



GREEN STATE CONFRONTS CLIMATE CONTROVERSY

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE
POLITICS

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OVERVIEW

IN 2007, *FORBES* RATED OREGON THE SECOND-GREENEST STATE IN THE NATION. THE HIGH rating was due in part to Oregon having one of the five lowest carbon footprints per capita, and having more LEED-certified "green buildings" per capita than any other state.¹ But climate change legislation does not come without a heated debate, even in a state that has already passed "the country's most aggressive greenhouse gas reduction goals."²

On October 27, 2008, Gov. Ted Kulongoski announced a package of climate change bills to be submitted to the Oregon State Legislature. These 12 bills addressed many aspects of climate change, including energy efficiency and renewable energy incentives, solar and wave energy projects, and transportation standards. This report focuses on three of those bills that are likely to prove the most contentious.³ SB 80 would create a greenhouse gas cap-and-trade system for the state. SB 101 is designed to stop new unsequestered coal plants by requiring new sources of electricity used in Oregon to be at least as clean as natural gas. HB 2186 seeks to reduce the carbon emitted by transportation, through a low carbon fuel standard and other regulation.

Certain carbon-emitting industries within Oregon will be strongly impacted by carbon mitigation legislation. Several national industry groups have taken a stand against carbon caps or other strong climate change legislation, including the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth, the American Council for Capital Formation, and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Members of these industry groups contributed \$2.4 million to state-level candidates and political parties in Oregon during the 2008 election. In contrast, pro-environment organizations gave \$359,408 and alternative energy companies contributed \$23,750.

The National Institute on Money in State Politics' analysis of 2008 campaign contributions by industry-group members and pro-environment organizations found that:

- The largest portion of industry-group money, nearly \$900,000, came from agricultural interests, which were dominated by the timber industry. The energy sector was the next largest, giving more than \$800,000. Electric utilities were responsible for a quarter of all industry contributions.

Members of these industry groups contributed \$2.4 million to state-level candidates and political parties

¹ "In Pictures: America's Greenest (And Least Green) States," *Forbes*, Oct 17, 2007, available from http://www.forbes.com/2007/10/16/environment-energy-vermont-biz-beltway-cx_bw_mm_1017greenstates_slide_3.html?thisSpeed=15000, accessed March 12, 2009.

² Gov. Theodore R. Kulongoski, testimony before the Oregon Senate Environment & Natural Resources Committee on February 5, 2009, available from <http://www.leg.state.or.us/listn/listenset.htm>, accessed March 12, 2008.

³ "Summary of 2009 Energy Legislative Package," *Oregon Department of Energy*, Dec. 3, 2008, available from www.oczma.org/pdfs/ODE%20Bill%20Summary%20Dec_3DFE57.pdf, accessed March 13, 2009.

- All but four of the 90 legislators received campaign funds from the identified industry donors.
- Republican candidates and party committees received \$1.4 million (61 percent of coalition contributions). Democrats, by comparison, received \$916,940.
- Legislative candidates collected 74 percent of the contributions, while another 19 percent was given to party committees (which in turn gave 97 percent of their contributions to legislative candidates).

Three-quarters of (industry-group) contributions to candidates went to incumbents

- Industry-group members gave most of their money to incumbents. Three-quarters of their contributions to candidates went to incumbents; only one-quarter went to those running for an open seat. In contrast, pro-environment groups supported new faces: 47 percent of their contributions went to influence open seats; 41 percent was given to challengers.

- On the other side of the debate, environmental organizations and alternative energy companies gave \$383,158; 96 percent of that went to Democratic legislative candidates.
- Opponents of SB 80, the cap-and-trade bill, gave four times more than proponents to members of the Senate committee that heard the bill.
- Opponents of SB 80 gave \$1.5 million to Oregon candidates and parties, almost five times as much as the proponents gave. Opponents also have twice the lobbying presence at the Oregon State Legislature.

METHODOLOGY

The National Institute on Money in State Politics analyzed the 2008 contributions made to Oregon state-level candidates and party committees. The Institute searched for more than 3,000 members of prominent industry organizations that have spoken against carbon control, such as the American Coalition for Capital Formation, National Association of Manufacturers, Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth, and the Consumer Energy Alliance. The Institute only examined contributions from companies and their political action committees, not individuals who worked for those companies. See Appendix A for a complete list of the organizations included. The Institute also identified pro-environment and alternative energy contributions.

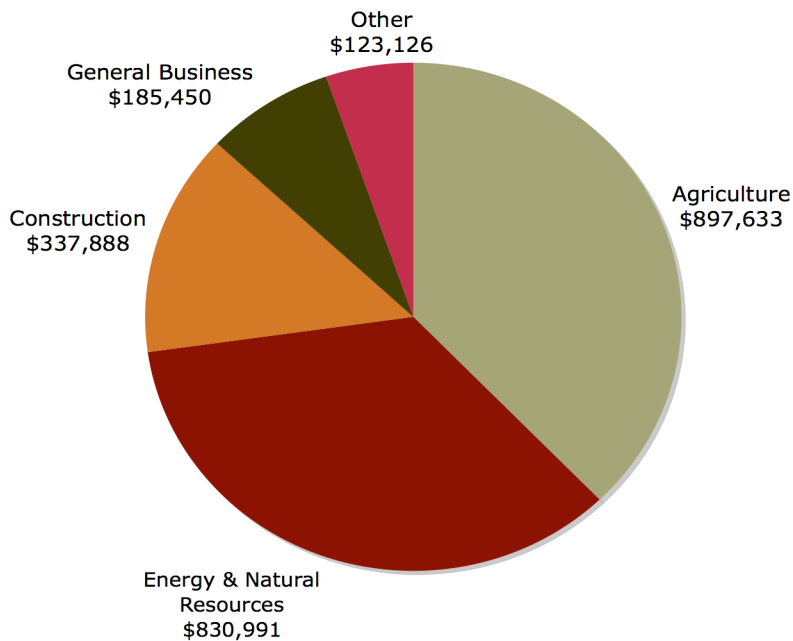
In addition, the Institute examined the list of registered lobbyists in Oregon for 2008, available from the Oregon Government Ethics Commission published October 1, 2008.

