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Legislative Issue Advertising *in the* 107th Congress

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THE ANNENBERG
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WASHINGTON



LEGISLATIVE ISSUE ADVERTISING *in the 107TH CONGRESS*

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<i>(By Zabeed Mawani, Christine Carl, Erin Grizard, and Gerard MacLean)</i>	





Introduction

According to one news magazine's account, the first "issue ad" appeared in 1936 when a group of chain stores advertised its position on a new tax.¹ Other accounts reach further back and identify a campaign in 1908 by AT&T to promote a regulated, monopolistic, nationwide telephone network.² Today issue ads are abundant, growing in prominence,³ and central to important questions about the nature of democracy and the relationships among money, speech, and political influence.

When the Annenberg Public Policy Center began researching legislative issue advertising during the health care reform debate in 1993, we found that the various sides of the debate were not evenly matched and that many misleading claims in ads went uncorrected.⁴ The power of (and inequity in) issue advocacy was again dramatically illustrated in 1998 when a \$40 million campaign by the tobacco industry helped thwart the McCain Tobacco Bill.⁵ In this report, we chronicle over \$105 million spent on advertising inside Washington D.C. on issues of public policy during the 107th Congress (2001 and 2002).

When talking about issue advertising it is important to differentiate "candidate-centered" issue ads from "legislation-centered" ones. Legislative issue ads (also called "pure issue ads") are advertisements directed at the public, legislators, or agencies in hope of swaying opinions on matters of policy, law, or regulation. Candidate-centered issue ads implicitly advocate for or against a candidate running for office in the context of an election. Because the arguments are implicit, legally they are considered issue ads as long as they are not sponsored by the candidates themselves or their organizations (see Appendix A for a fuller explanation).⁶

¹ J. O'Toole, "Selling Ideas, Not Products," *U.S. News and World Report*, 10 March 1986, 54.

² Bob D. Cutler and Darrel D. Meuhling, "Advocacy Advertising and the Boundaries of Commercial Speech," *Journal of Advertising* 18, no. 3 (1989): 40-50.

³ See the following for discussion about increasing incidents: Robert Heath and William Douglas, "Issue Advertising and its Effects on Public Opinion Recall," *Public Relations Review* 12, no. 2 (1986): 47-55; S. Prakash Sethi, "Institutional/Image Advertising and Idea/Issue Advertising as Marketing Tools: Some Public Policy Issues," *Journal of Marketing* 43 (January 1979): 68-78; Robert L. Heath and Richard Alan Nelson, "Image and Issue Advertising: A Corporate and Public Policy Perspective," *Journal of Marketing* 49 (Spring 1985): 58-68; Toni L. Schmidt and Jacqueline C. Hitchon, "When Advertising and Public Relations Converge: An Application of Schema Theory to the Persuasive Impact of Alignment Ads," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (1999): 433-455; Barbara J. Coe, "The Effectiveness Challenge in Issue Advertising Campaigns," *Journal of Advertising* 12, no. 4 (1983): 27-35.

⁴ Kathleen Jamieson and Joseph Cappella, *Media in the Middle: Fairness and Accuracy in the 1994 Health Care Reform Debate* (Philadelphia: Annenberg Public Policy Center, 1995).

⁵ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Everything You Think You Know About Politics . . . And Why You're Wrong* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

⁶ In fact, studies show that most candidate ads (ads sponsored by the candidate and their organizations) tend to use implicit arguments as well, but when they are not sponsored by the candidate they can be considered issue ads. Magelby found that despite the legal distinction between candidate ads and candidate-centered issue ads, most people could not tell the difference and believed that candidate-centered issue ads were designed to influence their vote. See David Magleby, "Dictum Without Data: The Myth of Issue Advocacy and Party Building," (Brigham Young University: Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, n.d.).

Unlike the well-studied and debated candidate-centered issue ads, legislation-centered ads are rarely the subject of public scrutiny. Most of the academic and popular literature about issue ads focuses on candidate-centered and not legislative ads.⁷ The recent Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA) covered only candidate-centered ads, and while major candidate campaigns are sometimes subject to ad watches (critical analyses of political advertising that monitor truth and fairness), such public scrutiny is more rare in public policy advertising.

When addressing the issue of legislative issue advertising, opponents of the status quo argue that a system in which those who have more money have more sway (or opportunities for sway) in matters of federal legislation creates an unfair political playing field and is antithetical to a representative democracy based on the premise of one person - one vote. Communications professors Robert Heath and Richard Nelson summed up the arguments of opponents well in writing, “large corporate advertising budgets can buy disproportionately large amounts of print media space and electronic media time so as to dominate debate and distort truth.”⁸ In a similar argument, made in 1979, Tracy Westin, who was at the time deputy director of the Bureau of Consumer Protection, wrote, “The decision to grant corporations the right to advertise political issues is likely to skew political speech in a lopsided fashion through sustained advertising campaigns because these firms have significant access to capital and funding.”⁹ These critics argue that wealthy interests are no more likely to be public interests than resource poor ones, though because of the role of money in persuasion may have more sway in the political process.¹⁰

Because public deliberation thrives on full disclosure and accurate information, knowing who is sponsoring a message is important in assessing its content. Legislative issue advertising has also been critiqued because many advertisers use either vague or deceptive names in the sponsorship of their ads.¹¹ These pseudonyms often make their organizations appear to represent broad classes of people or democratic grassroots movements rather than those organizations actually behind the ads.

⁷ See for example: David Magleby, *Issue Advocacy in the 2000 Presidential Primaries* (Brigham Young University: Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, n.d.); Jonathan S. Krasno and Daniel E. Seltz, *Buying Time: Television Advertising in the 1998 Congressional Elections*, (New York: Brennan Center for Justice, 2000); Nicholas A. Valentino, Michael W. Traugott, and Vincent L. Hutchings, “Group Cues and Ideological Constraint: A Replication of Political Advertising Effects Studies in the Lab and in the Field,” *Political Communication* 19 (2002): 29-48; Paula Dwyer, Lorraine Woellert, and Aaron Bernstein, “Issue Ads: Free Speech or End Run?” *BusinessWeek*, 28 February 2000, 154; Michael Pfau, David Park, R. Lance Holbert, and Jaeno Cho, “The Effects of Party- and PAC-Sponsored Issue Advertising and the Potential of Inoculation to Combat Its Impact on the Democratic Process,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 44, no. 12 (2001): 2379-2397. Karen Foerstel, “Commission Upholds Use of ‘Issue Ads,’” *CQ Weekly* 56 (1998): 3298.

⁸ See Robert L. Heath and Richard Alan Nelson, “Image and Issue Advertising: A Corporate and Public Policy Perspective,” *Journal of Marketing* 49 (Spring 1985): 58.

⁹ As cited in Bob D. Cutler and Darrel D. Muehling, “Advocacy Advertising and the Boundaries of Commercial Speech,” *Journal of Advertising* 18, no. 3 (1989): 44.

¹⁰ Jamieson makes a similar argument in Kathleen Hall Jamieson, “Issue Advocacy in a Changing Discourse Environment,” in *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, edited by W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 323-341.

¹¹ Kathleen Jamieson, Lorie Slass, and Erika Falk, *Issue Advertising in the 1999-2000 Election Cycle*. (Washington, DC: Annenberg Public Policy Center, n.d.).

Supporters of the current system argue that legislators and regulators are familiar with persuasive efforts and are not influenced by them,¹² and that democracy benefits from increased communication, even if inequitable. They also argue that corporations should have free-speech rights as individuals do, that legislation-centered issue ads are a protected type of free speech that should not be regulated, and that the money that pays for these ads also employs First Amendment protections.¹³

There are problems with implementing regulations even if they were deemed desirable. As Heath and Nelson noted, there are practical problems in determining what and how communication should be regulated. Remedies suggested by those seeking to regulate issue advertising are “fraught with ambiguity, caprice, and inconsistency.”¹⁴ In fact, the Supreme Court itself in *Buckley v. Valeo* rejected the notion of political equality as a compelling state interest. “The concept that government may restrict the speech of some elements of our society in order to enhance the relative voice of others is wholly foreign to the First Amendment,”¹⁵ wrote the Court in *Buckley*.

Most people want the public, legislators, and regulators to have accurate and balanced views available to them. The difficulty arises in creating public policy deemed legal by the courts that safeguards First Amendment rights while preventing well-funded interests from dominating the public agenda.

For the past two years, we have collected and analyzed legislation-centered issue ads from television and print media appearing in the Washington, D.C. area. We tracked content, estimated the value of the ads, and chronicled the groups that paid for these ads as well. It is important to keep in mind while reading this report that though we talk about “spending,” what we are reporting is the estimated value of ad space (or time). Organizations rarely make public their issue advocacy spending, and they incur costs related to advertising (such as development of the ads) that we do not include. They also sometimes receive discounts on volume purchases that we also cannot take into account. Thus, the numbers we present are estimates of the value of the airtime and column inches.

Our goal in engaging in this study was to focus attention on the implications of unequal spending on issues of public policy importance. We also are interested in providing a resource for the public, legislators, regulators, and journalists about the sources and sponsors of issue advertising. For those new to the topic we recommend Appendix A, where we explain issue ads and how we conducted our research.

We extend our special thanks to Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Lorie Slass, Zaheed Mawani, Christine Carl, Erin Grizard, Gerard MacLean, and Karen Riley who helped with this report, and to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for funding the research.

¹² See Robert L. Heath and Richard Alan Nelson, “Image and Issue Advertising: A Corporate and Public Policy Perspective,” *Journal of Marketing* 49 (Spring 1985), 64.

¹³ Kirk L. Jowers, “Issue Advocacy: If it Cannot be Regulated When it is Least Valuable, It Cannot be Regulated When it is Most Valuable,” *Catholic University Law Review* 50 (2000) 65-89.

¹⁴ See Robert L. Heath and Richard Alan Nelson, “Image and Issue Advertising: A Corporate and Public Policy Perspective,” *Journal of Marketing* 49 (Spring 1985): 58.

¹⁵ As cited by Anthony Corrado, Thomas Mann, Daniel Ortiz, Trevor Potter, and Frank J. Sorauf, *Campaign Finance Reform: A Sourcebook* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1997), 64.



Executive Summary

- We examined over 5,000 print and television ads that appeared in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area in 2001 and 2002 and focused on issues before the president, Congress, a regulatory agency, or that were a matter of public policy debate.
- We estimate that over \$105 million was spent on print and television issue advertising inside the beltway during the 107th Congress. These ads were sponsored by over 670 different organizations and coalitions.¹⁶
- Despite the large number of organizations and coalitions sponsoring issue ads, a few big spenders accounted for most of the dollars spent, with over half of all money coming from the 20 largest spenders.
- The majority of organizations that were top spenders in 2001 also made the list in 2002.
- We found that organizations sometimes hid the nature of their sponsorship by omitting sponsorship tags or using pseudonyms that were vague or potentially deceptive.
- When we looked at the organizations that spent over \$1 million on issue advocacy, we found that business interests outspent other interests. About 72% of organizations (18 of 25) represented business interests.
- Spending on print advertising was much less concentrated than it was for television. The top 10 spenders on television ads accounted for 77% of the television total while the top 10 organizations spending on print ads accounted for 31% of the print total.
- The organizations that sponsored print advertising were for the most part different from the ones that sponsored ads on television. We documented only two organizations (Voices for Choices and Covering the Uninsured) that spent more than \$1 million on print and \$1 million on television.
- We estimate that airtime for television legislative advertising in the Washington area in 2001 and 2002 cost over \$41 million and was sponsored by 70 different organizations.
- We estimate that spending for over 5,000 print ads purchased by over 600 organizations in Washington totaled about \$64 million.

¹⁶ When three or more organizations sponsored an ad they were counted as a distinct coalition. When two organizations sponsored an ad all of the spending was attributed to the organization with the larger logo or the first organization listed.

- The top 25 lobbies identified by *Fortune* magazine as having the most influence were not necessarily the highest advertising spenders. Only eight of those listed in the *Fortune* top 25 ranked in our list of top 100 spenders. This disparity in lists demonstrates that advertising spending is just one of the many ways organizations attempt to influence public policy.
- The top issues were energy and environment, health care, economy and business, and telecommunications. These four broad issues accounted for three out of every five dollars (61%) spent on inside-the-beltway legislative issue advertising.
- We estimate that about \$15.4 million was spent to advertise issues related to a National Energy Policy,¹⁷ and that roughly 94% (about \$14.5 million) of this spending was sponsored by energy/business interests, with environmental interests spending the remaining 6%.
- Three subtopics accounted for 77% of the health care advertising. They were: prescription drug benefits (42%), increased federal funding for hospitals and other providers (19%), and expanding coverage for the uninsured (17%).
- Of the close to \$20 million spent on health care advertising, almost three-fifths (59%) of spending was from two types of groups that profit from health care. Industry groups (such as pharmaceutical manufacturers, insurance companies, and business associations) spent the most, close to \$7 million (about 36% of the total health care spending). They were followed by health care providers, such as hospitals, nursing homes, and doctors (\$4.7 million or 24%). Consumer groups, such as the AARP (formerly American Association Retired Persons) came in third, with about \$3 million in spending (16%).
- If we exclude the advertising that did not promote any specific plan for helping people afford prescription drugs, we found that 75% of spending went to support plans outside of Medicare and 25% went to promote a prescription drug plan within Medicare.
- Overall spending was much more concentrated among a few issues in the television ads. Spending on the top five issues in television ads accounted for 90% of broadcast/cable spending. Spending on the top five issues among print advertisements accounted for 71% of the ad spending.
- Of the 12 straightforward legislative issues we looked at, all but two had greater spending on the prevailing side.

¹⁷ Some ads were vague enough that we did not know if they addressed a specific piece of legislation or regulation. They were classified together with ads on other environmental and energy issues and are not included in these totals.

PhRMA

NARAL

ices For Choices

Merrill Lynch

Better World
Campaign

Connect USA

Freddie Mac

Cover
Unin



Sponsorship of Issue Ads

Total Spending by Organization

We examined legislative print and television issue ads that ran in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area in *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *CongressDaily AM* and that were broadcast on local television stations or ran nationally on cable or the networks.

We estimate that over \$105 million was spent on print and television issue advertising inside the beltway during the 107th Congress. These ads were sponsored by over 670 different organizations and coalitions.

Despite the large number of organizations and coalitions sponsoring issue ads, a few big spenders accounted for most of the dollars spent, with over half of all money coming from the 20 largest spenders.

These top 11 organizations accounted for 40% of spending. The top five each spent more than four million dollars, and the top spender, Americans for Balanced Energy Choices (a coalition of mining companies, coal transporters, and electricity producers), accounted for over eight million dollars in issue advertising spending. The great majority of the organizations that advertised—over 650 of them—each spent 1% or less of the total.

When two groups sponsored an ad we attributed the spending to the first group listed. When three or more groups were listed on an ad, we attributed all of the spending to that coalition and not the individual members (see Appendix A for details). This method underrepresents the spending of some organizations. For example, we documented over \$2 million in spending by the defense contractor Lockheed Martin. However, not included in this total was money that Lockheed Martin spent in conjunction with other organizations, such as: over \$340,000 for ads it sponsored with Boeing and Pratt & Whitney; about \$140,000 in ads sponsored with Northrop Grumman and BAE Systems; about \$90,000 in ads sponsored with Northrop

Table 1: Organizations Spending More than Two Million Dollars on D.C. (Television and Print) Legislative Issue Ads in 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars)

Organization	Estimated Total Spending	Percent of Total Spending
Americans for Balanced Energy Choices ^a	\$8.32	7.9%
National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League ^b	\$5.56	5.3%
Voices for Choices	\$4.34	4.1%
Black Alliance for Educational Options	\$4.33	4.1%
AARP (formerly American Association of Retired Persons) ^c	\$4.14	3.9%
Freddie Mac	\$3.29	3.1%
Connect USA	\$2.78	2.6%
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) ^d	\$2.75	2.6%
Covering the Uninsured	\$2.73	2.6%
Better World Campaign	\$2.16	2.0%
Lockheed Martin	\$2.02	1.9%

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars. See Appendix B for details about the companies that advertised.

^a All of Americans for Balanced Energy Choices spending went for ads that aired on national cable.

^b Now called NARAL Pro-Choice America.

^c If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, the AARP spending estimate would decline from \$4.14 million to \$1.89 million.

^d If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, the total estimated spending for PhRMA would move from \$2.75 million to \$2.61 million.

Grumman; about \$90,000 in ads it sponsored with Spectrum Astro, Northrop Grumman, Boeing, Analex, ITT Industries, Logicon Tasc, Litton Tasc, and the Space Dynamics Laboratory (SDL); over \$80,000 spent on ads with General Dynamics; and about \$80,000 in conjunction with AT&T, ARINC, CACI International, and SETA Corporation. If Lockheed Martin paid in full for all of these ads, it would account for about an additional \$820,000 in spending.¹⁸

Similarly, Fannie Mae¹⁹ (a public company chartered by the federal government that deals in the secondary mortgage market) and Freddie Mac (a public company chartered by the federal government that deals in the secondary mortgage market) are part of the Homeownership Alliance (a group established by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac and predominantly consisting of housing industry and trade groups). All three were top 20 spenders and their totals were calculated separately, thus underestimating the costs to the individual organizations.

Comparing 2001 and 2002

Some groups had high spending in one year but little the next. The Black Alliance for Educational Options (group that sponsored a pro school voucher advocacy campaign) was a top spender in 2001 but we recorded no spending for it in 2002. The same was true for the Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation (another group that advocated for school vouchers in 2001). Both of these groups aired ads that had to do with legislation that was passed in 2001. However, this was the exception, not the rule. **The majority of organizations that were top spenders in 2001 also made the list in 2002.**

Table 2 lists the organizations that were among the top 20 largest spenders in both sessions of the 107th Congress. If the two years we looked at are indicative of a larger trend, it would suggest that organizations spending large amounts of money to influence legislation and regulation might do so repeatedly year after year.

Organizations that are spending large amounts regularly to influence public policy may be of greater concern than the occasional large spender because this could indicate that a small sector of the public is consistently having more influence on issues of public policy. While it is too early to answer this question based on the data we have here, these charts will be the benchmarks for future analysis (see Table 2).

Though not included in the chart at right, it is also likely that both Fannie Mae and Lockheed Martin were top spenders in both years. Both organizations contacted us to say that we had underestimated their 2001 spending (see Appendix A for more details).

SAMPLE AD – Americans For Balanced Energy Choices



[Announcer] The lights are coming on for more and more



Americans every day. They are waking up to the fact that over half



of our electricity comes from coal, and they are learning that



advancements in clean coal technologies are effectively making our environment cleaner.



Visit BalancedEnergy.org, learn the facts about



this important energy source, and find out how America's 200-year supply



of coal can keep our country shining brightly.



¹⁸ We sent a letter to organizations that we identified as top spenders and asked them to contact us if our estimates were incorrect. A representative from Lockheed Martin did contact us to tell us we had underestimated their spending in 2001 by about \$1.7 million. They would not give us any details about their outlays. See Appendix A for more information.

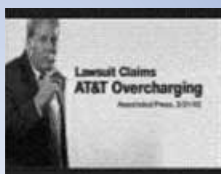
¹⁹ When a representative from Fannie Mae contacted us in response to our requests for confirmation of spending estimates, she said that we had underestimated their spending. She would not give details about Fannie Mae's outlays. See Appendix A for more details.

It is also important to consider the ways our method may have underrepresented the spending of single organizations. For example, Connect USA ranked in 2001 and not 2002 while SBC Communication, Inc. ranked in 2002 but not 2001. Yet Connect USA was founded by and is primarily funded by SBC Communications.²⁰ Boeing ranked in 2002 but not 2001, but Boeing sponsored many ads in coalition with other organizations. In 2001, we recorded six different coalitions in which Boeing was a part. If Boeing had solely paid for all of these ads, it too would have been a top 20 spender in 2001.

SAMPLE AD – Connect USA



[Man] Wait 'til you see this plan. You won't believe it. [Announcer] AT&T and WorldCom are



at it again. Right now AT&T and WorldCom are trying to get a free ride by using local phone



company networks without having to invest a dime. [Man] You've got to be kidding me. I love it.



[Announcer] This free ride could cripple telecommunications, costing more jobs and



drying up capital investment by those companies who actually operate the telephone network.



Call now and tell your Senator to say no to AT&T and WorldCom. [PFB] Connect USA

Table 2: Organizations Ranking in the Top 20 in Both Years of the 107th Congress

Organization	2001 Rank	2002 Rank	Combined Rank
Americans for Balanced Energy Choices ^a	1	2	1
National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League ^b	3	4	2
Voices for Choices	5	8	3
Freddie Mac	12	3	6
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America ^c	17	5	8
Covering the Uninsured	13	6	9
Better World Campaign	8	14	10
Merrill Lynch	15	11	12
Nuclear Energy Institute	11	16	15
Homeownership Alliance	14	20	16

^a All of Americans for Balanced Energy Choices spending went for ads that aired on national cable.

^b Now called NARAL Pro-Choice America.

^c If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, the total estimated spending for PhRMA would move from \$2.75 million to \$2.61 million.

SAMPLE AD – SBC Communications

Local phone competition won't work if I can't.

I've been working for the local phone company – installing lines for 23 years. It's a good, union job. It's helped me build a future and raise my family.

But now jobs like mine are disappearing because laws that were supposed to create competition are just creating a mess.

These laws force SBC to lease its lines to other companies at some of the lowest rates in the country, so "competitors" like AT&T and MCI WorldCom can resell our network service for a big profit.* They are making these profits because they invest nothing in that local network – relying on telemarketing and salespeople to resell the service. They don't even use their own repair crews!

And since they don't have to pay us what it costs to run that network, we lose the revenue – and thousands of good, union jobs.

But if their local customers have a problem, it's SBC workers like me who have to fix it.

So here's my question for AT&T and MCI WorldCom: How's your local phone service going to work if I can't?

– Robert Mosqueda
Service Technician

*Applies to companies and their operations when using SBC's Unbundled Network Element Platform. © 2002 SBC Properties, L.P. All rights reserved.

²⁰ “Democratic Party Lawyer, for FEC Seat,” *Political Finance*, November 2002, n.p.; “Gun Control, Telecom on the Air,” *CongressDaily*, 17 December 2001, n.p.

Pseudonyms and Potentially Deceptive Sponsors

Issue ads are not federally regulated, and sponsors are not subject to disclosure requirements. As a result, which organizations, groups, or individuals paid for an ad may not be apparent to viewers or available to analysts. This is important because researchers have long documented that viewers take into account who the speaker is and what their credentials or apparent self-interests are when interpreting messages.²¹ When organizations omit or distort the source of a message, they hamper the audience's ability to make rational and educated decisions based on the information in the ads.

In court testimony about a campaign finance law in Vermont, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center, noted that “knowing who is paying for an ad helps viewers determine whether the sponsor is a credible source; part of what makes this possible is knowing the self-interest of the sponsor. Audiences take the possible self-interest or bias into account in evaluating messages.”²²

In the course of her testimony, Jamieson cited a study that found that when subjects were told an “expert mechanic’s” evaluation of a car’s worth, they perceived the value of the car as less when they were also told that the expert mechanic was a friend of the seller than when they were told he was a friend of the purchaser.²³ More directly to the question of sponsors of issue ads, Marketing professor Barbara Coe noted that corporate “issue advertising is weakened by the perception that the advertisements are self-serving,”²⁴ while Advertising professor Eric Haley found in his review of the literature that “nonprofit and government sources are perceived to be more credible than commercial sponsors.”²⁵

Thus, perhaps it is not surprising that we found that organizations sometimes hid the nature of their sponsorship by omitting sponsorship tags or using pseudonyms that were vague or potentially deceptive.

Some of the ads in our data set simply did not identify a sponsoring organization. Our researchers, who did substantial work to find organizations when names were lacking on the ad itself, could not identify about \$290,000 worth of spending.

We found other advertisements that named a sponsor but used names that were likely to have been unfamiliar to viewers and/or might have been deliberately vague. Mainstreet USA (a group dedicated to getting Democrats elected) and Connect USA (a lobbying group founded and primarily financed by SBC Communications) both fall into this category. Below are some examples of organizations with ambiguous names. Additional information about them is available in Appendix B.

²¹ For general treatment of the topic, see for example: Robert B. Cialdini, *Influence* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993) and Elliot Aronson, *The Social Animal* (New York: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1988). For a specific look at how sponsorship affects issue ad perception, see: Leonard N. Reid, Lawrence C. Soley, and Bruce G. Vanden Bergh, “Does Source Affect Response to Direct Advocacy Print Advertisement?” *Journal of Business Research* 9 (1981), 309-319; Kathleen Hall Jamieson, “Issue Advocacy in a Changing Discourse Environment,” in *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, edited by W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 323-341.

²² Kathleen Hall Jamieson, in a deposition for *Vermont Right to Life Committee, Inc. v. William H. Sorrell*, Docket No. 2:97-cv-286.

²³ M. H. Birnbaum and S. E. Stegner, “Source Credibility in Social Judgement: Bias, Expertise, and the Judge’s Point of View,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 37 (1979), 48-74.

²⁴ Barbara J. Coe, “The Effectiveness Challenge in Issue Advertising Campaigns,” *Journal of Advertising* 12, no. 4 (1983): 28.

²⁵ E. Haley, “Exploring the Construct of Organization as a Source: Consumers’ Understandings of Organizational Sponsorship of Advocacy Advertising,” *Journal of Advertising* 25, no. 2 (1996): 19.

Organizations with Ambiguous Names

- **Americans for a Fair Chance:** A coalition of civil rights groups that support race-conscious admissions policies.
- **Better World Campaign:** An organization that promotes the United Nations. The fund was created by CNN founder Ted Turner.
- **Center for Reclaiming America:** A group affiliated with Coral Ridge Ministries that has engaged in trying to convince homosexuals to become heterosexual and opposes abortion.
- **Committee for Good Common Sense:** A group dedicated to promoting free market politics, particularly private investment instead of social security.
- **Common Good:** A group that seeks limits in medical malpractice lawsuits.
- **Connect USA:** A lobbying group founded and primarily financed by SBC Communications.
- **Mainstreet USA:** A group dedicated to getting Democrats elected to office.

Still other organizations did identify themselves in the course of an advertisement, but had names that could be considered misleading. For example, Americans for Balanced Energy Choices is not so much a grassroots group advocating for diverse energy sources as its name might suggest, rather it is an organization funded primarily by the coal industry that argues for the use of coal.²⁶ Similarly, the Black Alliance for Education Options primarily promotes the use of educational vouchers and “admits freely that it accepts generous funding from a number of largely white, conservative foundations.”²⁷ The Coalition to Protect America’s Health Care is not a coalition of citizens interested in all aspects of healthcare as its title might suggest to some, but a group of hospital owners and operators that advocates increasing federal funding to hospitals.²⁸ In addition, some of these organizations exist only in name. For example, when we tried to reach the Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care, the only contact information that we could find was for someone at the D.C. lobbying firm Barbour, Griffith, and Rogers. Some other examples of organizations with names that may mislead follow. Additional information about them is available in Appendix B.

²⁶ Dan Morgan, “Coal Scores With Wager on Bush; Belief That Mineral is Part of ‘Balanced’ Energy Policy Lifts Industry Outlook,” *Washington Post*, 25 March 2001, sec. A, p. 5.

²⁷ Marjorie Coeyman, “Vouchers get a boost from Black Alliance,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 July 2001, 19.

²⁸ Doug J. Swanson, “As Hospitals Talk of Crisis, Executive’s Salaries Soaring; Compensation Defended as a Rewards for Keeping Facilities, Care Strong Despite Cuts in Medicare,” *Dallas Morning News*, 13 January 2001, sec. A, p. 1.

SAMPLE AD – Black Alliance for Educational Options



[Man] It's my responsibility and my wife's responsibility to see that our children



are given the best possible education they can receive.



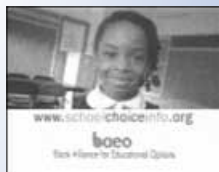
And I just feel that school choice provides that for them.



My concern is for my children as are many other parents.



And I want the best for my child.



Give parents a choice and give children a chance.



And that what it's really about.

Examples of Organizations With Potentially Misleading Names:

- **Americans for Balanced Energy Choices:** A coalition of mining companies, coal transporters, and electricity producers, primarily funded by the coal industry.
- **Americans for Better Education:** A coalition dedicated to promoting President Bush's education reform plan.
- **Americans for Consumer Education and Competition:** A group backed by credit card company Visa International.
- **Black Alliance for Educational Options:** A pro-voucher advocacy group that accepts funding from a number of largely white, conservative foundations.
- **Citizens for Better Medicare:** A group created by the pharmaceutical industry that was formed to block the Clinton administration's proposals for a drug benefit for seniors.
- **Coalition for Affordable and Reliable Energy:** An organization dedicated to promoting the use of coal.
- **Coalition to Protect America's Health Care:** A coalition of hospital owners and operators that advocates for increasing federal funding to hospitals.
- **Council (A.K.A. Coalition) For Affordable Quality Healthcare:** A coalition of health plans and networks, including Aetna, Cigna, and CareFirst.
- **Voices for Choices:** A coalition of competitive telecommunications companies, primarily funded by AT&T and WorldCom.

Types of Sponsors

While corporate advertising dating back to the early 1950s was designed solely to increase sales by promoting the corporate image, today these ads often include issue advocacy. In some cases, the ads perform dual duties, both promoting the image of the corporation and advocating on matters of public policy (see Appendix A for more information).

Professor of Marketing David Schumann notes that by the early 1990s issue advocacy was widely used among the *Fortune* 500 companies with spending expected to increase.²⁹ In fact, according to a recent article in *Advertising Age*, over a billion dollars has been spent on corporate advocacy ads and that number is expected to grow.³⁰ Similar predictions for growth were being made as early as 1979,³¹ despite the fact that some networks still may shy away from airing issue ads.³²

When we looked at the organizations that spent over a million dollars on issue advocacy, we found that business interests outspent other interests. About 72% percent of organizations (18 of 25) represented business interests.

There were far fewer non-profit than profit interests represented in the top spenders. Those spending \$1 million or more are listed in Table 4.

SAMPLE AD – Merrill Lynch

Tax Cuts Needed to Stimulate Economic Growth

Although new budget projections have shown the non-Social Security budget surplus disappearing this year and next, scaling back the tax cut and raising taxes would be counterproductive.

Budget projections show a surplus of at least \$160 billion this year and more than \$170 billion next year, and Treasury debt continues to shrink rapidly. While dipping into the Social Security surplus may have a political impact, it is unlikely to have any economic significance. Once the economy rebounds, tax revenues should rise more rapidly.

Economic recovery can begin with stronger consumer spending, bolstered by the tax cuts.

The tax cuts enacted earlier this year will stimulate the economy by returning money to taxpayers to spend, save, or invest.

These tax cuts and the recent moves by the Federal Reserve should get the economy moving again. According to Bruce Steinberg, our chief economist, we expect the economy to gradually improve through the end of the year. We believe that by early 2002, a full-fledged recovery will be underway.



²⁹ David W. Schumann, Jan M. Hathcote, and Susan West, "Corporate Advertising in America: A Review of Published Studies on Use, Measurement, and Effectiveness," *Journal of Advertising* 20, no. 3 (1991): 35. See also Michael D. Lord, "Corporate Political Strategy and Legislative Decision Making," *Business and Society* 39, no. 1 (2000): 76-93.

³⁰ Ira Teinowitz, "Pol Adman Eskew Back to Issue Ads," *Advertising Age* 73, no. 7 (2002): 4.

³¹ S. Prakash Sethi, "Institutional/Image Advertising and Idea/Issue Advertising as Marketing Tools: Some Public Policy Issues," *Journal of Marketing* 43 (January 1979): 68-78.

³² Nat Ives, "The Media Business: Advertising; On the Issue of an Iraq War, Advocates Meet with Rejection from TV Networks," *New York Times*, 13 March 2003, p. 4. According to Teinowitz, the tendency to reject issue ads "stems from the years when there were federal regulations that governed the broadcast of advocacy ads. In those years, the networks were required to provide equal time for free to the other side. Those rules have faded, but the networks remain hesitant to air politically charged advocacy ads" (Ira Teinowitz, "Anti-war Groups Battle to Air Spots," *Advertising Age*, 24 February 2003, 1).

Table 3: Business Interests Spending Over \$1 Million on Issue Ads by Interests Represented 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars)

Organization	Type	Spending
Americans for Balanced Energy Choices ^a	Energy (coal and mining)	\$8.32
Nuclear Energy Institute	Energy (nuclear)	\$1.77
BP (formerly British Petroleum)	Energy (petroleum)	\$1.30
ExxonMobil	Energy (petroleum)	\$1.14
Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth	Energy (assorted)	\$1.05
Voices for Choices	Telecom	\$4.34
Connect USA	Telecom	\$2.78
SBC Communications, Inc.	Telecom	\$1.26
Freddie Mac	Home mortgage	\$3.29
Fannie Mae ^b	Home mortgage	\$1.90
Homeownership Alliance	Home mortgage	\$1.48
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America ^c	Pharmaceuticals	\$2.75
Pfizer	Pharmaceuticals	\$1.45
Coalition to Protect America's Health Care	Health care facilities (hospitals)	\$1.89
Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care ^d	Health care facilities (nursing homes)	\$1.18
Lockheed Martin ^b	Defense contractor	\$2.02
Merrill Lynch	Investment and insurance	\$1.96
Association of American Railroads	Rail	\$1.34

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars.

^a All of Americans for Balanced Energy Choices spending went for ads that aired on national cable.

^b In conversations with representatives from Fannie Mae and Lockheed Martin they told us that we had underestimated their 2001 spending. For details, please see Appendix A.

^c If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, the total estimated spending for PhRMA would move from \$2.75 million to \$2.61 million. ^d If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, total estimated spending for the Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care would move from \$1.18 million to \$1.04 million.

SAMPLE AD – Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care



[woman]: "I always wanted to be a nurse. It's the best career in the world, but now all that's threatened."



[Announcer]: The Federal Government wants to cut Medicare funding for seniors in nursing homes by billions.



An astounding 17% cut.



A 17% cut will mean fewer nurses and fewer nursing homes.



These cuts will abandon those whose needs are the greatest.



It's just wrong. Join us to stop Medicare cuts.



Table 4: Non-Profit Interests Spending More Than \$1 Million on Issue Advertising (In Millions of Dollars)

Organization	Type	Spending
National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League ^a	Abortion Rights	\$5.56
Black Alliance for Educational Options	School Vouchers	\$4.33
AARP ^b (formerly American Association of Retired Persons)	People over 50 Years	\$4.14
Covering the Uninsured ^c	Uninsured (health)	\$2.73
Better World Campaign	United Nations	\$2.16
National Education Association ^d	Teachers	\$1.32
Anti-Tobacco Coalition ^e	Oppose Smoking	\$1.22

Note: Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars.

^a Now called NARAL Pro-Choice America.

^b If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, the AARP spending estimate would move from \$4.14 million to \$1.89 million.

^c Some members do not represent non-profit interests

^d If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, the National Education Association spending estimate would move from \$1.32 million to \$1.27 million.

