



Who is Who in Impeding Climate Protection

Links between
politics and the energy industry

GREENPEACE

The short route to climate collapse

The UK meteorological office forecast at the very beginning of the year that 2007 would be the warmest year since weather records began being made. The scientists there estimated that the global average temperature would be 0.54 degrees above the 14 degree average experienced over many years. The record so far, an average of 14.52 degrees, is held by 1998. 2005, which was similarly warm, went into the meteorologists' record books on reaching an average of 14.65 degrees in the northern hemisphere.

Findings made by the German meteorological service also confirm the atmosphere to be warming. Shortly before the beginning of 2007 the service reported that the year 2006 had been one of the warmest years since weather records began being made in 1901, and the month of July had been the hottest ever since then. An average of 9.5 degrees was 1.3 degrees Celsius above the long-term average of 8.2 degrees.

International climate experts are agreed that the global rise in temperature must stay below two degrees Celsius if the effects of climate change are to remain controllable. But the time corridor for the effective reduction of greenhouse gases damaging to the climate is getting narrower and narrower. In the last century already the Earth's average temperature rose by 0.8 degrees. The experts in the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change anticipate a further rise of up to 6.4 degrees by 2100. Given the accelerating change in the climate, the danger limit of two degrees might be exceeded in just a few years. The effects are not known and today already perceptible: longer periods of drought and more storms, a huge decline in yields from harvests, melting of polar ice caps and glaciers, a rise in sea levels, the breaking out of diseases and increased risks to health. The record summer of 2003 in Europe alone cost 35,000 people their lives.

The European Union in 1997 bound itself by the Kyoto protocol to bring down the discharge of greenhouse gases in its then 15 member states by eight per cent, compared to its level in 1990, in the period from 2008 to 2012. The new members who joined in 2004 will probably keep to their individual climate-protection goals despite emissions recently rising again slightly. But the EU 15 have so far only managed to make a reduction of 1.2 per cent. Without taking stronger and consistent measures the EU will not be able to fulfil its obligations under the Kyoto agreement.

Germany is by far the biggest emitter in Europe, and as such has a major responsibility to make reductions. In the years 2008 to 2012 greenhouse gas emissions are supposed to fall on average by 21 per cent compared to 1990. This target can only be met if Germany keeps to the conditions set down in the EU and reduces its carbon emissions much more. The Ministry of Economics and Technology and the energy supply companies are protesting. They accept that effects to protect the climate be allowed to run aground in the EU. At all events, far too little will be done to avert the disastrous consequences of climate change.

Goals more ambitious than those so far formulated by the German government and the EU Commission, and going beyond 2012, have to be formulated for threatening, non-irrevocable damage to the climate to be avoided:

- **Germany must reduce its emissions of greenhouse gases by 40 per cent by 2020.**
- **The EU must commit itself to a 30 per cent avoidance of discharges by 2020.**
- **Global emissions must be halved by 2050.**

Putting the brakes on climate protection in Germany

The most important instrument in Europe for protecting the climate is emissions trading. Acting in coordination with the EU Commission, each legislature lays down national limits for CO₂ emissions by energy supply corporations and emissions-intensive industrial enterprises. The German government wanted to permit 482 million tonnes of emissions to be made in the period from 2008 to 2012. The EU's notification of November 2006 only allowed 453 million tonnes. The Federal Environment Minister Sigmar Gabriel in December 2006 proffered a reduction of 465 million tonnes as a greatest possible compromise. But for the Ministry of Economics and Technology and industry and energy federations this was going much too far. Michael Glos only withdrew a threat to the EU Commission to take legal action after Minister Gabriel in February 2007 agreed to the limit on amounts. Glos and the four big German energy suppliers miss no opportunity to call for nuclear power plant operating times to be extended – supposedly on the grounds that this will protect the climate.



Michael Glos is well acquainted with the German energy industry. Until 31 Dec 2004 Glos was a member of the advisory council* at the E.ON Bayern AG company in Bavaria and a member of the advisory council at Thüga AG, over 80 per cent of which is owned by E.ON Ruhrgas. Until taking up office as Minister of Economics and Technology in November 2005 he was Chief Executive of the Lültsfeld power cooperative in Lower Franconia, which supplies power to 143 towns and villages in the Schweinfurt, Kitzingen, Main-Spessart, Hassberge and Würzburg areas. The station draws over 80 per cent of its power from E.ON Bayern. He has maintained his corporate-friendly position towards climate-protection policies. In summer 2006 Glos called without success for fines for exceeding permitted amounts of CO₂ to be drastically reduced. In November he declared the EU Commission's requirements "entirely unacceptable"¹ and at the 14th Handelsblatt annual conference in January, where the issue was the energy industry in 2007, he accused the EU Commission, of all things, of attacking the regulations of the national allocation plan "which should ensure long-term security for plans and investment for new power plants."²

The energy market in Germany is dominated by the four big corporations of E.ON, the RWE [Rhine Westphalia] energy group, Vattenfall and EnBW [Baden Wurttemberg]. Between them they supply over 80 per cent of electricity and have 100 per cent of the grid. Together RWE and E.ON alone have shares in over 210 regional suppliers and public utilities. Three quarters of the German gas market are controlled by these two corporations alone. The 'big four' have practically divided regions between them with the energy supply in Germany. This oligopoly is the result of the radical deregulation of the energy markets on the basis of the energy industry law of 1998. This is no accident, as the big energy suppliers very much helped to formulate this law and its amended version in 2005.

These corporations retained their electricity and gas lines, were allowed to be their own overseers in regulating third party access to the grid and fixing prices, and forced new suppliers quickly off the market. Not until the EU put pressure on them and warned them was the law on energy changed, after years of negotiations, to have as its core the setting up of a regulatory authority. Energy suppliers and ministerial officialdom collaborated splendidly in the preparations for this. E.ON effected changes in the draft laws while these were still in the strict secrecy phase. And RWE dictated to officials at the Ministry of Economics and Technology whole passages of text in the regulation on remuneration for access to electricity supply grids. The EU has since threatened legal action.

