

Last

Gasp



**Can Polluters Buy Congress
in the Clean Air Fight?**

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Foreword

Big polluters lost and the American public won in July of 1997.

The Clinton Administration approved a new Clean Air Act rule to cut down on soot and smog, despite a multi-million dollar disinformation campaign of advertising, rented scientists and spin control that was bankrolled by the major oil, steel, and power companies. They wanted to kill the rule because it will require them to spend a fraction of their profits and revenues to cut deadly pollution that makes millions of Americans ill and prematurely ends thousands of lives annually.

The polluters haven't given up. They have been working overtime--exhorted by congressional leaders--to win from Congress what they lost at EPA and in the White House.

In particular, 192 members of the House of Representatives

have signed their name on legislation (H.R. 1984) that would delay the new standards for four years, at a terrible cost in human health and lives.

As this report documents, campaign contributions have poured into the House of Representatives from the polluting companies that made the defeat of the new clean air rule one of their top priorities in the Capitol this year. Their front group, the "Air Quality Standards Coalition," can claim dozens of political action committees among its members. This report identifies the PAC contributors and the members of the House who not only took the polluters' money, but signed onto a bill that in some cases will directly harm the health of thousands of their own constituents.

We can't be certain, of course, that polluters were able to buy or rent the political support of these politicians. Maybe journalists can find out.

KENNETH A. COOK
PRESIDENT, EWG

Executive Summary

What influences members of Congress more?

Toxic air pollution that the government has concluded will shorten the lives of the people they represent? Or campaign contributions politicians receive from companies that are causing the pollution and opposing a new regulation to control it?

Our analysis of campaign gifts and air pollution data concludes that too many politicians in the House of Representatives side *with* their contributors and *against* their constituents on air pollution, even in U.S. metropolitan areas where air pollution prematurely ends thousands of lives each year. Our analysis underscores the need to clean up America's air *and* our campaign finance laws.

- Political Action Committees (PACs) of major companies that will have to control pollution under newly approved Clean Air Act regulations contributed \$12.2 million to members of the U.S. House of Representatives since January, 1995.
- 192 House members now support legislation to delay

new clean air standards for at least four years, even though postponing pollution control will prematurely shorten the lives of tens of thousands of Americans (Table 1).

- Campaign gifts from polluting companies were nearly

Table 1. Tens of thousands of people will die prematurely during the minimum four year delay in clean air standards implementation required by HR 1984.

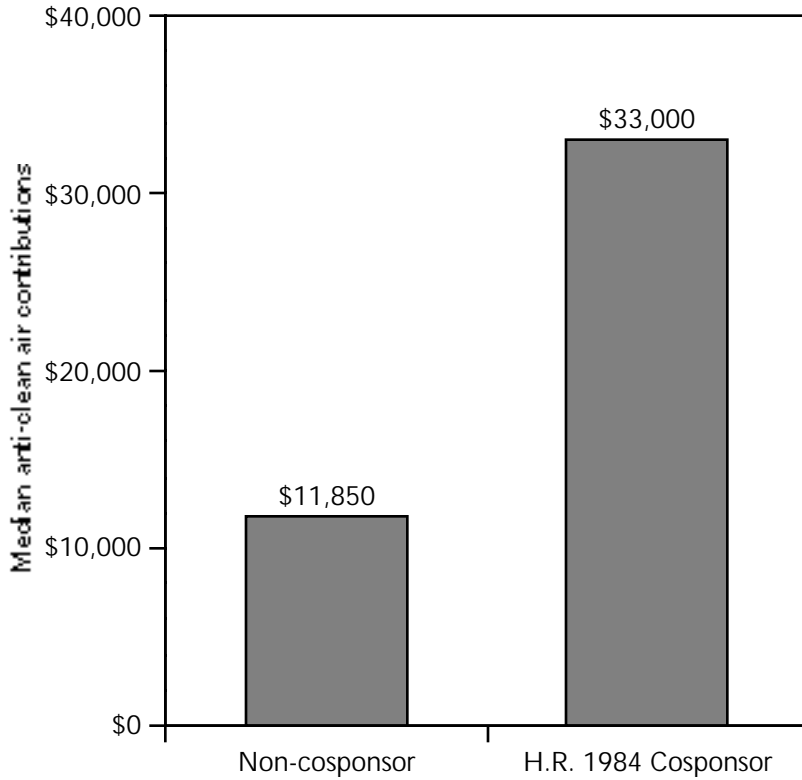
Rank	Metropolitan Area	Number of lives not saved due to delay required by HR 1984*	Percent Cosponsoring HR 1984**
1	Chicago, IL	10,510	18%
2	Philadelphia, PA--NJ	9,170	25%
3	Detroit, MI	8,430	60%
4	Los Angeles--Long Beach, CA	7,790	8%
5	New York, NY	7,470	0%
6	Cleveland, OH	4,600	25%
7	St. Louis, MO--IL	3,430	67%
8	Newark, NJ	3,410	0%
9	Pittsburgh, PA	3,360	60%
10	Riverside--San Bernardino, CA	2,770	17%
11	Baltimore, MD	2,530	40%
12	Phoenix, AZ	2,190	40%
13	Kansas City, MO--KS	1,880	80%
14	Cincinnati, OH--KY--IN	1,690	100%
15	Bergen--Passaic, NJ	1,550	0%

* Requires at least a four year delay in clean air standards.

** Only those members who accept PAC contributions are included in the analysis.

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. EPA AIRS database, 1994-1995, Southern California Air Resources Board Air Quality data, 1995, and Centers for Disease Control, Wonder database, mortality data, 1994.

Figure 1. Members of Congress who support a bill delaying clean air standards (H.R. 1984) receive nearly three times more money from big air polluters than those not opposed to the new health standards.



Note: Medians represent only members of the House who accept PAC contributions. Anti-clean air PAC contributors include the 133 members of the Air Quality Standards Coalition for which data were available.

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from Federal Election Commission data, October 1997 release.

Even in the most polluted cities with thousands of premature deaths each year from dirty air, concern for the health of constituents pales in comparison to the influence of campaign money from big air polluters.

three times greater to House sponsors of the bill to delay pollution controls compared to House members who do not cosponsor (\$33,000 vs. \$11,850) (Figure 1).

- The more money a House member receives from major air polluters, the more likely that politician is to support legislation that would postpone air pollution control—even in the U.S. metro areas where a delay would endanger the most lives (Figure 2). Among members of the House who received the most campaign contributions from polluting industries (the top 20 percent of recipients), 66 percent support a 4-year delay in controlling pollutants. By contrast, among House members who accepted the least amount of PAC money from polluting industries (bottom 20 percent of recipients), only 7 percent sided with the industry bill to delay clean air safeguards (Figure 3).
- Compared to campaign contributions from polluters, the number of constituents whose lives are threatened by pollution is a fairly poor indicator of a House politician's stance on clean air. In the top third of all metro areas that have the highest levels of air-pollution related pre-

ture mortality, 41 percent of all House members favor legislation to delay clean air standards. That is roughly the same percentage of House members (43 percent) who support a legislative delay on clean air, and whose districts are in metro areas where almost no premature deaths are predicted from air pollution (Figure 4).

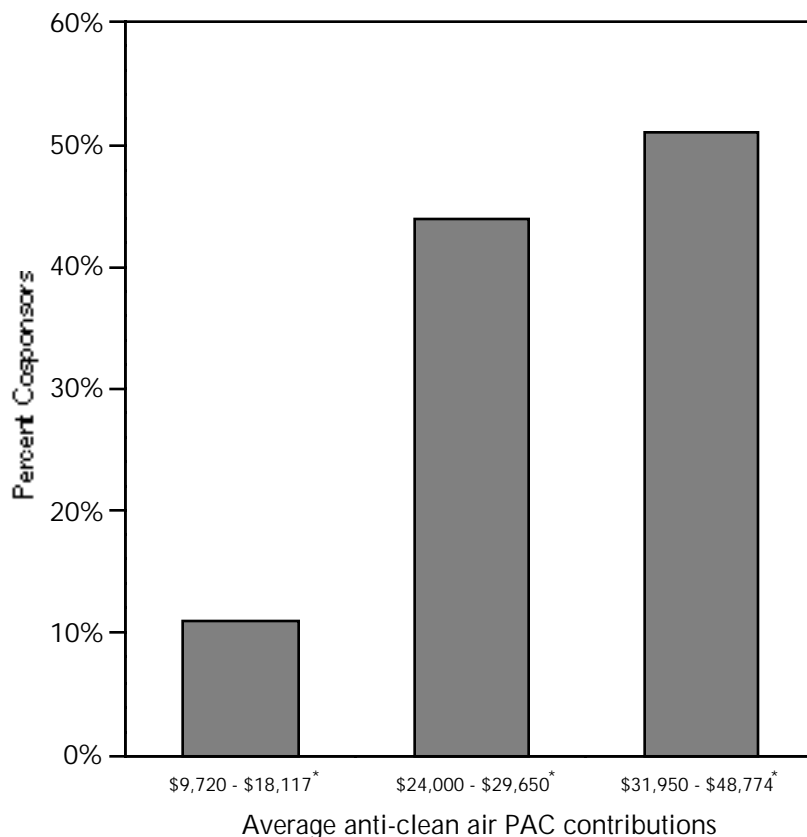
Conclusions and Recommendations

The more money a member of the House receives from big air polluters the more likely that member is to oppose clean air standards. In contrast, the number of people in a given congressional district that will die prematurely from air pollution does not correlate at all with cosponsorship of HR 1984.

An ever increasing mountain of evidence demonstrates the corrosive effect that special interest donations has had on the political process. There is simply too much money chasing after a small number of decisionmakers who are dependent on special interest money to finance costly campaigns.