WHO GAVE THE MONEY?

Members of the identified industry groups contributed \$2.4 million to candidates and party committees. Contributions from these members made up 7 percent of the \$33 million given to all candidates and parties in Oregon during the 2008 election cycle. See Appendix B for a complete list of industry contributions in Oregon.

The largest portion of industry money came from the agriculture sector, which gave almost \$900,000. Within this sector, timber associations and companies gave \$703,506, or 78 percent of the money from the agricultural sector. The energy sector was the next largest sector, giving more than \$800,000. Within that category, electric utilities gave the most: \$556,084. Donors from the construction industry gave over \$300,000. Contributions from general business interests were dominated by Associated Oregon Industries, which gave \$162,950 or 88 percent of the \$185,450 given.

Industry Contributions by Sector



The top ten contributors gave nearly \$1.9 million, or 79 percent of all industry-group contributions.

The Oregon Forest Industries Council was the top contributor, giving \$327,000, 83 percent of which went to Republican candidates and committees. The Oregon-Columbia Chapter of the Associated General Contractors gave \$275,538. The state's two major electric utilities, Portland General Electric and PacifiCorp, each contributed nearly \$200,000.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS, 2008

INDUSTRY DONOR	TOTAL
Oregon Forest Industries Council	\$327,000
Associated General Contractors Oregon-Columbia Chapter	\$275,538
Associated Oregon Loggers	\$220,176
Portland General Electric	\$199,250
PacifiCorp ⁴	\$177,450
Oregon Farm Bureau ⁵	\$173,627
Associated Oregon Industries	\$162,950
Northwest Natural Gas Co.	\$149,557
Weyerhaeuser Co.	\$89,580
Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association	\$86,084
TOTAL	\$1,861,212

PRO-ENVIRONMENT CONTRIBUTIONS

Pro-environment organizations and alternative energy companies are often on the other side of the climate change debate. Pro-environment organizations gave \$359,408. Two organizations gave 99 percent of the money: The Oregon Climate PAC, which is run and primarily funded by vintner Eric Lemelson of Carlton, Ore., gave \$211,584; the Oregon League of Conservation Voters gave \$145,324.

Alternative energy companies gave \$23,750. Ocean Power Technologies, which specializes in wave power, topped the list at \$12,250 in contributions. Iberdrola Renewables, an energy provider focusing heavily on renewable energy, gave \$6,000.

⁴ In other states, PacifiCorp operates as Pacific Power and Rocky Mountain Power. This figure includes contributions from both entities.

⁵ Includes contributions from AG-PAC, which lists David Dillon, the Executive Vice President of the Oregon Farm Bureau, as its treasurer.

WHO GOT THE MONEY?

Republican candidates and party committees received \$1.4 million, 61 percent of coalition contributions. Democrats, by comparison, received \$916,940.

Legislative candidates collected the bulk of the contributions, \$1.8 million or 74 percent. Political parties received \$449,938 or 19 percent, while candidates for other statewide offices netted \$171,676. Political party committees in turn gave 97 percent of their contributions to legislative candidates.

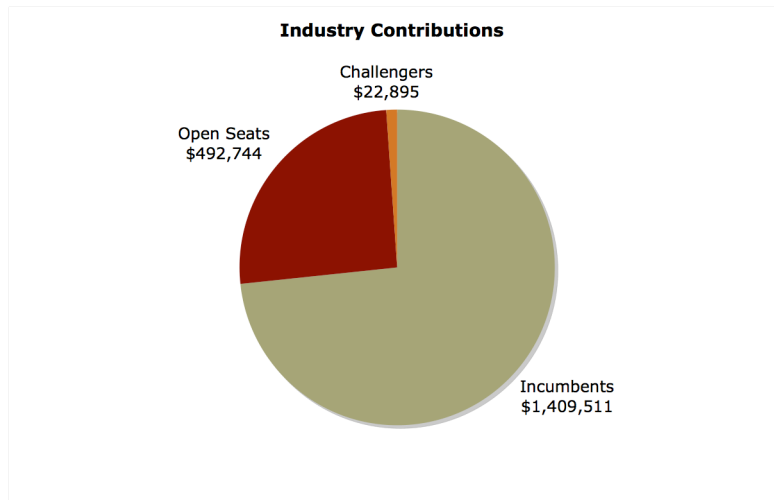
Industry members heavily supported winners, who received 77 percent of the money given to candidates up for election in 2008. Of the \$1.8 million industry members gave to candidates, current officeholders received three-quarters of the money; candidates running for an open seat received another 25 percent.