The energy supply companies had a similarly successful effect in shaping trading in emissions. Not only did they receive emissions certificates free of charge and simply put their output value onto their prices, they also obtained far too many of them. The corporations made huge profits. But the price of a certificate at the end of January 2007 fell to under three euro. Not since emissions trading began has blowing carbon dioxide into the air cost so little. Emissions trading - and thus climate protection in the EU - is at stake.

* members of an *advisory council*, translated here throughout as 'advisory council' and elsewhere sometimes as 'board', often have a large say in decisions made - translator's note

Excellent links between energy corporations and high-level politicians

Energy suppliers reward their staff for recognising tasks as having a political aspect, and reward successful politicians working as they would like with lucrative posts in their businesses. Hundreds of politicians and ex-politicians sit on the boards and advisory councils of the big corporations, working as consultants for the electricity and gas business in agencies, chancelleries or freelance. There is a tradition to this connection, since local authorities were and for the most part still are shareholders in the „big four“s regional monopolies. In RWE and EnBW especially, it is patently visible in the way the companies are organised – having grown historically out of the authorities' concession rights. Local politicians fill not only their empty town coffers with the profits from the energy suppliers' shares, they often fill their own pockets too in the form of generous fees for sessions. Then there are trade union representatives, who in fighting for jobs often enough act politically in ways energy suppliers would like to see.

These links are seldom as spectacular as in the takeover of Ruhrgas by E.ON. Against the vote of the Federal Cartel Office and the Monopolies Commission, the Minister of Economics and Technology at the time, Werner Müller, and his Permanent Secretary, Alfred Tacke, in 2002 gave ministerial authorisation for the biggest German electricity corporation and biggest gas corporation to merge “for reasons of the overriding public interest”. A little later the two men moved to positions on the board at affiliates of the favoured corporations.



Werner Müller began his professional career as the head of the market research department at RWE. From 1980 on he worked with the board of the Veba AG energy company (the precursor of E.ON) and became its manager with general power of attorney. In 1992 he moved onto the board of the Veba Kraftwerke Ruhr subsidiary company where he was responsible for energy procurement, energy sales, district heating and waste management/incineration. He became an independent industry consultant in 1997. After the 1998 general elections in Germany the Chancellor designate, Gerhard Schröder, called him in first as an advisor for the coalition negotiations on the coalition with the Greens and then made him Minister of Economics and Technology. The two men knew each other from earlier days, with

Müller having already advised Schröder in energy consensus talks when he was Minister-President of Lower Saxony at the beginning of the 1990s. Müller took part in the negotiations on phasing out nuclear energy on behalf of the red-green government. Only in 2005 did it become known that he had been drawing a pension from E.ON since 2002.

When Schröder had no more use for him in the government's second period in office, Müller on 1 June 2003 changed over to take up the post of Chief Executive at the RAG multinational industrial group of companies. He has since built the enterprise into a globally active chemical and energy corporation and in 2007 plans to go on the stock market with it. He would like to hand over to the state the historic waste and obligations of the hard coal industry. In the run-up to the energy summit the RAG in February 2006 transferred 100,000 euro to the SPD [Social Democrat party] and 70,000 euro to the CDU [Christian Democrat conservatives].³ The CSU [Bavarian CDU sister party] are said to have received 30,000 euro and the FDP [Liberals] 50,000 euro.⁴



Alfred Tacke was one of Gerhard Schröder's closest advisors in industry matters. Schröder had him join the Minister-President's office in Lower Saxony as coordinator for policy on economics and industry. Just one year later Tacke advanced to become the state's Secretary for Industry, Technology and Transport. He was promoted to Permanent Secretary for Economics and Technology in Schröder's team. Tacke too was instrumentally involved in the nuclear phaseout negotiations in place of his minister, who had declared himself biased in having been a manager at Veba, and had in 2002 given ministerial authorisation for the merger between E.ON and Ruhrgas. Under Müller's successor, Wolfgang Clement, Tacke had to give up the energy department to the Clement supporter

Georg Wilhelm Adamowitsch. On 1 December 2004 Tacke moved to join the board of the STEAG company, an RAG subsidiary, taking over as chairperson on 1 January 2005; and, since its conversion

from a limited company to a plc in January 2007, he has been its chief managing director. STEAG is the fifth biggest power supplier in Germany. The chairman of the supervisory board - is Werner Müller.

After the 2002 elections Wolfgang Clement took over the newly named 'superministry' created by amalgating the labour and economics ministries. Despite the new character of his department one of his main priorities was to amend the energy industry law and introduce emissions trading.



Wolfgang Clement left journalism in 1989 to take up the post of being in charge of the Minister-President's office in North Rhine-Westphalia. After the state parliament elections in 1995 he was appointed Minister of Economic Affairs, Technology and Transport. In 1998 he succeeded Johannes Rau in the office of Minister-President after the latter had been elected German President. In autumn 2002 Schröder had him join the federal cabinet. In the balancing act between energy suppliers and the big industrial customers for energy he succeeded in revising the energy industry law such that industrial corporations would be able to make their own agreements on prices with the energy corporations. Since then the balance has been made up by private customers paying high price surcharges. Wolfgang

Clement and his permanent secretary Adamowitsch, likewise close to industry, are also responsible for the poor arrangements made for emissions trading in the period from 2005 to 2007. They saw emissions only having to be reduced slightly and that there were numerous special rulings in corporations' interests. After the end of the red-green government Clement took on several posts in industry including one on the RWE Power company board in February 2006.



After holding diverse posts in the Minister-President's office and state Environment Ministry in North Rhine-Westphalia **Georg Wilhelm Adamowitsch** in 1996 moved to the VEW energy corporation in Dortmund to become the official responsible for federal and European matters there. In 1999 he moved back to Düsseldorf as Permanent Secretary for energy and transport in the state Ministry for economic affairs and in 2002 was in charge of the Minister-President's office. After this he went to Berlin with Clement. He is said to have always supplied the big energy suppliers with information and drafts of regulations in advance. Under Glos Adamowitsch had to vacate his post in the late summer of 2006.



