



THE PRAIRIE STATE HEATS UP

ILLINOIS TACKLES CLIMATE CHANGE LEGISLATION

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE
POLITICS

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OVERVIEW

HOME TO THE SECOND LARGEST COAL RESERVES IN THE UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS IS IN A position to be the nation's leader in developing coal gasification projects.¹

The Illinois Clean Coal Portfolio Standard Act, signed into law January 2009, sets the stage for Illinois to usher in one of the first state-backed efforts to develop these kinds of coal power facilities. The legislation was supported by the state's coal association, utility boards, organized labor, health-care issue advocates and a number of major Illinois newspapers. Phil Gonet, president of the Illinois Coal Association, said the more than 100 billion tons of recoverable coal in Illinois amounts to more energy "than all the oil in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait."²

Not surprising, the groups, companies and associations that stand to benefit from the Act are attempting to ensure that they have a say in how it is implemented. Most have donated heavily to legislators, especially those in leadership and powerful committee positions. In fact, lawmakers received \$5 million of the \$7.2 million given by these donors to candidates and party committees in 2008.

On the heels of that landmark legislation a number of energy-related companies, members of industry groups and associations (some of whom have voiced strong opposition to carbon caps and other climate-change policy) have taken an interest in the fate of six pieces of legislation making their way through the 2009 Illinois legislative process.

More than 100 billion tons of recoverable coal in Illinois amounts to more energy "than all the oil in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait"

The legislation being considered this session—the Illinois Clean Car Act, The Illinois Energy to Jobs Act, and the Climate Action and Clean Energy Investment Act for 2009—are aimed at establishing carbon standards, reducing emissions, setting the stage for more energy-related jobs, and revitalizing the state's economy.³

The National Institute on Money in State Politics looked at campaign contributions made during the 2008 election cycle by two groups interested in climate-change policy. The first group includes members of 13 industry groups and associations identified as opponents to carbon caps and certain climate-change policy. The second group consists of other associations, organizations or individual companies that had either a position on the bills or a stake in their outcomes.

¹ "Table: U.S. Coal Reserves by State and Type - 2007 (updated November 2008)," *National Mining Association*, available from <http://www.nma.org/statistics/coal.asp>, accessed April 5, 2009.

² "Bill Signing Finalizes Year-Long Push For Clean Coal Portfolio Standard in Illinois," *PR Newswire*, Jan. 12, 2009, available from <http://sev.prnewswire.com/oil-energy/20090112/LA5774312012009-1.html>, accessed March 30, 2009.

³ As of this report's publication date, all six bill are still making their way through Illinois' legislative process.

An analysis of the campaign finance contributions given by these two groups during the 2008 elections to Illinois state-level candidates and political party committees reveals:

- Contributors interested in climate-change policy gave \$7.2 million, which accounted for 7 percent of the total contributions given to candidate and party committees in 2008.
- Members of the 13 industry groups and associations opposed to carbon regulation gave nearly \$4.3 million, or 60 percent of the \$7.2 million.
- All 53 lawmakers either sitting on the relevant committees hearing the bills or serving in key leadership positions received money from the interested parties.⁴
- On average, the four people in leadership received eight times as much as the 49 members of the pertinent committees, and almost ten times the amount received by other lawmakers.
- Leadership received \$573,550 from members of the 13 industry groups and associations, and an additional \$312,881 from other associations, organizations and individual companies.
- 51 committee members received nearly \$1.5 million, or 20 percent of the total. \$875,586 came from members of the 13 industry groups and associations, and \$595,401 from other identified climate-change policy opponents.
- Associations and businesses in favor of stronger climate-change policies gave \$21,450; \$17,500 of that came from the Illinois Corn Growers Association.

All 53 lawmakers on relevant committees or serving in key leadership positions received money from the interested parties

⁴ Two legislative leaders, Senate President John J. Cullerton (Democrat) and Senate Republican Leader Christine Radogno, are also members of the Senate Executive Committee, one of the three senate committees included in this study.

METHODOLOGY

The National Institute on Money in State Politics analyzed campaign contributions to candidate committees and political party committees for the 2008 election cycle in Illinois.

The study looked at two groups of contributors. The first group, comprised of members of 13 industry groups and associations who were identified as opponents of carbon caps and certain climate-change policy, includes the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG), the American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity, and the Edison Electric Institute, along with 10 others detailed in the table on page 4 called *Contributions and Number of Members by Industry Group or Association, 2008*.

The second group includes a number of other associations, organizations and individual companies interested in the outcome of legislation related to climate change. Those groups include opponents of limits on carbon emissions such as automobile dealers, car and truck rental agencies, and energy and chemical companies. Other interested parties include the Chamber of Commerce, the Illinois Farm Bureau, the Illinois AFL-CIO and Auto Workers Region 4 (Illinois UAW). The second group also contains contributors from businesses and associations that favor stronger climate-change laws.

The status of the six pieces of legislation discussed here are current as of the publication date of this study.

Contributions from individuals employed by the industry groups, businesses or associations are not included in the totals. In some cases individuals are cited in the text; a separate discussion of individual donors appears on page 14.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INDUSTRY GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS

During the 2008 election cycle in Illinois, 87 contributors who were members of one or more of the 13 industry groups and associations opposed to carbon regulation gave \$4.3 million, which is 60 percent of the \$7.2 million from all parties interested in climate-change policy.