^e When three or more organizations sponsored an ad together we gave them a unique name and calculated their spending separately. The “Anti-Tobacco Coalition” is not a formal organization, but what we called the sponsors of a series of ads advocating against tobacco use. The group was comprised of the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids and one or more of the following organizations: American Cancer Society, American Heart Association, or the American Lung Association. When we compared our estimates with actual costs from Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, which paid for the Anti-Tobacco Coalition ads, we found that it had received discounts below the published rates that we used in our estimates above. It put its totals at \$787,000 for 2001 (our estimates were closer to \$900,000) and \$292,000 for 2002 (we estimated about \$320,000).

SAMPLE AD – National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL)



[Announcer] I believe there is a reason we are born with free will



And I have a strong will to decide



what is best for my body, my mind, and my life



I believe in myself and my intelligence



my integrity, my judgement.



And I accept full responsibility for the decisions I make



I believe in my right to choose



without interrogation, without indignities, without violence



I believe that's one of the founding principles of our country



And I believe that right is being threatened.



The greatest human freedom is choice.



And I believe no one has the right to take that freedom away.

Spending by Medium

Spending on print advertising was much less concentrated than it was for television. The top 10 spenders on television ads accounted for 77% of the television total while the top 10 organizations spending on print ads accounted for 31% of the print total.

Many more organizations ran print ads than television ads (roughly 640 compared to roughly 70). Fifty percent more money was spent on print advertising (\$64 million) compared to television (\$41 million). The greater number of sponsors in print is undoubtedly because print ads tend to be cheaper. There may be an added benefit to print advertising as well; Communications professors Robert Heath and William Douglas found that recall was better among subjects who saw print rather than television issue ads.³³

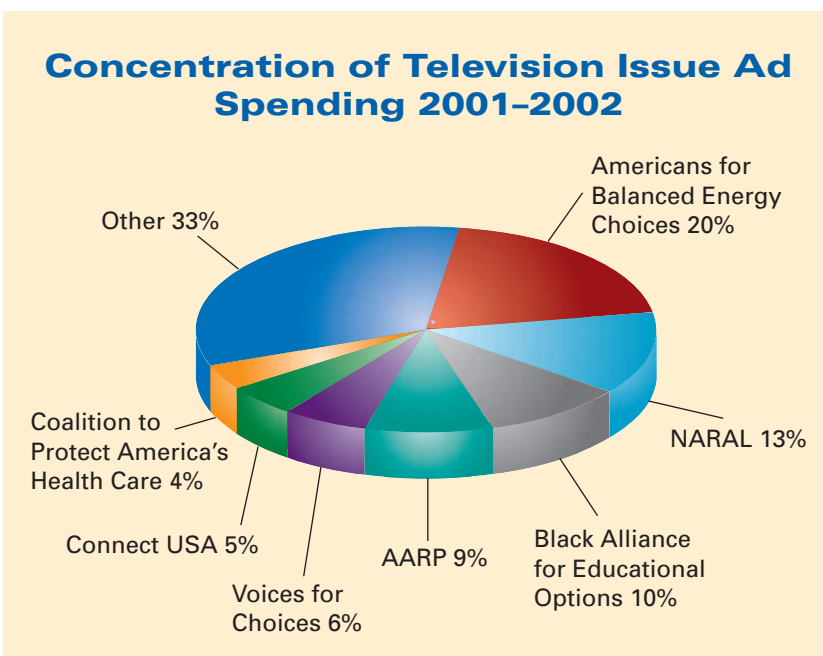
The organizations that sponsored print advertising were for the most part different from the ones that sponsored ads on television. We documented only two organizations that spent more than \$1 million on print and more than \$1 million on television. They were Voices for Choices (a coalition consisting of over 30 associations, interest groups, and competitive telecommunications companies, primarily funded by AT&T and WorldCom. The group formed to lobby against Tauzin-Dingell, a bill that would have freed the bells from line sharing requirements) and Covering the Uninsured (a group of business, labor, medical, and consumer associations primarily funded by The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and formed to advocate health care coverage for uninsured Americans).

Television Spending

We estimate that airtime for television legislative advertising in the Washington area in 2001 and 2002 cost over \$41 million. These ads were broadcast by about 70 different organizations, but most of the spending was concentrated in the hands of a few.³⁴

As we previously noted, the top 10 sponsors accounted for about 77% of the television issue advertising. The top four accounted for half of the broadcast issue advertising (see the list of top television advertisers in Table 5).

Americans for Balanced Energy Choices (a coalition of mining companies, coal transporters, and electricity producers formed to develop grassroots support for coal-based electricity) accounted for nearly one in five (20%) television issue advertising dollars spent inside the beltway during the 107th Congress.



About half of the \$41 million in television spending was broadcast only on local D.C. stations (over \$20 million). Another \$9.2 million (22%) came from ads that ran on D.C. local stations and national cable and/or national networks. About \$11.6 million worth of ads (28%) aired either on cable or on the networks and cable (but not on local D.C. stations).

³³ Robert Heath and William Douglas, "Issue Advertising and Its Effects on Public Opinion Recall," *Public Relations Review* 12, no. 2 (1986): 47-59.

³⁴ If ads that aired only on national cable and national networks are removed from this calculation, total spending for television air time was estimated at almost \$30 million.

Table 5: Organizations Spending Over \$1 Million on D.C. Television Legislative Issue Ads in 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars)

Organization	Estimated Television Spending	Percent of Television Spending
Americans for Balanced Energy Choices ^a	\$8.32	20.1%
National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League ^b	\$5.54	13.4%
Black Alliance for Educational Options	\$4.10	9.9%
AARP (formerly American Association of Retired Persons) ^c	\$3.83	9.3%
Voices for Choices	\$2.68	6.5%
Connect USA	\$2.19	5.3%
Coalition to Protect America's Health Care	\$1.53	3.7%
Association of American Railroads	\$1.26	3.1%
Pfizer	\$1.26	3.0%
Covering the Uninsured	\$1.11	2.7%

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars.

^a All Americans for Balanced Energy Choices spending went for ads that aired on national cable.

^b Now called NARAL Pro-Choice America.

^c If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. stations) were excluded, the AARP total television estimated spending would move from \$3.83 million to \$1.58 million.

If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. station) were excluded, the top spenders for broadcast were largely unchanged. In this scenario, only Americans for Balanced Energy Choices drops out of the ranking; all \$8.3 million of its spending went for ads that aired on national cable. Some of the other spenders that would have their spending estimates drop are listed in Table 6 and new broadcast rankings are listed in Table 7.

Table 6: Spending on Television Ads that Ran Only on the National Networks or National Cable and Not on Local D.C. Stations (In Millions of Dollars)

Organizations	Estimated Spending
Americans for Balanced Energy Choices	\$8.32
AARP (formerly American Association of Retired Persons)	\$2.25
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America	\$0.14
Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care	\$0.13
AFL-CIO	\$0.12
National Education Association	\$0.05

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars. This chart lists only those organizations mentioned in this report.

Table 7: Organizations Spending over \$1 Million on D.C. Television Legislative Issue Ads in 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars) – Not Including Ads Airing only on National Cable and National Networks

Organization	Estimated Television Spending	Percent of Television Spending
National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League ^a	\$5.54	18.7%
Black Alliance for Educational Options	\$4.10	13.8%
Voices for Choices	\$2.68	9.0%
Connect USA	\$2.19	7.4%
AARP (formerly American Association of Retired Persons)	\$1.58	5.3%
Coalition to Protect America's Health Care	\$1.53	5.1%
Association of American Railroads	\$1.26	4.3%
Pfizer	\$1.26	4.2%
Covering the Uninsured	\$1.11	3.7%

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars. ^a Now called NARAL Pro-Choice America

Print Spending

We estimate that spending to run over 5,000 print ads by over 600 organizations in Washington totaled about \$64 million. That is more than what we estimate was spent on broadcast/cable advertising (\$41 million).

Of the ads that we collected, 36% came from *Roll Call*, 22% from *CongressDaily AM*, 15% from *The Hill*, 14% from *The Washington Post*, and 10% from *The Washington Times*. We estimate that almost \$32 million in issue ads spending went to *The Washington Post*, almost \$16 million to *Roll Call*, almost \$6 million to *The Hill* and *CongressDaily AM* (each), and about \$4 million to *The Washington Times*.³⁵

Table 8: Organizations Spending More Than \$1 Million on D.C. Print Legislative Issue Ads in 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars)

Top Organizations in Print Issue Spending	Estimated Print Spending	Percent of Print Spending
Freddie Mac	\$3.29	5.1%
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America	\$2.61	4.0%
Lockheed Martin	\$2.02	3.1%
Merrill Lynch	\$1.96	3.0%
Fannie Mae	\$1.90	2.9%
Nuclear Energy Institute	\$1.72	2.7%
Voices for Choices	\$1.66	2.6%
Covering the Uninsured	\$1.63	2.5%
Better World Campaign	\$1.57	2.4%
Homeownership Alliance	\$1.48	2.3%
Anti-Tobacco Coalition ^a	\$1.22	1.9%
ExxonMobil	\$1.14	1.8%
BP (formerly British Petroleum)	\$1.13	1.7%

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars.

^a When we compared our estimates with Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids' estimates (it paid for the ads that we had identified as being sponsored by the Anti-Tobacco Coalition), we found that it had received discounts below the published rates that we used in our estimates above. Please see Appendix A for details.

³⁵ We were not able to obtain ads that ran in *CongressDaily AM* on the following days in 2001: January 3, 4, 5, 6, 20, 29; April 23, 24, 25, 26, 30; May 1 - June 29; July 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27; September 4 - 29; October 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 26, 29; November 2, 7, 9, 19. In 2002 we were missing the following days: January 25, 28; July 27, 30; October 21, 24, 28, 31; November 4, 7, 9, 19. The publication was not able to provide us with back issues, nor were we able to acquire them from an alternative source. As a result, estimates for this publication are artificially low.

Compared to *Fortune's* Most Powerful Lobbyists

Fortune magazine regularly identifies a list of 25 powerful lobbying groups.³⁶ The rankings are based on organization spending and surveys of members of Congress, Capitol Hill staffers, White House aides, and lobbying professionals, and give weight to organizations that appear year after year (i.e., longer term influence).³⁷

Table 9: Organizations Identified by *Fortune* Magazine as Top 25 Lobbying Groups That Also Made Our List of Top 100 Inside-the-Beltway Issue Advertising Spenders (In Millions of Dollars)

Organization	<i>Fortune</i> Rank	Advertising Rank 2001-2002	Advertising Spending 2001-2002
AARP (formerly American Association of Retired Persons) ^a	1	5	\$4.14
AFL-CIO ^b	6	42	\$0.45
National Association of Realtors	9	38	\$0.51
American Medical Association	12	52	\$0.37
American Hospital Association	13	67	\$0.25
National Education Association	14	19	\$1.32
American Bankers Association	23	94	\$0.16
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America ^c	24	8	\$2.75

Note. Spending rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars.

^a If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. station) were excluded, the AARP total estimated spending would move from \$4.14 million to \$1.89.

^b If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. station) were excluded, the AFL-CIO total would change from \$.45 million to \$.33 million.

^c If the ads in our data set that aired only on national cable and national networks (and not on local D.C. station) were excluded, the total estimated spending for PhRMA would move from \$2.75 million to \$2.61 million.

We recorded issue advertising spending in Washington, D.C. for all but five of the 25 organizations that *Fortune* named as the most influential. Those missing from our list were the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Motion Picture Association of America, the National Association of Broadcasters, the National Governors' Association, and the Recording Industry Association of America. **The top 25 lobbies identified by *Fortune* magazine as having the most influence were not necessarily the highest advertising spenders. Only eight of those listed in the *Fortune* top 25 ranked in our list of top 100 spenders. This disparity in lists demonstrates that advertising spending is just one of the many ways organizations attempt to influence public policy.**

³⁶ "The Power 25: Top Lobbying Companies," *Fortune*, 28 May 2001. Retrieved March 17, 2003, from <http://www.fortune.com/fortune/power25/lobbyingcompanies>

³⁷ "The Power 25: Methodology," *Fortune*, 14 May 2001. Retrieved March 17, 2003 from, <http://www.fortune.com/fortune/power25/articles/0,15114,369001,00.html>: "*Fortune's* survey was conducted in March and April by the Mellman Group, a Democratic polling firm, and Public Opinion Strategies, a Republican firm. Respondents were asked to assess, on a scale of 0 to 100, the political clout of 87 trade associations, labor unions, and interest groups. They also were asked to assess, on the same scale, 46 lobbying companies, and law firms. To be considered, lobbying groups must have ranked in the top 50 of the Power 25 survey in any of the last three years it was produced, had combined political contributions in 2000 of more than \$1 million, or had lobbying expenditures in 2000 of more than \$2 million, according to public disclosures compiled by [opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org) and FECInfo, a private company. For lobbying companies to be included, they must have ranked in the top 25 on our last survey of lobbying firms, which was conducted in 1998; ranked in the top 25 for lobbying revenue in 1999, according to *Influence* magazine's *Influence 25*; or had lobbying revenues greater than \$3.1 million in 1998, according to [opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org). This year's survey was mailed to more than 2,900 people—including every member of Congress, senior Capitol Hill staffers, senior White House aides, professional lobbyists, and top-ranking officers of the largest lobbying groups in Washington. In all, 397 surveys—a respectable 13.4%—were completed and returned."





Spending by Issue

Each ad was coded according to the main issue it addressed. Table 10 lists the issues in order of greatest spending. The top issues were energy/environment (most of this spending was driven by the debate about a National Energy Policy), followed by health care (driven by advertising on prescription drug benefits), and issues surrounding the economy and business (mostly promotions by the government-chartered Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac), and telecommunications (predominantly focused on Tauzin-Dingell legislation). **These four broad issues accounted for three out of every five dollars (61%) spent on inside-the-beltway legislative issue advertising.**

Table 10: Television and Print Issues with Over \$1 Million in Spending in D.C. Legislative Issue Ads, 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars)

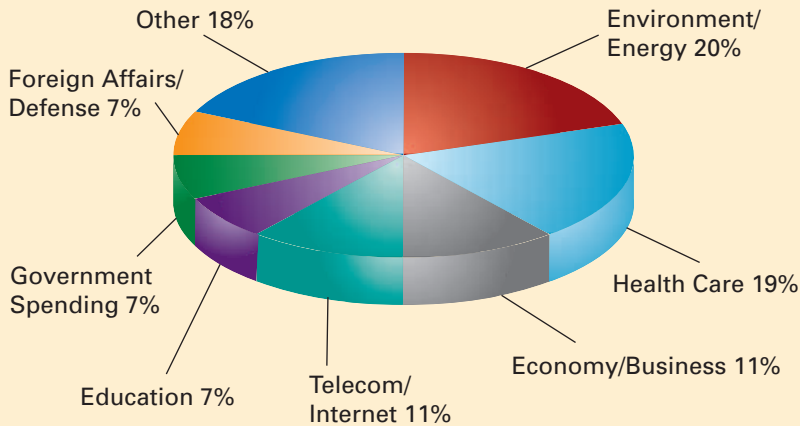
Top Print and Television Issues	Estimated Total Spending	Percent of Total Spending
Environment/Energy	\$20.82	19.7%
Health Care	\$19.61	18.5%
Economy/Business	\$12.16	11.5%
Telecommunications/Internet	\$11.84	11.2%
Education	\$7.48	7.1%
Government Spending	\$7.34	6.9%
Foreign Affairs/Defense	\$7.05	6.7%
Abortion/Family Planning	\$6.05	5.7%
Trade	\$3.04	2.9%
Social Security	\$1.53	1.4%
Tobacco ^a	\$1.53	1.4%
Taxes	\$1.45	1.4%
Labor	\$1.31	1.2%

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars. Each ad was coded for its dominant issue.

^a When we compared our estimates with the estimates of Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, which paid for the ads that we had identified as sponsored by the “Anti-Tobacco Coalition,” we found that it had received discounts below the published rates that we used in our estimates above. Please see Appendix A for details.

A Closer Look at the Top Issues³⁸

Percentage of Spending on Top Issues Legislative Issue Advertising 2001–2002



Energy/Environment

As early as 1991, scholars of the advertising industry were predicting expanded corporate advertising that would portray businesses with “images of environmentally responsible corporate citizens.”³⁹ The accuracy of this prediction was confirmed in this data set. In fact, the majority of the energy issue ads focused on presenting companies or industries as environmentally friendly. So common was this theme that our coders could not reliably distinguish between environment and energy ads. As a result we combined the categories.

National Energy Policy

Shortly after taking office, President George W. Bush established a committee to research and propose a long-term energy policy for the

nation. In May of 2001, the National Energy Policy Development Group (headed by Vice President Dick Cheney) submitted to the president a report outlining over 100 recommendations, some of which required agency action and others that needed Congressional approval. Controversy arose over allegations that the administration had allowed energy industry executives improper influence over the creation of the policy and over the administration’s unwillingness to reveal the extent of industry access. The controversy was heightened over revelations that energy corporations, particularly the coal industry, gave over \$3 million to Republicans between 1999 and 2001.⁴⁰

The House passed legislation based on the recommendations of the policy group. The legislation, sponsored by Energy and Commerce Chairman Billy Tauzin (R-LA), was called the Securing America’s Future Energy (SAFE) Act of 2001 (H.R. 4). In April 2002, the Senate passed its version of the bill with some important differences. For example, the Senate version did not allow drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) and provided fewer tax breaks to energy producers. The bills were sent to the conference committee but no compromise was reached by the end of the 107th.

The recommendations of the policy group as well as the legislation included many provisions that became the subject of advertising during the 107th Congress. Among them were reduced liability for nuclear energy producers, federal investment in technology to reduce the environmental effects of burning coal, investment in a natural gas pipeline in Alaska, a ban on the gasoline additive MTBE, increased fuel efficiency standards for vehicles, and the promotion of Ethanol.

³⁸ In the following section, we rounded numbers in the hundred thousands to the nearest \$10,000 and numbers in the millions to the nearest \$100,000.

³⁹ David W. Schumann, Jan M. Hathcote, and Susan West, “Corporate Advertising in America: A Review of Published Studies on Use, Measurement, and Effectiveness,” *Journal of Advertising* 20, no. 3 (1991): 35.

⁴⁰ Pete Yost, “‘GOP Bankrollers’ Advice Welcomed by Bush Energy Plan Drafters, Documents Show,” *Business News*, 26 March 2002.

Virtually all of the advertising surrounding the issue of energy and environment was related in one way or another to the proposals for a comprehensive national energy policy. Some ads specifically addressed the legislation or its amendments while many others simply promoted industries potentially affected by the legislation.

Both opponents and supporters of the Bush plan framed their positions on energy policy in terms of the environment. However, generally speaking, environmental organizations opposed the National Energy Policy as proposed by the president while energy producers supported it. Supporters argued the president’s proposal would improve the environment. Opponents challenged that argument.

We estimate that about \$15.4 million was spent to advertise issues related to a National Energy Policy,⁴¹ and that roughly 94% (about \$14.5 million) of this spending was sponsored by energy/business interests, with environmental interests spending the remaining 6%.

National Energy Policy Components	Energy Interests	Environmentalists	Difference
General National Energy Policy	\$2.18	\$0.23	\$1.95
Promote Coal	\$8.89	–	\$8.89
Promote Nuclear	\$1.53	\$0.01	\$1.52
Drilling in ANWR	\$0.29	\$0.33	\$(0.04)
Promote Natural Gas	\$0.36	–	\$0.36
Increase CAFÉ	\$0.27	\$0.15	\$0.12
Reduce Emissions ^a	\$0.88	\$0.11	\$0.78
Ban MTBE ^b	\$0.09	\$0.09	–
Energy-related spending	\$14.49	\$0.91	\$13.59
Percent	94%	6%	

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars. Totals only include spending on ads dedicated to the topic. When the position was not clear, spending was not included in this chart.

^a Includes spending on ads that present fuel companies as voluntarily producing clean fuel.

^b Does not include ads that argue that companies and not government should clean up MTBE contamination.

GENERALLY ABOUT A NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

Organizations spent about \$2.5 million on ads that addressed the national energy plan in a general way. Almost all of this spending (\$2.2 million or 86%) was in favor of the president’s plan. Just \$230,000 (9%) went to oppose the plan. An additional \$140,000 (5%) worth of ads either opposed sections of the bill or was ambiguous as to which side it favored.

The largest spender on ads promoting the policy was the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (an organization of energy producers that came together for the purpose of supporting the energy bill). It spent about \$1 million. The largest spender opposing the bill was Save Our Environment (a coalition of 20 environmental groups). It spent about \$40,000.

⁴¹ Some ads were vague enough that we did not know if they addressed a specific piece of legislation or regulation. They were classified together with ads on other environmental and energy issues and are not included in these totals.

COAL

The Securing America's Future Energy Act included over \$2 billion for research into technology to reduce pollution from plants producing energy from coal, \$3.5 billion in tax credits to coal producers, and over \$500 million on coal plant subsidies.

Among those lobbying for specific aspects of the energy bill, the coal industry spent the most — about \$8.9 million. Almost all of that (\$8.3 million or 94%) was spent by Americans for Balanced Energy Choices (a coalition of mining companies, coal transporters, and electricity producers). About \$570,000 was spent by the Coalition for Affordable and Reliable Energy (a group formed in 2000 to advocate coal as an energy source). Most of the ads argued or implied that coal was a “clean” fuel source that protects the environment, that there are ample coal supplies in the U.S., and that the coal industry plays an important role in the economy.

There were no ads that solely and directly took on the claims of the coal industry. There were a handful of ads that were coded as predominantly about another issue but included phrases that referred to the coal industry. For example, a group of environmental organizations ran an ad that included the argument that the energy plan's reliance on coal would “contaminate our lungs.” Another organization offered an ad that included the phrase “The administration's plan . . . weakens clean air protection to allow more coal burning.” The total cost of all of the ads that mentioned coal in a negative light (but did not have coal as the main topic) was about \$80,000 or less than 1% of the pro-coal industry advertising. However, there was an additional \$220,000 spent on ads that we classified as being predominantly about the National Energy Policy generally that also mentioned coal, but in a positive light. These ads included text such as “Technology is making electricity generation from this low-priced fuel source [coal] increasingly clean and efficient.”

NUCLEAR ENERGY

The proposed National Energy Policy provided \$2.5 billion in tax breaks and other support to the nuclear energy industry. The bill also limited the liability (in case of nuclear accident) of nuclear power plants.

Advertisements about nuclear energy cost approximately \$1.5 million. Ninety-nine percent of those ads promoted the nuclear energy industry. All but a small fraction of the pro-nuclear ads were sponsored by the Nuclear Energy Institute (a trade organization representing nuclear power plant owners and operators). Almost all of these ads argued that nuclear energy was a clean, safe power source.

Only one ad (sponsored by Save Our Environment) took on the nuclear industry as its main topic. It argued that nuclear power is inefficient and produces dangerous radioactive waste. We estimate that ad cost about \$10,000.

There were a handful of ads, predominantly about other topics, that mentioned the nuclear industry in a negative light. For example, one ad noted that the energy bill “encourages production of nuclear materials that threaten weapons proliferation.” Another ad included the text, “[The House energy bill] promotes the construction of more nuclear power plants, increasing the danger of radioactive waste and raising the specter of nuclear weapons proliferation.” We estimate the total cost of the ads that mentioned nuclear energy in a negative light (but did not have nuclear energy as their main topic) at about \$50,000. At the same time, we found an additional approximately \$100,000 worth of spending that we categorized as being generally about a national energy policy but that also included text casting nuclear energy in a positive light. These included claims such as “These plants [nuclear energy] generate a very reliable and clean source of electricity, and don't pollute the air in this process.”

ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE (ANWR)

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is located in Northeastern Alaska. Managed by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the U.S. Department of the Interior, the refuge's primary mandate is to protect wildlife and habitats for the benefit of people. The 1980 law that created the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge also closed 1.5 million acres of the coastal plain to gas and oil exploration unless specifically authorized by Congress. The House version of the Securing America's Future Energy Bill would have authorized exploration in the Refuge. The Senate version did not.

Spending on the ANWR debate, unlike the other issues in the energy bill, was roughly evenly split. Thirteen different organizations and coalitions ran ads opposing oil and gas development of the refuge and collectively spent about \$330,000 (53% of ANWR spending) in advertising. The largest of these spenders was the National Audubon Society (a group dedicated to conserving and restoring natural ecosystems). We estimate it spent about \$150,000.⁴² Four organizations spent about \$290,000 (47% of ANWR spending) in support of drilling; the largest spender was Arctic Power (a coalition of the State of Alaska and oil industry groups that is seeking to open ANWR to oil and gas development). It spent about \$110,000. Two of the other four groups supporting development were ExxonMobil and Phillips Petroleum Company.

NATURAL GAS

The president's National Energy Policy also provided help to the natural gas industry by calling for expedited approval of a natural gas pipeline in Alaska and opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to drilling for gas. Because natural gas was their main topic, these totals were not included in our analysis of ANWR.

Ads advocating natural gas totaled about \$360,000. The American Gas Association (a trade group that represents local gas distribution companies) sponsored 79% of that spending. We found no ads dedicated to opposing the natural gas industry. There was an additional \$130,000 in spending on ads we classified as predominantly about the National Energy Policy generally that also mentioned natural gas in a positive light, such as "Natural gas is growing steadily in popularity, and with good reason. It is a low-emission fuel source drawn mainly from domestic reserves."

CORPORATE AVERAGE FUEL ECONOMY (CAFE) STANDARDS

The Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 required passenger car and light truck manufacturers to meet Corporate Average Fuel Economy Standards. These standards are applied on a fleet-wide basis for each manufacturer. According to current standards (unchanged since 1986), the fuel economy ratings for a manufacturer's entire line of passenger cars must average at least 27.5 mpg. CAFE standards were addressed in the House energy bill in 2001, and a separate bill to increase CAFE standards was considered and defeated in the Senate in 2002.

⁴² When we contacted the National Audubon Society to confirm our estimates for its expenditures, a representative originally told us that the only time their ad had aired in D.C. was in the context of news programs. However, our records show that while the ad did air during news shows, it aired repeatedly, making it more likely to be an ad running during the news than an ad covered by the news. When we called the organization back with this information a representative told us the ad had in fact aired in D.C. but that he believed (though he was not sure) it was a free placement, even though they had paid to run the ad in other markets. We were not able to reach someone with certain knowledge about the air schedule and cost of the airtime. Our estimates are consistent with those from the *National Journal*. See Julie Samuels, "Audubon Jumps into ANWR Debate," *National Journal: Ad Spotlight*, 15 March 2001, Retrieved on April 15, 2003 from, <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:8818/members/adspotlight/2001/03/0315nas1.htm>

Ads that had as their focus Corporate Average Fuel Economy Standards garnered about \$420,000 worth of spending. Opponents of increasing CAFE standards spent about \$140,000 (48% of CAFE spending) while supporters spent about \$150,000 (52% of CAFE spending). However, this calculation does not take into account a significant amount of spending on the part of petroleum producers who argued that the fuel they produce is getting cleaner. These ads did not explicitly mention CAFE standards, though clearly if fuel is getting cleaner then the need for increasing CAFE standards is diminished. These ads accounted for an additional \$130,000 in spending. If we add this to the total spending opposing increasing CAFE standards, opponents outspent supporters 65% to 35%.

METHYL TERTIARY-BUTYL ETHER (MTBE)

MTBE is one of a group of chemicals commonly known as “oxygenates” because they raise the oxygen content of gasoline. MTBE was originally added to gasoline in 1979 to replace lead and prevent car engines from “knocking.” Based on the belief that oxygenated fuels help gasoline burn more completely, reducing harmful tailpipe emissions, Congress set greater oxygenate requirements in the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 and MTBE was added to gasoline in increasing concentrations after that.

However, there is growing evidence that MTBE is a contaminant released into the environment via leaking storage tanks and gasoline spills. The EPA is considering setting health standards, though presently there is some uncertainty about the extent of the health risk. Meanwhile, California is phasing out the use of the chemical.

The Senate version of the National Energy Policy would have banned the use of MTBE, eliminated the requirement to use MTBE (or other oxygenates), authorized additional funding for the cleanup of ground water contaminated by the substance, and required motor vehicle fuel to contain ethanol or other renewable fuels. The House version contained only the cleanup provisions.

Advertising was divided among three positions: those that opposed the MTBE ban, those that opposed the government helping to clean up the MTBE contamination, and those supporting the ban. Only one group advertised explicitly opposing the MTBE ban (the Oxygenated Fuel Association). It spent about \$90,000. One group (Taxpayers for Common Sense) ran ads arguing that the companies themselves should pay for the MTBE clean up (\$20,000), and one organization (Renewable Energy Action Project) ran ads supporting the ban (\$90,000).

Clean Air and Greenhouse Gases

Over the past century, scientists have documented that the earth is warming, with the greatest changes in temperature occurring during the last 50 years. This warming has been predominantly attributed to the burning of fossil fuels (e.g., coal and petroleum), which has altered the chemical composition of the atmosphere, causing it to retain more heat.

In 1997, delegates from 150 nations including the U.S. met to forge a treaty that would reduce these greenhouse gases. The Kyoto Protocol, signed by the Clinton administration, obligated the U.S. to cut greenhouse gases 7% below 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012. However, the Senate did not ratify the treaty and President Bush did not support it, arguing instead for voluntary reductions of greenhouse gases by 4.5% over the next 10 years.

There were many pieces of legislation introduced (including H.R. 4) that would have affected clean air in one way or another. Among those under debate was the Clean Power Act (S. 556). This legislation was aimed at reducing greenhouse gases by requiring power plants to reduce emissions. It narrowly passed in Senate committee but did not proceed to the floor. The administration also proposed legislation in the form of the “The Clear Skies Initiative” (H.R. 5266 and S. 2815).

Changes to Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations concerning the Clean Air Act were also considered and some adopted. Environmental groups said the changes would weaken the Clean Air Act while the administration said they would streamline and improve the program. In our calculations, we combined tallies for ads about the Clean Power Act and proposed changes to the Clean Air Act regulations.

About 89% of spending on issues of clean air and global warming went toward opposing stricter environmental standards. We estimate about \$880,000 was spent on ads that either specifically opposed legislation that would have imposed higher standards for emissions, argued for voluntary emissions reductions, or argued that companies were already producing products that created less emissions. About \$110,000, or 11% of spending on issues of greenhouse gasses and emissions, went toward ads that argued for adherence to the Kyoto Protocol or promoted other legislative attempts to improve air quality.

Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Site

The nation's radioactive waste inventories primarily consist of spent nuclear fuel from commercial nuclear power plants and U.S. government defense activities. This waste is currently stored at 72 sites throughout the country. The Nuclear Waste Policy Act (NWPA) of 1982 established a system for identifying and selecting a single site for permanent disposal of spent nuclear fuel and high-level radioactive waste.

Yucca Mountain in Nevada had been considered the leading site for a national nuclear waste dump since 1987. In 2002, the Secretary of Energy formally notified the Governor of Nevada that he intended to recommend the Yucca Mountain site as the central location for disposal of radioactive waste. The governor then lodged a formal opposition to this plan forcing Congress to pass legislation approving it. It did so, and President Bush signed the bill making Yucca Mountain the nation's central repository for nuclear waste on July 23, 2002.

Over \$570,000 was spent on advertising about the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste site. Almost all of it (96% or \$550,000) went to support the opening of the site. The largest spender on advertising in support of the Yucca Mountain dump was the Nuclear Energy Institute (an organization that represents nuclear plant owners and operators). They spent about \$260,000. Three organizations ran ads opposing the Yucca Mountain site; their collective expenditures totaled about \$20,000.

Health Care

Three subtopics accounted for 77% of health care advertising. They were: prescription drug benefits (42%), increased federal funding for hospitals and other providers (19%), and expanding coverage for the uninsured (17%).

Of the close to \$20 million spent on health care advertising, almost three-fifths (59%) of spending was from two types of groups that profit from health care. Industry groups (such as pharmaceutical manufacturers, insurance companies, and business associations) spent the most, close to \$7 million (about 36% of the total health care spending). They were followed by health care providers, such as hospitals, nursing homes, and doctors (\$4.7 million or 24%). Consumer groups such as the AARP came in third, with about \$3.0 million in spending (16%).

Prescription Drugs

Medicare, the national health insurance program for the aged and disabled, does not cover most outpatient prescription drugs. However, since Medicare was established, drugs have played an increasing role in patient care and have become more expensive. This has resulted in increasing numbers of people who cannot afford the medications they need. Several measures in both chambers of Congress addressed rising drug costs. However, no bill made it through both chambers of Congress.

DRUG BENEFITS

Soon after taking office, President George W. Bush proposed a plan (outside the Medicare system) to give money to states to provide temporary prescription drug coverage to some seniors. The eligibility for coverage was dependent on income.

In 2002, the House passed the Medicare Modernization and Prescription Drug Act of 2002 (H.R. 4954). The bill (also referred to as the Republican plan) increased Medicare payments to physicians, nurses, and other health professionals, but (despite the name) did not include a Medicare prescription drug benefit. Instead, it provided for federal reimbursements to private insurers if they offered prescription drug coverage plans to those on Medicare (the bill did not require insurers to provide drug plans). A competing plan, sponsored by House Democrats, would have implemented a drug plan directly through Medicare.

Drug companies tended to favor the Republican plan because even if private companies choose to offer senior drug coverage, reimbursements for drugs would be higher than under a government-run Medicare program. Citizen groups tended to oppose the legislation, saying it would not ensure prescription drug coverage for those who needed it and the amount of coverage, if offered, would be inadequate.

About \$4 million was spent on the issue of insurance and drug coverage. The AARP (formerly the American Association of Retired Persons) spent about \$280,000 (7% of the drug insurance advertising) for ads that argued generally for a plan that would allow all Americans access to affordable prescription drugs. However, most of the advertising debate centered on the type of drug coverage, not the question of whether a plan was needed.

The AARP along with a few other citizen groups also ran ads that promoted a drug plan under Medicare. We estimate that the cost for these ads was about \$930,000 (23% of spending on the issue of insurance coverage for drugs). The pharmaceutical companies took the opposing point of view. Their ads argued that private insurance companies should provide the coverage. These ads also promoted voluntary programs sponsored by drug companies to provide lower cost medication to seniors. Drug companies such as Eli Lilly and Company, Merck, Pfizer, and PhRMA spent about \$2.8 million (about 69% of the spending on this issue) promoting the Republican plan or touting voluntary programs by pharmaceutical companies to give away drugs. Insurance companies did not engage in the advertising debate. All told, we estimate advertising for specific plans totaled about \$3.7 million. **If we exclude advertising that did not promote any specific plan for helping people afford prescription drugs, we found that 75% of spending went to support plans outside of Medicare and 25% went to promote a prescription drug plan within Medicare.**

PATENTS

The Senate considered and passed the Greater Access to Affordable Pharmaceuticals Act (S. 812, sponsored by Senators Charles Schumer and John McCain). This legislation limited the ability of brand-name drug companies to extend their drug patents. The bill also prevented brand-name drug companies from paying generic manufacturers to keep their products off the market and would allow generic drug companies to legally challenge patents that were based on changes in color or physical design.

A total of about \$1.7 million was spent on advertising about patent protection. Supporters of the legislation spent about \$260,000 (about 15% of patent spending), opponents \$1.5 million (85%). The largest spender opposing the legislation was PhRMA, which accounted for 96% of the anti-legislation spending. The largest spender in support of the legislation was Agvar Chemicals Inc. (a private supplier of bulk pharmaceutical ingredients and founding member of the Generic Pharmaceutical Association). It spent about \$170,000 or about 67% of the pro-patent legislation spending.

