# Hot Waste, Cold Cash

# Nuclear Industry PAC Contributions to the Members of the 108th Congress

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Public Citizen's Critical Mass Energy and Environment Program



Public Citizen is a non-profit consumer advocacy organization based in Washington, D.C.

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## Summary

Energy legislation before the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress—largely modeled on the Bush administration's energy policy and enthusiastically supported by the nuclear industry—provides unprecedented subsidies to promote the construction of new reactors. On the other end of this co-dependent relationship between the nuclear industry and Congress, nuclear interests continue to stand out as significant contributors to Congressional election campaigns. In this report, Public Citizen analyzed contributions from nuclear industry political action committees (PACs) to currently-seated U.S. Representatives (for the most recent election cycle) and senators (for the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles). Among the report's findings:

- In the 2002 election cycle, nuclear power plant owners and operators contributed \$5.8 million to the electoral campaigns of current members of the 108th Congress. Current members of the Senate received more than \$3.2 million from these nuclear PACs over the last three election cycles.
- The PAC of nuclear-owning company Exelon gave more money to the current members of Congress than any other, bestowing well over half a million dollars on the latest class of industry darlings in the last election cycle. Second to Exelon was Southern Company, whose PAC shelled out nearly half a million dollars to members of the 108th Congress between 2000 and 2002.
- In the House, Energy and Commerce Committee Ranking Member Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.), received the most money from nuclear industry PACs, raking in \$124,750 for his campaign in 2002. The Chairman of the same committee, Rep. Bill Tauzin (R-La.), came second with a reward of \$98,152.
- In the Senate, Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.)—who sits on the Energy and Natural Resources and Appropriations committees—took the top prize: \$145,499 from the nuclear industry in the last three election cycles. She was followed by Sen. Lindsay Graham (R-S.C.), who received \$121,722 from the industry in PAC money since 1998.
- In the House, fifteen of the top twenty recipients of nuclear PAC contributions were members of the Energy and Commerce Committee, which wields great power in the crafting of energy legislation. Three other representatives in the top twenty serve on the Appropriations Committee, and the remaining two members are Rep. Tom Delay (R-Tex.) and Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-III.), House Majority Leader and House Speaker, respectively.
- The 23 members of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee took in almost half a million dollars from nuclear power plant PACs in the 2002 cycle, and close to \$1 million over the past three election cycles.
- Although Democratic members topped the list of highest nuclear PAC contributions received in both the Senate and the House, Republicans, on the whole, were the primary beneficiaries of nuclear industry PAC money. In the 2002 election cycle, nuclear PACs contributed nearly \$3.8 million to Republicans, almost 65 percent of the total amount of their contributions. Democrats received about \$2 million from those PACs, roughly 35 percent of the total.

#### Introduction

Just five months into the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, lawmakers appear intent on pursuing some of the most aggressively and distastefully pro-nuclear energy legislation in recent history. On April 4, 2002, the U.S. House of Representatives approved H.R.6, energy legislation introduced by Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-La.), that largely mirrors the Bush administration's misguided energy policy. In addition to reauthorizing Price-Anderson Act insurance subsidies for nuclear operators and sinking hundreds of millions of dollars into nuclear energy research and development, the bill endorsed the Department of Energy's *Nuclear Power 2010* program that aims to promote the construction of new nuclear power plants in the United States within this decade, funded in part by taxpayers. Parallel legislation in the Senate (S.14), introduced by Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.), takes these outrageous subsidies to a new extreme. For instance, the Senate bill *permanently* reauthorizes the Price-Anderson Act and explicitly mandates an estimated \$30 billion in federal loan guarantees for nuclear reactor construction projects.

The nuclear industry is ecstatic. In a statement "welcoming" Sen. Domenici's energy legislation, the industry's lobbying organization wrote, "The nuclear energy industry commends [Sen. Domenici] for [this legislation], and pledges to work with him and with other members of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee to advance a bill that has bipartisan support on the Senate floor."

But apart from predictable industry accolades, congressional enthusiasm for a "nuclear renaissance" is, at first glance, difficult to understand. Apologists for the nuclear industry unconvincingly point to "emissions free" atomic energy as an answer to global warming—while in the same breath (or at least the same bill) bestowing substantial tax breaks and giveaways to polluting fossil fuel industries. Promoting radiation risks to reduce greenhouse gas emissions hardly achieves clean energy goals. Even the Better Business Bureau, in December 1998, upheld a complaint against the nuclear industry's "clean air" advertising campaign on the basis that nuclear plants routinely emit radioactive pollutants into the atmosphere.

Moreover, the contentious and ongoing battle over the proposed Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository has highlighted the mounting problem of long-lived radioactive waste. A typical reactor generates about 20-30 tons of high-level nuclear waste annually, which remains dangerously radioactive for tens of thousands of years. Capacity limits on the proposed repository do not take into account the additional waste that would be generated by new nuclear reactors.

Heightened concerns about national security have further cast into doubt the viability of nuclear energy. Commercial nuclear power plants have known terrorist vulnerabilities and were not designed to withstand the type of attack witnessed on September 11, 2001. As recently as March, the *Washington Times* reported that the Palo Verde nuclear plant in Arizona was the target of a terrorist plot. Earlier this year, an independent review of the evacuation plan around New York's Indian Point reactors, commissioned by Governor George Pataki, concluded that the public would be inadequately protected in the event of a terrorist attack.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nuclear Energy Institute news release, April 10, 2003.

Throughout the Western world, many countries are abandoning nuclear power altogether. The governments of several countries, notably Belgium and Germany, have adopted nuclear phase-out policies, while Britain's newly released energy White Paper specifically rejects a nuclear expansion, referring to it as an "unattractive option."

Similarly, in the U.S., reactor construction has sensibly ground to a halt over the last two decades, due in part to a track record of failures. A 2002 report commissioned by the Department of Energy to evaluate barriers to the construction of new reactors advised, "Lenders are not yet ready to accept exposure to risks that have a nuclear element as their central focus." Why would lawmakers shoulder taxpayers with liabilities that Wall Street has condemned?

Fiscally, environmentally, and in terms of safety, promoting the construction of new nuclear reactors just doesn't make sense. However, reviewing the nuclear industry's generous contributions to recent election campaigns, current legislative initiatives begin to make cents. And dollars. \$5.8 million dollars.

### Methodology

In this report, Public Citizen analyzed contributions from nuclear industry political action committees (PACs) to the current members of the 108th Congress. PAC contribution information used for this report was drawn from Federal Election Commission data compiled by the nonprofit Center for Responsive Politics and posted on the Web at opensecrets.org.<sup>4</sup>

This report examines PAC contributions from companies that either own or operate U.S. nuclear power plants<sup>5</sup> and from the Nuclear Energy Institute (the nuclear industry's primary lobbying organization).

This analysis considers contributions from these PACs to members of the House during the 2002 election cycle and contributions to currently-seated senators over the last three election cycles. , . (House representatives are elected or re-elected every two years, but senators serve six-year terms. PAC contributions in any given cycle tend to favor senators who are up for re-election that year..)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rob Edwards. "Energy White Paper wants renewable future ... but fails to set goals it needs to succeed." *Sunday Herald* (Glasgow). 23 February 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Business Case for New Nuclear Power Plants: Bringing Public and Private Resources Together for Nuclear Energy. Scully Capital. July 2002, pg. 3-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The information in this report is based on data compiled in the spring of 2003. Since then, the Federal Election Commission has released new, updated data on campaign contributions for the 2002 election cycle. In many cases, contributions unaccounted for in the spring of 2003 were properly recorded. Therefore, the actual campaign contributions to members of Congress for this cycle are, on the whole, higher than those detailed in this report. However, in some cases, contributions may have been returned or checks may have bounced, nullifying some gifts recorded in this report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Companies with less than a 20% share in the ownership of any one reactor were excluded from this analysis. PAC contributions made by parent companies, nuclear-related subsidiaries and consortia affiliated with any owner or operator were included in the total contribution of that company.

#### **A Brief Overview**

In the 2002 election cycle, nuclear industry PACs lavished the current members of the 108th Congress with \$5.8 million in campaign contributions. Perhaps, then, it should come as no surprise that the Bush administration's plan to expand and enrich the nuclear industry has been met with open arms by many current members of Congress.