Heading the list were 29 members of the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG), who collectively gave more than \$2 million. Nine members of the American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity (ACCCE) gave \$1.6 million, while eight from the Edison Electric Institute gave nearly \$1.5 million.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS BY INDUSTRY GROUP OR ASSOCIATION, 2008

INDUSTRY GROUP OR ASSOCIATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS*
Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG)	29	\$2,137,105
American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity (ACCCE)	9	\$1,608,603
Edison Electric Institute	8	\$1,461,178
National Mining Association	14	\$731,207
Air Transport Association	9	\$300,834
National Association of Manufacturers	8	\$277,525
American Petroleum Institute	11	\$271,560
National Petrochemical and Refiners Association	17	\$254,450
Aluminum Association	3	\$83,352
Consumer Energy Alliance	4	\$49,680
Alliance of Auto Manufacturers	3	\$40,042
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association (NRECA)	4	\$36,920
American Forest And Paper Association	2	\$8,600

* Because a member may belong to more than one of the groups or associations, dollar amounts may be attributed to more than one industry group or association.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS

The top 20 energy-industry contributors accounted for 73 percent of the \$7.2 million. Ten of the top contributors, which collectively gave almost \$1.7 million, were not members of one of the 13 industry groups but were identified as opponents of carbon emissions limits. The ten include state-level labor organizations, automobile dealer associations, and energy and chemical companies.

TOP 20 ENERGY-INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTORS IN 2008

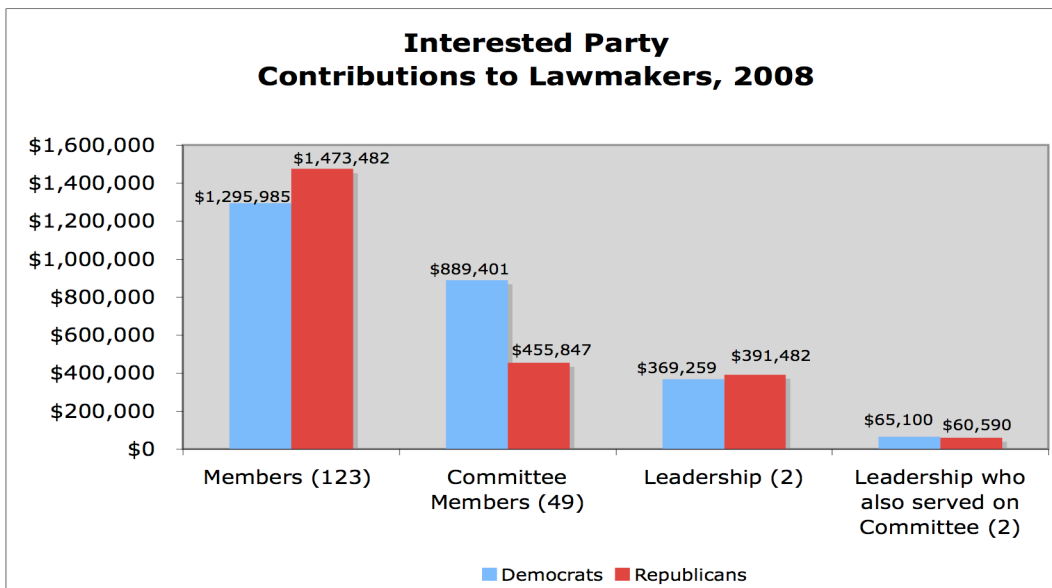
CONTRIBUTOR	INDUSTRY TYPE	INDUSTRY GROUP OR ASSOCIATION MEMBER	AMOUNT
Ameren	Gas and Electric Utilities	AEEG, ACCCE and Edison Electric Institute	\$677,604
ComEd	Electric Power Utilities	Edison Electric Institute	\$592,363
Illinois Chamber of Commerce	Chambers of Commerce		\$414,300
Caterpillar	Construction Equipment	AEEG, ACCCE and National Mining Assoc.	\$366,186
MidWest Generation EME	Electric Power Utilities	ACCCE	\$291,606
Dynegy Inc.	Electric Power Utilities	AEEG	\$286,150
Chicago Automobile Trade Assoc.	Auto Dealers *		\$243,774
Auto Workers Region 4	Labor Organization *		\$241,525
Illinois Manufacturer's Assoc.	Manufacturing	National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$210,925
Exelon	Gas and Electric Utilities	Edison Electric Institute	\$136,350
Illinois Automobile Dealers Assoc.	Auto Dealers *		\$215,050
Nicor Gas	Natural Gas Transmission and Distribution *		\$207,770
MidAmerican Energy	Gas and Electric Utilities	AEEG	\$201,750
UPS	Express Delivery Services	Air Transport Assoc.	\$141,274
Bluestar Energy Services	Electric Power Utilities *		\$137,411
People's Energy	Natural Gas Transmission and Distribution *		\$131,739
Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce	Chambers of Commerce *		\$101,900
Enterprise Rent-A-Car	Car and Truck Rental Agencies *		\$95,425
Chemical Industry Council of Illinois	Chemicals *		\$90,650
TOTAL			\$4,892,362

* Not a member of one of the 13 industry groups or associations

2009 LEGISLATION

The six pieces of legislation introduced to address Illinois' climate-change policy are being heard in five committees. The 16-member Senate Energy Committee is hearing HB 3854, SB 1823 and SB 1941. The 13-member Senate Executive Committee and the 9-member Senate Environment Committee is hearing SB 856. The 14-member House Environmental Health Committee is hearing HB 422. The 11-member House Executive Committee is hearing HB 3854 and HB 3668.