Industry members only gave \$22,895 to challengers.

The top ten candidates received \$685,835 or 36 percent of the funds that industry members gave to candidates. Eight of the top recipients were Republican, seven were incumbents, and three held key leadership positions. House Republican Leader Rep. Bruce Hanna was the top recipient of coalition funds, raising \$105,640 from these industry donors.

Speaker of the House Rep. Dave Hunt was also among the top recipients, receiving \$80,550.

Senate leadership also ranked high on the list. Senate Republican Leader Ted Ferrioli received \$48,250. Senate President Peter Courtney, who was not up for election in 2008, still ranked 23rd on the list with \$27,250.



**TOP CANDIDATE RECIPIENTS
OF COALITION CONTRIBUTIONS, 2008**

CANDIDATE	OFFICE	INCUMBENCY	STATUS	TOTAL	% OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS
Hanna, Bruce (R)	House (Republican Leader)	Incumbent	Won	\$105,640	21%
Burley, Chuck (R)	House	Incumbent	Lost	\$99,700	18%
Hunt, Dave (D)	House (Speaker)	Incumbent	Won	\$80,550	13%
Macpherson, Greg (D)	Attorney General	Open Seat	Lost	\$67,500	8%
Flores, Linda (R)	House	Incumbent	Lost	\$66,808	13%
Kennemer, Bill (R)	House	Open Seat	Won	\$62,487	15%
Bruun, Scott (R)	House	Incumbent	Won	\$57,600	18%
Huffman, John E. (R)	House	Incumbent	Won	\$52,500	16%
Ferrioli, Ted (R)	Senate (Republican Leader)	Incumbent	Won	\$48,250	17%
Telfer, Chris (R)	Senate	Open Seat	Won	\$44,800	12%
TOTAL				\$685,835	15%

Coalition members gave \$279,688 to Republican party committees, 64 percent more than the \$170,250 Democratic party committees received. Party committees that were used to distribute funds to House candidates, the Republican Promote Oregon Leadership PAC and the Democratic Future PAC, topped the list, followed by the committees for senate candidates and finally the state parties themselves. Every Republican party committee raised more from energy-industry groups than its Democratic counterpart.

**TOP PARTY RECIPIENTS
OF COALITION CONTRIBUTIONS, 2008**

RECIPIENT	PARTY	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Promote Oregon Leadership PAC	Republican	\$171,944	38%
Future PAC, House Builders	Democrat	\$89,750	20%
Senate Republican Leadership Fund	Republican	\$72,694	16%
Senate Democratic Leadership Fund	Democrat	\$70,500	16%
Oregon Republican Party	Republican	\$35,000	8%
Oregon Democratic Party	Democrat	\$10,000	2%
TOTAL		\$449,938	

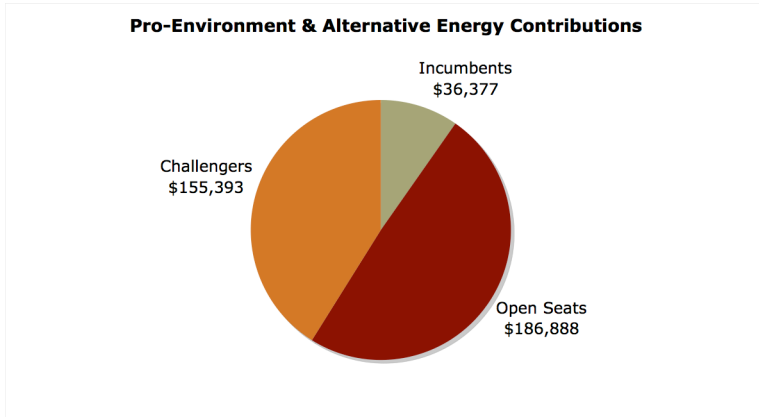
RECIPIENTS OF PRO-ENVIRONMENT FUNDS

In contrast to the industry donors, 96 percent of the \$383,158 given by pro-environment organizations and alternative energy companies went to Democratic legislative candidates.

Pro-environment groups were also much more likely to support new legislators. Candidates running for an open seat gathered \$180,038 or 47 percent; candidates challenging a current incumbent received \$155,393 or 41 percent. Only 11 percent (\$43,377) went to incumbent officeholders.

The top five candidates gathered three-quarters of the pro-environment/alternative energy money. Democratic Rep. Judy Stiegler and Rep. Nick Kahl each raised over \$70,000 and together collected 40 percent of all the pro-environment contributions. Industry

groups, on the other hand, only gave \$15,543 to these five representatives. Rep. Judy Stiegler was one of four lawmakers who did not take any contributions from industry groups. Environmental organizations did not target leadership or incumbents like the industry groups, but rather attempted to unseat incumbents or oppose candidates that had particularly poor environmental voting records.⁶



TOP CANDIDATE RECIPIENTS OF PRO-ENVIRONMENT CONTRIBUTIONS, 2008

CANDIDATE	OFFICE	INCUMBENCY	STATUS	TOTAL	% OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS
Stiegler, Judy (D)	House	Challenger	Won	\$78,194	14%
Kahl, Nick (D)	House	Open Seat	Won	\$74,615	14%
Barton, Brent (D)	House	Challenger	Won	\$65,164	12%
Kopel-Bailey, Jules (D)	House	Open Seat	Won	\$50,597	28%
VanOrman, Suzanne (D)	House	Open Seat	Won	\$21,369	4%
TOTAL				\$289,939	12%

⁶ Katy Daily, "Electing Pro-Environment Candidates Up and Down the Ballot: Unique Challenges in this Unprecedented Election," *The Conservation Voter*, Oregon League of Conservation Voters, Oct. 2008, available from <http://www.olcv.org/newsletter/oct2008newsletter>, accessed April 16, 2009.