The PAC of nuclear-owning energy giant Exelon gave substantially more money to the current members of Congress than any other, bestowing well over half a million dollars on the latest class of industry darlings. Exelon runs seventeen nuclear power reactors (the largest fleet in the nation), accounting for about 20 percent of the country's nuclear power generation. Six nuclear PACs, shown in the chart below, contributed more money to members of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress in the 2002 election cycle than the other nuclear PACs combined. Together, these six companies own and/or operate fifty-one reactors.

02 Senate **Political Action Committee** # of Nuke Power Reactors House TOTAL Exelon 17 \$432,819 \$155,225 \$588,044 Southern Company 7 \$328,400 \$159,600 \$488,000 Nuclear Management Company, LLC<sup>6</sup> 8 \$307,990 \$127,097 \$435,087 Entergy 10 \$291,827 \$139,000 \$430,827 \$321,258 \$394,858 TXU 2 \$73,600 \$244,000 \$376,000 Duke \$132,000

**Top PAC Contributors to Congress in 2002 Election Cycle** 

Republicans were the primary beneficiaries of the nuclear industry largesse. In the 2002 election cycle, nuclear PACs contributed nearly \$3.8 million to Republicans, almost 65 percent of the total amount of their contributions. Democrats, on the other hand, received about \$2 million from those PACs, roughly 35 percent of the total. Only about one in five current members of Congress received no money from nuclear PACs. The average member took about \$10,864 from the nuclear industry in the last election cycle.

**2002 PAC Contributions by Party** 

Political Party	PAC Money	Percentage
Democrats	\$2,042,664	35%
Republicans	\$3,769,450	65%
Independents	\$0	0%
TOTAL	\$5,812,114	(100%)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Nuclear Management Company is a consortium of five nuclear utilities: Alliant Energy Nuclear (a subsidiary of Alliant Energy), NSP Nuclear (a subsidiary of Xcel Energy), WEC Nuclear (a subsidiary of Wisconsin Energy Corp.), WPS Nuclear (a subsidiary of WPS Resources, which also includes Wisconsin Public Service Corp.) and Consumers Energy (a subsidiary of CMS Energy). Nuclear Management Company's total contributions, for the purposes of this report, include contributions from each of its affiliates and their parent companies.

#### **House of Representatives**

The average House representative took \$9,401 from the industry in PAC contributions. The breakdown along party lines is consistent with the overall trend. Republicans received nearly 63 percent of the total contributions from these nuclear PACs to House members, totaling nearly \$2.6 million. Democrats received more than \$1.5 million in PAC money from the industry. All together, current members of the House raked in over \$4 million in the 2002 election cycle. Eighty-two representatives received no nuclear PAC money in 2002: twenty-nine Republicans, fifty-two Democrats and Independent Rep. Bernie Sanders from Vermont.

Political Party	PAC Money	Percentage
Democrats	\$1,526,017	37%
Republicans	\$2,563,537	63%
Independent	\$0	0%
TOTAL	\$4,089,554	(100%)

**2002 PAC Contributions to House** 

Democrats and Republicans are both well represented in the top-twenty club: there are nine Democrats and eleven Republicans among the score of nuclear industry favorites. Fifteen of the top twenty recipients of nuclear PAC contributions are members of the powerful House Energy and Commerce Committee, which presides over energy matters and most recently delivered a grab bag of give-aways to its nuclear sponsors in the form of Chairman Billy Tauzin's (R-La.) energy bill (H.R.6). Three other representatives in the top twenty serve on the House Appropriations Committee, which holds the purse strings for government energy programs and subsidies. The remaining two members are Rep. Tom Delay (R-Tex.) and Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-III.), House Majority Leader and House Speaker, respectively.

In total, the fifty-seven members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee (13 percent of House membership) received almost \$1.5 million from nuclear PACs, more than one third of total House receipts. The average member of this committee received almost 180% more than the average member of the House at-large. Only five members of this committee received no money from nuclear PACs: Reps. Tom Allen (D-Maine), Lois Capps (D-Cal.), Diana DeGette (D-Colo.), James Greenwood (R-Penn.), Edward Markey (D-Mass.) and Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.).

The Energy and Commerce Committee's ranking member, Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), received the greatest spoils from the nuclear industry, collecting \$124,750 for his campaign in 2002. The unusual dynamics of his recent re-election campaign, as well as his powerful committee office, help to explain this popularity with nuclear PACs. The redistricting of Michigan forced Dingell to run against fellow House Democrat and respected environmental voter Lynn Rivers—who received no money from nuclear PACs. Had Dingell lost to Rivers, Henry Waxman (D-Cal.) would have been in line to replace him as top Democrat on the Energy and Commerce Committee. Waxman is a well-respected ally of environmental and public interest advocates who has rarely been willing to toe the line of nuclear industry interests. Dingell's voting record is mixed. He pleased the nuclear lobby by voting for the Yucca

Mountain nuclear waste repository last year. However, he also led House opposition to industry-supported energy legislation in both the 107<sup>th</sup> and 108<sup>th</sup> Congresses.

Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-La.) came in second, with a reward of \$98,152, and has been more predictably compliant with nuclear industry goals. As chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Tauzin was a driving force behind the fatally-flawed energy legislation of the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress. He also ensured the speedy passage through his committee of Price-Anderson reauthorization legislation—which extends insurance subsidies to proposed new nuclear reactors—and the resolution supporting the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste dump. This year he again introduced and championed House energy legislation that was widely opposed by environmental and consumer advocates.

In third place with \$90,485, Joe Barton (R-Tex.) heads up the Energy and Air Quality Subcommittee of the House Energy and Commerce Committee. Nuclear energy-related legislation usually originates in this subcommittee. Like Tauzin, Barton has uniformly supported nuclear industry interests in Congress.

Top 20 Recipients of Nuclear Industry PAC Contributions in the House

Representative	Party	District	Relevant Committee Assignments	PAC Total
Dingell, John D	D	MI-15	Energy & Commerce	\$124,750
Tauzin, Billy	R	LA-3	Energy & Commerce	\$98,152
Barton, Joe	R	TX-6	Energy & Commerce	\$90,485
Boucher, Rick	D	VA -9	Energy & Commerce	\$78,080
Shimkus, John M	R	IL-19	Energy & Commerce	\$76,000
Pickering, Charles "Chip" Jr	R	MS-3	Energy & Commerce	\$75,250
Burr, Richard	R	NC-5	Energy & Commerce	\$66,500
John, Chris	D	LA-7	Energy & Commerce	\$61,600
Latham, Tom	R	IA-4	Appropriations	\$52,713
DeLay, Tom	R	TX-22	(House Majority Leader)	\$52,000
Hall, Ralph M	D	TX-4	Energy & Commerce	\$51,758
Knollenberg, Joe	R	MI-9	Appropriations	\$49,998
Blunt, Roy	R	MO-7	Energy & Commerce	\$49,000
Hastert, Dennis	R	IL-14	(House Speaker)	\$45,000
Wilson, Heather	R	NM-1	Energy & Commerce	\$42,500
Edwards, Chet	D	TX-11	Appropriations	\$42,000
Towns, Edolphus	D	NY-10	Energy & Commerce	\$42,000
Doyle, Mike	D	PA-14	Energy & Commerce	\$39,718
Green, Gene	D	TX-29	Energy & Commerce	\$38,500
Wynn, Albert R	D	MD-4	Energy & Commerce	\$37,000

More than 70 percent of nuclear industry PAC contributions to House members came from ten large donor companies whose PACs doled out more than \$200,000 each. Exelon, the largest nuclear energy company in the U.S., was the most generous contributor by a wide margin. This giant of giants posted net profits of \$1.440 billion in 2002. Along with Exelon, Entergy and Dominion are also represented among the top 10 PACs. These are the three companies currently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Securities and Exchange Commission filings.

being funded under the Department of Energy's *Nuclear Power 2010* program to apply for permits to construct new nuclear reactors. The House and Senate energy bills both include authorization for this misguided initiative.

**Top Nuclear PAC Contributions to House Members in 108th Congress** 

Nuclear Industry Political Action Committee	TOTAL
Exelon	\$432,819
Southern Company	\$328,400
TXU	\$321,258
Nuclear Management Company, LLC	\$307,990
Entergy	\$291,827
American Electric Power	\$261,250
Progress Energy	\$250,000
Duke	\$244,000
Edison International	\$228,400
Dominion	\$223,432

#### The Senate

Senate seats are more expensive than House seats, and nuclear PACs doled out on average \$32,350 per senator of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress over the last three election cycles. In the 2002 election cycle alone, the average senator attracted \$16,171—72% more than the average House member. The Senate's current members have received a collective total of over \$3.2 million from nuclear PACs in the last three election cycles. More than two-thirds of that money went to Republicans.