Of the \$7.2 million given by the two groups, lawmakers received \$5 million. On average, the four members of leadership received eight times as much as the 49 members of the pertinent committees, and almost ten times the amount received by other lawmakers.⁵



⁵ Appendices B, C, D, E and F show contributions to committee members from industry and association members, and other contributors interested in climate-change policy on both sides of the issue. Also included is the percentage of total campaign funds that these donors represent. Legislators may be members of more than one committee. Their grand total is included in each instance.

THE ILLINOIS CLEAN CAR ACT (SB 1941 AND HB 422)

SB 1941, and its duplicate HB 422, are modeled after California's Pavley Law that calls for the reduction in the amount of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions produced by vehicles beginning with the 2012 model year.

Powerful industry groups claim the Illinois Clean Car Act would allow Illinois' fuel standards to be determined by California policymakers. A coalition strongly opposed to SB1941/HB422 includes the Auto Dealers Association, the Illinois AFL-CIO, Illinois UAW, the Illinois Farm Bureau and the Illinois Chamber of Commerce.

The coalition includes the **Illinois Manufacturer's Association (IMA)** that gave \$210,925. Of that, \$10,990 went to committee members hearing the legislation and \$21,000 to leadership. The IMA, a member of the National Association of Manufacturers (one of the 13 industry groups and associations), claimed the bill "would increase the price of vehicles, limit choice, reduce the use of ethanol and tie Illinois' emission laws to another state."⁶

A coalition strongly opposed to SB1941/HB422 includes the Auto Dealers Association, the Illinois AFL-CIO, Illinois UAW, the Illinois Farm Bureau and the Illinois Chamber of Commerce

The **Illinois Automobile Dealers' Association (IADA)** gave \$215,050. Members of the committees hearing the legislation received \$36,950. The IADA said that adopting these standards would put Illinois in the position of "ceding its authority to a state that is vastly different and tying itself to all future regulatory changes that California makes."⁷

Other groups echoed that sentiment, claiming this law would bind Illinois to California standards. The **Illinois Chamber of Commerce** gave \$414,300 – \$23,250 of which went to committee members – and called the legislation "California Emissions Standards."⁸ The Chamber also gave \$35,500 to legislative leaders.

The **Illinois AFL-CIO** opposed SB 1941. Together with the UAW, the Illinois state federation opposed HB 422, its sister version in the House.⁹ The Illinois AFL-CIO gave \$204,035, of which \$22,684 went to committee members. The **Auto Workers Region 4 (Illinois UAW)** gave \$241,525, with \$14,025 of it going to committee members.

The **Illinois Farm Bureau** (IFB) gave \$49,651, of which \$2,000 went to Speaker of the House

⁶ "Springfield Highlights," *Illinois Manufacturers Association*, March 13, 2009, available from <http://www.ima-net.org/library/highlights/sphlts031309.cfm>, accessed March 27, 2009.

⁷ Automobile Dealer's Association opposition Web site available from <http://www.NOCALEVinIL.com>, accessed on March 27, 2009.

⁸ "2009 Key Legislation," *Illinois Chamber of Commerce*, available from http://www.ilchamber.org/government_affairs/key_legislation/key_legis_0408.html#SB1823, accessed April 5, 2009.

⁹ "AFL-CIO Bill Tracking," Illinois AFL-CIO, available from http://www.ilaf-cio.org/forms/bill_trak.pdf, accessed April 5, 2009.

Michael Madigan, a Democrat. The IFB did not contribute to committee members. The organization told its members the bill would negatively impact the "availability and sale of Flexible Fuel Vehicles that run on E85." ¹⁰ The Illinois Farm Bureau belongs to the American Farm Bureau Federation, which is a member of AEEG.

A number of opponents gave more to the four legislative leaders than they gave to members of the committees hearing the bill. The Illinois AFL-CIO and the Illinois Automobile Dealers' Association gave more to committee members than they gave to leadership.

**CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OPPONENTS
OF SB 1941/HB 422, 2008**

CONTRIBUTOR	TO COMMITTEE MEMBERS	TO LEADERSHIP	ALL CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF ALL CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMITTEE MEMBERS
Illinois Chamber of Commerce	\$23,250	\$35,500	\$414,300	6%
Auto Workers Region 4 (UAW)	\$14,025	\$27,750	\$241,525	6%
Illinois AFL-CIO	\$22,684	\$11,609	\$204,035	11%
Illinois Automobile Dealers' Association (IADA)	\$36,950	\$13,750	\$215,050	17%
Illinois Manufacturers Association (IMA)*	\$10,990	\$21,000	\$210,925	5%
Illinois Farm Bureau *	\$0	\$2,000	\$49,651	0%
TOTAL	\$107,899	\$111,609	\$1,335,486	8%

*Member of one of the 13 industry groups or associations identified as opponents to carbon regulation. The Illinois Farm Bureau's parent organization is a member of the AEEG. The IMA is a member of the National Manufacturers Association.

**SPOTLIGHT ON TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRY
CONTRIBUTORS**

Excluding the \$215,050 from the Illinois Automobile Dealers Association discussed above, other transportation industry contributors (excluding the air transport industry) with a stake in the outcome of the Clean Car Act were auto dealers, trucking companies and associations, car rental businesses, and express delivery companies.