PROPOSED CLIMATE-CHANGE LEGISLATION

SB 80: CAP-AND-TRADE

A key piece of Gov. Kulongoski's legislative climate change package is SB 80, which would have authorized the state's Environmental Quality Commission to establish a cap-and-trade system for greenhouse gases. The system would set a declining cap on greenhouse gas emissions on power plants, fuel use, and major air polluters. It is based on the Western Governor's Climate Initiative, so could be incorporated into a regional plan if neighboring states adopted a similar cap-and-trade program.

On Feb. 5, 2009, SB 80 was heard by the Senate Environment and Natural Resources Committee. (Members of the House Environment & Water Committee were also present as observers.) Many proponents and opponents testified at the four-hour hearing, including many of the most prominent industry-group members.

After weeks of meeting with stakeholders and working out possible amendments, more public hearings were held in mid-April. The amended bill is no longer a cap-and-trade system, but sets out a sector-by-sector plan for meeting the emission reduction goals that were approved by the 2007 Legislature. Despite the fact that the amendments stripped the bill's strongest environmental requirements, most of the same industry groups still opposed the bill.

Industry-group members contributed \$54,800 to members on the Senate Environment and Natural Resources Committee. The two incumbents, Sen. Mark Hass and Sen. Jason Atkinson, received the most, followed by freshman senators Brian Boquist and Jackie Dingfelder, although Sen. Dingfelder had served in the Oregon House from 2002 to 2006. Sen. Floyd Prozanski was not up for election in 2008 and still received \$7,000 in industry funds.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEMBERS OF SENATE ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

SENATOR	PARTY	COALITION TOTAL*	PRO-ENVIRONMENT TOTAL
Hass, Mark	Democrat	\$15,950	\$250
Atkinson, Jason A. (Vice Chair)	Republican	\$14,050	\$250
Dingfelder, Jackie (Chair)	Democrat	\$7,250	\$5,350
Boquist, Brian J.	Republican	\$10,550	\$0
Prozanski, Floyd	Democrat	\$7,000	\$250
TOTAL		\$54,800	\$6,100

*A detailed list of all contributions to the Senate committee is available using the Institute's Legislative Committee Analysis Tool at FollowTheMoney.org.

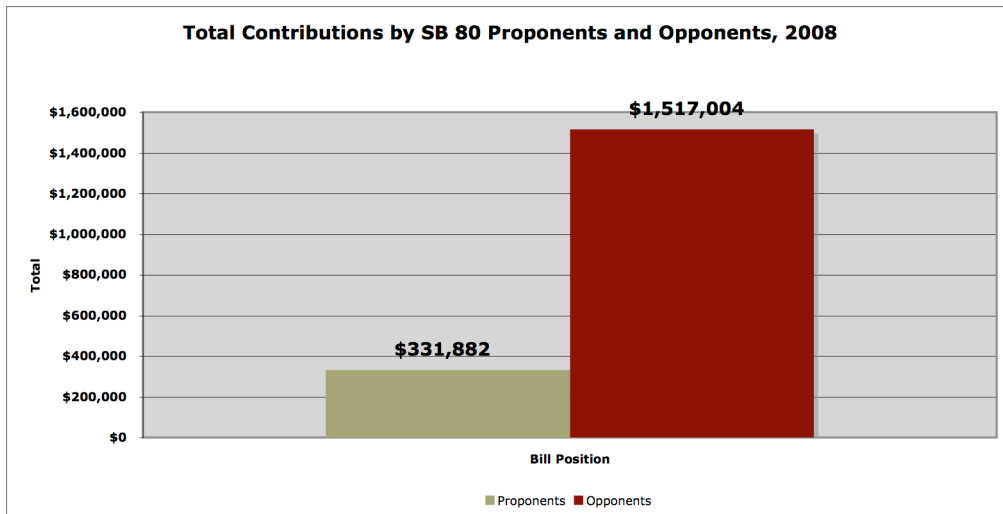
PROPOSERS AND OPPOSERS

At the SB 80 hearing on February 5, 2009, the room overflowed as the Senate Committee on Environment & Natural Resources heard four hours of testimony. Gov. Ted Kulongoski introduced the bill, which is a major part of his climate change legislative agenda.

Organizations that testified in favor of the legislation gave slightly less than \$8,000 in contributions to the committee. Organizations opposing the legislation gave four times that amount. Proponents gave \$331,882 to all candidates and parties, while opponents gave \$1.5 million. The largest donor to oppose the bill, the Oregon Forest Industries Council, gave \$327,000—almost as much as all the proponents combined.

