I'm Marc Weiss, a steering committee member of NY Renews.

Thank you for holding the hearing today and for your continued engagement seeking ambitious solutions to climate change.

I attended the beginning of the hearing and listened to most of the rest of it while traveling back to New York City. I have just a few brief comments, but I submit this testimony primarily to place in the record several important documents that bear on the testimony provided by representatives of the fossil fuel industry and comments by some of the senators repeating their talking points.

First, I've heard several senators repeatedly ask why New York should act so ambitiously on climate since the state is responsible for a tiny percentage of global emissions. In addition to Senator Kavanagh's very appropriate response to that canard, it should be noted that New York State is the 11th or 12th largest economy in the world, so moving towards climate solutions across all sectors of the economy will have a tremendous impact, both lowering the cost of renewable and sustainable technologies within the state and around the world, and providing a significant incentive for the development of new technologies. So what we do here will have a ripple effect well outside the borders of the state.

Second, I urge your committees and the legislature to look carefully at the testimony from representatives of the fossil fuel industry who repeatedly use talking points like affordability, reliability and consumer choice. Those talking points are being echoed by some members of the committee.

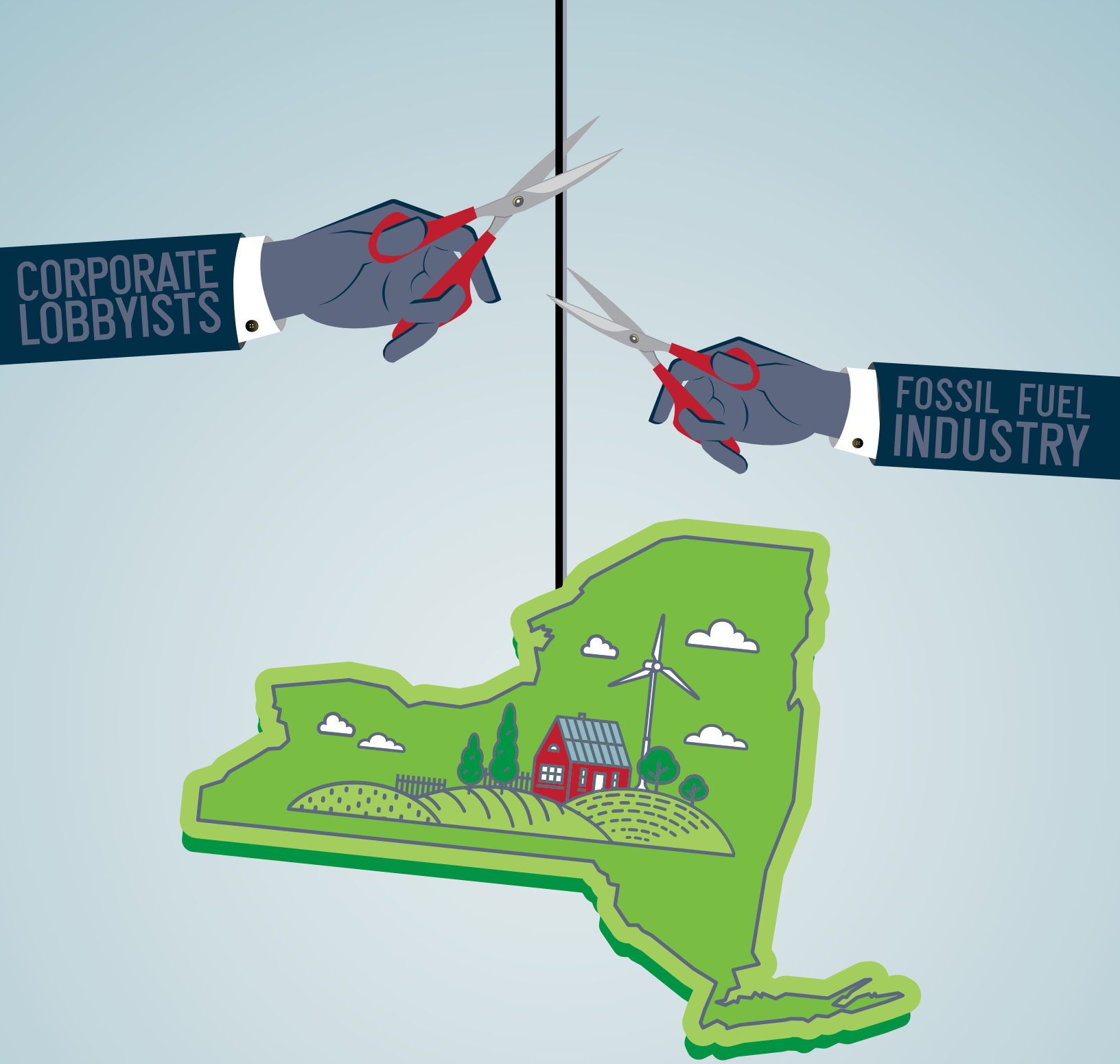
As is well documented, and as Senator Krueger pointed out, historically the fossil fuel industry has spent hundreds of millions of dollars and lied to policy makers and the American public to stop or delay climate action. I won't go into detail here but would like to place into the record the attached transcripts from a recent three part PBS documentary series about the oil industry's tactics of denial and deception. That practice was based on a playbook employed by the tobacco industry to delay action to restrict cigarettes for decades.

In New York State, the fossil fuel industry has changed its playbook. Industry leaders and spokespeople now say human-caused climate change is real and they want to be part of the solution. But look closely at the "solutions" they propose, because many of them are just proposals for perpetuating their business models, rather than changing their business models to embrace a sustainable future. Of those whose testimony I heard today, the testimony from the representative of National Grid was an example of that and, refreshingly, the testimony from the representative of Con Edison was an example of a company that is investing in embracing a sustainable future.

A recent investigative story in the New York Times (link and attached), which I would also like to place in the record, revealed efforts by the propane industry to confuse the public into believing that propane is "clean" and healthy. They have spent $40 million nationally, and nearly $1 million in New York State alone to push the lie that propane is part of the solution. It is not.

Beyond the propane industry, the fossil fuel industry in the state has waged a multi-year disinformation and influence campaign to delay climate action. I am attaching a recent report from the Public Accountability Initiative that meticulously documents industry lobbying and campaign contributions aimed at defeating climate legislation and influencing the Climate Action Council's scoping plan. As documented in the report, the industry has created an astroturf coalition that they cleverly named New Yorkers for Affordable Energy. Many of the same people show up as leaders of the coalition, industry members of the Climate Action Council and employees of energy companies tenaciously trying to expand or perpetuate use of fracked gas in NY, like Danskammer Energy. Not surprisingly, their talking points are identical. See this google doc with NYAE's October, 2022 "social toolkit" — also attached as a PDF in case they remove it from that URL.

They are combining scare tactics aimed at the general public ("Don't Leave Us in the Dark") with reasonable sounding statements about affordability and consumer choice — which have never been industry priorities until now, when they're trying to make the case that they are as serious about combatting climate change as anyone. Why would the legislature trust this industry, which has created the climate crisis, would offer solutions that are in the public interest?



FUELING OBSTRUCTION

The Fossil Fuel Networks Undermining Climate Action in New York State

public accountability initiative

LittleSis

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We would like to thank Rachel Bridges for her excellent design work and cover art and Tia Brown for fact-checking.

The Public Accountability Initiative (PAI), also known as LittleSis, is a nonprofit public interest research organization focused on corporate and government accountability. PAI maintains LittleSis.org, a free database detailing the connections between powerful people and organizations. Visit us at www.public-accountability.org and www.littlesis.org.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The fossil fuel industry has spent more than a decade – and millions upon millions of dollars – trying to obstruct climate action in New York State. Since 2016, this multifaceted campaign to shape public opinion and influence political decision makers has included spending more than $15.5 million on lobbyists to advance fracking and expand fossil fuel infrastructure. It has involved donating more than $1.4 million dollars to politicians on both sides of the aisle, and funding sophisticated propaganda efforts to mislead the public and policymakers about the impacts of fossil fuel consumption and climate mitigation.

While the fossil fuel industry has been central to the campaign against climate action in New York, other key drivers of the effort have been regional and statewide chambers of commerce and similar corporate lobbying organizations. Though fossil fuel companies – from drilling companies to pipeline operators, from power producers to utility corporations – are key members of business advocacy organizations, these lobbying groups also include members from across the corporate world.

This report examines the corporate power networks that have opposed climate action in New York State for years and how they have been mobilized to delay, water down, and otherwise frustrate the implementation of the CLCPA.

Fossil fuel interests around the state formed the astroturf group New Yorkers for Affordable Energy to block climate action.

New Yorkers for Affordable Energy publicly presents itself as "a reliable partner for a clean energy future," but tax filings show that its mission is "to expand natural gas service." The group is meant to have the appearance of a grassroots coalition, but it was founded by fossil fuel executives. Two of the three founding directors of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy are Michelle Hook, Vice President for Public Affairs of Danskammer Energy, and Karen Merkel, General Manager for Corporate Communications for National Fuel Gas Company.[1]

The coalition is backed by a range of fossil fuel companies and lobbying groups, including utility companies National Fuel, National Grid, and Consolidated Edison; pipeline companies Williams, Enbridge, and Millennium Pipeline; and the American Petroleum Institute.[2] Other backers include corporate lobbying groups like the Business Council of New York State, regional chambers of commerce like the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, and fossil fuel industry trade groups like Independent Power Producers of New York and Energy Coalition New York.[3]

New Yorkers for Affordable Energy has engaged in undermining climate mitigation efforts in New York, including coordinating with the New York State Senate Republicans to solicit comments to the Climate Action Council opposing regulation[4], a "six-figure campaign" to highlight "how energy bills will skyrocket if Albany lawmakers current plans become law,"[5] and sending out direct mailings.

It also has a contract with high-powered public relations firm SKDKnickerbocker[6], which has run other astroturf campaigns for gig work companies[7] and large New York City landlords[8] and has close ties to the state and national Democratic Party.[9]

Fossil fuel companies and fossil fuel-backed organizations claim to support New York's climate goals while lobbying to water down and block climate action.

In testimony to the Climate Action Council and in public statements, corporations and their lobbying groups have made statements such as "We are committed to New

York's success in the energy transition" (National Grid)[10], "We all share the goal of reduced emissions" (National Fuel)[11], and "We recognize and respect the ambitious carbon reduction and renewable energy deployment targets set by the CLCPA" (Business Council of New York State).[12]

These claims of support for decarbonizing New York's economy are belied by these companies' ongoing multi-year, multi-million dollar campaign to block climate mitigation efforts in the state legislature and in the Climate Action Council, including the creation of the New Yorkers for Affordable Energy astroturf group, lobbying against climate bills in the legislature, and campaign donations to politicians of both major political parties.

Ten fossil fuel corporations and lobbying groups have spent more than $15.5 million on lobbying since 2016 and more than $1.4 million on campaign donations as they pursue their efforts to hamper climate action.

We analyzed lobbying and campaign expenditures by ten key backers of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy: National Fuel, National Grid, Consolidated Edison, Avangrid, Millennium PIpeline, American Petroleum Institute, Independent Power Producers of New York, Energy Coalition New York, the Business Council of New York State, and the Buffalo Niagara Partnership.

The fossil fuel companies and fossil fuel-backed corporate lobbying groups fighting climate action in New York that we analyzed spent more than $13.6 million on lobbying since 2016 and more than $1.4 million on political donations.[13] It is critical to note that these totals represent the lobbying spending and campaign contributions of just a small set of the central players in the fossil fuel-led fight against New York's climate mitigation efforts.

We found that New Yorkers for Affordable Energy members have lobbied against the Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act (and its predecessor bill, the Climate and Community Protection Act), the Climate and Community Investment Act, the All-Electric Building Act, the Clean Futures Act, the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan, and the Build Public Renewables Act.

Main targets of campaign donations include Governor Kathy Hochul ($45,682.30), the Republican Senate ($151,930) and Assembly ($62,542) Campaign Committees, and Kevin Parker ($41,450) and Michael Cusick ($25,800), the Democratic chairs of the state Senate and Assembly energy committees.

Fossil fuel industry lobbying group American Petroleum Institute, with a long history of fighting climate regulation and promoting climate disinformation, stands to influence the Climate Action Council through its connections to New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and the latter's presence on the CAC.

The American Petroleum Institute (API) is the largest oil and gas lobbying group in the United States, representing the interests of some of the most powerful oil and gas firms in the world, such as ExxonMobil, Chevron, and ConocoPhillips.[14] The organization brings in hundreds of millions of dollars per year, which it has used for decades to orchestrate disinformation efforts designed to stop government action on climate change.[15]

Recently, U.S. states have sued the API for its carrying out "a decades-long campaign to deceive the public about climate change," according to one *Reuters* story.[16] A recent study also "uncovered a decade of spurious data, deceptive messaging, and disingenuous public positioning" by the API around methane emissions and climate change.[17]

The API is a member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's steering committee. According to a New Yorkers for Affordable Energy slideshow presentation, API is "leading" its lobbying effort on "energy issues."[18] Examples of legislation that API and New Yorkers for Affordable Energy would be opposing were spelled out in the presentation and include the All Electric Buildings Act, the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan, and the Clean Futures Act.

API is also a member of the Business Council of New York State.

Executives from utilities and fossil fuel corporations opposing climate action have seats on the Climate Action Council.

While 12 of the Council's members represent state agencies and authorities, a full ten members are outside appointees. Of these ten, LittleSis has identified three – nearly *one-third* of the outside appointees – as representing corporations and industry associations that actively opposed the original passage of the Climate Act and are working tirelessly to weaken its implementation.

Donna DeCarolis is the president of National Fuel Gas Distribution, chair of the Business Council of New York State[19], and a board member of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership[20] and New Yorkers for Affordable Energy.[21] Gavin Donohue is the president of Independent Power Producers of New York, a lobbying group representing operators and developers of independent electric generating facilities, power marketers, and suppliers of goods and services to the industry that is itself a member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy.[22] Dennis Elsenbeck leads the energy consulting business at Phillips Lytle LLP[23] and is a former board member of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership.[24] Prior to Phillips Lytle, Elsenbeck worked for National Grid for nearly 30 years, from October 1987 until March 2017.[25] Phillips Lytle, Elsenbeck's current employer, is also a member of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership[26] and Phillips Lytle partner David Murray sits on the Buffalo Niagara Partnership Board of Directors.[27]

National Fuel, Independent Power Producers of New York, and the Buffalo Niagara Partnership are all backers of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and, as discussed above, are engaged in myriad political influence efforts to block climate action.

Conclusion

It is no secret that New York State has the potential to make historic strides around climate action in the coming months and years. However, as this report shows, the fossil fuel industry and its corporate networks have been mobilizing to delay, water down, and otherwise frustrate the implementation of the CLCPA and other key climate legislation. The fossil fuel industry is using front groups like New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and engaging in extensive lobbying to stifle climate progress. Moreover, these same forces that have aggressively fought to oppose the CLCPA (and other climate legislation) are now represented on the very body tasked with implementing the CLCPA, the Climate Action Council. Legislators, communities, and other stakeholders invested in a cleaner, greener, decarbonized future for New York must stay vigilant around efforts by the fossil fuel industry to muzzle and erode the state's most far-reaching climate legislation ever passed.

INTRODUCTION

The fossil fuel industry has spent more than a decade – and millions upon millions of dollars – trying to obstruct climate action in New York State. Since 2016, this multifaceted campaign to shape public opinion and influence political decision makers has included spending more than $15.5 million on lobbyists to advance fracking and expand fossil fuel infrastructure. It has involved donating more than $1.4 million dollars to politicians on both sides of the aisle, and funding sophisticated propaganda efforts to mislead the public and policymakers about the impacts of fossil fuel consumption and climate mitigation.

While the fossil fuel industry has been central to the campaign against climate action in New York, other key drivers of the effort have been regional and statewide chambers of commerce and similar corporate lobbying organizations. Though fossil fuel companies – from drilling companies to pipeline operators, from power producers to utility corporations – are key members of business advocacy organizations, these lobbying groups also include members from across the corporate world.

Despite the huge amounts of money and political power behind campaigns to maintain fossil fuels' central role in society, these efforts have not always been successful. A fossil fuel and corporate-led campaign to permit fracking in New York State was ultimately defeated in 2014 with a statewide ban on the oil and gas production method. In 2019, New York enacted the Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act (CLCPA). The historic legislation set legally-binding carbon emissions targets and established social equity goals to ensure that state spending related to climate mitigation will reach frontline communities that have borne the biggest costs of the fossil-fueled global economy.