Recently, the Congress failed yet again to enact even modest campaign finance reform legislation. Real campaign finance reform would include immediate and complete disclosure of all donations, limits on “soft money” donations to political

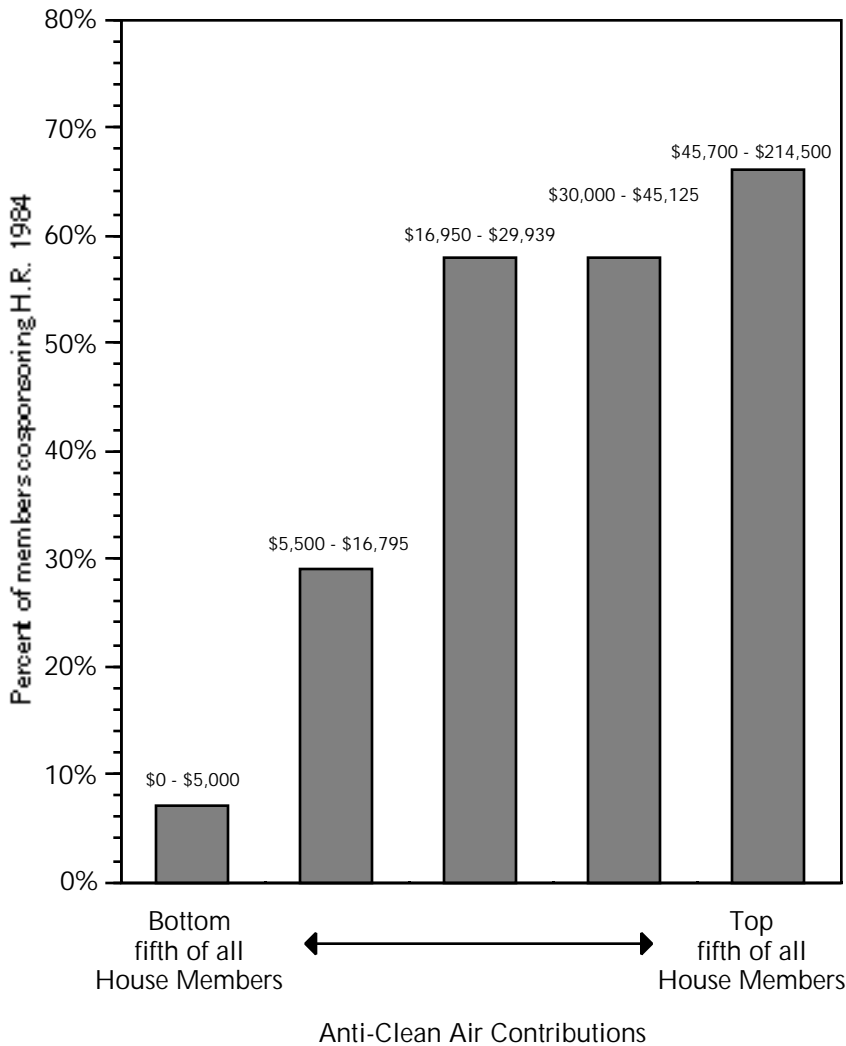
Figure 2. Even in the metropolitan areas with the most premature death from air pollution, PAC cash from polluters means opposition to clean air health standards.



* Each of the 3 bars represents 5 of the top 15 metropolitan areas with the most air pollution related to premature mortality. Anti-clean air PAC contributors include the 133 members of the Air Quality Standards Coalition for which data were available. Only members of the House who accept PAC contributions were included in this analysis.

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from Federal Election Commission data, October 1997 release.

Figure 3. The more money a member of Congress receives from big air polluters, the more likely he or she is to oppose new air quality standards.



Note: Each of the 5 bars represents 83 members of the House who take PAC contributions. Anti-clean air PAC contributors include the 133 members of Air Quality Standards Coalition for which data were available.

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from Federal Election Commission data, October 1997 release.

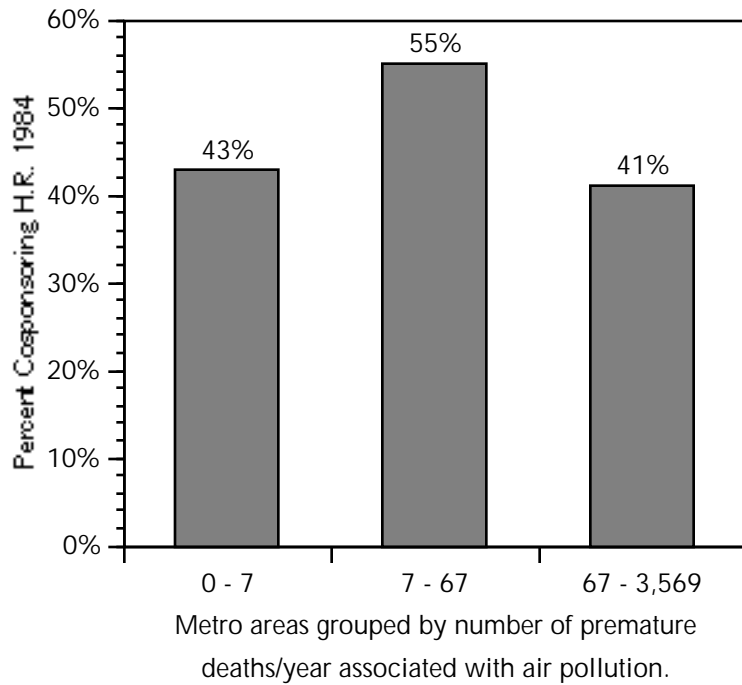
parties, and some mechanism to level the playing field between candidates (such as providing free broadcast time or even perhaps extending public financing of campaigns beyond the Presidential election to include other federal candidates.)

There are a wide variety of policy options available to Congress but the principal obstacle to reform continues to be the ease with which money lubricates the current system. Until members of Congress are willing to end their dependency on special interest donations, all efforts to reform the campaign finance system are sure to fail.

We recommend that members of Congress place the health of their constituents above the narrow interests of campaign contributors by:

- Supporting EPA’s newly promulgated National Ambient Air Quality Standards for ozone and particulate matter.
- Not taking any action that would delay implementation of these new health standards.

Figure 4. The health consequences of air pollution do not influence support for clean air standards.



Note: Each of the 3 bars represents one third of all metropolitan areas in the study (110 cities), grouped by the number of deaths associated with air pollution.

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. EPA AIRS data, 1994-1995, Southern California Air Resources Board Air Quality Data, 1995, and Centers for Disease Control, Wonder Database, mortality data, 1994.

Particulate Politics

On July 18, 1997, the EPA finalized new air pollution regulations for microscopic airborne soot that can penetrate into the deepest regions of the lungs. The new rules will reduce so-called “fine particle” air pollution by about half over 10 to 15 years, averting some 35,000 premature deaths each year. In addition to saving thousands of lives every year, reducing fine particle air pollution will save the public between \$12 billion and \$20 billion per year in health care costs (EPA 1997).

In spite of the clear economic and health benefits of reducing fine particle air pollution, 192 members of the House have co-sponsored legislation, H.R. 1984, that will postpone implementation of these rules for four years or more. The delay required by H.R. 1984 would cause tens of thousands of unnecessary deaths each year and more than \$100 billion per year in potential economic benefits lost. Typically, members supporting this postponement have received huge sums of money from big air polluters that are actively fighting the clean air rule. This report examines the relationship between political money given to

members of Congress by big air polluters and opposition to clean air standards by members who receive these contributions. Opposition to clean air standards is then compared with the number of fatalities that would be caused by delay of the new regulations in each county or metropolitan area.

Campaign Money and Dirty Air

A recent report by the Environmental Working Group (EWG 1997) identified the top air polluting corporations and utilities in the nation. The combined profits of 114 of the top polluting parent companies was \$68.6 billion dollars per year (average profit 1995-1996), while gross revenues from 104 of these companies averaged over \$1.2 *trillion* per year over the same two year period. Most of these companies have invested heavily in the campaign against the clean air standards. The campaign has been spearheaded by the Air Quality Standards Coalition (AQSC), an organization run from within the National Association of Manufacturers.

To better understand the relationship between political money given to members of Congress by

The delay required by H.R. 1984 would cause tens of thousands of unnecessary deaths each year and more than \$100 billion per year in potential economic benefits lost.

Between January 1995 and September of 1997 AQSC member PAC contributions totaled 12.2 million dollars to 416 House members.

big air polluters, and support for H.R. 1984, the Environmental Working Group analyzed contributions to the Congressional delegations from PACs maintained by member companies of AQSC. Contributions from these PACs were determined for all members of the House of Representatives that accept PAC contributions, and the amounts given to cosponsors of H.R. 1984 were compared with amounts given to members who have not cosponsored HR 1984. We then estimated how many additional fatalities would result in metropolitan areas across the nation as a direct result of the four year delay in implementing the new clean air standards which would be the minimum delay mandated by the proposed legislation. Mortality rates were compared with cosponsorship rates for representatives of those areas.

The Biggest Contributors

Between January 1995 and September of 1997 AQSC member PAC contributions totaled 12.2 million dollars to 416 House members. The corporation that contributed the most was General Motors, which gave \$784,000 to members of the House since January 1995. Notably, a GM scientist headed the Clean Air Science Advisory Committee which oversaw the development of the air standards.

Next to GM, the biggest contributors during the 1996 and 1998 election cycle were Northrop Grumman, Philip Mor-

ris, Tenneco, and the American Trucking Association, which contributed \$772,000, \$601,000, \$466,000, and \$417,000, respectively (Table 5). Together, these five corporations alone contributed over \$3 million to members of Congress, just in the 1996 and 1998 election cycles.

Top Members

The 181 members of Congress who accept PAC contributions and who have indicated opposition to the clean air standards by cosponsoring H.R. 1984 received \$7.26 million since January 1995. The 235 members who have not cosponsored the bill have received only \$4.91 million since that time.

Traditionally, the influence of PAC contributions has been measured by comparing average amounts received by supporters or non-supporters of specific legislation or policy positions. Using averages, however, is not the best way to measure the influence of PAC money, because it can be biased by outliers, in this case individuals who receive large contributions due to their positions and therefore are not comparable to other members. Examples include committee chairs and party leaders. Looking at the distribution of contributions and comparing median levels of money received, controls much more effectively for the effects of such outliers and produces a more accurate picture of the impact of money on the process. The median take

Table 5. The top fifty corporations opposing new clean air standards gave almost \$10 million to members of the House since January 1995.