REIMPORTATION

An amendment to the Greater Access to Affordable Pharmaceuticals Act (S. 812) addressed the reimportation of drugs as a way of lowering costs. As drug prices in the U.S. have risen, American consumers have discovered they often pay more for pharmaceuticals than citizens in other countries do, causing some to go to Mexico or Canada to purchase their medications. Under current law, however, only drug companies can import pharmaceuticals into the United States. Current regulation does allow patients to bring a 90-day supply for “personal use.” The Dorgan amendment would have codified this regulation into law (if the medication came from Canadian pharmacies) and would have created a commercial import program.

Organizations opposing reimportation spent over \$220,000; of these PhRMA accounted for the most spending (62%). There were no ads advocating for the importation of drugs.

Health Coverage for the Uninsured

Several pieces of legislation introduced in the 107th Congress addressed the growing numbers of Americans who lack health insurance. However, none became law and most addressed specific aspects of the problem and did not propose a comprehensive solution. For example, President George W. Bush advanced a proposal to provide health insurance tax credits to workers who do not have employer-sponsored health coverage and do not qualify for public insurance.

About \$2.8 million was spent on the issue of health insurance coverage. Almost all of that (\$2.7 million or 96%) was sponsored by Covering the Uninsured⁴³ (a group of 12 business, labor, medical, and consumer associations funded by The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation). These diverse organizations were able to agree that the problem of growing numbers of uninsured needs to be addressed and this is the argument promoted by the ads. However, the ads did not identify a solution. This is in part because the various members of the coalition do not necessarily agree on the best plan.

The State Children’s Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) gives funds to states to help provide health insurance coverage to poor uninsured children. States may provide this coverage by expanding Medicaid or by creating a state children’s health insurance program. Many states have found that eligible children have not been enrolled in the program.

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation also sponsored \$410,000 worth of ads promoting the SCHIP and Medicaid for uninsured children (called their “Covering Kids” campaign).⁴⁴ All told, we estimate that The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation spent about \$3.1 million on ads about covering the uninsured and promoting SCHIP.

⁴³ In 2001, we referred to this group as The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Coalition on Health.

⁴⁴ The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation was willing to disclose its actual costs for advertising. We found in discussions with foundation representatives that their true costs for the ads about SCHIP (what they called the “Covering Kids” Campaign) were more than we estimated in 2001 and less in 2002. They said they spent about \$232,000 on 2002 print; we had estimated \$370,000. The discrepancy was due to volume discounts they received that we did not take into account. We underestimated its 2001 spending. We had estimated their total cost for 2001 at \$54,000; its own estimate was closer to \$214,000. The discrepancy was due to several print ads that our researchers missed and a television ad that our supplier did not send us.

Hospital Funding

The federal government provides money to hospitals, doctors, and other providers through Medicare reimbursements. The 1997 Balanced Budget Act mandated Medicare cuts. Hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical providers have been urging the passage of legislation that would roll back these scheduled cuts. Among the bills addressing this issue was the American Hospital Preservation Act (S. 839/H.R. 1556), which would have increased the amount of payment for inpatient hospital services under Medicare and frozen the reduction in payments to hospitals for indirect costs of medical education. The legislation was still in committee at the end of the 107th. The Medicare Modernization and Prescription Drug Act of 2002 (H.R. 4954) also included increases in Medicare payments for hospitals and physicians. The House passed this bill, but the Senate did not. The Nurse Reinvestment Act (H.R. 3487, S. 1864), which was signed into law in 2002, also concerned federal allocations to health care. It established nursing scholarships, nurse retention grants, and loan cancellation programs.

We estimate that about \$3.7 million were spent urging legislators to give more money to health care facilities and workers. We did not find ads that opposed this legislation. The largest spender promoting funding was the Coalition to Protect America's Health Care (an organization of hospitals, hospital associations, and businesses). It spent about \$1.3 million (36% of the pro-funding spending). The Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care (an umbrella organization of the nation's 11 largest nursing home companies) spent the second most, with advertising running at about \$1.2 million.

Patients' Bill of Rights (PBOR)

During the 107th Congress, both the House and Senate passed versions of a patients' bill of rights. As of the end of the 107th, negotiations between the House, Senate, and the executive branch had not yielded an agreement. Both versions of the legislation would have given patients the right to appeal denial of care by an HMO, to get emergency care in the nearest hospital, to see specialists, to access clinical trials, and, for women, to see an ob-gyn without prior authorization. The greatest issues of contention between the two bills were the right to sue health plans and limits on damages.

Overall, we documented about \$1.3 million of spending on ads about a patients' bill of rights. Those opposing it spent more than those supporting it. Opponents spent about \$840,000 (about 66% of the total PBOR spending). The American Association of Health Plans (a trade group that represents managed care companies) spent the most (about \$290,000). Supporters of the patients' bill of rights spent about \$440,000. The largest spender was the American Medical Association (an association of doctors). It spent about \$250,000.

Economy/Business

Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac

Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac are private companies that buy mortgages from lenders, package them into securities, and sell them. They operate under a government charter, which gives them certain business advantages (such as exemption from some taxes), but also imposes some requirements on how they do business (e.g., limiting the size of mortgages they can purchase).

Various critics have charged that the two companies are too large, do not provide fair service to minorities, control too much of the mortgage market, and that they get an unfair advantage from their government charter. In the 107th Congress, the debate became the subject of Congressional hearings and legislation that would have stripped some of the companies' charter benefits.

The debate over these issues accounted for over \$6.8 million in advertising. Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, and the coalitions of which they are a part ran extensive advertising campaigns in Washington to combat these criticisms and promote their business and government charter. These organizations spent over \$6.7 million (or 98% of the funding on this issue) to run ads promoting the idea that they help the public by stimulating the economy and helping people buy homes.

The largest spender promoting these government-chartered organizations was Freddie Mac. We estimate it spent about \$3.3 million. It was followed by Fannie Mae for which we documented \$1.9 million in spending. When we called Fannie Mae to verify our spending estimates, its representatives told us that we had vastly underestimated their Washington spending in 2001 (by about \$2 million).⁴⁵ We also learned from CMAG (our supplier of television ads) that they did not track television ads for these groups because they did not realize their operations were affected by public policy. As a result, we believe that true spending for Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac is a good deal higher than these numbers indicate. FM Watch (a watchdog group comprised of several financial lobbies) spent about \$30,000 (or about .4% of the spending on this issue) on ads criticizing Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

Telecommunications

Broadband Competition

In 2002, the U.S. House of Representatives approved H.R. 1542, the Internet Freedom and Broadband Deployment Act of 2001, but it died in Senate Committee. The bill was popularly referred to as Tauzin-Dingell, the names of the chair and ranking member of the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

The broadband competition debate has its roots in 1984 when the government split up the AT&T phone monopoly into seven Regional Bell Operating Companies (RBOC), or “baby bells” (PacBell, US West, Southwestern Bell, Ameritech, BellSouth, NYNEX, and Bell Atlantic). Subsequent mergers reduced the RBOCs to four (Verizon, SBC, BellSouth, and Qwest). The four new RBOCs inherited the existing infrastructure that made up the nationwide phone network. With the Telecommunications Act of 1996, the government wanted to promote competition in the telephone market, but knew this would not be realistic if competitors had to build their own infrastructure. Congress designated those companies already providing local phone service as ILECs, or Incumbent Local Exchange Carriers. Congress also gave status to new competing companies as CLECs, or Competitive Local Exchange Carriers. Congress mandated that the ILECs allow competitors the use of their lines at specially set government rates if they wanted to enter the long distance market.

As interest in broadband began to grow, the Baby Bells argued that they had no incentive to build new broadband infrastructure if they were to be required to make their lines available to competitors at government set rates, and they said they could not compete with other broadband operators such as cable that were not similarly regulated.

These Baby Bells supported Tauzin-Dingell, which would have exempted them from these regulations. The CLECs, such as Covad, AT&T, WorldCom, and Sprint, opposed the change, arguing they needed the regulation in order to compete with the ILECs and that the change would drive them from broadband market, reducing competition and increasing prices.

⁴⁵ Phone conversation with Betsy Hildebrandt, senior media-relations manager from Fannie Mae, on 4/7/03. We suspect that our researchers missed the Fannie Mae ads in 2001 because they did not know that Fannie Mae’s business is connected with public policy.

A few other bills dealing with broadband competition also failed in the 107th. The Broadband Regulatory Parity Act of 2002 (S. 2430), also called Breaux-Nickels, would have subjected all broadband services and all broadband access services to the same regulatory requirements, but it too died in Senate Committee.

After Tauzin-Dingell appeared doomed to failure, the debate moved to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Although the leadership of the commission was moving toward easing regulation and freeing the Baby Bells from their requirements to share their existing phone lines and new broadband lines at discounted rates, ultimately the commission voted to give individual states the power to regulate pricing for existing shared lines carrying telecom services, and voted to eliminate regulation on pricing for new lines carrying broadband services. With each side in the debate getting only some of the results it sought, it is expected that the FCC decision will lead to court challenges.

We treated advertising around these pieces of legislation and regulation together. Overall, there was about \$9.5 million worth of advertising. The spending was roughly equal on both sides of the debate. About \$4.9 million or 51% went to ads that opposed the various bills and regulations that would release the ILECs from broadband sharing requirements. Voices for Choices (a coalition of traditional long-distance companies) spent the most (over \$4.3 million). Those supporting Tauzin-Dingell and similar legislation spent about \$4.6 million. Connect USA (a lobbying group founded by SBC Communications and the regional bell telephone companies) was the biggest spender supporting the regulation/legislation. It spent about \$2.8 million on ads.

Education

No Child Left Behind Act

In January 2002, President Bush signed into law No Child Left Behind (H.R. 1). This act reauthorized the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA), contained increased money for literacy programs, and required districts to have a “highly qualified” teacher in every classroom. The act authorized up to \$26.5 billion in spending for education and linked federal aid to school performance as measured by standardized tests. Under the bill, students in grades 3 through 8 would be tested annually in reading and math starting in 2005. Schools whose scores failed to improve two years in a row could receive federal funds to help improve skills. If scores still did not improve, students would be allowed to transfer to other public schools (including charter schools) at public expense or to obtain private tutoring. Schools that failed to make progress for five consecutive years would be required to reorganize or lose federal assistance.

About \$440,000 in advertising was spent in favor of the National Education Policy. The largest spender was the Business Roundtable (an organization of chief executives of the nation’s largest public companies). They spent about \$210,000 or almost half of the money spent to promote the plan inside the beltway. They were followed by the Education Testing Service (ETS), an organization that produces and administers standardized tests. We estimate this group spent about \$180,000 (40% of the ads supporting the plan).

We estimate an additional \$490,000 was spent on ads related to the president’s proposal and subsequent bills. These ads either advocated or opposed aspects of the bill or presented related positions. With estimated expenditures of \$310,000, the National Education Association spent the most on these types of ads.

Vouchers

School vouchers enable citizens to use federal dollars to help pay for private schools. President Bush's education reform proposal released in January 2001 contained a voucher provision for students whose public school failed to meet certain standards for three consecutive years. There were several attempts to include voucher amendments in the No Child Left Behind legislation; however, one was not included in the final bill.

We estimate that \$5.7 million was spent on the issue of vouchers. More was spent to support them (about \$4.9 million or 85%) than to oppose them (about \$870,000 or 15%). The Black Alliance for Educational Options (a primarily pro-voucher advocacy organization) was the largest spender, sponsoring about \$4.3 million in pro-voucher ads (89% of the pro-voucher spending). Although four organizations opposed vouchers, the only significant spender was the National Education Association (an association of teachers). It spent approximately \$830,000.

Government Spending

Military Contracts

The federal government is the largest contractor in the United States, and among the federal agencies the Department of Defense (DOD) is the largest. President Bush has increased military spending from \$291 billion in fiscal 2001 to \$355 billion in 2003.⁴⁶ In 2001, the Pentagon picked Lockheed Martin over Boeing Co. to build the Joint Strike Fighter. This contract was the largest ever, estimated at more than \$200 billion. In 2002, Boeing was awarded \$16.6 billion in Department of Defense contracts, second only to Lockheed Martin, which was awarded \$17 billion.

Most of the ads about government spending advertised either products promoted by companies to the government or the companies themselves. We documented \$7.3 million in advertising promoting government spending. We found no ads that opposed government spending on products or argued for less spending. Advertising of military and homeland security products accounted for the most spending (about \$6.0 million or 82% of spending on ads promoting government spending).

Lockheed Martin was the biggest single spender on advertising for military contracts. We estimate it spent at least \$1.3 million (or about 22% of military contract advertising that we documented). Boeing spent about \$910,000. When we contacted Lockheed, its representative indicated that our estimates for 2001 were low and that its spending had roughly remained the same for 2001 and 2002.⁴⁷ If that is the case, it is likely we missed at least \$600,000 in spending for 2001. One reason for our low estimate is that our supplier for television ads, CMAG, accidentally did not track government contract ads. In addition, this \$1.3 million does not take into account ads sponsored by Lockheed in conjunction with other companies. For example, the "Joint Strike Fighter" was advertised by Lockheed, Northrop Grumman, and BAE Systems and funding for this campaign was tallied separately.

⁴⁶ Aaron Davis, "Valley Firms See Green In Military Contracts: High-Tech Weapons Hold Hope For Area Economy," *San Jose Mercury News*, 2 March 2003. Retrieved 4/23/03 from, <http://www.bayarea.com/mld/mercurynews/5298538.htm>

⁴⁷ Personal conversation with Lee Whitney, VP of Strategy and Marketing, 4/21/03.

Foreign Affairs

United Nations Dues

For many years, the U.S. refused to authorize payment of its dues to the United Nations (UN). In 1999, the Helms-Biden agreement passed, providing a plan by which the U.S. would authorize the money owed (over \$1 billion) to the UN to be paid over 3 years. The payments were tied to conditions for reform of the organization. In 1999, the U.S. paid \$100 million toward its UN arrears. In September 2001, Congress released the second and largest arrears payment, \$582 million. The third and final payment of \$244 million is still pending.

The single biggest foreign affairs issue in ads was payment of UN dues. All of the advertisements (about \$1.8 million) supported making the payments; none opposed them. All of the ads were sponsored by Better World Campaign (an organization, backed by Ted Turner, dedicated to supporting the UN).

Abortion Rights

Issues related to legal abortion came up in the legislative and judicial spheres in various ways in the 107th Congress. Congress passed and the president signed several appropriations bills that prevented any federal dollars from funding abortions (e.g., District of Columbia budget, Health and Human Services Appropriations, federal prisons). Another appropriations bill prevented money from going to foreign organizations that provided abortions (e.g., United Nations Population Fund). The appropriations bills for the Treasury and Postal Service prohibited the payment of administrative expenses in connection with any health plan under the federal employees health benefit program that provides any benefits or coverage for abortions.

On April 26, 2001, the House passed H.R. 503, the Unborn Victims of Violence Act of 2001. This legislation would have made it a separate offense to harm or kill a fetus during the commission of a violent crime. H.R. 476, the Child Custody Protection Act, was passed by the House but not the Senate. The bill would have prohibited the knowing transportation of a minor across state lines to obtain an abortion. Finally, H.R. 4965, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2002 was passed by the House. This bill would have prohibited physicians from performing a “partial-birth” abortions. In 2001, the Bush administration notified state Medicaid directors that Medicaid funds could not be used to cover RU-486.

We estimate that about \$110,000 was spent on advertising to oppose legal abortions (six different organizations sponsored these ads). In contrast, about \$5.6 million (98% of abortion issue advertising) was spent on ads advocating abortion rights, almost all of them sponsored by NARAL (National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League).

Issue Spending by Medium

The top issues in television ads were slightly different from those that dominated print. Trade, tobacco, taxes, and labor ranked among the top 11 issues (each with over \$1 million in spending) in print advertising but we found no issues that had trade or taxes as their main issue in television ads, and tobacco and labor each had less than \$100,000 in broadcast spending, ranking them near the bottom of the list. Conversely, abortion and social security were among the issues receiving the most spending on television but ranked much lower on the list in print ads (see Tables 12 and 13).

Overall spending was much more concentrated among a few issues in the television ads. Spending on the top five issues in television ads accounted for 90% of broadcast/cable spending. Spending on the top five issues among print advertisements accounted for 71% of the ad spending.

Table 12: Issues with over \$1 Million in Spending in D.C. Television Legislative Issue Ads in 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars)

Top Television Issues	Estimated Television Spending	Percent of Television Spending
Environment/Energy	\$11.14	27.0%
Health Care	\$8.21	19.9%
Telecommunications/Internet	\$6.70	16.2%
Abortion	\$5.60	13.6%
Education	\$5.46	13.2%
Foreign Affairs/Defense/Military	\$1.45	3.5%
Social Security	\$1.37	3.3%

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars. Each ad was coded for its dominant issue.

Table 13: Issues with \$1 Million in spending or more in D.C. Print Legislative Issue Ads in 2001 and 2002 (In Millions of Dollars)

Top Print Issues	Estimated Print Spending	Percent of Print Spending
Economy/Industry/Banking	\$11.92	18.5%
Health Care	\$11.40	17.7%
Environment/Energy	\$9.68	15.0%
Government Spending	\$7.34	11.4%
Foreign Affairs/Defense/Military	\$5.60	8.7%
Telecommunications/Internet	\$5.14	8.0%
Trade	\$3.04	4.7%
Education	\$2.02	3.1%
Tobacco ^a	\$1.53	2.4%
Taxes	\$1.38	2.1%
Labor	\$1.27	2.0%

Note. Spending is rounded to the nearest ten-thousand dollars. Each ad was coded for its dominant issue.

^a When we compared our estimates with Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids, which paid for most of the tobacco ads, we found that it had received discounts below the published rates that we used in our estimates above. Please see Appendix A for details.





Effectiveness of Ads

The question of the effectiveness of issue advertising is complicated, in part because different types of political influence work with and against each other and because it is difficult to document attitude change. Certainly millions of dollars are spent on issue advertising each year because the sponsors believe that there will be an effect. Most studies of issue advertising either look at grassroots attitude change or issue advocacy as a way to promote corporate image. Studies on legislative or regulatory outcomes are quite rare, and we found no studies that look at advertising directed at legislators and regulators as ours does.⁴⁸

Professor of Marketing David Schumann, in a literature review of studies on corporate advertising effects, cited one study which found that 57% of the public reported it was influenced by issue advocacy ads. He also cited several examples of corporate advocacy campaigns that resulted in measurable audience effects. For example, “Smith-Kline developed a campaign to argue the company’s side in a dispute with the government. They found that consumers who recalled the ad were 71 percent more likely to side with the company against the government and 67 percent more likely to write Congress on behalf of Smith-Kline.”⁴⁹ In 1985 *Reader’s Digest* published a four-page ad for The Business Roundtable “entitled ‘Halt the Deficit.’ The ad drew more than 900,000 responses, which were forwarded to government officials.” Similarly, a campaign by W. R. Grace Company resulted in 50,000 calls requesting its booklet on the deficit. Still Schumann concluded that “though these campaigns were successful in creating response, it is impossible to determine the significance of that response.”

Many studies of issue advertising looked at the health care debate during the Clinton administration. An article in the *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* concluded that most of the studies of the “Harry and Louise” ad campaign run by the Health Insurance Association of America in opposition to Clinton’s health care reform proposals did influence the public policy debate.⁵⁰ Another study of President Clinton’s role in selling health care reform identified the issue advertising by opponents such as the insurance industry and the Christian Coalition as likely to have played an important role in thwarting reform.⁵¹ A third study similarly concluded that “ads directed against the Clinton plan played a crucial role in the public’s attaching negative connotations to some key elements.”⁵²

Studies on the effects of issue advertising on attitudes yielded similarly positive findings. One that looked at advertising designed to reduce racial prejudice found significant changes in attitude among those exposed to a two-week series of issue advertisements.⁵³ Another showed that an issue ad campaign by the

⁴⁸ M. D. Lord, “Corporate Political Strategy and Legislative Decision Making,” *Business and Society* 39, no. 1 (2000): 76-93.

⁴⁹ D. W. Schumann, J. M. Hathcote, and S. West, “Corporate Advertising in America: A Review of Published Studies on Use, Measurement, and Effectiveness,” *Journal of Advertising* 20, no. 3 (1991): 35.

⁵⁰ “Impact of Issue Advertisements and the Legacy of Harry and Louise,” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 26, no. 6 (2001): 1353-1359.

⁵¹ Mathew Corrigan, “The Transformation of Going Public: President Clinton, the First Lady, and Health Care Reform,” *Political Communication* 17, no. 2 (2000): 149.

⁵² Darrell M. West, Diane Heith, and Chris Goodwin, “Harry and Louise Go to Washington: Political Advertising and Health Care Reform,” *Journal of Health, Policy and Law* 21, no. 1 (1996): 35-68.

⁵³ Robert J. Donovan and Susan Leivers, “Using Paid Advertising to Modify Racial Stereotype Beliefs,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57 (1993): 205-218.

American Forest Institute resulted in more people believing that forests were being well managed, and an attitude survey showed most people who see issue ads find them “fairly believable” and “helpful.”⁵⁴ An article in *Public Relations Review* about issue advertising and the nuclear industry found that readers of advertisements promoting domestic fuels such as coal and nuclear energy were more convinced than non-readers that “nuclear energy is helping to meet U.S. energy needs and making the United States less dependent on foreign oil. Readers were also likely to conclude that nuclear energy is reducing the cost of electricity . . . and [they] were more assured that nuclear waste is being stored safely.”⁵⁵

Studies that examine legislative and regulatory effects of advertising are very rare indeed. Professor of Strategy and International Business Michael Lord surveyed corporate executives responsible for monitoring and managing their firms’ relationship with the federal government and congressional aides and found that both reported that ads have “some degree of influence.” However, members of the corporation rated that influence as higher than the members of congressional staffs.⁵⁶ In a review of studies, Communications professor Robert Heath pointed to a campaign by the American Banking Association to oppose a provision of President Reagan’s 1982 tax plan as a good example of a campaign in which there were legislative effects. According to Heath, the campaign generated protest mail, “tapped the public’s dislike for taxation, and the tax measure was defeated.”⁵⁷ However, neither these studies nor ours prove issue advertising causes specific legislative outcomes.

Our Findings

When we looked at spending on various sides of issues and the outcomes in the 107th Congress, we found some interesting patterns.

Issue	Percent of Funding Promoting the Legislation	Result	Side Favored
Stricter emissions	11%	No legislation	More Spending
Drug coverage under Medicare	25%	No legislation	More Spending
Limited patent extension	15%	No legislation	More Spending
Allow reimportation	0%	No legislation	More Spending
Patients’ bill of rights	34%	No legislation	More Spending
Oppose Fannie Mae/Freddie Mac	0.4%	No legislation	More Spending
Create Yucca Mountain nuclear waste dump	96%	Legislation passed	More Spending
Pay UN dues	100%	Legislation Passed	More Spending
No Child Left Behind ^a	100%	Legislation passed	More Spending
Money to hospitals	100%	No legislation	Less Spending
Vouchers	85%	No legislation	Less Spending

^a There was some spending that seemed vaguely critical of aspects of the president’s plan but these ads did not obviously oppose the plan and were not counted in this analysis.

⁵⁴ Robert Heath, “The Rhetoric of Issue Advertising: A Rationale, A Case Study, A Critical Perspective-and More,” *Central States Speech Journal* 39, no. 2 (1988): 99-109.

⁵⁵ Robert Heath and William Douglas, “Issue Advertising and Its Effects on Public Opinion Recall,” *Public Relations Review* 12, no. 2 (1986): 47-55.

⁵⁶ Michael. D. Lord, “Corporate Political Strategy and Legislative Decision Making,” *Business and Society* 39, no. 1 (2000): 76-93.

⁵⁷ Robert Heath, “The Rhetoric of Issue Advertising: A Rationale, A Case Study, A Critical Perspective-and More,” *Central States Speech Journal* 39, no. 2 (1988): 101.

Ten of the issues we looked at had greater spending on the prevailing side, two did not, and three did not lend themselves to such simple analysis. In the 107th Congress, more was spent on opposing stricter emissions requirements, and they were not imposed (some argue that clean air standards were even weakened). Much more money was spent on alternatives to a drug benefit under Medicare, and no drug benefit was added to Medicare. More money was spent to protect drug companies' patents, and legislation to prevent drug companies from easily extending patents failed. More money was spent to prevent reimportation of drugs, and legislation that would have allowed this practice failed. More was spent to oppose a patients' bill of rights, and none was passed. Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac spent more protecting their charter than did opponents, and their charters were not changed. More money was spent to open a nuclear waste dump at Yucca Mountain, and legislation to make this happen was passed; more was spent to promote the UN, and funding for the organization was allocated. Finally, more money was spent on supporting the president's education plan then outright opposing it, and it passed.⁵⁸

On two issues that we analyzed, the spending balance favored legislation that did not pass in the 107th. They were ads advertising more money to hospitals and supporting federal vouchers to assist in paying for private education.

Three issues we examined did not lend themselves to simple pass/did not pass analysis. Spending on both sides of the broadband deregulation was about evenly split and the result was what some considered a compromise. Although Tauzin-Dingell failed to pass, the FCC did free the baby bells from requirements to lease their DSL lines to competitors. On the other hand, it delegated phone line regulation to the states. Concerning a National Energy Policy, much more money was spent in favor than opposing and in fact legislation did make it through both houses of Congress, which is much further than most of the other legislation that we examined. However, the bill died in the conference committee at least in part over differences in opinions about drilling for oil and gas in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (an issue on which spending was roughly evenly split). Finally, the issue of legal abortion had much more spending in favor than opposed. However, there were several bills that reduced the availability of abortions (through the appropriations process), but on the other hand there were three other bills favored by those opposing legal abortion that did not pass.

A truly comprehensive answer to the question of the effects of legislative issue ads would require much more data over a longer period, and would have to take into account other forms of lobbying, campaign contributions, biases in the American democratic system, public opinion, party majority, committee power, and even the public good because legislation is probably influenced by these as well. That said, for this limited analysis, the side with the greater spending did appear more likely to prevail.

Of course, legislative issue advertising may have broader and less visible effects. Studies have shown that what people identify as the most pressing problem facing the nation is affected by the media.⁵⁹ Thus, the presence of massive advertising campaigns may affect whether people perceive an issue as important, how likely the press is to write about it, and whether an issue is debated in Congress in addition to its chances of passing.

It is also interesting to note that the six major pieces of legislation identified by *The New York Times* as having passed in the 107th Congress (tax cuts, tightened corporate oversight, antiterrorism law, authorization to act against Iraq, campaign finance reform, a trade bill, and establishment of homeland security),⁶⁰ were not among the issues with the most spending and as a result were not analyzed by us. This is interesting because while all of these bills passed, most of the legislation we looked at did not. It is too early to tell whether this indicates that issues with more spending are more likely to be bogged down in Congress while issues with less are not.

⁵⁸ There was some spending that seemed vaguely critical of aspects of the president's plan but these ads did not oppose the plan obviously and were not counted in this analysis.

⁵⁹ See for example M. McCombs and D. Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function Of Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (1972): 176-187; and S. Iyengar and D. R. Kinder, *News that Matters* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987).

⁶⁰ Carl Hulse, "Its Eyes Fixed on Terrorism, Congress Put Off Many Bills," *New York Times*, 21 November 2002, p. A34.

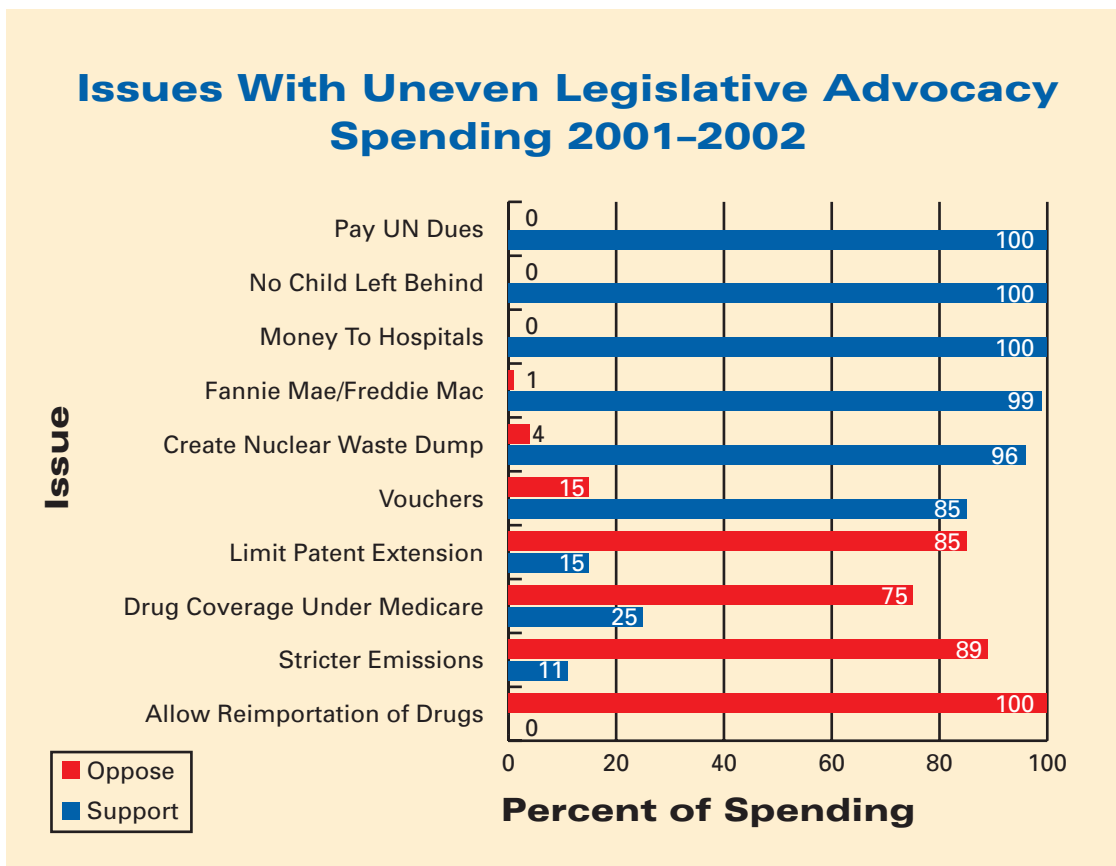




Conclusion

Our primary goal in designing this research was to determine whether the voices reflected in advertising about issues that face the nation have equal reach. Generally speaking, this was not the case. In print and television issue ads that aired during the 107th Congress, we found many examples where one side spent more than the other.

For example, virtually all of the \$15 million that was spent on the National Energy Policy was spent by energy producers. Many of these ads made claims about the cleanliness of various energy sources and these claims went unchallenged in almost every case. There were other cases where the spending on the issue was not balanced as well. About 89% of spending went to oppose stiffer regulations on air emissions. Ninety-six percent of spending went to promote a nuclear waste dump in Nevada. Seventy-five percent of spending went toward plans that would not provide prescription drug coverage under Medicare. Eighty-five percent of spending went to oppose laws that would have prevented drug companies from extending patents. Ninety-nine percent of funding supported the organizations Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. Ninety-eight percent of ads about abortion promoted keeping it legal. All of the advertising we found on the issue of reimportation of drugs opposed it, while all of the ads on hospital and UN funding supported it.



Such unequal spending on issue advocacy is likely to have effects. As Communications scholar Kathleen Hall Jamieson found in a study of the spending by tobacco companies in opposition to a 1998 bill that would have settled the lawsuits brought by the attorney general against the major U.S. tobacco companies, “the scope of the campaign and the imbalance in the amount of advertising information available meant that a large audience was repeatedly exposed to misleading and uncorrected claims.”⁶¹ Jamieson also noted that in markets with high exposure to the industry ads people were more likely to believe the claims of the tobacco industry.

Few would disagree that the public interest and democratic integrity are enhanced when legislators, regulators, and members of the judicial and executive branches have exposure to balanced, copious, diverse, and truthful information and argument. The more difficult question is how to ensure that this happens without infringing on basic rights and freedoms. As it currently stands, our political-economic system allows money (through advertising) to buy the ability to provide information and arguments to people in power. Because exposure to information and argumentation can influence thinking and decision making, those with more money may have more influence. Although this may seem counter to basic democratic ideals, our nation’s founders did not include the right to a fair political playing field among our founding principles. That said, advances in mass mediated communications and the extension of basic rights to corporations have resulted in a situation that our nation’s founders very well may not have anticipated.

Minimalist proposals to rectify the imbalance in advertising might require sponsorship identification and disclosure of expenses. More interventionist approaches might mirror existing campaign finance legislation, such as bans on corporate and union advertising from general treasury funds or limits on contributions that go toward political advertising. Any proposals to remedy the inequity in the amount of advertising would have to deal with the very difficult question of what constitutes an issue advertisement.

⁶¹ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, “Issue Advocacy in a Changing Discourse Environment,” in *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, edited by W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 323-341.



Appendix A:

Collecting and Analyzing Issue Ads (Methodology)

What Is an Issue Advertisement?

Issue ads are distinct from candidate ads. While candidate ads are sponsored by a candidate or their organization, issue ads are sponsored by individuals (not running for office), corporations, unions, or other organizations. There are two types of issue ads, those that advocate or oppose the election of a candidate (albeit implicitly), usually referred to as *sham* or *candidate-centered issue ads*, and those that seek to mobilize constituents, policy makers, or regulators in support of or in opposition to legislation or regulatory policy, called *legislation-centered* or *pure issue ads*. In this report, we look only at pure issue ads. The distinction is important because generally when people talk about issue ads in a public policy context they are talking about candidate-centered and not legislation-centered issue ads.

The distinction between the two rose out of a court decision that drew a line between *express advocacy* and *issue advocacy*. In the wake of Watergate, the U.S. Congress had amended the Federal Election Campaign Act. Among other things, Congress mandated that money that went toward advertising for federal candidates had to be raised subject to contribution limits. In the Supreme Court case *Buckley v. Valeo*, the court upheld these limits for all ads sponsored by candidates and their organizations, arguing that these were clearly election-related communications (candidate ads).

However, when other types of organizations (such as parties, corporations, and unions) ran ads the court said a clear line had to be drawn between communications that were election-related (subject to contribution limits) and those that were not (issue ads not subject to federal election regulations). The court attempted to draw that line in a footnote in the Buckley decision, in which it said that for non-candidates, campaign-related communication had to employ *express advocacy* (i.e., use words such as “vote for,” “elect,” “cast your ballot for,” “Smith for Congress,” “vote against,” “defeat,” or “reject”). If the ads did not employ these words, the courts would consider them issue ads (not election-related), and their funding could not be regulated.

Political parties and (non-candidate) organizations like unions and corporations realized they could make effective campaign commercials that could be paid for with money not subject to contribution limits or disclosures (i.e., candidate-centered issue ads) as long as they did not use the “magic” words.

The question of the desirability of candidate-centered issue ads frequently has been debated in the public arena and has been the subject of reform legislation. The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA) again tackled the question of how to distinguish issue ads from election ads. It is currently undergoing court challenges, as are the regulations for it being promulgated by the Federal Election Commission, and it is not yet clear what form the law or regulations will ultimately take. Despite the fact that legally these inexplicit ads have been considered issue ads, they were not the subject of this research.

SAMPLE AD – Pfizer



[Announcer] Here at Pfizer we search for medicines to improve life and for ways to ensure



that every American has access to the medicines they need.



Pfizer's had programs in place for the past 20 years helping Americans



without health insurance get our prescription medicines for free.