Opponent organizations are currently represented by 56 lobbyists, double the 28 lobbyists hired by proponents.⁷

The table below lists contributions given by the organizations proper, and may underestimate the political giving of the opponents. For example, no Oregon candidate reported a contribution from the Oregon State Building & Construction Trades Council, which opposed the bill. However, two of its regional affiliates gave \$41,300 to candidates and parties. Its member unions, comprising many of Oregon's construction unions, gave \$256,390. Georgia-Pacific and Weyerhaeuser, members of the Northwest Pulp & Paper Association, gave \$135,830. \$45,000 was given by three members of the Western States Petroleum Association—Chevron, ConocoPhillips, and Tesoro. If these totals are included, the opponents' contributions total \$2 million dollars, six times that of the proponents.



⁷ Information about lobbyists taken from "Client/Employer List," *Oregon Government Ethics Commission*, October 1, 2008, available from http://www.oregon.gov/OGEC/forms_publications.shtml, accessed March 12, 2009.

**TOP CONTRIBUTIONS BY SB 80
PROPOSERS AND OPPOSERS, 2008**

ORGANIZATION	TO SENATE COMMITTEE	TO ALL CANDIDATES AND PARTIES	LOBBYISTS
Proponents			
Nike	\$3,000	\$179,333	4
Oregon AFL-CIO ⁸	\$750	\$76,950	4
Oregon Business Association	\$3,750	\$72,818	3
Oregon Sierra Club	\$200	\$2,500	0
Oregon Environmental Council	\$0	\$0	9
Environment Oregon	\$0	\$0	3
City of Portland ⁹	\$281	\$281	4
Lane County	\$0	\$0	1
Proponents' Total	\$7,981	\$331,882	28
Opponents			
Oregon Forest Industries Council	\$3,000	\$327,000	5
Portland General Electric	\$9,500	\$199,250	4
PacifiCorp. ¹⁰	\$9,500	\$177,450	6
Oregon Farm Bureau ¹¹	\$250	\$173,627	6
Oregon Home Builders Association	\$2,200	\$163,556	2
Associated Oregon Industries	\$1,000	\$162,950	5
Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association	\$2,000	\$86,084	2
Oregon Trucking Associations	\$6,000	\$70,450	2
Oregon Seed Council	\$0	\$52,500	2
Oregonians for Food & Shelter	\$0	\$37,050	2
Northwest Food Processors	\$0	\$25,250	2

⁸ Offered qualified support for the bill contingent on several amendments.

⁹ The City of Portland cannot directly give campaign contributions, but gave \$281 of in-kind contributions to Sen. Atkinson.

¹⁰ Includes contributions and lobbyists affiliated with its parent *MidAmerican Holdings Co*

¹¹ Includes contributions from AG-PAC, which lists David Dillon, the Executive Vice President of the Oregon Farm Bureau, as its treasurer.

Association			
Oregon Wheat Growers League	\$1,000	\$15,600	1
Stoel Rives ¹²	\$0	\$14,537	0
Oregon Cattlemen's Association	\$200	\$7,300	0
Dairy Farmers of Oregon	\$0	\$4,150	2
West Linn Paper Co.	\$0	\$250	0
Northwest Pulp & Paper Association**	\$0	\$0	6
Oregon State Building & Construction Trades Council**	\$0	\$0	5
Agricultural Cooperative Council of Oregon	\$0	\$0	1
Oregon Municipal Electric Utilities Association	\$0	\$0	1
Water for Life	\$0	\$0	1
Western States Petroleum Association**	\$0	\$0	1
Opponents' Total	\$34,650	\$1,517,004	56
TOTAL	\$42,631	\$1,848,886	84

*This table includes businesses and organizations that were represented at the hearing held in the Senate Committee on Environment and Natural Resources on Feb. 5, 2009. Organizations that testified but gave no political contributions nor hired lobbyists are omitted from the table, as are private citizens who testified on their own behalf.

**The organization itself did not give any political contributions, but its members and affiliates did. See above for details.

The hearings on the amended SB 80 took place in mid-April. Despite the fact that the bill was no longer a cap-and-trade system, the list of proponents and opponents was very similar. Opponents still included PacifiCorp, Portland General Electric, the Oregon Farm Bureau, Oregon Trucking Associations, the Oregon State Building Trades Council, and the Western States Petroleum Association. Proponents included the environmental groups, alternative energy organizations, the Oregon Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the Oregon Bus Project. The amendments did allow one former opponent, the Oregon Municipal Utilities Association, to drop their firm opposition and propose a carbon reduction plan.

¹² Testified on behalf its clients, "a number of Oregon's major industrial manufacturers." Tom Wood, testimony before the Oregon Senate Environment & Natural Resources Committee on February 5, 2009, available from <http://www.leg.state.or.us/listn/listenset.htm>, accessed March 12, 2008.

SB 101: CLEAN POWER PLANTS

SB 101 would direct the Oregon Department of Energy to establish a greenhouse gas emissions performance standard for new power plants serving Oregon's electric loads.¹³ It would prohibit new sources of energy and long-term power contracts that have more emissions than combined cycle natural gas plants. In effect, SB 101 would outlaw unsequestered coal plants.