The German Chancellor **Gerhard Schröder** also went into the energy industry after the change in government in 2005. Since March 2006 he has been chairman of the board of the NEGP company, which has plans for a pipeline going from Russian gas fields to Germany via the Baltic – a project which Schröder had actively supported during his chancellorship. 51 per cent of the shares in the company are owned by the Russian gas corporation, Gazprom, and 24.5 per cent each by E.ON and the chemical corporation BASF.

The former Chancellor is in addition advising his ex-Minister of Economics and Technology, Werner Müller, on the stock market flotation planned by RAG. In a voluntary capacity, as they say.



Conversely, staff at energy suppliers also manage to obtain influential positions in politics.

Hermann Josef Arentz, chairman of the CDU's committee on social affairs and a candidate for a ministerial post in Düsseldorf, resigned from his office in December 2004 and decided not to stand again for the state parliament in North Rhine-Westphalia when it became known that he had been receiving a second salary from RWE in addition to his official salaries. Arentz has since 1992 been on the payroll of Rheinbraun AG, today RWE Power, receiving 60,000 euro a year plus free supplies of power without any service in return being evident in any way.

His colleague **Laurenz Meyer** is a similar case. But he still sits in the federal parliament as economics spokesperson for the CDU/CSU party (see p.10).

Have trade unions learned nothing in reconciling ecology with economics?

Dozens of trade unions representing employees sit on the supervisory boards of energy suppliers. Most of them belong to either the IG BCE mining, chemical and energy industry union or a sector of Germany's biggest services sector trade union, ver.di. Indeed each union's national chairperson is on the board of the two biggest corporations, E.ON and RWE.



Hubertus Schmoldt, chairman of IG BCE, has been deputy head of the E.ON board since the merger of VEBA and VIAG in the year 2000. He has also taken up the positions of deputy board chairperson at RAG, RAG Coal International, BP and other companies.

The IG BCE's core positions on German energy policy are that "In view of the rises in energy prices internationally, and the increasing risks for supplies, German energy policy must keep all available options for supply open; particular forms of energy should not be abandoned on ideological grounds ... Hard coal and brown coal, domestic forms of energy, must be kept as significant security factors and cover a major proportion of power supplies ... The competitiveness of German industry and consumers should not be burdened by subsidies for renewable energy paid by charges. Emissions trading in Germany must be regulated in the European

framework ... Germany going it alone or striving at having a leading role do not serve either ecological or economic interests and so are not in the social interests of employees either."

When the EU Commission announced that it only wanted to allow Germany to discharge 453 million tonnes of carbon dioxide in the 2008-2012 period for trading emissions, Schmoldt in a press release on 12 December 2006 even described the EU Commission's climate policy as a "job destruction programme for the energy industry" and in the light of the scarcity of emissions certificates planned accused the EU of encouraging the "de-industrialisation of Europe".



Frank Bsirske has been chairman of the united services sector union, ver.di, since 2001. In January 2001 he was chairman of the ÖTV, Germany's public service and transport union and one of ver.di's founder organisations, and a member of the RWE's supervisory board. Since the 2002 financial year he has been deputy chairman of the supervisory board.

The ÖTV founder union declared itself in favour of a regulated phaseout of nuclear energy in 1988 and again in 1996.

Bsirske broke with this consensus within the union in 2005. A position paper Bsirske published jointly with the national chairman of the mining, chemical and energy industry union, Hubertus Schmoldt, and the chairmen of the four big energy suppliers, EnBW, E.ON, RWE and Vattenfall Europe, called for "more realism in policy on energy and environmental policy". The paper called further that "particular forms of energy should not be abandoned on ideological grounds" (meaning particularly nuclear energy) and that the "effect of domestic forms of energy, which can be calculated with certainty and so have a tempering effect on costs and prices, should not be impaired" (meaning here brown and hard coal). Talking about climate policy, the authors called for the Kyoto protocol not to be simply extended beyond 2012 in view of the fact that the big emitters like the US, Australia, China and India were not participants in it. The goal had to be a "clear reduction in the price of CO₂" and "permanently secured arrangements for emissions rights without costs and being specific to particular fuels, especially for existing modern coal and gas power plants".

Bsirske backtracked halfheartedly on this support for the big German energy suppliers after vehement protests by trade unionists and environmentalists.

This did not prevent him, in December 2006, in a letter to the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, from again standing up and calling for security for investment in new “environmentally friendly” coal-fired power plants in Germany. “The EU Commission’s decision on the German climate protection plan (NAP),” said a press release on 10 December 2006, “jeopardises the large-scale investments in German energy infrastructure which have been planned and in some cases already started to be made.” A letter to Angela Merkel on 11 December formulated jointly with the chairpersons of the IG BCE, IG Metall [metalworkers, manufacturing and services in metal, electrical, textile, garment, wood and plastics industries] and IG Bauen, Agrar, Umwelt [construction, agriculture and environment] unions said “We urge you to see that the German government does not accept the EU Commission’s conditions.”

This demand is entirely in keeping with the line taken by the federation of German industry, which in an open to letter to Chancellor Merkel on 14 December 2006 called on her “to revert to the original NAP II resolution, not to make any further cuts, and to decisively oppose the plans from Brussels.” Those personally signing the letter included the board chairmen of EnBW, E.ON, RWE and Vattenfall.