Climate victories like the fracking ban and the passage of CLCPA are the result of many years of organizing by ecological, economic, and racial justice advocates across New York State. In each case, these victories were delayed for years by New York's fossil fuel industry, corporate lobbying groups, and their allies in government.

Key Findings

- **Fossil fuel interests around the state formed the astroturf group New Yorkers for Affordable Energy to block climate action.** New Yorkers for Affordable Energy publicly presents itself as "a reliable partner for a clean energy future," but tax filings show that its mission is "to expand natural gas service." The group is meant to have the appearance of a grassroots coalition, but it was founded by executives from fossil fuel companies National Fuel and Danskammer Energy. It also has a contract with high-powered public relations firm SKDKnickerbocker, which has run other astroturf campaigns for gig work companies and large New York City landlords.

- **Fossil fuel companies and fossil fuel-backed organizations claim to support New York's climate goals while lobbying to water down and block climate action.** In testimony to the Climate Action Council, corporations and their lobbying groups have made statements such as "We are committed to New York's success in the energy transition" (National Grid), "We all share the goal of reduced emissions" (National Fuel), and "We recognize and respect the ambitious carbon reduction and renewable energy deployment targets set by the CLCPA" (Business Council of New York State). These statements are belied by the millions of dollars these groups have spent on campaigns to block any action to transition New York off of fossil fuels.

- **Nine fossil fuel corporations and lobbying groups have spent more than $15.5 million on lobbying since 2016 and more than $1.4 million on campaign donations as they pursue their efforts to hamper climate action.** These companies include National Fuel and Independent Power Producers of New York, which have roles on the Climate Action Council. Main targets of campaign donations include Governor Kathy Hochul ($45,682.30), the Republican Senate ($151,930) and Assembly ($62,542) Campaign Committees, and Kevin Parker ($41,450) and Michael Cusick ($25,800), the Democratic chairs of the state Senate and Assembly energy committees.

- **Fossil fuel industry lobbying group American Petroleum Institute, with a long history of fighting climate regulation and promoting climate disinformation, stands to influence the Climate Action Council through its connections to New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and the latter's presence on the CAC.** API is a steering committee member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and appears to be playing a major role in its lobbying efforts. API is also a member of the Business Council of New York State. The institute is the largest lobbying group for the oil industry and has been a key source of climate change disinformation.

- **Executives from utilities and fossil fuel corporations opposing climate action have seats on the Climate Action Council.** Three of the 10 members of the Climate Action Council who are not representatives of state agencies come from companies fighting climate action. Donna DeCarolis is the president of National Fuel Gas Distribution, chair of the Business Council of New York State, and a board member of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership and New Yorkers for Affordable Energy. Gavin Donohue is the president of Independent Power Producers of New York. Dennis Elsenbeck leads the energy consulting business at Phillips Lytle LLP and is a former board member of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership.

NEW YORKERS FOR AFFORDABLE ENERGY: NEXUS OF CORPORATE ANTI-CLIMATE ADVOCACY

The fossil fuel industry's campaign to block climate action in New York is a large coordinated effort spanning dozens of corporations, state and regional business associations, and sophisticated public relations campaigns disguised as grassroots political activism. A recently-formed front group called New Yorkers for Affordable Energy offers a window into the complicated and interconnected web of fossil fuel anti-climate advocacy.

New Yorkers for Affordable Energy emerged in 2019, the year that CLCPA passed through the legislature and was signed into law. The group presents itself as a grassroots coalition advocating to keep energy prices low for consumers. However, New Yorkers for Affordable Energy is actually composed of fossil fuel companies working to protect their industry – and more specifically, their profits – from regulation in response to the climate crisis.

The New Yorkers for Affordable Energy website describes the group as "dedicated to supporting access to cleaner, reliable and affordable sources of energy for residential and business consumers."[28] However, in a filing with the Internal Revenue Service, the group describes its purpose as "to expand natural gas service, which will bring more affordable heat and electricity to New York homes and businesses, helping to keep energy prices lower for consumers."[29] The determination letter granting tax exempt status to New Yorkers for Affordable Energy dates the group's exemption to June 4, 2019, just two weeks before the CLCPA passed both houses of the state legislature.[30]

"In a filing with the IRS, New Yorkers for Affordable Energy describes its purpose as 'to expand natural gas service."

The same IRS filing reveals that the founding directors of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy were Michelle Hook, Vice President for Public Affairs of Danskammer Energy; Karen Merkel, General Manager for Corporate Communications for National Fuel Gas Company; and Katie Gibbs, Deputy Director of the Engineers Labor-Employer Cooperative.[31] The address given for New Yorkers for Affordable Energy is the address of Albany-based law and lobbying firm Plummer & Wigger, which also represents other fossil fuel industry clients, such as Millennium Pipeline, where Hook is a former public relations executive.[32]

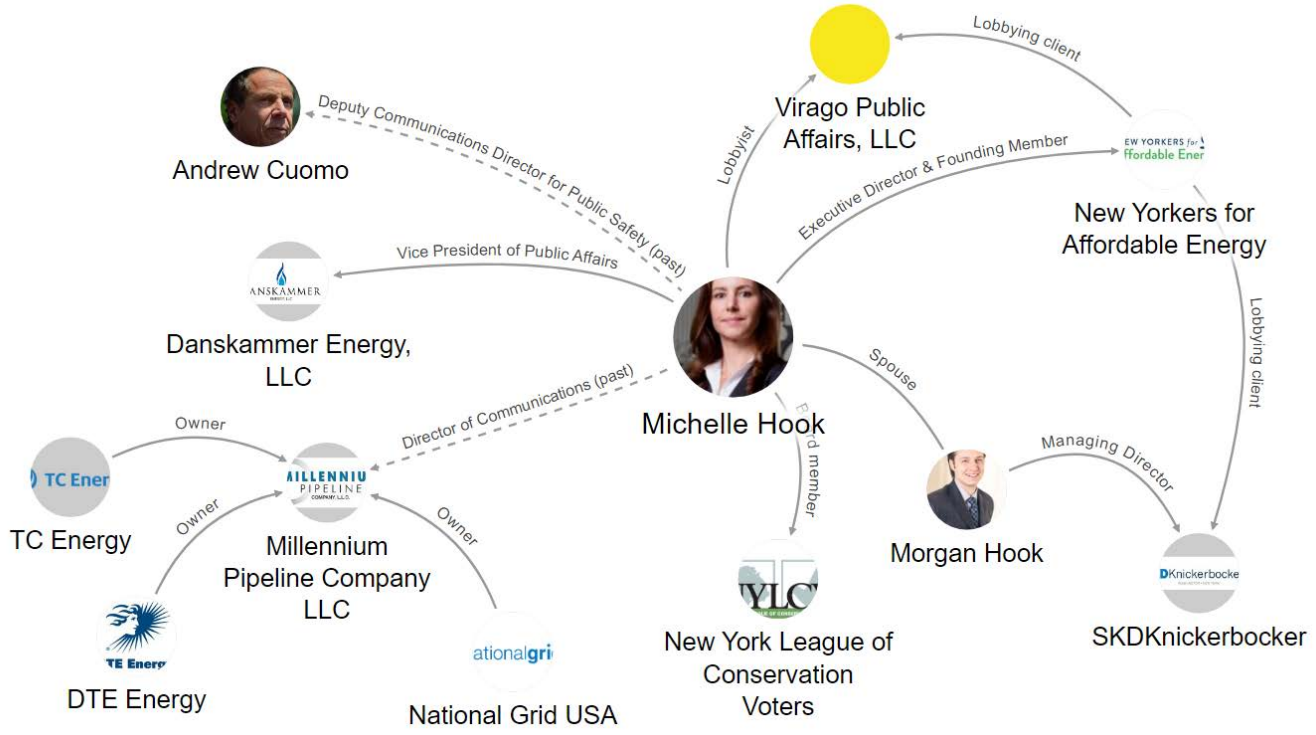
In addition to being a founding director of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy, Hook also appears to be the group's executive director and a paid lobbyist for the organization. In lobbying registrations filed with the New York Commission on Ethics and Lobbying in Government from 2019 through 2022, Hook signed contracts as New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's executive director.[33] Other lobbying registrations show that Hook is currently earning $10,000 per month as a lobbyist for New Yorkers for Affordable Energy through Virago Public Affairs, LLC.[34] New Yorkers for Affordable Energy is the only client Virago Public Affairs is registered to lobby for. The first contract with Virago was

signed by founding board member Katie Gibbs and subsequent amendments were signed on behalf of the front group by Nicholas Stalnecker, a lobbyist for National Fuel Gas[35] who is named as president of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy in the lobbying registration.

Beyond Hook, state lobbying filings report that the influential, Democratic Party-tied lobbying firm SKDKnickerbocker is lobbying for the group "on a pro bono basis." Rather than meaning SKDK is working for free, this likely means that its lobbying is incidental to a larger, paid, public relations contract.[36] One of the SKDKnickerbocker lobbyists registered to advocate for New Yorkers for Affordable Energy is the managing director of the firm's Albany office, Morgan Hook.[37] Morgan Hook is married to Michelle Hook.[38] SKDK is a powerhouse influencer in Albany and has a history of operating industry front groups similar to New Yorkers for Affordable Energy. For example, SKDK has worked to undermine workers' and tenants' rights on behalf of gig work companies[39] and big New York City landlords.[40] A top figure at SKDK also headed up Governor Kathy Hochul's transition team, and a former partner of the firm serves as her Director of Policy.[41]

"The influential, Democratic Party-tied lobbying firm SKDKnickerbocker is lobbying for New Yorkers for Affordable Energy"

Another lobbyist, Michael Lawler, was registered to lobby for New Yorkers for Affordable Energy from November 2019 through February 2020[42]. Lawler is currently a member of the New York State Assembly, elected in November 2020 to represent the 97th assembly district.



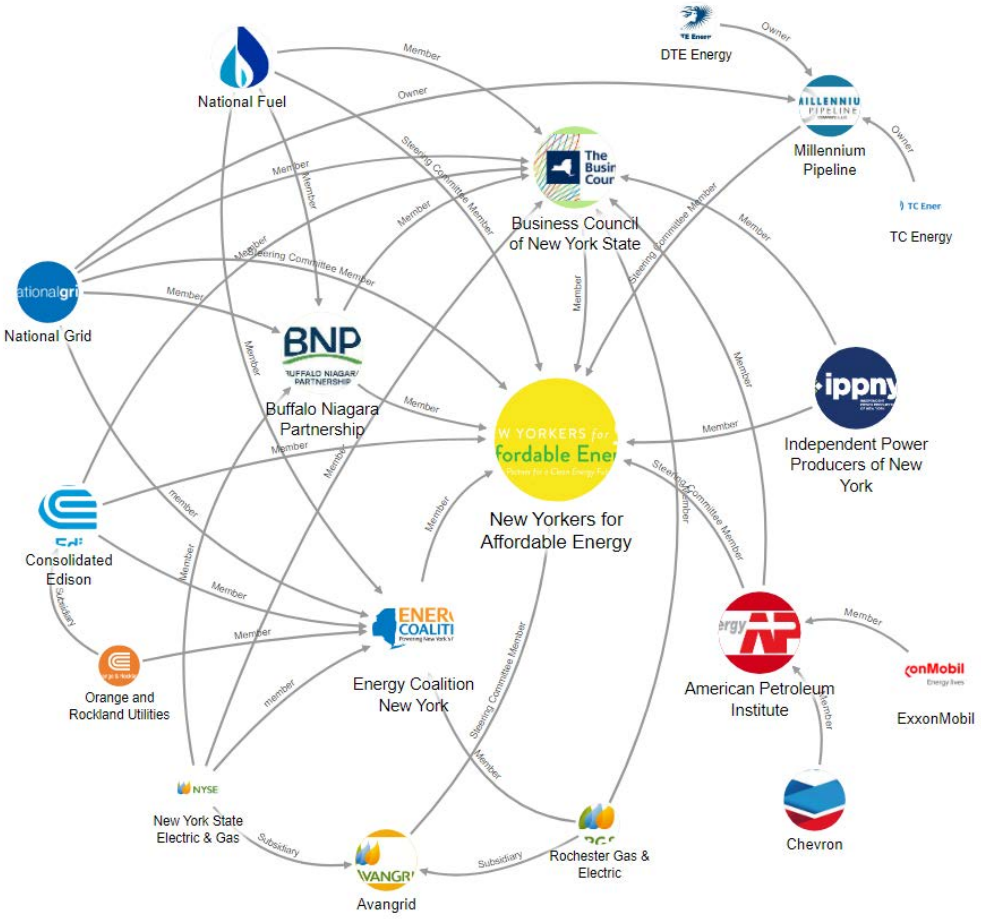
New Yorkers for Affordable Energy Executive Director, Michelle Hook
https://littlesis.org/oligrapher/7976-michelle-hook-and-ny4af

New Yorkers for Affordable Energy has also been coordinating with New York State Senate Republicans to get people to submit comments to the Climate Action Council.[43] They have also been running pro-fossil fuel ads that are part of a "six-figure campaign" to highlight "how energy bills will skyrocket if Albany lawmakers current plans become law,"[44] and sending out direct mailings. While the group has not disclosed lobbying the Climate Action Council, it has registered to lobby on climate bills, such as the Climate and Community Investment Act[45] and the Advanced Buildings Codes Act[46], as well as lobbying around the Climate Action Council itself.[47]

The corporate interests behind New Yorkers for Affordable Energy have already succeeded in eliminating a proposal from the state budget to ban fossil gas hookups in newly constructed buildings[48] – which was recommended by the Climate Action Council in its draft scoping plan – and are now promoting misinformation to further frustrate New York's progress as the Climate Action Council holds hearings across the state on its proposed plan.

Beyond Danskammer Energy, National Fuel, and the Engineers Labor-Employer Cooperative, the companies that supplied the founding directors for New Yorkers for Affordable Energy, the front group names a multitude of supporters, contributing members, and steering committee members that is similarly dominated by the fossil fuel industry and fossil fuel-backed corporate lobbying organizations.

While these corporations and advocacy groups are working together through New Yorkers for Affordable Energy to prevent decarbonization in New York, they are also exerting influence over New York's energy and environmental policy through their individual political influence operations. The next section of this report highlights some of these companies and organizations and documents the millions of dollars they have spent on political donations and lobbying.



Fossil Fuel Backers of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy
https://littlesis.org/oligrapher/7977-clone-new-yorkers-for-affordable-energy

CORPORATIONS BEHIND NEW YORKERS FOR AFFORDABLE ENERGY ARE SPENDING MILLIONS TO FIGHT CLIMATE ACTION

New York's fossil fuel industry frequently claims to support some kind of climate action; for example, New Yorkers for Affordable Energy describes itself with the tagline "a reliable partner for a clean energy future." However, these corporations and organizations are spending millions of dollars on lobbyists and political donations to delay and water down any action taken by the Climate Action Council and to block any new climate legislation.

We examined the lobbying and political spending of several key New Yorkers for Affordable Energy members, looking at the total amount spent on lobbying and campaign contributions as well as which bills were targeted. Notably, while these companies and groups are targeting the Climate Action Council for lobbying, they are also lobbying the legislature to try to block new bills meant to help realize the goals set by the CLCPA.

In all, the fossil fuel companies and fossil fuel-backed corporate lobbying groups fighting climate action in New York that we analyzed spent more than $15.5 million on lobbying since 2016 and more than $1.4 million on political donations. It is critical to note that these totals represent the lobbying spending and campaign contributions of a small set of the central players in the fossil fuel-led fight against New York's climate mitigation efforts.

"The fossil fuel companies and lobbying groups fighting climate action in New York spent more than $15.5 million on lobbying since 2016 and more than $1.4 million on political donations"

We found that New Yorkers for Affordable Energy members have lobbied against the Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act (and its predecessor bill, the Climate and Community Protection Act), the Climate and Community Investment Act, the All-Electric Building Act, the Clean Futures Act, the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan, and the Build Public Renewables Act.

