084.00
Harman, Jane	D CA	\$22,000.00
McKeon, Howard P	R CA	\$21,750.00
Thompson, Mike	D CA	\$21,750.00
Deutsch, Peter Russell	D FL	\$21,500.00
Eshoo, Anna	D CA	\$21,500.00
Pelosi, Nancy	D CA	\$21,500.00
Feeney, Tom	R FL	\$20,950.00
Green, Mark A	R WI	\$20,425.00
Hill, Baron P.	D IN	\$20,344.00
Filner, Bob	D CA	\$20,000.00
Brown, Henry E Jr.	R SC	\$19,850.00
Sensenbrenner, F James Jr	R WI	\$19,731.00
Bell, R Christopher	D TX	\$19,500.00
Burns, O Maxie	R GA	\$19,500.00
Chocola, J Christopher	R IN	\$19,500.00
Matheson, Jim Mr.	D UT	\$19,500.00
Reyes, Silvestre	D TX	\$19,050.00
Lewis, John	D GA	\$18,500.00
Neal, Richard E	D MA	\$18,500.00
Nunes, Devin G	R CA	\$18,500.00
Sherman, Brad	D CA	\$18,500.00
Snyder, Victor Frederick	D AR	\$18,500.00
Davis, Jo Ann S.	R VA	\$18,000.00
Diaz-Balart, Lincoln	R FL	\$18,000.00
Musgrave, Marilyn N	R CO	\$18,000.00
Turner, Mike	R OH	\$18,000.00
Capps, Lois	D CA	\$17,520.00
Davis, Artur Genestre	D AL	\$17,500.00
Garrett, E Scott	R NJ	\$17,250.00
McGovern, James P	D MA	\$17,150.00

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
McCarthy, Karen	D MO	\$17,000.00
Sanchez, Loretta	D CA	\$16,799.00
DeFazio, Peter A	D OR	\$16,750.00
Forbes, J. Randy	R VA	\$16,700.00
Hyde, Henry John	R IL	\$16,700.00
Kind, Ronald James	D WI	\$16,648.00
Beauprez, Robert Louis	R CO	\$16,500.00
Crenshaw, Ander	R FL	\$16,500.00
Young, C W Bill	R FL	\$16,500.00
Lipinski, William O	D IL	\$16,200.00
Majette, Denise L.	D GA	\$16,000.00
Davis, Danny K	D IL	\$15,500.00
Hoeffel, Joseph M	D PA	\$15,500.00
Saxton, H James	R NJ	\$15,250.00
Hinchey, Maurice D.	D NY	\$15,163.00
Bradley, Joseph III	R NH	\$15,083.00
Berman, Howard L	D CA	\$15,000.00
Waxman, Henry A.	D MD	\$15,000.00
Burton, Danny L	R IN	\$14,850.00
Conyers, John Jr	D MD	\$14,850.00
Harris, Katherine	R FL	\$14,792.00
Blumenauer, Earl	D OR	\$14,600.00
Janklow, William J*	R SD	\$14,507.00
Andrews, Robert E	D NJ	\$14,500.00
Gingrey, J Phillip	R GA	\$14,500.00
Sabo, Martin Olav	D MN	\$14,500.00
Miller, George	D CA	\$14,400.00
Peterson, Collin Clark	D MN	\$14,250.00
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	R FL	\$14,250.00
Schiff, Adam	D CA	\$14,139.00
Delahunt, William D	D MA	\$14,000.00
Frelinghuysen, Rodney P	R NJ	\$14,000.00
Solis, Hilda	D CA	\$14,000.00
Udall, Tom	D NM	\$13,501.00
Duncan, John Jr.	R TN	\$13,500.00
Udall, Mark E	D CO	\$13,250.00
Kelly, Sue W	R NY	\$13,000.00
Lewis, Ron	R KY	\$13,000.00
Ford, Harold Jr	D TN	\$12,703.00
Wilson, Addison (Joe)	R SC	\$12,500.00
Flake, Jeffry Lane	R AZ	\$12,171.00
Jackson, Jesse Jr	D IL	\$12,100.00
Larson, John B	D CT	\$11,750.00
Souder, Mark E	R IN	\$11,750.00
Weldon, Dave	R FL	\$11,750.00
Akin, William Todd	R MO	\$11,500.00
Berkley, Shelley	D NV	\$11,500.00