The electricity industry federation (VDEW), to which all four big energy suppliers belong, also declared the reduction in emission certificates “unacceptable”.⁵ Effective climate protection, it said, did not need continuously new goals for savings.⁶

Ver.di on 7 February invited employees in the German energy industry to demonstrate in Berlin “against price regulating and regulation on incentives which is strangling grid operators”, “against unfair treatment of German power plants where emissions trading was concerned”, and “against forced sale of grids”. As a speaker Bsirske emphasised the dramatic impacts of global warming which “... is triggered above all by burning fuels containing carbon, like oil, coal and gas”. Just a few sentences later, however, he argued for “domestic forms of energy to be given priority” and “brown coal to be used to as a reliable basis for electrical power”.⁷

The long arm of lobbying reaches as far as Brussels

Rolf Linkohr was a European MP for the SPD from 1979 until 2004 and since then has been special consultant to the EU Commissioner for Energy, Andris Piebalgs. From 1994 to 2004 Linkohr was the President and is today the honorary Chairman of the European Energy Forum, which brings together companies and Euro MPs. The EEF is financed by the energy industry. Linkohr’s farewell dinner as president was sponsored by EnBW.⁸ In 2005 he founded the Centre for European Energy Strategy, which advises the big energy concerns on lobbying matters. Linkohr sits on the supervisory board of the Vattenfall Europe Mining AG and is a member in the advisory councils of EnBW, Holding AG energy services company, which belongs to EnBW, and Hitachi Power Europe. He is also an honorary member of the German nuclear society.



A discussion paper by “German social democrats” in Brussels caused a stir at the SPD head office in Willy-Brandt-Haus in Berlin at the beginning of 2006. “To achieve our ambitious goals in energy policy in Europe in the next few decades we must deal with energy more intelligently,” it said. “CO₂-free coal-fired power plants, safe nuclear energy and renewable energy, as well as measures for dealing with energy more efficiently, must be developed equally.”⁹ A large part of the initial signatories to the paper, who included Linkohr, however turned out on closer inspection to be

energy lobbyists with SPD party membership.

Sitting Germany MPs linked as well

In June 2005, a majority of the German Bundestag resolved to oblige its members to publish information on their additional income. This resolution obliges members to report to the President of the Bundestag all income that exceeds 1,000 euro per month or 10,000 euro per year. However, the only information made public is whether this additional income is less than 3,500 euro, or up to 7,000 euro, or exceeds 7,000 per month. At the time, CDU member Norbert Lammert voted against the resolution.

In December 2005, after he was elected President of the Bundestag, Lammert declared that these guidelines would still be valid for the 16th German Bundestag session, and he announced that figures would be published in the Bundestag Handbuch [biographical handbook of members] after a period of three months. On 10 March 2006, Lammert then announced that the release of this information would be deferred for the time being because six members had filed civil suits with the Federal Constitutional Court. He did not feel challenged by the court's statement that the members' action of one public body against another would not postpone the obligation and did not stand in the way of publication. One of the plaintiffs is the MP Friedrich Merz (CDU), active as a lawyer for RAG.

The new Members of the Bundestag Act states that exercising the Bundestag's mandate should be „at the centre of the activities of a Bundestag member“. In August 2006, Lammert commissioned an expert's report which said the crucial factor was not demands made on time or the amount of income generated, but solely the examination of one's conscience. However, the legislature had seen that differently in 2005. The Federal Constitutional Court indicated during its first hearing in October 2006 that it also saw the facts differently. A judgement is not expected to be handed down until spring of 2007.

To date only a few members have voluntarily posted their additional income in the Bundestag Handbuch or on their personal websites.



Norbert Lammert has been a member of the Bundestag since 1980. From 1994 until 1997, he served as Permanent Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology. Since May 2004 Lammert has been a member of RAG's supervisory board. By his own account, he donates his remuneration of 25,000 euro to the Norbert-Lammert-Foundation, which is managed by the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation, its interests close to those of the CDU. The latter foundation supports projects in political education, recruitment, art, and development aid.

In addition to holding many other honorary positions, Lammert is also active on the board of trustees at Ruhr University in Bochum, where he regularly meets Ulrich Middelman, Deputy Chief Executive of ThyssenKrupp and member of the supervisory boards of RAG and E.ON Ruhrgas.



According to the law, ministers holding office are not allowed to pursue any additional employment. But this doesn't mean that a minister will not have had direct contact to the energy sector before assuming office. Like Michael Glos, the Federal Minister of Economics and Technology, **Horst Seehofer**, Federal Minister for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection, has also been involved in energy policy in the past. From 2002 until 2004, Seehofer was the spokesperson on energy for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag. In this role he worked mainly as a supporter of nuclear power.¹⁰ During the Bundestag debate in April 2004 on amending the Renewable Energy Act, he called for the discontinuation of subsidy measures after the end of 2007, claiming that: „...only with cheaper prices can we achieve far more climate protection than through subsidising renewable energies alone.“ Until he assumed office in November

2005, Seehofer was an active member of the supervisory board at Donau-Wasserkraft [hydropower] in Munich. Although the name of this business sounds very environmentally-friendly, it is owned entirely by E.ON Energie.

Rolf Hempelmann has been a member (SPD) of the Bundestag since 1994; he is a member of the committee for economic affairs and technology, and has been spokesperson on energy for his parliamentary group

since 2003. Hempelmann is President of the Rot-Weiss Essen football club in the second division. Volker Heck, chief lobbyist for RWE, was a member of the club's supervisory board until November 2006. He has been replaced by Rolf Friedewald, head of marketing at RWE Energy. STEAG is the major sponsor of Rot-Weiss Essen and also pays for footballers' shirts. A premium partner in the group of sponsors is RWE, which also financially supports youth work in the club.



In addition, Hempelmann has been a member of the Hitachi Power Europe (HPE) advisory council since May 2005. This company builds core components for fossil fuel-fired power plants and new plants ready for commissioning. The HPE advisory council boasts an illustrious group of people: Bernhard Fischer (management board, E.ON Energie), Reinhard Hassa (management board, Vattenfall Europe), Johannes F. Lambertz (management board, RWE Power), Rolf Linkohr (see above) and Joachim Pfeiffer, coordinator of energy policy for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag. „HPE will be heavily involved in renewing Germany's and Europe's network of power plants,“ claims the company on its website.¹¹

Hempelmann believes that emissions trading is a device for promoting the building of new power plants. During the Bundestag debate on 2 April 2004 on the Renewable Energy Act, he said, „Emissions trading will serve as an instrument to promote a wave of investment in German power plant construction. We have set conditions so that investment for capital assets will be made in brown coal, hard coal and gas-fired power plants in Germany.“ In an interview on 11 August 2005, he told the online newspaper *Telepolis*, „...we have just set up framework conditions for emissions trading that will ensure there are still brown coal power plants in Germany in future.“¹² During a Bundestag debate on 22 September 2006, he stressed that: „In this respect, it is important to set up conditions so that, as far as possible, we have a broad range, meaning as many new power plants as possible.“ He continued: „...We want to expand the grid, we want to expand the network of power plants. For that we need to create a decent climate for investment.“ In a press release dated 24 November 2006, he called the EU Commission's demands regarding emissions trading „not acceptable“.