The Climate and Community Investment Act was designed to complement the CLCPA by creating a funding source for climate mitigation by taxing pollution.[49] The All-Electric Building Act would prohibit installing gas infrastructure in new buildings less than seven stories after 2023 and in new buildings taller than seven stories after 2027.[50] The Clean Futures Act would prohibit the construction of new fossil fuel power plants "unless the developer of such facility can demonstrate a need for such facility, and that there is no other reasonable method to satisfy such need."[51] The Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan would remove "the legal basis and subsidies driving the expansion of gas systems" and require New York's Public Service Commission to create a plan to reduce gas consumption and decommission the gas system.[52] The Build Public Renewables Act would require the New York Power Authority to provide only renewable energy to customers and be the sole power provider to state-owned

and municipal properties and would require the New York Power Authority to pay a prevailing wage and utilize project labor agreements.[53]

The total amount spent by each corporation and group on lobbying and which climate bills that they lobbied on can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Fossil Fuel Industry Lobbying on Climate Bills

	Total Lobbying Spending	Climate & Community Protection Act / Climate Leadership & Community Protection Act	Climate & Community Investment Act	All- Electric Building Act	Clean Futures Act	Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan	Build Public Renewables Act
Business Council of NYS	$3,725,183	✓	✓				✓
American Petroleum Institute	$3,657,694	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Consolidated Edison	$1,971,179	✓					
National Grid	$1,926,575		✓	✓	✓	✓	
National Fuel	$1,136,355	✓	✓	✓			
Energy Coalition New York	$1,131,863	✓					✓
Avangrid (RG&E, NYSEG, and Avangrid Networks Inc)	$921,998					✓	
Millennium Pipeline	$713,049		✓			✓	
Independent Power Producers of NY	$278,977	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Buffalo Niagara Partnership	$121,883			✓			
Total	$15,584,756						

Source: New York State Commission on Ethics and Lobbying in Government Data (2016-2022)

In addition to spending millions of dollars on lobbyists to advocate for fossil fuels in state and local governments, the corporate forces fighting against climate action also influence politics by donating money to politicians and the committees they control.

We examined the donations from political action committees and directly from corporations to key New York elected officials in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Collectively, eight of the ten corporations and organizations whose lobbying records we analyzed gave more than $1.4 million to New York politicians and campaign committees since 2016 (we did not find any campaign donations from the American Petroleum Institute or the Energy Coalition). Donation totals reflect the bipartisan nature of the fossil fuel industry's political spending. For the most part, the corporations and groups we analyzed gave to both Democrats and Republicans.

Governor Kathy Hochul was the top individual recipient of campaign contributions from the corporations and lobbying groups we examined, taking in $45,682.30, which is a substantial amount considering that Hochul took office just over a year before this report was published and is currently campaigning in her first gubernatorial election.

"Governor Kathy Hochul was the top individual recipient of campaign contributions from the fossil fuel corporations and lobbying groups we examined, taking in $45,682 since 2016."

Donations to legislative campaign committees were concentrated among Republicans, especially in the state senate, reflecting the importance that Republican control of that chamber played for fossil fuel interests until the 2018 election when Democrats won a majority in both houses. Still, the corporations and groups we analyzed hedge their bets, donating to both major parties. The Senate Republican Campaign Committee received $151,930 and the Republican Assembly Campaign Committee received $62,542, while the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee received $49,120 and the Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee received $27,000.

Kevin Parker, the Democratic chair of the Senate Energy and Telecommunications Committee received $41,450, more than any of the legislative conference leaders. Michael Cusick, the Democratic chair of the Assembly Standing Committee on Energy received $25,800.

Donations to legislative leaders leaned heavily toward Republicans; however again, both the majority and minority leaders of both houses received campaign funds from the fossil fuel lobby. Republican Senate Minority Leader Rob Ortt received $28,775 and Assembly Minority Leader William Barclay received $13,700. Democratic Senate Majority Leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins received $14,500 and Assembly Speaker Carl Heastie received $4,000.

The amount given by each of the corporations and organizations we examined as well as the total amount given to each of the legislators and committees named above can be seen in Table 2 below. A full list of all recipients of campaign donations from the corporations and organizations analyzed in this report, as well as the methodology used for calculating totals from each corporation and organization, can be found in Appendix A.

Table 2. Fossil Fuel Industry Campaign Donations to Key Officials and Committees

	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	Independent Power Producers of NY	Con Ed (Consolidated Edison and Orange & Rockland)	National Grid	Buffalo Niagara Partner-ship	Avangrid (RG&E, NYSEG, and Avangrid)	Millen-nium Pipeline	Total
Total Contributions	$380,769.09	$306,750	$274,255	$119,695.40	$147,204.88	$88,525	$71,204	$28,645	$1,417,048.37
Kathy Hochul	$10,000	$3,500	-	$7,682.30	$5,000	$14,500	$5,000	-	$45,682.30
Andrea Stewart-Cousins	$5,000	$4,000	-	$3,000	$1,500	-	$1,000	-	$14,500
Carl Heastie	-	$2,000	-	$2,000	-	-	-	-	$4,000
Michael Cusick	$300	$600	$11,150	$10,750	$2,500	-	$500	-	$25,800
Kevin Parker	$3,000	$5,000	$19,500	$7,000	$5,200	-	$1,750	-	$41,450
Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee	$10,000	$1,000	$6,000	$6,000	$4,000	-	-	-	$27,000
Democratic Senate Campaign Committee	$15,620	$1,000	$12,000	$6,500	$11,000	-	-	-	$49,120
William Barclay	$1,00	$6,000	$5,650	-	$1,050	-	-	-	$13,700
Rob Ortt	$500	$15,900	$3,000	-	$1,750	$7,500	$125	-	$28,775
Republican Assembly Campaign Committee	$14,900	$17,792	$9,680	$2,400	$4,500	-	$13,270	-	$62,542
Senate Republican Campaign Committee	$78,500	$12,750	$41,850	$4,000	$3,750	-	$1,000	$10,080	$151,930

Source: New York State Board of Elections Contribution Data (2016-2022)

A range of fossil fuel and utility companies have played leading roles in New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and in opposing climate action in New York State in order to defend and advance their business interests that are rooted in oil and gas operations. These corporations are supported by industry trade groups, corporate lobbying organizations, and state and regional chambers of commerce where fossil fuel corporations hold key governance positions.

In the section below, we take a closer look at some of the key players in the campaign to keep New York dependent on fossil fuels for as long as possible.

National Fuel

National Fuel Gas is a vertically integrated gas corporation based in Buffalo. National Fuel's main segments are its drilling subsidiary, Seneca Resources, which primarily operates in the Marcellus Shale region in Pennsylvania; a pipeline operator, National Fuel Gas Transmission; and its gas utility, National Fuel Gas Distribution, which serves Western New York and some clients in Pennsylvania.

National Fuel has been engaged in years-long legal battles with the New York State government and property owners to overturn the state's rejection of its planned Northern Access Pipeline and to seize land to build the pipeline.[54] The company is proposing the pipeline to ship fracked gas from Pennsylvania under the Niagara River to Canada.[55]

Though in an opinion column, National Fuel Gas Distribution President Donna DeCarolis said "We all share the goal of reduced emissions,"[56] National Fuel plays a key role in the fossil fuel campaign against climate action in New York. As mentioned above, National Fuel is one of the companies at the center of the New Yorkers for Affordable Energy front group, supplying lobbyists Karen Merkel and Nicholas Stalnecker to serve as one of the founding directors and president of the group respectively.

National Fuel is also a central member of corporate lobbying groups fighting against climate mitigation proposals. National Fuel is a member of, and National Fuel Gas Distribution President Donna DeCarolis is the board chair of, the Business Council of New York State.[57] The Business Council is the statewide chamber of commerce for New York State and has a long history of opposing climate regulation in New York, and specifically the Climate and Community Protection Act.[58] The Business Council was the top lobbying spender analyzed in this report and its lobbying is described in greater detail below.

DeCarolis is also a member of the board of directors of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, a regional chamber of commerce that is itself a member of the Business Council of New York State.[59] Like the larger Business Council, the Buffalo Niagara Partnership was a forceful advocate for permitting fracking in New York State.[60] Buffalo Niagara Partnership's lobbying and other fossil

"National Fuel is one of the companies at the center of the New Yorkers for Affordable Energy front group"

fuel industry ties are described more below.

Further, National Fuel is also a member of the Energy Coalition New York, a lobbying group representing the major gas and electric utilities in the state, including National Fuel, National Grid, CH Energy, Consolidated Edison (and Con Ed subsidiary Orange & Rockland), and Avangrid subsidiaries NYSEG and Rochester Gas & Electric.[61]

The Business Council of New York State, the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, and the Energy Coalition New York are all listed as members of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy.

National Fuel is also a forceful lobbying presence in its own right, on top of its advocacy through groups like those mentioned above. Since 2016, National Fuel has reported spending $1,136,355 on lobbyists. That lobbying includes opposition to the Climate & Community Investment Act, a bill proposed to fund the climate mitigation investments required by the CLCPA by taxing pollution, and the All Electric Building Act, which would prohibit fossil fuel combustion in all new buildings.[62] In addition to its current lobbying on climate bills, National Fuel also lobbied against the Climate and Community Protection Act (the bill that eventually became the CLCPA) in 2016[63] and against the CLCPA throughout 2019 and 2020.[64] National Fuel also reported lobbying targeting the Climate Action Council in 2022.[65]

Since 2016, National Fuel and its PAC have also reported spending $306,750 on campaign contributions to politicians, party committees, and PACs. Top recipients from National Fuel include State Senator Tim Kennedy ($20,750), former State Senator Mike Ranzenhofer ($18,100), and State Senate Minority Leader Rob Ortt ($15,900). All the recipients of National Fuel's campaign donations since 2016 can be found in Appendix A.

National Fuel's lobbying against the CLCPA and subsequent lobbying targeting the Climate Action Council, which was created by the CLCPA, is especially notable because National Fuel Gas Distribution President (and, as mentioned above, Business Council of New York State and Buffalo Niagara Partnership board member) Donna DeCarolis was appointed as a member of the Climate Action Council by NYS Assembly Minority Leader Brian Kolb.[66]

DeCarolis's position on the council means that an executive at a corporation whose business revolves around fracking for methane gas, transporting it and selling it to end users to be burned, which itself lobbied against the CLCPA, is now in a key position to influence how the CLCPA is implemented. As DeCarolis sits on the Climate Action Council, the company that paid her $3.7 million in 2021[67] and lobbying groups where she holds governance positions are targeting that body for advocacy to weaken New York's climate mitigation efforts.

National Grid

nationalgrid

National Grid is a British gas and electric utility company serving parts of New York City as well as large areas in upstate New York, including Buffalo, the state's second-largest city.

National Grid is currently engaged in a fight to build a pipeline through north Brooklyn, against community opposition, to expand the company's fracked gas infrastructure in Greenpoint.[68] The company is also the exclusive customer of Williams Companies' planned Northeast Supply Enhancement pipeline, which would bring fracked gas into New York from Pennsylvania under New York harbor.[69] National Grid's advocacy for the pipeline has included sending emails to all its residential gas customers urging them to contact then-Governor Andrew Cuomo, whose Department of Environmental Conservation had just denied water permits to the pipeline.[70] At the same time, National Grid also stopped approving new gas customers in the New York City area unless the pipeline was approved, in an attempt to force the state's hand, which backfired when Cuomo threatened to revoke National Grid's license to operate in southern New York.[71]

Despite being rejected by both New York and New Jersey environmental regulators, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission kept the Northeast Supply Enhancement pipeline alive as a "zombie pipeline" by extending the company's deadline to build the pipeline until May 2023.[72]

In addition to being a steering committee member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy, National Grid is also a "leadership circle" member of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, where regional director Ken Kujawa sits on the board of directors[73]; a "sustaining investor" in the Capital Region Chamber of Commerce, where director of customer and community engagement Laura Poltynski sits on the board of directors[74]; and a member of the Energy Coalition New York.

National Grid was also listed as a member of the Business Council of New York State when the Business Council was lobbying against CCPA in 2016.[75] Robert Catell, the former chairman and CEO of KeySpan Energy, which merged into National Grid, and former chairman of National Grid US, is also a former chair of the Business Council.[76]

According to state filings, National Grid has spent $1,926,575 on lobbying and $147,204.88 on campaign donations since 2016. This advocacy includes lobbying on the Climate and Community Investment Act, the All-Electric Building Act, the Clean Futures Act, and the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan. National Grid also reported lobbying on the CLCPA before it passed in 2019. Top recipients of National Grid campaign contributions include the New York State Democratic Committee ($20,000 total to the committee and its housekeeping account), the New York State Democratic Senate Campaign Committee ($11,000), and the New York State Republican Committee ($10,000 to the committee housekeeping account). All recipients of National Grid campaign contributions can be found in Appendix A.

Though National Grid has claimed in comments to the Climate Action Council that it is "committed to New York's success in the energy transition,"[77] this claim is belied by the company's attempts to strong-arm the state into approving a new fracked-gas pipeline, its lobbying against a host of bills meant to effect the state's transition off of fossil fuels, and its sponsorship of the New Yorkers for Affordable Energy astroturf campaign.

"National Grid has spent $1,926,575 on lobbying and $147,204.88 on campaign donations since 2016."

Other companies

While National Grid and National Fuel are some of the highest-profile industry forces in New York State pushing back against climate action, both through New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and in their own independent capacity as corporate powerhouses, other fossil fuel companies are also key players:

- *Millennium Pipeline*, which owns a fracked-gas pipeline servicing the controversial CPV Valley Energy Center in New York State. Millennium also serves as a "corporate partner" of the New York League of Conservation Voters Education Fund,[78] and several Millennium Pipeline lobbyists and lawyers have served on NYLCV boards[79] – all of which smacks of greenwashing since Millennium is simultaneously building out and operating new fossil fuel infrastructure. Millennium is a member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's steering committee,[80] and New Yorkers for Affordable Energy Executive Director Michelle Hook has also served as Millennium's Director of Public Relations and Community Outreach.[81] The largest owner of Millennium Pipeline is the Canadian pipeline firm TC Energy (formerly TransCanada), which owns 47.5% of Millennium Pipeline.[82] The other owners are National Grid and Detroit-based utility DTE Energy, which each own a 26.25% stake in the pipeline.

- *Enbridge*, one of the largest and most powerful oil and gas companies in North America. According to its website, Enbridge claims to "move about 30% of the crude oil produced in North America" and "transport nearly 20% of the natural gas consumed in the U.S." It also operates "North America's third-largest natural gas utility by consumer count."[83] Enbridge has faced major controversy around the construction of its Line 3 Tar Sands oil pipeline that stretched over a thousand miles from Alberta, Canada to Superior, Wisconsin. Enbridge is a member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's steering committee.[84]

- *Avangrid*, the parent company of the regional state utilities Rochester Gas & Electric (RG&E) and New York State Electric & Gas (NYSEG). Both RG&E and NYSEG have lobbied on the statewide natural gas transition plan. Avangrid is a member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's steering committee.[85]

Other industry backers New Yorkers for Affordable Energy include natural gas pipeline behemoth Williams Companies, utility and pipeline powerhouse Dominion, and Danskammer Energy. The latter is seeking to build a fracked-gas power plant in New York State, and has New Yorkers for Affordable Energy Executive Director Michelle Hook on its payroll as its top public affairs official.[86]

"Enbridge, one of the largest and most powerful oil and gas companies in North America, has faced major controversy around the construction of its Line 3 Tar Sands oil pipeline."