The bill's hearing before the Senate Business and Transportation Committee was much less contentious than SB 80. The state's electric utilities – Portland General Electric, PacifiCorp, and the Oregon Rural Electrical Cooperative Association – gave qualified support to SB 101, pledging to support the bill after it was amended by the committee to include stronger clarifications. Existing plants are grandfathered, and the utilities cited their preference for a bill that concretely lays out the state's policy on emissions in the face of an uncertain future for carbon regulation.¹⁴

Coalition members gave \$50,586 to committee members. Sen. Joanne Verger, the only committee member up for election, collected the most: \$18,000. Committee Chair Sen. Rick Metsger (who also serves as the Senate President Pro Tempore) came in third with \$13,886. Rep. Martha Schrader did not collect any contributions, since she was appointed to replace her husband, Congressman Kurt Schrader, who won his election for the U.S. House.

Pro-environment and alternative energy companies gave only \$500 to members of this committee, which does not regularly hear environmental issues.

2008 CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEMBERS OF SENATE COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS AND TRANSPORTATION

SENATOR	PARTY	COALITION TOTAL	PRO-ENVIRONMENT TOTAL
Verger, Joanne	Democrat	\$18,000	\$250
Starr, Bruce (Vice Chair)	Republican	\$15,700	\$250
Metsger, Rick (Chair)	Democrat	\$13,886	\$0
George, Larry	Republican	\$3,000	\$0
Schrader, Martha	Democrat	\$0	\$0
TOTAL		\$50,586	\$500

Until the bill makes it out of the Senate, it will not be certain which House committee will hear SB 101. However, it is likely that the bill will be referred to the House Committee on Business & Labor. The Institute's Legislative Committee Analysis Tool on energy industry contributions to this house committee shows that top two energy industry contributors are Portland General Electric and PacificCorp. Portland General Electric gave contributions totaling \$20,700 to 8 of the

¹³ "Summary of 2009 Energy Package," *Oregon Department of Energy*, December 2008, available from <http://www.oregon.gov/ENERGY/RENEW/REWG/docs/2009BillSummary.pdf>, accessed March 13, 2009.

¹⁴ Scott Bolton, lobbyist for PacifiCorp, hearing before the Senate Committee on Business and Transportation on March 16, 2009.

10 committee members, while PacificCorp and Pacific Power gave \$9,500 to 6 of the committee members.

HB 2186: LOW CARBON FUELS

HB 2186 authorizes the Environmental Quality Commission to adopt measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from transportation fuels. It includes a low carbon fuel standard, which would look at the carbon emissions produced over the lifetime of the fuel. HB 2186 also authorizes restrictions on products that contain greenhouse gases, and additional regulations for trucks and automotive parts. HB 2186 was heard by the House Committee on Environment and Water in early February.

Committee members received \$93,850 in contributions from industry-group members, and 43 percent less (\$53,797) from pro-environment and alternative energy companies. Republican Vice Chair Rep. Vic Gilliam topped the list for industry contributions, receiving \$44,300 or 12 percent of his total campaign funds from coalition members. Rep. Jules Kopel-Bailey, who ran to become the legislature's environmental champion,¹⁵ received 94 percent of the contributions by pro-environment organizations and alternative energy companies given to the committee members. Committee Chair Rep. Ben Cannon and Vice-Chair Rep. Jefferson Smith both ran unopposed and collected no contributions from industry-group members or pro-environment organizations.

When and if SB 80 is passed by the Senate, it will likely be referred to the House Environment & Water Committee.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEMBERS OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND WATER

REPRESENTATIVE	PARTY	COALITION TOTAL*	PRO-ENVIRONMENT TOTAL
Kopel-Bailey, Jules	Democrat	\$4,000	\$50,597
Gilliam, Vic (Vice Chair)	Republican	\$44,300	\$0
Boone, Deborah	Democrat	\$14,850	\$450
Barnhart, Phil	Democrat	\$11,500	\$2,750
Jenson, Bob	Republican	\$10,200	\$0
Bentz, Cliff	Republican	\$9,000	\$0
Cannon, Ben (Chair)	Democrat	\$0	\$0
Smith, Jefferson (Vice Chair)	Democrat	\$0	\$0
TOTAL		\$93,850	\$53,797

*A detailed breakdown of contributions to the House committee, including those from agriculture and electric utilities, is available using the Institute's Legislative Committee Analysis Tool at FollowTheMoney.org.

¹⁵ "OLCV Talk: Meet Jules Kopel Bailey (Candidate for House District 42 endorsed by OLCV)," *Oregon League of Conservation Voters*, March 5, 2008, available from <http://olcvblog.typepad.com/olcvblog/2008/03/meet-jules-kope.html>, accessed March 24, 2009.

APPENDIX A: ORGANIZATIONS ANALYZED IN THIS REPORT

The following table lists the organizations studied in this report. All but two are 2007 members of the American Council for Capital Formation (ACCF). Members of the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth and the Consumer Energy Alliance were also included for their stance on climate change legislation.

ORGANIZATIONS ANALYZED IN THIS REPORT

ORGANIZATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS ¹⁶
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	1,083
National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	472
American Petroleum Institute	360
National Association of Manufacturers	335
National Mining Association	269
Edison Electric Institute	184
American Forest & Paper Association	173
Consumer Energy Alliance	98
Alliance for Energy & Economic Growth	93
The Aluminum Association	85
Air Transport Association	65
American Coalition for Clean Coal Electricity	47
Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers	10
TOTAL*	3,274

*Some companies are members of more than one organization, so the total number of individual companies in this analysis is approximately 3,000.