We've already helped millions of people in need because we firmly believe



access to medicines should not be limited by a limited income.



Pfizer: Life is our life's work



While the line between issue and candidate ads is often blurry, so is the line between corporate commercial (or product) advertising, corporate image advertising (ads that promote a corporation's image, sometimes referred to as "good will" advertising⁶²), and corporate issue advertising (designed to influence public policy).⁶³ Though the corporate communication literature often distinguishes between these, research has documented that ads often have dual purposes, making the distinction difficult to operationalize.⁶⁴

Many corporate ads use public policy issues as a way of improving the image of the corporation and thus have as their goal increased sales of products as much as, if not more than, legislative or regulatory outcomes. Other corporate ads may look like image ads but may influence a public policy debate. For example, an ad run on the networks (called "Access") sponsored by Pfizer touts a Pfizer program that helps "Americans without health insurance get our prescription medicines for free." On the surface it may seem like a corporate image ad and it probably is, but in the context of a political environment that has been seriously considering adding a prescription drug component to Medicare, something the ad sponsors oppose, it is also contributing to that public policy debate by implying such a program is not needed. Another example of when product and issue advertising blur is when government contractors advertise their products to legislators.

The courts are also trying to draw the line between commercial advertising and issue advertising. Traditionally commercial advertising has been afforded less constitutional protection than political speech.⁶⁵ In 1942, the Supreme Court ruled, "The Constitution imposes no . . . restraint on government as respects purely commercial advertising."⁶⁶ However, since that time the court has increasingly barred restrictions of commercial speech and set narrow guidelines for what is commercial speech and when and how it can be regulated. False advertising claims is one area where regulation has been allowed.⁶⁷ Some corporate product ads are subject to Federal Trade Commission regulations that bar deceptive acts and "false ads"⁶⁸ and require substantiation for claims made in advertisements.⁶⁹ However, a case currently being debated before the Supreme Court (*Nike Inc. v. Kask*) may affect when commercial ads can be regulated.

⁶² See Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *The Interplay of Influence: News, Advertising, Politics, and the Mass Media*, 5th ed (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2001).

⁶³ Toni L. Schmidt and Jacqueline C. Hitchon, "When Advertising and Public Relations Converge: An Application of Schema Theory to the Persuasive Impact of Alignment Ads," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (1999): 433-455; "Challenging Corporate Personhood, Corporations, the U.S. Constitution and Democracy," *Multinational Monitor* 23, no. 10 (2002): n.p.

⁶⁴ See for example: S. Prakash Sethi, "Institutional/Image Advertising and Idea/Issue Advertising as Marketing Tools: Some Public Policy Issues," *Journal of Marketing* 43 (January 1979): 68-78.

⁶⁵ Jay Huber, "The High Cost of Free Speech: In U.S. Courts, Freedom of Speech Increasingly Means Freedom to Advertise," *Stay Free*, n.d. Retrieved on April 8, 2003, from <http://www.stayfreemagazine.org/archives/17/freespeech.html>

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *FTC Policy Statement on Deception* (Washington, DC: Federal Trade Commission, 1983). Retrieved on April 8, 2003, from <http://www.ftc.gov/bcp/policystmt/ad-decept.htm>.

⁶⁹ *FTC Policy Statement Regarding Advertising Substantiation* (Washington, DC: Federal Trade Commission, n.d.). Retrieved on April 8, 2003, from <http://www.ftc.gov/bcp/guides/ad3subst.htm>.

In that case, Nike was sued in a California court for making false advertising claims when it argued in a PR campaign that it did not use sweatshop labor. Nike says that claims made in its publicity campaign were not commercial and therefore not subject to truth and substantiation requirements as product ads are, and that the corporation is entitled to full First Amendment protections. The California Supreme Court had determined that the issue arguments made in the campaign were commercial in nature and therefore subject to laws concerning false advertising in commercial speech.⁷⁰ Nike's appeal is currently before the Supreme Court.

At the heart of this debate, like the one about BCRA, is the question of what constitutes an issue ad. Regardless of the legal distinction, we followed the suggestion of S. Prakash Sethi, professor of Business and Social Policy, when he persuasively argued that the intent of the advertiser is irrelevant and that if a corporation or a business group runs ads that contain information that the recipient group is likely to view as relevant in deciding on a particular issue, these messages must be considered persuasive.⁷¹ Thus, if an ad mentioned public policy issues, even if the intent of the ad might have been to sell products or improve a corporation's image, we included them in our analysis.

While theoretically issue ads are advertisements about public policy issues, the legal definition of an issue ad is much more complicated. For the purposes of this report we were interested in commercials that mentioned national issues, what we call legislation-centered issue ads (though regulation could also be their subject), and specifically those that aired or ran in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area and targeted legislators, regulators, and policy makers.

Data

In this report we examined ads that ran in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area that had as their subject issues before the president, Congress, or a regulatory agency, or that were a matter of public policy debate.

These ads included both those that mentioned specific legislation or regulation and those that were more broadly written to enhance the visibility of an issue, but were not tied directly to a pending legislation or regulation. We also included ads that mentioned issues that were part of the executive branch agenda, ads that were about presidential appointments, and those that exhorted people to vote in the context of a discussion about an issue. When government contractors sponsored ads that promoted products sold to the government or ran ads that bolstered the company's image, these too were included, as were ads promoting the images of regulated (or potentially regulated) industries.

These image ads were included in this study if the ad mentioned social usefulness, public good, or public policy issues, if the corporations were primarily military or government contractors, or if the industry was regulated or facing potential regulation. However, as we were completing our report we noticed that none of the television data we had purchased contained top advertisers such as Lockheed Martin and Fannie Mae. When we contacted our supplier, its representatives said that they did not realize these ads were related to public policy. Thus, our estimates will be low for these types of corporate issue advertising as they do not account for spending on television.

⁷⁰ Joan Biskupic, "Case Tests Free Commercial Speech," *USA Today*, 21 April 2003, n.p. Retrieved on April 8, 2002, from http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2003-04-21-nike-usat_x.htm; Edward Wasserman, "Free Speech or Misleading Ad," *The Miami Herald.com*, 10 February 2003, n.p., retrieved on April 1, 2003 from, <http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/opinion/5144762.htm>; "Challenging Corporations Personhood Corporations, the U.S. Constitution and Democracy," *Multinational Monitor* 23, no. 10 (2002): n.p.

⁷¹ S. Prakash Sethi, "Institutional/Image Advertising and Idea/Issue Advertising as Marketing Tools: Some Public Policy Issues," *Journal of Marketing* 43 (January 1979), 68-78.

To be included, ads had to run in 2001 or 2002 in *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Hill*, *CongressDaily AM*,⁷² or *Roll Call*. *The Washington Times* and *The Washington Post* are general newspapers that serve the D.C. area, while *The Hill*, *CongressDaily AM*, and *Roll Call* are all newspapers that cover Congress and specifically target legislators and lobbyists. We also included broadcast ads that ran on local D.C. television stations (WBDC 50-WB, WDCA 20-UPN, WJLA 7-ABC, WRC 4-NBC, WTTG 5-FOX, WUSA 9-CBS) and ads that ran nationally on the networks or cable (our supplier for television ads does not track local cable ads).

Spending Estimates

Tracking spending on issue advocacy is far from an exact science. Organizations are not required to report their issue advocacy expenditures (and usually decline to do so when asked), and stations and newspapers are not obligated to make those expenditures public. Moreover, what constitutes an issue ad is the subject of debate. As early as 1979, Prakash Sethi argued that precise dollar amounts for advocacy advertising expenditures “are not possible because of a lack of clear-cut, conventional or legal definition.”⁷³ The result is that the only way to quantify how much money is going to influence legislation is with estimates.

Television

For television advertising in 2001 and 2002, the Policy Center contracted with a private company (Campaign Media Analysis Group, CMAG) to obtain the storyboards and estimated cost of airtime. These estimates are only for airtime and do not take into account other costs related to airing a television spot, such as production and consultant percentage. After we completed our report we noticed that CMAG had not tracked spending for defense contractors and other businesses that they did not realize were involved in issues of public policy debate (such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac). After we pointed out the omission CMAG was able to tell us that Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Northrop Grumman, Dynegy Energy Co., Fannie Mae, and Freddie Mac had together sponsored about \$2.8 million in television advertising in 2001 and 2002, but they could not produce the ads for us to check. Thus we did not include this spending in our analysis. As a result, our estimates for this type of spending are likely to be low.

Print

Spending on print ads was calculated based on ad rates. We asked papers for their advertising rates and for purposes of calculating costs used the “open rate” for the appropriate ad size. Open rates tend to be higher than rates for buying in bulk, which many of the advertisers receive. We adjusted these prices for color⁷⁴ and Sunday placement but did not take into account higher costs for premium placements (such as placement on the Federal Page of *The Washington Post*). Our estimates for print, like television, do not take into account costs such as the creating of ads.

⁷² We were not able to obtain ads that ran in *CongressDaily AM* on the following days in 2001: January 3, 4, 5, 6, 20, 29; April 23, 24, 25, 26, 30; May 1 - June 29; July 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27; September 4 - 29; October 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 26, 29; November 2, 7, 9, 19. In 2002 we were missing the following days: January 25, 28; July 27, 30; October 21, 24, 28, 31; November 4, 7, 9, 19. The publication was not able to provide us with back issues, nor were we able to acquire them from an alternative source. As a result, estimates for this publication are artificially low.

⁷³ S. Prakash Sethi, “Institutional/Image Advertising and Idea/Issue Advertising as Marketing Tools: Some Public Policy Issues,” *Journal of Marketing* 43 (January 1979): 70.

⁷⁴ In some cases we could not ascertain the color of the ads; these ads were all coded as black and white.

Sponsorship

When ads were sponsored by two organizations, we attributed the spending to the organization with the larger logo. If the logos were equal in size, the spending was attributed to the first sponsor listed. If three or more organizations sponsored an ad, the group was given a unique name by us and the spending was attributed to that coalition of sponsors and not the individual groups. When a country and its embassy sponsored ads, they were tallied together.

Issues

When ads mentioned more than one issue, all of the spending was attributed to the most dominant issue. When the issues were equally prominent, the spending was attributed to the first issue.

Data Checking

After we made our estimates, we contacted 39 of the organizations that we identified as top spenders in the report and asked them to contact us if our estimates were wrong. We did receive a few phone calls. Fannie Mae and Lockheed Martin noted that our estimates for their 2001 expenditures were low, though both declined to help us correct those estimates. We double checked with our supplier of television ads and found that they had not tracked spending by these organizations and that would account for part of the discrepancy. In addition, many of the ads run by these companies were ads that were image oriented. In Fannie Mae's case, these ads bolstered the company's image because they were under attack for benefits they receive as part of their government charter. In the case of Lockheed Martin, many of the ads promoted the corporation or products (or potential products) sold to the government. We suspect that in both cases our researchers missed many of these in the early phases of our research in 2001 and as they became more proficient in identifying issue ads were less likely to miss them. We were also contacted by Boeing Corporation in response to our request for verification of our estimates; they originally thought that our estimates were high because they were not aware that because they are a defense contractor we included what they considered corporate image ads in our estimates.

We also received calls from The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids. Unlike the others who contacted us, these organizations were quite helpful and willing to disclose their spending. The campaign "Covering Kids," sponsored by The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, told us that we had overestimated their spending for 2002 and underestimated 2001. When we compared our estimates to their real costs we found that they had received large volume discounts from *CongressDaily AM* and *Roll Call*. In both cases the actual price paid was about half of the published rate. They said that they spent about \$232,000 on 2002 print advertising for their Covering Kids Campaign. We had estimated \$370,000. The reason for the discrepancy in 2001 was that our coders missed several ads, including \$46,000 worth of ads in *Roll Call* and \$38,000 in *The Washington Post*, and we did not receive an ad they said cost \$65,000 from our supplier of television ads. We had estimated their total cost for 2001 at \$54,000; their real cost was closer to \$214,000.

When we compared our estimates with Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, which paid for the ads that we had identified as being sponsored by a coalition of organizations referred to in this report as the "Anti-Tobacco Coalition," we also found that they had received discounts below the published rates that we used in our estimates. They put their totals at \$787,000 for 2001 (our estimate was closer to \$1.2 million) and \$292,000 for 2002 (our estimate was \$329,000).

Revising Our 2001 Estimates

In the course of adding 2002 spending to this report, we also revised our estimates for 2001. In some cases we were able to find additional editions of *CongressDaily AM* that were missing from our original report (some are still missing); in other cases we used more accurate numbers in calculating our ad rates. We also modified our coding document slightly. For example, we found that our coders could not reliably distinguish between energy and environment ads because almost all mention both. In this analysis, we calculate those issues together.

Limitations of Our Method

In reading this report, it is important to keep in mind that estimates are just that. For example, we attributed spending to organizations named at the bottom of the ad, even though sometimes these organizations might not have actually paid for the ads. Sometimes we counted ads as issue ads because they mentioned a topic of public policy, although the sponsors of the ads may have designed them to promote their company more than their policy positions. Due to budget constraints, we also did not collect advertising from every possible source. There are periodicals that contain issue ads in D.C. that we did not analyze. Moreover, many organizations also run ads in the districts of senators or representatives whose votes they wish to influence. These caveats are all added to the ones we have already mentioned (not taking into account development of an ad or bulk rate discounts). Despite that fact, when we asked, several organizations did call to confirm that our estimates were accurate. Still, it is unlikely given the various ways in which we both under- and overestimated actual spending that our numbers represent exact dollar amounts. However, given the current lack of regulation of issue advertising, these estimates represent the best information available to paint a broad picture of who is spending what on which issues.



Appendix B:

Information About Spenders

ORGANIZATION: AARP

MAILING ADDRESS: 601 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20049

TELEPHONE: (800) 424-3410

WEBSITE: www.aarp.org

EMAIL: member@aarp.org

DESCRIPTION:

AARP, an organization for Americans 50 and older, “is the nation’s largest lobbying group for retirees” (*The New York Times*, July 14, 2002). According to its website, AARP was founded in 1958 and “represents over 35 million members” (www.aarp.org). Until recently, AARP was known as the American Association of Retired Persons. In 1998, the organization dropped the longer version of its name in an effort to reach out to the generation of American “baby-boomers” that is starting to turn 50 (*The Washington Post*, October 2, 2000; *The Arizona Republic*, October 3, 2000).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

AARP sponsored two print advertisements that ran a total of 38 times in 2002 in *The Washington Post*, *CongressDaily AM*, and *Roll Call*. The organization also sponsored five television ads that ran a total of 1,260 times in Washington, D.C.

One print ad titled “A Dose of Reality for Us All” encouraged Americans “to work with their doctors and pharmacists to learn all they can about prescription drugs they’re taking” by asking about prices, generic drugs, and side effects. The ad also asserted AARP’s efforts in working with Congress and the president to improve prescription drug coverage. In 2002, AARP recommended to Congress that \$750 billion be allocated over 10 years to prescription drug coverage, and generally favored “Democrat-sponsored” Medicare reform bills, although AARP claimed no political leaning (*The Hill*, March 25, 2003). A second print ad called for Congress to “add prescription drug coverage to Medicare that is voluntary, affordable, and available to every beneficiary.”

AARP sponsored a TV ad that urged Americans to “check up on their prescriptions” by comparing drug prices, asking about generic drugs, and knowing about drug interactions. The ad also encouraged viewers to “avoid paying too much” for prescriptions. A second TV ad advocated prescription drug coverage through Medicare, and alluded to the fight for prescription drug coverage as a second “drug war.” Another ad called for senators to “pass a permanent Medicare drug benefit like the Graham-Miller Bill.” The Graham-Miller bill (S. 2625) was one of several legislative initiatives that sought to have prescription drugs covered under Medicare. In the Senate, “both Democratic and Republican versions of the Medicare prescription drug benefit died in 60-vote standoffs” (*The Washington Post*, November 07, 2002).

Two AARP-sponsored TV ads about Social Security warned viewers to “make sure it’s there when you retire” and told viewers to “know where the candidate stands and vote.” This was in reference to the Social Security Program Protection Act of 2002 (H.R. 4070), which protects beneficiaries from the misuse of Social Security payouts by third parties (Thomas.loc.gov). Alternative legislation would have privatized Social Security, allowing workers to invest part of their Social Security benefits prior to retirement. According to the AARP website, the organization supports the notion of privatization but believes current recommendations on achieving privatization require a different approach (www.aarp.org).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Two print advertisements sponsored by AARP were found that ran a total of three times in 2001. Ads appeared in *Roll Call*. In one ad, AARP called on the president and Congress to “add prescription drug coverage to Medicare.” The ad described the lack of prescription drug coverage in Medicare as “the missing piece,” asserting that many seniors can’t afford the drugs they need. The ad stated that “Americans were promised [prescription drug coverage] in the last election, and they expect nothing less.”

A second ad announced AARP’s “Campaign Against Predatory Home Lending.” The ad warned that predatory home lending could lead to the loss of a home and that such loans have costly hidden fees and interest rates.

ORGANIZATION: American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)
MAILING ADDRESS: 815 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20006
TELEPHONE: (202) 637-5000
WEBSITE: www.afl-cio.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The AFL-CIO is a “federation of 66 unions representing 13 million workers” (*The New York Times*, July 30, 2002). According to the AFL-CIO website, these unions represent “teachers, teamsters, musicians, miners, firefighters, farm workers, bakers, bottlers, engineers, editors, pilots, public employees, doctors, nurses, painters, laborers, and others.” AFL-CIO’s mission involves “strengthening working families by enabling more workers to join together in unions, building a stronger political voice for working families, providing a new voice for workers in the global economy and creating a more effective voice for working families in our communities” (www.afl-cio.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found one print advertisement sponsored by the AFL-CIO that ran in *The Washington Post*. The ad supported passage of The National Homeland Security and Combating Terrorism Act of 2002 (S. 2452). This act was introduced in response to a provision in the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (H.R. 5005) that gave the White House “the power to exempt employees from union contracts” within the new Department of Homeland Security (*The New York Times*, February 25, 2003). The Homeland Security Act was signed into law on November 25, 2002 (Thomas.loc.gov). Passage of S. 2452, according to the ad, would allow workers in the new department to join a union or keep the protections guaranteed by the unions they currently belong to. The AFL-CIO backed “no pay cuts for those employees pulled into the new department; no staff reductions; clear lines of authority that avoid the potential for favoritism; and a ‘meaningful’ way to appeal disciplinary actions” (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

The AFL-CIO sponsored two television advertisements in 2001 that ran a total of 38 times in Washington, D.C. and sponsored two print ads that ran a total of three times. Ads were placed in *The Washington Post* and *Roll Call*. One print ad advocated for “worker relief” for aviation employees as part of the airline bailout bill in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11 (S. 1454/H.R. 2955, H.R. 2946). S. 1454/H.R. 2955 would “provide assistance for employees who are separated from employment as a result of reductions in service by air carriers, and closures of airports, caused by terrorist actions or security measures” (Thomas.loc.gov). H.R. 2946 would “provide assistance to employees who suffer loss of employment in the airline industry as a result of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001” (Thomas.loc.gov). The second print ad argued against President Bush’s repeal of the responsible contractor rule. The ad asserted that government contractors who break rules (such as discrimination and pollution) should not continue to receive additional government contracts. These ads were co-sponsored by several organizations including Greenpeace, League of Conservation Voters, Natural Resources Defense Council, NAACP, National Partnership for Women and Families, Sierra Club, and U.S. Public Interest Research Group. Both television ads advocated for the extension of unemployment and health benefits to workers.

ORGANIZATION: Agvar Chemicals, Inc.
MAILING ADDRESS: 96 Route 23, Little Falls, NJ 07424
TELEPHONE: (973) 256-3232
WEBSITE: N/A
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Founded in 1972, Agvar Chemicals, Inc. is a private supplier of bulk pharmaceutical ingredients. The company “distributes active ingredients made by overseas companies to drug makers, who turn them into dosage form” (*The Record* [Bergen County, NJ], January 14, 2002). Agvar Chemicals Inc. is a founding member of the Generic Pharmaceutical Association (www.fda.gov/ohrms/dockets/dailys/00/Oct00/100400/c000003.pdf).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found 11 print advertisements sponsored by Agvar Chemicals that ran a total of 24 times. Ads were placed in *Roll Call*, *CongressDaily AM*, and *The Hill*. All of the ads were in support of the Schumer-McCain Greater Access to Affordable Pharmaceuticals Act (GAAP) (S. 812/H.R. 1862). The ads maintained that the act would close loopholes which cause new generic medicines to take longer to reach the market and in so doing cost “consumers and their health care providers tens of billions of dollars.” The ads also asserted that GAAP would further protect the intellectual property rights of manufacturers and encourage innovation. Seven of the ads were directed at the Senate. After the Senate passed the act on July 31, 2002 (*The New York Times*, September 19, 2002), Agvar sponsored four additional ads about the GAAP Act that were addressed to the House. The act was not brought to a vote in the House. It was reintroduced in 2003 in the Senate as the Greater Access to Affordable Pharmaceuticals Act of 2003 (*Pittsburgh-Post Gazette*, April 29, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Agvar Chemicals, Inc. sponsored three print ads in 2001 that ran a total of seven times. The ads appeared in *CongressDaily AM* and *Roll Call*. Two of the ads accused Bristol-Myers Squibb Company of using legal loopholes to subvert H.R. 2887 and S. 838 in order to maintain patents on non-generic Glucophage and BuSpar and increase profits. H.R. 2887 and S. 838, known as the Best Pharmaceuticals for Children Act, would make permanent a pilot program that provides drug makers the incentive of an additional six months of patent life if they test their products on children. “The new version includes a fund to help test drugs already off patent. It would also put more pressure on drug companies to make labeling changes proposed by the FDA” (*CongressDaily*, August 1, 2001; October 12, 2001). The third ad thanked Congress for upholding the language in Section 11 of the Best Pharmaceuticals for Children Act which allows children to be prescribed generic Glucophage.

ORGANIZATION: Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG)

MAILING ADDRESS: N/A

TELEPHONE: N/A

WEBSITE: www.yourenergyfuture.org

EMAIL: info@yourenergyfuture.org

DESCRIPTION:

The Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG) was formed in 2001 by oil, coal, electricity, natural gas, and nuclear power associations and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to promote President Bush's national energy policy (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 20, 2001). Bush's plan "focuses on increasing domestic energy production. It calls for \$33.5 billion over 10 years in tax incentives and other subsidies to help boost energy capacities primarily in oil, coal, and nuclear power. It would also create a leasing program to explore drilling of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge" (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 27, 2002). AEEG advocates for ANWR drilling and is a proponent of designating Nevada's Yucca Mountain as the long-term, underground storage site for nuclear waste (*The Associated Press*, March 15, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, AEEG sponsored three print advertisements that ran a total of 55 times. The print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *CongressDaily AM*. One ad stated, "President Bush. Democrats and Republicans. 1,350 organizations from across the country all agree: it's time to ensure America's energy security." The ad argued that "to ensure economic growth and national security, America needs to ensure reliable supplies of domestic energy." A second ad presented a letter to the U.S. Senate signed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, AFL-CIO, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, National Association of Manufacturers, and the Seafarers International Union. The ad stated "although labor and business often find ourselves on opposite sides of many policy issues, we couldn't agree more when it comes to America's energy security." The ad advocated for a "bipartisan energy plan that: expands domestic supply to match expected demand; upgrades and modernizes energy infrastructure systems; provides for the development of new and energy efficient technologies." A third ad cited an AEEG-commissioned survey that found "more than 8 of 10 Americans now say adoption of a comprehensive national energy plan should be a 'high priority' of Congress." The ad also stated "the House-Senate Conference Committee must act now to enact national energy legislation." Energy legislation was not passed by the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). "Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome" (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress a version of the bill was reintroduced and passed by the House. As of April 2003, the Senate was "developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor" in May 2003 (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, AEEG sponsored three print ads that ran a total of 13 times and sponsored three television ads that ran a total of 530 times in Washington, D.C. The majority of the print ads were placed in *Roll Call* and *The Hill*, with one ad running in both *The Washington Post* and *The Washington Times*. All of the ads expressed support for a national energy policy that would increase domestic energy production. One television ad reminded viewers of the energy crisis of the 1970s and suggested that since then "America's energy use has grown more than twice as fast as production." The ad advocated for increased energy production as part of a national energy plan. AEEG ran a print ad advocating for a national energy plan that would "ensure reliable supplies of domestic energy." A similar print and television ad warned that California's blackouts could spread to other states unless Congress supported a comprehensive energy policy. A third print ad advocating for a national energy policy argued that "if we don't address our energy needs now, in twenty years Americans will not be able to live their lives the way they choose." A third television ad expressed support for President Bush's energy policy that "promotes conservation and increased production of clean affordable energy for all Americans."

ORGANIZATION: Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care

MAILING ADDRESS: N/A

TELEPHONE: N/A

WEBSITE: N/A

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care is an umbrella organization of the nation's 11 largest nursing home companies including Vecor Inc. and Sun Healthcare (*The Times-Picayune*, June 10, 2000). The Alliance advocates on nursing home regulations and capping jury awards (*St. Petersburg Times* [Florida], October 6, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found 10 print advertisements and four television ads sponsored by the Alliance in 2002. The print ads ran a total of 10 times in *Roll Call* and were all jointly sponsored by the American Health Care Association (AHCA).¹ The television ads ran a total of 383 times in Washington, DC. Two of the television ads were also co-sponsored by AHCA. Nine of the print advertisements appeared in a series, the latter seven of which counted down the days from the date the ad ran until October 1, 2002. A budget law passed in 1997 called for reducing Medicare spending incrementally over several years, with a large reduction slated on that October date (*The Boston Globe*, November 19, 2002). The ads warned that the cut would remove \$1.7 billion from Medicare aid for seniors in nursing homes, resulting in staff shortages and "jeopardizing quality care," and called for a new Congressional vote repealing the cuts. A tenth print ad urged legislators to "Save Our Seniors. Stop The Medicare Cuts."

All four of the television advertisements were concerned, like the print ads, with the reduction in Medicare spending to take effect on October 1, 2002. Two of the ads had similar visuals showing sand running through an hourglass, but varied on the wording of the voiceover. Both ads advocated in favor of new Congressional action to stop the Medicare funding cut. Another ad portrayed a nurse who was afraid she would lose her job in a nursing home as a result of the Medicare cuts. A fourth ad drew attention to Congress and the White House, declaring that they have "one last chance" to "restore the cuts," and encouraged viewers to call lawmakers in support of stopping the cuts.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, the Alliance for Quality Nursing Home Care sponsored one television advertisement that ran a total of 141 times in Washington, D.C., and two print ads that ran a total of six times. The print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Post*. All of the ads were co-sponsored by the American Health Care Association. The TV ad appealed to Congress to act in support of recruiting, training, and retaining more nurses to provide nursing home care. The two print ads also addressed the nursing shortage. One ad cited a Government Accounting Office (GAO) Report titled "Nursing Workforce: Recruitment and Retention of Nurses and Nurses Aides Is A Growing Concern." According to the ad, the report said that "retention of nurses aides is currently a significant problem for many . . . nursing homes . . . with some studies reporting annual turnover rates for aides working in nursing homes approaching 100%." The second print ad also cited the GAO report and cited two additional reports that also addressed the nursing shortage. The ad said that a "\$3.3 billion Medicaid shortfall and massive nursing shortage threatens seniors."

¹ When ads were sponsored by two organizations, we attributed the spending to the organization that had the larger logo. If the logos of both sponsors were equal in size the spending was attributed to the first sponsor listed.

ORGANIZATION: American Association of Health Plans (AAHP)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1129 20th Street, NW, Suite 600,
Washington, DC 20036
TELEPHONE: (202) 778-3200
WEBSITE: www.aahp.org
EMAIL: webmaster@aahp.org

DESCRIPTION:

The American Association of Health Plans (AAHP) is a trade group that represents managed care companies (*The Washington Post*, April 30, 2002). The group “represents more than a thousand health maintenance organizations and other plans” (*The Associated Press*, April 2, 2003). The group advocates against regulation of the managed care industry and has been one of the most active opponents of the patients’ bill of rights (*The National Journal*, June 9, 2001). AAHP has lobbied “intensely to limit members’ ability to sue their HMOs” (*The Washington Post*, July 31, 2001). AAHP was created in 1996 by the merger of the Group Health Association of America (GHAA) and the American Managed Care and Review Association (AMCRA) (www.healthfinder.gov).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, AAHP sponsored three print ads that ran a total of seven times. The ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *CongressDaily AM*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Times*.

One ad with the headline “John Q is not just a movie. It’s a crisis for 40 million people who can’t afford health care,” claimed “rising drug and hospital costs—combined with a runaway litigation system and expensive government regulations—have made health care too expensive for too many Americans.” The ad referred to the film “John Q.,” “The trade association was hammered earlier this year by ‘John Q,’ the Denzel Washington movie about a father who takes matters into his own hands when his employer-sponsored health plan won’t cover his son’s heart transplant” (*The Washington Post*, July 11, 2002). “Instead of attacking the film, the AAHP bought ads deflecting the focus of anger from insurance plans to a runaway litigation system and expensive government regulations” (*The Associated Press*, July 10, 2002).

A second and third ad urged Congress to restore funding to the Medicare+Choice Plan. “AAHP member companies are partners with the government on Medicare+Choice plans that provide seniors with benefits beyond what Medicare alone can offer. In 2000, these plans received a temporary reimbursement increase, which has since expired. Meanwhile, many plans are pulling out of states where the service is unprofitable” (*The National Journal*, October 12, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, AAHP sponsored one print ad that ran a total of seven times and sponsored two television ads that ran a total of 84 times in Washington, DC. The print ad appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill* and *CongressDaily AM*. The ad, without citing specific legislation but likely referring to patients’ rights legislation, argued that an independent physician review “is the best way to resolve health care disputes.” One television ad featured two British lawyers saying that the Kennedy-McCain patients’ bill of rights measure would result in more lawsuits and higher insurance rates. A second television ad featured the owner of a small business concerned that the Kennedy-McCain bill would force her to cut health care benefits. Managed trade groups, including AAHP are opposed to the patients’ bill of rights because of language that allows patients to sue their providers (*The Hill*, June 20, 2001). The Senate approved the McCain-Kennedy-Edwards bill (S. 1052) on June 29, 2001 (*The Washington Post*, July 23, 2001). The GOP-controlled House passed a bill that would have imposed stricter limits on patient lawsuits than the Senate measure, including a cap on pain-and-suffering and punitive damages. The White House conducted negotiations on a compromise. Both sides said the talks collapsed because they could not bridge differences over the extent of rights that patients should be given to sue their health maintenance organizations (*Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 2002).

ORGANIZATION: American Bankers Association (ABA)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington,
DC 20036
TELEPHONE: (800) 226-5911
WEBSITE: www.aba.com
EMAIL: custserv@aba.com

DESCRIPTION:

The American Bankers Association (ABA) is a trade association for banks and trust companies. The majority of member banks have “assets under \$500 million” (*The Almanac of Federal PACs: 2002-2003*). According to its website, ABA lobbies for its members through “federal legislative and regulatory activities, legal action, communication and consumer education, research and products and services that promote, educate, train, inform and support members” (www.aba.com).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found three print advertisements sponsored by ABA in 2002 that ran a total of 17 times in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Times*. All three of the ads were in opposition to an advertising campaign sponsored by the National Association of Realtors (NAR). The NAR was lobbying in favor of the Community Choice in Real Estate Act (S. 1839/H.R. 3424). The act would conclusively bar banks from expanding into the real estate brokerage market. The act would also remove from the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Bank the authority to allow or disallow banks from conducting real estate brokerage, as conferred by the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act in 1999 (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, April 28, 2002). Since banks were already under restriction from entering the real estate brokerage market, defeat of the Community Choice Act would “preserve the status quo” (*The Hill*, May 15, 2002). According to Representative Leach (R, Iowa), opponents of the act (including the ABA) touted that defeat of the act followed by a Treasury Department decision to allow banks into real estate would ultimately encourage competition and give homebuyers greater flexibility (*The Hill*, December 8, 1999). Proponents of the act, including the NAR, argued that if banks were allowed in real estate brokerage “a handful of large banking conglomerates” would eventually dominate the industry (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, April 28, 2002).

One of the ads, featuring an open letter by ABA President Jim Smith, maintained that bankers want to work with real estate professionals and not replace them. Two other ads addressed the NAR’s campaign directly, publishing quotes from real estate professionals in opposition to both the Community Choice Act and the NAR’s stance on the issue. Among those quoted in favor of the ABA were Richard Christopher of The Realty Alliance, which represents independent realtors, and former NAR Director Patrick M. Grabill, who, according to the ad, resigned his position in objection to the NAR’s campaign.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from the American Bankers Association in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: American Gas Association (AGA)
MAILING ADDRESS: 400 N. Capitol Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001
TELEPHONE: (202) 824-7000
WEBSITE: www.aga.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

American Gas Association (AGA) is a Washington-based trade group “that represents 187 local gas-distribution companies” (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 2, 2002). Since 1999, AGA has contributed more than \$500,000 to the Republican Party (*The Columbus Dispatch*, May 8, 2002). According to its website, AGA “is an advocate for local natural gas utility companies” and provides “programs and services for member natural gas pipelines, marketers, gatherers, international gas companies and industry associates” (www.aga.org). “The organization is part of the Alliance for Energy and Economic Growth (AEEG), a group of business and industry associations pushing for Bush’s energy plan” who also advertised in 2001 and 2002 (*The Associated Press*, January 29, 2003). In May 2001, President Bush announced his national energy plan that called “for expanding nuclear power, spending \$2 billion for research on ‘clean coal’ technologies and opening more federal lands to oil and gas exploration, including parts of the Arctic refuge” (*Los Angeles Times*, February 24, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, AGA sponsored four print ads that ran a total of 36 times. Ads appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, *Roll Call*, and *The Hill*. All of the ads advocated for a national energy policy. Two ads stated that the national energy policy should “enhance the vital role of natural gas” and said that “America’s abundant supply of natural gas can help reduce our dependence on foreign oil imports by 4 1/2 million barrels a day.” One ad called natural gas “a fuel for national security, job creation and the needs of a growing economy.” The ad also stated that “85% of America’s natural gas comes from right here in the USA” and that it “could help us reduce or reliance on foreign oil.” A fourth ad called upon Congress to pass a national energy policy “to lessen our dependence on foreign energy sources and ensure our national and economic security.”

Energy legislation was not passed in the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). “Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome” (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress, the House passed its version of energy legislation in April 2003 that included a provision for drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) for oil and gas sources (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003). The House bill also included a provision that “requires a study of oil and natural gas resources beneath ‘all of the waters’ of the nation’s Outer Continental Shelf, including regions where Congress and the administration have banned drilling for more than a decade” (*CongressDaily*, April 9, 2003). As of April 2003, the Senate was “developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor” in May 2003. The Senate’s proposed energy bill does not include a provision to drill in ANWR (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

AGA sponsored six print ads in 2001 that ran a total of 18 times. Ads appeared in *The Hill* and *Roll Call*. Four of the advertisements stressed the need for a “comprehensive national energy policy.” Three of these ads argued in favor of a national energy plan that would “lessen our dependence on foreign energy sources.” These ads also stated that natural gas utilities were providing “cleaner, efficient, and reliable natural gas.” The fourth ad, advocating for a national energy policy, urged Congress to pass an energy bill that would include provisions that would “make our natural gas infrastructure safer, more efficient and more accessible for all Americans.” A fifth and sixth ad promoted North America’s “abundant resources of natural gas” and described it as clean, efficient, and environmentally sound.