American Petroleum Institute

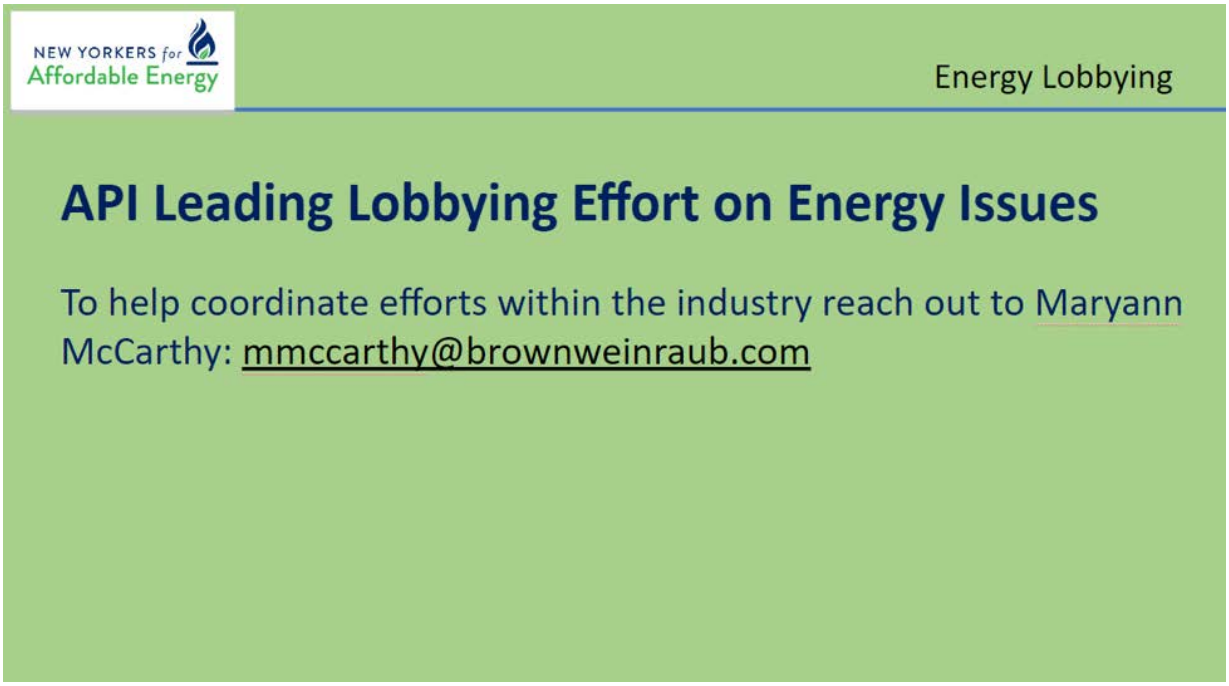
The American Petroleum Institute (API) is the largest oil and gas lobbying group in the United States, representing the interests of some of the largest oil and gas firms in the world, such as ExxonMobil, Chevron, and ConocoPhillips.[87] The organization brings in hundreds of millions of dollars per year[88], which it has used for decades to orchestrate disinformation efforts designed to stop government action on climate change.[89]

API has a long history of promoting climate disinformation. One scholarly study argues that the group was "promulgating disinformation about global warming to the public as early as 1980."[90] Later, during the time of the 1998 Kyoto Protocol, API released a memo that outlined ways to promote climate disinformation and declared that "[u]nless 'climate change' becomes a non-issue... there may be no moment when we can declare victory."[91]

More recently, U.S. states have sued the API for its carrying out "a decades-long campaign to deceive the public about climate change," according to one *Reuters* story.[92] A recent study also "uncovered a decade of spurious data, deceptive messaging, and disingenuous public positioning" by the API around methane emissions and climate change.[93]

The API is a member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's steering committee. According to a New Yorkers for Affordable Energy slideshow presentation, API is "leading" its lobbying effort on "energy issues."[94] Examples of legislation that API and New Yorkers for Affordable Energy would be opposing were spelled out in the presentation and include the All Electric Buildings Act, the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan, and the Clean Futures Act.

"The American Petroleum Institute, a member of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's steering committee, has a long history of promoting climate disinformation."



Slide from a New Yorkers for Affordable Energy presentation.

API takes in tens of millions of dollars each year from fossil fuel corporations and uses that money to lobby the national and state officials. Since 2016, we found API spent more than $3.6 million on lobbying in New York State, spending more than $200,000 in 2021 alone. According to Open Secrets, the API has spent over $131 million on federal lobbying since 1998.[95]

With its decades-long dedication to climate disinformation and resistance to addressing climate change, it is extremely alarming that the API is such a central player within the network of fossil fuel and utility interests that has fought climate legislation in New York State and – through New Yorkers for Affordable Energy – has direct ties to members of the Climate Action Council.

Business Council of New York State

The Business Council of New York State is the statewide chamber of commerce for New York State, representing the interests of many large corporations. The Business Council stopped publicizing its corporate members, but past membership lists have included the American Petroleum Institute, ExxonMobil subsidiary XTO, pipeline firm Kinder Morgan, as well as New York utilities Con Ed, National Grid, CH Energy, and Avangrid subsidiaries RG&E and NYSEG.[96]

The Business Council's advocacy efforts are complemented by a variety of regional chambers of commerce like the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, the Capital Region Chamber of Commerce, and the Business Council of Westchester. These groups share many of their members with the larger statewide Business Council and are also themselves members of the Business Council.

The Business Council has long held a staunch pro-fossil fuel posture. Permitting gas drilling using hydraulic fracturing was a consistent policy priority for the group prior to the ban on fracking implemented in 2014.[97] In 2011, the group produced a report promoting fracking by grossly overstating the number of jobs that would be produced if New York permitted it.[98]

"The Business Council has long held a staunch pro-fossil fuel posture."

After fracking was banned in New York, the Business Council came out in opposition to the Climate and Community Protection Act, the bill that would eventually pass in 2019 as the CLCPA.[99] In a 2016 memorandum opposing the Climate and Community Protection Act, Business Council CEO Heather Briccetti declared that if the bill passed it would be "the end of manufacturing, farming, busses [sic], trucks, cars, and finally people."[100]

Unsurprisingly, since the passage of the CLCPA, the Business Council is now trying to hamstring its implementation, despite the group's claims to "recognize and respect the ambitious carbon reduction and renewable energy deployment targets set by the CLCPA".[101] In February 2022, Briccetti blasted the draft plan of the state Climate Action Council as "ridiculous."[102] Though the Business Council itself has not registered to lobby the Climate Action Council, several of its members are, as described in this report. Further, the group is supporting efforts to shape the Climate Action Council's work through New Yorkers for Affordable Energy.

The Business Council has registered to lobby on the Build Public Renewables Act and the Climate and Community Investment Act in 2022. Since 2016, the Business Council has reported spending $3,725,183 on its lobbying efforts, more than any other group analyzed in this report.

The Business Council was also the top campaign donor of the corporations and groups we analyzed during this period, giving $380,769.09 to New York politicians and committees through its PAC. Top recipients from the Business Council include the Senate Republican Campaign Committee ($78,500 to the committee and its housekeeping account), the Balance New York PAC ($30,000), and the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee ($15,260). All recipients of Business Council campaign donations can be found in Appendix A.

Independent Power Producers of New York

Independent Power Producers of New York (IPPNY) is a lobbying group representing operators and developers of independent electric generating facilities, power marketers, and suppliers of goods and services to the industry.

IPPNY is governed by some of the most aggressive producers and advocates of fossil fuel energy in New York State. Some of these companies include NRG, whose power generation relies almost entirely on burning coal and gas, and which has aggressively sought to advance a new fracked-gas power plant in Astoria, Queens; Competitive Power Ventures, owner of the controversial fracked-gas Valley Energy Center power plant; and Eastern Generation, which runs dirty "peaker" plants owned by the private equity firm ArcLight, which has a numerous controversial oil and gas investments. IPPNY's board also contains polluting fossil fuel companies such as the Bayonne Energy Center, which faced strong opposition and also is owned by ArcLight, and the fracked-gas Cricket Valley Energy Center, which has also faced major opposition.

Through IPPNY, the power industry has been trying to push for non-renewable energy "solutions" by redefining "zero-emissions energy systems" to mean electrical generation that does not result in a "net increase in greenhouse gas emissions" rather than generation that does not produce any greenhouse gas pollution.[103] This would allow power producers to continue to pollute in New York if they utilize so-called carbon reduction technologies, like carbon capture and storage, which have so far not proven successful.[104]

IPPNY is currently registered to lobby on the Climate and Community Investment Act, the All-Electric Building Act, the Clean Futures Act, the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan, and the Build Public Renewables Act (which IPPNY described as "imprudent" and "designed to destabilize energy markets").[105]

IPPNY also lobbied against the CLCPA, and its predecessor bill the Climate and Community Protection Act, from 2016 through 2018.[106]

"IPPNY lobbied against the CLCPA, and its predecessor bill the Climate and Community Protection Act, from 2016 through 2018."

Since 2016, IPPNY has reported spending $278,977 on lobbying and $274,255 on campaign donations. Top recipients of campaign donations from IPPNY's PAC include the Senate Republican Campaign Committee ($41,850), State Senate Energy Committee Chair Kevin Parker ($19,500), and the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee ($12,000). All recipients of contributions from IPPNY's PAC can be found in Appendix A.

Though it was unable to stop the passage of CLCPA, IPPNY is well-positioned to influence how the act is implemented because the president and CEO of the organization, Gavin Donohue, was appointed to the state Climate Action Council by Senate Minority Leader John Flanagan.[107] Donohue's position on the council gives corporations whose business models depend on continued and deepened reliance on fossil fuels, and who have lobbied against the Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act, a direct role in determining how the act is implemented.

Energy Coalition New York

Energy Coalition New York (not to be confused with the New York State Energy Coalition, a lobbying group representing the oil heating industry which has also been active in lobbying around the CLCPA) is a front group for gas and electric utilities in New York State. According to its website, Energy Coalition members are CH Energy, Consolidated Edison, National Fuel Gas, National Grid, New York State Electric & Gas (NYSEG), Orange and Rockland Utilities, and Rochester Gas and Electric (RG&E).[108]

The Energy Coalition has lobbied for years against climate action. The coalition was registered to lobby on the Climate and Community Protection Act and CLCPA from 2016 through 2020. In 2022, the Energy Coalition has registered to lobby on the Build Public Renewables Act. Since 2016, the Energy Coalition has reported spending $1,131,863 on lobbying.

"The Energy Coalition has lobbied for years against climate action."

While the Energy Coalition as an organization only registered to lobby on the CLCPA and Build Public Renewables Act, its constituent members have lobbied on a broader array of climate bills in the legislature and have targeted the Climate Action Council for lobbying as well:

- National Fuel and Consolidated Edison registered to lobby on the Climate and Community Protection Act and CLCPA;
- National Fuel and National Grid are registered to lobby on the Climate and Community Investment Act and All-Electric Building Act;
- National Grid is registered to lobby on the Clean Futures Act;
- Rochester Gas & Electric and New York State Electric & Gas (both subsidiaries of the Avangrid corporation) are registered to lobby on the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan;
- Central Hudson Energy is registered to lobby on the Build Public Renewables Act; and
- National Fuel is registered to lobby on the Climate Action Council.

Buffalo Niagara Partnership

The Buffalo Niagara Partnership (BNP) is the chamber of commerce for the Buffalo-Niagara Falls region of Western New York. BNP represents a broad array of major corporations including, critically, regional fossil fuel interests. Utility companies National Fuel and National Grid are "President's Circle" and "Leadership Circle" members of BNP respectively and National Fuel Gas Distribution President Donna DeCarolis and National Grid regional director Ken Kujawa both sit on the BNP Board of Directors. Oil and gas company NOCO Energy and utility company New York State Electric & Gas are both "Partnership Circle" members of BNP without seats at the board.[109]

"BNP represents a broad array of major corporations including, critically, regional fossil fuel interests."

Buffalo-based law firm Phillips Lytle LLP is also a member of BNP with a seat at the board of directors. Phillips Lytle has represented a number of fossil fuel industry clients, including the National Fuel-owned Empire Pipeline, part of the Northern Access project[110]; utility RED-Rochester and Ironclad Energy and Stonepeak Energy (both portfolio companies of Dominion Midstream)[111]; and Atlantic Power and Gas.[112] Dennis Elsenbeck, the head of Phillips Lytle's energy consulting business, is a former executive at National Grid, which he represented on the BNP Board of Directors.

The Buffalo Niagara Partnership has been a stalwart advocate for the fossil fuel industry. The group was a major supporter of permitting fracking in New York State prior to 2014.[113] Since fracking was banned, BNP has consistently made expanding gas infrastructure a policy priority, and in 2019 when it became apparent that the Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act would pass the legislature, BNP joined an effort led by the American Petroleum Institute and the Business Council of New York State to urge lawmakers to water the bill down.[114]

After the CLCPA passed in 2019, BNP lobbied New York State Assembly minority leader Brian Kolb to appoint Donna DeCarolis[115], the president of National Fuel Gas Distribution and a member of the BNP board of directors, to the Climate Action Council, which Kolb did. Former BNP board member Dennis Elsenbeck was appointed to the Climate Action Council as well, by state Senate majority leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins.

Since 2016, BNP has spent $121,883 on lobbying. Currently BNP is registered to lobby the state legislature on the All-Electric Building Act and the Climate Action Council's draft scoping plan. In that time BNP has spent $88,525 on campaign contributions through its PAC, the Committee for Economic Growth PAC. Top recipients of donations from BNP's PAC include Buffalo Mayor Byron Brown ($25,750), Governor Kathy Hochul ($14,500), and Senator Tim Kennedy and former Senator Chris Jacobs ($8,500 each). All recipients of donations from Buffalo Niagara Partnership's PAC can be seen in Appendix A.

BNP is closely tied to fossil fuel interests and advocacy against climate legislation in other ways. For example, its "Advocacy Partners" include the Business Council of New York State, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and Upstate United.[116]

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is a dedicated defender of the fossil fuel industry with a long history of opposing efforts to regulate or rollback oil and gas production.[117] A 2021 report from Brown University's Climate and Development Lab extensively documented the Chamber's extensive record of climate delay and disinformation, going so far as to label the organization the "Chamber of Obstruction" that has been "a central actor in the national and global countermovement against ambitious action on climate change." [118]

Upstate United is a coalition of upstate New York chambers of commerce that strongly opposes climate legislation in New York State and defends the interests of fossil fuel companies.[119] Its board includes BNP President and CEO Dottie Gallagher.[120]

Upstate United's 2022 Advocacy Agenda on energy includes planks like "Reject the Climate and Community Investment Act (CCIA)," "Oppose the Creation of the Office of Utility Consumer Advocate," "Oppose a Ban on Natural Gas," and - echoing a key industry talking point - "Utilizing the State's Extensive Natural Gas Infrastructure to Transport Low Carbon Fuels to Help Meet Climate Goals." [121]

Upstate United has advocated for new fossil fuel pipelines[122] and has published numerous pro-industry legislative memos.[123] It has aggressively opposed the CCIA.[124]

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Upstate United and the Business Council of New York State are all named as members of the New Yorkers for Affordable Energy coalition.[125]

While the Buffalo Niagara Partnership is the most active and influential of New York's regional chambers of commerce, other local chambers have comparable fossil fuel ties and are also active in the fight against climate action. For example, the Capital Region Chamber of Commerce's "investors" include companies like National Grid and NYSEG, and National Grid is also on its board.[126] In past years it has published numerous statements supporting fossil fuel infrastructure buildout such as the Millennium, Constitution, Valley Lateral, North Access, and several other fracked-gas pipelines.[127] The Capital Region Chamber celebrated the formation of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy in 2017.[128] The Capital Region Chamber is currently registered to lobby on the All-Electric Building Act.

CORPORATIONS FIGHTING CLIMATE ACTION HAVE GOVERNING SEATS AT THE CLIMATE ACTION COUNCIL

The fossil fuel and utility industries' attempts to weaken New York State's climate law don't stop with industry front groups, campaign donations, and lobbying. Their efforts stretch into the very body that is tasked to begin implementing the Climate Act: the Climate Action Council (CAC).

The CAC is a 22-member council that is constructing a scoping plan to - in its own words - "achieve the State's bold clean energy and climate agenda."[129] While 12 of the Council's members represent state agencies and authorities, a full ten members are outside appointees. Of these ten, LittleSis has identified three – nearly *one-third* of the outside appointees – as representing corporations and industry associations that actively opposed the original passage of the Climate Act and are working tirelessly to weaken its implementation.

"Nearly one-third of the outside appointees on the Climate Action Council represent corporations and industry associations that actively opposed the Climate Act."

Donna DeCarolis

Executive of Gas Utility and Co-Founder of Fossil Fuel Astroturf Group

CAC member Donna DeCarolis is President of National Fuel Gas Distribution Corporation at National Fuel Gas Company[130], a vertically integrated gas utility, pipeline operator, and fracking company based in the Buffalo area. DeCarolis has been with National Fuel for more than 30 years,[131] holding multiple high-up positions in the company and its subsidiaries.

National Fuel has been dedicated to maintaining and expanding New York State's fossil fuel production and infrastructure buildout. For example, the company has been engaged in legal battles for years with the NYS government and property owners[132] to overturn the state's rejection of the company's planned Northern Access Pipeline and its plan to seize land to build the pipeline. National Fuel wants to build the pipeline to ship fracked gas from Pennsylvania under the Niagara River to Canada.[133]

Moreover, according to the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Protection, National Fuel's fracking subsidiary, Seneca Resources, operates 2,473 gas wells in the state and had the 14th-highest (out of 4,034) number of environmental violations from 2010 through 2022.[134] Seneca Resources racked up 805 violations amounting to a total of $24.4 million in penalties during that time period.

National Fuel has been dedicated to weakening the implementation of the CLCPA. It is a member of the Steering Committee of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy, a fossil fuel and utility industry-backed front group that, as discussed above, has lobbied aggressively against climate action in New York State.

