



# THE PRICE OF POWER

*A deep-dive analysis into how political parties squeeze influential lawmakers to boost campaign coffers*

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## Acknowledgements

This Issue One report was written by Manager of Research, Investigations and Policy Analysis Michael Beckel in consultation with Chief of Policy, Programs and Strategy Meredith McGehee. Additional research by Tyler Cole, Malek Robbana and Casey Simmons. Design by Evan Ottenfeld.

## About Issue One

Issue One is a nonpartisan, nonprofit advocacy organization dedicated to political reform and government ethics in order to strengthen democracy and return government to the American people. Issue One's ReFormers Caucus of more than 180 former members of Congress, governors and Cabinet officials is the largest bipartisan coalition of its kind ever assembled to advocate for solutions to fix our democracy. Learn more at [issueone.org](http://issueone.org).

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## Media Contact

William Gray  
[wgray@issueone.org](mailto:wgray@issueone.org) | (202) 204-8553

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# FOREWORD

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We are here to let you in on a dirty secret in Washington: To serve on the most influential committees in the U.S. House of Representatives, lawmakers are expected to raise a certain amount of money for their respective political parties. The sums involved have become astronomical — more than one million dollars for the most coveted spots. And neither party can claim the moral high ground: Democrats and Republicans alike expect this of their members.

You should not have to buy a position on any committee in Congress. That's just wrong. To be a successful politician, you should not be judged solely by how much money you can raise. Issue One's "The Price of Power" report illustrates just how rampant such pay-to-play politicking has become, and it offers solutions so that those serving in Congress can prioritize legislating instead of fundraising.

Constantly raising funds for the political parties interferes with the work of serving your constituents and your country. Hours spent fundraising — and worrying about fundraising — are time and energy diverted away from lawmakers' legislative responsibilities. When members of Congress get out of bed in the morning, they should be thinking about solving the country's problems as opposed to how much cash they can raise that day.

It should not come as a surprise that most members of Congress dislike both the fundraising quotas placed upon them and their second job of "dialing for dollars" as telemarketers for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and the National Republican Congressional Committee.

Lawmakers could undo these shackles by adopting simple, common-sense reforms as quickly as possible to sever the ties between fundraising and committee leadership, which would also reduce the conflicts of interest created by our current system.

It should be against House rules to require that legislators raise money to stay on a committee or to become the chair or ranking member of a committee. Moreover, members of Congress should be prohibited from soliciting funds during work hours while Congress is in session so their focus can be on the people's work. Republican and Democratic leaders should also agree to bring "party dues" back down to earth. Furthermore, these dues should be publicly disclosed.

We are not saying that committee chairs should not be involved at all with fundraising to help their parties or their colleagues, but it should not be the primary arbiter of whether they ascend to, or stay in, positions of leadership.

It is unhealthy for our country and our democracy for money to be such a critical component of how legislative leaders are selected. This dirty secret has metastasized into a major cancer afflicting our legislative process. The time to combat this is now. Nothing less than the public's trust in government itself is at stake.



**Connie Morella**

Former Representative (R-MD);  
Co-Chair, ReFormers Caucus



**Tim Roemer**

Former Ambassador and  
Representative (D-IN);  
Co-Chair, ReFormers Caucus



**Zach Wamp**

Former Representative (R-TN);  
Co-Chair, ReFormers Caucus

# THE PRICE OF POWER

*A deep-dive analysis into how political parties squeeze influential lawmakers to boost campaign coffers*

Few members of Congress love fundraising, but North Carolina Republican Rep. Virginia Foxx has excelled so much at helping her party raise campaign cash that she had a “call suite” named after her at the National Republican Congressional Committee’s headquarters in Washington, D.C.

From January 2013 until earlier this year, Foxx served as the secretary of the House Republican Conference — one of the House Republicans’ top leadership posts. Her success in assisting the GOP raise funds helped get her there.