Transportation industry contributors gave \$741,483, the bulk of which (\$638,109) went to legislative candidate committees. Members of the Senate Energy Committee and the House Environmental Health Committee – the two committees hearing SB 1941 and HB 422 – received 21 percent (\$157,205) of the \$741,483.

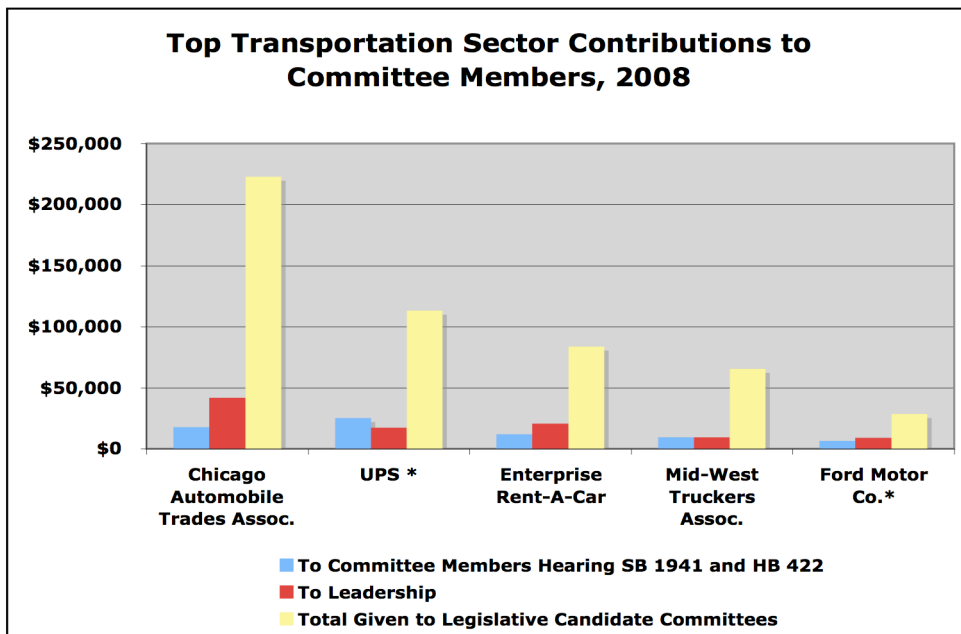
The Chicago Automobile Trade Association (CATA) is not a member of one of the 13 industry

¹⁰, "State House QuickView," *Illinois Farm Bureau*, April 3, 2009, available from http://www.ilfb.org/viewdocument_file.asp?did=16739&filename=QuickView-4-3-2009_16739.doc, accessed April 5, 2009.

groups or associations. CATA gave \$243,774 to candidate committees, with \$223,200 going to legislative candidates. Senate Energy Committee members received \$18,000, but the CATA did not contribute to House Environmental Health Committee members. Legislative leaders got \$42,000.

Other new and used car and truck dealers and associations gave \$80,214. Nearly all of that (\$69,840) went to candidate committees. Members of the Senate Energy Committee and the House Environmental Health Committee received \$7,188.

Trucking companies and associations gave \$121,967. Of that, \$16,875 went to members of the Senate Energy Committee and the House Environmental Health Committee, and \$9,750 went to legislative leaders. The top contributor in the trucking industry was the Mid-West Truckers' Association that gave \$83,415.



* Member of one of the 13 industry groups or associations identified as opponents to carbon regulation.

THE ILLINOIS ENERGY TO JOBS ACT - SB 1823 AND HB 3854

The Illinois Energy to Jobs Act, introduced in the Senate as SB 1823 and in the House as HB 3854, is an Illinois Chamber of Commerce initiative, which calls for business regulations, tax credits and environmental regulations that would attract new energy projects and energy industry to the state. The Chamber believes those changes would lead to job creation and economic growth.¹¹

¹¹ "2009 Key Legislation," *The Illinois Chamber of Commerce*, available from http://www.ilchamber.org/government_affairs/key_legislation/key_legis_0408.html#SB1823, accessed April 5, 2009.

The **Illinois Chamber of Commerce** gave \$414,300, \$19,750 of which went to members of the House Executive Committee and the Senate Energy Committee – the two committees hearing the bills.

The **Illinois AFL-CIO** supports the chamber's initiative SB 1823 and gave \$204,035. Of that, \$18,604 went to members of the House Executive Committee and the Senate Energy Committee.¹²

The environmental policy group, **Sierra Club**, opposed HB 3854¹³ The environmental policy organization gave \$14,471 to 14 candidate committees, with only \$501 going to one member of the House Executive Committee, Democrat Arthur L. Turner.

THE CLIMATE ACTION AND CLEAN ENERGY INVESTMENT ACT OF 2009 – SB 856 AND HB 3668

HB 3668 would create the Climate Action and Clean Energy Investment Act for 2009. This bill would establish a cap on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from large sources. A so-called "cap and trade" policy that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency defines as "a market-based policy tool ... A cap and trade program first sets an aggressive cap ... on emissions. Sources covered by the program then receive authorizations to emit in the form of emissions allowances, with the total amount of allowances limited by the cap."¹⁴

HB3668 would establish a cap on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from large sources

The **Illinois Manufacturer's Association (IMA)** voiced strong opposition to HB 3668, saying the measure would result in lost jobs and industry for Illinois, and declaring their position is backed by a large coalition of opponents "ranging from business groups, labor unions, and electric generating companies..."¹⁵

The IMA and seven other members of the **National Association of Manufacturers** (one of the 13 industry groups and associations) gave \$277,525, with the lion's share (\$210,925) coming from the IMA. Members of the three committees hearing these bills – the Senate Energy Committee, the Senate Environment Committee and the House Executive Committee – received \$22,045.