1998-2002 PAC Contributions to Senate by Party<sup>9</sup>

Political Party	PAC Money	Percentage
Demo crats	\$1,027,052	32%
Republicans	\$2,195,465	68%
Independent	\$12,499	>1%
TOTAL	\$3,235,016	(100%)

The GOP is well represented among the top twenty nuclear PAC contribution recipients: seventeen Senate Republicans made that list. However, it was a Democrat, Sen. Mary Landrieu of Louisiana, who took the top prize: \$145,499 from the nuclear industry in the last three election cycles, more than twice the amount taken by the industry's second-best Democratic friend in the Senate, Sen. Max Baucus of Montana, who received \$69,499. Landrieu's unusually contentious re-election campaign resulted in a December run-off that garnered nation-wide attention and kept

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In each election (every two years), one-third of the Senate's members are up for re-election for terms of six years, so that the terms of senators overlap. Typically, senators receive the greatest quantity of campaign contributions in years they are up for re-election.

years they are up for re-election.

<sup>9</sup> Sen. James Jeffords of Vermont was elected in 2000 as a Republican, having received \$12,499 from nuclear PACs, but in 2001 he left the Republican party and became an Independent. In the 2002 election cycle he received no money from nuclear PACs. For the purposes of this calculation, all contributions to Jeffords are considered contributions to an Independent.

the PAC money flowing. Landrieu's voting record left no room for partisan politics among her nuclear industry allies. She was one of only 15 Democrats to approve the Bush administration's Yucca Mountain site recommendation in 2002. Already this year, in the Energy and Natural Resources Committee deliberations on energy legislation, Landrieu was the lone Democrat to side with the Republicans in defeating an amendment to strike provisions granting government loan guarantees and power-purchase agreements to subsidize new nuclear reactors, and to vote in favor of the bill overall.

Ranking second is Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), although this is just his first year in the Senate. Six of the nine newly elected senators in this Congress—all of them Republicans—are counted among the top 20 recipients of nuclear industry PAC contributions. Along with Graham, John Sununu (R-N.H.), Norm Coleman (R-Minn.), Elizabeth Dole (R-S.C.), John Cornyn (R-Tex.), and Saxby Chambliss (R-Ga.) are the other senators in this honeymoon club. Graham, Sununu and Chambliss were previously representatives in the U.S. House, where they cast votes in lockstep with nuclear industry interests, including support for Yucca Mountain and the sweeping energy legislation of the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress. Coleman's campaign to unseat the late Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) certainly attracted the nuclear industry's interest. (By contrast Wellstone, renowned for his principled stands on matters of public interest, received no money from nuclear PACs.)

Sens. Lindsay Graham, Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) (who ranked 6<sup>th</sup> in PAC popularity), and Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) (who took in \$25,000), recently rewarded their nuclear sponsors by sending letters to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) urging the agency *not* to upgrade security regulations for commercial nuclear facilities. Since the tragic events of September 11, 2001, security has been a concern at nuclear plants across the country, which were not designed to withstand such an attack. With the NRC dragging its feet on implementing credible upgrades to security, many lawmakers are working towards legislating tougher standards for security to reduce terrorist vulnerabilities at nuclear power plants. Not these three senators, though. Hagel, for instance, is worried about the costs that nuclear utilities would incur if security regulations were appropriately upgraded. It might "undermine" the industry's "ability to provide low-cost power for [its] customers," he wrote in a March letter.

Eleven of the top twenty recipients serve on a committee that has considerable sway over energy policy—either the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, the Environment and Public Works Committee, or the Appropriations Committee.

Top 20 Recipients of Nuclear Industry PAC Contributions in the Senate, 1998-2002

Senator	Party	State	Relevant Committee Assignments	PAC Total
Landrieu, Mary	D	LA	Energy & Natural Resources; Appropriations	\$145,499
Graham, Lindsey	R	SC		\$121,722
Craig, Larry	R	ID	Energy & Natural Resources; Appropriations	\$107,750
Inhofe, James	R	OK	Environment & Public Works	\$101,000
Voinovich, George	R	OH	Environment & Public Works	\$97,358
Hagel, Chuck	R	NE		\$91,000
Sununu, John	R	NH		\$88,500
Coleman, Norm	R	MN		\$87,250
Smith, Gordon	R	OR	Energy and Natural Resources	\$84,500
Crapo, Michael	R	ID	Environment & Public Works	\$82,000
Domenici, Pete	R	NM	Energy & Natural Resources; Appropriations	\$81,499
Santorum, Rick	R	PA		\$79,100
Burns, Conrad	R	MT	Energy & Natural Resources; Appropriations	\$76,400
Lincoln, Blanche	D	AR		\$71,300
Baucus, Max	D	MT	Environment & Public Works	\$69,499
Lott, Trent	R	MS	(Former Majority Leader)	\$67,000
Dole, Elizabeth	R	NC		\$64,100
Cornyn, John	R	TX	Environment & Public Works	\$63,000
Bond, Christopher	R	MO	Appropriations	\$61,250
Chambliss, Saxby	R	GA		\$58,500

Nearly one-third of the total nuclear PAC contributions to current Senators over the past three cycles went to the twenty-three members of the Energy and Commerce committee. Only two members of this committee received no money from nuclear PACs: Sens. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.) and Lisa Murkowski (R-Alaska). The zero tally for Murkowski is attributable to the fact that she was never a candidate in a federal election. Her father, former Sen. Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska) appointed her at the opening of the  $108^{th}$  Congress to fill the seat left vacant by his election as governor of Alaska. Murkowski the elder, former chair of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, raked in \$101,082 from nuclear PACs over the last three cycles.

Nuclear Industry PAC Contributions to Current Energy and Natural Resources Committee Members, 1998-2002

Senator	Party	State	98 Total	00 Total	02 Total	Grand TOTAL
Landrieu, Mary	D	LA	\$15,750	\$24,250	\$105,499	\$145,499
Craig, Larry	R	ID	\$19,000	\$7,500	\$81,250	\$107,750
Smith, Gordon	R	OR	\$15,500	\$16,000	\$53,000	\$84,500
Domenici, Pete	R	NM	\$0	\$0	\$81,499	\$81,499
Burns, Conrad	R	MT	\$12,500	\$60,900	\$3,000	\$76,400
Bingaman, Jeff	D	NM	\$0	\$58,000	\$0	\$58,000
Johnson, Tim	D	SD	\$9,155	\$9,500	\$31,500	\$50,155
Graham, Bob	D	FL	\$28,787	\$1,000	\$16,500	\$46,287
Nickles, Don	R	OK	\$44,000	(\$1,000)	\$0	\$43,000
Talent, James	R	MO	\$2,000	\$0	\$39,600	\$41,600
Dorgan, Byron	D	ND	\$23,299	\$3,500	\$14,500	\$41,299
Thomas, Craig	R	WY	\$1,000	\$37,500	\$2,000	\$40,500

Bunning, Jim	R	KY	\$18,000	\$5,000	\$12,500	\$35,500
Alexander, Lamar	R	TN	\$0	\$0	\$24,000	\$24,000
Bayh, Evan	D	IN	\$7,500	\$0	\$15,500	\$23,000
Kyl, Jon	R	AZ	\$0	\$21,000	\$2,000	\$23,000
Feinstein, Dianne	D	CA	\$0	\$20,750	\$1,000	\$21,750
Schumer, Charles	D	NY	\$0	\$9,000	\$11,000	\$20,000
Wyden, Ron	D	OR	\$12,400	(\$500)	\$3,000	\$14,900
Campbell, Ben	R	CO	\$7,500	\$500	\$0	\$8,000
Akaka, Daniel K	D	HI	\$0	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000
Murkowski, Lisa	R	AK	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Cantwell, Maria	D	WA	\$0	\$0	(\$1,000)	(\$1,000)
TOTAL			\$216,391	\$273,900	\$496,348	\$986,639

Over the three election cycles examined, senators of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress who received the most nuclear PAC money were, with few exceptions, facing election or re-election in that cycle. In total, senators now serving in the 108th Congress took in \$717,333 in the 1998 election cycle, \$795,123 in the 2000 election cycle, and \$1,722,560 leading up to the most recent elections.