Joachim Pfeiffer has been a member of the Bundestag since 2002 and serves as energy policy coordinator for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group. He is on the committee for economics and technology and is a deputy member of the committee for environment, nature conservation and reactor safety. Pfeiffer is a self-employed business consultant. He is one of those Bundestag members who continue to follow their professions in addition to pursuing their work as politicians. Like his colleague Hempelmann, Pfeiffer is a member of the Hitachi Power Europe advisory council.

Pfeiffer knows the energy sector well from his own experience. From 1992 until 1997, he worked for the Schwaben (EVS) power supplier, which merged with Badenwerk on 1 January 1997 to become EnBW. Nuclear energy provides the largest part - 55 per cent - of EnBW's mixture of power sources. Since 2006, Pfeiffer has been lecturer for energy policy at the Institut für Energiewirtschaft und Rationelle Energieanwendung [institute for energy and rational energy use] at the University of Stuttgart. Joachim Pfeiffer vehemently supports extending the service life of nuclear power plants. „Our nuclear policy does not make us pioneers, but the last of the Mohicans.“¹³ Without differentiating between the production of electrical power and the production of energy, he stated on 18 January 2007 in the Bundestag: „By extending the service life of nuclear power plants, we could generate 60 per cent of electrical power without emissions by 2020.“

On 16 January 2004, in the first Bundestag discussion on the Greenhouse Gas Emissions Trading Act, Pfeiffer said: „This [implementation of the EU directive on the Kyoto protocol] is for industry in Germany...a disaster; in the context of European burden sharing, Germany must bear nearly 75 per cent of all the savings to be made in CO₂ emissions. The consequence is a one-sided burden on the German economy. The whole thing is made worse because you are not opening up the opportunity that would be offered by the flexible instruments of Joint Implementation and the Green Development Mechanism. You're pursuing the deliberate de-industrialisation of Germany.“

Reinhard Schultz is managing director of Schultz Projekt Consult and has been a member (SPD) of the Bundestag since 1994. In the present legislature period he is a deputy member of the committee for economics and technology and the committee for environment, nature conservation and reactor safety.



Schultz continues to follow his profession in addition to pursuing his work as Bundestag member. On the side, he is also on the supervisory board of Vattenfall Europe Mining, and provides consultation services to Vattenfall Europe for a fee. Schultz doesn't think these second jobs present a problem, saying it is not about „payment without services rendered“. He has been in the consulting business for years and doesn't intend to continue „just for small outfits“.¹⁴ During an interview on a programme broadcast by the WDR station on 18 January 2005, he said: „Vattenfall is interested in the expertise and specialist advice I can offer as the co-owner of a consultancy; if beyond that the whole energy sector has found me as Bundestag member to be an especially knowledgeable partner for communication, that is an entirely different level.“

This expertise is down on record. Reinhard Schultz writes letters on Bundestag letterhead, as for example on 1 October 2002 when he wrote to the then German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and called for including some items in the coalition agreement negotiations:

- „- preservation of climate protection policy as it has been until now, without making additional climate protection agreements with industry and without emissions trading for the power sector and basic industry until 2012,
- greater inclusion of the transport sector and households in climate protection,
- greater development in biomass facilities, reduction in subsidies for wind power...“

The original Word file of the letter reached the hands of journalists who, after looking at the document's properties, discovered that the real author was a salaried employee in the policy division at RWE.

On the occasion of the EU Commission's decision on the German plan for emissions trading, Schultz typed powerful words on the keyboard of his computer, writing on 6 December 2006 to Thomas de Maizière, the Chancellor's chief-of-staff, and Peter Struck, leader of the SPD parliamentary group: „I believe the EU Commission's decision is unlawful. ... I urgently advise [against] ... legal proceedings that intend to achieve the acceptance of allocation rulings and a cap of at least 476 million tons of CO₂. If this is not successful, it should be looked into whether the European CO₂ trading system couldn't be broken up.“

In a press release dated 24 November 2006, Schultz even talked about a „Balkanisation of EU rule of law on climate protection“ and in a press release dated 29 November 2006 he said, „Using a back-door approach, the goal is supposed to be that Germany reduces its CO₂ emissions by 2012 by far more than 21 per cent so that even if many other countries fail, the EU will reach its overall goal of eight per cent.“



Laurenz Meyer is still a member of the Bundestag. He is on the committee for economics and technology and is also spokesperson on economic policy for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group. Before becoming a Bundestag member, he was a member of the North Rhine-Westphalia state parliament starting in 1990. He continued to pay the reduced rate for electricity offered to employees even after leaving his job at VEW (taken over by RWE in 2000). Although he was elected Secretary-General to the CDU party late in November 2000, he continued to receive a salary from RWE until the end of April 2001. After investigating another payment of 250,000 DM made in summer 2000, which had drawn public attention, RWE announced at the end of December 2004 that part of that payment, a settlement of 160,000 DM, had been wrongly paid. Meyer had taken leave to run for membership in the state parliament in 2000, an election

he lost, and had returned to his job as division head at RWE. Meyer resigned as Secretary-General on 2 December 2004, but accepted a settlement of 52,000 euro for giving up office. In spring 2005, RWE terminated his work contract, backdated to 31 December 2004 – and paid a settlement of 400,000 euro.