Three legislative leaders received a combined \$27,000, with \$19,500 going to House Republican Leader Tom Cross.

¹² "AFL-CIO Bill Tracking," *Illinois AFL-CIO*, available from http://www.ilaf-cio.org/forms/bill_trak.pdf, accessed April 5, 2009.

¹³ "Energy to Jobs Act, Sierra Club Legislative Tracker," *Illinois Sierra Club*, available from <http://illinois.sierraclub.org/legislation/HB3854.html>, accessed April 9, 2009.

¹⁴ "Basic Information," *U.S. Environmental Protection Agency*, available from <http://www.epa.gov/captrade/basic-info.html>, accessed April 14, 2009.

¹⁵ "Springfield Highlights," *Illinois Manufacturer's Association*, March 19, 2009, available from <http://www.ima-net.org/library/highlights/sphlts031909.cfm>, accessed on April 13, 2009.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP

Industry groups and association members, along with other interested parties, made significant contributions to members of leadership. House leadership in both parties accounted for 86 percent of the funds industry groups gave the leadership. Republicans in the two minority leadership positions received \$452,072. The two Democratic leaders, who enjoy a majority in both chambers, received \$434,359.

Former Senate President Emil Jones, Jr., who announced in August 2008 that he intended to retire, received \$159,350 from contributors interested in climate-change issues. \$100,400 of that came from members of the 13 industry groups and associations. Interestingly, Jones' son, Emil Jones III, who went on to win his father's seat, received no money from the industry group or association members. He did get \$500 from the Illinois AFL-CIO and \$250 from the Illinois Automobile Dealers Association.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP, 2008

LEADER	POSITION	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP AND ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
Cross, Tom	House Republican Leader	\$269,150	\$122,332	\$391,482	13%
Madigan, Michael J.	House Speaker (Democrat)	\$219,300	\$149,959	\$369,259	9%
Cullerton, John J.	Senate President (Democrat)	\$46,100	\$19,000	\$65,100	6%
Radogno, Christine	Senate Republican Leader	\$39,000	\$21,590	\$60,590	12%
TOTAL		\$573,550	\$312,881	\$886,431	

STATEWIDE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICIALS

With the exception of ten candidates running in judicial elections, none of Illinois' statewide-elected officials were up for election in 2008. Four of the judicial candidates received money from contributors in one or both groups. Six incumbent statewide officials not up for election raised money, and they all received contributions from both groups. At the top of the list was then-Gov. Rod Blagojevich. Another recipient of donations from both groups was Attorney General Lisa Madigan, who was instrumental in the passage of the Clean Coal Act¹⁶.

ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATEWIDE ELECTED OFFICIALS, 2008

STATEWIDE OFFICIAL	OFFICE	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP AND ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
Blagojevich, Rod	Governor	\$145,608	\$84,950	\$230,558	5%
White, Jesse	Secretary of State	\$11,800	\$56,425	\$68,225	7%
Hynes, Daniel W.	Comptroller	\$9,750	\$49,000	\$58,750	2%
Madigan, Lisa	Attorney General	\$9,000	\$26,631	\$35,631	1%
Giannoulas, Alexander	Treasurer	\$4,700	\$24,000	\$28,700	2%
Burke, Anne M.*	Supreme Court Justice	\$21,625	\$6,605	\$28,230	2%
Quinn, Pat	Lt. Governor	\$2,750	\$8,600	\$11,350	3%
Wexstten, James M. *	Appellate Court Judge	\$3,000	\$1,500	\$4,500	1%
Steele, John O.*	Appellate Court Judge	\$1,500	\$0	\$1,500	2%
Goldenhersh, Richard P. *	Appellate Court Judge	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	2%
TOTAL		\$209,733	\$258,711	\$468,444	3%

With the exception of non-partisan Judge Richard P. Goldenhersh, all officials are Democrats.
* won judicial retention

¹⁶ Michael Hawthorne, "Clean Coal: Law Could Open Door To New Generation Of Coal-Burning Power Plants," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 13, 2009, available from <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/2009/jan/13/local/chi-clean-coaljan13>, accessed March 30, 2009.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES

Contributions from both groups to political party committees totaled \$1.1 million. The members of the 13 industry groups and associations gave 71 percent (\$809,722) and favored Republican committees.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES, 2008

PARTY COMMITTEE	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP AND ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS
Republican State Senate Campaign Cmte	\$230,672	\$81,400	\$312,072
House Republican Organization	\$189,150	\$43,700	\$232,850
Illinois Republican Party	\$63,600	\$50,375	\$113,975
Republican Total	\$483,422	\$175,475	\$658,897
Senate Democratic Fund	\$159,700	81,900	\$241,600
Illinois Democratic Party	\$166,600	71,500	\$238,100
Democratic Total	\$326,300	\$153,400	\$479,700
TOTAL	\$809,722	\$328,875	\$1,138,597