Top Takes from Nuclear PACs in the 1998 Election Cycle Among Senators of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

Senator*	Party	State	TOTAL
Crapo, Michael	R	ID	\$52,500
Bond, Christopher	R	MO	\$51,750
Nickles, Don	R	OK	\$44,000
Hollings, Ernest	D	SC	\$33,500
Specter, Arlen	R	PA	\$31,850
Breaux, John	D	LA	\$29,750
Graham, Bob	D	FL	\$28,787
Voinovich, George	R	ОН	\$28,030
Lincoln, Blanche	D	AR	\$26,000
Dorgan, Byron	D	ND	\$23,299

<sup>\*</sup> Italics indicates members who were elected or reelected in 1998.

Top Takes from Nuclear PACs in the 2000 Election Cycle Among Senators of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

Senator*	Party	State	TOTAL
Burns, Conrad	R	MT	\$60,900
Lott, Trent	R	MS	\$59,000
Bingaman, Jeff	D	NM	\$58,000
Santorum, Rick	R	PA	\$52,400
Thomas, Craig	R	WY	\$37,500
Hagel, Chuck	R	NE	\$32,500
Graham, Lindsey**	R	SC	\$31,974
Inhofe, James	R	OK	\$27,500
Conrad, Kent	D	ND	\$25,750
Allen, George	R	VA	\$25,000

<sup>\*</sup> Italics indicates members who were elected or reelected in 2000.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Lindsay Graham was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 2000.

## Top Takes from Nuclear PACs in the 2002 Election Cycle Among Senators of the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

Senator	Party	State	TOTAL
Landrieu, Mary	D	LA	\$105,499
Coleman, Norm	R	MN	\$87,250
Domenici, Pete	R	NM	\$81,499
Craig, Larry	R	ID	\$81,250
Graham, Lindsey	R	SC	\$80,000
Sununu, John	R	NH	\$79,000
Inhofe, James	R	OK	\$73,500
Baucus, Max	D	MT	\$68,999
Voinovich, George	R	OH	\$64,828
Dole, Elizabeth	R	NC	\$64,100

<sup>\*</sup> Italics indicates members who were elected or reelected in 2002.

Only nine senators received no money from nuclear PACs over the last three election cycles, including the aforementioned Murkowski and Cantwell. This elite group also includes the independently wealthy Sens. Jon Corzine (D-N.J.), Mark Dayton (D-Minn.), John Edwards (D-N.C.), and Herb Kohl (D-Wisc.)—who, along with Cantwell, ran some of the most expensive self-funded campaigns. <sup>10</sup> Sens. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), Joseph Biden (D-Del.), and Judd Gregg (R-N.H.) <sup>11</sup> also received no money over the last three cycles from PACs affiliated with companies that own and operate nuclear power plants.

Fourteen nuclear PACs gave in excess of \$100K to current senators over the last three cycles (see table below). Contributions from these companies accounted for nearly 83 percent of total nuclear PAC receipts. Entergy, Exelon, and Dominion—all scholarship participants in the Department of Energy's *Nuclear Power 2010* program, and each of which is intending to apply this year for "early site permits" to construct new reactors—are again included in this list of large donors.

In fourth place, contributions from Nuclear Management Company include those from its affiliate, Xcel Energy. Xcel is driving the "Private Fuel Storage" consortium that seeks to circumvent federal nuclear waste policy and establish a private high-level nuclear waste facility on the reservation of the Skull Valley Goshute Indians in Utah. So far, Congress has largely turned a blind eye to this contentious operation, and has obligingly made no effort to assert the jurisdiction it claimed in the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 over the siting of remote storage for high-level radioactive waste.

The total for FirstEnergy, owner of the troubled Davis Besse reactor in Ohio, came in just shy of one hundred grand at \$83,400. FirstEnergy delivered the closest brush with nuclear disaster since the meltdown at Three Mile Island, when the company elected to keep the reactor operating

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Center for Responsive Politics, http://www.opensecrets.org/overview/topself.asp?Cycle=2000&Display=S&Type=A6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Gregg did take \$1,000 from Atomic Yankee Corporation in 1998, owner of the decommissioning Yankee Rowe reactor in Mass. However, this PAC was not included in this analysis as the reactor closed in 1992.

despite acid deposits that had corroded the reactor head, leaving only  $1/8^{th}$  of an inch of steel to contain the nuclear core by the time the reactor was finally closed by the NRC in March 2002.

**Nuclear PACs Contributing >\$100,000 to Senators of the 108th Congress** 

Political Action Committee	98 Total	00 Total	02 Total	<b>Grand TOTAL</b>
Southern Company	\$67,500	\$104,500	\$159,600	\$331,600
Exelon	\$64,530	\$48,500	\$155,225	\$268,255
Florida Power & Light Company (FPL Group. Inc.)	\$53,000	\$59,500	\$143,000	\$255,500
Nuclear Management Company, LLC	\$60,137	\$63,050	\$127,097	\$250,284
Edison International	\$57,281	\$81,500	\$80,800	\$219,581
Entergy	\$59,750	\$12,000	\$139,000	\$210,750
Progress Energy	\$45,037	\$33,500	\$94,500	\$173,037
Duke Power Company (Duke Energy Corporation)	\$4,250	\$34,625	\$132,000	\$170,875
American Electric Power (AEP)	\$33,000	\$45,500	\$85,000	\$163,500
PG&E Corp.	\$47,900	\$52,650	\$35,050	\$135,600
Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI)	\$23,498	\$38,498	\$72,996	\$134,992
Dominion	\$16,000	\$28,000	\$86,892	\$130,892
TXU	\$23,500	\$31,000	\$73,600	\$128,100
The Detroit Edison Company (DTE Energy)	\$21,000	\$24,500	\$58,050	\$103,550

#### Conclusion

When PAC receipts are tallied, the owners and operators of nuclear power plants appear to wield considerable influence in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress. And the results of this analysis unveil only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the nuclear industry's political investment. Not included in this report are PAC contributions from the many influential corporations and associations involved in some aspect of the commercial nuclear industry but not directly owning or operating nuclear power plants, including, for example, such giants as Westinghouse, Bechtel, and General Electric. Many members of Congress also benefited from so-called "soft money" contributions and donations from individuals with links to nuclear companies. Furthermore, the nuclear industry also sponsors numerous junkets to help woo members of Congress. Last year, for instance, the Nuclear Energy Institute spent nearly \$170,000 wining and dining politicians and their staff on trips to Yucca Mountain (read: Las Vegas) and nuclear power plants in the United States and Europe. Beyond campaign contributions, broad personal financial investments of members of Congress, many of whom are millionaires, further cement the links between certain lawmakers and nuclear industry interests.

Politicians insist that their votes are not for sale, but the anti-consumer, anti-environment and fiscally irresponsible nuclear provisions in Senate energy legislation will test the loyalties of many members. Rather than pandering to the interests of nuclear industry executives, lawmakers should reject this parcel of pork-barrel projects and instead work toward forward-looking policy that promotes safe, clean, affordable energy.

<sup>12</sup> Brody Mullins, "Members Travel on Nuclear Dime." *Roll Call.* 3 April 2003.

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Appendix I: Nuclear Industry PAC Contributions to Representatives, 108th Congress

Representative	Party	District	TOTAL
Abercrombie, Neil	D	HI-1	\$0
Ackerman, Gary	D	NY-5	\$0
Aderholt, Robert B	R	AL-4	\$2,000
Akin, Todd	R	MO-2	\$1,500
Alexander, Rodney M	D	LA-5	\$1,000
Allen, Tom	D	ME-1	\$0
Andrews, Robert E	D	NJ-1	\$0
Baca, Joe	D	CA-43	\$5,000
Bachus, Spencer	R	AL-6	\$4,000
Baird, Brian	D	WA-3	\$500
Baker, Richard	R	LA-6	\$15,500
Baldwin, Tammy	D	WI-2	\$1,000
Ballance, Frank W Jr	D	NC-1	\$6,500
Ballenger, Cass	R	NC-10	\$11,500
Barrett, James Gresham	R	SC-3	\$7,500
Bartlett, Roscoe G	R	MD-6	\$1,000
Barton, Joe	R	TX-6	\$90,485
Bass, Charles	R	NH-2	\$22,000
Beauprez, Bob	R	CO-7	\$1,000
Becerra, Xavier	D	CA-31	\$7,900
Bell, Chris	D	TX-25	\$5,000
Bereuter, Doug	R	NE-1	\$8,000
Berkley, Shelley	D	NV-1	\$0
Berman, Howard L	D	CA-28	\$4,000
Berry, Marion	D	AR-1	\$18,499
Biggert, Judy	R	IL-13	\$10,000
Bilirakis, Michael	R	FL-9	\$25,500
Bishop, Robert William	R	UT-1	\$500
Bishop, Sanford D Jr	D	GA -2	\$8,500
Bishop, Timothy H	D	NY-1	\$0
Blackburn, Marsha	R	TN-7	\$1,000
Blumenauer, Earl	D	OR-3	\$500
Blunt, Roy	R	MO-7	\$49,000
Boehlert, Sherwood	R	NY-24	\$8,500
Boehner, John	R	OH-8	\$7,500
Bonilla, Henry	R	TX-23	\$26,500
Bonner, Jo	R	AL-1	\$1,000
Bono, Mary	R	CA-45	\$7,500
Boozman, John	R	AR-3	\$4,850
Boswell, Leonard L	D	IA-3	\$2,000
Boucher, Rick	D	VA -9	\$78,080
Boyd, Allen	D	FL-2	\$17,500
Bradley, Jeb	R	NH-1	\$6,583
Brady, Kevin	R	TX-8	\$26,000
Brady, Robert A	D	PA-1	\$6,000
Brown, Corrine	D	FL-3	\$2,500
Brown, Henry	R	SC-1	\$12,000
Brown, Sherrod	D	OH-13	\$10,000
Brown-Waite, Ginny	R	FL-5	\$0