Rank	Parent Company	Number of PACS	Total Contributions*		
			1996	1998	1996 - 1998
1	General Motors Corp	3	\$ 584,475	\$ 199,600	\$ 784,078
2	Philip Morris Cos Inc	3	\$ 580,633	\$ 191,771	\$ 772,407
3	Northrop Grumman Corp	1	\$ 483,000	\$ 118,250	\$ 601,251
4	Tenneco	2	\$ 434,475	\$ 31,800	\$ 466,277
5	American Trucking Assoc	5	\$ 346,886	\$ 71,050	\$ 417,941
6	Ford Motor Co	3	\$ 251,090	\$ 73,475	\$ 324,568
7	Boeing Co The	1	\$ 228,511	\$ 87,069	\$ 315,581
8	Chrysler Corp	2	\$ 201,123	\$ 80,000	\$ 281,125
9	Exxon Co USA	1	\$ 266,900	\$ 2,000	\$ 268,901
10	WMX Technologies Inc	2	\$ 232,775	\$ 29,200	\$ 261,977
11	Southern Co	6	\$ 190,600	\$ 57,850	\$ 248,456
12	American Farm Bureau Federation	13	\$ 227,253	\$ 16,000	\$ 243,266
13	Rockwell International Corp	1	\$ 219,850	-	\$ 219,851
14	Associated Builders & Contractors	1	\$ 187,100	\$ 32,250	\$ 219,351
15	FMC Corp	1	\$ 133,400	\$ 66,000	\$ 199,401
16	United Technologies Corp	1	\$ 151,424	\$ 46,250	\$ 197,675
17	TRW Inc	1	\$ 155,754	\$ 37,636	\$ 193,391
18	Koch Industries Inc	1	\$ 177,000	\$ 12,500	\$ 189,501
19	Chevron Corp	1	\$ 165,450	\$ 9,300	\$ 174,751
20	National Mining Assoc	2	\$ 127,686	\$ 35,306	\$ 162,994
21	Texas Utilities Services Inc	3	\$ 112,000	\$ 43,000	\$ 155,003
22	USX Corp	3	\$ 113,849	\$ 37,208	\$ 151,060
23	Houston Industries Inc	1	\$ 97,765	\$ 52,000	\$ 149,766
24	du Pont de Nemours & Co El	3	\$ 113,400	\$ 30,000	\$ 143,403
25	ARCO	2	\$ 123,750	\$ 16,000	\$ 139,752
26	National Cotton Council	1	\$ 104,663	\$ 34,939	\$ 139,603
27	Detroit Edison Co	1	\$ 106,215	\$ 31,600	\$ 137,816
28	Occidental International Corp	3	\$ 123,250	\$ 10,000	\$ 133,253
29	AlliedSignal Aerospace	1	\$ 119,000	\$ 14,250	\$ 133,251
30	Texaco Inc	1	\$ 110,635	\$ 19,450	\$ 130,086
31	American Textile Manufacturers Institute	1	\$ 88,500	\$ 35,500	\$ 124,001
32	Ashland Inc	2	\$ 100,175	\$ 22,500	\$ 122,677
33	American Portland Cement Alliance	1	\$ 87,769	\$ 30,750	\$ 118,520
34	Amoco Corp	1	\$ 114,250	\$ 500	\$ 114,751
35	International Paper Co	1	\$ 86,900	\$ 21,349	\$ 108,250
36	Cyprus Amax Minerals Corp	1	\$ 87,750	\$ 16,500	\$ 104,251
37	Motorola Inc	1	\$ 74,518	\$ 29,200	\$ 103,719
38	American Meat Institute	1	\$ 91,246	\$ 12,000	\$ 103,247
39	Westvaco Corp	1	\$ 100,500	-	\$ 100,501
40	Entergy Services Inc	6	\$ 64,500	\$ 34,000	\$ 98,506
41	Shell Oil Co	1	\$ 66,300	\$ 26,500	\$ 92,801
42	American Electric Power Co	6	\$ 72,968	\$ 19,000	\$ 91,974
43	Printing Industries of America Inc	1	\$ 87,750	\$ 2,000	\$ 89,751
44	Holland & Knight	1	\$ 65,719	\$ 23,750	\$ 89,470
45	National Broiler Council	1	\$ 68,500	\$ 20,500	\$ 89,001
46	American Furniture Manufacturers Assoc	1	\$ 71,250	\$ 17,500	\$ 88,751
47	Shaw Pittman Potts & Trowbridge	1	\$ 55,300	\$ 30,000	\$ 85,301
48	Deere & Co	2	\$ 73,500	\$ 10,000	\$ 83,502
49	Cargill Inc	1	\$ 77,500	\$ 4,500	\$ 82,001
50	Ryder System Inc	1	\$ 63,250	\$ 15,000	\$ 78,251
Total from Top 50 AQSC Affiliated Companies			\$ 8,068,057	\$ 1,856,803	\$ 9,924,860

* Contributed by companies that belong to the Air Quality Standards Coalition (AQSC).

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

Fifty-nine percent of the members in the 10 states with the highest per member average in air polluter PAC contributions have signaled their opposition to clean air by cosponsoring the Klink Bill, compared to 7 percent of the members in the bottom ten states.

Support or opposition to clean air standards does not correlate at all with the health needs of the public, as measured in air pollution related premature deaths.

by a cosponsor was \$33,000 compared to the median for a non-cosponsor of \$11,850 (Figure 1). Total PAC contributions and position on the Klink bill are given for each member in the Appendix.

The top recipient of AQSC member PAC money in the House was Rep. Delay (R-TX), the House Majority Whip, with \$214,500 since January 1995. Rep. DeLay is followed by Rep. Livingston (R-LA), House Speaker Gingrich (R-GA), and Rep. Schaeffer (R-CO), who received \$151,500, \$136,426, and \$134,500, respectively from AQSC member PACs during the same period of time. Seven of the top 10 (70%) and 33 of the top 50 (66%) recipients of AQSC member PAC contributions are cosponsors of H.R. 1984 (Appendix).

Top States and Metro Areas

The Alaska delegation received the most money per member from AQSC member PACs, with a total of \$103,750. Members of the Wyoming, Louisiana, and Idaho delegations were the next largest recipients, with \$66,830, \$64,110, and \$52,440, respectively (Table 6). Fifty-nine percent of the members in the 10 states with the highest per member average in air polluter PAC contributions have signaled their opposition to clean air by cosponsoring the Klink Bill, compared to 7 percent of the members in the bottom ten states, and 44 percent of the House as a whole.

The metro area delegation with the largest average PAC money

per member, was Altoona, Pennsylvania with an average of \$123,000. The members from Hamilton — Middletown, Ohio; Brazoria, Texas; and Houma—Thibodaux, Louisiana; were next in line with average contributions ranging from \$109,890 to \$113,030. Sixty-eight percent of the members in the top 60 metro areas have signaled their opposition to clean air by cosponsoring the Klink Bill.

Top Death Metro Areas

Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles - Long Beach, and New York City top the list with the most premature deaths avoided under the new health standards (Table 7). More than 10,800 premature deaths per year will be avoided under the new health standards in these five metro areas alone. In the minimum four years of delay required by H.R. 1984, more than 43,000 people in these five metro areas will die prematurely as a result of air pollution that would have been prevented by prompt implementation of the rule.

One might think that at least in these regions, a large population at risk would predict support for clean air standards, the same way that AQSC member PAC contributions in the Congress as a whole predict support for HR 1984. Not so.

Support or opposition to clean air standards does not correlate at all with the health

needs of the public, as measured in air pollution related premature deaths. In the top one third of all metro areas in terms of air pollution related premature mortality, 41 percent of all House members cosponsor HR 1984. In the bottom third, made up largely of metro areas with zero deaths associated with air pollution, 43 percent of all House members support the same legislation (Figure 4). (This analysis was conducted in thirds because nearly one third of all metropolitan statistical areas have no air pollution related premature mortality.)

Their Money or Your Life

Our analysis of AQSC member PAC contributions demonstrates that the probability of a member cosponsoring H.R. 1984 increases in direct correlation with the amount of PAC money taken from AQSC members. Dividing the Congress into quintiles, or fifths, based on PAC contributions from AQSC members shows a concentration of cosponsors among the members that received the most money. In the top fifth, 66 percent of the members cosponsored the bill, compared to only 7% in the bottom fifth (Table 8).

This trend is also borne out in areas that suffer the most from air pollution. While each of the 15 metropolitan areas with the highest number of premature deaths from PM2.5 have similar concerns about public health, jobs, and the economy, cam-

Table 6. States receiving the most AQSC member PAC money per member more likely to oppose clean air standards.

Rank	State	Anti-Clean Air PAC Contributions per member*	Total Anti-Clean Air** PAC Contributions	Percent H.R. 1984 Cosponsors
1	Alaska	\$ 103,750	\$ 103,750	100%
2	Wyoming	\$ 66,831	\$ 66,831	100%
3	Louisiana	\$ 64,113	\$ 448,790	86%
4	Idaho	\$ 52,441	\$ 104,881	100%
5	Texas	\$ 50,181	\$ 1,455,235	52%
6	Georgia	\$ 45,624	\$ 501,862	64%
7	Washington	\$ 42,803	\$ 385,228	11%
8	Arizona	\$ 42,014	\$ 252,081	33%
9	Kentucky	\$ 41,874	\$ 251,243	100%
10	Oklahoma	\$ 41,234	\$ 247,406	100%
11	Virginia	\$ 40,501	\$ 445,513	64%
12	Kansas	\$ 40,245	\$ 160,980	100%
13	South Carolina	\$ 38,563	\$ 154,250	50%
14	Nevada	\$ 38,425	\$ 76,850	50%
15	Ohio	\$ 38,196	\$ 649,339	82%
16	Iowa	\$ 38,184	\$ 152,736	100%
17	Montana	\$ 37,750	\$ 37,750	0%
18	Mississippi	\$ 36,327	\$ 181,637	80%
19	Alabama	\$ 35,790	\$ 250,533	100%
20	Colorado	\$ 34,808	\$ 208,850	67%
21	Indiana	\$ 34,351	\$ 309,155	89%
22	Nebraska	\$ 34,200	\$ 102,600	100%
23	Michigan	\$ 33,608	\$ 470,515	71%
24	Missouri	\$ 33,599	\$ 302,395	67%
25	Pennsylvania	\$ 31,129	\$ 591,451	68%
26	Tennessee	\$ 27,543	\$ 192,800	100%
27	Minnesota	\$ 26,506	\$ 212,050	13%
28	North Carolina	\$ 25,646	\$ 307,756	67%
29	Delaware	\$ 25,000	\$ 25,000	0%
30	West Virginia	\$ 24,700	\$ 74,100	100%
31	South Dakota	\$ 24,500	\$ 24,500	100%
32	North Dakota	\$ 23,350	\$ 23,350	0%
33	Wisconsin	\$ 23,306	\$ 209,750	44%
34	California	\$ 21,573	\$ 1,100,236	22%
35	Florida	\$ 21,025	\$ 483,567	30%
36	Illinois	\$ 20,968	\$ 398,388	37%
37	New Mexico	\$ 20,520	\$ 61,559	33%
38	Maryland	\$ 20,243	\$ 141,700	29%
39	New Hampshire	\$ 19,875	\$ 39,750	0%
40	Connecticut	\$ 17,954	\$ 107,724	0%
41	Utah	\$ 17,829	\$ 53,486	67%
42	New York	\$ 16,737	\$ 518,835	0%
43	Arkansas	\$ 12,200	\$ 36,600	100%
44	Oregon	\$ 11,200	\$ 56,002	20%
45	New Jersey	\$ 10,560	\$ 137,280	0%
46	Massachusetts	\$ 4,425	\$ 35,400	0%
47	Rhode Island	\$ 3,125	\$ 6,250	0%
48	Maine	\$ 2,175	\$ 4,350	0%
49	Hawaii	\$ 1,000	\$ 2,000	50%
50	Vermont			0%
	U.S. Total	\$ 29,241	\$ 12,164,294	

* Only members of the House who accept PAC contributions were included in the analysis.