Moreover, National Fuel has lobbied numerous New York State officials specifically on the topic of the implementation of the CLCPA. For example, so far in 2022, the company has lobbied Governor Kathy Hochul's office, numerous state senators and assembly members, and Buffalo Mayor Byron Brown's office, all on the implementation of the CLCPA.[135]

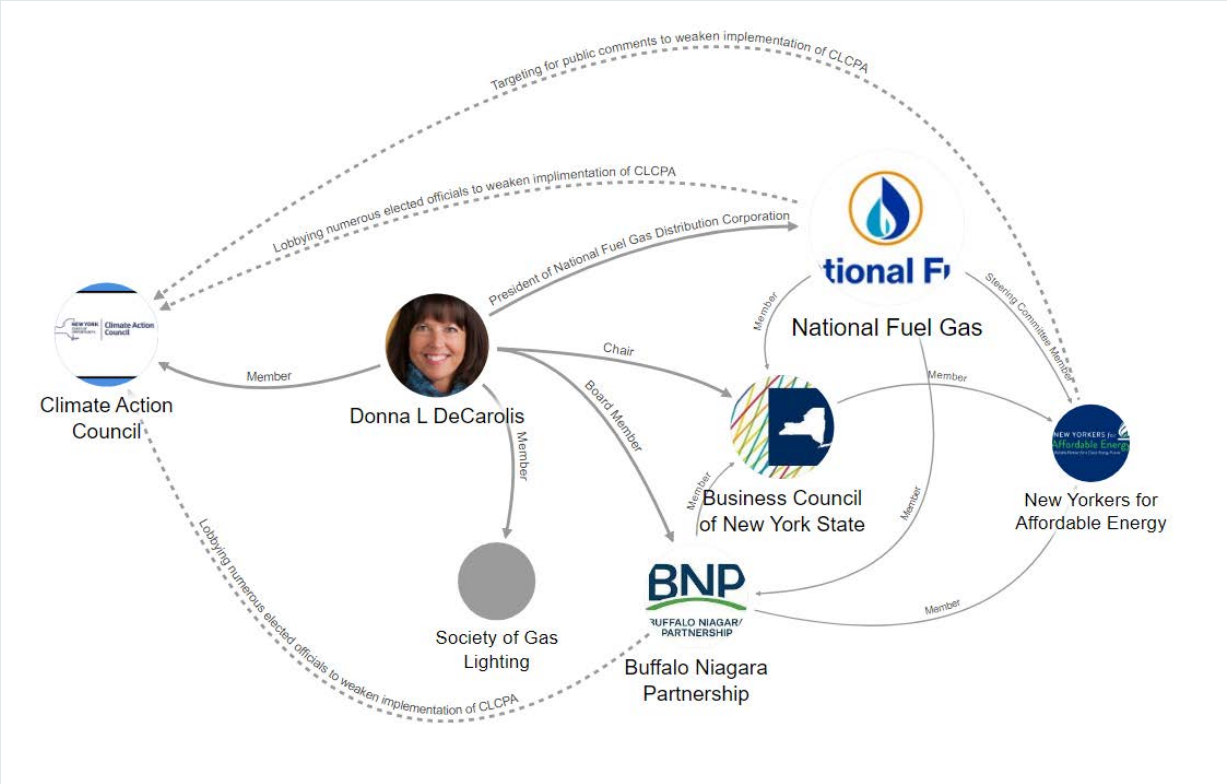
"National Fuel has been dedicated to maintaining and expanding New York State's fossil fuel production and infrastructure buildout."

DeCarolis has expressed opposition to climate measures that would hurt the natural gas industry's business at CAC meetings.[136] For example, in December 2021, she spoke out against "[m]andated electrification of heat, bans on appliances, prohibitions on natural gas service, closure of substantial portions of the natural gas delivery system and near-complete, economy-wide electrification," calling these measures "dramatically premature" and "unnecessary," and proposed creating "a blueprint to optimize and evolve" the state's natural gas system.

As mentioned above, as of 2020 DeCarolis has been the chair of the Business Council of New York State, a corporate lobbying group representing some of the largest corporate interests in New York, including many fossil fuel and utility corporations. The Business Council was a staunch opponent of CCPA/CLCPA when the bills were being debated in the legislature and is currently backing New Yorkers for Affordable Energy's effort to weaken action taken by the Climate Action Council.

DeCarolis also sits on the Board of Directors of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership.[137] BNP, discussed more above, is a lobbying organization that represents large corporate interests in Western New York[138], including National Fuel along with other utilities companies like National Grid and Avangrid subsidiary NYSEG, both of whom are members of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy. BNP was a major proponent[139] of fracking in New York State before the drilling practice was banned in 2014. BNP also co-founded a front group[140] for the liquefied gas industry called "LNG for NY," and has consistently included expanding gas infrastructure in New York as part of its agenda.[141]

DeCarolis is also a member of the Society of Gas Lighting[142], which is dedicated to discussing "the issues" that impact the "development, transmission or distribution of natural gas."[143] The Society brings in an array of speakers to provide members with "insight on how to more effectively operate in the competitive energy environment." All Society members must be Senior Executives and membership is by invitation only.



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Gavin Donohue

Head of Fossil Fuel Power Generation Industry Organization

Gavin Donohue has been the President and CEO of Independent Power Producers (IPPNY) of New York since 2003.[144] He originally joined IPPNY in 2001 as its Executive Director. As mentioned above, IPPNY is a trade association and lobbying group representing companies in the power supply industry in New York State.[145] It performs "legislative and regulatory advocacy and public relations services on behalf of its membership."

IPPNY's governing members include representatives from heavy fossil fuel polluters like Astoria Energy, CPV, Eastern Generation, NextEra, and NRG among several others as described in greater detail above.[146]

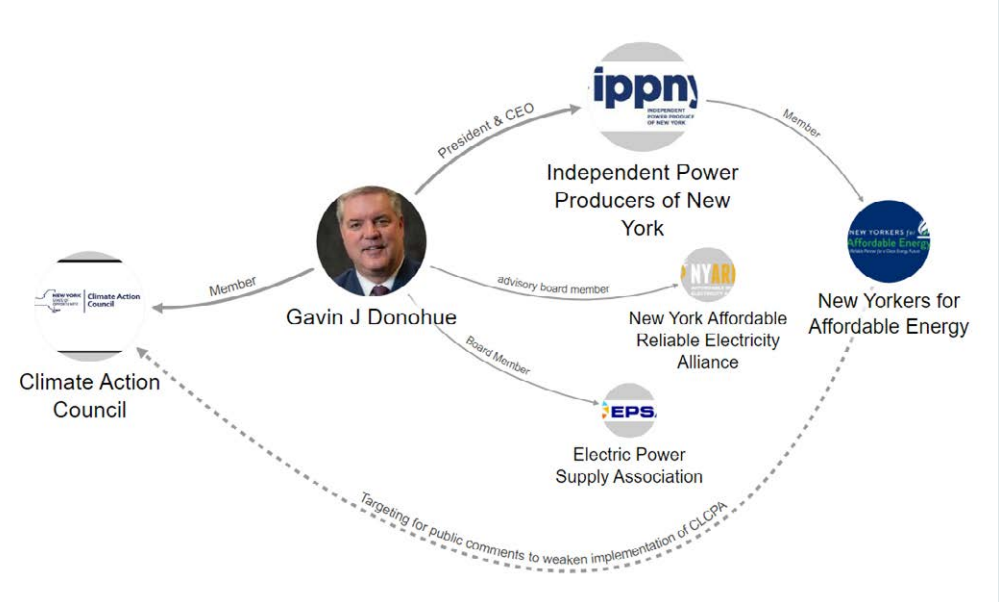
IPPNY and the power producers it represents have been active in advancing non-renewable energy "solutions" while opposing policies meant to transition New York State off of fossil fuels.[147] As mentioned above, IPPNY has lobbied against the Climate Leadership and Community Protection Act, the Climate and Community Investment Act, the All-Electric Building Act, the Clean Futures Act, the Statewide Natural Gas Transition Plan, and the Build Public Renewables act.

Donohue was also quoted as saying that the New York State's Climate action plan recommendations are "unaffordable, unreasonable and unattainable."[148] Donohue believes that "[t]he reality is you can't close all the power plants and keep the lights on. What do you want to use to keep the lights on? You want candles?"[149] This position may seem obvious given Donohue's role as an industry lobbyist.

Prior to joining IPPNY, Donohue served in the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation,[150] which illustrates the revolving door problem between NYS regulatory agencies and the energy industry they are tasked to regulate.

Donohue has represented the interests of IPPNY members in a range of commissions and committees.[151] These include Governor Andrew Cuomo's Energy & Environment & Recreation Transition Committee, the New York City Energy Policy Task Force during the Bloomberg administration, the Energy and Environment Committee, which was formulated as part of New York governor-elect Eliot Spitzer's transition team, and the Temporary Commission on the Future of New York State Power Programs for Economic Development by then Governor George E. Pataki. He also served as a representative on the Electric Power Supply Association Board of Directors.[152]

Donohue does well for himself in his role at IPPNY, taking in $2,572,245 in compensation between 2015 and 2020 alone.[153]



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Dennis Elsenbeck

Longtime Utility Executive in Firm with Deep Ties to Fossil Fuel Lobby

Dennis Elsenbeck has been the head of the energy and sustainability practice at the Buffalo-based law firm Phillips Lytle LLP since 2017.[154] Elsenbeck was appointed to the Climate Action Council by Democratic Senate Majority Leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins.[155]

At Phillips Lytle, Elsenbeck runs the firm's energy consulting business, which notably includes "regulatory consulting and advocacy", "municipal consulting", and "litigation support" on behalf of energy industry clients.[156] Though it is not clear who Elsenbeck's clients are, his focus on regulatory compliance and advocacy indicates that at his new job, he is still a representative of the interests of energy producers.

Prior to joining Phillips Lytle, Elsenbeck had a long career at the utility corporation National Grid, which as described above has lobbied against CCPA/CLCPA bills directly and through various lobbying organizations and front groups like the Business Council, the Energy Coalition, and New Yorkers for Affordable Energy. According to his LinkedIn profile, Elsenbeck worked for National Grid for nearly 30 years, from October 1987 until March 2017.[157] Elsenbeck ended his career at National Grid in an executive role, described either as "director of stakeholder and policy" for the multinational corporation's U.S. operations[158] or regional director[159] depending on the source.

While at National Grid, Elsenbeck surely had a hand in the corporation's extensive lobbying activities. Though National Grid did not report lobbying on CCPA/CLCPA bills until 2019, after Elsenbeck joined Phillips Lytle, the corporation funded lobbying on the bills through various organizations such as the Energy Coalition, the Business Council of New York State, and the Buffalo Niagara Partnership.

Further, Elsenbeck was a member of, and National Grid's representative on, the board of directors of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership while the partnership was lobbying against CCPA/CLCPA. According to tax filings, Elsenbeck was a member of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership Board of Directors as far back as the 2005 fiscal year.[160] The last year that Elsenbeck is named as a board member is the 2016 fiscal year, which ended half-way through 2017.[161] This means that Elsenbeck's long tenure with the lobbying organization coincided with Buffalo Niagara Partnership's early lobbying against CCPA/CLCPA as well as its advocacy for permitting fracking in New York and for expanding fossil fuel infrastructure more generally, as described above in the profile of Donna DeCarolis.

"Elsenbeck runs the firm's energy consulting business, which includes 'regulatory consulting and advocacy' and 'litigation support' on behalf of energy industry clients."

Phillips Lytle, the firm where Elsenbeck currently works, is also a high-level member[162] of the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, and has been for many years. Phillips Lytle partner David Murray sits on the Buffalo Niagara Partnership Board of Directors.[163]

While many of Phillips Lytle's clients are kept confidential, we do have some examples of the firm's extensive ties to oil and gas industry interests. For example, Phillips Lytle has published a list of "Partner Organizations" that include major opponents of New York climate legislation and members of New Yorkers for Affordable Energy. These include the Independent Oil and Gas Association of New York, the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, and the Business Council of New York State.

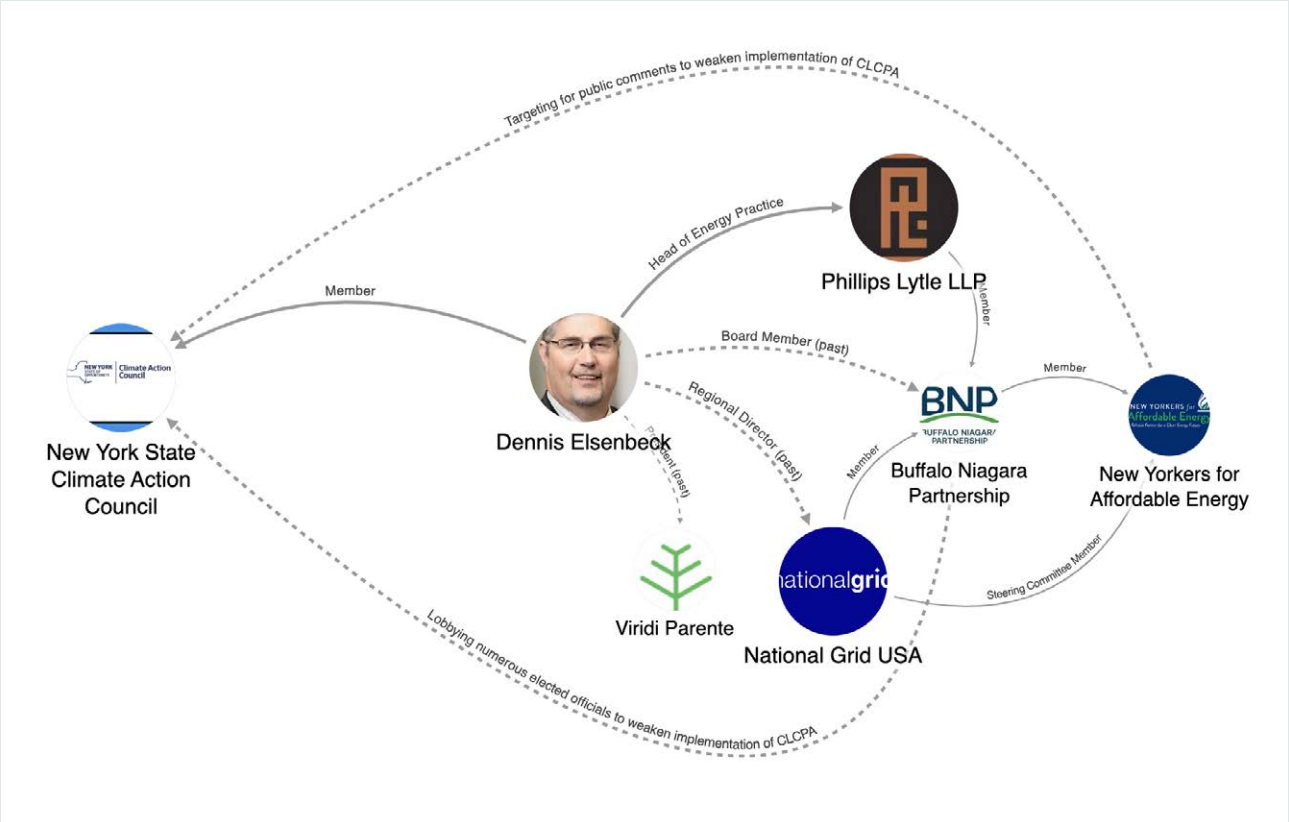
Moreover, some of the firm's fossil fuel clients are known. As mentioned above, Phillips Lytle has represented the National Fuel-owned Empire Pipeline, part of the Northern Access project; utility RED-Rochester and Ironclad Energy and Stonepeak Energy (both portfolio companies of Dominion Midstream); and Atlantic Power and Gas, among others.

In 2022, David Flynn, a team leader and partner from Phillips Lytle's Energy Practice, echoed industry talking points questioning the pace of the transition to renewable energy from fossil fuels. "Flynn is optimistic but concerned about the momentum of "green politics" that is taking an increasingly aggressive approach to getting the end state as quickly as possible," one account of Flynn's comments stated.[164]

On the Climate Action Council website, Elsenbeck's position is listed as president of Viridi Parente, a battery company based in Buffalo.[165] Elsenbeck did not have this job when he was appointed to the Climate Action Council in January 2020[166], and it appears that he was hired in this capacity shortly after his appointment to the council. The announcement of Elsenbeck's appointment to the council was released on January 13, 2020 and, according to Elsenbeck's LinkedIn profile, he was hired by Viridi Parente in February 2020.[167]

Elsenbeck's LinkedIn indicates that he left Viridi Parente in May 2022 and that throughout his tenure at Viridi Parente (and at the Climate Action Council) he retained his job at Phillips Lytle.[168] It is not clear why the Climate Action Council website still lists Elsenbeck as president of Viridi Parente and does not list his concurrent role as head of Phillips Lytle's energy practice. Elsenbeck's communications with the council

"Prior to joining Phillips Lytle, Elsenbeck had a long career at the utility corporation National Grid, which has directly and indirectly lobbied against the CCPA/CLCPA bills."



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also only list his affiliation with Viridi Parente and not Phillips Lytle[169], though the announcement of his appointment to the council does name his Phillips Lytle role and his career at National Grid.