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Burgess, Michael Clifton	R	TX-26	\$3,500
Burns, Max	R	GA-12	\$7,000
Burr, Richard	R	NC-5	\$66,500
Burton, Dan	R	IN-5	\$2,000
Buyer, Steve	R	IN-4	\$29,000
Calvert, Ken	R	CA-44	\$4,750
Camp, Dave	R	MI-4	\$24,512
Cannon, Chris	R	UT-3	\$2,000
Cantor, Eric	R	VA -7	\$12,297
Capito, Shelley Moore	R	WV-2	\$21,200
Capps, Lois	D	CA-23	\$0
Capuano, Michael E	D	MA-8	\$500
Cardin, Ben	D	MD-3	\$25,000
Cardoza, Dennis	D	CA-18	\$0
Carson, Brad	D	OK-2	\$14,500
Carson, Julia	D	IN-7	\$0
Carter, John Rice	R	TX-31	\$23,500
Case, Ed	D	HI-2	\$0
Castle, Michael N	R	DE-1	\$500
Chabot, Steve	R	OH-1	\$2,500
Chocola, Chris	R	IN-2	\$3,500
Clay, William L. Jr	D	MO-1	\$3,500
Clyburn, James E	D	SC-6	\$9,000
Coble, Howard	R	NC-6	\$9,500
Cole, Ton	R	OK-4	\$8,000
Collins, Mac	R	GA -8	\$18,000
Combest, Larry	R	TX-19	\$12,000
Conyers, John Jr	D	MI-14	\$0
Cooper, Jim	D	TN-5	\$0
Costello, Jerry F	D	IL-12	\$14,299
Cox, Christopher	R	CA-48	\$6,000
Cramer, Bud	D	AL-5	\$14,250
Crane, Phil	R	IL-8	\$19,999
Crenshaw, Ander	R	FL-4	\$5,000
Crowley, Joseph	D	NY-7	\$1,000
Cubin, Barbara	R	WY-1	\$16,500
Culberson, John	R	TX-7	\$24,000
Cummings, Elijah E	D	MD-7	\$3,500
Cunningham, Randy "Duke"	R	CA-50	\$2,000
Davis, Artur Genestre	D	AL-7	\$0
Davis, Artur Genesic  Davis, Danny K	D	IL-7	\$8,000
Davis, Jim	D	FL-11	\$10,000
Davis, Jo Ann	R	VA-1	\$1,000
Davis, Jo Alli Davis, Lincoln	D	TN4	\$1,000 \$0
Davis, Susan A	D	CA-53	\$2,500
Davis, Ton	R	VA-11	\$2,500
Deal, Nathan	R	GA-10	\$15,500
DeFazio, Peter	D	OR-4	\$0
DeGette, Diana	D	CO-1	\$0
Delahunt, Bill	D	MA-10	\$6,000
DeLauro, Rosa L	D	CT-3	\$0
DeLay, Tom	R	TX-22	\$52,000
DeMint, Jim	R	SC-4	\$0

Deutsch, Peter	D	FL-20	\$3,000
Diaz-Balart, Lincoln	R	FL-21	\$5,000
Diaz-Balart, Mario	R	FL-25	\$7,000
Dicks, Norm	D	WA-6	\$5,250
Dingell, John D	D	MI-15	\$124,750
Doggett, Lloyd	D	TX-10	\$1,000
Dooley, Cal	D	CA-20	\$10,000
Doolittle, John T	R	CA-4	\$7,000
Doyle, Mike	D	PA-14	\$39,718
Dreier, David	R	CA-26	\$1,250
Duncan, John J Jr	R	TN-2	\$1,000
Dunn, Jennifer	R	WA-8	\$6,250
Edwards, Chet	D	TX-11	\$42,000
Ehlers, Vernon J	R	MI-3	\$9,590
Emanuel, Rahm Israel	D	IL-5	\$6,000
Emerson, Jo Ann	R	MO-8	\$16,500
Engel, Eliot L	D	NY-17	\$8,000
English, Phil	R	PA-3	\$31,500
Eshoo, Anna	D	CA-14	\$7,500
Etheridge, Bob	D	NC-2	\$15,500
Evans, Lane	D	IL-17	\$0
Everett, Terry	R	AL-2	\$0 \$0
Farr, Sam	D	CA-17	\$7,775
Fattah, Chaka	D	PA-2	\$7,773
Feeney, Tom	R	FL-24	\$13,500
	R		
Ferguson, Mike		NJ-7 CA-51	\$9,500
Filner, Bob	D		\$4,250
Flake, Jeff	R	AZ-6	\$1,500
Fletcher, Ernie	R	KY-6	\$2,000
Foley, Mark	R	FL-16	\$15,500
Forbes, J Randy	R	VA -4	\$7,700
Ford, Harold E Jr	D	TN-9	\$4,500
Fossella, Vito	R	NY-13	\$12,500
Frank, Barney	D	MA-4	\$0
Franks, Trent	R	AZ-2	\$0
Frelinghuysen, Rodney	R	NJ-11	\$0
Frost, Martin	D	TX-24	\$27,000
Gallegly, Elton	R	CA-24	\$14,000
Garrett, Scott	R	NJ-5	\$500
Gephardt, Richard A	D	MO-3	\$11,500
Gerlach, Jim	R	PA-6	\$17,000
Gibbons, Jim	R	NV-2	\$0
Gilchrest, Wayne T	R	MD-1	\$0
Gillmor, Paul E	R	OH-5	\$15,400
Gingrey, Phil	R	GA -11	\$2,000
Gonzalez, Charlie A	D	TX-20	\$8,000
Goode, Virgil H Jr	R	VA -5	\$5,700
Goodlatte, Bob	R	VA -6	\$4,500
Gordon, Bart	D	TN-6	\$7,500
Goss, Porter	R	FL-14	\$0
Granger, Kay	R	TX-12	\$14,000
Graves, Sam	R	MO-6	\$7,000
Green, Gene	D	TX-29	\$38,500
			+20,200