** Contributed by companies that belong to the Air Quality Standards Coalition (AQSC).

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

Table 7. High number of premature deaths associated with air pollution does not necessarily translate into support for clean air standards.

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Number of lives not saved due to delay required by HR 1984*	Percent Cosponsoring HR 1984**
1	Chicago, IL	10,510	18%
2	Philadelphia, PA--NJ	9,170	25%
3	Detroit, MI	8,430	60%
4	Los Angeles--Long Beach, CA	7,790	8%
5	New York, NY	7,470	0%
6	Cleveland, OH	4,600	25%
7	St. Louis, MO--IL	3,430	67%
8	Newark, NJ	3,410	0%
9	Pittsburgh, PA	3,360	60%
10	Riverside--San Bernardino, CA	2,770	17%
11	Baltimore, MD	2,530	40%
12	Phoenix, AZ	2,190	40%
13	Kansas City, MO--KS	1,880	80%
14	Cincinnati, OH--KY--IN	1,690	100%
15	Bergen--Passaic, NJ	1,550	0%
16	Indianapolis, IN	1,330	60%
17	Atlanta, GA	1,260	63%
18	Anaheim--Santa Ana, CA	1,250	33%
19	Louisville, KY--IN	1,130	100%
20	Washington, DC--MD--VA	1,120	25%
21	Milwaukee, WI	1,000	33%
22	Omaha, NE--IA	880	100%
23	Lancaster, PA	860	100%
24	Columbus, OH	790	100%
25	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	780	100%
26	San Diego, CA	740	0%
27	Akron, OH	720	0%
28	Davenport--Rock Island--Moline, IA--IL	720	0%
29	Wilmington, DE--NJ--MD	710	0%
30	Minneapolis--St. Paul, MN--WI	690	0%
31	Jersey City, NJ	690	0%
32	Atlantic City, NJ	670	0%
33	Las Vegas, NV	650	50%
34	Knoxville, TN	630	100%
35	Nashville, TN	620	67%
36	Middlesex--Somerset--Hunterdon, NJ	620	0%
37	Fresno, CA	590	67%
38	Roanoke, VA	560	100%
39	Chattanooga, TN--GA	560	100%
40	York, PA	550	0%
41	Tampa--St. Petersburg--Clearwater, FL	480	0%
42	Houston, TX	460	25%
43	Evansville, IN--KY	440	100%
44	Grand Rapids, MI	440	0%
45	New Orleans, LA	430	67%
46	Charlotte--Gastonia--Rock Hill, NC--SC	420	67%
47	Huntington--Ashland, WV--KY--OH	410	100%
48	Dayton--Springfield, OH	410	100%
49	Harrisburg--Lebanon--Carlisle, PA	410	100%
50	Tulsa, OK	390	100%

* Requires at least a four year delay in clean air standards.

** Only those members who accept PAC contributions are included in the analysis.

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. EPA AIRS database, 1994-1995, Southern California Air Resources Board Air Quality data, 1995, and Centers for Disease Control, Wonder database, mortality data, 1994.

paigned contributions by big air polluters appear to be the best predictor of opposition to clean air health standards among the local delegations (Table 9). In the five delegations with the highest average AQSC member PAC contributions 51 percent of the House members have co-sponsored HR 1984. In the five areas with the lowest per member contribution, just 11 percent of the House members have co-sponsored HR 1984 (Table 9 and Figure 2).

The metropolitan Detroit delegation stands out as a group receiving a significant amount of AQSC member PAC money, with a high number of premature deaths, where a majority of the delegation opposes the clean air standards (Table 9). Other polluted metro areas where members of the House have received significant campaign cash from big air polluters and a majority of the delegation opposes clean air standards are Atlanta, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Missouri. Riverside-San Bernardino, California stands out as a metro area receiving significant amounts of AQSC member PAC money but where only one of the six members of the House support a delay in clean air standards. This anomalous finding could be explained by the high level of awareness among residents that the Riverside-San Bernardino area has some of the most polluted air in the country, making opposition to clean air standards a severe political liability.

Of the fifteen metropolitan areas with the highest premature mortality, New York City and Newark, New Jersey, received the least per member from AQSC member PACs at \$9,720 and \$12,575, respectively, since January 1995. No members of the House from these areas have cosponsored HR 1984. Los Angeles-Long Beach, with just one of fourteen members cosponsoring H.R. 1984, is next lowest with \$14,200 per member from big air polluters. These stand in contrast to average AQSC member PAC contributions in Atlanta and Phoenix, where 63 and 40 percent of the delegations support a delay in the clean air standard, and the average member received \$48,774, and \$42,986 since January 1995, respectively.

States of Confusion

In many states and counties the air is relatively clean and there are no areas likely to exceed the newly proposed air quality standards. There are 12 states in which no county is expected to exceed the standard, and 7 more where fewer than two counties will likely be out of attainment. In these “clean air states” the economic impact of the rule will be negligible, and the health consequences of air pollution are relatively minor.

Thirty two percent of the members of Congress from the 13 states currently in full com-

Table 8. Opposition to clean air increases in direct correlation to PAC money from big air polluters.

House members ranked by Amount of PAC Money from AQSC members*	Number of Co-sponsors	Percent Cosponsors
Top 20% of House members	55	66%
Next 20% of House members	48	58%
Next 20% of House members	48	58%
Next 20% of House members	24	29%
Bottom 20% of House members	6	7%

* Contributed by companies that belong to the Air Quality Standards Coalition (AQSC). Only members of the House who accept PAC contributions were included in the analysis.

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

pliance with the new regulations are opposed to the new health standards anyway. No counties in these states currently exceed the new PM 2.5 standard, and none are expected to in the future. In Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, and Wyoming, all of the House members are opposed the PM2.5 regulations even though they would have no impact in their state or district. All of these states rank in the top 16 for PAC money received by members (Table 6.) Given the fact that new health standards for fine particle air pollution will pose no economic burden on industries in these states, some other factors must drive these decisions. PAC contributions from big air polluters is certainly an important influence shaping the decisions of these members of the House.

House members from these clean air states who opposed

While each of the 15 metropolitan areas with the highest number of premature deaths from PM2.5 have similar concerns about public health, jobs, and the economy, campaign contributions by big air polluters appear to be the best predictor of opposition to clean air health standards among the local delegations

EPA's new air standards received an average of \$52,620 each in contributions from AQSC member PACs since January 1995, twice as much as members from their re-

spective states who support clean air, who received an average of \$26,060 from AQSC member PACs over the same period.

Table 9. Even in the metropolitan areas with the most premature death from air pollution, PAC money from polluters determines opposition to clean air health standards.

Metropolitan Area	Total * Number of Representatives	Number of H.R. 1984 Cosponsors	Average PAC Contributions per member**	Percent Cosponsoring H.R. 1984
Atlanta, GA	8	5	\$ 48,774	51%
Phoenix, AZ	5	2	\$ 42,986	
Detroit, MI	10	6	\$ 33,007	
St. Louis, MO--IL	6	4	\$ 31,956	
Riverside--San Bernardino, CA	6	1	\$ 31,950	
Kansas City, MO--KS	5	4	\$ 29,650	44%
Cleveland, OH	4	1	\$ 28,373	
Washington, DC--MD--VA	8	2	\$ 27,784	
Baltimore, MD	5	2	\$ 24,240	
Pittsburgh, PA	5	3	\$ 24,000	
Philadelphia, PA--NJ	12	3	\$ 18,117	11%
Chicago, IL	11	2	\$ 16,304	
Los Angeles--Long Beach, CA	13	1	\$ 14,196	
Newark, NJ	6	0	\$ 12,575	
New York, NY	15	0	\$ 9,720	

* Only members of the House who accept PAC contributions were included in the analysis.

** Contributed by companies that belong to the Air Quality Standards Coalition (AQSC).

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

Lives on the Line

What is Particulate Matter?

Particulate matter is the generic name for a broad class of toxic air pollution made up of substances that exist as discrete particles, suspended in the air in either liquid or solid form. This can include various toxic metals such as lead, copper, nickel, zinc and cadmium, and fine aerosol particles formed from sulfur and nitrogen oxides and organic compounds such as phenols (EPA 1996a). The new EPA particulate standard, referred to as the PM_{2.5} standard, regulates particles smaller than 2.5 microns in diameter. A micron is one millionth of a meter, roughly one 70th the width of a human hair.

Fine particles are either emitted directly into the air by coal-fired power plants, steel mills, diesel engines and other coal and oil-burning industrial processes, or they form in the atmosphere when particulate precursors (sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and volatile organic compounds) react with ammonia and other chemicals to create fine aerosols. Fine aerosol precursors are emitted into the atmosphere from power plants, oil refineries, steel mills, cars and

trucks and other manufacturing and industrial facilities.

In urban areas, particulate aerosols are frequently associated with toxic metals which are believed to condense onto the particles following combustion (EPA 1996b). The primary sources of the aerosol particulate precursors are also huge sources of toxic metals in the air. Coal and oil-fired power plants, steel mills, incinerators, oil refineries, cement plants and other industries send tons of lead, manganese, chromium, nickel, and arsenic, to name a just a few toxic metals, into the air each year (EPA 1996a). An analysis of air pollution in Los Angeles identified 30 elements and 19 VOC's attached to airborne particulate matter (NRDC 1996).