The top two contributors to party committees were utility companies and members of one or more of the 13 industry groups and associations. Ameren, a utility company, gave \$187,220 — \$86,000 to Democratic party committees and \$101,220 to Republican party committees. ComEd, the next biggest contributor, gave \$101,800, with \$55,000 going to Democratic committees and \$46,800 to Republican. Ameren is a member of Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG), the American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity (ACCCE) and the Edison Electric Institute. ComEd is a member of the Edison Electric Institute.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INDIVIDUAL DONORS

Individual contributors identified as employees of the energy industry businesses or associations gave more than \$402,000: \$335,000 to candidate committees and \$67,000 to political party committees. Employees of one of the 13 industry groups or associations account for \$169,000 of the \$427,000. Individuals opposed to certain climate-change legislation gave \$168,000. Another \$65,550 came from individuals in favor of stronger climate-change policies.

Eight of the top-10 individual donors gave exclusively to candidates. But the top contributing individual, Recycled Paper Greetings founder Michael L. Keiser, gave to candidate committees and state party committees. He gave \$3,000 to candidate committees, \$1,000 of which went to House Republican Leader Tom Cross. He also gave \$50,000 to the Illinois Republican Party and \$1,000 to the House Republican Organization.

Nearly one-third of the money given by individual donors went to legislative leaders and members of the committees included in this study.

TOP 10 CONTRIBUTING INDIVIDUALS, 2008

CONTRIBUTOR	EMPLOYER	INDUSTRY TYPE	TOTAL
Keiser, Michael L.*	Recycled Paper Greetings	Recycling	\$54,000
Bergman, Jay D.	Petco Petroleum Corp.	Independent Oil and Gas Producers	\$24,000
Rowe, John W.	Exelon *	Gas and Electric Utilities	\$23,170
Forsythe, Gerald	Indeck Energy Services	Electric Power Utilities	\$22,500
Oelze, Jeffrey, Kimberly & William	OZ Oil Company	Petroleum Refining and Marketing	\$15,690
Crane Jr., Thomas G.	Auto Auction Estate Partnership	Auto Dealers	\$15,363
Oelze, Elmer & Marion	OZ Oil Company	Petroleum Refining and Marketing	\$12,450
White, Scott L. & Michele	Interstate Gas Supply	Gas and Electric Utilities	\$12,000
Heisley, Michael	Heico Acquisitions **	Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	\$10,000
Krupa, Thadd	Morton Auto Auction	Auto Dealers	\$10,000
TOTAL			\$199,173

* Member of Edison Electric Institute

** Member of Air Transport Association

ADDITIONAL INTERESTED PARTIES

Two groups interested in climate-change policies – the Illinois Corn Growers Association, which maintains a strong position for the need for renewable fuels and the Illinois League of Conservation Voters – contributed \$17,500 and \$2,766 respectively. Neither have taken a public position on the six bills reviewed here.

The Illinois Corn Growers Association are proponents of alternative fuel sources. Their \$17,500 went to either successful legislative candidates or lawmakers who were raising money but not up for re-election. \$2,500 of it went to House Republican Leader Tom Cross.¹⁷

¹⁷ "Welcome to Illinois Corn," *Illinois Corn*, available from <http://www.ilcorn.org/index.php>, accessed on April 6, 2009.

APPENDIX A

INDUSTRY GROUP AND ASSOCIATION MEMBER CONTRIBUTIONS, 2008

CONTRIBUTOR	MEMBER OF	TOTAL
Ameren	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity and Edison Electric Institute	\$677,704
ComEd	Edison Electric Institute	\$592,363
Caterpillar	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity and National Mining Assoc.	\$366,186
Midwest Generation Eme	American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity	\$291,606
Dynegy Inc.	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$286,150
Illinois Manufacturers Assoc.	National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$210,925
Midamerican Energy	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$201,750
UPS	Air Transport Assoc.	\$141,274
Exelon	Edison Electric Institute	\$136,350
PhRMA	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$86,750
ExxonMobil	American Petroleum Institute and National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$86,200
Associated General Contractors of Illinois	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$81,000
Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity, Aluminum Assoc. and National Mining Assoc.	\$76,302
Illinois Consulting Engineers	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$76,104
Monsanto	National Mining Assoc.	\$66,299
Union Pacific Railroad	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth and American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity	\$65,374
Norfolk Southern	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity and National Mining Assoc.	\$65,000
Tooling & Manufacturing Assoc.	National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$52,050
Illinois Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$49,651
Liberty Mutual Insurance	Air Transport Assoc.	\$48,500
United Airlines	Air Transport Assoc.	\$46,735
US Steel Corp.	American Petroleum Institute	\$46,350
ConocoPhillips	American Petroleum Institute, National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc. and National Mining Assoc.	\$41,400
General Electric	American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity and American Petroleum Institute	\$40,500
Ford Motor Co.	Alliance of Auto Manufacturers	\$33,842
Assoc. of Illinois Electric Cooperatives	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assoc.	\$32,070
CSX Transportation	National Mining Assoc.	\$30,325
Boeing Co.	Air Transport Assoc.	\$30,000
Associated Builders &	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$29,780

Appendix A (continued)