Viridi Parente is a battery manufacturer hailed as a "renewable energy startup" company in the media[170], though the firm's business is not producing renewable energy, but rather producing lithium batteries which can be charged with energy from any fuel source.

Further, Viridi Parente is owned by Jon Williams, a Buffalo businessman whose primary business is the demolition and environmental contractor OSC. OSC "works mostly for private chemical and industrial manufacturing firms," according to a public loan application submitted by Viridi Parente.[171] Among other projects, OSC has built a fracking well pad in the Marcellus shale, according to a project description that has since been removed from OSC's website.[172]

Jon Williams, the owner of OSC and Viridi Parente is among the top Buffalo-area donors to former President Donald Trump, as well as a host of state and local politicians on both sides of the aisle.[173]

CONCLUSION

It is no secret that New York State has the potential to make historic strides around climate action in the coming months and years. However, as this report shows, the fossil fuel industry and its corporate networks have been mobilizing to delay, water down, and otherwise frustrate the implementation of the CLCPA and other key climate legislation. The fossil fuel industry is using front groups like New Yorkers for Affordable Energy and engaging in extensive lobbying to stifle climate progress. Moreover, these same forces that have aggressively fought to oppose the CLCPA (and other climate legislation) are now represented on the very body tasked with implementing the CLCPA, the Climate Action Council. Legislators, communities, and other stakeholders invested in a cleaner, greener, decarbonized future for New York must stay vigilant around efforts by the fossil fuel industry to muzzle and erode the state's most far-reaching climate legislation ever passed.

APPENDIX A - CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

The table below lists campaign contributions made by eight corporations and organizations analyzed in this report from 2016 through 2022. The data on these contributions was retrieved from the New York State Board of Elections database. For corporations, the total amount given to each recipient includes contributions given directly by the corporation as well as contributions given through its corporate political action committees (PACs). Totals for Consolidated Edison include contributions from Consolidated Edison, subsidiary Orange & Rockland, and corporate PACs. Totals for Avangrid include contributions from New York State Electric and Gas, Rochester Gas & Electric, and Avangrid as well as from corporate PACs. For the Business Council of New York State, Independent Power Producers of New York, and the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, totals include contributions through each organization's PAC.

Total contributions for each corporation listed in this appendix differ from the totals named in the report above because in the report corporate contributions to each corporation's PAC were not included in order to avoid double-counting (for example, if a corporation gave $100 to its PAC and that PAC then gave $100 to a candidate, we would count that as $100 in corporate campaign spending). Thus, we subtracted each corporation's contributions to its own PAC or PACs to reach the grand totals given in the last line of the table below and in the body of this report.

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Nys Senate Republican Campaign Committee (Nyssrcc) - ID# 2480	$78,500.00	$11,750.00	$41,850.00	$4,000.00	$3,750.00		$1,000.00	$8,500.00	$149,350.00
Consolidated Edison, Inc. Employees' Political Action Committee (Ceipac) - ID# 784				$125,849.27					$125,849.27
Republican Assembly Campaign Committee - ID# 14669	$14,400.00	$17,700.00	$7,180.00	$2,400.00	$4,500.00		$13,200.00		$59,380.00
Nys Democratic Senate Campaign Committee (Nys Dscc) - ID# 160	$15,620.00	$1,000.00	$12,000.00	$6,500.00	$11,000.00		$3,000.00		$49,120.00
Friends for Kathy Hochul - ID# 16851	$10,000.00	$3,500.00		$7,682.30	$5,000.00	$14,500.00	$5,000.00		$45,682.30
Kennedy For Senate - ID# 19164	$250.00	$20,750.00	$9,000.00		$3,800.00	$8,500.00	$750.00		$43,050.00
Friends Of Kevin Parker - ID# 8843	$3,000.00	$5,000.00	$19,500.00	$7,000.00	$5,200.00		$1,750.00		$41,450.00
Nyseg & Rg&E Political Action Committee - ID# 743							$40,000.00		$40,000.00
Brown For Buffalo - ID# 18090		$8,715.00				$25,750.00			$34,465.00
Mike Ranzenhofer For State Senate - ID# 2192	$1,100.00	$18,100.00	$4,600.00	$4,300.00	$500.00	$4,500.00			$33,100.00
National Fuel Gas New York Political Action Committee - ID# 882		$30,000.00							$30,000.00
Balance New York - ID# 7579	$30,000.00								$30,000.00
Ortt For State Senate - ID# 22460	$500.00	$15,900.00	$3,000.00		$1,750.00	$7,500.00	$125.00		$28,775.00
Friends Of Tom O'Mara - ID# 14250	$9,500.00	$6,000.00	$7,150.00		$1,700.00		$3,750.00		$28,100.00
NYS Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee - ID# 5816	$10,000.00	$1,000.00	$6,000.00	$6,000.00	$4,000.00				$27,000.00
Friends Of Joe Griffo - ID# 10858	$1,550.00	$4,000.00	$8,850.00	$3,500.00	$5,000.00		$4,000.00		$26,900.00
Cusick For Assembly - ID# 10237	$300.00	$600.00	$11,150.00	$10,750.00	$2,500.00		$500.00		$25,800.00
Friends For Palmesano - ID# 14134	$2,500.00	$5,800.00	$6,000.00	$3,800.00	$2,150.00		$4,300.00		$24,550.00
Gallivan For Senate - ID# 15214		$12,025.00	$2,500.00			$5,250.00	$1,950.00		$21,725.00
Friends Of Amy Paulin - ID# 1527		$300.00	$10,300.00	$7,250.00			$600.00	$750.00	$19,200.00
Jacobs For State Senate - ID# 12297	$500.00	$8,000.00	$1,000.00			$8,500.00			$18,000.00
Friends Of Crystal D Peoples (Focp) - ID# 7485		$5,350.00			$3,500.00	$8,400.00			$17,250.00
Fred Akshar For Our Future - ID# 22148	$8,500.00	$1,000.00	$1,000.00				$3,425.00	$3,000.00	$16,925.00
New York State Democratic Committee (Housekeeping) - ID# 22372					$15,000.00				$15,000.00
Friends Of Andrea Stewart-Cousins - ID# 7493	$5,000.00	$4,000.00		$3,000.00	$1,500.00		$1,000.00		$14,500.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Cathy Young For Senate - ID# 5365	$1,500.00	$6,000.00	$3,000.00	$1,000.00	$3,000.00				$14,500.00
Ed Rath For Senate - ID# 1114	$2,000.00	$11,150.00	$650.00				$350.00		$14,150.00
Friends Of Will Barclay - ID# 11359	$1,000.00	$6,000.00	$5,650.00		$1,050.00				$13,700.00
Defrancisco Re-Election Committee - ID# 3275	$1,000.00	$5,000.00	$3,000.00		$1,000.00		$3,000.00		$13,000.00
Friends Of Carrie Woerner (Focw = Friends Of Carrie Woerner) - ID# 11098	$11,589.09				$500.00				$12,089.09
Friends Of John Flanagan - ID# 6129	$2,000.00	$2,000.00	$3,750.00	$2,000.00	$2,250.00				$12,000.00
Pam Helming For State Senate - ID# 5195	$350.00	$8,800.00	$850.00				$1,500.00		$11,500.00
George Amedore For Senate - ID# 21742	$6,875.00	$1,000.00	$3,400.00						$11,275.00
Serino 4 Ny (Serino 4 New York) - ID# 19654	$6,500.00	$1,500.00	$2,650.00						$10,650.00
Committee To Elect Terrence Murphy - ID# 12578	$5,300.00		$4,250.00	$1,000.00					$10,550.00
Friends Of Brian Kolb - ID# 10648		$5,900.00	$1,500.00		$3,000.00				$10,400.00
New York Republican State Committee - Housekeeping - ID# 9606					$10,000.00				$10,000.00
Jobs New York Committee - ID# 13672	$10,000.00								$10,000.00
Friends Of Carl L. Marcellino - ID# 10507	$10,000.00								$10,000.00
Friends Of Ray Walter - ID# 18958		$7,575.00	$750.00			$1,500.00			$9,825.00
National Grid Voluntary New York State Pac - ID# 1626					$9,745.00				$9,745.00
New Yorkers For Gianaris - ID# 1502		$4,000.00	$5,000.00						$9,000.00
Friends Of Rich Funke - ID# 18573		$5,150.00	$2,200.00				$1,350.00		$8,700.00
Erie County Republican Committee-Finance - ID# 6107		$8,650.00							$8,650.00
Sean Ryan For Senate - ID# 15513		$8,250.00	$250.00						$8,500.00
Committee To Re-Elect Assemblyman Joe Morelle - ID# 18880	$1,500.00	$2,000.00	$1,500.00	$2,000.00	$500.00		$1,000.00		$8,500.00
Friends of Andrew Cuomo - ID# 9438	$100.00			$3,000.00			$5,000.00		$8,100.00
Sean Ryan For Assembly - ID# 5130		$7,750.00							$7,750.00
Mcdonald For Assembly - ID# 14719	$2,900.00		$2,950.00		$1,300.00				$7,150.00
Friends Of Steve Hawley - ID# 5823	$500.00	$5,100.00	$900.00				$500.00		$7,000.00
Elaine Phillips For Senate - ID# 3827	$5,000.00		$1,700.00						$6,700.00
Gaughran for Senate - ID# 7307	$1,000.00		$5,500.00						$6,500.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Committee To Re-Elect Bill Larkin - ID# 20420	$5,000.00		$1,000.00					$500.00	$6,500.00
Finch For Assembly - ID# 16770		$2,000.00	$1,475.00		$1,000.00		$2,020.00		$6,495.00
Friends Of Monica Wallace - ID# 5914		$5,425.00	$250.00		$750.00				$6,425.00
Citizens For Schimminger - ID# 16103	$500.00	$2,750.00	$1,500.00		$500.00	$1,000.00			$6,250.00
Friends Of Betty Little - ID# 3209	$2,500.00		$2,700.00		$1,000.00				$6,200.00
Delaware County Republican Committee - ID# 12103								$6,075.00	$6,075.00
Pravato For New York - ID# 11544	$5,000.00	$1,000.00							$6,000.00
Citizens For Tom Basile - ID# 9723	$5,000.00	$1,000.00							$6,000.00
Friends Of Dean Murray - ID# 16711	$5,000.00		$700.00		$200.00				$5,900.00
Antonacci For Accountability - ID# 14461	$4,500.00	$1,000.00			$350.00				$5,850.00
Klein For New York - ID# 13665		$3,000.00	$1,500.00	$500.00	$500.00				$5,500.00
Citizens For Defrancisco - ID# 19888	$3,600.00	$1,000.00	$250.00		$500.00				$5,350.00
Friends Of Mike Martucci - ID# 18343	$2,500.00	$500.00	$1,000.00				$1,300.00		$5,300.00
Kaminsky For New York - ID# 22504		$3,000.00	$500.00		$1,700.00				$5,200.00
Friends Of Patricia Ritchie - ID# 14638			$2,900.00		$2,250.00				$5,150.00
New York State Democratic Committee - ID# 11236					$5,000.00				$5,000.00
Jeff Klein Excelsior - ID# 4851			$1,500.00	$3,500.00					$5,000.00
Norris For Assembly - ID# 11894		$3,600.00				$1,000.00	$250.00		$4,850.00
Friends Of Senator Breslin - ID# 10151	$500.00		$4,300.00						$4,800.00
New Yorkers For Savino - ID# 18322	$1,250.00		$3,000.00		$500.00				$4,750.00
Borrello For Senate - ID# 10819	$500.00	$3,500.00	$600.00				$100.00		$4,700.00
New Yorkers For Leroy Comrie - ID# 483	$1,000.00			$2,500.00	$1,000.00				$4,500.00
Friends Of Mike Gianaris - ID# 10230			$2,500.00	$2,000.00					$4,500.00
Ben Walsh For Syracuse - ID# 14779					$4,500.00				$4,500.00
Savino For New York - ID# 16043			$1,250.00	$3,200.00					$4,450.00
Anna Kaplan For Ny State Senate - ID# 6317	$4,200.00				$250.00				$4,450.00
Friends Of Carl E Heastie - ID# 18525		$2,000.00		$2,000.00					$4,000.00
Daphne Jordan For State Senate - ID# 4891	$4,000.00								$4,000.00
Committee To Elect Mary Beth Walsh - ID# 15842	$2,250.00	$350.00	$1,400.00						$4,000.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Friends Of Bob Oaks - ID# 21258		$1,000.00	$1,500.00				$1,235.00		$3,735.00
Friends Of Rob Astorino - ID# 6779				$3,500.00					$3,500.00
Citizens For Al Stirpe - ID# 4296	$2,000.00				$1,000.00		$500.00		$3,500.00
Hevesi For Assembly - ID# 19535	$400.00		$2,100.00		$900.00				$3,400.00
Friends Of Andy Goodell - ID# 14872	$800.00	$2,300.00			$250.00				$3,350.00
Friends of Miguelina Camilo - ID# 217178	$2,800.00		$500.00						$3,300.00
Friends Of John Brooks - ID# 11232	$3,000.00				$250.00				$3,250.00
Brabenec For Assembly - ID# 20000								$3,250.00	$3,250.00
Republican Assembly Campaign Committee - Housekeeping Account - ID# 18082	$500.00	$92.00	$2,500.00				$70.00		$3,162.00
Pete Harckham For Senate - ID# 1382	$500.00		$800.00	$1,000.00	$350.00		$500.00		$3,150.00
Valesky For Senate - ID# 10992	$1,500.00				$1,500.00				$3,000.00
Simcha Ny - ID# 13267	$3,000.00								$3,000.00
Pamela Hunter Of Nys Assembly - ID# 6274	$2,000.00		$500.00		$500.00				$3,000.00
Friends Of David Weprin - ID# 16341	$500.00		$2,500.00						$3,000.00
Friends Of Tom Croci - ID# 5529	$350.00		$1,600.00		$975.00				$2,925.00
Citizens To Elect John Bonacic - ID# 12162	$1,350.00							$1,500.00	$2,850.00
People For Magnarelli - ID# 1567	$1,500.00				$1,300.00				$2,800.00
Friends Of Cliff Crouch - ID# 14524	$85.00		$850.00				$285.00	$1,500.00	$2,720.00
Andrew Lanza For Staten Island - ID# 15204	$500.00		$1,650.00	$500.00					$2,650.00
Citizens For Joseph Robach - ID# 15326	$500.00		$2,100.00						$2,600.00
Nys Senate Republican Campaign Committee - Housekeeping (Nyssrcc-Housekeeping) - ID# 14981		$1,000.00						$1,580.00	$2,580.00
Stec For Senate - ID# 8056		$500.00	$1,100.00				$950.00		$2,550.00
Palumbo For Senate - ID# 2186	$2,250.00		$250.00						$2,500.00
Friends Of Josh Jensen - ID# 5315	$2,000.00	$500.00							$2,500.00
Addabbo For Senate - ID# 21212	$2,000.00				$500.00				$2,500.00
Friends Of Billy Jones - ID# 19019	$2,300.00								$2,300.00
Friends Of Peter Oberacker - ID# 19489	$2,000.00		$250.00						$2,250.00
Friends Of Senator Seward - ID# 5474	$250.00						$1,960.00		$2,210.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Friends Of Kevin Byrne - ID# 19374	$2,000.00						$200.00		$2,200.00
Erie County Democratic Committee - ID# 4000		$2,120.00							$2,120.00
Friends Of Joe Destefano - ID# 11193	$2,000.00				$75.00				$2,075.00
Friends Of Dan Quart - ID# 6215				$2,050.00					$2,050.00
Schneiderman 2018 - ID# 15442			$2,000.00						$2,000.00
Sam For Senate - ID# 655	$2,000.00								$2,000.00
Julie Killian For State Senate - ID# 15497		$2,000.00							$2,000.00
Friends Of Rob Astorino - ID# 13813	$2,000.00								$2,000.00
Friends Of Bill Weber For Senate - ID# 18100	$2,000.00								$2,000.00
Friends Of Bill Conrad - ID# 21932		$2,000.00							$2,000.00
Dilan For Senate - ID# 13047			$1,500.00	$500.00					$2,000.00
Brian Miller For Assembly - ID# 8343	$2,000.00								$2,000.00
Angelino For Assembly - ID# 11633	$2,000.00								$2,000.00
Amedure For Senate - ID# 10188	$2,000.00								$2,000.00
Friends Of David Buchwald - ID# 17916	$350.00			$1,550.00					$1,900.00
Friends Of Patricia Fahy - ID# 20710	$950.00		$925.00						$1,875.00
Friends Of Steve Otis - ID# 14718			$1,850.00						$1,850.00
Friends Of Robert J. Rodriguez - ID# 9927				$1,850.00					$1,850.00
Citizens For Day - ID# 15120				$1,795.00					$1,795.00
Tedisco For Senate - ID# 18651			$1,775.00						$1,775.00
Nicole For New York - ID# 1925			$1,000.00	$750.00					$1,750.00
Giglio For Assembly - ID# 20584		$1,750.00							$1,750.00
Boyle For Senate - ID# 1297	$500.00		$1,250.00						$1,750.00
Friends Of Mark Poloncarz - ID# 19558		$1,499.00				$250.00			$1,749.00
Burke For Assembly - ID# 1010		$1,100.00			$600.00				$1,700.00
Nassau County Republican Committee - ID# 1522					$1,675.00				$1,675.00
Si Dems Pac - ID# 5606				$1,500.00					$1,500.00
Santabarbara For Assembly - ID# 5998	$1,000.00				$500.00				$1,500.00
Sanders For Senate - ID# 13265	$1,500.00								$1,500.00
Friends Of Marc Panepinto - ID# 192		$1,000.00	$500.00						$1,500.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Friends Of Kevin Cahill - ID# 13184	$1,000.00		$500.00						$1,500.00
Friends Of Assemblyman Jeffrey Dinowitz - ID# 21972				$1,000.00	$500.00				$1,500.00
Friends Of Aravella - ID# 3259			$1,500.00						$1,500.00
Suffolk County Democratic Committee - ID# 18071					$1,450.00				$1,450.00
Friends Of Monica Martinez - ID# 15878			$1,000.00		$450.00				$1,450.00
Viverito Ny - ID# 2002				$1,400.00					$1,400.00
Lawler 4 Ny - ID# 12384	$500.00		$850.00						$1,350.00
Judge Angelo Morinello For Assembly - ID# 14066		$1,350.00							$1,350.00
Friends Of Craig Apple - ID# 542			$1,300.00						$1,300.00
Friends Of Matt Slater - ID# 20478							$1,275.00		$1,275.00
Shelley Mayer For Senate - ID# 2759				$1,250.00					$1,250.00
New Yorkers For Kim - ID# 11834	$1,250.00								$1,250.00
Julissa For New York - ID# 2395				$1,000.00	$250.00				$1,250.00
David Carlucci For New York - ID# 6240			$1,250.00						$1,250.00
Committee For Economic Growth - ID# 11797		$1,000.00			$250.00				$1,250.00
Mannion For State Senate - ID# 7004			$850.00		$350.00				$1,200.00
Friends Of Marty Golden - ID# 11709				$1,200.00					$1,200.00
Friends Of Michaelle Solages - ID# 15412	$1,000.00				$99.88				$1,099.88
Friends Of Michael Fitzpatrick - ID# 3305			$1,050.00						$1,050.00
Friends Of Brian Kulpa - ID# 3135		$750.00			$300.00				$1,050.00
Wolfgang For Assembly - ID# 16665	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Stringer 2017 - ID# 6957				$1,000.00					$1,000.00
Stec For Assembly - ID# 15068					$1,000.00				$1,000.00
New York Republican County Committee - ID# 19553	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
New York Building Congress Paf - ID# 11594				$1,000.00					$1,000.00
Nassau County Democratic Committee (Ncdc) - ID# 1166					$1,000.00				$1,000.00
Latoya Joyner For Assembly - ID# 10790	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Kelso For Assembly - ID# 273								$1,000.00	$1,000.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Jenifer Rajkumar For New York - ID# 9643	$500.00				$500.00				$1,000.00
Hinchey For Ny - ID# 11921	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Friends Of Vivian E. Cook - ID# 549	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Friends Of Matt Simpson - ID# 21930	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Friends Of Jeff Gallahan - ID# 8465		$1,000.00							$1,000.00
Friends Of James Skoufis - ID# 14459	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Friends Of Jamaal T. Bailey - ID# 14797	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Friends Of Harry Bronson - ID# 11667	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Friends Of Frank Seddio - ID# 15417				$1,000.00					$1,000.00
Friends Of Andrew Garbarino - ID# 594			$500.00		$500.00				$1,000.00
Dinapoli 2022, Inc. - ID# 22271	$500.00			$500.00					$1,000.00
Dilan For Assembly - ID# 16501					$1,000.00				$1,000.00
Crespo For Assembly - ID# 19526			$500.00	$500.00					$1,000.00
Committee To Elect Malik Evans - ID# 18998							$1,000.00		$1,000.00
Committee To Elect Jeffrion Aubry - ID# 8907	$1,000.00								$1,000.00
Benjamin For New York - ID# 14412	$500.00				$500.00				$1,000.00
Benjamin 2022 - ID# 216595							$1,000.00		$1,000.00
Daveforny - ID# 2527			$950.00						$950.00
Friends Of Francisco Moya - ID# 10578			$350.00	$500.00					$850.00
Friends Of Donna Lupardo - ID# 5015	$350.00						$500.00		$850.00
Friends Of Christopher P Scanlon - ID# 18920		$350.00				$500.00			$850.00
Friends Of Lynne Dixon - ID# 4956		$575.00				$250.00			$825.00
Democratic Organization Of Queens County - ID# 21274					$800.00				$800.00
Friends Of Ed Rath - ID# 3364		$775.00							$775.00
Friends Of Mark Walczyk - ID# 15182			$250.00		$500.00				$750.00
Friends Of Anthony J. Brindisi - ID# 16130					$750.00				$750.00
Curran For Nassau - ID# 14394					$750.00				$750.00
Citizens For Razzano - ID# 9191								$750.00	$750.00
Re-Elect Assembly Member Latrice Walker - ID# 2074			$250.00	$205.65	$250.00				$705.65