Particulates Shorten Lives

The science supporting the hazards of breathing particulate pollution is exceptionally powerful and consistent. According to the U.S. EPA, more than 60 peer-reviewed community epidemiological studies have found positive, statistically significant associations between short and long term concentrations of various

The science supporting the hazards of breathing particulate pollution is exceptionally powerful and consistent.

The proposed PM_{2.5} standards are not, as industry puts it, based on only one study that is rife with confounding factors.

PM indicators (total particulates, PM₁₀, PM_{2.5}) and death and morbidity (EPA 1996a). The proposed PM_{2.5} standards are not, as industry puts it, based on only one study that is rife with confounding factors. When contrasted with the certainty of the science supporting the hazards of breathing fine particle pollution, criticism of EPA science sounds strikingly like the tobacco industry pontificating on the “uncertain” health consequences of smoking.

There is a virtual scientific consensus that *even at the lowest levels measured*, fine particulates cause an increase in respiratory and cardiovascular related hospital admissions, as well as death rates from lung and heart disease, asthma, and other human health problems, although scientists have not yet identified the precise mechanism by which fine particles increase death rates (EPA 1996a).

There is a virtual scientific consensus that *even at the lowest levels measured*, fine particulates cause an increase in respiratory and cardiovascular related hospital admissions, as well as death rates from lung and heart disease.

Polluters have criticized EPA’s science as not “sound”, arguing that other pollutants may cause premature death, and that the relative contribution to increased mortality rates of these confounding factors have not been sorted out. Their claims, however, are based on outdated studies. Indeed, more recent studies (Ostro 1993, Schwartz 1994, Dockery and Pope 1994, and Pope et al. 1995) have addressed potentially confounding factors and, in doing so, significantly strengthened the conclusion that the fine particulates governed by the new air

standard are causing premature death and increased illness in polluted areas.

New Standard Saves Lives

The EPA estimates that 35,000 lives will be saved each year when PM_{2.5} levels in ambient air decrease to the level required by the new regulations. To understand the impact of the current effort to undermine implementation of the new health standards, the Environmental Working Group estimated premature mortality associated with fine particle pollution for all counties for which air pollution monitoring and mortality data were available.

Our analysis is based primarily on county-level data from 1994, the most recent year for which comparable mortality and air pollution information were available. These data were aggregated where possible for all major metropolitan areas in the United States. Particulate data were available for 669 counties; however, no monitoring data were available in an additional 269 counties which are located in metropolitan areas. For example, there are many air pollution monitors in New York City, but for some reason there is no monitor in Queens. In cases like these, the average particulate levels in the larger metropolitan areas were assumed to represent the average level in the county with no monitor. Counties for which there were no air pollution data and which were not in

a metropolitan area were not included in this analysis.

The EPA requires a minimum number of air pollution samples per quarter for air monitoring to be considered statistically valid (75% of the required samples). For the purposes of this report, only monitors with less than 50% of the required samples were considered invalid. Of the 938 counties described above, 236 counties were missing statistically valid air pollution data for one quarter or more in 1994. In these cases, 1995 data for that season were used. There were 110 counties for which 1995 data were used exclusively.

Air pollution data used in the analysis were extracted from EPA's AIRS (Aerometric Information Retrieval System) database. For nearly all counties, median PM10 levels were used and converted to PM2.5 levels based on EPA seasonal and regional conversion factors (Systems Applications International 1996.) For the 21 counties where actual PM 2.5 data were available from AIRS, median PM2.5 levels were used. Some counties have both PM10 and PM2.5 monitors. In these counties both monitored and estimated PM2.5 levels were used to derive county level median PM 2.5 values.

County level median PM values were determined by averaging quarterly medians at each monitoring station, and then averaging all stations within each county. Data for California were

supplemented with actual PM2.5 monitoring data provided by the South Coast Air Quality Management District.

Cardiopulmonary mortality, and total mortality incidence data for 1994 were extracted from the Centers for Disease Control's (CDC) Wonder database, by county, for all counties in the United States. The frequency of mortality attributable to particulate matter was developed using the relationship between total, non-accidental mortality and median PM 2.5 concentrations as defined by Pope and co-workers (1995).

Premature mortality estimates are based on the levels of fine particle pollution and related mortality that occurred in 1994. To predict the number of lives saved by the new health standards, the particulate matter standard (mean of $15\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ PM2.5) was converted to a corresponding median value of $12\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ in order to correspond with risk factors developed by Pope and colleagues (1995). This value is based on that used in EPA's Regulatory Impact Analysis (EPA 1997, Freas 1997). We assume that no lives were saved in counties where actual or estimated annual PM2.5 levels in 1994 met the EPA standard. Since it is likely that improvements in air quality due to reductions in local or upwind sources would cause life savings in some places that are already in attainment, this assumption causes our estimate to be lower than what we would expect the true outcome to be.

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Appendix

Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Alabama				
Aderholt (R-AL)	X	\$ 19,000	\$ 19,500	\$ 38,500
Bachus (R-AL)	X	\$ 19,250	\$ 500	\$ 19,750
Callahan (R-AL)	X	\$ 30,750	\$ 6,500	\$ 37,250
Cramer (D-AL)	X	\$ 42,600	\$ 4,500	\$ 47,100
Everett (R-AL)	X	\$ 26,800	\$ 5,500	\$ 32,300
Hilliard (D-AL)	X	\$ 16,000	\$ 5,500	\$ 21,500
Riley (R-AL)	X	\$ 35,383	\$ 18,750	\$ 54,133
Alaska				
Young (R-AK)	X	\$ 84,500	\$ 19,250	\$ 103,750
Arizona				
Hayworth (R-AZ)	X	\$ 72,831	\$ 13,800	\$ 86,631
Kolbe (R-AZ)		\$ 23,650	\$ 13,500	\$ 37,150
Pastor (D-AZ)		\$ 13,550	\$ 8,500	\$ 22,050
Salmon (R-AZ)		\$ 36,100	\$ 8,500	\$ 44,600
Shadegg (R-AZ)		\$ 25,750	\$ 6,000	\$ 31,750
Stump (R-AZ)	X	\$ 22,400	\$ 7,500	\$ 29,900
Arkansas				
Berry (D-AR)	X	\$ 11,000	\$ 4,500	\$ 15,500
Hutchinson (R-AR)	X	\$ 12,850	\$ 2,750	\$ 15,600
Snyder (D-AR)		\$ 3,500	\$ 2,000	\$ 5,500
California				
Becerra (D-CA)		\$ 2,350	\$ 2,500	\$ 4,850
Berman (D-CA)		\$ 7,400	\$ 0	\$ 7,400
Bilbray (R-CA)		\$ 41,806	\$ 6,000	\$ 47,806
Bono (R-CA)		\$ 9,750	\$ 1,750	\$ 11,500
Brown (D-CA)		\$ 15,200	\$ 3,000	\$ 18,200
Calvert (R-CA)		\$ 38,500	\$ 4,500	\$ 43,000
Campbell (R-CA)		\$ 36,650	\$ 0	\$ 36,650

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

* Contributed by companies that belong to the "Air Quality Standards Coalition".

Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
California - Cont.				
Capps (D-CA)		\$ 0	\$ 500	\$ 500
Condit (D-CA)		\$ 25,010	\$ 5,700	\$ 30,710
Cox (R-CA)		\$ 23,500	\$ 7,000	\$ 30,500
Cunningham (R-CA)		\$ 36,861	\$ 8,000	\$ 44,861
Dellums (D-CA)		\$ 5,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 7,000
Dixon (D-CA)		\$ 2,000	\$ 0	\$ 2,000
Dooley (D-CA)	X	\$ 31,949	\$ 7,000	\$ 38,949
Doolittle (R-CA)	X	\$ 27,100	\$ 5,500	\$ 32,600
Dreier (R-CA)		\$ 24,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 26,000
Eshoo (D-CA)		\$ 9,700	\$ 1,000	\$ 10,700
Farr (D-CA)		\$ 750	\$ 0	\$ 750
Fazio (D-CA)		\$ 69,500	\$ 12,000	\$ 81,500
Filner (D-CA)		\$ 16,000	\$ 2,500	\$ 18,500
Gallegly (R-CA)	X	\$ 6,500	\$ 2,500	\$ 9,000
Harman (D-CA)		\$ 37,000	\$ 25,500	\$ 62,500
Herger (R-CA)	X	\$ 33,800	\$ 4,000	\$ 37,800
Hunter (R-CA)		\$ 34,350	\$ 2,350	\$ 36,700
Kim (R-CA)	X	\$ 12,750	\$ 2,500	\$ 15,250
Lantos (D-CA)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Lewis (R-CA)		\$ 53,000	\$ 11,000	\$ 64,000
Lofgren (D-CA)		\$ 3,250	\$ 1,000	\$ 4,250
Martinez (D-CA)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Matsui (D-CA)		\$ 29,161	\$ 17,000	\$ 46,161
McKeon (R-CA)	X	\$ 26,350	\$ 8,500	\$ 34,850
Millender-McDonald (D-CA)		\$ 6,000	\$ 2,200	\$ 8,200
Miller (D-CA)		\$ 3,000	\$ 700	\$ 3,700
Packard (R-CA)		\$ 32,250	\$ 7,500	\$ 39,750
Pelosi (D-CA)		\$ 1,000	\$ 1,000	\$ 2,000
Pombo (R-CA)	X	\$ 27,550	\$ 5,000	\$ 32,550
Radanovich (R-CA)	X	\$ 23,350	\$ 1,000	\$ 24,350
Riggs (R-CA)	X	\$ 51,799	\$ 10,500	\$ 62,299
Rogan (R-CA)		\$ 23,600	\$ 6,750	\$ 30,350
Rohrabacher (R-CA)	X	\$ 11,500	\$ 3,500	\$ 15,000
Roybal-Allard (D-CA)		\$ 1,500	\$ 0	\$ 1,500
Royce (R-CA)		\$ 13,650	\$ 2,500	\$ 16,150
Sanchez (D-CA)		\$ 0	\$ 500	\$ 500
Sherman (D-CA)		\$ 2,000	\$ 1,500	\$ 3,500
Stark (D-CA)		\$ 500	\$ 1,000	\$ 1,500

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

* Contributed by companies that belong to the "Air Quality Standards Coalition".

Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
California - Cont.				
Tauscher (D-CA)		\$ 0	\$ 1,500	\$ 1,500
Thomas (R-CA)	X	\$ 37,500	\$ 7,000	\$ 44,500
Torres (D-CA)		\$ 6,400	\$ 0	\$ 6,400
Waters (D-CA)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Waxman (D-CA)		\$ 0	\$ 500	\$ 500
Woolsey (D-CA)		\$ 1,000	\$ 500	\$ 1,500
Colorado				
DeGette (D-CO)		\$ 0	\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000
Hefley (R-CO)	X	\$ 19,900	\$ 3,000	\$ 22,900
McInnis (R-CO)	X	\$ 19,500	\$ 5,000	\$ 24,500
Schaefer (R-CO)	X	\$ 102,000	\$ 32,500	\$ 134,500
Schaffer (R-CO)	X	\$ 12,350	\$ 4,600	\$ 16,950
Skaggs (D-CO)		\$ 7,000	\$ 1,000	\$ 8,000
Connecticut				
DeLauro (D-CT)		\$ 6,500	\$ 3,000	\$ 9,500
Gejdenson (D-CT)		\$ 19,450	\$ 6,000	\$ 25,450
Johnson (R-CT)		\$ 43,774	\$ 8,500	\$ 52,274
Kennelly (D-CT)		\$ 13,500	\$ 7,000	\$ 20,500
Maloney (D-CT)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Shays (R-CT)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Delaware				
Castle (R-DE)		\$ 18,500	\$ 6,500	\$ 25,000
Florida				
Bilirakis (R-FL)		\$ 34,000	\$ 10,500	\$ 44,500
Boyd (D-FL)	X	\$ 21,700	\$ 9,100	\$ 30,800
Brown (D-FL)		\$ 4,000	\$ 2,250	\$ 6,250
Canady (R-FL)		\$ 9,750	\$ 1,500	\$ 11,250
Davis (D-FL)		\$ 4,250	\$ 5,000	\$ 9,250
Deutsch (D-FL)		\$ 13,772	\$ 1,500	\$ 15,272
Diaz-Balart (R-FL)		\$ 9,750	\$ 2,500	\$ 12,250
Foley (R-FL)		\$ 21,500	\$ 4,500	\$ 26,000
Fowler (R-FL)	X	\$ 21,450	\$ 2,000	\$ 23,450
Goss (R-FL)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Hastings (D-FL)		\$ 8,000	\$ 3,500	\$ 11,500

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

* Contributed by companies that belong to the "Air Quality Standards Coalition".

Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Florida - Continued				
McCollum (R-FL)	X	\$ 15,295	\$ 1,500	\$ 16,795
Meek (D-FL)		\$ 7,250	\$ 3,000	\$ 10,250
Mica (R-FL)	X	\$ 27,900	\$ 1,500	\$ 29,400
Miller (R-FL)		\$ 4,750	\$ 0	\$ 4,750
Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)		\$ 11,000	\$ 500	\$ 11,500
Scarborough (R-FL)	X	\$ 17,450	\$ 1,500	\$ 18,950
Shaw (R-FL)		\$ 31,000	\$ 5,500	\$ 36,500
Stearns (R-FL)		\$ 32,850	\$ 8,500	\$ 41,350
Thurman (D-FL)		\$ 25,700	\$ 4,500	\$ 30,200
Weldon (R-FL)	X	\$ 35,350	\$ 4,000	\$ 39,350
Wexler (D-FL)		\$ 4,500	\$ 500	\$ 5,000
Young (R-FL)		\$ 44,000	\$ 5,000	\$ 49,000
Georgia				
Barr (R-GA)	X	\$ 23,850	\$ 8,000	\$ 31,850
Bishop (D-GA)	X	\$ 17,750	\$ 5,500	\$ 23,250
Chambliss (R-GA)	X	\$ 60,464	\$ 8,000	\$ 68,464
Collins (R-GA)	X	\$ 25,200	\$ 5,750	\$ 30,950
Deal (R-GA)	X	\$ 43,256	\$ 6,600	\$ 49,856
Gingrich (R-GA)		\$ 112,926	\$ 23,500	\$ 136,426
Kingston (R-GA)		\$ 18,460	\$ 1,500	\$ 19,960
Lewis (D-GA)		\$ 4,000	\$ 2,500	\$ 6,500
Linder (R-GA)	X	\$ 38,450	\$ 14,000	\$ 52,450
McKinney (D-GA)		\$ 2,100	\$ 0	\$ 2,100
Norwood (R-GA)	X	\$ 70,556	\$ 9,500	\$ 80,056
Hawaii				
Abercrombie (D-HI)		\$ 1,500	\$ 500	\$ 2,000
Mink (D-HI)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Idaho				
Chenoweth (R-ID)	X	\$ 36,531	\$ 4,500	\$ 41,031
Crapo (R-ID)	X	\$ 48,850	\$ 15,000	\$ 63,850
Illinois				
Blagojevich (D-IL)		\$ 7,000	\$ 2,500	\$ 9,500
Costello (D-IL)	X	\$ 3,958	\$ 0	\$ 3,958
Crane (R-IL)		\$ 40,356	\$ 10,500	\$ 50,856

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

* Contributed by companies that belong to the "Air Quality Standards Coalition".

Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Illinois - Continued				
Davis (D-IL)		\$ 1,500	\$ 0	\$ 1,500
Evans (D-IL)		\$ 5,000	\$ 0	\$ 5,000
Ewing (R-IL)		\$ 30,918	\$ 5,500	\$ 36,418
Fawell (R-IL)		\$ 19,259	\$ 3,750	\$ 23,009
Gutierrez (D-IL)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Hastert (R-IL)		\$ 55,903	\$ 14,072	\$ 69,975
Hyde (R-IL)		\$ 29,359	\$ 3,700	\$ 33,059
Jackson (D-IL)		\$ 5,000	\$ 1,000	\$ 6,000
LaHood (R-IL)	X	\$ 25,161	\$ 6,500	\$ 31,661
Lipinski (D-IL)	X	\$ 3,250	\$ 0	\$ 3,250
Manzullo (R-IL)		\$ 19,303	\$ 5,000	\$ 24,303
Porter (R-IL)	X	\$ 10,800	\$ 0	\$ 10,800
Rush (D-IL)	X	\$ 6,750	\$ 2,000	\$ 8,750
Shimkus (R-IL)	X	\$ 30,625	\$ 14,500	\$ 45,125
Weller (R-IL)		\$ 24,474	\$ 10,750	\$ 35,224
Yates (D-IL)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Indiana				
Burton (R-IN)	X	\$ 16,350	\$ 6,000	\$ 22,350
Buyer (R-IN)	X	\$ 22,100	\$ 2,850	\$ 24,950
Carson (D-IN)	X	\$ 500	\$ 2,000	\$ 2,500
Hamilton (D-IN)	X	\$ 56,455	\$ 0	\$ 56,455
McIntosh (R-IN)	X	\$ 88,250	\$ 11,000	\$ 99,250
Pease (R-IN)		\$ 20,100	\$ 7,500	\$ 27,600
Roemer (D-IN)	X	\$ 23,500	\$ 4,500	\$ 28,000
Souder (R-IN)	X	\$ 22,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 25,000
Visclosky (D-IN)		\$ 15,800	\$ 7,250	\$ 23,050
Iowa				
Boswell (D-IA)	X	\$ 10,382	\$ 500	\$ 10,882
Ganske (R-IA)	X	\$ 61,404	\$ 5,500	\$ 66,904
Latham (R-IA)	X	\$ 31,550	\$ 6,250	\$ 37,800
Nussle (R-IA)	X	\$ 33,150	\$ 4,000	\$ 37,150
Kansas				
Moran (R-KS)	X	\$ 17,400	\$ 5,750	\$ 23,150
Ryun (R-KS)	X	\$ 19,850	\$ 3,750	\$ 23,600
Snowbarger (R-KS)	X	\$ 28,800	\$ 5,500	\$ 34,300
Tiahrt (R-KS)	X	\$ 67,930	\$ 12,000	\$ 79,930

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

* Contributed by companies that belong to the "Air Quality Standards Coalition".

Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Kentucky				
Baesler (D-KY)	X	\$ 17,500	\$ 7,000	\$ 24,500
Bunning (R-KY)	X	\$ 36,500	\$ 12,000	\$ 48,500
Lewis (R-KY)	X	\$ 31,350	\$ 5,000	\$ 36,350
Northup (R-KY)	X	\$ 29,350	\$ 9,500	\$ 38,850
Rogers (R-KY)	X	\$ 26,750	\$ 2,000	\$ 28,750
Whitfield (R-KY)	X	\$ 61,237	\$ 13,056	\$ 74,293
Louisiana				
Baker (R-LA)	X	\$ 17,700	\$ 7,100	\$ 24,800
Cooksey (R-LA)	X	\$ 12,000	\$ 10,150	\$ 22,150
Jefferson (D-LA)		\$ 17,200	\$ 10,500	\$ 27,700
John (D-LA)	X	\$ 30,250	\$ 8,900	\$ 39,150
Livingston (R-LA)	X	\$ 119,500	\$ 32,000	\$ 151,500
McCrery (R-LA)	X	\$ 60,600	\$ 13,000	\$ 73,600
Tauzin (R-LA)	X	\$ 87,390	\$ 22,500	\$ 109,890
Maine				
Allen (D-ME)		\$ 2,000	\$ 0	\$ 2,000
Baldacci (D-ME)		\$ 1,850	\$ 500	\$ 2,350
Maryland				
Bartlett (R-MD)	X	\$ 23,250	\$ 4,000	\$ 27,250
Cardin (D-MD)		\$ 11,500	\$ 0	\$ 11,500
Cummings (D-MD)		\$ 12,750	\$ 500	\$ 13,250
Ehrlich (R-MD)	X	\$ 36,200	\$ 6,000	\$ 42,200
Hoyer (D-MD)		\$ 23,500	\$ 3,500	\$ 27,000
Morella (R-MD)		\$ 12,000	\$ 2,500	\$ 14,500
Wynn (D-MD)		\$ 3,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 6,000
Massachusetts				
Delahunt (D-MA)		\$ 500	\$ 1,000	\$ 1,500
Frank (D-MA)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Kennedy (D-MA)		\$ 4,000	\$ 1,500	\$ 5,500
McGovern (D-MA)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Moakley (D-MA)		\$ 10,800	\$ 2,650	\$ 13,450
Neal (D-MA)		\$ 10,750	\$ 2,500	\$ 13,250
Olver (D-MA)		\$ 2,000	\$ 0	\$ 2,000
Tierney (D-MA)		-\$ 300	\$ 0	-\$ 300

Source: Environmental Working Group. Compiled from U.S. Federal Election Commission Database, October 1997 release.