Green, Mark	R	WI-8	\$5,650
Greenwood, James C	R	PA-8	\$0
Grijalva, Raul M	D	AZ-7	\$0
Gutierrez, Luis V	D	IL-4	\$6,000
Gutknecht, Gil	R	MN-1	\$6,000
Hall, Ralph M	D	TX-4	\$51,758
Harman, Jane	D	CA-36	\$6,500
Harris, Katherine	R	FL-13	\$8,792
Hart, Melissa	R	PA-4	\$16,760
Hastert, Dennis	R	IL-14	\$45,000
Hastings, Alcee L	D	FL-14	\$3,000
Hastings, Doc	R	WA-4	\$1,500
Hayes, Robin	R	NC-8	\$26,000
Hayworth, J D	R	AZ-5	\$5,500
Hefley, Joel	R	CO-5	
•	R		\$0 \$19,000
Hensarling, Jeb		TX-5	
Herger, Wally	R	CA-2	\$14,500
Hill, Baron	D	IN-9	\$1,000
Hinchey, Maurice	D	NY-22	\$0
Hinojosa, Ruben	D	TX-15	\$3,500
Hobson, Dave	R	OH-7	\$11,500
Hoeffel, Joseph M	D	PA-13	\$8,000
Hoekstra, Peter	R	MI-2	\$0
Holden, Tim	D	PA-17	\$12,240
Holt, Rush	D	NJ-12	\$0
Honda, Mike	D	CA-15	\$4,500
Hooley, Darlene	D	OR-5	\$0
Hostettler, John	R	IN-8	\$0
Houghton, Amo	R	NY-29	\$2,000
Hoyer, Steny H	D	MD-5	\$15,000
Hulshof, Kenny	R	MO-9	\$8,500
Hunter, Duncan	R	CA-52	\$1,750
Hyde, Henry J	R	IL-6	\$2,000
Inslee, Jay R	D	WA-1	\$500
Isakson, Johnny	R	GA -6	\$10,500
Israel, Steve	D	NY-2	\$0
Issa, Darrell	R	CA-49	\$9,500
Istook, Ernest J	R	OK-5	\$1,500
Jackson Lee, Sheila	D	TX-18	\$5,000
Jackson, Jesse Jr	D	IL-2	\$4,000
Janklow, William	R	SD-1	\$2,500
Jefferson, William J	D	LA-2	\$24,000
Jenkins, Bill	R	TN-1	\$3,000
John, Chris	D	LA-7	\$61,600
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	D	TX-30	\$8,500
Johnson, Nancy L	R	CT-5	\$23,250
Johnson, Sam	R	TX-3	\$18,000
Johnson, Timothy V	R	IL-15	\$10,000
Jones, Stephanie Tubbs	D	OH-11	\$3,000
Jones, Walter B Jr	R	NC-3	\$14,000
Kanjorski, Paul E	D	PA-11	\$17,000
Kaptur, Marcy	D	OH-9	\$0
Keller, Ric	R	FL-8	\$7,500
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Kelly, SueRNY-19Kennedy, MarkRMN-6Kennedy, Patrick JDRI-1Kildee, Dale EDMI-5Kilpatrick, Carolyn CheeksDMI-13	\$0 \$15,750 \$3,000 \$8,575
Kennedy, Patrick JDRI-1Kildee, Dale EDMI-5Kilpatrick, Carolyn CheeksDMI-13	\$3,000
Kildee, Dale F D MI-5 Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks D MI-13	
Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks D MI-13	\$8 575
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	\$6,125
Kind, Ron D WI-3	\$5,450
King, Pete R NY-3	\$0
King, Steven A R IA-5	\$1,500
Kingston, Jack R GA-1	\$10,000
Kirk, Mark Steven R IL-10	\$13,000
Kleczka, Jerry D WI-4	\$3,000
Kline, John R MN-2	\$6,000
Knollenberg, Joe R MI-9	\$49,998
Kolbe, Jim R AZ-8	\$11,000
Kucinich, Dennis J D OH-10	\$250
LaHood, Ray R IL-18	\$10,500
Lampson, Nick D TX-9	\$19,000
Langevin, Jim D RI-2	\$0
Lantos, Tom D CA-12	\$0 \$0
Larsen, Rick D WA-2	\$4,500
Larson, John B D CT-1	\$2,000
Latham, Tor R IA-4	\$52,713
LaTourette, Steven C R OH-14	\$7,500
Leach, Jim R IA-2	\$1,300
Lee, Barbara D CA-9	\$1,500
Levin, Sander D MI-12	
	\$9,000
Lewis, Jerry R CA-41 Lewis, John D GA-5	\$3,000 \$4,000
Lewis, Ron R KY-2	
Linder, John R GA-7	\$12,000
	\$13,000
Lipinski, Bill D IL-3	\$10,000
LoBiondo, Frank A R NJ-2	\$500
Lofgren, Zoe D CA-16	\$1,400
Lowey, Nita M D NY-18	\$0
Lucas, Frank D R OK-3	\$0
Lucas, Ken D KY-4	\$1,000
Lynch, Stephen F D MA-9	\$500
Majette, Denise L D GA-4	\$5,000
Maloney, Carolyn B D NY-14	\$0
Manzullo, Don R IL-16	\$8,000
Markey, Edward J D MA-7	\$0
Marshall, Jim D GA-3	\$2,000
Matheson, Jim D UT-2	\$6,500
Matsui, Robert T D CA-5	\$8,000
McCarthy, Carolyn D NY-4	\$1,000
McCarthy, Karen D MO-5	\$500
McCollum, Betty D MN-4	\$0
McCotter, Thaddeus G R MI-11	\$13,000
McCrery, Jim R LA-4	\$28,000
McDermott, Jim D WA-7	\$0
McGovern, James P D MA-3	\$2,000
McHugh, John M R NY-23	\$1,000
McInnis, Scott R CO-3	\$0

McIntyre, Mike	D	NC-7	\$7,500
McKeon, Howard P "Buck"	R	CA-25	\$2,500
McNulty, Michael R	D	NY-21	\$1,000
Meehan, Marty	D	MA-5	\$0
Meek, Kendrick B	D	FL-17	\$5,000
Meeks, Gregory W	D	NY-6	\$1,000
Menendez, Robert	D	NJ-13	\$0
Mica, John L	R	FL-7)	\$6,000
Michaud, Mike	D	ME-2	\$0
Millender-McDonald, Juanita	D	CA-37	\$5,500
Miller, Brad	D	NC-13	\$0
Miller, Candice S	R	MI-10	\$21,000
Miller, Gary	R	CA-42	\$1,000
Miller, George	D	CA-7	\$1,000
Miller, Jeff	R	FL-1	\$20,000
Mollohan, Alan B	D	WV-1	\$7,000
Moore, Dennis	D	KS-3	\$7,662
Moran, Jerry	R	KS-1	\$3,000
Moran, Jim	D	VA-8	\$2,000
Murphy, Tim	R	PA-18	\$14,500
Murtha, John P	D	PA-12	\$27,000
Musgrave, Marilyn	R	CO-4	\$3,000
Myrick, Sue	R	NC-9	\$8,000
Nadler, Jerrold	D	NY-8	\$500 \$500
	D	CA-38	\$4,500 \$4,500
Napolitano, Grace Neal, Richard E	D		
	R	MA-2	\$10,500 \$3,500
Nethercutt, George R Jr	R	WA-5	
Ney, Bob		OH-18	\$13,000
Northup, Anne M Norwood, Charles W	R R	KY-3 GA-9	\$11,000
			\$24,499
Nunes, Devin Gerald	R	CA-21	\$10,000
Nussle, Jim	R	IA-1	\$22,500
Oberstar, James L	D	MN-8	\$2,000
Obey, David R	D	WI-7	\$14,525
Olver, John W	D	MA-1	\$1,000
Ortiz, Solomon P	D	TX-27	\$1,000
Osborne, Tom	R	NE-3	\$0
Ose, Doug	R	CA-3	\$0
Otter, C L 'Butch'	R	ID-1	\$5,100
Owens, Major R	D	NY-11	\$500
Oxley, Michael G	R	OH-4	\$36,500
Pallone, Frank Jr	D	NJ-6	\$12,500
Pascrell, Bill Jr	D	NJ-8	\$4,000
Pastor, Ed	D	AZ-4	\$9,000
Paul, Ron	R	TX-14	\$0
Payne, Donald M	D	NJ-10	\$0
Pearce, Steve	R	NM-2	\$2,000
Pelosi, Nancy	D	CA-8	\$2,000
Pence, Mike	R	IN-6	\$2,000
Peterson, Collin C	D	MN-7	\$0
Peterson, John E	R	PA-5	\$11,800
Petri, Ton	R	WI-6	\$7,150
Pickering, Charles "Chip" Jr	R	MS-3	\$75,250