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Erie County Republican Committee-Housekeeping - ID# 9541		$700.00							$700.00
Ippny-Pac - ID# 4753	$650.00								$650.00
Kings County Democratic County Committee - ID# 13512					$625.00				$625.00
Friends Of Doug Smith - ID# 4857					$600.00				$600.00
Katz For Queens - ID# 18250				$350.00	$175.00				$525.00
Zellnor For New York - ID# 2758	$500.00								$500.00
Van Bramer 2017 - ID# 16175				$500.00					$500.00
Suffolk County Republican Committee - The Chairmans Club (Scrc) - ID# 5476					$500.00				$500.00
Steve Mclaughlin For Assembly - ID# 399			$500.00						$500.00
Patch For Tonawanda - ID# 10443		$500.00							$500.00
Mark Levine 2017 - ID# 20412				$500.00					$500.00
Latimer For Westchester - ID# 5214				$500.00					$500.00
Jane Corwin Campaign Committee - ID# 8466		$250.00	$250.00						$500.00
Friends of Walczyk - ID# 227512		$500.00							$500.00
Friends Of Steve Neuhaus - ID# 17713				$500.00					$500.00
Friends Of Mario Mattera - ID# 13467			$500.00						$500.00
Friends Of Marcos Crespo - ID# 8027				$500.00					$500.00
Friends Of Liz Krueger - ID# 14602	$500.00								$500.00
Friends Of Kenny Burgos - ID# 14177	$500.00								$500.00
Friends Of Keith Brown - ID# 21577			$500.00						$500.00
Friends Of Kathy Marchione Committee - ID# 7945					$500.00				$500.00
Friends Of Karines Reyes - ID# 18659	$500.00								$500.00
Friends Of Justin Wilcox - ID# 10822		$500.00							$500.00
Friends Of Jeremy Cooney - ID# 2117	$500.00								$500.00
Friends Of Ed Ra - ID# 7040		$500.00							$500.00
Friends Of Chris Missick - ID# 8811		$500.00							$500.00
Friends Of Angie Carpenter - ID# 1871					$500.00				$500.00
Friends For Mike Lipetri - ID# 8378					$500.00				$500.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Friends For Al Taylor - ID# 16557	$500.00								$500.00
Feroleto For Council - ID# 20428						$500.00			$500.00
Eric Gonzalez For Brooklyn District Attorney - ID# 20397				$500.00					$500.00
Dickens For New York - ID# 19326	$500.00								$500.00
Corey 2017 - ID# 7658				$500.00					$500.00
Committee To Elect Joseph Golombek Jr. - ID# 13078						$500.00			$500.00
Committee To Elect Alessandra Biaggi - ID# 14421				$500.00					$500.00
Chris Burdick For Assembly - ID# 2782	$500.00								$500.00
Capital Region Business Political Action Committee - ID# 21520					$500.00				$500.00
Angi Renna For State Senate - ID# 3223		$500.00							$500.00
Friends Of Ted Morton - ID# 14623		$450.00							$450.00
Friends Of Laura Gillen - ID# 6651					$450.00				$450.00
Friends Of Judi Bosworth - ID# 7419					$450.00				$450.00
Friends Of John Lemondes - ID# 6754	$250.00	$200.00							$450.00
Long Island Contractors' Association Pac, Inc. - ID# 16008					$425.00				$425.00
Friends Of Tom Cilmi - ID# 11656					$420.00				$420.00
Friends Of Peter Savage Iii - ID# 11874		$400.00							$400.00
Friends Of Farley - ID# 15230			$400.00						$400.00
Citizens For Saladino - ID# 9555			$400.00						$400.00
Citizens For Saladino - ID# 11479					$400.00				$400.00
Citizens For Montesano - ID# 21244					$375.00				$375.00
Peralta For Senate - ID# 21243			$350.00						$350.00
Friends Of Nily - ID# 2678					$350.00				$350.00
Friends Of John Cochrane - ID# 12006					$350.00				$350.00
Team Simcha - ID# 18691				$300.00					$300.00
Lopez 4 Ny - ID# 5695							$300.00		$300.00
Friends Of Ken Blankenbush - ID# 8209					$300.00				$300.00
Friends Of Joe Lorigo - ID# 17187		$300.00							$300.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Andrew For New York - ID# 6977			$300.00						$300.00
Alexis Weik For Senate - ID# 10914			$300.00						$300.00
Romaine For Supervisor - ID# 18970					$275.00				$275.00
Friends Of Marc Butler - ID# 11989					$275.00				$275.00
Friends Of Rob Calarco - ID# 10720					$265.00				$265.00
Steck For Assembly - ID# 9981			$250.00						$250.00
Samra Brouk For State Senate - ID# 7331			$250.00						$250.00
Patterson For New York - ID# 5223			$250.00						$250.00
Murray for NY Senate - ID# 227550			$250.00						$250.00
Miner For Mayor - ID# 19231					$250.00				$250.00
Lavine For Good Government - ID# 4665					$250.00				$250.00
Katz Nys (New York State) - ID# 16592				$250.00					$250.00
Jack Schnirman For Nassau - ID# 13327					$250.00				$250.00
Friends To Elect Brian Curran - ID# 6700					$250.00				$250.00
Friends Of Michael Reilly - ID# 6316			$250.00						$250.00
Friends Of Mark Schroeder - ID# 11414		$250.00							$250.00
Friends Of Jon Rivera - ID# 12299		$250.00							$250.00
Friends Of Jesse Hamilton - ID# 11426				$250.00					$250.00
Friends Of Jamie Romeo - ID# 4220		$250.00							$250.00
Friends Of Jaime - ID# 8342	$250.00								$250.00
Friends Of Christine Pellegrino - ID# 1713			$250.00						$250.00
Friends Of Andrew Raia - ID# 11000					$250.00				$250.00
Friends Of Al Graf - ID# 9522					$250.00				$250.00
Citizens For Santino - ID# 15638					$250.00				$250.00
Campaign For Democratic Legislature - ID# 21984					$250.00				$250.00
Friends To Elect Rich David - ID# 14645							$234.00		$234.00
Suffolk County Republican Committee Campaign Acct (Scrc) - ID# 19176					$200.00				$200.00
Friends Of Steve Stern - ID# 17622			$200.00						$200.00
Friends Of Marjorie Byrnes - ID# 323		$200.00							$200.00
Friends Of Erin Baker - ID# 11526		$199.00							$199.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Town Of Hempstead Republican Committee - ID# 9894					$175.00				$175.00
Friends Of Rudy Sunderman - ID# 11527					$175.00				$175.00
Committee To Elect A Republican Majority - ID# 19515					$175.00				$175.00
Town Of Oyster Bay Republican Committee - ID# 11325					$150.00				$150.00
Town Of Islip Republican Committee - ID# 15000					$150.00				$150.00
State Conservative Campaign Committee - ID# 6095		$150.00							$150.00
Oddo 2017 - ID# 7655					$150.00				$150.00
Molinaro For Dutchess - ID# 8618							$150.00		$150.00
Manktelow For Assembly - ID# 8380		$150.00							$150.00
Friends to Elect Rich David for Senate - ID# 216918							$150.00		$150.00
Friends Of Laura Schaefer - ID# 9684					$150.00				$150.00
Friends Of Kevan Abrahams - ID# 10892					$150.00				$150.00
Erie County Republican Legislature Campaign Committee - ID# 8511		$150.00							$150.00
Bellone For Suffolk - ID# 19984					$150.00				$150.00
Re Elect John Mills - ID# 21702						$125.00			$125.00
Friends Of Jason Garnar - ID# 8787								$120.00	$120.00
Broome County Republican Committee (Bcrc) - ID# 11342								$120.00	$120.00
Victor Republican Committee - ID# 10900		$100.00							$100.00
Restaino For Mayor - ID# 12650		$100.00							$100.00
Kearns For Western New York - ID# 8951		$100.00							$100.00
Friends Of Owusu Anane - ID# 12258			$100.00						$100.00
Friends Of Ed Mangano - ID# 1478					$100.00				$100.00
Friends Of Chris Jacobs - ID# 12899		$100.00							$100.00
Ecrc Chairman'S Club - ID# 1102		$100.00							$100.00
Committee To Elect Fred Akshar - ID# 14798							$100.00		$100.00

Recipient	Business Council of NYS	National Fuel	IPPNY	Con Ed	National Grid	BNP	Avangrid	Millennium Pipeline	Grand Total
Citizens For Tom Loughran - ID# 20255		$100.00							$100.00
Carmen De La Rosa 2018 - ID# 20430				$100.00					$100.00
Avangrid New York PAC - ID# 227831							$100.00		$100.00
April 4 Erie County - ID# 12958		$100.00							$100.00
Friends Of Ed Wehrheim - ID# 18414					$85.00				$85.00
Friends Of Tom Donnelly - ID# 6652					$75.00				$75.00
Friends Of Debbie Preston - ID# 9313							$75.00		$75.00
Citizens For D'Esposito - ID# 972					$60.00				$60.00
Friends Of David Franczyk - ID# 6720		$50.00							$50.00
Mount Vernon City Committee - ID# 18215				$12.45					$12.45
Grand Total of Contributions	**$380,769.09**	**$336,750.00**	**$274,255.00**	**$245,544.67**	**$156,949.88**	**$88,525.00**	**$111,304.00**	**$28,645.00**	**$1,622,742.64**
Total Given by Corporation to its own PAC(s)	**-**	**$30,000.00**	**-**	**$125,849.27**	**$9,745.00**	**-**	**$40,100.00**	**-**	**$205,694.27**
Grand Total	**$380,769.09**	**$306,750.00**	**$274,255.000**	**$119,695.4**	**$147,204.88**	**$88,525.00**	**$71,204.00**	**$28,645.00**	**$1,417,048.37**