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Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Michigan				
Barcia (D-MI)	X	\$ 8,675	\$ 1,950	\$ 10,625
Bonior (D-MI)		\$ 25,075	\$ 5,400	\$ 30,475
Camp (R-MI)	X	\$ 36,500	\$ 7,500	\$ 44,000
Conyers (D-MI)		\$ 8,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 10,000
Dingell (D-MI)	X	\$ 96,500	\$ 37,725	\$ 134,225
Ehlers (R-MI)		\$ 11,950	\$ 4,050	\$ 16,000
Kildee (D-MI)	X	\$ 25,390	\$ 4,500	\$ 29,890
Kilpatrick (D-MI)	X	\$ 16,000	\$ 4,750	\$ 20,750
Knollenberg (R-MI)	X	\$ 23,000	\$ 14,000	\$ 37,000
Levin (D-MI)	X	\$ 39,500	\$ 1,000	\$ 40,500
Rivers (D-MI)		\$ 7,850	\$ 1,000	\$ 8,850
Stabenow (D-MI)		\$ 2,250	\$ 5,500	\$ 7,750
Stupak (D-MI)		\$ 29,750	\$ 8,600	\$ 38,350
Upton (R-MI)	X	\$ 35,100	\$ 7,000	\$ 42,100
Minnesota				
Gutknecht (R-MN)		\$ 37,500	\$ 4,000	\$ 41,500
Luther (D-MN)		\$ 14,250	\$ 4,250	\$ 18,500
Minge (D-MN)		\$ 16,950	\$ 3,500	\$ 20,450
Oberstar (D-MN)		\$ 26,550	\$ 11,500	\$ 38,050
Peterson (D-MN)	X	\$ 27,800	\$ 3,500	\$ 31,300
Ramstad (R-MN)		\$ 29,250	\$ 2,500	\$ 31,750
Sabo (D-MN)		\$ 13,250	\$ 13,500	\$ 26,750
Vento (D-MN)		\$ 2,750	\$ 1,000	\$ 3,750
Mississippi				
Parker (R-MS)	X	\$ 18,550	\$ 2,500	\$ 21,050
Pickering (R-MS)	X	\$ 63,277	\$ 13,600	\$ 76,877
Taylor (D-MS)	X	\$ 21,960	\$ 4,000	\$ 25,960
Thompson (D-MS)		\$ 3,500	\$ 2,500	\$ 6,000
Wicker (R-MS)	X	\$ 38,250	\$ 13,500	\$ 51,750
Missouri				
Blunt (R-MO)	X	\$ 11,450	\$ 4,100	\$ 15,550
Clay (D-MO)		\$ 2,500	\$ 1,000	\$ 3,500
Danner (D-MO)	X	\$ 20,150	\$ 1,000	\$ 21,150
Emerson (R-MO)	X	\$ 47,595	\$ 6,250	\$ 53,845
Gephardt (D-MO)		\$ 65,500	\$ 22,000	\$ 87,500
Hulshof (R-MO)	X	\$ 4,600	\$ 12,750	\$ 17,350
McCarthy (D-MO)		\$ 7,000	\$ 2,500	\$ 9,500
Skelton (D-MO)	X	\$ 54,100	\$ 5,600	\$ 59,700
Talent (R-MO)	X	\$ 27,800	\$ 6,500	\$ 34,300

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* Contributed by companies that belong to the "Air Quality Standards Coalition".

Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Montana				
Hill (R-MT)		\$ 29,250	\$ 8,500	\$ 37,750
Nebraska				
Barrett (R-NE)	X	\$ 11,750	\$ 1,000	\$ 12,750
Bereuter (R-NE)	X	\$ 27,000	\$ 6,000	\$ 33,000
Christensen (R-NE)	X	\$ 48,350	\$ 8,500	\$ 56,850
Nevada				
Ensign (R-NV)		\$ 43,100	\$ 8,750	\$ 51,850
Gibbons (R-NV)	X	\$ 23,500	\$ 1,500	\$ 25,000
New Hampshire				
Bass (R-NH)		\$ 21,750	\$ 5,500	\$ 27,250
Sununu (R-NH)		\$ 11,000	\$ 1,500	\$ 12,500
New Jersey				
Andrews (D-NJ)		\$ 9,000	\$ 0	\$ 9,000
Franks (R-NJ)		\$ 21,000	\$ 9,000	\$ 30,000
Frelinghuysen (R-NJ)		\$ 19,750	\$ 2,500	\$ 22,250
LoBiondo (R-NJ)		\$ 8,600	\$ 1,250	\$ 9,850
Menendez (D-NJ)		\$ 1,750	\$ 500	\$ 2,250
Pallone (D-NJ)		\$ 11,890	\$ 1,500	\$ 13,390
Pappas (R-NJ)		\$ 5,100	\$ 500	\$ 5,600
Pascrell (D-NJ)		\$ 250	\$ 1,500	\$ 1,750
Payne (D-NJ)		\$ 6,500	\$ 0	\$ 6,500
Rothman (D-NJ)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Roukema (R-NJ)		\$ 11,700	\$ 1,000	\$ 12,700
Saxton (R-NJ)		\$ 20,490	\$ 3,500	\$ 23,990
Smith (R-NJ)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
New Mexico				
Redmond (R-NM)		\$ 0	\$ 3,000	\$ 3,000
Schiff (R-NM)		\$ 12,359	\$ 1,500	\$ 13,859
Skeen (R-NM)	X	\$ 36,200	\$ 8,500	\$ 44,700
New York				
Ackerman (D-NY)		\$ 3,750	\$ 2,500	\$ 6,250
Boehlert (R-NY)		\$ 22,750	\$ 7,000	\$ 29,750
Engel (D-NY)		\$ 2,500	\$ 1,000	\$ 3,500

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Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
New York - Continued				
Flake (D-NY)		\$ 2,000	\$ 500	\$ 2,500
Forbes (R-NY)		\$ 28,500	\$ 2,500	\$ 31,000
Gilman (R-NY)		\$ 10,510	\$ 4,500	\$ 15,010
Hinchev (D-NY)		\$ 3,500	\$ 0	\$ 3,500
Houghton (R-NY)		\$ 33,900	\$ 5,500	\$ 39,400
Kelly (R-NY)		\$ 26,500	\$ 3,500	\$ 30,000
King (R-NY)		\$ 7,000	\$ 500	\$ 7,500
LaFalce (D-NY)		\$ 9,000	\$ 500	\$ 9,500
Lazio (R-NY)		\$ 18,550	\$ 5,000	\$ 23,550
Lowey (D-NY)		\$ 2,250	\$ 1,500	\$ 3,750
Maloney (D-NY)		\$ 1,300	\$ 1,500	\$ 2,800
Manton (D-NY)		\$ 9,944	\$ 6,671	\$ 16,615
McCarthy (D-NY)		\$ 0	\$ 500	\$ 500
McHugh (R-NY)		\$ 8,500	\$ 500	\$ 9,000
McNulty (D-NY)		\$ 1,000	\$ 1,500	\$ 2,500
Nadler (D-NY)		\$ 1,750	\$ 0	\$ 1,750
Owens (D-NY)		\$ 500	\$ 500	\$ 1,000
Paxon (R-NY)		\$ 58,200	\$ 21,500	\$ 79,700
Quinn (R-NY)		\$ 22,750	\$ 5,300	\$ 28,050
Rangel (D-NY)		\$ 32,750	\$ 12,300	\$ 45,050
Schumer (D-NY)		\$ 1,500	\$ 0	\$ 1,500
Serrano (D-NY)		\$ 1,000	\$ 0	\$ 1,000
Slaughter (D-NY)		\$ 2,000	\$ 500	\$ 2,500
Solomon (R-NY)		\$ 47,000	\$ 19,500	\$ 66,500
Towns (D-NY)		\$ 15,750	\$ 5,574	\$ 21,324
Velazquez (D-NY)		-\$ 500	\$ 500	\$ 0
Walsh (R-NY)		\$ 29,336	\$ 4,500	\$ 33,836
North Carolina				
Ballenger (R-NC)	X	\$ 33,500	\$ 8,000	\$ 41,500
Burr (R-NC)	X	\$ 35,556	\$ 4,500	\$ 40,056
Clayton (D-NC)		\$ 6,500	\$ 1,000	\$ 7,500
Coble (R-NC)	X	\$ 28,200	\$ 8,000	\$ 36,200
Etheridge (D-NC)		\$ 2,250	\$ 8,050	\$ 10,300
Hefner (D-NC)	X	\$ 37,200	\$ 9,000	\$ 46,200
Jones (R-NC)	X	\$ 33,700	\$ 9,650	\$ 43,350
McIntyre (D-NC)	X	\$ 2,000	\$ 8,000	\$ 10,000
Myrick (R-NC)	X	\$ 27,850	\$ 8,000	\$ 35,850
Price (D-NC)		\$ 3,300	\$ 4,500	\$ 7,800
Taylor (R-NC)	X	\$ 25,500	\$ 3,500	\$ 29,000
Watt (D-NC)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0