Meyer is a stubborn advocate of extending the service lives of nuclear power plants. When emissions trading was introduced, he accused the then Environment Minister, Jürgen Trittin, of „wilfully endangering thousands of jobs“.¹⁵ He dismissed as „unrealistic“ plans proposed by members of his own political party to increase the share of renewable energy in power production to 35 per cent by 2020.¹⁶



Klaus Brandner is managing director and first authorised representative of IG Metall-Verwaltungsstelle Gütersloh [metalworkers' union administrative office]. He still pursues this work even though he has been a member (SPD) of the Bundestag since 1998. He is on the committee for labour market and social affairs, and is spokesperson on labour market and social policy issues for his parliamentary group – and in addition has been on the RAG supervisory board since May 2004. RAG offers an annual salary of more than 20,000 euro to its supervisory board members.

As spokesperson on labour market and social policy issues for the SPD parliamentary group, Brandner doesn't generally make comments on energy issues, but during the last legislature period he defended positions of the then Minister of Economics, Wolfgang Clement, who was critical of ecological concerns and favoured industrial interests.



Joachim Poß comes from the Gelsenkirchen constituency and has been a member of the Bundestag since 1980. An expert on financial policy and deputy leader of the SPD parliamentary group, he is on the supervisory board of Deutsche Steinkohle in Herne. This company is the „black“ subsidiary of RAG and owns all coal mines in Germany. Poß openly does what he can for hard coal mining. Jürgen Rüttgers, Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia, calls for letting subsidies for hard coal mining run out as soon as 2014, which Poß criticises as „flat-chested populism“ and damaging to the state's interests.¹⁷



Matthias Wissmann was Minister for Research and Technology for a short time in 1993; after the cabinet was reshuffled he was Minister of Transport until 1998. After the change in government, he held office as chairman of the committee for economics and technology. Since 2002 he has been chairman of the committee for European Union affairs. As a side line he still follows his profession as lawyer in the international law firm of Wilmer, Cutler, Pickering, Hale and Dorr LLP, based in Washington. He is also on the EnBW advisory council. The law firm boasts capability in political analysis and good contacts with the political sphere.

Wissmann defends the automobile industry on the issue of climate protection, and on the occasion of the debate on CO₂ emissions from road traffic said, „Replacing the present voluntary obligation to limit CO₂ emissions with a rigid guideline value would unnecessarily jeopardise many jobs in this country.“¹⁸

Regarding the takeover of the Spanish energy supplier Endesa by E.ON (headquartered in Düsseldorf), Wissmann's international interests are completely on the side of the energy provider; he called on the EU Commission to proceed with the merger in opposition to conditions posed by the Spanish. „If Europe doesn't want to be uncoupled here, we have to permit and promote the creation of effective and strong businesses without reservations and without national protectionism.“¹⁹ Wissmann is certainly not a friend of renewable energy. In July 2002, he caused quite a stir when he told the *Financial Times Deutschland* that in the event the CDU won an election it would make big cuts in the planned expansion of renewable energies because customers couldn't afford the continuation of present policies. But that's not how it turned out.

It's imperative links are severed

The Federal Ministers Act stipulates that members of the federal government may not pursue any other office, business or profession. During their terms of office, they may not be executives, or on the supervisory board or administrative council of a commercial enterprise. Federal ministers Michael Glos and Horst Seehofer ended such activities accordingly when they assumed office.

A similar ruling for members of the Bundestag does not exist. Although exercising the Bundestag mandate is at the centre of the Members of the Bundestag Act, the law doesn't exclude second jobs. Norbert Lammert, President of the Bundestag, has understood how to get around the obligation of publishing relevant information. For a year-and-a-half, the Bundestag Handbuch has appeared as a „white book“. Interested citizens must resort to tiresome research in archives and on the Internet, in newspapers and magazines, and to the time-consuming reading of annual business reports if they want to know more exactly which clients their elected representatives might have obligations towards. Even information on the former board activities of Economics Minister Michael Glos at E.ON Energie and Thuga is no longer available in the Handbuch for the Bundestag's 15th legislature period, and is accessible only in archives.

Current links between the energy sector and the political arena are diverse, as detailed in the appendix. Members of the Bundestag need not explain to anyone which role they are playing when they express views on energy policy and climate protection and „pull strings“. But the message is: democracy needs transparency.

For this reason, it is imperative that:

1. The President of the Bundestag immediately meet his obligation to publish information on second jobs held by members of the Bundestag,
2. The Bundestag, in accordance with the Federal Ministers Act, pass an amendment to the Members of the Bundestag Act which rules out that members receive additional income as executives, as members of supervisory boards, administrative councils, or advisory councils, or as lawyers, experts or consultants to commercial enterprises if these enterprises are in the sphere of activity of their political committee jobs.

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Appendix 1

Active politicians with links to the energy industry

Name	Function at energy supplier or related enterprise	Function in state authority or ministry, government, parliament or party; or other matters of note
Brandner, Klaus	RAG supervisory board	SPD, member of federal parliament SPD parliamentary party spokesperson on labour market and social policy questions
Fritz, Erich G.	Supervisory board, DSK Anthrazit Ibbenbüren GmbH (RAG subsidiary)	CDU, member of federal parliament Deputy member in Economics and Technology committee
Glos, Michael	Until November 2005 Chief Executive of Luelsfeld power cooperative, Lower Franconia Until 31.12.2004 on advisory councils of E.ON Bayern AG (Bavaria) and Thüga AG (E.ON Ruhrgas)	CSU, member of federal parliament since 1976 Federal Minister of Economics and Technology
Hegemann, Lothar	Supervisory board, Deutsche Steinkohle mining company (RAG subsidiary)	State treasurer, North Rhine-Westphalia CDU
Hempelmann, Rolf	Advisory council, Hitachi Power Europe GmbH	SPD, member of federal parliament, economics and technology committee SPD parliamentary party spokesperson on energy policy President of Rot-Weiss Essen second division football club (sponsors are RWE and STEAG)
Kübler, Jochen K.	Supervisory board EnBW Regional AG	CDU, member of Baden-Württemberg state parliament Mayor of Öhringen
Lammert, Dr. Norbert	RAG supervisory board	CDU, President of German Bundestag 1994-1997 parliamentary state secretary, Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology
Meiser, Klaus	Supervisory board, Deutsche Steinkohle mining company (RAG subsidiary)	CDU, member of Saarland state parliament, deputy chairman of CDU state party
Merz, Friedrich	Legal representative for RAG group	CDU, member of federal parliament
Moron, Edgar	Supervisory board, RWE Power AG	SPD, member of North Rhine-Westphalia state parliament since 1990 1998-2000 parliamentary whip 2000-2005 parliamentary party chairperson Vice President, North Rhine-Westphalia state parliament
Oppermann, Thomas	Advisory council, EnBW AG	SPD, member of federal parliament since 2005 1990-2005 member of Lower Saxony state parliament 1998-2003 Lower Saxony Minister of Economic and Cultural Affairs 2003-2005 SPD state party spokesperson on economic affairs