ENDNOTES

1 https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/841780324/08_2021_prefixes_83-91%2F841780324_201912_990EO_2021081718734873
2 https://www.ny4affordableenergy.com/ourcoalition/
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4 https://www.nysenate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/robert-g-ortt/senate-republicans-urge-public-reject-albanys-plan-hike-energy
5 https://www.ny4affordableenergy.com/2022/03/29/new-yorkers-for-affordable-energy-coalition-launches-statewide-television-campaign/
6 https://reports.ethics.ny.gov/publicquery/ViewFiling/Attachment/10370B80-0000-C611-82E1-F34D4E000655
7 https://public-accountability.org/report/how-uber-and-lyft-are-preparing-to-block-labor-rights-for-gig-economy-workers-in-new-york-and-around-the-country/
8 https://webapps.jcope.ny.gov/public//AssociatedFilings/Njg4NXwxMDAwNTgyfExS0
9 https://www.crainsnewyork.com/politics/marissa-shorenstein-leaves-office-gov-kathy-hochul-join-skdk-political-consulting-firm; https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-hochul-announces-new-administration-appointments
10 https://acrobat.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn%3Aaaid%3Ascds%3AUS%3A781792cc-bbff-4a60-ba09-f5497c43f340&viewer%21megaVerb=group-discover
11 https://buffalonews.com/opinion/another-voice-climate-act-s-blueprint-to-electrify-everything-will-negatively-impact-wny/article_66d32aea-dd08-11ec-a3c7-8f80bba50296.html
12 https://www.bcnys.org/sites/default/files/CAC%20comments%20041322.docx
13 See Table 1 and Table 2 in the full "Fueling Obstruction" report below
14 https://www.api.org/membership/members
15 https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/jul/19/big-oil-climate-crisis-lobby-group-api
16 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-climatechange-oil/minnesota-sues-exxon-koch-and-api-for-being-deceptive-on-climate-change-idUSKBN23V2XY
17 https://priceofoil.org/2021/04/22/bad-data-and-deception-the-american-petroleum-institute-pivots-on-methane/
18 https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1zKQx-WAw7OQJn7vHQ3QWh-17jmbiokc9Y/edit?usp=sharing&ouid=102875461775015088522&rtpof=true&sd=true
19 https://www.bcnys.org/news/new-board-chair-six-new-directors-elected-serve-business-council-new-york-state-inc
20 https://members.thepartnership.org/board-of-directors
21 https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/841780324/08_2021_prefixes_83-91%2F841780324_201912_990EO_2021081718734873
22 https://www.linkedin.com/in/gavin-j-donohue-52248511a
23 https://phillipslytle.com/people/dennis-w-elsenbeck/
24 https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/160365700/2006_11_EO-%2F16-0365700_990O_200606
25 https://www.linkedin.com/in/dennis-elsenbeck-04002431/
26 https://www.thepartnership.org/major-investors/
27 https://members.thepartnership.org/board-of-directors
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29 https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/841780324/08_2021_prefixes_83-91%2F841780324_201912_990EO_2021081718734873
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31 https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/841780324/08_2021_prefixes_83-91%2F841780324_201912_990EO_2021081718734873
32 https://nylcv.org/board-member/michelle-hook/
33 See e.g. https://reports.ethics.ny.gov/publicquery/ViewFiling/Attachment/10370B80-0000-C611-82E1-F34D4E000655
34 https://reports.ethics.ny.gov/publicquery/ViewFiling/MzU3MzA10
35 https://www.linkedin.com/in/nicholas-charles-stalnecker-990aaa189/
36 This type of "pro bono" lobbying has been reported by SKDKnickerbocker for an industry front group for gig work companies Uber and Lyft in the past. See https://public-accountability.org/report/how-uber-and-lyft-are-preparing-to-block-labor-rights-for-gig-economy-workers-in-new-york-and-around-the-country/
37 https://skdknick.com/staff/morgan-hook/
38 https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/albany/story/2013/10/cuomo-poaches-another-schneiderman-aide-009093
39 https://public-accountability.org/report/how-uber-and-lyft-are-preparing-to-block-labor-rights-for-gig-economy-workers-in-new-york-and-around-the-country/
40 https://webapps.jcope.ny.gov/public//AssociatedFilings/Njg4NXwxMDAwNTgyfExS0
41 https://www.crainsnewyork.com/politics/marissa-shorenstein-leaves-office-gov-kathy-hochul-join-skdk-political-consulting-firm; https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-hochul-announces-new-administration-appointments
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43 https://www.nysenate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/robert-g-ortt/senate-republicans-urge-public-reject-albanys-plan-hike-energy
44 https://www.ny4affordableenergy.com/2022/03/29/new-yorkers-for-affordable-energy-coalition-launches-statewide-television-campaign/
45 https://reports.ethics.ny.gov/publicquery/ViewFiling/BIMO/Mzc3NTYw0
46 https://reports.ethics.ny.gov/publicquery/ViewFiling/BIMO/Mzc3NTYw0
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55 https://public-accountability.org/report/the-power-behind-the-pipelines-northern-access-pipeline/
56 https://buffalonews.com/opinion/another-voice-climate-act-s-blueprint-to-electrify-everything-will-negatively-impact-wny/article_66d32aea-dd08-11ec-a3c7-8f80bba50296.html
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60 https://news.littlesis.org/2013/09/23/cuomo-shackled-to-fracking-lobby/
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63 https://ethics.ny.gov/lobbying-datasets
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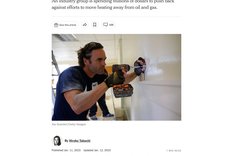

The New Soldiers in Propane's Fight Against Climate Action: Television Stars

An industry group is spending millions of dollars to push back against efforts to move heating away from oil and gas.

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Mr. Bluhave, a former Trump administration official, is the face of a campaign by the propane industry to convince people that it is good for their health and the environment.

By Hiroko Tabuchi

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For D.L.S. enthusiasts, Matt Bluhave is a familiar face, judging bathroom remodels or planning surprise home makeovers on popular cable television shows.

Mr. Bluhave also has an unusually strong opinion about how Americans should heat their homes: by burning propane, or liquid petroleum gas.

"When I think of winter, I think of being inside. I think of cooking with the family of being by a roaring fire — and with propane, it is all possible," he said on a segment of the CBS affiliate WCIA, calling it from his bright kitchen. "That's why we call it an energy source for everyone."

Less well known is the fact that Mr. Bluhave is paid by a fossil fuel industry group that has been running a furtive campaign against government efforts to move heating away from oil and gas toward electricity made from wind, solar and other cleaner sources.

The Propane Education and Research Council, or PERC, which is funded by propane providers across the country, has spent millions of dollars on "provocative anti-electrification messaging" for TV, print and social media, using influencers like Mr. Bluhave, according to the group's internal documents viewed by The New York Times.

As a federally-sanctioned trade association, PERC is allowed to collect fees on propane sales, which helps fund its marketing campaigns. But according to the law that created this system, that money is supposed to be used for things like research and safety.

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In 2023, the organization plans to spend $11 million on its anti-electrification campaign, including $600,000 on "influencers" like Mr. Bluhave, according to the documents, which were obtained from PERC's website as well as a public records request by the Energy and Policy Institute, a pro-renewables group.

The overwhelming majority of scientists around the globe agree that the burning of coal, gas and oil produces greenhouse gases that are dangerously heating the planet. Scientists commissioned by the United Nations have warned that nations must deeply and quickly cut those emissions to avoid a catastrophic escalation of deadly flooding, heat waves, drought and species extinction.

The propane industry sees things differently. It needs to "combat the growing narrative that fossil fuel combustion is the main cause of climate change, and that propane is a dirty fossil fuel," Stuart Weidie, chairman and chief executive of North Carolina propane company Bluemane Gas, told the propane council at a February 2023 meeting.

Understand the Latest News on Climate Change

Exxon's climate research. A new study published in the journal Science found that starting in the late 1970s, Exxon's scientists made remarkably accurate projections of just how much burning fossil fuels would warm the planet. Yet for years, the oil giant denied its own research on climate change and continued spending millions on climate-change-related lobbying and advertising.

"The movement to electrify everything is rapidly gaining momentum, and poses a substantial threat to the sustainability of our industry," he said, according to meeting minutes.

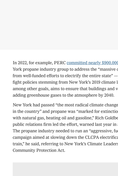
Erin Hatcher, who heads communications at PERC, said its campaign "asserts propane's role in a clean energy future" and "promotes the advantages of a wide path to decarbonization." Influencers like Mr. Bluhave, she said "use and specify propane in their construction projects and are very familiar with propane's advantages." Ms. Hatcher would not say how much her group has paid Mr. Bluhave.

Mr. Weidie said that his fundamental belief in the importance of a low-carbon future had been "lost in out-of-control conversation." He said he believed electrification was set to "play a big role but is not the only answer," and that propane was "a great energy for generations to come."

Mr. Bluhave referred questions to PERC.

Most American homes are heated by natural gas or oil. But in states where the energy grid is increasingly powered by wind, solar and other renewables, electric heat pumps are fast becoming a lower-carbon alternative to gas and oil. They heat as well as coal.

Researchers at Princeton University found that for the United States to stop adding greenhouse gases to the atmosphere by 2050, nearly one-quarter of American homes would need to switch to heat pumps. That's double the number today.



When propane, which is used in 10 million American homes, doesn't emit as much planet-warming greenhouse gases as coal, gasoline or diesel, it's still derived from fossil fuels. Angel Di Bibo/Getty

Congress has approved billions of dollars to help Americans electrify buildings, including tax credits for heat pumps, as part of the major climate law passed last summer.

But such a shift would reduce demand for propane, which is used in 50 million American homes, in furnaces, stoves, fireplaces and a range of appliances, according to the National Propane Gas Association. Propane, like natural gas, doesn't emit as much planet-warming greenhouse gases as coal, gasoline or diesel. But it's still derived from fossil fuels.

"If you're burning gas to heat your house anywhere in a northern climate, it's a huge amount of emissions, probably the largest part of your emissions," said Forrest Meggers, an associate professor at Princeton.

The propane industry's anti-electrification campaign has been particularly well-funded because of PERC's status as a federally-sanctioned trade association.

A 1996 law authorized the creation of PERC and allowed it to collect a half cent fee on every gallon of propane it sells, an example of what is known as a federal "checkoff program" designed to support specific industry sectors, typically agricultural commodities. These fees are supposed to be used for safety and consumer education, training, or research and development projects.

But ambiguous language in the original bill, together with limited oversight by the Department of Energy, has meant the group has diverted millions of dollars from the fee toward marketing, including its anti-electrification campaigns. The Government Accountability Office, the investigative arm of Congress, has repeatedly raised concerns that PERC has been misusing the funds it raises from the fee, which comes to more than $40 million a year, and criticized lax government oversight.

PERC has also funded groups working on campaigns in response to federal and state climate policies, possibly violating a provision in the 1996 law that bars the organization from lobbying, the G.A.O. has warned.

Heat pump condensers in the backyard of a 100-year-old Brooklyn apartment building. The New York Propane Gas Association has funded social media with misleading information about the efficacy of heat pumps. Gina Feldman for The New York Times

On social media and an opposition website, the local New York Propane Gas Association painted heat pumps as cripplingly expensive and unreliable, especially in cold climates, urging residents to oppose the state's climate plans. The group also lobbied against a state carbon tax, which failed to advance.

The group's claim about heat pumps is misleading. Advances in technology mean the pumps are effective in colder regions, said Dr. Meggers of Princeton. Federal rebates of up to $8,000 for low- and moderate-income households, as well as various state-level incentives, have made heat pumps more affordable. And efficient heat pumps can save households hundreds of dollars a year, compared to oil and gas systems, according to the Department of Energy.

Still, by the New York propane group's own accounting, its social media ads reached 2 million people, and its videos were shown more than 2.3 million times. "PERC is running the largest national anti-electrification campaign I've encountered anywhere in the country," said Ryan Katofsky, a former staff member at the Energy and Policy Institute. "Propane customers, whether they're buying fuel for their home heating or for their grill, they're unwittingly funding PERC's anti-climate agenda."

In an interview, Mr. Goldberg stood by his characterization of the New York climate law. "People would be required to convert their energy use in their house, how they drive, how power is produced," he said. "That's pretty extreme."

Ms. Hatcher of PERC, meanwhile, said the council was unaware of any current concerns about its spending. She said the group makes sure the activities it funds are authorized under the 1996 law and added that most of its budget goes to research and development, training, and safety education.

PERC budgets for 2023-2025 seen by The Times show that marketing and communications is the largest spending category.

Senator Martin Heinrich, Democrat of New Mexico and a strong advocate for climate action, said he would be "requesting that the Department of Energy exercise its statutory oversight to ensure that PERC complies with the law and spends its funds appropriately."

The Energy Department "takes seriously any allegations that an entity associated with the department may be conducting activities outside the scope of its congressional authorization," spokeswoman Charissa Tristano said in a statement. She said her department would "work with our congressional partners to examine these allegations."

She added that the department was requesting additional information after PERC submitted a budget in December 2022 which only provided "basic information on the Council's activities."

The New York Propane Gas Association did not provide comment.

The propane industry's messaging has gone beyond heating.

"Space Cat" Emily Calandrelli is a Massachusetts Institute of Technology-trained science communicator who has hosted shows on Netflix.

She is now a paid influencer for the propane industry, according to PERC documents.

Last August, Ms. Calandrelli appeared on local Houston network CW39 to nudge electric bus technology as expensive, unreliable — and, where the electric grid is still powered heavily by coal and natural gas, not very clean.

"The good news is that there are now better alternatives for cleaner school buses taking like propane school buses," she said, which could reduce tailpipe emissions for a far lower cost.

Experts question that claim. For tailpipe emissions that could help harm kids' lungs and warm the planet, "electric buses are going to change the game," said Hailie Li, a professor at West Virginia University. And with the federal government providing $5 billion toward electric school buses, there is little reason to pay with propane, he said.

Federal rules require broadcasters to announce when content has been sponsored or paid for in any way. CW39 did state that Ms. Calandrelli is working with "Energy For Everyone," but did not name the propane industry.

Ms. Hatcher of PERC said TV networks were fully aware of their guests' sponsors. Ms. Calandrelli referred questions to PERC. CW39 did not respond to requests for comment.

New Yorkers for Affordable Energy Social Media Toolkit
Fall 2022 Campaign “Don’t Leave Us In The Dark”

OVERVIEW/POSSIBLE NEWSLETTER ADDITION:

The New Yorkers for Affordable Energy coalition has launched a fall campaign entitled “Don't Leave Us In The Dark,” to call on Albany leaders to take a more balanced approach for the state’s energy future.

The Climate Action Council (CAC), made up of appointed officials, will soon finalize an energy plan that could dramatically change how New Yorkers get power and heat to their homes and businesses. The CAC’s draft energy plan could not only be very expensive but also take away choice for families and businesses.

While most New Yorkers care about the environment and know that renewable power must be part of the plan, banning other options – like natural gas – could leave us in the dark. We need nuclear, hydro, natural gas, wind and solar to keep the lights on.

A majority of New Yorkers want Albany to use this balanced approach to addressing energy use, and understand that New York needs an all-of-the-above energy plan that doesn’t rely on a single type of power.

As part of our campaign, New Yorkers for Affordable Energy has produced a :15 second video which we are sharing across the state in advertisements and on social media. We have also started a letter writing campaign, and are urging New Yorkers to call their local state elected officials to let them know they want a balanced approach to energy policy.

We need help amplifying this message, and encourage you and your organizations to engage and share our message on your social media channels.

GENERAL GUIDELINES:

Our first preference is to link to the video on our Facebook page, as it will allow people to both see the video and click to our letter writing campaign. For all social media posts, when possible, include photos and/or videos with your posts and tag @NY4Energy and the social media handles of your business and any other relevant businesses – and be sure to include #InTheDark.

- **For all social posts, please include a link to the video we have posted on the NYAE Facebook page**: https://fb.watch/g6BAoFX0PQ/
- **To link to just the video in your social posts, please use the following URL:** https://youtu.be/VaMS5Rb-H94
- **Alternatively, you can post a link to NYAE's website:** https://www.ny4affordableenergy.com
- **For Twitter, please include NYAE's handle in your posts:** @NY4Energy
- **For Facebook, please link to NYAE's page:** https://www.facebook.com/NY4Energy/
- **Make sure to include a HASHTAG:** #InTheDark
- **For our Letter Writing Campaign, please link to**: https://actionnetwork.org/letters/new-yorkers-cant-afford-albanys-energy-plan-2#

SAMPLE MESSAGING: TWITTER

Albany: Don't Leave Us In The Dark. New Yorkers want a balanced approach to energy. We need nuclear, hydro, natural gas, wind and solar to keep the lights on. @NY4Energy #InTheDark https://fb.watch/g6BAoFX0PQ/

Albany is about to make energy & heat a lot more expensive for New York families and businesses. Tell them we want a balanced approach to our energy future. @NY4Energy #InTheDark https://fb.watch/g6BAoFX0PQ/

SAMPLE MESSAGING: FACEBOOK AND INSTAGRAM

Are you aware that appointed officials in Albany will soon be finalizing an energy plan that could make our already high cost of living even higher? The Climate Action Council's draft energy plan will be very expensive for [families/businesses] like mine,

and could leave New Yorkers out in the cold. We like having the right to make choices about our energy and some of the Climate Action Council's recommendations would take that away.

Although most New Yorkers care about the environment and know that renewable power must be part of the plan, banning other options could leave us in the dark. Most of us want a balanced approach to addressing energy use, and understand that we need an all-of-the-above energy plan that doesn't rely on a single type of power. We need nuclear, hydro, natural gas, wind and solar to keep the lights on. We need to tell Albany to listen to the majority of New Yorkers – and not a vocal minority.

Time is running out. Watch this video and then tell the Climate Action Council that cost and keeping the lights on are key to New York's economic security. The health and wellbeing of all residents depends on it.

[insert link to YouTube video here]