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Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
North Dakota				
Pomeroy (D-ND)		\$ 20,350	\$ 3,000	\$ 23,350
Ohio				
Boehner (R-OH)	X	\$ 85,431	\$ 27,600	\$ 113,031
Brown (D-OH)		\$ 32,900	\$ 11,500	\$ 44,400
Chabot (R-OH)	X	\$ 39,450	\$ 1,000	\$ 40,450
Gillmor (R-OH)	X	\$ 39,772	\$ 8,950	\$ 48,722
Hall (D-OH)	X	\$ 13,750	\$ 4,000	\$ 17,750
Hobson (R-OH)	X	\$ 46,043	\$ 13,000	\$ 59,043
Kaptur (D-OH)		\$ 8,890	\$ 0	\$ 8,890
Kasich (R-OH)	X	\$ 61,800	\$ 7,000	\$ 68,800
Kucinich (D-OH)		\$ 0	\$ 500	\$ 500
LaTourette (R-OH)	X	\$ 49,890	\$ 10,000	\$ 59,890
Ney (R-OH)	X	\$ 46,456	\$ 2,500	\$ 48,956
Oxley (R-OH)	X	\$ 69,257	\$ 7,500	\$ 76,757
Pryce (R-OH)	X	\$ 16,850	\$ 3,000	\$ 19,850
Sawyer (D-OH)		\$ 14,250	\$ 8,500	\$ 22,750
Stokes (D-OH)		\$ 6,700	\$ 2,000	\$ 8,700
Strickland (D-OH)	X	\$ 650	\$ 1,250	\$ 1,900
Traficant (D-OH)	X	\$ 7,350	\$ 1,600	\$ 8,950
Oklahoma				
Coburn (R-OK)	X	\$ 64,806	-\$ 500	\$ 64,306
Istook (R-OK)	X	\$ 20,250	\$ 3,000	\$ 23,250
Largent (R-OK)	X	\$ 22,000	\$ 500	\$ 22,500
Lucas (R-OK)	X	\$ 17,100	\$ 0	\$ 17,100
Watkins (R-OK)	X	\$ 47,100	\$ 11,000	\$ 58,100
Watts (R-OK)	X	\$ 53,850	\$ 8,300	\$ 62,150
Oregon				
Blumenauer (D-OR)		\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 4,000
DeFazio (D-OR)		\$ 1,000	\$ 0	\$ 1,000
Furse (D-OR)		\$ 3,000	\$ 1,000	\$ 4,000
Hooley (D-OR)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Smith (R-OR)	X	\$ 42,002	\$ 5,000	\$ 47,002
Pennsylvania				
Borski (D-PA)	X	\$ 12,500	\$ 4,000	\$ 16,500
Coyne (D-PA)		\$ 2,000	\$ 1,000	\$ 3,000
Doyle (D-PA)	X	\$ 7,500	\$ 2,950	\$ 10,450

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Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Pennsylvania - Continued				
English (R-PA)	X	\$ 78,279	\$ 24,707	\$ 102,986
Fattah (D-PA)		\$ 5,000	\$ 0	\$ 5,000
Foglietta (D-PA)		\$ 7,000	\$ 0	\$ 7,000
Fox (R-PA)		\$ 39,150	\$ 6,850	\$ 46,000
Gekas (R-PA)	X	\$ 3,500	\$ 0	\$ 3,500
Holden (D-PA)	X	\$ 9,100	\$ 1,610	\$ 10,710
Kanjorski (D-PA)	X	\$ 1,625	\$ 2,000	\$ 3,625
Klink (D-PA)	X	\$ 14,050	\$ 7,250	\$ 21,300
Mascara (D-PA)	X	\$ 8,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 10,000
McDade (R-PA)	X	\$ 36,200	\$ 9,500	\$ 45,700
McHale (D-PA)		\$ 11,250	\$ 1,500	\$ 12,750
Murtha (D-PA)	X	\$ 59,250	\$ 16,000	\$ 75,250
Peterson (R-PA)	X	\$ 13,630	\$ 4,500	\$ 18,130
Pitts (R-PA)	X	\$ 18,850	\$ 7,000	\$ 25,850
Shuster (R-PA)	X	\$ 84,500	\$ 38,500	\$ 123,000
Weldon (R-PA)		\$ 43,700	\$ 7,000	\$ 50,700
Rhode Island				
Kennedy (D-RI)		\$ 4,250	\$ 0	\$ 4,250
Weygand (D-RI)		\$ 2,000	\$ 0	\$ 2,000
South Carolina				
Clyburn (D-SC)		\$ 17,500	\$ 1,000	\$ 18,500
Graham (R-SC)	X	\$ 28,000	\$ 5,250	\$ 33,250
Spence (R-SC)	X	\$ 45,250	\$ 7,750	\$ 53,000
Spratt (D-SC)		\$ 44,000	\$ 5,500	\$ 49,500
South Dakota				
Thune (R-SD)	X	\$ 21,000	\$ 3,500	\$ 24,500
Tennessee				
Bryant (R-TN)	X	\$ 33,750	\$ 8,000	\$ 41,750
Clement (D-TN)		\$ 20,500	\$ 5,000	\$ 25,500
Duncan (R-TN)	X	\$ 22,250	\$ 7,000	\$ 29,250
Ford (D-TN)		\$ 1,250	\$ 0	\$ 1,250
Gordon (D-TN)	X	\$ 37,450	\$ 11,000	\$ 48,450
Jenkins (R-TN)	X	\$ 15,100	\$ 1,500	\$ 16,600
Tanner (D-TN)	X	\$ 27,750	\$ 2,250	\$ 30,000

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Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Texas				
Armey (R-TX)		\$ 95,000	\$ 25,000	\$ 120,000
Barton (R-TX)	X	\$ 96,509	\$ 22,750	\$ 119,259
Bentsen (D-TX)		\$ 28,214	\$ 4,500	\$ 32,714
Bonilla (R-TX)	X	\$ 54,800	\$ 14,050	\$ 68,850
Brady (R-TX)		\$ 82,814	\$ 8,000	\$ 90,814
Combest (R-TX)	X	\$ 35,500	\$ 6,500	\$ 42,000
DeLay (R-TX)		\$ 166,000	\$ 48,500	\$ 214,500
Doggett (D-TX)		\$ 4,000	\$ 0	\$ 4,000
Edwards (D-TX)		\$ 58,029	\$ 14,000	\$ 72,029
Frost (D-TX)		\$ 74,750	\$ 12,000	\$ 86,750
Gonzalez (D-TX)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Granger (R-TX)	X	\$ 43,418	\$ 8,500	\$ 51,918
Green (D-TX)	X	\$ 22,489	\$ 9,500	\$ 31,989
Hall (D-TX)		\$ 61,500	\$ 24,625	\$ 86,125
Hinojosa (D-TX)	X	\$ 13,250	\$ 2,000	\$ 15,250
Jackson Lee (D-TX)		\$ 17,889	\$ 1,500	\$ 19,389
Johnson (D-TX)		\$ 30,250	\$ 4,500	\$ 34,750
Johnson (R-TX)	X	\$ 41,650	\$ 10,500	\$ 52,150
Lampson (D-TX)		\$ 3,500	\$ 7,500	\$ 11,000
Ortiz (D-TX)	X	\$ 11,050	\$ 500	\$ 11,550
Paul (R-TX)		\$ 8,600	\$ 500	\$ 9,100
Reyes (D-TX)		\$ 20,000	\$ 5,000	\$ 25,000
Rodriquez (D-TX)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0
Sandlin (D-TX)	X	\$ 7,500	\$ 13,000	\$ 20,500
Sessions (R-TX)	X	\$ 56,200	\$ 8,350	\$ 64,550
Smith (R-TX)	X	\$ 17,500	\$ 5,250	\$ 22,750
Stenholm (D-TX)	X	\$ 78,349	\$ 19,500	\$ 97,849
Thornberry (R-TX)	X	\$ 27,500	\$ 2,439	\$ 29,939
Turner (D-TX)	X	\$ 18,510	\$ 2,000	\$ 20,510
Utah				
Cannon (R-UT)	X	\$ 6,100	\$ 6,500	\$ 12,600
Cook (R-UT)		\$ 10,850	\$ 1,000	\$ 11,850
Hansen (R-UT)	X	\$ 24,500	\$ 4,536	\$ 29,036
Vermont				
Sanders (I-VT)		\$ 0	\$ 0	\$ 0

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Appendix - Continued: Contributions from AQSC member PACs and position on Clean Air

Representative	Cosponsor HR 1984	Anti-Clean Air* Contributions		
		1996	1998	1996-1998
Virginia				
Bateman (R-VA)	X	\$ 37,318	\$ 6,250	\$ 43,568
Bliley (R-VA)	X	\$ 82,945	\$ 31,500	\$ 114,445
Boucher (D-VA)	X	\$ 35,000	\$ 9,500	\$ 44,500
Davis (R-VA)		\$ 44,700	\$ 5,500	\$ 50,200
Goode (D-VA)	X	\$ 25,550	\$ 4,000	\$ 29,550
Goodlatte (R-VA)	X	\$ 27,250	\$ 7,750	\$ 35,000
Moran (D-VA)		\$ 8,500	\$ 4,500	\$ 13,000
Pickett (D-VA)	X	\$ 19,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 22,000
Scott (D-VA)		\$ 19,500	\$ 2,000	\$ 21,500
Sisisky (D-VA)	X	\$ 26,000	\$ 5,000	\$ 31,000
Wolf (R-VA)		\$ 34,750	\$ 6,000	\$ 40,750
Washington				
Dicks (D-WA)		\$ 51,350	\$ 14,000	\$ 65,350
Dunn (R-WA)		\$ 58,150	\$ 16,500	\$ 74,650
Hastings (R-WA)	X	\$ 42,750	\$ 4,500	\$ 47,250
McDermott (D-WA)		\$ 11,000	\$ 4,000	\$ 15,000
Metcalfe (R-WA)		\$ 27,475	\$ 3,000	\$ 30,475
Nethercutt (R-WA)	X	\$ 52,678	\$ 3,500	\$ 56,178
Smith (D-WA)		\$ 7,000	\$ 5,000	\$ 12,000
Smith (R-WA)		\$ 3,500	\$ 0	\$ 3,500
White (R-WA)		\$ 74,506	\$ 6,319	\$ 80,825
West Virginia				
Mollohan (D-WV)	X	\$ 24,100	\$ 7,750	\$ 31,850
Rahall (D-WV)	X	\$ 25,250	\$ 4,250	\$ 29,500
Wise (D-WV)	X	\$ 10,250	\$ 2,500	\$ 12,750
Wisconsin				
Barrett (D-WI)		\$ 200	\$ 1,100	\$ 1,300
Johnson (D-WI)		\$ 0	\$ 1,000	\$ 1,000
Kind (D-WI)		\$ 0	\$ 3,000	\$ 3,000
Kleczka (D-WI)		\$ 18,750	\$ 0	\$ 18,750
Klug (R-WI)	X	\$ 36,650	\$ 0	\$ 36,650
Neumann (R-WI)	X	\$ 39,600	\$ 9,500	\$ 49,100
Obey (D-WI)		\$ 16,750	\$ 4,500	\$ 21,250
Petri (R-WI)	X	\$ 42,450	\$ 7,250	\$ 49,700
Sensenbrenner (R-WI)	X	\$ 21,500	\$ 7,500	\$ 29,000
Wyoming				
Cubin (R-WY)	X	\$ 56,331	\$ 10,500	\$ 66,831

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