ORGANIZATION: American Hospital Association (AHA)
MAILING ADDRESS: One North Franklin, Chicago, IL 60606-3421
TELEPHONE: (312) 422-3300
WEBSITE: www.aha.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The American Hospital Association (AHA) represents approximately 7,000 for-profit and nonprofit hospitals (*The New York Times*, August 3, 2002; *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 5, 1999). AHA represents more than 90% of American hospitals (*The New York Times*, December 26, 1999). Founded as the Association of Hospital Superintendents in 1899, AHA lobbies on Medicare and Medicaid and health legislation, in favor of improved rural health care access, services to indigent patients, and improving infant mortality rates (*The Almanac of Federal PACs: 2002-2003*). According to the AHA website, the goal of the AHA is to “make federal policy-making relevant to the real work of taking care of people and keeping them well” (www.aha.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found four print advertisements in 2002 that ran a total of 34 times in *The Hill*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, *Roll Call*, and *CongressDaily AM*. Two of the ads opposed legislation previously passed that would impose funding cuts on hospitals and supported new legislation that would combat these cuts. The ads referred to “\$21 billion in cuts to Medicare and Medicaid,” mandated by a budget law passed in 1997. Many of these cuts were slated to occur in October 2002 (*The Boston Globe*, November 19, 2002). The ads urged legislators to support the American Hospital Preservation Act (H.R. 1556/S. 839), the Medicaid Safety Net Hospital Continued Preservation Act (H.R. 854/S. 572) and the Area Wage and Standardized Rate bill (H.R. 1609/S. 885). The Preservation Act would adjust hospital rates and cancel cuts in funding to teaching hospitals. The Continued Preservation Act would further prevent slated cuts. The Standardized Rate Act would amend the Social Security Act “to provide for national standardized payment amounts for inpatient hospital services furnished under the Medicare program” (Thomas.loc.gov), which the ads said would “better attract and retain” workers. These bills died in committee and as of April 2003 have yet to be reintroduced in Congress.

A third print ad contained an open letter from AHA president Dick Davidson to members of Congress. The ad called for support of H.R. 4954, also known as the Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit bill, which according to the ad would further adjust health care rates, increase funding of rural and small hospitals, and otherwise improve or increase funding to hospitals and hospital programs. A fourth ad celebrated National Hospital Week, May 12 to 18, 2002.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from AHA in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: American Medical Association (AMA)
MAILING ADDRESS: 515 N. State Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610
TELEPHONE: (312) 464-5000
WEBSITE: www.ama-assn.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The American Medical Association (AMA) “represents the nation’s 278,000 doctors” (*The Boston Globe*, August 27, 2002). According to its website, AMA’s work “includes the development and promotion of standards in medical practice, research, and education” (www.ama-assn.org). The AMA now represents 29 percent of physicians, down from about 75 percent 30 years ago. Over the past five years, the AMA has spent \$83.5 million on lobbying efforts (*The National Journal*, April 27, 2002). AMPAC, the political action committee of the AMA has had a long standing pattern of donating a majority of its political contributions to the GOP (*Roll Call*, July 23, 2001). From January 2000 to June 2002, the AMA spent \$39 million on federal lobbying, according to the group’s federal filings. “Although those expenditures were for a variety of matters, lobbyists for the association say that the Medicare ‘give-back’ issue, as it is called, has been at the very top of their agenda on Capitol Hill since 2000” (*The National Journal*, October 12, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, AMA sponsored five print advertisements that ran a total of eight times. The ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Post*. All five ads addressed cuts to Medicare reimbursements for physicians. The ads argued that the cuts were affecting quality of care for seniors, as “physicians are being forced to turn away elderly patients.” One of these ads stated “if Congress doesn’t act to stop 12% in additional payment cuts slated for begin in 2003, 42% of physicians say they will discontinue their Medicare participation agreements.” Two of these ads expressed support for specific legislation, H.R. 4954, which is a Medicare prescription drug bill that included “a Medicare ‘giveback’ provision of \$30 billion over 10 years for providers hurt by the 1997 cuts.” “Health care providers say they have been suffering financially because of Medicare reimbursement rates that were slashed by the 1997 Balanced Budget Act” (*The National Journal*, October 12, 2002). Legislation to stop the cuts in Medicare reimbursements was not passed in the 107th Congress (*CongressDaily*, January 09, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, the AMA sponsored 10 print advertisements that appeared a total of 36 times in *Roll Call* and *The Hill*. Nine of the ads advocated for a patients’ bill of rights. Three ads, without citing specific legislation, expressed support for patients’ rights legislation. One ad criticized HMOs and insurance companies for opposing patients’ rights legislation. The ad stated: “It’s no longer a question of whether health plans should be held accountable, but how to hold them accountable.” Another ad noted that only in the United States are health plans “not held accountable when action harms others.” A third ad urged lawmakers to sign a strong patients’ rights bill into law. The ad asserted that HMOs “are not credible on liability and tort reform.” The ad cited a Blue Cross/Blue Shield poll stating that “at least 70% of employees want [patients’ bill of rights] law that includes [the] right to sue health plans.” The ad noted that HMOs continue to increase profits and pay executives higher salaries despite complaining about the costs of patients’ rights legislation. A fourth ad included excerpts from President Bush’s speech to Congress (February 27, 2001) which included calls for a patients’ bill of rights, patient choice, increases in funding for medical research, liability coverage, and tax credits to help the uninsured buy their own insurance. The AMA supported these comments and stated: “Now let’s work out the details and get it done.” A fifth ad threatened that if a patients’ bill of rights was not passed, voters would not re-elect legislators who voted against the legislation.

Another ad appeared as a reprint of a column from *The Wall Street Journal* by Albert Hunt. The column argued in favor of patients’ rights legislation proposed by Senators Kennedy, McCain, and Edwards (S. 1052) and acknowledged AMA’s support for the bill. The column criticized a patients’ rights bill authored by Senator Frist and supported by President Bush.

The Senate approved the McCain-Kennedy-Edwards bill (S. 1052) on June 29, 2001. The legislation “establishes new rights for Americans with

health insurance . . . Patients have the right to challenge decisions by their HMO through an independent, external review panel. Injured patients can sue in state court if they are challenging medical decisions by the HMO or in federal court if they are challenging administrative or contractual disputes. Damages in state courts are subject to state law. There are no limits on economic and non-economic (pain and suffering) damages in federal court, plus up to \$5 million in punitive damages” (*The Washington Post*, July 23, 2001).

The AMA sponsored two similar ads urging members of Congress to pass the Ganske-Dingell-Norwood Patients’ Bill of Rights (H.R. 2563). The ads advocated against a patients’ rights bill sponsored by Representative Fletcher. Both ads warned that “next year, voters will remember whether you voted for HMOs - or patients.” H.R. 2563 which passed the House in August 2001, with support from the White House, “included a \$1.5 million limit on damages for pain and suffering and significant restrictions on when patients could collect punitive damages -provisions the Senate opposed” (*The Washington Post*, August 2, 2002). Patients’ rights legislation authored by Fletcher “would ban punitive damages and cap pain-and-suffering awards at \$500,000. It would also prohibit suits in state court except in cases where an HMO refuses to abide by the decision of an independent review panel” (*Roll Call*, July 23, 2001).

A ninth ad promoted improvements in health coverage which included a patients’ bill of rights, tax credits to Americans who purchase their own health coverage, anti-trust reform between physicians and insurers, and the reduction of government-mandated paperwork for physicians. A tenth ad advocated passage of the Medicare Education and Regulatory Fairness Act, also known as MERFA (H.R. 868, S. 452). This legislation “would curb the ability of the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) to demand back-payments from providers it says have overcharged Medicare” (*CongressDaily*, March 8, 2001). The legislation would also require the HCFA, which oversees Medicare and Medicaid, to provide training to health care providers on the correct way to submit patient claims for reimbursement” (*The Telegram and Gazette*, March 8, 2001).

ORGANIZATION: Americans for a Fair Chance (AFC)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 925,
Washington, DC 20036
TELEPHONE: (202) 822-9221
WEBSITE: www.fairchance.org
EMAIL: info@fairchance.org

DESCRIPTION:

Americans for a Fair Chance (AFC) is “a coalition of civil-rights groups that support race-conscious admissions policies” (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 7, 2003). “The members of the coalition include the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund Inc., the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, the National Women’s Law Center and the National Partnership for Women and Families” (*The Washington Post*, December 20, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, AFC sponsored one print advertisement that ran a total of two times in *Roll Call*. The ad, titled “America the beautiful. Let’s keep it that way,” advocated affirmative action for college admissions.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from AFC in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: Americans for Balanced Energy Choices (ABEC)
MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 1638, Alexandria, VA 22313
TELEPHONE: (877) 358-6699
WEBSITE: www.balancedenergy.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Formed in 2000 to develop grass-roots support for coal-based electricity, Americans for Balanced Energy Choices (ABEC) is a coalition of mining companies, coal transporters, and electricity producers. Members include Peabody Holding, Inc., Burlington Northern/Santa Fe, and Southern Company (*The Washington Post*, March 25, 2001). According to the coalition’s website, electricity from coal is “essential, affordable, and increasingly clean.” The U.S. coal-based electricity industry is ABEC’s primary funder (www.balancedenergy.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, ABEC sponsored three television ads that ran a total of 845 times in Washington, D.C. One ad stated that Americans “are learning that advancements in clean coal technologies are effectively making our environment cleaner.” According to a second ad, “electricity from coal is an increasingly clean source of energy.” The ad said that according to the U.S. Department of Energy, “new coal-based power plants built beginning in about 2020 may well use technologies that are so advanced that they’ll be virtually pollution-free.” Another ad, which aired in 2001 as well as 2002, stated that over 50% of the American energy supply comes from coal. The ad advocated coal power as a principal energy supply, noting that \$50 billion was invested in creating technologies that make coal power cleaner and safe for the environment.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found one television advertisement sponsored by ABEC that ran a total of 940 times in Washington, D.C. The ad, which also appeared in 2002, stated that over 50% of the American energy supply comes from coal. The ad advocated coal power as a principal energy supply, noting that \$50 billion was invested in creating technologies that make coal power cleaner and safe for the environment.

ORGANIZATION: Americans for Better Education (ABE)
MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 18635, Washington, DC 20036-8635
TELEPHONE: (877) 729-0126
WEBSITE: www.bettered.org
EMAIL: info@bettered.org

DESCRIPTION:

Americans for Better Education (ABE) is a coalition consisting of educators, reform advocates and corporations that support President Bush’s education reform plan. President Bush’s reform plan would tie federal dollars to new accountability rules, including annual testing of students. If schools fail to improve after three years, federal money would be made available to parents instead of the schools, and parents could use the money to pay for tutoring or to supplement private-school tuition. The plan also would provide new funds for expanding literacy programs in schools and for teacher training (*Technology Daily*, March 27, 2001). Coalition members include AT&T, Hewlett-Packard, Instinet Corp., Microsoft Corp., Pfizer, and UPS, Inc. The group is being managed by the lobbying firm Quinn Gillespie & Associates (*CongressDaily*, April 26, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from ABE in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

ABE ran two print ads in 2001 that ran a total of three times. Ads appeared in *The Hill* and *Roll Call*. Both advertisements supported the No Child Left Behind Act (H.R. 1). One ad referenced the act and urged members of Congress to pass the legislation to “bring greater accountability to local public schools by requiring all fifty states to test annually the academic progress of elementary school children in math and reading.” The other ad referred to the legislation as “the President’s bi-partisan education agenda.” They referenced a survey indicating that a majority of Americans favored the act. H.R. 1 was signed into law in January 2002 (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, September 15, 2002).

ORGANIZATION: Americans for Consumer Education and Competition (ACEC)

MAILING ADDRESS: 1023 31st Street NW, Washington, DC 20007
TELEPHONE: (202) 342-2922
WEBSITE: www.acecusa.org
EMAIL: fdc@acecusa.org

DESCRIPTION:

Americans for Consumer Education and Competition (ACEC) is a group promoting financial literacy (*The Christian Science Monitor*, March 29, 2001) and is backed by credit card company Visa International (*The National Journal*, May 26, 2001). According to its website, ACEC works to “educate local, state and federal officials on the importance of financial literacy, serve as a clearing-house for information and debate on financial issues, [and] monitor, track and provide analysis of financial legislation and litigation that has a direct impact on consumers” (www.acecusa.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from ACEC in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

ACEC sponsored one print ad in 2001 that was placed in *Roll Call*. It advocated passage of H.R. 61, The Youth Financial Education Act. According to the ad, this act would help improve financial literacy for high school students. The ad also cautioned that current percentages of financial literacy among high school students are very low, noting that nearly 500,000 people under age 35 filed bankruptcy in 1999. The Youth Financial Education Act would “amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to authorize the Secretary of Education to allot grants to State educational agencies to provide funds to local educational agencies and public schools for personal financial literacy education programs for students in kindergarten through grade 12, and for professional development programs to prepare teachers and administrators for such financial education” (Thomas.loc.gov).

ORGANIZATION: Anti-Tobacco Coalition

MAILING ADDRESS: N/A

TELEPHONE: N/A

WEBSITE: N/A

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Although not a formal organization, we referred to the sponsors of a series of ads against tobacco use in 2001 and 2002 as the Anti-Tobacco Coalition. The Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids sponsored all the ads with different partners, including: the American Cancer Society, American Heart Association, American Legacy Foundation, and American Lung Association.

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, the Anti-Tobacco Coalition sponsored two print advertisements that ran a total of 22 times. The print ads appeared in *The Hill*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, *Roll Call*, and *CongressDaily AM*. One ad addressed Philip Morris' name change to Altria. The ad argued that "after decades of marketing to kids, deceiving the public and manipulating its products, Philip Morris now wants to hide from its past." A second ad called for "FDA regulation of tobacco because big tobacco just won't quit." The ad claimed "Big Tobacco has increased marketing by 42 percent since they promised to stop targeting kids in the 1998 state tobacco settlement [and] they're spending \$26 million a day to market their deadly products."

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

The Anti-Tobacco Coalition sponsored five print ads in 2001 that ran a total of 55 times. Ads appeared in *The Hill*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, and *Roll Call*, with the largest number placed in *CongressDaily AM*. Four of the ads sponsored by the coalition included statistics on youth smoking, and warned against the influence of political contributions from tobacco companies. One ad sponsored by the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, American Heart Association, and American Lung Association said "Big Tobacco gave \$8.3 million in political contributions this past election" and urged President Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft against discontinuing the federal tobacco lawsuit. Three ads accused tobacco companies of thwarting legislation that would grant the FDA authority over tobacco.

ORGANIZATION: Arctic Power

MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 100220, Anchorage, AK 99501

TELEPHONE: N/A

WEBSITE: www.anwr.org/power.htm

EMAIL: info@anwr.org

DESCRIPTION:

Founded in 1992, Arctic Power is a coalition of Alaskan industry groups that is seeking to open the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to oil and gas development (*Roll Call*, April 8, 2002). Arctic Power is primarily underwritten by the state of Alaska with some funding from the oil industry (*The Washington Post*, March 11, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from Arctic Power in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Arctic Power ran one television advertisement in 2001 that ran a total of 48 times in Washington, D.C., advocating the use of ANWR for energy exploration. The ad declared that during the energy crisis of the 1970s, the United States was less dependent on foreign oil than it is now. The ad also asserted that 75% of Alaskans support using ANWR for energy exploration.

Energy legislation was not passed by the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). "Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome" (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress a version of the bill was reintroduced and passed by the House, which included a provision to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). As of April 2003 the Senate was "developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor" in May 2003. The Senate's proposed energy bill does not include a provision to drill in ANWR (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003).

ORGANIZATION: Association of American Railroads (AAR)
MAILING ADDRESS: 50 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001
TELEPHONE: (202) 639-2100
WEBSITE: www.aar.org
EMAIL: information@aar.org

DESCRIPTION:

The Association of American Railroads (AAR) is an industry trade group representing freight railroads as well as Amtrak (*The Boston Globe*, June 21, 2002). According to its website, AAR focuses on bringing rail-related issues to the attention of Congressional and government leaders (AAR website). “AAR was created in 1934 by the merger of five industry-related groups: the American Railway Association, the Association of Railway Executives, the Bureau of Railroad Economics, the Railway Accounting Officers Association, and the Railway Treasury Officers Association” (*The Almanac of Federal PACS: 2002-2003*).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, the AAR sponsored two television ads that ran a total of 733 times in Washington, DC. The ads were two versions of the same ad, differing only in the panoramic background scenery and the grammar of one sentence of the voiceover. Both ads reminded the viewer that many consumer goods, including cars and orange juice, are shipped by train. The ads promoted trains as a cleaner, more viable solution to product shipment than trucks on the highway, and stated “one train carries the load of up to 500 trucks.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, the AAR sponsored four print ads that ran a total of nine times. The ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *CongressDaily AM*. One ad described how the products that are shipped on freight railroads have lower prices because the shipping rates for the freight rail system are “the world’s lowest.” A second ad highlighted the role that the freight rail system plays in meeting energy demands by hauling “700 million tons of coal a year.”

Two remaining ads related to enhancing retirement benefits for railroad workers and called for support of H.R. 1140 and S. 697. H.R. 1140 permitted workers’ pension fund assets to be invested in private securities instead of lower-yielding government bonds. Other enhanced benefits proposed in the legislation included retirement at age 60 for employees with 30 years experience without reduced benefits, more generous benefits for surviving spouses, and a reduction in vesting requirements from 10 years to five years (*The Associated Press*, December 21, 2001). S. 697 (Hatch-Baucus Retirement Reform Bill) was introduced in the Senate as a companion bill to H.R. 1140.

ORGANIZATION: Better World Campaign (BWC)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Fifth Floor, Washington, DC 20036-1868
TELEPHONE: (202) 462-4900
WEBSITE: www.betterworldfund.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Better World Campaign (BWC), a project of the Better World Fund, seeks to create grass-roots support for the United Nations (UN). “It has lobbied for the United States’ re-entry into the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and sponsored and provided expert speakers for seminars on international topics” (*The Houston Chronicle*, July 9, 2002). The Better World Fund was created by Ted Turner, the founder of CNN, and it is the sister organization to Turner’s UN Foundation. “Both have the same officers, but the Better World Fund has more freedom under its charter as a charity to be an advocate, to lobby the government” (*Denver Post*, December 26, 1999). In 1998, Turner pledged \$1 billion to the United Nations and set up the UN Foundation to distribute the money to UN programs that help women, children, and the environment. “He set up the Better World Fund to handle the more political side of things—such as campaigning for public support for the UN and lobbying Congress to pay

at least some of the back dues this country owes” (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 24, 1999; July 20, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, BWC sponsored 11 print advertisements that ran a total of 86 times, and three television advertisements that ran a total of 171 times in the Washington, D.C. The print ads appeared in *The Washington Post*, *Roll Call*, *The Washington Times*, *CongressDaily AM*, and *The Hill*. All of the television ads and nine of the print ads called for the U.S. to pay its debt to the UN. Two of the television ads highlighted programs that the UN has implemented, stating that “U.S. support for the UN helped make [the programs] possible.” Another television ad featured President Bush asking for UN support. The ad asked “why as President Bush seeks support from the UN has Congress failed to keep America’s promise to pay our overdue UN bills?” Nine of the print ads called for Congress to “honor our commitment to the United Nations.” The ads called for Congress to authorize payment of the U.S. debt to the UN. One of the ads stated “at a time when U.S. leadership in the United Nations is so important to the success of the UN’s efforts around the world, we must keep our promise.” Three of these ads cited work that the UN has done in East Timor, on access to education for girls around the world, and on polio vaccinations. Four of the ads specifically mentioned the 1999 Helms-Biden legislation which authorized the payment of the \$926 million overdue to the UN. The money was set to be “released by Congress in installments, with the condition that United Nations members agree to reduce American contributions to 22 percent of the organization’s budget from 25 percent” (*The New York Times*, December 22, 1999).

Another print ad addressed the “benefits from the support of the UN” that the U.S. receives. The ad stated that the UN is working to “freeze terrorists assets around the world and creating more stable conditions in former terrorist havens like Afghanistan” in an effort to “support the global coalition against terrorism.”

One of the print ads featured a letter to President Bush commending the announcement that the U.S. would rejoin the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The ad said that “it is important that the United States reengage fully in UNESCO” and that the UN looks forward to working to “ensure Congress authorizes and appropriates the funds necessary for the U.S. to rejoin UNESCO.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, BWC sponsored three television advertisements that ran a total of 265 times in Washington, D.C. and seven print ads that ran a total of 54 times. The print ads were placed in *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *CongressDaily AM*. One print ad promoted membership in the UN as a form of fighting terrorism. Two television advertisements voiced similar sentiments and acknowledged the strength of support from other UN nations to the U.S. after the attacks. Another print ad congratulated the 2001 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize: the UN and Secretary-General Kofi Annan. This ad also advocated continued U.S. support of UN peacekeeping missions. Three other print ads advocated payment by the United States of back dues to the UN. The ads argued that unpaid dues had caused embarrassment to the President, and utilized the slogan “Great Nations Keep Their Word.” A fourth print ad on the same topic noted that both Democrat Joseph Biden and Republican Jesse Helms supported paying the UN dues. A third television advertisement urged Congress to pay its debt to the UN, directly referencing the Helms-Biden bill. The Senate voted in February 2001 to release \$582 million of the \$926 million that is owed to the UN (*The Associated Press*, February 7, 2001). After the Senate vote, the BWC sponsored an ad acknowledging Congress for paying a portion of the UN debt and for confirming an ambassador to the UN. These steps, the ad argued, help the United States exercise world leadership.

ORGANIZATION: Black Alliance for Educational Options (BAEO)
MAILING ADDRESS: 501 C Street, NE, Suite 3, Washington, DC 20002
TELEPHONE: (202) 544-9870
WEBSITE: www.baeo.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Black Alliance for Educational Options (BAEO) is a leading pro-voucher group (*The New York Times*, July 14, 2002). Founded in 2000 by school choice advocate Howard Fuller of Marquette University, BAEO promotes vouchers “with grass-roots lobbying and advertising campaigns” (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, May 3, 2001; *The Plain Dealer*, May 4, 2001). BAEO accepts “generous funding from a number of largely white, conservative foundations. BAEO’s support of school choice initiatives runs contrary to that of other national black advocacy groups, including NAACP and Urban League who are opposed to school vouchers” (*The Christian Science Monitor*, July 10, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from BAEO in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, BAEO sponsored 14 television ads that ran a total of 2,173 times in Washington, D.C. BAEO additionally sponsored nine print ads that all appeared in *The Washington Post*. The majority of the television ads featured a black parent or caregiver for whom school vouchers had made a difference in the quality of their children’s education. One of the ads featured Milwaukee school board official Ken Johnson and Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist advocating school vouchers. The nine print advertisements argued that school choice is regularly practiced by wealthy and middle-class families but poorer families are left out.

ORGANIZATION: The Boeing Company (Boeing)
MAILING ADDRESS: 100 North Riverside Plaza, Chicago, IL 60606
TELEPHONE: (312) 544-2000
WEBSITE: www.boeing.com
EMAIL: wwwmail.boeing2@boeing.com

DESCRIPTION:

“Boeing is the world’s largest developer and manufacturer of jet aircraft for the military and commercial use. Boeing is the country’s only manufacturer of commercial aircraft” (*The Almanac of Federal PACS: 2002-2003*). In 2001, “the Pentagon picked Lockheed Martin over Boeing Co. to build the [Joint Strike Fighter] in the largest defense contract ever, estimated at more than \$200 billion over four decades” (*The Houston Chronicle*, December 28, 2002). In 2002, Boeing was awarded \$16.6 billion worth of Department of Defense contracts, second only to Lockheed Martin, which was awarded \$17 billion (Top DoD Contractors for Fiscal Year 2002 retrieved from dod.gov/pubs). Boeing has “34 in-house lobbyists, and 29 lobbying firms on retainer” (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Boeing sponsored 13 print advertisements that ran a total of 40 times.ⁱⁱ Boeing also cosponsored a number of ads that are not included in this total. The print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Post*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Times*. Two ads focused on the Boeing Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) III. The ads stated that the satellites are “designed to be more capable and less expensive to own and operate.” “The Air Force, citing budgetary constraints, is halting work on its Global Positioning System III (GPS III) program and delaying the competition for a prime contractor until at least 2006” (*Defense Daily*, January 21, 2003). One ad highlighted the accomplishments of the C-17 Globemaster III, stating that “it’s miles ahead of anything else.” The C-17 Globemaster III is “a five-story-high cargo plane” (*The New York Times*, October 20, 2001). Boeing was awarded a contract worth \$3.3 billion for 15 of its C-17s in October 2002 (*The Associated Press*, October 11, 2002).

A group of five ads dealt with spacecraft and launch vehicles including the Delta IV launch vehicle, the RS-83 and RS-84 engines, and the space shuttle. The ads highlighted Boeing’s partnership with NASA to “continue to expand the boundaries of space.” The Delta IV “is a vital part of the Air Force’s push for more reliable and economic rockets” and was successfully launched in November 2002 (*The Associated Press*, November 20, 2002). Boeing’s RS-83 hydrogen-fueled reusable engine program is ending as it is expected that NASA will not be renewing the RS-83 contract. Boeing is therefore preparing to shift its focus entirely to the kerosene-fueled RS-84. Boeing began work in 2002 on RS-84 “kicking off the first phase of work with a \$34 million award from NASA” (*Aerospace Daily*, December 9, 2002).

Four ads focused on defense and warfare aircraft. Three of these ads referred to the “integrated missile defense program” calling it “the one rational answer to the threat posed by those who would use weapons of mass destruction, regardless of the cost.” In 1998, Boeing was picked to oversee the missile defense program that included a missile tracking and destroying vehicle (exoatmospheric kill vehicle), booster rocket, tracking radars, and battle management systems (*The Washington Post*, January 30, 2003). The Bush administration’s 2003-2007 budget for missile defense is \$46.3 billion (*The National Journal*, May 11, 2002). The fourth defense ad focused on the successful flight of the Unmanned Combat Air Vehicle (UCAV), stating that this accomplishment “mean[s] aircrews will no longer have to be put at risk to complete the most dangerous of missions, and a more secure future for our country and the brave men and women who serve.” Boeing’s UCAV, the X45A, is “designed to fly (with missiles) on extremely hazardous missions deep in enemy territory, to knock out air-defense installations such as radar sites and surface-to-air missiles” and was successfully flown in May 2002 (*The Economist*, July 20, 2002). Boeing was “awarded a \$460-million defense contract to speed development of the Air Force’s X-45B unmanned bomber,” which is an upgraded version of the X-45A (*Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 2002).

ii After we completed our 2001-2002 report we noticed that CMAG had not tracked TV spending for defense contractors that they did not realize were involved in issues of public policy debate. As a result our estimates for this type of spending are possibly low.

Another ad, which also ran in 2001 and was co-sponsored by Boeing and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers,ⁱⁱⁱ stated “Together we support U.S. jobs. Vote for the Ex-Im Bank Bill.” The Export-Import Bank bill re-authorizes the operations of the Export-Import bank, which is a “government-operated bank [that] provides loans, loan guarantees and insurance to American companies to help finance their sales overseas and compete against often heavily subsidized foreign competitors.” The bill was signed into law in June 2002 and requires the bank “to focus more on small businesses and American industries facing unfair foreign competition” (*The Associated Press*, June 14, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Boeing sponsored three print ads in 2001 that ran a total of four times.^{iv} The ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times*. One ad titled “Forever Young” called attention to the successful track record of the NASA Space Shuttle. Two ads promoted Boeing as “the ideal partner for the Joint Strike Fighter.” Boeing was competing with Lockheed Martin Corp. for “the \$200 billion effort to design and build nearly 3,000 Joint Strike Fighter warplanes for the U.S. Air Force, Navy and Marines and the British Royal Navy” (*The Washington Post*, October 27, 2001). The Pentagon chose Lockheed Martin, awarding them the largest contract in Defense Department history (*The Associated Press*, October 26, 2001). A third ad (which also ran in 2002) advocated for the Export-Import Bank bill, which was signed into law in June 2002 (*The Associated Press*, June 14, 2002).

ORGANIZATION: BP p.l.c. (BP)

MAILING ADDRESS: 535 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022

TELEPHONE: (212) 421-5010

WEBSITE: www.bp.com

EMAIL: bponthestreet@bp.com

DESCRIPTION:

Based in London, BP p.l.c. (BP) is the world’s second-largest oil company with operations in more than 100 countries. BP merged with Amoco in 1998 (www.bp.com). In 2000, BP began an extensive two year “corporate rebranding exercise, shortening its name from British Petroleum to BP, coining the slogan ‘Beyond Petroleum’ and redesigning its corporate insignia” at a cost of \$200 million (*The New York Times*, December 8, 2002). According to its website “BP’s pledge, made four years ago, to cut emissions from its own operations by ten percent from 1990 levels by 2010 had already been achieved” (www.bp.com). BP also owns one of the larger solar-energy businesses (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 26, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, BP sponsored 12 print advertisements that ran a total of 56 times. Ads appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Post*, and *Roll Call*. Each of the ads addressed an environmental and/or energy concern in several areas, including the introduction of low-sulfur fuels, alternative fuels such as solar and wind, replacing consumption of oil and coal with natural gas, reducing greenhouse gases, and American dependence on foreign oil. Five of the ads highlighted BP’s voluntary introduction of “cleaner low-sulfur fuels” six years before EPA regulations required it. BP’s premium gasoline has 10 times less sulfur than the national average for comparable gasoline (*Rocky Mountain News* [Denver], November 4, 2002). Another ad focused on the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by BP. Though not mentioned in the ad, the introduction of low-sulfur fuels was part of this initiative. The reduction in emissions is “in advance of what [BP is] certain will eventually be mandatory targets” (*The New York Times*, January 15, 2003). BP’s investments in alternative fuels, spotlighted in two other ads, were also in part to reduce emissions. Alternative fuel projects by BP include solar energy, wind power, and hydrogen power (*The New York Times*, February 9, 2003). One of the two ads stated that BP wanted to “make solar a \$1 billion business by 2007.” Another ad discussed greater reliance on natural gas as a way to reduce carbon dioxide emissions from coal and oil. Although legislation was not mentioned in the ad, BP was one of several oil companies in favor of Congressional approval of a natural gas pipeline to be built in Alaska (*The Houston Chronicle*, April 12, 2003). Two of the ads discussed American dependence on foreign oil, and declared “nearly 70% of the oil we use to make fuels in the U.S. comes from North America.” The ads also stated that BP invested \$15 billion in energy speculation in the Gulf of Mexico. Left out of the ads was any mention of drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). BP has previously lobbied in favor of speculation in ANWR. The company softened its rhetoric on the issue in 2002, but suffered a backlash when environmental groups accused BP of deliberately concealing its position in light of its new public image (*The New York Times*, December 8, 2002). BP opened an offshore development for oil in Alaska in 2001 in order to tap into Alaska’s supply without entering ANWR. BP has received its share of complaints over the project. In one case this resulted in a settlement with members of an Eskimo village, who claimed the offshore drilling drove their primary source of sustenance, the whale population, away from their waters (*The Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 2001).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

BP sponsored three television ads in 2001 that ran a total of 45 times in Washington, D.C. The ads were similar to the 2002 print advertising campaign as each featured one or two people casually discussing energy related issues, such as alternative fuels and clean air. One ad asked the question, “What do you think an oil company should be doing?” A second asked, “If you could say something right now to . . . a big oil company, what would you say?” A third asked, “Would you rather have your car or a cleaner environment?” The ads suggested that bettering the environment and reducing dependence on foreign oil are important issues to BP.

iii When ads were sponsored by two organizations, we attributed the spending to the organization that had the larger logo. If the logos of both sponsors were equal in size the spending was attributed to the first sponsor listed.

iv In 2001, Boeing sponsored many ads in coalition with other organizations. We recorded six different coalitions in which Boeing was a part. If Boeing had solely paid for all of these ads, it would have been a top 20 spender in 2001.

ORGANIZATION: The Business Roundtable (BRT)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1615 L Street NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20036
TELEPHONE: (202) 872-1260
WEBSITE: www.brt.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Business Roundtable (BRT) is “a group of chief executives of the nation’s largest public companies” (*The New York Times*, July 8, 2002). According to its website, the organization advocates for pro-business public policies that foster economic growth, and membership is by invitation. BRT is funded “through a schedule of dues based on member companies’ sales and stock-holders’ equity” (www.brt.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, BRT sponsored seven print ads that ran a total of 13 times. Ads were placed in *Roll Call* and *The Washington Post*. Three ads supported an accounting reform and corporate governance bill. Two of these ads expressed “anger at the corporate misdoing in a number of major public firms” and supported the “proposals for reform put forward by The President, Members of Congress and the leading stock exchanges.” One ad praised President Bush and Congress for “swiftly adopting measures” to improve corporate governance. The ad ran a day after President Bush signed into law accounting reform and corporate responsibility legislation (Sarbanes-Oxley Act). “The bill is designed to make it harder for company executives to deceive investors and to increase penalties against them if they do. It creates a new oversight board for the accounting industry and requires maximum jail time of up to 20 years for executives who commit fraud . . . It also requires new ‘real-time’ disclosures of company financial information over the internet” (*CongressDaily*, July 30, 2002).

Four ads advocated passage of trade promotion authority (TPA). Two of these ads specifically called on the Senate to pass TPA and stated that “trade supports good jobs and higher standards of living.”

In August 2002, President Bush signed into law legislation renewing TPA (*CongressDaily*, August 6, 2002). “The legislation - originally called ‘fast track’ authority because it allows the president to submit trade deals to Congress under rules that prohibit amendments - expired in 1994” (*CongressDaily*, August 6, 2002). The legislation, a compromise between prior House (H.R. 3005) and Senate bills (S. 3009), included a “substantial enlargement of trade adjustment assistance, a program started in 1962 that gives training and extended unemployment insurance benefits to workers who can show they lost their jobs because of imports” (*The Washington Post*, August 3, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found 11 print advertisements sponsored by BRT that ran a total of 41 times. Ads appeared in *CongressDaily AM* and *Roll Call*. All of the ads either advocated for education reform or for renewal of TPA.

A group of ads advocated for standards in public education, investment in teaching, annual state testing, accountability, and help for low performing schools. One ad specifically attributed the proposals to President Bush and leaders in the House and Senate. The ads cited the children of today as tomorrow’s leaders, workers, and shareholders. President Bush’s education reform plan, the No Child Left Behind Act (H.R. 1) was signed into law in January 2002 (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, September 15, 2002).

Another series of ads advocated for the renewal of TPA, arguing that without it the American economy would lose billions of dollars. Some of the ads expressed support for specific TPA legislation (The Bipartisan Trade Promotion Authority Act of 2001 [H.R. 3005]). One ad noted that American businesses operating in Latin America were improving the lives of locals by exporting American values, while another ad named several political figures including Secretary of State Colin Powell and former Secretary of Commerce Bill Daley as supporters of the legislation.