¹⁶ As of Fall 2008

APPENDIX B

OREGON INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES & PARTY COMMITTEES, 2008

CONTRIBUTOR	MEMBER OF	TOTAL
Oregon Forest Industries Council	American Forest & Paper Association	\$327,000
Associated General Contractors Oregon-Columbia Chapter	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$275,538
Associated Oregon Loggers	American Forest & Paper Association	\$220,176
Portland General Electric	Edison Electric Institute	\$199,250
PacifiCorp	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$173,950
Associated Oregon Industries	National Association Of Manufacturers	\$162,950
Northwest Natural	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$149,557
AG-PAC ¹⁷	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$99,704
Weyerhaeuser Co.	American Forest & Paper Association	\$89,580
Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association	National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	\$86,084
Oregon Farm Bureau, state affiliate of the American Farm Bureau	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$73,923
Georgia-Pacific	American Forest & Paper Association	\$46,250
PhRMA	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$40,000
Idaho Power	Edison Electric Institute	\$36,300
Union Pacific Railroad	American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity	\$31,500
Avista Corp.	Edison Electric Institute	\$30,000
American Council Of Engineering Companies - Oregon	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$26,500
Florida Power & Light	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth Edison Electric Institute	\$25,000
Liberty Mutual Insurance	Air Transport Association	\$25,000
Chevron Corp.	American Petroleum Institute National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$24,250
Associated Builders & Contractors Oregon	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$24,200
Wells Fargo	National Mining Association	\$21,500
Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity National Mining Association	\$21,350

¹⁷ The treasurer of this PAC is the Executive Vice President of the Oregon Farm Bureau

CONTRIBUTOR	MEMBER OF	TOTAL
Giustina Land & Timber Co.	American Forest & Paper Association	\$20,500
Tyco Electronics	National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$17,750
ConocoPhillips	American Petroleum Institute National Mining Association National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$12,250
El Paso Energy Corp.	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth Consumer Energy Alliance	\$12,000
Grocery Manufacturers of America	National Association Of Manufacturers	\$10,500
JR Simplot Co.	National Mining Association	\$10,000
Perkins Coie	American Forest & Paper Association	\$9,276
National Association Of Chain Drug Stores	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$9,000
Williams Companies	American Petroleum Institute National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$9,000
Bayer Corp.	National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$8,750
Tesoro Corp.	National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$8,500
Distilled Spirits Council of the U.S.	National Association Of Manufacturers	\$6,000
MDU Resources Group	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth Edison Electric Institute	\$5,000
American Chemistry Council	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth Consumer Energy Alliance National Association Of Manufacturers	\$4,000
Portland Cement Association	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth National Association Of Manufacturers	\$4,000
Pacific Power	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth	\$3,500
DuPont	National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$3,000
Stimson Lumber	American Forest & Paper Association	\$2,500
CSX Transportation	National Mining Association	\$1,000
Timber Products Co.	American Forest & Paper Association	\$1,000
Umatilla Electric Cooperative	National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	\$1,000
Bayer Healthcare	National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$850
National Paint & Coatings Association	National Association Of Manufacturers	\$500
Norfolk Southern	Alliance For Energy And Economic Growth American Coalition For Clean Coal Electricity National Mining Association	\$500
CH2M HILL	American Petroleum Institute National Petrochemical & Refiners Association	\$150
TOTAL		\$2,370,088

APPENDIX C

INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS TO 2009 REPRESENTATIVES

REPRESENTATIVE	PARTY	INDUSTRY TOTAL	2008 TOTAL	% OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS
Barker, Jeff	Democrat	\$12,754	\$102,367	12%
Barnhart, Phil	Democrat	\$11,500	\$103,384	11%
Barton, Brent	Democrat	\$6,793	\$546,889	1%
Bentz, Cliff	Republican	\$9,000	\$106,891	8%
Berger, Vicki	Republican	\$32,300	\$174,136	19%
Beyer, Elizabeth Terry	Democrat	\$11,600	\$87,415	13%
Boone, Deborah	Democrat	\$14,850	\$73,055	20%
Bruun, Scott	Republican	\$57,600	\$318,766	18%
Buckley, Peter	Democrat	\$3,750	\$109,655	3%
Cameron, Kevin	Republican	\$32,600	\$193,226	17%
Cannon, Ben	Democrat	\$0	\$19,757	0%
Clem, Brian	Democrat	\$15,500	\$87,619	18%
Cowan, Jean	Democrat	\$7,750	\$82,970	9%
Dembrow, Michael E.	Democrat	\$1,250	\$192,481	1%
Edwards, Chris	Democrat	\$14,300	\$88,304	16%
Edwards, David	Democrat	\$11,250	\$159,295	7%
Esquivel, Sal	Republican	\$16,017	\$113,387	14%
Freeman, Tim J.	Republican	\$14,300	\$209,781	7%
Galizio, Larry	Democrat	\$4,750	\$146,951	3%
Garrard, Bill	Republican	\$11,500	\$52,764	22%
Garrett, Chris	Democrat	\$11,793	\$227,013	5%
Gelser, Sara A.	Democrat	\$5,300	\$77,229	7%
Gilliam, Vic	Republican	\$44,300	\$368,057	12%
Gilman, George	Republican	\$9,750	\$44,776	22%
Greenlick, Mitch	Democrat	\$2,000	\$60,148	3%
Hanna, Bruce	Republican	\$105,640	\$495,222	21%
Harker, Chris	Democrat	\$3,100	\$48,807	6%