Member Name	Party/State	Amount Received
Watt, Melvin L	D NC	\$11,500.00
Barrett, James Gresham	R SC	\$11,000.00
Renzi, Richard George	R AZ	\$11,000.00
Inslee, Jay	D WA	\$10,500.00
Ballance, Frank W Jr	D NC	\$10,000.00
Brown-Waite, Virginia	R FL	\$10,000.00
Diaz-Balart, Mario	R FL	\$10,000.00
Fattah, Chaka	D PA	\$10,000.00
Gutierrez, Luis V	D IL	\$10,000.00
Carson, Julia	D IN	\$9,800.00
Jenkins, William L	R TN	\$9,750.00
Hefley, Joel	R CO	\$9,500.00
King, Peter	R NY	\$9,500.00
Lee, Barbara	D CA	\$9,500.00
McNulty, Michael R	D NY	\$9,500.00
Olver, John Walter	D MA	\$9,500.00
Scott, Robert C Bobby	D VA	\$9,500.00
Wexler, Robert	D FL	\$9,500.00
Woolsey, Lynn C	D CA	\$9,500.00
Boozman, John Nichols	R AR	\$9,350.00
Honda, Mike	D CA	\$9,250.00
Rohrabacher, Dana	R CA	\$9,250.00
Cummings, Elijah E	D MD	\$9,200.00
Brady, Robert A	D PA	\$8,750.00
Castle, Michael N	R DE	\$8,550.00
Clay, William Lacy Jr.	D MO	\$8,500.00
Davis, Lincoln	D TN	\$8,500.00
Faleomavaega, Eni	D AS	\$8,500.00
Kaptur, Marcy	D OH	\$8,300.00
Doggett, Lloyd A	D TX	\$8,250.00
Emanuel, Rahm	D IL	\$8,000.00
Kleczyka, Gerald	D WI	\$7,700.00
Abercrombie, Neil	D HI	\$7,500.00
Burgess, Michael	R TX	\$7,500.00
Kennedy, Patrick J	D RI	\$7,500.00
Ryan, Timothy J	D OH	\$7,500.00
Wu, David	D OR	\$7,250.00
Lofgren, Zoe	D CA	\$7,140.00
Cooper, James H S	D TN	\$7,000.00
DeGette, Diana L	D CO	\$7,000.00
Evans, Lane A	D IL	\$7,000.00
Hunter, Duncan	R CA	\$7,000.00
Maloney, Carolyn B	D NY	\$7,000.00
Meeks, Gregory W	D NY	\$7,000.00
Menendez, Robert	D NJ	\$7,000.00
Pascrell, William J Jr	D NJ	\$7,000.00
Scott, David Albert	D GA	\$7,000.00

Member Name	Party/State		Amount Received
Tubbs Jones, Stephanie	D	OH	\$7,000.00
Hooley, Darlene	D	OR	\$6,914.00
Bishop, Robert William	R	UT	\$6,600.00
Kucinich, Dennis J	D	OH	\$6,541.00
Cunningham, Randy	R	CA	\$6,000.00
Marshall, Jim	D	GA	\$6,000.00
Meek, Kendrick	D	FL	\$6,000.00
Cardoza, Dennis	D	CA	\$5,500.00
Case, Edward E	D	HI	\$5,500.00
McHugh, John M	R	NY	\$5,500.00
Miller, Ralph Bradley	D	NC	\$5,500.00
Bartlett, Roscoe G Jr	R	MD	\$5,400.00
Israel, Steve	D	NY	\$5,250.00
Alexander, Rodney	D	LA	\$5,000.00
Brown, Corrine	D	FL	\$5,000.00
Capuano, Michael Everett	D	MA	\$5,000.00
DeLauro, Rosa	D	CT	\$5,000.00
Grijalva, Raul M	D	AZ	\$5,000.00
McCarthy, Carolyn	D	NY	\$4,700.00
Lowey, Nita M	D	NY	\$4,600.00
Norton, Eleanor Holmes	D	DC	\$4,500.00
Shays, Christopher	R	CT	\$4,250.00
Baird, Brian	D	WA	\$4,000.00
Baldwin, Tammy	D	WI	\$4,000.00
Blackburn, Marsha W	R	TN	\$4,000.00
Hastings, Alcee L	D	FL	\$4,000.00
Nadler, Jerrold L	D	NY	\$4,000.00
Paul, Ronald E	R	TX	\$4,000.00
Ackerman, Gary L.	D	NY	\$3,900.00
Allen, Thomas H	D	ME	\$3,500.00
King, Steven A	R	IA	\$3,500.00