ORGANIZATION: Center for Reclaiming America
MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 632, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33302
TELEPHONE: N/A
WEBSITE: www.reclaimamerica.org
EMAIL: cfra@crministries.org

DESCRIPTION:

The Center for Reclaiming America is a “conservative activist group” (*The Associated Press*, January 12, 2002) that is “affiliated with Coral Ridge Ministries, a group in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., led by the Rev. D. James Kennedy, a pastor with the socially conservative Presbyterian Church of America” (*The New York Times*, September 4, 2001). The Center’s national director, Janet L. Folger, also organized Shake the Nation, a campaign to encourage Senators to confirm nominees for the U.S. Supreme Court that oppose abortion rights (*The New York Times*, September 4, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from The Center for Reclaiming America in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

The Center for Reclaiming America sponsored one print ad in 2001 that appeared in *The Washington Times*. The ad, titled “A Citizen Protest to the 107th Congress,” addressed the issue of campaign finance reform by claiming that “Congress actually plans to restrict our First Amendment freedom of speech by prohibiting citizens or interested groups from ‘airing their views during the critical last months of elections.’” The group asserted that the campaign finance reform legislation was the “right issue, wrong approach.”

ORGANIZATION: Citizens for Better Medicare (CBM)
MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 34337, Washington, DC 20043
TELEPHONE: (202) 872-8627
WEBSITE: N/A
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Citizens for Better Medicare (CBM) is a coalition created by the pharmaceutical industry to block the Clinton administration’s proposals for a drug benefit for seniors, which the industry attacked as a bureaucratic program that would lead to price controls (*The National Journal*, July 21, 2001). CBM formed as a lobbying arm of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers Association (PhRMA) under the direction of PhRMA’s former marketing director, Tim Ryan (*The Washington Post*, October 15, 2002). Members include Merck, Bayer, and Bristol-Myers Squibb (*Newsday*, August 4, 2002). CBM appears to have been supplanted by the United Seniors Coalition as the pharmaceutical industry’s chief campaign organization (*The Washington Post*, October 23, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from CBM in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, CBM sponsored one television ad that ran once in Washington, D.C. The ad, addressing the growing trend of U.S. seniors buying prescription drugs in Canada, argued that the Canadian government-controlled health system has lowered drug costs at the expense of research and development funding for “new cures.” The ad claimed that “[Canadians] wait longer for new cures” and “families are too often switched to cheaper, less effective medicines.” The ad urged viewers to “say no thanks” to politicians who want “to import Canada’s government controls to America.”

ORGANIZATION: Coalition for Affordable and Reliable Energy (CARE)
MAILING ADDRESS: 50 F Street NW, Suite 5300, Washington, DC 20001
TELEPHONE: (202) 639-2802
WEBSITE: www.CAREenergy.com
EMAIL: contact@careenergy.com

DESCRIPTION:

The Coalition for Affordable and Reliable Energy (CARE) is a group of approximately 50 members, ranging from electric utility and transportation groups to agricultural interests and labor unions that formed in 2000 to advocate coal as an energy source (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, April 14, 2001). CARE targets legislators in Washington, D.C. with a “pro-coal” message (*Time*, May 7, 2001). In addition to endorsing coal as an energy source, CARE promotes coal as a clean-burning fuel when modern technologies are used to process coal for energy. “The coalition wants more federal research to develop technologies that would allow factories, power plants, and others to burn coal with fewer smog-causing emissions” (*Calgary Herald*, May 11, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found seven print advertisements sponsored by CARE that ran a total of 43 times in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Times*. The ads focused on energy legislation introduced in the House and Senate. Four of the ads were part of a series, each of which highlighted coal as a clean and efficient source of electricity. Two of these ads advocated for coal as an affordable power source. One of the ads was in opposition to the Clean Power Act (S. 556). The Clean Power Act would impose limits on power plants’ emissions of mercury and greenhouse gases, sulfur dioxide, and nitrogen oxides (*The Boston Globe*, July 14, 2002). CARE opposed the act because, according to the ad, it would force plant owners to “drive up electricity prices and threaten the reliability of our electric system.” The act has been reintroduced in the 108th Congress, specifically as the Clean Coal Power Act of 2003 in the House (H.R. 1213) (Thomas.loc.gov). Two ads supported the passage of a comprehensive national energy plan. Though not specifically mentioned in the ads, CARE supported the Securing America’s Future Energy Act of 2001 (H.R. 4). The bill included over \$2 billion for research into technology to reduce pollution from plants producing energy from coal, \$3.5 billion in tax credits to coal producers, and over \$500 million on coal plant subsidies (Thomas.loc.gov). Energy legislation was not passed by the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). “Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome” (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress a version of the bill was reintroduced and passed by the House. As of April 2003 the Senate was “developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor” in May 2003 (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, CARE sponsored five print ads that ran a total of 38 times. Ads were placed in *Roll Call* and *The Hill*. In 2001, the Bush administration introduced an energy plan that pressed for increased use of coal power. The ads sponsored by CARE in 2001 were released in support of this plan (*The Washington Post*, March 25, 2001). All five ads promoted electricity from coal as reliable, affordable, and increasingly clean. Two ads promoted the benefits of the Clean Coal Technology Program, a “partnership between industry and the U.S. Department of Energy.” According to one ad, the program “has produced over 20 new, successful technologies for generating cleaner electricity from coal.” One ad, citing the California energy crisis, advocated for new electric generation, particularly from coal plants. A fourth ad promoting coal as an energy source reminded readers that electricity from coal powers the Capitol. A fifth ad that ran after September 11, emphasized coal as a reliable energy source, “With America’s abundant coal reserves, we have an energy source we can count on for hundreds of years.”

ORGANIZATION: Coalition for Affordable Quality Healthcare/Council for Affordable Quality Healthcare (CAQH)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1129 20th Street NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20036
TELEPHONE: (202) 861-1492
WEBSITE: www.caqh.org
EMAIL: info@CAQH.org

DESCRIPTION:

The Coalition for Affordable and Quality Healthcare, also known as the Council for Affordable Quality Healthcare (CAQH), is “a coalition of 26 of America’s largest national health plans” (*Sacramento Business Journal*, April 12, 2002). CAQH’s initiatives include: “improving public access to a range of healthcare and services; reducing paperwork and improving access to information; and helping physicians improve care by partnering with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in a public-awareness campaign regarding the misuse of antibiotics” (*Sacramento Business Journal*, April 12, 2002). According to its website, the Coalition is comprised of a number of insurance companies and HMOs, including Aetna, Blue Cross/Blue Shield Association, Mutual of Omaha, and American Association of Health Plans (www.caqh.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, CAQH sponsored two similar print ads that ran a total of four times. The ads appeared in *The Washington Post*. Both ads promoted CAQH’s efforts in “developing and implementing innovative solutions to reduce administrative hassles and improve quality for more than 600,000 physicians and their patients.” The ads stated that CAQH has created a single-application credentialing system for physicians, started a national Save the Antibiotic Strength campaign “to educate consumers about the appropriate use of antibiotics,” and developed the Formulary DataSource which is “the first comprehensive online database offering formulary drug data.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

CAQH sponsored one ad that ran a total of two times in 2001. The ad appeared in *The Hill* and *The Washington Post*. The ad stated that the CAQH “joined together in a cooperative effort to improve health care coverage, service and quality for more than 100 million Americans.” The ad said that CAQH was “simplifying processes that will cut paperwork for physicians,” and “improv[ing] quality care by partnering with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention on a coordinated national effort to tackle the growing threat of antibiotic resistance.” The ad also stated that CAQH completed their pledge to “improve access to a range of care and services for all managed health insurance products.”

ORGANIZATION: Coalition to Protect America's Health Care

MAILING ADDRESS: N/A

TELEPHONE: (877) 422-2349

WEBSITE: www.protecthealthcare.org

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

According to its website, the Coalition to Protect America's Health Care is an "organization of hospitals; national, state and metro hospital associations; and businesses that are funding a two-year ad campaign to raise hospital and health care issues to a high level of visibility in our communities" (www.protecthealthcare.org). The Coalition's ads "are part of an extensive legislative and public relations effort under the banner of the American Hospital Association" (*The Dallas Morning News*, January 13, 2001). The Coalition consists of 132 founding members who contributed \$50,000 each to the Washington-based group. The majority of coalition members operate hospitals. Members include American Hospital Association, the Federation of American Hospitals, Tenet Healthcare, Baylor Health Care System, Greater New York Hospital Association, Johnson & Johnson, and Abbott Laboratories (*Modern Healthcare*, November 19, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, the Coalition to Protect America's Health Care sponsored one television ad that ran a total of 186 times in Washington, D.C. and one print ad that ran a total of 32 times. The print ad appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, and *Roll Call*. The television ad stated that "hospitals face a critical shortage of workers" and that "one-third of hospitals are losing money." The ad called on viewers to "urge your senators to help our hospitals now because in a heartbeat that could make all the difference." The print ad stated that "hospitals are under intense pressure to make ends meet. Many hospitals are eliminating vital services." The ad stated that "because Congress has failed to act, billions of dollars in new cuts took effect." Although the ad did not mention specific legislation, it most likely referred to H.R. 4954, the Medicare Modernization and Prescription Drug Act of 2002, which "included \$30 billion for Medicare providers." The House passed H.R. 4954 but it was not passed by the Senate. Lawmakers were trying to increase funding for Medicare providers due to "Congress' decision in 1997 to cut billions of dollars from Medicare when it balanced the budget. Lawmakers have restored some of the money - including \$32.7 billion two years ago. Health providers have complained they are still feeling the pinch as their costs escalate" (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, the Coalition to Protect America's Health Care sponsored three print ads that ran a total of 16 times and two television ads that ran a total of 253 times in Washington, D.C. Print ads were placed in *CongressDaily AM*, *The Hill*, *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times*. The television ads promoted awareness of staffing shortages in hospitals. The ads were designed to "pressure Congress to pass legislation to attract and educate more health care workers" (*The Dallas Morning News*, September 2, 2001). The ads featured actual nurses and medical staff who were "anchoring the front line of America's health care." One of the television ads reminded viewers of the role American hospitals play. "Each day we care for nearly 2 million patients." Like the television ads, the Coalition ran two print ads stressing the importance of American hospitals and the need for health care workers. One of these ads, which ran after September 11, featured the tagline "Our Mission: Your Health and Safety." The ad stressed the role of hospitals in emergency response as well as hospitals' day-to-day missions. A third ad that appeared in January 2001 thanked Congress for passing legislation "to restore funding to our hospitals." In December 2000, Congress included in the FY2001 budget a provision for approximately \$4 billion in relief to hospitals over the next five years" (*CongressDaily*, December 15, 2000; *The Dallas Morning News*, January 13, 2001).

ORGANIZATION: The Committee for Good Common Sense

MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 3539, Washington, DC 20007

TELEPHONE: (202) 337-4990

WEBSITE: www.goodcommonsense.org

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Committee for Good Common Sense is "a Washington-based free-market group started by Warren Stephens, a Little Rock, (Arkansas), investment banker, in 1998" whose focus has been to support "carving private investment accounts out of Social Security" (*The National Journal*, July 14, 2001). The organization "is mainly a group of a dozen executives and lawyers, mostly Republicans, and many with ties to the insurance or investment business-two industries that would benefit from privatization of Social Security" (*The National Journal*, June 12, 1999).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from the Committee for Good Common Sense in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, the Committee for Good Common Sense sponsored one print advertisement that ran a total of five times. The ad appeared in *The Washington Post* and *Roll Call*. The ad introduced the For Our Grandchildren initiative, the purpose of which was to lobby Congress to allow citizens to invest a portion of their Social Security earnings into Personal Retirement Accounts (PRA). The ad argued that if PRAs are not allowed, Social Security will run out of money and possibly be forced to cancel benefits by the year 2037.

ORGANIZATION: Common Good

MAILING ADDRESS: 1317 F Street, Suite 900, Washington, DC 20004

TELEPHONE: N/A

WEBSITE: www.ourcommongood.com

EMAIL: hq@ourcommongood.com

DESCRIPTION:

Common Good is "a group that is seeking legal reforms in the area of medical malpractice" (*The New York Times*, March 9, 2003). According to its website, Common Good advocates legal reform and is "calling upon judges and legislatures to take back the responsibility, abandoned in the 1960's, to draw the line on who can sue for what" (www.ourcommongood.com). Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, is on the board of Common Good (*USA Today*, August 13, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Common Good sponsored one print advertisement in 2002 that was placed in *The Washington Post*. The space for the ad was donated by ExxonMobil. The ad argued that that "legal fear has become a defining characteristic of American culture," and that "common sense is an early casualty, but not the only one." The ad also suggested that doctors order unnecessary tests "because they fear being sued" and that the amount spent on this "defensive medicine" would be enough to provide health care to the 41 million uninsured Americans. The ad called for "an overhaul of America's modern litigation philosophy."

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from Common Good in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: Connect USA
MAILING ADDRESS: N/A
TELEPHONE: N/A
WEBSITE: www.connectusa.org
EMAIL: www.webmaster@connectusa.org

DESCRIPTION:

Connect USA is a lobbying group founded in January 2001 by SBC Communications and the regional Bell telephone companies (*CongressDaily*, December 17, 2001; *Technology Daily*, May 17, 2001). The group is “primarily financed by SBC Communications Inc.-one of the four Baby Bell companies” (*The National Journal*, June 16, 2001). The group’s primary activity involves advocating for the Tauzin-Dingell bill (H.R. 1542).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Connect USA sponsored two print ads that ran a total of three times and two television ads that ran a total of 112 times in Washington, D.C. Print ads appeared in *The Hill* and *Roll Call*.

One print ad-an updated version of a 2001 print ad-claimed that 315,000 telecom workers were laid off in 2001 and that the Tauzin-Dingell bill would boost the U.S. economy. Tauzin-Dingell “revises the 1996 Telecommunications Act to allow the Baby Bells - Verizon, BellSouth, SBC and Qwest - to offer broadband Internet access over their existing long-distance lines without requiring them to open their local lines to outside competition. At the heart of the 1996 Act was a requirement that regional Bell operating companies provide elements of their network, and particularly combinations of elements, to other telecommunications companies” (*CongressDaily*, September 17, 2002). In February 2002, Tauzin-Dingell passed in the House (*The Boston Globe*, February 28, 2002). The bill was stopped in the Senate by Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D-SC), whose “gatekeeper role as chairman of the Commerce Committee helped to stifle” the legislation that “had been opposed by AT&T and other communications carriers who count Senator Hollings among their allies” (*The New York Times*, November 11, 2002).

Two print ads called for support of Breaux-Nickles (S. 2430). Breaux-Nickles, known as the Broadband Regulatory Parity Act of 2002 (Thomas.loc.gov), would have “require[d] the FCC to create regulatory parity among all providers of broadband services” (*Technology Daily*, May 14, 2002). The legislation was intended to encourage the Baby Bells to build broadband networks by removing certain FCC regulations. “The Breaux-Nickles measure reflects the controversial Tauzin- Dingell broadband bill, which passed the House by a wide margin earlier in 2002” (*CongressDaily*, May 3, 2002).

Of the two television ads, one ad was the same as a 2001 ad that called for the passing of Tauzin-Dingell, claiming that the bill would help the economy. A second TV ad urged viewers to tell their senator to “Say No to AT&T and WorldCom,” two companies who do not support Tauzin-Dingell legislation. In addition to their advertising as part of Connect USA, SBC Communications ran a number of legislative issue ads in 2002.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, Connect USA sponsored seven television ads and six print ads. The print ads ran a total of 66 times and appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *CongressDaily AM*. The television ads ran a total of 1,124 times in Washington, D.C. All of the ads advocated for change to the current regulation of the high-speed Internet industry. The ads advocated for “promot[ing] competition” and decreasing high-speed connection control by such companies as AT&T. Most of the ads were a call to action and provided phone numbers for specific Congress members. Six of the ads specifically supported the Tauzin-Dingell bill; one print ad said the bill would provide high-speed Internet access to small towns and inner cities, while another stated that the bill would create increased broadband connections, competition, and opportunities, and, ultimately, boost the economy. (For a more detailed description of Tauzin-Dingell, see the 2002 advertising activity.)

ORGANIZATION: Covering the Uninsured
MAILING ADDRESS: 1010 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20007
TELEPHONE: (202) 572-2928
WEBSITE: www.coveringtheuninsured.org
EMAIL: info@coveringtheuninsured.org

DESCRIPTION:

In 2000, a group of 12 business, labor, medical, and consumer associations and a foundation formed a joint lobbying effort to advocate for health care coverage for uninsured Americans. The group first came together when the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation convened meetings with Families USA and Health Insurance Association of America. Other organizations were added to the meetings to “ensure that the group would have ideological and political balance” (*The National Journal*, March 24, 2001). Despite the coalition’s effort to address the need for health care coverage for the uninsured, each organization has offered its own solution to the problem (*Praxis Post*, July 17, 2001). The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation funded the coalition’s activities, including a “\$750,000 public relations campaign that placed several ads in Washington-based publications” (*The National Journal*, March 24, 2001). In 2001, we referred to this group as The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Coalition on Health; since that time, the group has adopted the name Covering the Uninsured.

In February 2002, the coalition launched an advertising campaign under its new name, Covering the Uninsured. The group planned to spend at least \$10 million in print and television ads in 2002 (*The Plain Dealer*, February 13, 2002). As of April 2003, members include: the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), The Business Roundtable, Service Employees International Union, Healthcare Leadership Council, AFSCME, American Medical Association, American Nurses Association, Health Insurance Association of America, Families USA, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, American Hospital Association, Federation of American Hospitals, Catholic Health Association of the United States, AARP, United Way of America, The California Endowment, W.K. Kellogg Foundation, and The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (www.coveringtheuninsured.org). The Federation of American Hospitals co-sponsored only one of the three ads placed by the group in 2001.

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Covering the Uninsured sponsored two print advertisements that ran a total of 80 times in 2002, as well as two television advertisements that aired a total of 265 times in Washington, D.C. The print advertisements appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times*.

A similar graphical layout was used for both print ads, wherein the gray and white image of a young girl or of a woman’s face was lit such that the left side of the ad was light and the right was dark. On the light side, a short scenario was presented about someone who was medically insured and survived an ailment; on the left, the scenario implied that without insurance, that person might not have survived. In the ad with the young girl, her mother may or may not die of cancer. Diabetes is the culprit in the ad featuring the adult woman. Color was used for effect in the ads: the word “or” placed between the two scenarios and the word “uninsured” in the sentence “When you’re uninsured, life turns out differently” were both bright red. The ads also stated “39 million Americans have no health insurance.” The ad with the young girl warned “women with breast cancer are 49% more likely to die” if uninsured, and the ad with the woman added that eight out of 10 uninsured people “are in working families.”

One of the two television advertisements was similar to the print ad featuring the young girl. While the young girl walked around a neighborhood, the same scenarios from the print ad were repeated in the voiceover. The second ad introduced a third set of scenarios, this time involving a middle-aged man who suffered a heart attack. Following in the same pattern as the previous ads, the man would either be okay, or his medical bills would force him to declare bankruptcy. At the end of both ads, the voiceover encouraged viewers to log on to www.coveringtheuninsured.org and asserted, “Let’s get America covered.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

The coalition sponsored three print ads in 2001 that ran a total of 48 times. Ads appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times*. One ad featured photographs of working men and women with the message: "Typical Americans. They work hard. Pay their taxes. And they're uninsured." The coalition ran a companion ad featuring a father holding his daughter with the message: "Typical Dad. He works hard. Pays taxes. And his family's uninsured." Both ads made the coalition's agenda clear: "We don't see eye-to-eye on many issues, but we all agree that increasing access to affordable, quality health coverage must be a national priority. Let's all work together to make it happen." A third ad showed a mother holding her daughter beside an American flag. All three ads stated, "Eight of 10 uninsured Americans are in working families."

ORGANIZATION: Educational Testing Service (ETS)

MAILING ADDRESS: Rosedale Road, Princeton, NJ 08541

TELEPHONE: (609) 921-9000

WEBSITE: www.ets.org

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Educational Testing Service (ETS) is a non-profit company that administers standardized tests in schools across the United States and in more than 181 countries (*The Record* [Bergen County, NJ], February 22, 2001). ETS administers a host of graduate school admissions exams and placement tests, such as the SAT and Advanced Placement Tests and the GRE (*The Associated Press*, May 26, 2001; *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found seven print ads sponsored by ETS in 2002, which ran a total of 21 times in *The Washington Post*, *The Hill*, and *Roll Call*. Each ad appeared as an issue column written by Kurt Landgraf, ETS president and CEO. One of the ads praised the No Child Left Behind Act (H.R. 1) for increasing the importance of standardized testing in schools, but cautioned that proper creation of tests would require resources and funding. A second ad promoted measures of accountability in meeting the goals of H.R. 1, namely, "responsiveness," "responsibility," and "readiness." A third ad addressed what it referred to as common myths about standardized testing. Another ad addressed increased support for children with disabilities, and promoted the measure in H.R. 1 requiring that disabled students also take standardized tests. ETS used one ad to deplore the state of literacy in the U.S., and advocated that more should be done to increase the literacy of "unemployed or low-income working adult[s]." A sixth ad advocated in favor of increased teachers' pay and training in order to boost teacher retention at schools nationwide. A seventh ad praised President Bush for advocating "diplomatic educational assistance." The ad promoted funding for international education programs, the retention of international students in American schools, and better education of American students in international affairs, culture, and understanding. The No Child Left Behind Act (H.R. 1) was signed into law in January 2002 (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, September 15, 2002). The act authorized up to \$26.5 billion in spending for education. The bill requires annual state tests in reading and mathematics for every child in grades 3 through 8, beginning in the fall of 2005. It also triples money for literacy programs to \$1 billion per year and "includes a teacher-quality program which requires districts to have a 'highly qualified' teacher in every classroom by the 2005-2006 school year" (*The Associated Press*, January 9, 2002; *The Boston Globe*, March 12, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, ETS sponsored four print ads that ran a total of six times. Ads appeared in *The Hill* and *The Washington Post*. All four ads focused on education reform, supported President Bush's education reform agenda, and advocated for continued use of standardized testing. As in 2002, the ads featured essays written by Kurt M. Landgraf, president of ETS. One ad urged Congress to pass legislation that would create an educational assessment system that the ad argued would make the education system more accountable. Another ad stated that the federal government should partner with state governments and schools because "with cooperation and innovation comes success." The ad said this partnering could improve teaching skills and student performance. A third ad argued that the national assessment of U.S. students was unfair, and that looking at results on a local and state level increased student performance ratings. A fourth ad cited a survey conducted by Peter Hart and Robert Teeter for ETS which the ad said showed that "an overwhelming majority of Americans are in fact demanding greater accountability for our public education system—measurement that can be provided through the proper use of fair assessments."

President Bush's education reform plan would tie federal dollars to new accountability rules, including annual testing of students. If schools fail to improve after three years, federal money would be made available to parents instead of the schools, and parents could use the money to pay for tutoring or to supplement private-school tuition. The plan became the No Child Left Behind Act (H.R. 1) in the 107th Congress. As previously mentioned, the act also would provide new funds for expanding literacy programs in schools and for teacher training (*Technology Daily*, March 27, 2001).

ORGANIZATION: Exxon Mobil Corporation (ExxonMobil)
MAILING ADDRESS: 5959 Las Colinas Boulevard, Irving, TX
75039-2298
TELEPHONE: (972) 444-1107
WEBSITE: www.exxonmobil.com
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Exxon Mobil Corporation (ExxonMobil) is an international, publicly traded corporation formed in 1998 by the merger of Exxon and Mobil. ExxonMobil is one of the nation's top oil and petrochemical companies (*The Houston Chronicle*, September 7, 2001). The company "is engaged in energy, involving the exploration for, and production of, crude oil and natural gas, as well as the manufacture of petroleum products and transportation and sale of crude oil, natural gas, and petroleum products. ExxonMobil's divisions and affiliated companies operate or market products in the United States and approximately 200 other countries and territories" (biz.yahoo.com).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, ExxonMobil sponsored 25 print advertisements that ran a total of 44 times. The ads appeared in *The Washington Post*, *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Times*, *The Hill*, and *Roll Call*. These ads served a dual purpose: on one hand they advocated for relevant issues, and on the other they built an enhanced corporate image. All of the ads discussed current public policy issues with only one ad citing specific legislation. Although ExxonMobil calls these ads "op-ed pieces," written and presented as editorial columns, they are paid advertisements.

The legislation-specific ad stated, "Congress, in a strong show of bipartisanship, passed a major trade bill that gives the President trade promotion authority (TPA)." The Bipartisan Trade Promotion Authority Act of 2001 "extends the president's authority to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements" (*The Houston Chronicle*, December 13, 2001). The ad stated that the passed legislation "deserves praise." The ad also suggested that TPA will "help spur economic growth, create new jobs, open markets to U.S. exporters and make U.S. markets more accessible to our trading partners." In August 2002, President Bush signed into law legislation renewing TPA (*CongressDaily*, August 6, 2002).

The remaining issue-related ads generally fell into five categories: environment, business and labor issues, technology, international trade relations, and oil related (production, supply, and consumption).

- One environmental ad argued that increased energy exploration and growth does not necessarily need to have "an adverse effect on any aspect of environmental quality."
- A business-and labor-related ad discussed work place safety, stating that "ExxonMobil has developed a comprehensive management system aimed at reducing accidents in the workplace."
- One technology-focused ad argued that "new technologies have historically contributed significant gains in energy efficiency," and said that such innovations would "[reduce] the cost of wind, solar, nuclear and other energy options."
- One ad, dealing with international trade relations, expressed support for China's decision to join the World Trade Organization (WTO), stating "the anticipated benefits will be the enhanced appeal of China as a place to do business."
- One energy/oil production ad focused on U.S. energy use and suggested that the U.S. will "need about 25 percent more energy in 2020." The ad said "though new and diverse supplies are needed, we also believe new technologies and processes should be a part of the solution to ensure that energy is used more efficiently."

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, ExxonMobil sponsored 34 print advertisements that ran a total of 47 times. Ads appeared in *The Washington Post* and *CongressDaily AM*. Similar to the ads sponsored in 2002, these ads served a dual purpose: on one hand they advocated for relevant issues, and on the other they built an enhanced corporate image. Not every ad was targeted towards specific legislation but all discussed current public policy issues.

In general, the 2001 ads tended to fall into two groups. Some ads supported specific legislative decisions; others did not mention particular legislation but discussed current issues, had public policy components, or were targeted at specific countries to improve corporate/foreign government relations.

For example, one legislation-specific issue ad urged Congress to grant Trade Promotion Authority (TPA), or Fast Track, to President Bush; the ad said that enhancing international trade and opening the markets would increase economic growth. Another ad advocated for the House to "reject the call for a suspension of normal trade relations with China," and said that normal trade relations are a key part of reforming China's economy. Other ads supported the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Bush administration's willingness to explore for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR).

The ads that were clearly issue related but did not discuss specific legislation generally fell into three categories: international relations, oil-related from a production, supply, and consumption perspective; or oil-related from an environmental, health, or conservation perspective. Take, for example, the ad that called for greater private investment in the Middle East but also implicitly opposed government sanctions to Iran; the ad said these sanctions hamper private investment. One ad encouraged changing national energy policy; advocated for looser regulations on gasoline refinements to increase capacity and avoid future price spikes. Another ad discussed environmental policy as it relates to an increase in asthma cases; the ad stated that "despite a decline in urban air emissions the asthma-incidence rate continues to rise," concluding that environmental policy should not focus on outdoor air quality alone.

ORGANIZATION: Fannie Mae

MAILING ADDRESS: 3900 Wisconsin Avenue, NW,
Washington, DC 20016-2892

TELEPHONE: (202) 752-7000

WEBSITE: www.fanniemae.com

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Fannie Mae, formally known as the Federal National Mortgage Association is a Washington-based “public company mandated by the federal government. It provides liquidity in the mortgage market by buying mortgages from lenders and packaging them for resale, transferring risk from lenders and allowing them to offer mortgages to people who would not otherwise be considered” (*The Associated Press*, January 15, 2003). Fannie Mae “benefit[s] from several government subsidies that save them hundreds of millions of dollars a year, including an exemption from most state and local taxes. They also borrow money at lower costs than other stockholder-owned companies because of their perceived ties to the federal government” (*The Washington Post*, March 21, 2002). “Fannie Mae’s lobbying focuses on keeping [their] government subsidy safe” (*The New York Times*, September 29, 2002). Fannie Mae retains lobbyists from 14 different firms in addition to its 12 registered in-house lobbyists (*The National Journal*, June 30, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Fannie Mae sponsored 10 print advertisements that ran a total of 112 times.^v The ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, and *The Hill*. A group of six ads focused on homeownership for minority families. Two of the ads said “At Fannie Mae, we’re working to make the American Dream come true for not just some Americans, but for all Americans.” The ads further stated that although homeownership is at a high of 68%, minority homeownership is only 49%. The ads said that Fannie Mae is “committed to helping three million more minority families live their dream of homeownership.” One ad said that Fannie Mae is “investing \$700 billion through the end of this decade to help 4.6 million more minority families live their dreams.” Another ad talked about “Fannie Mae’s American Dream Commitment” to “contribute at least \$420 billion to serve more than three million minority households in this decade.” The ad argued that “these efforts will help our mortgage lender partners, other housing leaders, and communities everywhere find the tools they need to further expand homeownership and affordable rental housing.” Two ads argued that “the American Dream should be possible for all Americans regardless of their race or ethnic background” and that Fannie Mae is helping the American Dream come true for all Americans. A group of four ads focused more generally on the purpose and accomplishments of Fannie Mae. According to two of these ads, Fannie Mae’s mission is “to lower the cost of homeownership.” One ad suggested that “when more Americans have a place to call home, it strengthens families, communities and our nation as a whole.” Another ad stated that “our main focus has always been to make mortgages more affordable” and that “in many other countries home buyers don’t have access to long-term, fixed-rate mortgages.” A fourth ad said that “for eight consecutive years, Fannie Mae has met or exceeded its HUD [U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development] housing goals.” The ad further stated that Fannie Mae has “boosted its service to African Americans by 191 percent and to Hispanics by 203 percent.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found one print ad sponsored by Fannie Mae that ran a total of two times.^{vi} The ads appeared in *The Hill*. The ad supported Fannie Mae’s Mortgage Consumer Bill of Rights, as the “foundation to making sure that all people are treated equally in the home-buying process.” The ad also stated that Fannie Mae has been working for “30 years to break down as many barriers to homeownership as possible.”

v After we completed our analysis we noticed that CMAG had not tracked TV spending for businesses that they did not realize were involved in issues of public policy debate (such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac). As a result our estimates for this type of spending for Fannie Mae are potentially low.

vi When we called Fannie Mae to verify our spending estimates, its representatives told us that we had vastly underestimated their Washington spending in 2001 (by about \$2 million dollars).

vii After we completed our analysis we noticed that CMAG had not tracked TV spending for businesses that they did not realize were involved in issues of public policy debate (such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac). As a result our estimates for this type of spending for Freddie Mac are possibly low.

ORGANIZATION: Freddie Mac

MAILING ADDRESS: 8200 Jones Branch Drive, McLean, VA 22102

TELEPHONE: (703) 903-2000

WEBSITE: www.freddiemac.com

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Freddie Mac (Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation), the country’s second-largest source of home mortgage money, was established by Congress in 1970 to support home ownership and rental housing. Freddie Mac has certain government benefits but functions as a private company that uses its low borrowing costs to buy home mortgages from banks, repackaging the loans as tradable securities, and thereby supporting the secondary market for home loans. It is not explicitly backed by the government, but its close ties, including multibillion-dollar lines of credit with the Treasury, provides special reassurance to investors (*The Washington Post*, January 26, 2002; *The New York Times*, May 21, 2002; *The San Diego Union Tribune*, October 7, 2001).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found 10 print ads sponsored by Freddie Mac in 2002 that ran a total of 93 times.^{vii} Ads were placed in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times*. All of the ads promoted Freddie Mac as an important part of the U.S. mortgage market. Several ads featured homebuyers who, according to the ads, had benefited from Freddie Mac’s ready supply of low-cost money for mortgages.

One ad expressed Freddie Mac’s support for the “President’s goal of increasing homeownership” and announced the launch of “Catch the Dream, a comprehensive set of 25 initiatives to dismantle barriers to homeownership.” Two ads stressed the importance of homebuyer education. One of these ads stated that Freddie Mac works with “community groups all over the country to help educate first-time homebuyers.” The other ad referred first-time homebuyers to Freddie Mac’s website for a “complete step-by-step guide to buying a home.” Two ads stated that Congress chartered Freddie Mac in 1970 “to generate a ready supply of mortgage money so more people can own homes.” One of these ads said that “experts calculate that without Freddie Mac, those lucky enough to own a home would pay \$30,000 more in interest over the life of a \$250,000 mortgage.” Two ads stated that Freddie Mac’s “sole purpose is to generate a ready supply of funds to finance homes.” One ad said that Freddie Mac’s “efforts to reduce mortgage rates make it possible for 750,000 more people to own homes.” One ad argued that “buying a home with ease is a privilege limited largely to the United States.” According to the ad, unlike other countries like England, Japan, France, and Spain, “there’s always a ready supply of money for mortgages in the United States.” Another ad argued that “by making mortgages easier to get, [Freddie Mac] helped three million families buy or refinance homes last year.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found four print ads from Freddie Mac in 2001 that ran a total of 14 times. The majority of ads were placed in *The Washington Post* with some appearing in *The Hill*. Two of the ads provided a brief explanation of Freddie Mac’s history and its purpose within the mortgage system, which the ads said was to provide a “supply of low-cost mortgage money.” Another ad praised Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae for their role in the national U.S. mortgage market, which the ad said was “the envy of the world.” This ad also advocated for all large financial institutions to follow the example set by Freddie and Fannie in October 2000, when they committed to six measures that the ad said would provide more financial stability and transparency. A final ad responded to issues raised by FM Watch, and said that FM Watch is “a small group of subprime lenders, mortgage insurers and mega-banks.” The ad implied that FM Watch is concerned because Freddie Mac has helped smaller banks compete against the large banks. FM Watch is “the financial industry coalition formed to battle what members view as the expansionist tendencies of Fannie and Freddie. Key backers of FM Watch include GE Capital, Wells Fargo and American International Group, as well as trade groups involved with consumer banking and housing finance” (*USA Today*, May 21, 2002). The coalition has argued that “it is unfair for Fannie and Freddie to use their status as government stepchildren to expand into businesses where they compete against companies that don’t have a credit line with the Treasury” (*The Washington Post*, July 31, 2000). FM Watch has also accused Freddie Mac of lagging “behind the financial industry in providing money for mortgages to black, Hispanic and low-income borrowers” (*The Washington Post*, December 13, 2001). In 2000, FM Watch supported legislation in the House that would have removed government support from Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (*The Associated Press*, April 26, 2002).