CONTRIBUTOR	MEMBER OF	TOTAL
Contractors		
Peabody Investments Corp.	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity, Consumer Energy Alliance and National Mining Assoc.	\$25,780
Ch2M Hill	American Petroleum Institute and National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$21,250
Burns & McDonnell	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$20,750
Dominion	Edison Electric Institute	\$20,500
Illinois Coal Assoc.	National Mining Assoc.	\$20,215
Wells Fargo & Co.	National Mining Assoc.	\$18,700
Federal Express	Air Transport Assoc.	\$18,500
Marathon Petroleum	American Petroleum Institute, Consumer Energy Alliance and National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$18,500
BP America	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth and National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$16,150
Veolia ES Technical Solutions	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$15,850
Integrays Energy Services	Edison Electric Institute	\$12,000
American Airlines	Air Transport Assoc.	\$11,825
Constellation Energy	Edison Electric Institute	\$11,361
Southern California Edison	Edison Electric Institute	\$10,000
Nalco Co.	American Petroleum Institute, National Mining Assoc. and National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$9,500
3M	National Mining Assoc.	\$8,250
Olin Corp.	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$8,246
General Motors	Alliance of Auto Manufacturers	\$5,850
Dupont	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$5,850
Logan County Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$5,550
Dow Chemical	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, American Petroleum Institute and National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$4,500
Perkins Coie	American Forest & Paper Assoc.	\$4,500
Chemtura Corp.	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$4,250
Albemarle Corp.	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc. and Aluminum Assoc.	\$4,250
Smurfit-Stone Container Corp.	American Forest & Paper Assoc.	\$4,100
American Chemistry Council	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, Consumer Energy Alliance and National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$3,500
National Paint & Coatings Assoc.	National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$3,500
Canadian National Railway	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$3,400
Southwestern Electric Coop	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assoc.	\$3,100
Aramark Corp.	Aluminum Assoc.	\$2,800

Appendix A (continued)

CONTRIBUTOR	MEMBER OF	TOTAL
Printing Industries of America	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth and National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$2,500
Kress Corp.	National Mining Assoc.	\$2,500
National Shooting Sports Foundation	National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$2,300
Honeywell International	American Petroleum Institute, National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc. and Air Transport Assoc.	\$2,000
Illinois Trucking Assoc.	Parent Company Is Member of Consumer Energy Alliance	\$1,900
Distilled Spirits Council of US	National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$1,750
American Council of Engineering Companies of Illinois	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$1,653
Jacobs Engineering Group	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$1,500
Midwest Energy Inc.	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assoc.	\$1,500
Boeing Company/Boeing Realty Corp.	Air Transport Assoc.	\$1,000
Southwest Airlines	Air Transport Assoc.	\$1,000
Drummond Co.	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth, American Petroleum Institute and National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$1,000
CenterPoint Energy	Edison Electric Institute	\$1,000
American Beverage Assoc.	National Assoc. of Manufacturers	\$1,000
LyondellBasell	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$1,000
Pike County Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$825
Macon County Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$800
United Mine Workers of America	Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$500
Philippi-Hagenbuch Inc.	National Mining Assoc.	\$500
West Chicago Citgo	National Petrochemical & Refiners Assoc.	\$500
McLean County Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$500
Woodward Governor	American Petroleum Institute	\$360
Daimler Chrysler	Alliance of Auto Manufacturers	\$350
Spoon River Electric Cooperative	National Rural Electric Cooperative Assoc.	\$250
Lake County Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$200
Schuler County Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$200
Sangamon County Farm Bureau	Parent Company Is Member of Alliance For Energy & Economic Growth	\$150
TOTAL		\$4,339,805

APPENDIX B

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SENATE ENERGY COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 2008

MEMBER	PARTY	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP & ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL INTERESTED PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
Clayborne, Jr., James F.	Democrat	\$138,909	\$54,910	\$193,819	18%
Hendon, Rickey R.	Democrat	\$27,516	\$60,500	\$88,016	20%
Risinger, Dale E. (Minority Spokesperson) *	Republican	\$39,419	\$15,200	\$54,619	21%
Trotter, Donne E.	Democrat	\$33,500	\$16,725	\$50,225	15%
Jacobs, Mike (Chairperson)	Democrat	\$35,650	\$11,800	\$47,450	12%
Dillard, Kirk W.	Republican	\$30,242	\$13,500	\$43,742	12%
Pankau, Carole	Republican	\$27,500	\$15,727	\$43,227	18%
Munoz, Antonio (Tony) *	Democrat	\$23,750	\$19,400	\$43,150	18%
Brady, Bill	Republican	\$25,850	\$17,100	\$42,950	7%
Syverson, Dave *	Republican	\$7,360	\$33,400	\$40,760	14%
Sandoval, Martin A.	Democrat	\$20,100	\$17,025	\$37,125	13%
Koehler, David (Vice- Chairperson) *	Democrat	\$7,950	\$11,850	\$19,800	17%
Martinez, Iris Y.	Democrat	\$9,600	\$9,850	\$19,450	3%
Jones, John O.	Republican	\$12,500	\$5,000	\$17,500	8%
Noland, Michael *	Democrat	\$7,700	\$4,750	\$12,450	9%
Jones III, Emil	Democrat	\$0	\$750	\$750	2%
TOTAL		\$447,546	\$307,486	\$755,033	13%

* Not up for election in 2008

APPENDIX C

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SENATE ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 2008