Pitts, Joe	R	PA-16	\$17,820
Platts, Todd	R	PA-19	\$0
Pombo, Richard	R	CA-11	\$4,350
Pomeroy, Earl	D	ND-1	\$7,932
Porter, Jon	R	NV-3	\$0
Portman, Rob	R	OH-2	\$0
Price, David	D	NC-4	\$7,000
Pryce, Deborah	R	OH-15	\$16,000
Putnam, Adam H	R	FL-12	\$7,500
Quinn, Jack	R	NY-27	\$4,500
Radanovich, George	R	CA-19	\$17,000
Rahall, Nick	D	WV-3	\$5,500
Ramstad, Jim	R	MN-3	\$12,000
Rangel, Charles B	D	NY-15	\$10,000
Regula, Ralph	R	OH16	\$0
Rehberg, Denny	R	MT-1	\$8,500
Renzi, Richard George	R	AZ-1	\$0
Reyes, Silvestre	D	TX-16	\$3,500
Reynolds, Tom	R	NY-26	\$16,651
Rodriguez, Ciro D	D	TX-28	\$1,000
Rogers, Hal	R	KY-5	\$2,000
Rogers, Mike	R	MI-8	\$17,000
Rogers, Mike	R	AL-3	\$2,500
Rohrabacher, Dana	R	CA-46	\$0
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	R	FL-18	\$4,000
Ross, Mike	D	AR-4	\$12,500
Rothman, Steven R	D	NJ-9	\$12,500
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	D	CA-34	\$8,500
Royce, Ed	R	CA-34 CA-40	\$2,500
Ruppersberger, Dutch	D	MD-2	\$1,000
Rush, Bobby L	D	IL-1	\$1,000 \$11,500
Ryan, Paul	R	WI-1	\$3,950
Ryan, Timothy J	D	OH-17	\$6,000
Ryun, Jim	R	KS-2	\$2,500
Sabo, Martin Olav	D	MN-5	\$2,000
Sanchez, Linda	D	CA-39	\$2,000
Sanchez, Loretta	D	CA-39	\$0 \$0
	D	VT-1	\$0 \$0
Sanders, Bernie Sandlin, Max	D	TX-1	\$36,000
Saxton, Jim	_	NJ-3	
Schakowsky, Jan	R		\$5,000
	D	IL-9	\$0
Schiff, Adam Schrock, Ed	D R	CA-29	\$4,000 \$3,475
Scott, David Albert	_	VA -2	
Scott, Robert C	D D	GA-13 VA-3	\$4,500 \$1,000
Sensenbrenner, F James Jr	_	WI-5	\$1,000 \$500
Serrano, Jose E	R		\$00 \$0
	D	NY-16	
Sessions, Pete	R	TX-32	\$12,000 \$26,700
Shadegg, John	R	AZ-3	\$26,700
Shaw, E Clay Jr	R	FL-22	\$24,000
Shays, Christopher	R	CT-4	\$1,500
Sherman, Brad	D	CA-27	\$1,000
Sherwood, Don	R	PA-10	\$7,855

Shimkus, John M	R	IL-19	\$76,000
Shuster, Bill	R	PA-9	\$12,250
Simmons, Rob	R	CT-2	\$20,200
Simpson, Mike	R	ID-2	\$1,000
Skelton, Ike	D	MO-4	\$5,000
Slaughter, Louise M	D	NY-28	\$2,000
Smith, Adam	D	WA-9	\$0
Smith, Chris	R	NJ-4	\$1,000
Smith, Lamar	R	TX-21	\$10,000
Smith, Nick	R	MI-7	\$0
Snyder, Vic	D	AR-2	\$0
Solis, Hilda L	D	CA-32	\$6,000
Souder, Mark E	R	IN-3	\$2,500
Spratt, John M Jr	D	SC-5	\$23,079
Stark, Pete	D	CA-13	\$0
Stearns, Cliff	R	FL-6	\$19,000
Stenholm, Charles W	D	TX-17	\$25,500
Strickland, Ted	D	OH-6	\$28,500
Stupak, Bart	D	MI-1	\$34,500
Sullivan, John	R	OK-1	\$7,000
Sweeney, John E	R	NY-20	\$9,500
Tancredo, Tom	R	CO-6	\$2,500
Tanner, John	D	TN-8	\$4,500
Tauscher, Ellen	D	CA-10	\$7,000
Tauzin, Billy	R	LA-3	\$98,152
Taylor, Charles H	R	NC-11	\$6,500
Taylor, Gene	D	MI-4	\$6,400
Terry, Lee	R	NE-2	\$23,600
Thomas, Bill	R	CA-22	\$16,000
Thompson, Bennie G	D	MS-2	\$6,000
Thompson, Mike	D	CA-1	\$3,000
Thornberry, Mac	R	TX-13	\$10,000
Tiahrt, Todd	R	KS-4	\$9,000
Tiberi, Patrick J	R	OH-12	\$6,756
Tierney, John F	D	MA-6	\$0
Toomey, Pat	R	PA-15	\$18,000
Towns, Edolphus	D	NY-10	\$42,000
Turner, Jim	D	TX-2	\$15,500
Turner, Michael R	R	OH-3	\$1,000
Udall, Mark	D	CO-2	\$3,000
Udall, Tom	D	NM-3	\$0
Upton, Fred	R	MI-6	\$22,750
Van Hollen, Chris	D	MD-8	\$2,000
Velazquez, Nydia M	D	NY-12	\$0
Visclosky, Pete	D	IN-1	\$9,500
Vitter, David	R	LA-1	\$7,000
Walden, Greg	R	OR-2	\$18,000
Walsh, James T	R	NY-25	\$2,000
Wamp, Zach	R	TN-3	\$0
Waters, Maxine	D	CA-35	\$0
Watson, Diane E	D	CA-33	\$1,000
Watt, Melvin L	D	NC-12	\$2,000
Waxman, Henry A	D	CA-30	\$2,000

Weiner, Anthony D	D	NY-9	\$0
Weldon, Curt	R	PA-7	\$10,500
Weldon, Dave	R	FL-15	\$2,500
Weller, Jerry	R	IL-11	\$32,000
Wexler, Robert	D	FL-19	\$4,000
Whitfield, Ed	R	KY-1	\$23,000
Wicker, Roger	R	MS-1	\$7,500
Wilson, Heather	R	NM-1	\$42,500
Wilson, Joe	R	SC-2	\$10,000
Wolf, Frank R	R	VA-10	\$2,000
Woolsey, Lynn	D	CA-6	\$2,250
Wu, David	D	OR-1	\$0
Wynn, Albert R	D	MD-4	\$37,000
Young, C W Bill	R	FL-10	\$4,000
Young, Don	R	AK-1	\$8,000
TOTAL			\$4,089,554

# Appendix II: Nuclear Industry PAC Contributions to Senators, 108th Congress

Senator	Party	State	98 Total	00 Total	02 Total	<b>Grand TOTAL</b>
Akaka, Daniel K	D	HI	\$0	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000
Alexander, Lamar	R	TN	\$0	\$0	\$24,000	\$24,000
Allard, Wayne	R	CO	\$1,000	\$0	\$45,697	\$46,697
Allen, George	R	VA	\$0	\$25,000	\$4,000	\$29,000
Baucus, Max	D	MT	\$0	\$500	\$68,999	\$69,499
Bayh, Evan	D	IN	\$7,500	\$0	\$15,500	\$23,000
Bennett, Robert	R	UT	\$7,000	\$0	\$3,000	\$10,000
Biden, Joseph	D	DE	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Bingaman, Jeff	D	NM	\$0	\$58,000	\$0	,
Bond, Christopher	R	MO	\$51,750	\$0	\$9,500	
Boxer, Barbara	D	CA	\$4,500	\$0	\$2,000	\$6,500
Breaux, John	D	LA	\$29,750	\$1,000	\$9,000	\$39,750
Brownback, Sam	R	KS	\$5,500	\$0	\$2,000	\$7,500
Bunning, Jim	R	KY	\$18,000	\$5,000	\$12,500	\$35,500
Burns, Conrad	R	MT	\$12,500	\$60,900	\$3,000	\$76,400
Byrd, Robert	D	WV	\$1,000	\$8,000	\$0	\$9,000
Campbell, Ben	R	CO	\$7,500	\$500	\$0	\$8,000
Cantwell, Maria	D	WA	\$0	\$0	(\$1,000)	(\$1,000)
Carper, Thomas	D	DE	\$0	\$0	\$17,100	\$17,100
Chafee, Lincoln	R	RI	\$0	\$8,250	\$0	\$8,250
Chambliss, Saxby	R	GA	\$11,500	\$10,000	\$37,000	\$58,500
Clinton, Hillary	D	NY	\$0	\$2,500	\$3,000	\$5,500
Cochran, Thad	R	MS	\$0	\$0	\$25,000	\$25,000
Coleman, Norm	R	MN	\$0	\$0	\$87,250	\$87,250
Collins, Susan	R	ME	\$0	\$0	\$37,000	\$37,000
Conrad, Kent	D	ND	\$1,000	\$25,750	\$14,500	\$41,250
Cornyn, John	R	TX	\$0	\$0	\$63,000	\$63,000
Corzine, Jon	D	NJ	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Craig, Larry	R	ID	\$19,000	\$7,500	\$81,250	\$107,750
Crapo, Michael	R	ID	\$52,500	\$2,000	\$27,500	\$82,000
Daschle, Thomas	D	SD	\$8,500	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$18,500
Dayton, Mark	D	MN	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
DeWine, Mike	R	OH	\$9,500	\$16,300	\$500	\$26,300
Dodd, Christopher	D	CT	\$19,000	\$2,000	\$5,000	\$26,000
Dole, Elizabeth	R	NC	\$0	\$0	\$64,100	\$64,100
Domenici, Pete	R	NM	\$0	\$0	\$81,499	\$81,499
Dorgan, Byron	D	ND	\$23,299	\$3,500	\$14,500	\$41,299
Durbin, Richard	D	IL	\$6,000	\$1,500	\$11,500	\$19,000
Edwards, John	D	NC	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Ensign, John	R	NV	\$0	\$2,000	\$0	\$2,000
Enzi, Michael	R	WY	\$0	\$4,000	\$18,000	\$22,000
Feingold, Russell	D	WI	\$500	\$0	\$2,000	\$2,500
Feinstein, Dianne	D	CA	\$0	\$20,750	\$1,000	\$21,750
Fitzgerald, Peter	R	IL	\$17,000	\$23,000	\$8,300	\$48,300
Frist, Bill	R	TN	\$1,000	\$12,000	\$0	\$13,000
Graham, Bob	D	FL	\$28,787	\$1,000	\$16,500	\$46,287
Graham, Lindsey	R	SC	\$9,748	\$31,974	\$80,000	\$121,722
Grassley, Chuck	R	IA	\$8,000	\$1,000	\$18,000	\$27,000
Gregg, Judd	R	NH	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0