ORGANIZATION: Homeownership Alliance
MAILING ADDRESS: 1401 Eye Street, NW, Suite 220,
Washington, DC 20005
TELEPHONE: (202) 354-8205
WEBSITE: www.HomeownershipAlliance.com
EMAIL: info@homeownershipalliance.com

DESCRIPTION:

Established by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the Homeownership Alliance is a coalition predominately consisting of housing industry trade groups. According to its website, the Homeownership Alliance is “interested in educating the public about issues related to housing and homeownership in the United States” (www.homeownershipalliance.com). The Alliance is funded by its membership, which consists of the Consumer Federation of America, The Council of Insurance Agents & Brokers, The Enterprise Foundation, Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, Habitat for Humanity International, Independent Community Bankers of America, Independent Insurance Agents of America, Local Initiatives Support Corporation, National Association of Hispanic Real Estate Professionals, National Association of Home Builders, National Association of Realtors, National Association of Real Estate Brokers, National Council of La Raza, National Urban League, and World Floor Covering Association (www.homeownershipalliance.com). Although not listed on the website as of April 2003, National Bankers Association was listed as a member on the Alliance’s print ads published in 2002.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found four print ads sponsored by the Homeownership Alliance in 2001 that ran a total of 24 times. The ads appeared in *The Hill*, *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times*. The first ad asserted: “Nothing is supporting the U.S. economy like housing.” The ad also mentioned where to find the *Safe at Home* report, which explains that the strong housing system, inclusive of federal funding, helps the housing industry and the national economy. A second ad said American housing “enables more people to own a home than any other system in the world,” and that the Alliance is dedicated to protecting this system. A third ad argued that while the current U.S. homeownership rate is the highest it has ever been, one-third of all Americans do not own a home, and many have poor quality housing or housing that is too expensive. The last ad detailed the recent phenomenon of the strong housing sector in an otherwise poor economy. The ad said that “standing behind millions of Americans who are working and saving to become homeowners is the strong, bipartisan support for pro-homeownership policies in Washington.”

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, the Homeownership Alliance sponsored three print advertisements that ran a total of 27 times in *The Hill*, *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Roll Call*. One of the ads promoted minority homeownership. The ad quoted President Bush and expressed solidarity with the Bush administration on the issue of minority homeownership growth. A second ad promoted increased homeownership across all demographics, arguing that the “73 million Americans” that own homes are “just not enough.” The ads were published in connection with statements released by the Homeownership Alliance asserting that while overall homeownership in the U.S. increased in 2001, African-American ownership rates were slower to grow (*The Jacksonville Free Press*, February 6, 2002). Though not explicitly mentioned in the ads, they imply support for the “American Dream Downpayment” Act (H.R. 4446, S. 2584). The act was introduced in both the House in April and the Senate in June of 2002, but failed to reach a vote. The act, which would “establish a \$200-million grant program for low-income homebuyers,” is a piece of the Bush administration’s housing agenda supported by the Homeownership Alliance (*Real Estate Finance Today*, April 29, 2002). The act was reintroduced as H.R. 1276 in the 108th Congress (*The Washington Post*, May 7, 2003).

viii After we completed our analysis we noticed that CMAG had not tracked TV spending for defense contractors that they did not realize were involved in issues of public policy debate. As a result our estimates for this type of spending are possibly low.

ORGANIZATION: Lockheed Martin Corporation (Lockheed Martin)
MAILING ADDRESS: 6801 Rockledge Drive, Bethesda, MD 20817
TELEPHONE: (301) 897-6000
WEBSITE: www.lockheedmartin.com
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Lockheed Martin Corporation (Lockheed Martin) is “the world’s largest defense contractor” (*The Washington Post*, December 15, 2002). Lockheed Martin principally researches, designs, develops, manufactures, integrates, and operates advanced technology systems, products, and services. The company serves customers in both domestic and international defense and commercial markets, with the company’s principal customers being agencies of the United States Government. Lockheed Martin operates in four principal business segments: Systems Integration, Space Systems, Aeronautics, and Technology Services (yahoo.biz.com). In 2001, “the Pentagon picked Lockheed Martin over Boeing Co. to build the [Joint Strike Fighter] in the largest defense contract ever, estimated at more than \$200 billion over four decades” (*The Houston Chronicle*, December 28, 2002). Lockheed Martin was the top contractor with the Department of Defense in 2002, receiving a total of \$17 billion worth of contracts (Top DoD Contractors for Fiscal Year 2002, dod.gov/pubs).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Lockheed Martin sponsored 16 print advertisements that ran a total of 91 times.^{viii} Lockheed Martin also co-sponsored a number of ads that are not included in this total.

The ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, and *CongressDaily AM*. Five of the ads, without citing specific services or products, promoted the company’s efforts toward the war on crime, national security, and defense. Eleven ads focused on Lockheed Martin’s products and services. Five of these ads discussed the CC-130J transport aircraft. The ads described the CC-130J as a “totally new, advanced, fully integrated digital weapons system” that has a “sophisticated positioning system” that can deliver troops and supplies with “surgical precision.” Three ads featured the KC-130J aircraft, which is the fuel tanker version of the CC-130J. The ads described the KC-130J as “the most advanced tactical air refueler in the history of aviation” and as “the anytime, anywhere tanker” that offers “greater flexibility.” Lockheed Martin “won a 4.05 billion dollar contract to provide 40 CC-130J aircraft for the US Air Force and 20 KC-130J aircraft for the Marines” (*Agence France Presse*, March 17, 2003). Another ad announced the Federal Aviation Administration’s (FAA) launch of the User Request Evaluation Tool (URET) and argued that it brings “faster access to vital information for air traffic controllers.” URET projects flight plans and spots potential conflicts up to 20 minutes in the future, allowing controllers to correct early, avoiding large detours and holding patterns, and saves airlines time and money. Lockheed Martin was awarded \$225 million in 1999 to create the software for the FAA (*Air Transport Intelligence*, May 6, 2002).

The Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missile (JASSM) and Theater High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) were the topic of another ad. The ad recognized the JASSM and THAAD teams for winning the David Packard Excellence in Acquisition Award, which is “given to organizations, groups or teams that made significant contributions or demonstrated innovations and best practices in the defense acquisition process” (*Aerospace Daily*, June 19, 2002). “Lockheed won a \$3 billion contract back in 1996 to develop [JASSM, a] 2,000-pound weapon for the Air Force and Navy. The weapon can fly more than 200 miles from its aircraft to its target. This standoff range helps keep aircrews out of danger from hostile air defense systems” (*National Defense*, March 1, 2003). Lockheed Martin was awarded \$3.97 billion from the Pentagon for manufacturing the Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system which is “designed to protect troops in the field from ballistic missile attack” (*The Washington Post*, June 29, 2000). According to one ad, Lockheed Martin was “the first company to receive CMMI Maturity Level 5 recognition for systems integration and software development,” and this recognition (CMMI Maturity Level 5), “is one of the vital credentials required for Air Force Multi-Sensor Command And Control (MC2) programs.” In January 2003, Lockheed Martin formed an industry team to compete for a component of the Air Force’s Multi-sensor Command and Control Aircraft (MC2A) program (*Defense Daily*, January 15, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Lockheed Martin sponsored three print ads that ran a total of four times in 2001.^{ix} The ads appeared in *The Washington Post* and *Roll Call*. One ad stated that the Next Generation Space Telescope (NGST) “will delve deeper into the mysteries” of the formation of galaxies and stars. According to the ad, the project is “extending Hubble’s legacy by designing NGST.” NGST is an “orbiting astronomy observatory” that is scheduled for launch in 2010 (*The Associated Press*, September 10, 2002). According to another ad, Lockheed Martin develops satellite technology “to help military and commercial customers” who “depend on satellites for services that are essential to national priorities.” Another ad stated that “battlespace management systems from Lockheed Martin let land, naval and air forces share a common battle picture in real time.”

^{ix} Lockheed Martin noted that our estimates for their 2001 expenditures were low, though the company declined to help us correct those estimates.

ORGANIZATION: MainStreet USA

MAILING ADDRESS: N/A

TELEPHONE: (202) 628-7771

WEBSITE: N/A

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

MainStreet USA is an independent nonprofit organization “with a mission of electing Democrats to office” (*The Associated Press*, October 14, 2002). The group is “funded by Democrats” but is not affiliated with the Democratic National Committee (*The Washington Post*, October 15, 2002; *The New York Times*, July 10, 2002). According to *The Daily Enron*, a project of American Family Voices (another nonprofit independent group that promotes Democratic candidates), MainStreet USA’s President Mike Lux is also President of American Family Voices (www.thedailyenron.com/documents/20021014082818-07026.asp).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found one television advertisement sponsored by MainStreet USA in 2002. It ran a total of five times in Washington, D.C. The ad was the centerpiece of a “week-long television campaign accusing Bush of presiding over the weakest economic growth in 50 years” (*The Washington Post*, October 15, 2002). The ad implied that if Republicans won control of the House and Senate in the November election, economic conditions would worsen.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from MainStreet USA in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc. (Merrill Lynch)
MAILING ADDRESS: Governmental Relations Office, 1455
Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 950, Washington, DC 20004
TELEPHONE: (202) 661-7100
WEBSITE: www.ml.com
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc. (Merrill Lynch) is a holding company that, through its subsidiaries and affiliates, provides investment, financing, advisory, insurance and related products and services on a global basis. Merrill Lynch provides these products and services to a wide array of clients, including individual investors, small businesses, corporations, governments, governmental agencies, and financial institutions. Merrill Lynch has three business segments: the Corporate and Institutional Client Group, the Private Client Group, and Merrill Lynch Investment Managers (biz.yahoo.com).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Merrill Lynch sponsored 14 print advertisements that ran a total of 114 times in 2002. Ads appeared in *The Hill*, *Roll Call*, and *The Washington Post*. Three of the ads promoted positive forecasts for the U.S. economy. Of these, one announced Merrill Lynch's report "2002 - The Year Ahead: New Realities, New Perspectives," which predicted a continued recession through the early winter months of 2002 and a recovery in spring 2002, with a U.S. Gross Domestic Product growth of 0.9% for the year 2002. An ad ran in mid-year 2002 again promoting a positive economic outlook, a view held in agreement, according to the ad, with Federal Reserve Chairman Greenspan. A third ad published in the second half of the year endorsed the "resilience" of the U.S. economy given the recession and the aftermath of the attacks of September 11.

Three ads focused on savings and retirement security:

- One ad belatedly supported the passage of the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act of 2001, H.R. 1836, which the president signed into law on June 7, 2001 (Thomas.loc.gov). The ad informed readers about increases in contribution limits to IRAs, Roth IRAs, and 401(K) plans.
- One ad recounted the National Summit on Retirement Savings held in late February 2002. Merrill Lynch agreed with the president's statements at the summit encouraging citizens to save more and promoted the president's proposals to give workers greater choice in retirement investments and better "access to professional investment advice."
- One ad supported the passage of H.R. 3762 (the Pension Security Act of 2002) in the House and advocated for passage of "similar legislation" in the Senate, stating that the legislation would provide for more diversity in investment choice for savings and provide greater access to investment advice and information to workers.

Three other ads published were on the topic of investor confidence:

- One of these ads outlined several changes in Merrill Lynch's policies and research offerings and introduced its Research Recommendations Committee (RRC). The changes and new committee were touted as part of a commitment to providing reliable, objective, and available information to investors. The ad implied that Merrill Lynch was taking these measures to maintain credibility in light of the \$100 million fine it received in May of 2002 for encouraging investors to buy stock in the companies from which it was attempting to secure investment banking business (*The Seattle Times*, May 22, 2002).
- One ad was similar in subject, but featured the pictures and signatures of Merrill Lynch President and COO Stan O'Neal and Chairman and CEO David Komansky. The ad announced, "We're setting new standards for investment research."

- One ad applauded what it referred to as the Corporate Accounting Reform and Investor Protection Act (The Sarbanes-Oxley Act, H.R. 3763). Merrill Lynch stated that the Act would "restore investor confidence" and that "the misdeeds of some companies or individuals must not be allowed to cast a shadow" on the majority of good companies and the global market. The act was signed into law on July 30, 2002 (Thomas.loc.gov).

Another ad congratulated officials and legislators for their efforts to rebuild New York City after the events of September 11. "It's been our privilege to work hand in hand with our elected leaders - including our president" and others, read the ad. Another ad advocated for the passage of trade promotion authority (TPA), or the Bipartisan Trade Promotion Act of 2001 (H.R. 3005), in the Senate. The act "extends the president's authority to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements" (*The Houston Chronicle*, December 13, 2001). The ad quoted President Bush in support of TPA. Merrill Lynch implied in the ad that those who do not support TPA do not support "global prosperity and freedom." Trade Promotion Authority was eventually passed as the Fast Track Trade Authority bill (H.R. 3009) and signed into law by the president on August 6, 2002.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Merrill Lynch sponsored 14 print advertisements that appeared a total of 82 times in 2001. Ads were placed in *Roll Call* and *The Hill*. Merrill Lynch addressed a number of issues and advocated for some form of tax relief in the majority of the ads. Some ads supported specific legislative initiatives, while others simply stated the company's position. In one ad, Merrill Lynch thanked President Bush and members of Congress for supporting the tax cut bill signed into law. The company addressed both the short-term and long-term benefits of the new law. According to Merrill Lynch Chief Economist Bruce Steinberg, who was quoted in the ad, short-term effects "should boost economic growth exactly when the economy needs it." Lower marginal tax rates, increased contribution limits for IRAs and 401(k)s, expanded education savings incentives, and estate tax relief provisions were all quoted as long-term benefits of the tax cut bill. Merrill Lynch ran four additional ads expressing support for the tax cut bill.

The first two ads asked Congress to "[consider] the President's tax relief plan." Subsequent ads voiced the company's continued backing of the tax cuts amid slow economic growth and concerns over the shrinking non-Social Security budget surplus. Two of the ads supported moves by the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates in an effort to stimulate economic growth. In one of these two ads, education reform was emphasized as another means of guaranteeing the nation's long-term prosperity. Two advertisements advocated for tax relief as part of an economic stimulus package in the wake of the events of September 11. One ad pushed for the rebuilding of New York through support of tax incentive programs within economic recovery legislation. The other ad focused on strengthening economic security, recommending accelerated marginal income tax rate reductions, payroll tax relief, enhanced unemployment benefits, and corporate tax incentives. Two ads called for a reduction of fees on individual investors. The ads urged the House and Senate respectively to support legislation that would "reduce excessive fees on . . . investing and ensure full funding and pay parity at the Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC]." Merrill Lynch stated that such legislation would work to efficiently fund SEC operations while assuring employees fair compensation. Six ads addressed the need for pension reform. Three of these ads highlighted legislation by Reps. Rob Portman (R-OH) and Ben Cardin (D-MD) which, according to Merrill Lynch, would provide better retirement income security primarily by "increas[ing] IRA and 401K contribution limits." The nation's low personal savings rate was referred to in three ads as the impetus for reforming retirement savings plans.

ORGANIZATION: Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation
MAILING ADDRESS: One American Square, Suite 1750, Box 82078, Indianapolis, IN 46282
TELEPHONE: (317) 681-0745
WEBSITE: www.friedmanfoundation.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation is an Indianapolis-based pro-voucher foundation (*The Boston Globe*, June 28, 2002). According to its website, the Foundation was started by Nobel laureate Dr. Milton Friedman and Dr. Rose D. Friedman in 1996 as a non-profit organization to inform the public about the role competition plays in achieving K-12 education reform (www.friedmanfoundation.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from the Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

The Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation sponsored two television ads that ran a total of 172 times in Washington, D.C. Both ads advocated for school vouchers. One ad depicted a teacher talking to students about the benefits of school vouchers. Another ad expressed concern that schools in the United States were “falling behind” in math and science. The ad suggested that “school choice would give parents more control over schooling, by letting them choose a school that is better for their children.”

ORGANIZATION: NARAL Pro-Choice America (formerly NARAL - National Reproductive Rights Action League)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1156 15th Street, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005
TELEPHONE: (202) 973-3000
WEBSITE: www.naral.org
EMAIL: info@naral.org

DESCRIPTION:

NARAL Pro-Choice America is a leading Washington-based abortion rights group (*The Washington Post*, July 23, 2002). It has an associated political action committee, NARAL Pro-Choice America PAC, through which it makes donations and directs expenditures on behalf of abortion rights candidates (www.naral.org). The organization “staged political rallies in seven states on the opening day of the Supreme Court’s fall term . . . to call attention to the possibility that women could lose their right to have an abortion if control of the Senate changes hands on Election Day.” NARAL Pro-Choice America also planned on spending \$3 million in the 2002 election cycle to back candidates who support legalized abortion (*The Hill*, October 9, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, NARAL Pro-Choice America sponsored five television ads and one print ad. The television ads appeared a total of 804 times in Washington, D.C. The print ad appeared in *The Washington Post*. All of the ads advocated for “freedom of choice” as a fundamental American value. Three of the televisions ads, which also appeared in 2001, featured women of differing age and race talking about individual responsibility for one’s body and defending the “freedom to choose.” A fourth television ad stated, “I believe in my right to choose without interrogation, without indignities, without violence. I believe that’s one of the founding principles of our country. And I believe that right is being threatened. The greatest of human freedoms is choice.” A fifth television ad asked “what will we tell children? . . . That we had the right to choose, but that right is lost? Will we tell them we had control of our bodies, our lives? They never will.” According to the print ad, the U.S. “is overwhelmingly pro-choice, [and] the freedom of choice is fundamental.” The ad stated “one vote by one politician or one new justice on the Supreme Court could take that freedom away.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, NARAL Pro-Choice America sponsored five television advertisements that ran a total of 1,377 times in Washington, DC. The organization ran an ad that warned against George W. Bush’s position on abortion: “In his first 100 days on the job George W. Bush has seized every opportunity to restrict a woman’s right to choose, and his assault has just begun.” One ad urged people to join NARAL Pro-Choice America’s Fight for Choice campaign. The organization ran three other ads with women using language that included “my right to choose,” “free will,” and “freedom to choose.” A similar ad warned that “the right to choose” was being threatened.

ORGANIZATION: National Audubon Society (Audubon)
MAILING ADDRESS: 700 Broadway, New York, NY 10003
TELEPHONE: (212) 979-3000
WEBSITE: www.audubon.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The National Audubon Society (Audubon) is an environmental group founded in 1905 for the study and protection of birds (*CongressDaily*, March 13, 2001; *The Irish Times*, July 21, 2001). According to its website, Audubon has approximately 600,000 members, 500 chapters, and 27 state offices. Audubon conservation campaigns include preserving wetlands and America's endangered forests, conserving marine wildlife, and "protecting and promoting the growth of America's national wildlife refuges" (www.audubon.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from Audubon in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, Audubon sponsored one print ad that appeared in *Roll Call* and one television ad that ran a total of 95 times in Washington, D.C. The television ad urged President Bush to oppose plans to open up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to oil and drilling exploration. Energy legislation was not passed by the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). "Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome" (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress a version of the bill was reintroduced and passed by the House, which included a provision to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). As of April 2003 the Senate was "developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor" in May 2003. The Senate's proposed energy bill does not include a provision to drill in ANWR (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003). The print advertisement, which was co-sponsored with the National Environmental Education & Training Foundation^x, called upon President Bush and Congress to "integrate environmental education into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act." H.R. 1, which renews the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was signed into law on January 8, 2002 (*The Washington Post*, January 3, 2002).

^x When ads were sponsored by two organizations, we attributed the spending to the organization that had the larger logo. If the logos of both sponsors were equal in size the spending was attributed to the first sponsor listed.

ORGANIZATION: National Education Association (NEA)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1201 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
TELEPHONE: (202) 833-4000
WEBSITE: www.nea.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Founded in 1857, the National Education Association (NEA) is the largest teachers' association in the United States (*The Dallas Morning News*, April 16, 2002). According to its website, NEA represents approximately 2.6 million elementary and secondary teachers, higher education faculty, education support professionals, school administrators, retired educators, and students preparing to become teachers (www.nea.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found seven print ads sponsored by NEA and one TV ad that ran a total of three times in Washington, D.C. The print ads ran in *The Washington Post*. Six of the print ads featured former president Bob Chase, before Reg Weaver became the new president as of July 2002 (*Chicago Sun-Times*, July 4, 2002). Weaver was the featured author of the seventh ad.

Four of the print advertisements took issue with a proposed freeze on the allocated funding for increased teacher quality in the No Child Left Behind Act (H.R. 1) (*The Boston Globe*, March 13, 2002). Three of these ads chided President Bush for proposing an education budget cut in his 2003 budgetary proposal, less than two months after signing the act into law. The budget adjustments would have reduced the amount allocated for a teacher quality program in the act. Ultimately, Congress approved 80 million in additional spending above the Bush budget proposal on the teacher quality program (www.whitehouse.gov/newsreleases/2002/01/20020108.html) but \$1 billion less than the \$2.8 billion the act originally assigned (www.ed.gov/Speeches/02-2002/20020225.html). Although the ads applauded the deadline for all public school teachers to be certified, they took issue with the raising of student learning standards while there are teacher shortages. These ads cautioned that teacher shortages are growing. The fourth of these ads commented on the lowering of teacher quality standards by schools in order to increase hiring: "To reduce standards for teacher quality at the same time we are raising standards for student achievement is nonsensical." Another ad declared literacy rates need to be improved in the U.S. and abroad. The ad cited post-September 11 Afghanistan as the nation with the world's second highest illiteracy rank, charging "America, and free people everywhere, simply cannot prevail without literacy." A sixth print ad addressed diversity in schools, both among students and educators, calling for greater understanding and better training of teachers to work with non-English-speaking students. One ad promoted teachers' unions, citing an Indiana University report that linked higher test scores and lower dropout rates to unionized public schools.

The one television ad in 2002 subtly implied that unionized teachers are better at educating students than non-union teachers. The ad also ran in 2001. It depicted a boy who was having a difficult time with a subject and had a teacher helping him so he would not be left behind.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, the NEA sponsored 11 print ads that ran a total of 15 times and two television advertisements that aired 57 times in Washington, D.C. The majority of print ads were placed in *The Washington Post*. Both television ads depicted teachers assisting students and stressed the important role teachers play in a child's development. As in 2002, the print ads featured then-NEA President Bob Chase addressing a number of education issues. Chase advocated for increased local, state, and federal funding to reduce class size and improve teacher quality standards and school facilities. He also expressed concerns over the use of standardized testing by states. Chase stressed the need to improve literacy and discussed the NEA-sponsored Read Across America 2001, a "campaign designed to inspire adults to spend time reading to children." He advocated for making low performing schools a high priority, bolstering early childhood education, and modernizing schools. He also emphasized the important role parents play in a child's educational development and suggested that every school create a code of conduct that would not tolerate bullying. NEA also ran an ad urging Congress to amend the Elementary and Secondary School Act to provide additional funds for school repairs. In addition, NEA ran an ad advocating against block grants and vouchers that "would take money away from the nation's neediest schools."

One of the two television advertisements that aired in 2001 also aired in 2002, and is described with the 2002 advertising activity. A second ad that applauded the work of "teachers, parents, and support professionals," implied a need for increased teacher quality, and endorsed the teaching of American values in public school.

ORGANIZATION: Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1776 Eye Street NW, Suite 400,
Washington, DC 20006-3708
TELEPHONE: (202) 739-8000
WEBSITE: www.nei.org
EMAIL: webmasterp@nei.org

DESCRIPTION:

The Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI) is a “Washington organization that represents nuclear plant owners and operators” (*The New York Times*, April 17, 2002). According to its website, NEI has nearly 300 members in the United States and abroad. NEI, with member participation, develops policy on key legislative and regulatory issues affecting the industry (www.nei.org). Industries represented by NEI include “commercial electricity generation; nuclear medicine, including diagnostics and therapy; food processing and agricultural applications; industrial and manufacturing applications; uranium mining and processing; nuclear fuel and radioactive materials manufacturing; transportation of radioactive materials; and nuclear waste management” (www.nei.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, NEI sponsored 10 print advertisements than ran a total of 92 times and one television ad that ran a total of 55 times in Washington, D.C. The print advertisements appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, *The Washington Times*, and *The Washington Post*. Six of the print ads each featured a different officer or officers standing guard outside of a nuclear facility with automatic weapons in hand. The titles of the ads included “Serious Business,” “Tough Enough? You Bet” and “Vigilant.” All six of these ads promoted the readiness of nuclear facilities in preventing terrorism. Most of the ads explained that security officers are “subject to FBI background checks . . . psychological screening . . . substance abuse testing . . . intense employment scrutiny . . . and physical fitness testing.” The ads implied the NEI’s opposition to the Nuclear Security Act (H.R. 3382), “under which the federal government would take over reactor security somewhat [just] as airport security has been federalized” (*The New York Times*, March 25, 2002). The Nuclear Security Act did not become law in the 107th Congress, but Senator Clinton has proposed to reintroduce it in the 108th (*The New York Times*, January 11, 2003). Two of the print ads were titled “Clean air is so 21st Century.” One ad featured the picture of a teenage girl with a scooter talking on the phone, and the other a teenage boy listening to headphones. Both ads endorsed nuclear power as a clean alternative to other fuels used to generate electricity. A ninth print advertisement advocated in favor of the Yucca Mountain Development resolution (H.J.RES. 87) “for permanent underground burial of the nation’s spent nuclear fuel and radioactive waste” (*The Washington Post*, July 14, 2002). The ad, which featured a graphic of the disposal containers to be buried deep within the pictured mountain, stated that the site was chosen after 20 years of study and that history has proven that fuel can be safely transported to the Yucca facility. A tenth ad reiterated the same, adding that the Governors of at least nine states supported the resolution. The Yucca Mountain Development resolution was signed into law in July 2002 (*The Associated Press*, August 20, 2002). The television ad sponsored in 2002 promoted nuclear power as a safe, clean, environmentally sound, and reliable source of energy. Featured images in the ad included children on a carousel and playing outside, a girl with a laptop sitting in a field, and a father holding his son.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

NEI sponsored three print ads in 2001 that ran a total of 49 times. Ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, and *The Hill* with the majority placed in *CongressDaily AM*. In one ad that ran in December 2001, NEI advocated for nuclear waste to be stored at the Yucca Mountain site. The ad featured supporting comments from the Governors of Kansas, Michigan, North Carolina, and South Carolina. NEI ran two ads with the same text using different pictures. These ads dubbed nuclear energy “The Clean Air Energy” and suggested that it was important to America’s energy future.

ORGANIZATION: Oxygenated Fuels Association (OFA)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1401 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 520,
Washington, DC 20005
TELEPHONE: (202) 393-6190
WEBSITE: www.ofa.net
EMAIL: info@ofa.net

DESCRIPTION:

Oxygenated Fuels Association (OFA) is a coalition of methyl tertiary-butyl ether (MTBE) manufacturers (*The New York Times*, July 13, 2000). According to its website, Enron Clean Fuels Company, Texaco, Inc., and Valero Marketing and Supply Company are members of OFA (www.ofa.net). OFA “filed a federal suit [in January, 2001] seeking to block a California ban on the fuel additive MTBE” (*The Associated Press*, January 24, 2001). MTBE “is added to gasoline as an oxygenate to make it burn cleaner. Its use has allowed states to meet a federal requirement that gasoline contain a two percent oxygen additive to cut down on air pollution, but MTBE also has been linked to cancer and found to pollute groundwater” (*The Associated Press*, September 25, 2001). As of December 2002, OFA had plans to fight Congressional efforts to ban the use of MTBE (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from the Oxygenated Fuels Association in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

OFA sponsored one print ad in 2001 that ran a total of 15 times. The ad appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, *The Hill*, *The Washington Times*, and *Roll Call*. The ad called for ending the push to ban MTBE as a gasoline additive. The ad stated that MTBE is “a gasoline additive that cleans the air [and] stretches our nation’s gasoline supply.” According to the ad, MTBE “is an integral component [in] . . . helping to minimize gasoline supply shortages” and “reduces our dependence on foreign oil imports.” The ad claimed that banning MTBE would result in “a shrinking gasoline pool,” an “increase in gasoline prices,” and “a 6-10% gasoline shortfall by 2003.” The ad also claimed that banning or reducing the use of MTBE was “equivalent to shutting down five U.S. refineries.” Although specific legislation was not cited, the ad most likely referred to S. 950, the Federal Reformulated Fuels Act of 2001. The bill “would require the Environmental Protection Agency to ban the use of MTBE in motor fuel within four years.” The bill would also give each governor the power to exempt his or her state from the federal requirement to have gasoline contain a two percent oxygen additive. The bill would also “authorize \$400 million for monitoring and cleanup of MTBE contamination for leaking underground storage tanks” (*The Associated Press*, September 25, 2001). The Senate Environment and Public Works Committee approved the bill in September 2001, but no further action was taken (*The Associated Press*, September 25, 2001; January 24, 2001). “Sixteen states have enacted bans on MTBE, and additional states are considering bans on the gas additive blamed for polluting drinking water in many areas, according to the National Conference of State Legislators” (*The Associated Press*, April 10, 2003).

ORGANIZATION: Pfizer Inc. (Pfizer)
MAILING ADDRESS: 235 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017
TELEPHONE: (212) 733-2323
WEBSITE: www.pfizer.com
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Pfizer Inc. (Pfizer) “is a research-based, global pharmaceutical company” that “discovers, develops, manufactures and markets prescription medicines for humans and animals as well as many consumer products” (biz.yahoo.com). Pfizer is “the world’s biggest drug company” and has a political action committee (PAC), which “handed out more than \$574,000 to candidates in the 2002 election cycle, according to data compiled by PoliticalMoneyLine.com” (*Roll Call*, March 6, 2003). Pfizer completed its \$57 billion acquisition of Pharmacia in April 2003, and now controls 11% of the world’s pharmaceutical market (*The Associated Press*, April 16, 2003). Pfizer is a member of Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA), the drug industry trade group, which along with its member companies spent \$1 billion over the last decade on lobbying efforts (*The Washington Post*, October 15, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Pfizer sponsored two print ads that ran a total of six times and two television ads that appeared 341 times in Washington, D.C. The print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Hill*. One television ad stated that “90% of all new drug discoveries come from [Pfizer]” and that Pfizer has “programs to help seniors in need.” According to the ad, Pfizer “support[s] prescription drug coverage under Medicare . . . that allows doctors to keep prescribing quality medicine for their patients.” A second television ad stated that Pfizer “search[es] for medicines to improve life and for ways to ensure that every American has access to the medicines they need.” One of the print ads presented an article written by Pfizer CEO Henry McKinnell that addressed prescription drug costs and coverage, research and development costs, and Pfizer’s Share Card program. The article suggested that spending on prescription drug research and development does not account for the growth in prescription prices. The ad also claimed that “Pfizer’s annual price increases in the United States have averaged less than the annual rate of inflation.” A second print ad addressed the rising concern over the “seven million of America’s seniors [that] are without prescription drug coverage and living on limited funds.” The ad announced Pfizer’s Share Card program that, according to the ad, “offers a helping hand until Medicare can appropriately meet the health needs of our seniors.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, Pfizer sponsored one print ad that appeared in *The Washington Times*. The ad presented an article by Pfizer’s President and CEO Henry McKinnell titled “Partnerships Offer Hope in Sub-Saharan Africa.” The ad advocated for “expand[ing] our partnerships to a wider range of governments, companies, NGOs, and others committed to global health.” The ad also advocated against “compulsory licensing,” where governments “seize patents that drug companies hold to their discoveries, and assign those rights to others.” The ad called this practice “highly destructive” and claimed that “governments weaken intellectual property rights” by compulsory licensing.

ORGANIZATION: Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA)
MAILING ADDRESS: 100 15th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005
TELEPHONE: (202) 835-3400
WEBSITE: www.phrma.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) is the pharmaceutical industry’s largest trade association (*Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 2002). According to its website, PhRMA represents over 100 brand-name drug companies which include Pfizer, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Eli Lilly, and GlaxoSmithKline (www.phrma.org). “PhRMA and its industry allies [spent] about \$15 million in campaign contributions in the most recent election cycle, 75 percent of which went to Republicans” (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). PhRMA’s lobbyists include former Representative Vic Fazio and “20 outside lobbying firms on retainer, including Covington & Burling; Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand; and Williams & Jensen” (*The National Journal*, July 21, 2001). PhRMA, along with its member companies spent \$1 billion over the last decade on lobbying efforts (*The Washington Post*, October 15, 2002). PhRMA’s top legislative issue is supporting prescription drug coverage for seniors that would have the drug coverage benefit run by the private sector (*The National Journal*, July 13, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, PhRMA sponsored 15 print ads that ran a total of 176 times, and two television ads that ran 103 times in Washington, D.C. The print ads appeared in *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Post*, *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Times*. PhRMA’s advertising focused on three issues: drug patents, drug reimportation, and prescription drug coverage for seniors.

Seven ads discussed drug patents, which all stated PhRMA’s opposition to legislation that would “harm pharmaceutical innovation.” Two of the ads said the proposed legislation regarding patent laws would “undermine pharmaceutical patent protection and other innovation incentives” and that “it is in our best interest to create every incentive for pharmaceutical researchers to continue their work.” Two other ads cited a survey conducted by Ayers, McHenry & Associates that said 67% of doctors “fear that weakening patent protections for new drugs will lead to less research on cures for rare diseases” and “will hurt research and innovation.” The ads both stated that strong patent laws “are vital to developing new prescription drugs. Just ask your doctor.” Another ad called for a no vote on S. 812, the Schumer-Edwards bill. S. 812, also called the “Greater Access to Affordable Pharmaceuticals Act . . . would speed the approval process for generic drugs” (*The Hill*, July 24, 2002). The Senate passed S. 812 in August 2002 but no further action was taken in the 107th Congress, and the bill was reintroduced to the Senate in March 2003 (*CongressDaily*, March 5, 2003). Two other ads argued, “Congress must protect the patent system” because generic drugs “never reflect new research.” One ad further claimed, “the Senate-passed generic drug bill weakens intellectual property rights, reduces the incentive to discover new cures, and threatens medical progress.”

PhRMA sponsored four print ads in opposition to prescription drug reimportation. Two of these ads stated that “with reimported drugs, there can be no guarantee” and that “reimportation would weaken the consumer protections that keep counterfeit and contaminated drugs from crossing our borders.” Another ad cited the FDA, saying reimportation “would actually create an incentive for unscrupulous individuals to find a way to sell unsafe or counterfeit drugs.” One of these ads specifically called for opposing the “Dorgan Reimportation Plan,” an amendment to S. 812. The Dorgan amendment “would allow consumers to ‘reimport’ U.S.-made drugs from Canada, where they often sell for half as much as they do domestically” (*CongressDaily*, March 5, 2003).

Prescription drug coverage for seniors was the topic of three print ads and both television ads. The print ads stressed the industry’s support for a prescription drug benefit that would create “a meaningful coverage benefit” and would “fully assist the poorest seniors,” “spur competition,” and “foster, not frustrate drug research.” One television ad stated that PhRMA “support[s] a Medicare drug benefit.” The other television ad called upon “Congress to pass meaningful prescription drug coverage under Medicare.”

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

PhRMA sponsored seven print ads that ran a total of 59 times in 2001. The ads appeared in *The Hill*, *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Roll Call*. PhRMA ran two print ads with the same text using different pictures that stressed the industry's support for a prescription drug benefit for seniors. According to the ads, creating "a meaningful coverage benefit" would have to "fully assist the poorest seniors," "spur competition," and "foster, not frustrate drug research." The pharmaceutical industry supports a prescription drug program that would rely on private health plans to cover seniors, rather than government price controls (*The National Journal*, July 21, 2001). PhRMA ran a series of four ads that all started with the phrase "There are many ways to measure our commitment. Here is just one-." One of these ads spoke of the 40,000 researchers who "search for cures," "lengthen lives," "restore health," and "form the backbone of America's pharmaceutical industry." Another ad stated that the way to measure the industry's commitment was by the \$30.5 billion pharmaceutical companies will spend "this year alone on discovering and developing new medicines." Another ad in the series spoke of the "over 1,000 new drugs in development at America's pharmaceutical companies" that are mostly aimed at treating heart disease, stroke, cancer, arthritis, and Parkinson's disease. A fourth ad in the series argued that it takes "a commitment of time-12 years-for a new prescription drug to make it into your medicine cabinet." PhRMA sponsored another ad that promoted pharmaceutical companies "leading the way in search of cures." The ad mentioned the 40,000 researchers searching for new treatments and cures and new medicines designed to treat leading diseases.