Pfeiffer, Dr. Joachim	Advisory council, Hitachi Power Europe GmbH	CDU, member of federal parliament since 2002 Economics and technology committee Deputy member in environment, nature conservation and nuclear safety committee CDU/CSU parliamentary party coordinator in energy matters 1992-1997 on staff of Schwaben AG energy supplier (today EnBW)
Poß, Joachim	Supervisory board, Deutsche Steinkohle AG (RAG group)	SPD, member of federal parliament since 1980 Deputy Chairman of SPD parliamentary party
Ramsauer, Günther	Deputy Chairman of supervisory board, Pfalzwerke AG (RWE)	SPD, member of Rheinland-Pfalz state parliament
Römer, Norbert	Deputy Chairman, supervisory board of WEMAG AG (Vattenfall)	SPD, member of North Rhine-Westphalia state parliament since 2005 Until end of 2006 IG BCE trade union secretary, Bochum area
Schultz, Reinhard	Supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe Mining AG	SPD, member of federal parliament since 1994 Member of finance committee Deputy member, Economics and Technology committee Deputy member, nature conservation and nuclear safety committee Member of managers' group, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung foundation
Seehofer, Horst	Until November 2005 on supervisory board of Donau-Wasserkraft AG, Munich (E.ON Energie)	CSU, member of federal parliament since 1980 Federal Minister of consumer protection, food and agriculture
Stahl, Helmut	RWE Power AG	CDU, member of state parliament North Rhine-Westphalia since 2000 Until 1998 state Secretary for Education, Science, Research and Technology, Baden-Württemberg
Stratthaus, Gerhard	Supervisory board, EnBW AG	CDU, Minister of Finance, Baden-Württemberg
Straub, Peter	Advisory council committee of experts, Energiedienst Holding AG (EnBW)	CDU, President of Baden-Württemberg state parliament
Weiß, Gerald	RAG supervisory board	CDU, member of federal parliament since 1998 1987-1991 Permanent Secretary in Hesse Ministry for social affairs Chairman of CDU/CSU parliamentary party workers' group Interim national Chairman and Chairman of the Hesse state federation of Christian democratic trade union of Germany (CDA)
Wissmann, Matthias	EnBW advisory council	CDU, member of federal parliament since 1976 Chairman of committee for European Union affairs 1983-1993 CDU/CSU parliamentary party spokesperson on economic affairs Jan 1993 – May 1993 Federal Minister of Research and Technology May 1993 – Oct 1998 Federal Transport Minister

Appendix 2

Former politicians and government officials in the energy sector

Name	Function at energy supplier or related enterprise	Function in government authority or ministry, government, parliament or party; or other matters of note
Bischoff, Werner	Supervisory board, RWE Supervisory board, RWE Power	SPD, 1995-2005 Member of North Rhine-Westphalia state parliament, Member of managing board at IG BCE [mining, chemical and energy industrial union]
Borghorst, Dr. Hermann	Executive, Vattenfall Europe Mining	1981 Assistant to SPD parliamentary group in Berlin state parliament 1991-2001 Member of Berlin state parliament 1993-2001 Member of committee for economics, business and technology 1995-2001 Deputy chairman of SPD state parliamentary group and group spokesperson on economic policy 1997-2001 Deputy head of IG BCE union in state's northeast district
Clement, Wolfgang	Supervisory board, RWE Power	SPD, 1989 In charge of Minister-President's office in North Rhine-Westphalia state (NRW) 1990 In charge of of NRW Minister-President's office and minister in NRW for special tasks 1995 Minister of Economic Affairs, Technology and Transport in North Rhine-Westphalia 1998 Minister-president of North Rhine/Westphalia 2002-2005 Federal minister of economic affairs and labour market
Deml, Dr. Peter	Executive, E.ON Bayern	1977-1982 Bavarian state Ministry of Finances, senior civil servant (retired)
Dreher, Dr. Burkhard	Supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe Mining	SPD, 1994-1999 Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology in Brandenburg state Former deputy chief executive of VEW Member of steering committee for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung managers' forum
Freese, Ulrich	Deputy chairman of supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe Mining	SPD, 1994-2004 Member of Brandenburg state parliament Deputy chairman of IG BCE [mining, chemical and energy industrial union]
Gnauck, Jürgen	Executive, E.ON Thüringer Energie	1999-2003 Minister of Federal and European Affairs for Thuringia state, and in charge of Minister-President's office in Thuringia
Hanisch, Dr. Rudolf	Supervisory board, E.ON Energie	1976 Bavarian state Ministry of Labour Market and Social Order 1983 Advisor to council of ministers and policy advisor in cabinet of Franz-Josef Strauss 1988 In charge of minister's office in Bavarian state Ministry of the Interior 1993 In charge of Minister-President's office in Bavarian state