Hagel, Chuck	R	NE	\$21,000	\$32,500	\$37,500	\$91,000
Harkin, Ton	D	IA	\$0	\$0	\$9,500	\$9,500
Hatch, Orrin	R	UT	\$3,000	\$2,500	\$0	\$5,500
Hollings, Ernest	D	SC	\$33,500	\$5,500	\$19,000	\$58,000
Hutchison, Kay	R	TX	\$18,000	\$14,500	\$2,000	\$34,500
Inhofe, James	R	OK	\$0	\$27,500	\$73,500	\$101,000
Inouye, Daniel	D	HI	\$500	\$0	\$0	\$500
Jeffords, James	I	VT	\$0	\$12,499	\$0	\$12,499
Johnson, Tim	D	SD	\$9,155	\$9,500	\$31,500	\$50,155
Kennedy, Edward	D	MA	\$500	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,500
Kerry, John	D	MA	\$0	\$2,000	\$0 \$0	\$2,000
Kohl, Herb	D	WI	\$0	\$0	\$0 \$0	\$2,000 \$0
Kyl, Jon	R	AZ	\$0	\$21,000	\$2,000	\$23,000
Landrieu, Mary	D	LA	\$15,750	\$21,000	\$105,499	\$145,499
•	D	NJ	\$13,730	\$24,230		
Lautenberg, Frank		VT	\$0	\$0 \$0	\$1,000	\$1,000
Leahy, Patrick	D		\$0	\$300	\$0 \$32,399	\$0
Levin, Carl	D	MI	\$214			\$32,699
Lieberman, Joseph	D	CT		\$13,500	\$0	\$13,714
Lincoln, Blanche	D	AR	\$26,000	\$7,750	\$37,550	\$71,300
Lott, Trent	R	MS	\$8,000	\$59,000	\$0	\$67,000
Lugar, Richard	R	IN	\$1,500	\$5,500	\$0	\$7,000
McCain, John	R	AZ	\$20,500	\$6,500	(\$500)	\$26,500
McConnell, Mitch	R	KY	\$0	\$2,000	\$29,250	\$31,250
Mikulski, Barbara	D	MD	\$1,500	\$1,000	\$2,000	\$4,500
Miller, Zell	D	GA	\$0	\$18,500	\$0	\$18,500
Murkowski, Lisa	R	AK	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Murray, Patty	D	WA	\$4,750	\$1,000	\$3,000	\$8,750
Nelson, Ben	D	NE	\$0	\$3,500	\$10,250	\$13,750
Nelson, Bill	D	FL	\$0	\$12,750	\$18,350	\$31,100
Nickles, Don	R	OK	\$44,000	(\$1,000)	\$0	\$43,000
Pryor, Mark	D	AR	\$0	\$0	\$2,500	\$2,500
Reed, Jack	D	RI	\$1,000	\$3,000	\$5,500	\$9,500
Reid, Harry	D	NV	\$1,000	\$0	\$2,000	\$3,000
Roberts, Pat	R	KS	\$0	\$0	\$9,500	\$9,500
Rockefeller, John	D	WV	\$1,000	(\$500)	\$29,000	\$29,500
Santorum, Rick	R	PA	\$20,600	\$52,400	\$6,100	\$79,100
Sarbanes, Paul	D	MD	\$0	\$6,500	\$0	\$6,500
Schumer, Charles	D	NY	\$0	\$9,000	\$11,000	\$20,000
Sessions, Jeff	R	AL	\$0	\$3,500	\$21,500	\$25,000
Shelby, Richard	R	AL	\$11,000	\$2,500	\$4,000	\$17,500
Smith, Gordon	R	OR	\$15,500	\$16,000	\$53,000	\$84,500
Snowe, Olympia	R	ME	\$2,000	\$14,000	\$0	\$16,000
Specter, Arlen	R	PA	\$31,850	\$0	\$15,000	\$46,850
Stabenow, Debbie	D	MI	\$10,500	\$10,250	\$9,000	\$29,750
Stevens, Ted	R	AK	\$1,500	\$0	\$12,000	\$13,500
Sununu, John	R	NH	\$4,000	\$5,500	\$79,000	\$88,500
Talent, James	R	MO	\$2,000	\$0	\$39,600	\$41,600
Thomas, Craig	R	WY	\$1,000	\$37,500	\$2,000	\$40,500
Voinovich, George	R	OH	\$28,030	\$4,500	\$64,828	\$97,358
Warner, John	R	VA	\$4,750	\$4,500	\$23,539	\$32,789
Wyden, Ron	D	OR	\$12,400	(\$500)	\$3,000	\$14,900
TOTAL			\$717,333		\$1,722,560	\$3,235,016

# Appendix III: Nuclear Industry Political Action Committee (PAC) Contributions to Members of 108th Congress, 2002 Election Cycle

Political Action Committee	House	Senate	TOTAL
Exelon	\$432,819	\$155,225	\$588,044
Southern Company	\$328,400	\$159,600	\$488,000
Nuclear Management Company	\$307,990	\$127,097	\$435,087
Entergy	\$291,827	\$139,000	\$430,827
TXU	\$321,258	\$73,600	\$394,858
Duke	\$244,000	\$132,000	\$376,000
American Electric Power (AEP)	\$261,250	\$85,000	\$346,250
Progress Energy, Inc.	\$250,000	\$94,500	\$344,500
Florida Power & Light	\$195,000	\$143,000	\$338,000
Dominion	\$223,432	\$86,892	\$310,324
Edison International	\$228,400	\$80,800	\$309,200
The Detroit Edison Company (DTE Energy)	\$184,837	\$58,050	\$242,887
Reliant	\$154,992	\$41,000	\$195,992
FirstEnergy Corp.	\$130,000	\$48,600	\$178,600
PG&E Corp.	\$109,625	\$35,050	\$144,675
PPL Corporation (Pennsylvania Power & Light)	\$108,095	\$32,500	\$140,595
Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI)	\$57,532	\$72,996	\$130,528
North Atlantic Energy [Service] Corp (Northeast Utilities)	\$62,333	\$31,050	\$93,383
AmerenUE (Ameren Corp.)	\$70,000	\$18,500	\$88,500
Constellation Nuclear (Constellation Energy Group, Inc.)	\$41,000	\$40,500	\$81,500
MidAmerican Energy Company	\$41,613	\$32,000	\$73,613
Kansas City Power & Light	\$26,500	\$11,600	\$38,100
South Carolina Electric & Gas Company (SCANA Corporation)	\$11,500	\$11,000	\$22,500
Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power	\$2,500	\$12,000	\$14,500
Rochester Gas & Electric (RGS Energy Group)	\$3,651	\$1,000	\$4,651
STP Nuclear Operating Company	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000
Central Power & Light	\$0	\$0	\$0
KGE-Western Resources, Inc.	\$0	\$0	\$0
San Diego Gas & Electric Co.	\$0	\$0	\$0
TOTAL	\$4,089,554	\$1,722,560	\$5,812,114