ORGANIZATION: Phillips Petroleum Company (Now ConocoPhillips)

MAILING ADDRESS: 600 North Dairy Ashford (77079-1175), P.O. Box 2197, Houston, TX 77252-2197

TELEPHONE: (281) 293-1000

WEBSITE: www.phillips66.com

EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

In 2002, Phillips Petroleum Company merged with Conoco Inc. to form ConocoPhillips, the largest U.S. oil refiner (*Los Angeles Times*, August 31, 2002). ConocoPhillips is an international, integrated energy company with operations in 49 countries. The company has four core activities worldwide: petroleum exploration and production; petroleum refining, marketing, supply, and transportation; natural gas gathering, processing, and marketing, including a 30.3% interest in Duke Energy Field Services; and chemicals and plastics production and distribution through a 50% interest in Chevron Phillips Chemical Company (biz.yahoo.com).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Phillips Petroleum sponsored one print ad that ran a total of 10 times. Ads were placed in *Roll Call* and *The Hill*. The ad stated, "Anyone can get oil out of the North Slope. The trick is to leave everything else." The ad stated that Phillips uses technology to detect and avoid polar bear habitat, and uses "ice roads" that eventually melt for transporting equipment. The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, which the Bush administration wants to open up to oil drilling, is part of the North Slope (*The Associated Press*, April 11, 2002).

Energy legislation was not passed by the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). "Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome" (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress a version of the bill was reintroduced and passed by the House, which included a provision to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). As of April 2003 the Senate was "developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor" in May 2003. The Senate's proposed energy bill does not include a provision to drill in ANWR (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found one print ad sponsored by Phillips Petroleum in 2001, which appeared in *The Hill*. The ad stated that Phillips "is developing a new process that removes more than 90% of the sulfur in standard gasoline without significant loss of octane or volume." It is an innovation, according to the ad, that will "reduce harmful emissions from cars, improve air quality and meet proposed sulfur regulations for years to come." EPA regulations require refiners to begin production of low-sulfur gasoline by 2004 and low-sulfur diesel by 2006 (*The Houston Chronicle*, August 18, 2002).

ORGANIZATION: Renewable Energy Action Project (REAP)
MAILING ADDRESS: N/A
TELEPHONE: (857) 719-9766
WEBSITE: www.reapcoalition.org
EMAIL: info@reapcoalition.org

DESCRIPTION:

Renewable Energy Action Project (REAP) is “a San Francisco-based environmental group that has been pressuring oil companies to phase out MTBE” as an additive in California’s gasoline supply (*Los Angeles Times*, July 11, 2002). MTBE, methyl tertiary-butyl ether, “is added to gasoline to make it burn cleaner, reducing air pollution. Using MTBE was common in the 1990s, but research showed it is a probable carcinogen, spreading quickly through groundwater” (*Los Angeles Times*, July 11, 2002). According to REAP’s website, it has 39 members, including Bluewater Network, Environmental & Energy Study Institute, Climate Solutions, California Farmers Union, California Renewable Fuels Partnership, and Greenpeace (www.reapcoalition.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, REAP sponsored one ad that ran a total of two times and appeared in *The Washington Post* and *Roll Call*. The ad advocated for the “renewable fuels provision of the energy bill” and said that “renewable fuels mean cleaner air, cleaner water, and less dependence on foreign oil.” The ad further urged support for the energy bill as it will ban MTBE, “the dangerous chemical pollutant that contaminates drinking water supplies.” The ad argued that the energy bill will encourage the development and use of ethanol, which “creates jobs, promotes economic growth and increases tax revenue.” The Senate’s version of the energy bill was passed in April 2002 and included a ban on MTBE. “Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill, including the MTBE ban . . . could not be overcome” (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from REAP in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 2316, College Road East and Route 1, Princeton, NJ 08543
TELEPHONE: (888) 631-9989
WEBSITE: www.rwjf.org
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation is “a philanthropic organization that works to improve health care and reduce substance abuse” (*The Associated Press*, December 10, 2002). The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation funds the Covering Kids campaign, which “works to publicize Medicaid and CHIP [Children’s Health Insurance Program] among parents and urges states to simplify enrollment procedures” (*The Associated Press*, August 1, 2002). SCHIP (State CHIP), which “insures more than 3 million children, typically offers insurance on a sliding scale, with parents who earn more money paying a higher portion of the premium” (*The Associated Press*, August 1, 2002). “Congress created [SCHIP] in 1997 for children whose families earned too much to qualify for Medicaid but not enough to afford health insurance on their own. According to state figures, about 4.6 million children received health coverage through the program at some point in 2001” (*The Associated Press*, July 15, 2002). The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation started a similar campaign to highlight the number of uninsured in the United States and the need for a solution to the problem; Covering the Uninsured is now an independent coalition of organizations whose legislative advertising is covered in a separate description.

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002 we found one print advertisement sponsored by The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation as part of the Covering Kids campaign. The ad ran a total of 63 times in *CongressDaily AM*, *Roll Call*, and *The Washington Post*. The ad celebrated the fact that “over 18 million kids now have access to yucky pink medicine” as a result of SCHIP and Medicaid programs, but stated that 8.1 million children “still have no health insurance, though most are eligible for coverage.” The ad called upon readers to ensure that children not enrolled in SCHIP and Medicaid programs who are eligible for these programs become enrolled. The ad also promoted “strong” SCHIP and Medicaid programs, which implied that additional federal and state funding for the programs and outreach were necessary.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found two print ads in 2001 sponsored by The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. Both were part of the Covering Kids campaign. The ads ran a total of six times in *CongressDaily AM* and *The Washington Post*. Both of the ads promoted SCHIP and Medicaid programs to increase the percentage of children with health insurance in the U.S. One ad encouraged readers to call to “find out how you can help get kids covered in your community.” A second ad promoted “Back-To-School enrollment drives” to enroll eligible uninsured children in SCHIP and Medicaid programs before the 2001-2002 school year began.

ORGANIZATION: Save Our Environment (SOE)

MAILING ADDRESS: N/A

TELEPHONE: N/A

WEBSITE: www.saveourenvironment.org

EMAIL: info@saveourenvironment.org

DESCRIPTION:

Save Our Environment (SOE) is a coalition of 20 environmental groups that includes: American Oceans Campaign, American Rivers, Defenders of Wildlife, Earthjustice Legal Defense Fund, Environmental Defense, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, League of Conservation Voters, National Audubon Society, National Environmental Trust, National Parks Conservation Association, National Wildlife Federation, National Resources Defense Council, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Sierra Club, The Ocean Conservancy, The State PIRGs, The Wilderness Society, Union of Concerned Scientists, and the World Wildlife Fund (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, April 22, 2002). On its website, SOE has a web-based Action Center designed to use “the power of the internet to increase public awareness and activism on today’s most important environmental issues” (www.saveourenvironment.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found nine print and three television advertisements sponsored by SOE. The print ads ran a total of 10 times in *CongressDaily AM* and *Roll Call*. The television ads ran a total of 46 times in Washington, D.C. The print ads took aim at the Bush White House, highlighting in a series of 10 ads ways in which the Bush administration has “let big business trample our environmental laws.” One print ad asked readers to oppose changes “big corporations” wanted made to the Clean Air Act that would save corporations money but allow additional pollution into the air. A second ad said the administration “slowed down the cleanup of toxic waste sites” and “shifted the burden of paying for cleanups from polluters to taxpayers.” The ad was most likely referring to the Bush administration’s “failure to renew” the tax on polluting industries in order to fund Superfund, a program to provide “money for cleanups on sites where the polluters could not be charged” (*Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 2002). Another ad protested the Bush administration’s support of the Yucca Mountain Development resolution (H.J.RES. 87) “for permanent underground burial of the nation’s spent nuclear fuel and radioactive waste” (*The Washington Post*, July 14, 2002), stating that the storage site and methods of transport have not been proven environmentally safe. The Yucca Mountain Resolution was signed into law in July 2002 (*The Associated Press*, August 20, 2002). A fourth ad insisted that the Bush administration is “systematically weakening or refusing to enforce the laws that protect America’s imperiled wildlife and its disappearing habitat.” A fifth ad opposed to the administration’s “bid to ease limits on logging” (*Sacramento Bee*, August 23, 2002) in order to allow more clear-cutting to reduce the likelihood of devastating forest fires. The clear-cutting, urged the ad, is “in roadless areas that are home to” numerous endangered creatures in the Pacific Northwest. A sixth ad opposed changes Bush was then planning to make to the Clean Water Act. In 2002 Bush “changed federal Clean Water Act regulations to make it legal for the coal industry to dump waste rock and dirt from strip mines into streams” (*USA Today*, June 17, 2002). A seventh ad opposed clear-cutting and drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) and supported recent regulations that began a ban on snowmobiles in Yellowstone National Park in 2003 (*The Washington Post*, August 18, 2002). An eighth ad opposed the Bush administration’s energy policy, implying opposition to subsidies the policy would provide to coal, nuclear, oil, and auto companies (*Chicago-Sun Times*, May 6, 2002). A ninth ad targeted the Bush administration directly, listing the nine previous ads in the ad as examples of the various ways the administration is pro “big corporations” and anti-environment.

One of the television ads advocated for reducing dependence on foreign oil without resorting to drilling in ANWR. The second ad opposed the Bush administration’s clean air policies. A third ad opposed many of the Bush administration’s environmental policies, as delineated in their print advertising.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, SOE sponsored four television ads that ran a total of 17 times in Washington, D.C., and three print ads that ran a total of four times. Print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *The Washington Times*. All of the ads targeted President Bush’s environmental and energy policies. The coalition ran a print and television ad criticizing the president for rolling back newly imposed limits on arsenic levels in drinking water. The print ad stated the health effects of arsenic in drinking water and urged the president to “restore or strengthen the EPA’s new standard for arsenic in our water.” The ad was sponsored by Natural Resources Defense Council, American Rivers, Earthjustice Legal Defense Fund, Greenpeace USA, National Environmental Trust, National Wildlife Federation, The Ocean Conservancy, Physicians for Social Responsibility, U.S. Public Interest Research Group, and The Wilderness Society. The television ad argued that the amount of arsenic the president has proposed to allow in drinking water is “twice the amount as doctors, scientists, and health organizations say is safe.” Calling arsenic “a dangerous poison that causes cancer,” the ad also asks, “President Bush, do we really need more arsenic in drinking water?” The coalition ran another television ad criticizing President Bush’s energy plan and its effects on air pollution. The ad argued that the President’s plan “could weaken the Clean Air Act” and “Power plants and oil refineries that broke the law wouldn’t have to clean up.” Bush’s energy plan would produce “more dirty air,” more “asthma attacks” and “more premature deaths” the ads announcer said (*The National Journal*, August 8, 2001). The ad also encouraged people to contact their senators to urge the president “not to pardon polluters.”

Another television ad suggested that Bush’s policies would contribute to increased global warming pollution and lowered drinking water standards. The ad was also critical of opening up national forests to new logging and stated that the president’s policies were aimed to “help his coal, oil, mining, and logging contributors.” A similar television ad ran featuring an auctioneer selling “the drilling rights to the Arctic Refuge” with an announcer asking the question: “Does it seem like our environment is on the auction block these days?” The announcer went on to say that the President’s energy plan will open protected land to new drilling, increase the number of coal plants, and fail to lower energy prices. The ad expressed the need for energy efficiency, which according to the ad is the “cheapest, cleanest energy solution.” SOE ran a second print ad titled “invasion of the 1,300 power plants.” It described the president’s energy plan as “Unaffordable, Unnecessary, and Unhealthy,” specifically targeting the administration’s proposal to build 1,300 power plants over the next 20 years. The ad stated that the new coal-fired plants would increase acid rain, mercury, and carbon pollution and cited a November 2000 Energy Department report that “found that energy efficiency and renewables could avoid the need for half of the 1,300 power plants the White House is proposing.” The ad was sponsored by U.S. PIRG, Natural Resources Defense Council, Defenders of Wildlife, Greenpeace, MoveOn.org, League of Conservation Voters, Union of Concerned Scientists, National Environmental Trust, Friends of the Earth, and Physicians for Social Responsibility. The coalition ran a subsequent print ad specifically criticizing the proposed building of nuclear energy plants under the president’s energy plan. The ad cited the large expense of investing in nuclear plants as well as the “dangerous radioactive waste” they produce. The ad called for investment in wind, solar, and other renewable energy sources.

ORGANIZATION: SBC Communications, Inc.
MAILING ADDRESS: 175 E. Houston, San Antonio, TX 78205
TELEPHONE: (210) 821-4105
WEBSITE: www.sbc.com
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

“SBC Communications is among the country’s largest providers of telecommunications services with more than 61 million telephone access lines to customers in 13 states. Formerly known as Southwestern Bell Corp., SBC was created by the 1984 antitrust breakup of the AT&T Corp. into seven regional operating companies (the Baby Bells).” “Southwestern Bell absorbed the AT&T subsidiaries which provided local telephone service in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas” (*The Almanac of Federal PACS: 2002-2003*). SBC services “have been marketed under several brands including SBC Ameritech, SBC Nevada Bell, SBC Pacific Bell, SBC SNET, SBC Southwestern Bell, and through its joint venture with BellSouth Corporation, Cingular Wireless. SBC operates four business segments: wireline, wireless, directory and international” (online.wjs.com).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, SBC sponsored three print ads that ran a total of 26 times and two television ads that ran a total of 347 times in Washington, D.C. Print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Times*, and *The Washington Post*.

Two print advertisements with the title “Local phone competition won’t work if I can’t” argued that jobs are “disappearing because laws that were supposed to create competition are just creating a mess.” While the ads did not mention specific legislation, they spoke of laws that “force SBC to lease its lines to other companies at some of the lowest rates in the country, so ‘competitors’ like AT&T and MCI WorldCom can resell our network service for a big profit.”

A third print ad took aim at AT&T and MCI WorldCom by depicting a crying baby with the headline “They hide behind a lot of different names. But none is more accurate than ‘Cry Baby.’” The ad continued, “We just don’t understand why AT&T and MCI WorldCom and others are whining and complaining about their position in the local phone market,” and claimed that the long-distance companies “make big profits on the backs of the good, union workers of SBC.”

The two television ads conveyed a similar theme highlighting SBC’s role as a local phone company. One ad encouraged viewers to question telecom companies who want customers to switch from SBC by asking them “Whose networks are you using?” and “Whose repair crews go out in an emergency?” A second television ad acknowledged negative ads directed at SBC saying, “Some people have been saying some nasty stuff about SBC.” The ad presented SBC’s workforce as “employees who live and work here just like you,” and that “day in and day out SBC works tirelessly to bring you the highest quality service as possible.” These ads may have been directed at Voices for Choices, which aired a number of television spots criticizing SBC directly.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Though we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from SBC in Washington, D.C. in 2001, Connect USA, an organization for which SBC is a primary funder, ran a large number of spots.

ORGANIZATION: The Seniors Coalition (TSC)
MAILING ADDRESS: 9001 Braddock Road, Suite 200, Springfield, VA 22151
TELEPHONE: (703) 239-1960
WEBSITE: www.senior.org
EMAIL: tsc@senior.org

DESCRIPTION:

The Seniors Coalition (TSC) is a conservative senior’s group that has nearly four million members (*The National Journal*, January 5, 2002). Public Citizen, a Washington-based public interest organization, has reported that the Seniors Coalition is largely funded by PhRMA [Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America] (*The Times Union* [Albany, NY], April 27, 2003).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, TSC sponsored one print ad that ran a total of two times and appeared in *The Hill* and *Roll Call*. The ad urged Congress to “pass the Medicare Modernization Act of 2002” (H.R. 4954). The Medicare Modernization Act of 2002 was passed by the House in June 2002. The Republican-sponsored bill would have provided drug benefits administered by private insurance companies to seniors (*The Washington Post*, June 30, 2002). The Senate “debated the issue for more than two weeks in July [2002], but failed to pass any legislation to provide coverage of prescription drugs under Medicare” (*The New York Times*, September 8, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, TSC sponsored one print ad that appeared in *The Hill*. The ad argued “Congress should protect the health of seniors by opposing drug importation and maintaining current pharmaceuticals safety standards.” Although not specifically cited in the ad, it was most likely referring to S. 812. S. 812, the Greater Access to Affordable Pharmaceuticals Act, would allow consumers to “reimport U.S.-made drugs from Canada, where they often sell for half as much as they do domestically” (*CongressDaily*, March 5, 2003). The Senate passed S. 812 in August 2002, but no further action was taken in the 107th Congress, and the bill was reintroduced to the Senate in March 2003 (*CongressDaily*, March 5, 2003).

ORGANIZATION: Sierra Club

MAILING ADDRESS: 85 Second Street, 2nd Floor, San Francisco, CA 94105

TELEPHONE: (415) 977-5500

WEBSITE: www.sierraclub.org

EMAIL: information@sierraclub.org

DESCRIPTION:

The San Francisco-based Sierra Club is the United States' oldest environmental group (*Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2002). A large and influential environmental group, the Sierra Club "has become a major spender in election campaigns, something that few other green groups do" (*The New York Times*, November 18, 2002). According to its website, Sierra Club was founded in 1892 by conservationist John Muir, and currently has over 700,000 members. Sierra Club seeks to "explore, enjoy and protect the wild places of the earth; practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources; educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment; use all lawful means to carry out these objectives" (www.sierraclub.org).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Sierra Club sponsored one print ad that appeared in *The Washington Post*. Sierra Club also ran two television ads that ran a total of 16 times in Washington, D.C. One television ad stated that "we need candidates who'll care for our country. To protect our air and water and our families' health." The ad asked viewers to "please find out where the candidates stand." The print ad, which addressed President Bush, argued that the Bush administration "is poised to weaken clean air standards," which would destroy the wild lands remaining in National Forests by increasing commercial logging and industrial development, and would "[devastate] places like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge by drilling for oil." The Bush administration "has argued for relaxing clean air standards to allow for the expansion of existing refineries and the construction of new ones" (*The New York Times*, June 4, 2001). Under the Bush administration, the EPA issued a rollback of permit and pollution control rules as part of "reform[s] to the New Source Review (NSR) provision of the Clean Air Act, a program enacted in 1977 that requires factories, power plants and oil refineries to implement pollution controls if they significantly increase their emissions outputs." In an effort to combat the EPA rollbacks, attorney generals of 10 northeastern states, along with a host of towns and environmental groups, have filed a lawsuit against the Bush administration challenging the changes" (*The Hill*, April 9, 2003).

The second television ad argued "we don't need to ruin the land we love . . . to meet America's energy needs. Drilling in special places like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is not the answer." The ad stated that conservation, fuel efficiency, and solar and wind power were the answer to meeting energy demands.

Energy legislation was not passed by the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). "Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome" (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress a version of the bill was reintroduced and passed by the House, which included a provision to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). As of April 2003 the Senate was "developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor" in May 2003. The Senate's proposed energy bill does not include a provision to drill in ANWR (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

Sierra Club sponsored seven print ads and two television ads in 2001. The print ads ran a total of nine times and appeared in *The Washington Post*, *CongressDaily AM*, and *Roll Call*. The television ads ran a total of 11 times in Washington, D.C.

Three of the print ads focused on the California energy shortage and argued that "we don't have to sacrifice our environment to meet our energy needs." One of these ads accused energy companies of using "the shortage as an excuse to rob us of clean air and our Arctic wildlife." The second of these ads stated that U.S. demand for energy cannot be met "by drilling in the Arctic Wildlife Refuge." The ad advocated for more efficient household appliances, as well as better automobile standards. The third of these ads stated that "new power plants . . . could be ten times less polluting and twice as fuel efficient as older, outmoded natural gas-fired plants."

Another ad, co-sponsored by Sierra Club and The Energy Foundation,^{xi} called for an increase in the miles per gallon standard for cars and SUVs. The ad stated that "Detroit has the technology . . . to reduce the amount of oil we use, save money at the pump, cut global warming pollution and help clean our air." The ad suggested that better technology would "decrease our dependence on foreign oil and quiet the call for drilling in the Arctic Wildlife Refuge."

One print ad urged President Bush to "honor and increase our legacy of protected wild lands." The ad stated that over four years, President Bush will have the opportunity to "dissolve the dark shadow [of] global warming," "ensure the environment is protected in our increasingly globalized economy," and "[enact] campaign finance reform that makes it harder for polluters to influence policy and politicians."

Another ad stated that "three out of four family farmers who apply for Environmental Quality Incentives Program (EQIP) money are refused." The ad called for support of Senator Paul Wellstone's amendment to the Senate farm bill, which would limit the "amount of EQIP funds that go to massive industrial livestock factories." The farm bill was signed into law in May 2002, and included Senator Wellstone's amendment (*CongressDaily*, June 3, 2002).

Sierra Club sponsored another ad stating that "the oil and gas industry gave \$33 million to political candidates and parties" and the House "returned the favor" by "open[ing] the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling." The ad called upon Congress to "sign the discharge petition and vote to bring the Shays-Meehan Bi-partisan Campaign Finance Reform measure (H.R. 2356) to the floor for a fair debate, for cleaner elections and a cleaner environment." H.R. 2356, which was signed into law in March 2002, "bans so-called soft money and places strong new rules on third party political spending before elections" (*CongressDaily*, March 27, 2002).

The first television ad questioned President Bush's choice of Gale Norton for Secretary of Interior. The ad described Norton as an "anti-environmental extremist" and stated that Norton "advocates opening up our wild lands, including the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to destructive oil drilling and mining." Gale Norton was confirmed as Secretary of Interior in January 2001 (*The Associated Press*, January 30, 2001).

The second television ad stated that "less ozone means more skin cancer and that's just part of what pollution is doing to our atmosphere." The ad urged viewers to "find out what [they] can do to protect the atmosphere." The ad displayed a phone number for viewers to call.

xi When ads were sponsored by two organizations, we attributed the spending to the organization that had the larger logo. If the logos of both sponsors were equally large the spending was attributed to the first sponsor listed.

ORGANIZATION: Taxpayers for Common Sense (TCS)
MAILING ADDRESS: 651 Pennsylvania Avenue SE, Washington, DC 20003
TELEPHONE: (202) 546-8500
WEBSITE: www.taxpayer.net
EMAIL: info@taxpayer.net

DESCRIPTION:

Taxpayers for Common Sense (TCS) is a nonpartisan “government-waste watchdog group” (*The Seattle-Times*, December 26, 2002; *Star Tribune* [Minneapolis], June 22, 2001). According to its website, TCS is “primarily funded by foundations and by contributions from individual taxpayers” and “is dedicated to cutting wasteful government spending and subsidies in order to achieve a responsible and efficient government that lives within its means” (www.taxpayer.net). Much of TCS’s funding comes from environmental foundations, such as The Nathan Cummings Foundation’s Environmental Program (www.nathancummings.org/enviro/000035.html) and the W. Alton Jones Foundation (www.greenwatch.org/search/orgdisplay.asp?Org=TCS100).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from TCS in Washington, D.C.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found one print ad sponsored by Taxpayers for Common Sense in 2001. It ran a total of three times in *Roll Call*, *CongressDaily AM*, and *The Hill*. The ad opposed federal subsidies to oil manufacturers to pay for the removal of MTBE from groundwater and wells. MTBE “became the most widely used additive to make gasoline burn cleaner in the 1990s” but is being replaced by corn-produced ethanol, which does not contain the same harmful pollutants (*Star Tribune* [Minneapolis], June 22, 2001). The ad called for oil companies to pay for the clean-up process and charged, “if you make a mess, don’t expect someone else to clean it up.” Sixteen states have banned the use of MTBE in gasoline (*The Associated Press*, September 27, 2002). The Senate’s version of the energy bill was passed in April 2002 and included a ban on MTBE. “Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill, including the MTBE ban . . . could not be overcome” (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002).

ORGANIZATION: Transportation Safety Coalition
MAILING ADDRESS: N/A
TELEPHONE: (888) 554-9256
WEBSITE: N/A
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

The Transportation Safety Coalition is a coalition of six organizations plus the state of Nevada who are opposed to the storage of nuclear waste in Yucca Mountain, Nevada (*Sacramento Bee*, July 6, 2002). Member organizations include the Environmental Working Group, Public Citizen, U.S. Public Interest Research Group, National Environmental Trust, Agency for Nuclear Projects, and Physicians for Social Responsibility. The group maintains that the risk of an accident occurring while shipping nuclear waste by truck to the storage site is too high to justify the disposal of waste in the mountain (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, July 9, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, the Transportation Safety Coalition sponsored one print ad that ran a total of two times in *CongressDaily AM* and *Roll Call*. The ad was in opposition to the Yucca Mountain Development resolution (H.J.RES. 87) “for permanent underground burial of the nation’s spent nuclear fuel and radioactive waste” (*The Washington Post*, July 14, 2002). The ad insisted that if Yucca Mountain were to become the nation’s nuclear waste storage facility, waste would continue to be stored on-site at plants and eventually a nuclear accident during transport to the mountain would occur with disastrous results. The ad asked readers, “So why take a risk?” The Yucca Mountain Resolution was signed into law in July 2002 (*The Associated Press*, August 20, 2002).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from the Transportation Safety Coalition in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1707 H Street, NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20006-3919
TELEPHONE: (202) 223-6133
WEBSITE: www.ucsusa.org
EMAIL: ucs@ucsusa.org

DESCRIPTION:

According to its website, the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) was formed by students and professors at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1969 as a non-profit organization “concerned about the misuse of science and technology in society” (www.ucsusa.org). The group’s programs focus on state and national energy policy, transportation policy, national security policy, international arms control, global resources, biodiversity, sustainable agriculture, and biotechnology. The organization provides publications, curriculum materials, videos, speakers, and activist trainings (www.ucsusa.org). USC endorses renewable fuels (*The Seattle-Post Intelligencer*, September 23, 2002) and promotes raising fuel economy standards (*The Hill*, January 29, 2003).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

We found six print ads sponsored by UCS in 2002. The ads ran in *Roll Call*. Five of the ads urged Congress to create a Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS) that would require 20% of the nation’s power to come from wind and solar power or other renewable sources by 2020. One of these ads supported a 10% renewable energy standard that was included in the Senate version of the energy bill (Thomas.loc.gov), saying that it was enough to “save energy consumers billions of dollars.” Another ad criticized the House for including subsidies for “big oil and coal companies” in its version of the bill, and supported the removal of the subsidies in the Senate version. Two of the five ads plus a sixth ad promoted the inclusion of increased Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards in the energy bill, maintaining that the automobile industry is capable of achieving the new standards and the standards would lead to decreased dependence on foreign fuels. CAFE standards were not included in the 107th Congress’ energy legislation. A separate bill, the CAFE Standards bill (S. 1923), died in the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation (Thomas.loc.gov).

Energy legislation was not passed by the 107th Congress (*The National Journal*, December 7, 2002). “Disagreements between the House and Senate over key parts of the bill . . . could not be overcome” (*The Associated Press*, October 9, 2002). In the 108th Congress a version of the bill was reintroduced and passed by the House. As of April 2003 the Senate was “developing its energy plan in committee, with the idea of bringing it to the floor” in May 2003 (*The New York Times*, April 12, 2003).

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from the UCS in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAF)
MAILING ADDRESS: 1725 Eye Street NW, 4th Floor, Washington, DC 20006-2412
TELEPHONE: (202) 483-9222
WEBSITE: www.vvaf.org
EMAIL: media@vi.org

DESCRIPTION:

The Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAF) was founded in 1980 by Vietnam War veteran Bobby Muller. Muller also founded the Vietnam Veterans Association (VVA) by Congressional charter in 1978; although closely allied with the VVAF, the VVA is a separate organization. The VVAF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997 (*CNN Sunday Morning*, March 3, 2002) for its work to eliminate landmines and in 1998 began its program “Campaign for a Landmine Free World” (www.vvaf.org). The Clinton administration, in response to the campaign, said that the U.S. “would sign the international landmine ban treaty in 2006” (*Scripps Howard News Service*, February 27, 2003). The VVAF spent “about \$1.5 million on an ad campaign” (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 2002) targeted at the Bush administration between February and late April 2002 (*CongressDaily*, March 4, 2002). As of April 2003, the Bush administration has not made a determination on the issue.

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, the VVAF sponsored three print advertisements that ran a total of 21 times in *The Washington Times*, *The Hill*, and *Roll Call*, and two television ads that ran a total of 351 times in Washington, D.C. The majority of the ads encouraged the U.S. to ban landmines. These ads depicted a game of hopscotch. Most of the squares of the game featured statements or statistics about landmines written in chalk, such as “Over 26,000 casualties a year” and “But landmines also maim more American soldiers than they protect.” The ads stated “the world is waiting” for the U.S. to ban landmines, implying that the U.S. is among a minority of countries that has not already banned them. A second ad encouraged the Bush administration and Congress to work with Russia to safely house, maintain, and/or dispose of nuclear inventory and bioterror instruments, as well as find “peaceful employment” for Russian weapons scientists. The ad used the image of a small child partially broken into puzzle pieces to emphasize both the threat posed if weapons “fall into the hands of those who wish to harm” the U.S. and the need for immediate action. Such action, according to the ad, culminated in the Bush/Putin summit in May 2002. A third ad used the same image of the child and puzzle pieces to announce, “We’ve Added Another Piece to the Puzzle,” as advocated by the Nuclear Threat Reduction Campaign (NTRC). That piece was an initiative by Senators Biden, Lugar, and Landrieu and Representatives Spratt, Tauscher, and McHugh to trade debt owed to the U.S. for weapons stockpile. This initiative specifically targeted Russia, however, the ad did not mention Russia by name. The Treaty of Moscow, which included initiatives promoted by the ads and the NTRC, was ratified by the Senate in March 2003 (*The Washington Post*, March 9, 2003).

Another of the group’s television ads featured a child playing hopscotch, tying the ad thematically with the print ads. The ad depicted a maimed man in a hospital bed, a child, and other “victims” interspersed between shots of the child playing hopscotch. “Every NATO country has banned landmines” except the U.S., the voiceover and on-screen text reminded viewers. A second television ad also promoted the signing of the landmine ban by the U.S. This ad featured military images including paratroopers, aircraft carriers, and modern missiles. The ad announced over the image of a landmine and a distressed victim that landmines are “useless on the modern battlefield” and “inhumane.” Lastly, the ad called on President Bush to ban landmines.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, we found no legislative issue advocacy advertising from the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation in Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: Voices for Choices
MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 19254, Washington, DC 20036-9254
TELEPHONE: (877) 794-8600
WEBSITE: www.voicesforchoices.com
EMAIL: N/A

DESCRIPTION:

Voices for Choices is a “coalition of traditional long-distance companies” (*The Hill*, February 26, 2003). The 49-member coalition includes “big-name phone players AT&T Corp., Sprint Corp. and WorldCom Inc., as well as a collection of smaller telecoms” (*The Associated Press*, October 18, 2002). The group “is co-directed by Charlie Black, a Republican strategist, and Steve Ricchetti, a former deputy chief of staff to President Bill Clinton. Black and Ricchetti work as lobbyists for AT&T, a chief competitor of the Bell regional telephone companies” (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 25, 2002). The organization “says its mission is the full enforcement of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, a key component of which requires the four remaining regional Bell phone companies - SBC is one of them - to open their networks to competitors offering local-phone and high-speed Internet services” (*The Associated Press*, October 18, 2002).

2002 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2002, Voices for Choices sponsored 15 print ads that ran a total of 101 times and 9 television ads that ran a total of 792 times in Washington, D.C. Print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, *CongressDaily AM*, *The Washington Times*, and *The Washington Post*.

Five of the print ads continued the “Stop Tauzin-Dingell” campaign of 2001. Tauzin-Dingell “revises the 1996 Telecommunications Act to allow the Baby Bells - Verizon, BellSouth, SBC and Qwest - to offer broadband Internet access over their existing long-distance lines without requiring them to open their local lines to outside competition. At the heart of the 1996 Act was a requirement that regional Bell operating companies provide elements of their network, and particularly combinations of elements, to other telecommunications companies” (*CongressDaily*, September 17, 2002). In February 2002, Tauzin-Dingell passed in the House (*The Boston Globe*, February 28, 2002). The bill was stopped in the Senate by Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D-SC), whose “gatekeeper role as chairman of the Commerce Committee helped to stifle” the legislation that “had been opposed by AT&T and other communications carriers who count Senator Hollings among their allies” (*The New York Times*, November 11, 2002).

Another print ad argued against Breau-Nickles (S. 2430). Breau-Nickles, known as the Broadband Regulatory Parity Act of 2002 (Thomas.loc.gov), would have “require[d] the FCC to create regulatory parity among all providers of broadband services. Under the measure, the FCC could remove regulation but not add to it, thus allowing the elimination of rules governing the high-speed services of the regional Bell telephone companies” (*Technology Daily*, May 14, 2002).

Voices for Choices also sponsored an ad stating that the Telecom Act “is beginning to work in New York,” and proposed “Let’s give the Telecom Act a chance to work.” Two additional ads presented the case that “the ‘96 Telecom Act is beginning to pay dividends” and made claims for New York, Ohio, Michigan, Georgia, and other states.

Six of the Voices for Choices print ads were targeted directly at SBC, the regional Bell company that ran a number of ads supporting Tauzin-Dingell and was the primary organization sponsoring Connect USA. One such ad claimed that SBC was “aggressively lobbying the federal government to roll back pro-competitive telecom policies,” while a second ad pointed out that SBC is “lobbying the FCC to change the rules, effectively eliminating their competitors.” Four other ads attacked SBC for claiming “financial ruin” while at the same time reporting increased profits.

The television ads that Voices for Choices ran in 2002 echoed the themes of the print ads. Two TV ads argued against Tauzin-Dingell, while one claimed that “state governments are toppling the walls of Bell phone monopolies,” and another depicted Bell Phone companies as sharks “cir-

cling the FCC.” The remaining TV ads attacked SBC directly for contradicting itself in statements about its financial loss as compared with statements about its profits.

2001 ADVERTISING ACTIVITY:

In 2001, Voices for Choices sponsored 17 print ads that ran a total of 99 times and 13 television ads that ran a total of 1,319 times in Washington, D.C. Print ads appeared in *Roll Call*, *The Washington Post*, *The Hill*, *The Washington Times*, and *CongressDaily AM*. Of the print ads, 13 explicitly opposed the Tauzin-Dingell bill. Among the remaining five ads, one ad supported the Cannon-Conyers bills, stating that these bills are “a better way to bring the promise of broadband Internet to all of America,” and thereby implicitly opposing the Tauzin-Dingell bill. Another ad urged for patience with the Telecom Act of 1996; the ad said the act is beginning to work in New York and will continue to work if given time. The ad, like others in the campaign, advocated for competition in local telephone network services. A different ad used September 11 as a reason for a diverse telecommunications industry; the ad “salute[d] the thousands of employees of small and mid-sized phone companies that got New York reconnected,” and stated that with more companies and choices, there are “more options in an emergency.” The TV ads voiced the same sentiments in opposition to Tauzin-Dingell. Most of the television spots specifically mentioned the Tauzin-Dingell bill, and many accused the Big Bell companies’ of trying to destroy competition through the monopolistic control of the telecom industry. (For a more detailed description of Tauzin-Dingell, please see the 2002 advertising activity.)