MEMBER	PARTY	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP & ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL INTERESTED PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
Harmon, Don	Democrat	\$30,500	\$30,450	\$60,950	11%
Risinger, Dale E. (Minority Spokesperson) *	Republican	\$39,419	\$15,200	\$54,619	21%
Pankau, Carole	Republican	\$27,500	\$15,727	\$43,227	18%
Brady, Bill	Republican	\$25,850	\$17,100	\$42,950	7%
Jones, John O.	Republican	\$12,500	\$5,000	\$17,500	8%
Hunter, Mattie	Democrat	\$7,000	\$5,250	\$12,250	9%
Collins, Jacqueline Y. (Jacqui) *	Democrat	\$4,450	\$1,000	\$5,450	9%
Garrett, Susan (Chairperson)	Democrat	\$4,000	\$500	\$4,500	3%
Steans, Heather (Vice-Chairperson)	Democrat	\$500	\$3,589	\$4,089	1%
TOTAL		\$151,719	\$93,816	\$245,535	10%

* Not up for election in 2008

APPENDIX D

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SENATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 2008

MEMBER	PARTY	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP & ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL INTERESTED PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
Clayborne, Jr., James F.	Democrat	\$138,909	\$54,910	\$193,819	18%
Hendon, Rickey R. (Vice-Chairperson)	Democrat	\$27,516	\$60,500	\$88,016	20%
Cullerton, John J. (Senate President)	Democrat	\$46,100	\$19,000	\$65,100	6%
Harmon, Don	Democrat	\$30,500	\$30,450	\$60,950	11%
Radogno, Christine (Senate Republican Leader)	Republican	\$39,000	\$21,590	\$60,590	11%
Pankau, Carole	Republican	\$27,500	\$15,727	\$43,227	18%
Munoz, Antonio (Tony) *	Democrat	\$23,750	\$19,400	\$43,150	18%
DeLeo, James A. *	Democrat	\$9,550	\$29,650	\$39,200	7%
Righter, Dale A. (Minority Spokesperson) *	Republican	\$15,650	\$15,547	\$31,197	10%
Burzynski, J. Bradley	Republican	\$17,015	\$5,405	\$22,420	9%
Jones, John O.	Republican	\$12,500	\$5,000	\$17,500	8%
Lightford, Kimberly A. *	Democrat	\$11,000	\$2,790	\$13,790	11%
Silverstein, Ira I. (Chairperson)	Democrat	\$2,500	\$9,400	\$11,900	4%
TOTAL		\$401,490	\$289,369	\$690,859	12%

* Not up for election in 2008

APPENDIX E

CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSE ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 2008

MEMBER	PARTY	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP & ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
McCarthy, Kevin A. (Vice-Chairperson)	Democrat	\$17,250	\$9,650	\$26,900	22%
Winters, Dave	Republican	\$14,050	\$9,767	\$23,817	16%
Stephens, Ron	Republican	\$14,300	\$8,450	\$22,750	11%
Hamos, Julie	Democrat	\$16,250	\$5,000	\$21,250	5%
Schmitz, Timothy L.	Republican	\$10,895	\$10,250	\$21,145	8%
Rita, Robert	Democrat	\$11,995	\$6,900	\$18,895	8%
Rose, Chapin	Republican	\$12,600	\$4,300	\$16,900	10%
Nekritz, Elaine	Democrat	\$9,350	\$7,425	\$16,775	8%
Tryon, Michael W.	Republican	\$7,900	\$3,550	\$11,450	9%
Yarbrough, Karen A.	Democrat	\$7,350	\$3,600	\$10,950	6%
Tracy, Jil (Republican Spokesperson)	Republican	\$6,250	\$3,700	\$9,950	8%
Froehlich, Paul D.	Democrat	\$4,500	\$5,338	\$9,838	1%
May, Karen (Chairperson)	Democrat	\$2,100	\$2,100	\$4,200	3%
Jakobsson, Naomi D.	Democrat	\$300	\$750	\$1,050	2%
TOTAL		\$135,090	\$80,780	\$215,870	7%

APPENDIX F

CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 2008

MEMBER	PARTY	FROM INDUSTRY GROUP & ASSOCIATION MEMBERS	FROM OTHER INTERESTED CONTRIBUTORS	TOTAL ENERGY INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
Turner, Arthur L.	Democrat	\$30,500	\$19,038	\$49,538	13%
Acevedo, Edward J.	Democrat	\$26,800	\$9,350	\$36,150	12%
Rita, Robert (Bob)	Democrat	\$11,995	\$6,900	\$18,895	8%
Brady, Dan (Republican Spokesperson)	Republican	\$10,970	\$7,875	\$18,845	8%
Sullivan Jr., Ed	Republican	\$10,150	\$7,700	\$17,850	15%
Biggins, Robert A. (Bob)	Republican	\$8,575	\$8,150	\$16,725	14%
Tryon, Michael W.	Republican	\$7,900	\$3,550	\$11,450	9%
Lyons, Joseph M. (Vice-Chairperson)	Democrat	\$5,400	\$5,300	\$10,700	9%
Arroyo, Luis	Democrat	\$7,885	\$1,750	\$9,635	5%
Burke, Daniel J. (Chairperson)	Democrat	\$4,500	\$3,050	\$7,550	7%
Berrios, Maria Antonio (Toni)	Democrat	\$855	\$750	\$1,605	1%
TOTAL		\$125,530	\$73,413	\$198,943	10%