Hohlefelder, Dr. Walter	Executive, E.ON Energie	1975-1980 personal advisor to Minister of the Interior in North Rhine-Westphalia 1980-1985 Ministry of the Interior 1985-1986 Managing director of Gesellschaft für Reaktorsicherheit [company for reactor safety] 1986-1994 Head of reactor safety division at Federal Environment Ministry
Kinkel, Dr. Klaus	Advisory council, EnBW	FDP, German Foreign Minister (retired), deputy German Chancellor (retired)
Kollorz, Fritz	Supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe Deputy Chairman of supervisory board, RAG Supervisory board, STEAG	CDU, 1990-2005 Member of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) state parliament Former member of managing board at IG BCE [mining, chemical and energy industrial union] Member of board of Christian-Democratic employee union for NRW state
Linkohr, Dr. Rolf	Advisory council, EnBW Expert advisory council, Energie-dienst Holding (EnBW) Supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe Mining Advisory council, Hitachi Power Europe	SPD, 1979-2004 Member of European parliament Special advisor to EU commissioner for energy issues Director of the Centre for European Energy Strategy in Brussels
Lucassen, Hanjo	Supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe Mining	SPD, 1999-2004 Member of Saxony state parliament Chairman of German confederation of trade unions in Saxony district
Mayer-Vorfelder, Gerhard	Advisory council, EnBW	CDU, Baden-Wurttemberg Minister of Finance (retired) Member of German Soccer Federation Presidency
Miert, Prof. Karel van	Supervisory board, RWE	1979-1985 Member of European parliament 1989-1999 EU Competition Commissioner
Müller, Dr. Werner	Chief executive, RAG Chairman of supervisory board, Deutsche Steinkohle (RAG) Chairman of supervisory board, RAG Coal International (RAG) Chairman of supervisory board, STEAG (RAG)	1998-2002 German Minister for Economics and Technology
Schlauch, Rezzo	Advisory council, EnBW	Greens parliamentary secretary (retired), lawyer
Schleich, Dr. Albrecht	General manager, E.ON Bayern	1984-1990 Bavarian state Ministry of Economics and Transport Federal Ministry of Research and Technology
Schreck, Wilfried	Supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe	SPD, 2002-2005 Member of Bundestag, member of committee for economic affairs and labour market Chairman of works council at Vattenfall Europe Generation Member of managing board at IG BCE [mining, chemical and energy industrial union]
Starzacher, Karl	Advisory council, EnBW Supervisory board, E.ON Energie	SPD, Ex-member of Hesse state parliament 1991-1995 President of state parliament 1995-1999 Hesse state Minister of Finances Former chief executive of RAG Member of steering committee for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung managers' forum

Strieder, Peter	Supervisory board, Vattenfall Europe Berlin	SPD, 1995-2004 Senator for urban development in Berlin state 1999-2004 Chairman of SPD party in Berlin state
Süssmuth, Prof. Dr. Dr. Rita	Advisory council, EnBW	CDU, President of German Bundestag (retired)
Tacke, Dr. Alfred	Chief managing director, STEAG	1998-2004 Permanent secretary in Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology (later called Economics and Labour Market)
Thomauske, Dr. Bruno	Managing director, Vattenfall Europe Nuclear Energy	1983-2003 Bundesamt für Strahlenschutz [federal office for radiation protection] Member of Deutsche Atomforum Presidency
Vogg, Dr. Stefan	Executive, E.ON Bayern	1994-1995 Bavarian state Ministry of Finances
Waigel, Dr. Theo	Advisory council, EnBW	CSU, German Minister of Finances (retired), lawyer

Appendix 3

Official lobbyists for energy suppliers

Name	Function at energy supplier or related enterprise	Function in government authority or ministry, government, parliament or party; or other matters of notes
Czernie, Dr. Wilfried	Authorised representative of board Head representative at RAG Berlin	Former directorship of environment and energy at OECD Formerly in energy division of Federal Ministry of Economics Former general manager of E.ON Ruhrgas
Dirschauer, Wolfgang	Employee in climate protection division, Vattenfall Europe as of 1 February 2007	1998-2007 Energy advisor to SPD parliamentary group in Bundestag
Groeben, Gert von der	General manager of E.ON Energie	SPD, 1986-1998 Energy advisor to SPD parliamentary group in Bundestag Member of board for steering committee of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung managers' forum
Haberzettel, Manfred	General manager of EnBW in Brussels	Former colleague of Rolf Linkohr, SPD member of European parliament
Heck, Volker	Head of corporate communication/public affairs at RWE	Career at RWE
Hogrefe, Jürgen	Head of economics, politics and society division at EnBW	1983 The Greens parliamentary party spokesperson in Lower Saxony state parliament 1985-2003 Editor and correspondent for <i>Der Spiegel</i>
Horstmann, Axel	General manager of EnBW group for North Rhine-Westphalia	SPD, 1995-1998 North Rhine-Westphalia state Minister of Labour Market, Health and Social Affairs 2002-2005 State Minister for Transport, Energy and State Planning
Kemper, Thomas	Corporate communication and energy policy division at Düsseldorf municipal utilities (EnBW)	Harpen (RWE) 2005-2006 North Rhine-Westphalia state government spokesperson
Klinkert, Ulrich	Head of public affairs division at Vattenfall Europe	CDU, 1990-2002 Member of Bundestag 1991-1994 Chairman of working group on environment, nature conservation and reactor safety in CDU/CSU parliamentary group 1994-1998 Parliamentary secretary in Federal Environment Ministry
Knauber, Rainer	Head of politics and society division at Vattenfall Europe	SPD, 1999-2000 Press spokesperson for Reinhard Klimmt, German Minister of Transport
Maldaner, Karlheinz	Head representative at Degussa (RAG)	Former colleague of Hans-Ulrich Klose, chairman of SPD parliamentary group
Rentz, Dr. Henning	Head of corporate energy policy division at RWE	1994-1996 Federal Environment Ministry, environment and energy department, national climate protection programme
Schreiber, Jens	Head representative at E.ON in Berlin (as of 1 April 2007)	Formerly at Veba Oel Formerly at MG Technologies Formerly at Messe Frankfurt trade fair

Schröter Dirk	Employee in political division of Vattenfall Europe	Former employee at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Washington D.C. Former colleague of Christian von Stetten, CDU/CSU MP
Schulz, Markus	RAG representative, Berlin	Former managing director of CDU state group in North Rhine-Westphalia
Werner, Klaus	Head representative at E.ON in Berlin (until 30 March 2007)	No previous known links to politics

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