Member Name	Party/State		Amount Received
Owens, Major Robert	D	NY	\$3,500.00
Sanchez, Linda	D	CA	\$3,500.00
Holt, Rush Dew	D	NJ	\$3,000.00
Payne, Donald M	D	NJ	\$3,000.00
Davis, Susan	D	CA	\$2,500.00
Lynch, Stephen F	D	MA	\$2,500.00
McCollum, Betty	D	MN	\$2,500.00
Waters, Maxine	D	CA	\$2,500.00
Christensen, Donna M	D	VI	\$2,000.00
Goss, Porter J	R	FL	\$2,000.00
Leach, Jim	R	IA	\$2,000.00
Schakowsky, Janice D	D	IL	\$2,000.00
Smith, Christopher H	R	NJ	\$2,000.00
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	\$2,000.00
Tierney, John	D	MA	\$2,000.00
Van Hollen, Chris	D	MD	\$2,000.00
Velazquez, Nydia M	D	NY	\$2,000.00
Watson, Diane E	D	CA	\$2,000.00
Crowley, Joseph	D	NY	\$1,950.00
Lantos, Tom	D	CA	\$1,500.00
Lobiondo, Frank A.	R	NJ	\$1,500.00
McDermott, Jim	D	WA	\$1,000.00
Meehan, Martin T	D	MA	\$1,000.00
Portman, Robert J	R	OH	\$1,000.00
Rothman, Steven	D	NJ	\$1,000.00
Ruppersberger, C.A. Dutch	D	MD	\$1,000.00
Slaughter, Louise M	D	NY	\$750.00
Franks, Trent	R	AZ	\$500.00
Gilchrest, Wayne T	R	MD	\$500.00
Weiner, Anthony D	D	NY	\$500.00

** Representative Janklow is no longer in office.*

Appendix F. Lobbying Expenditures by Selected Member Company (Electric Utility and Oil/Gas Sectors Only), 2002

Only companies and trade associations spending at least \$10,000 over six months are required to report lobbying expenditures under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995. Most figures are rounded to the nearest \$20,000. Associations not included in this table did not report any lobbying expenditures, or spent less than \$10,000 in each half of 2002.

Company Name	2002 Lobbying
ExxonMobil	\$8,372,729.00
Shell Oil	\$6,162,182.00
Southern Company	\$4,900,000.00
ChevronTexaco	\$4,620,000.00
Marathon Oil	\$3,680,000.00
BP America	\$2,700,000.00
Florida Power & Light	\$2,380,000.00
Texas Utilities	\$2,320,000.00
Duke Energy	\$2,270,000.00
FirstEnergy	\$2,259,375.30
Exelon Corporation	\$2,172,570.00
Occidental Petroleum	\$2,132,725.00
PG&E Corporation	\$2,020,000.00
CMS Energy	\$2,000,000.00
Sempra Energy	\$1,956,301.00
Progress Energy	\$1,830,950.00
Dow Chemical	\$1,800,000.00
ConocoPhillips	\$1,766,642.00
Union Oil (Unocal)	\$1,760,000.00
Entergy Corporation	\$1,570,699.00
American Electric Power	\$1,558,422.00
DTE Energy	\$1,520,000.00
TECO Energy	\$1,480,000.00
Edison International	\$1,380,000.00
Cinergy Corp	\$1,378,000.00
Mirant Corporation	\$1,300,000.00

Company Name	2002 Lobbying
Ashland Inc	\$1,200,000.00
Kerr-McGee Corporation	\$1,190,000.00
Pinnacle West Capital Corporation	\$1,100,000.00
PPL	\$1,020,000.00
Allegheny Energy	\$920,000.00
Reliant Resources	\$750,000.00
Northeast Utilities	\$710,000.00
Alliant Energy	\$680,000.00
Ameren	\$626,888.00
National Fuel Gas Company	\$540,000.00
Bechtel Group	\$520,000.00
Pepco Holdings	\$520,000.00
Devon Energy Corporation	\$460,000.00
Dominion	\$440,000.00
Constellation Energy	\$440,000.00
Xcel Energy	\$340,000.00
Halliburton Company	\$300,000.00
NiSource Inc	\$221,228.00
MidAmerican Energy Company	\$220,000.00
ALLETE	\$160,000.00
Valero Energy	\$140,000.00
Anadarko Petroleum	\$100,000.00
KeySpan Energy	\$100,000.00
Tractebel Power Inc	\$60,000.00
Peoples Energy	\$20,000.00

Appendix F. Member Companies Profiled, by Trade Association

Asterisked trade associations made no campaign contributions or lobbying expenditures of their own and are included because they have taken public stances in favor of clean air rollbacks.

Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers*

Daimler-Chrysler

Ford

GM

American Chemistry Council

Air Products and Chemicals Inc

BASF Corp

BOC Group

Ciba Specialty Chemicals Corp

Monsanto

PPG Industries

Praxair

American Forest & Paper Association

Louisiana-Pacific

Plum Creek Timber

Weyerhaeuser

American Gas Association

Equitable Resources

KeySpan

MDU Resources

National Fuel Gas

NiSource

ONEOK

Peoples Energy

PG&E Corporation

Piedmont Natural Gas Co

Questar

Vectren

American Petroleum Institute

Anadarko Petroleum

Ashland Inc

Bechtel

BP

Burlington Resources

CenterPoint Energy

ChevronTexaco

Devon Energy

Encana

ExxonMobil

Halliburton

Hunt Oil

Kerr-McGee Corporation

Marathon Oil

Murphy Oil

Occidental Oil & Gas

Total S.A.

UnoCal Corporation

Edison Electric Institute

AES

Allegheny Energy

Allete

Alliant Energy

Ameren

American Electric Power

Avista

CenterPoint Energy

Cinergy

CLECO

CMS Energy

Constellation Energy

Dayton Power and Light

Dominion Resources

DTE Energy

Duke Energy

Dynegy

Edison International

El Paso Electric

Energy

Exelon Corporation

FirstEnergy

FPL Group

Kansas City Power & Light

KeySpan

MidAmerican Energy

Mirant Corp

Niagara Mohawk

Northeast Utilities

NSTAR

OGE Energy

Pinnacle West Capital

Pepco Holdings

PPL

Progress Energy

Puget Sound Energy

Reliant Resources

Sierra Pacific Resources

Southern Company

TECO Energy

Texas Utilities

UniSource Energy

Vectren Corporation

Westar Energy

WPS Resources

Xcel Energy

Electric Power Supply Association

AES Corp.
BP Energy Co.
Cinergy Corp.
Conectiv Energy Supply Inc.
ConocoPhillips Gas & Power
Constellation Energy Group
Exelon Power Team
Goldman Sachs & Co.
Mirant Corp.
NRG Energy Inc.
Reliant Resources Inc.
Sempra Energy Global Enterprises
Shell Trading
TECO Energy Inc.
Tractebel North America Inc.
Wheelabrator Technologies Inc.
Williams Power Company Inc.

Industrial Energy Consumers of America*

Abbott Laboratories
Air Liquide America L.P.
BASF Corporation
Bayer Corporation
Coors Brewing Company
Dow Chemical Company
Eastman Chemical Company
FMC Corporation
Holcim, Inc.
Huntsman Corporation
MeadWestvaco Corporation
Nova Chemicals
Owens Corning Corporation
Riceland Foods, Inc.
Rohm & Haas Company
Terra Industries, Inc.
The Timken Company
Tyson Foods

National Association of Manufacturers

3M Co
Association of American Railroads
Interstate Natural Gas Association of America
National Electrical Manufacturers Association
National Rural Electric Cooperative
Portland Cement Association
Printing Industries of America

American Electric Power
Arch Coal
Cargill, Inc
ConocoPhillips
Crown Cork & Seal
Devon Energy
Dow Chemical
DuPont
ExxonMobil
GE Co
IMC Global
Maytag Corp
MeadWestvaco Corp
Procter & Gamble
Timken Co
Visteon Corp

National Mining Association

A.T. Massey Energy
Arch Coal
BHP (Broken Hill Proprietary Co)
Cleveland-Cliffs, Inc
CONSOL, Inc
Freeport-McMoRan Copper & Gold
Peabody Energy
Phelps-Dodge

National Petrochemical and Refiners Association

Dow Chemical
ExxonMobil
Marathon Ashland
Occidental Chemical
Tesoro Petroleum
Valero

Trade associations with no profiled member companies:

American Furniture Manufacturers Association
American Iron and Steel Institute
American Public Power Association

End Notes

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- ^{xv} National Atmospheric Deposition Program, 2001.
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- ^{xix} Driscoll et al, *Acid rain revisited: Advances in scientific understanding since the passage of the 1970 and 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments*. Hubbard Brook Research Foundation. Science Links Publication 1(1).
- ^{xx} EPA presentation to Edison Electric Institute, December 4, 2001, available at <http://www.cleartheair.org/epamercury.pdf>.
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