REPRESENTATIVE	PARTY	INDUSTRY TOTAL	2008 TOTAL	% OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS
Holvey, Paul R.	Democrat	\$4,000	\$91,928	4%
Huffman, John E.	Republican	\$52,500	\$325,195	16%
Hunt, Dave	Democrat	\$80,550	\$599,708	13%
Jenson, Bob	Republican	\$10,200	\$61,923	16%
Kahl, Nick	Democrat	\$3,250	\$538,543	1%
Kenemer, Bill	Republican	\$62,487	\$419,143	15%
Komp, Betty	Democrat	\$10,200	\$153,216	7%
Kopel-Bailey, Jules	Democrat	\$4,000	\$181,684	2%
Kotek, Tina	Democrat	\$2,000	\$63,669	3%
Krieger, Wayne	Republican	\$22,150	\$129,638	17%
Matthews, Greg	Democrat	\$750	\$510,485	0%
Maurer, Ron	Republican	\$18,804	\$118,190	16%
Nathanson, Nancy	Democrat	\$6,000	\$65,715	9%
Nolan, Mary	Democrat	\$32,786	\$278,343	12%
Olson, Andy	Republican	\$43,500	\$222,189	20%
Read, Tobias	Democrat	\$25,700	\$229,008	11%
Richardson, Dennis	Republican	\$7,850	\$65,021	12%
Riley, Chuck	Democrat	\$5,000	\$95,379	5%
Roblan, Arnie	Democrat	\$32,300	\$272,136	12%
Schaufler, Mike	Democrat	\$23,700	\$204,688	12%
Shields, Chip	Democrat	\$5,250	\$78,210	7%
Smith, Greg	Republican	\$9,200	\$53,029	17%
Smith, Jefferson	Democrat	\$0	\$71,845	0%
Sprenger, Sherrie	Republican	\$16,202	\$131,282	12%
Stiegler, Judy	Democrat	\$0	\$574,636	0%
Thatcher, Kim	Republican	\$5,850	\$33,106	18%
Thompson, Jim	Republican	\$27,350	\$169,717	16%
Tomei, Carolyn	Democrat	\$3,750	\$71,791	5%
Vanorman, Suzanne	Democrat	\$1,500	\$480,220	0%
Weidner, Jim	Republican	\$28,850	\$200,324	14%

REPRESENTATIVE	PARTY	INDUSTRY TOTAL	2008 TOTAL	% OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS
Whisnant, Gene	Republican	\$20,450	\$150,675	14%
Wingard, Matt	Republican	\$13,050	\$190,976	7%
Witt, Brad	Democrat	\$9,000	\$58,255	15%
	TOTAL	\$1,059,426	\$11,180,212	9%

APPENDIX D

INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS TO 2009 SENATORS

SENATOR	PARTY	INDUSTRY TOTAL	2008 TOTAL	% OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS
Anderson, Laurie Monnes	Democrat	\$21,050	\$510,028	4%
Atkinson, Jason A.	Republican	\$14,050	\$108,771	13%
Bates, Alan*	Democrat	\$9,750	\$87,836	11%
Bonamici, Suzanne	Democrat	\$6,750	\$113,067	6%
Boquist, Brian J.	Republican	\$10,550	\$83,350	13%
Burdick, Ginny	Democrat	\$9,250	\$73,382	13%
Carter, Margaret	Democrat	\$9,600	\$115,835	8%
Courtney, Peter*	Democrat	\$27,250	\$280,856	10%
Devlin, Richard*	Democrat	\$30,850	\$280,657	11%
Dingfelder, Jackie	Democrat	\$7,250	\$158,062	5%
Ferrioli, Ted	Republican	\$48,250	\$281,779	17%
George, Larry*	Republican	\$3,000	\$32,523	9%
Girod, Fred	Republican	\$19,100	\$151,109	13%
Hass, Mark	Democrat	\$15,950	\$176,777	9%
Johnson, Elizabeth (Betsy)*	Democrat	\$11,250	\$57,222	20%
Kruse, Jeff	Republican	\$12,300	\$84,534	15%
Metsger, Rick*	Democrat	\$4,500	\$148,979	3%
Monroe, Rod*	Democrat	\$5,300	-\$4,905	-108%
Morrisette, Bill*	Democrat	\$1,500	\$24,578	6%
Morse, Frank*	Republican	\$2,500	\$15,599	16%
Nelson, David	Republican	\$18,050	\$84,893	21%
Prozanski, Floyd*	Democrat	\$7,000	\$30,740	23%
Rosenbaum, Diane	Democrat	\$4,500	\$59,996	8%
Schrader, Martha**	Democrat	\$0	\$0	0%
Starr, Bruce*	Republican	\$15,700	\$89,431	18%
Telfer, Chris	Republican	\$44,800	\$368,947	12%
Verger, Joanne	Democrat	\$18,000	\$118,002	15%

Walker, Vicki L.*	Democrat	\$2,050	\$38,441	5%
Whitsett, Doug	Republican	\$9,350	\$67,328	14%
Winters, Jackie*	Republican	\$4,800	\$58,115	8%
TOTAL		\$394,250	\$3,695,932	11%

*Not up for Election in 2008

**Did not run for election. Appointed to fill Rep. Kurt Schrader's seat.