The unfortunate reality today is that fundraising prowess — not subject-matter expertise — is now a major factor for obtaining congressional leadership roles.

Campaign finance records show Foxx raised about \$972,000 for her 2012 re-election bid, which she won handily. While that sum is not particularly notable in an age when many winning House candidates [spend more than a million dollars](#), a striking trend emerges in how Foxx spent the money. Over the course of the campaign, she transferred \$170,000 from her political war chest to the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC). In essence, roughly \$1 of every \$6 Foxx raised for her 2012 campaign was funneled to the arm of the GOP focused on aiding House Republicans in their electoral battles.

Foxx’s fundraising on behalf of the NRCC was far from over.

Disclosures show Foxx transferred another \$280,000 from her campaign to the NRCC during her four years as the secretary of the House Republican Conference. Now the chair of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, Foxx — a former community college president who supports reducing the scope of

***Want to chair a committee? That will cost you. Want to chair one of the most powerful committees? That will cost you even more. This is tantamount to a “committee tax.”***



**When members of Congress talk about “party dues,” they are generally referring to one of three things, or a combination of them:**

1. Money that is raised, usually by “dialing for dollars,” by a member on behalf of the party, which goes directly into the party’s war chest but is credited to the member.
2. Money that is transferred from a member’s campaign committee or leadership PAC to the party.
3. Money that is transferred from a member’s campaign committee or leadership PAC to fellow members and/or candidates in tough races.

the U.S. Department of Education — has continued pumping money into the NRCC this year, giving another \$100,000 in January, according to a recently filed campaign finance report.

Foxx is not alone in raising sizeable sums for her political party. In addition to raising money for their own re-election campaigns, lawmakers on both sides of the aisle — especially the highest-ranking members of powerful congressional committees — are increasingly expected to help their parties raise vast amounts.

This leads to members of Congress working as telemarketers for the political parties rather than as the people’s servants in the nation’s capital, as they [spend countless hours each week](#) “dialing for dollars” and hitting the fundraising circuit. For committee or subcommittee chairs, this coincides with them gaining greater responsibilities and time commitments for their own legislative work.

Many outside of Washington are unaware that the Republican and Democratic parties alike use systems of “party dues,” in which lawmakers are given fundraising quotas, with plum committee assignments requiring even larger hauls.

While the phrase “party dues” may sound innocuous, the current system is anything but. This goes beyond party loyalty. The message it sends is simple: Want to chair a committee? That will cost you. Want to chair one of the most powerful committees? That will cost you even more. This is tantamount to a “committee tax” imposed on members of Congress by the parties.

These demands to raise money take legislators away from doing the people’s work, incentivize members of Congress to seek campaign cash from the interests they regulate and elevate fundraising skills over policy knowledge when it comes to who controls legislation. Furthermore, it strengthens a small elite of Washington-based powerbrokers.

But it does not need to be this way, and frustration with this system is mounting both inside and outside of Congress. More than [90 percent of Americans](#) believe that elected officials listen more to deep-pocketed donors than regular voters. All the while, an increasing number of members of Congress are rebelling against the costs imposed on them and their time. That is why this report not only details the intersection between money and committee leadership, but also discusses possible solutions to this problem.

## How it works

Because of the amount and complexity of its work, Congress uses a number of committees to divide up its legislative, administrative and oversight functions to better manage the flow of the policymaking process. Much of the legislative branch's policy expertise resides in the standing committees — panels of members who work to develop and assess proposed legislation in specific issue areas.

The men and women who chair congressional committees have some of the most important jobs in the federal government. They oversee policy on numerous issues that affect the country on a daily basis, including homeland security, health, education, immigration and how to structure the tax system. The members of Congress who chair committees should be the most knowledgeable and capable lawmakers, true public servants who reject the idea of influence-based lawmaking. But that is not always the case.

Who gets to serve on each committee in the U.S. House of Representatives is determined by the parties. The House Republican Conference and House Democratic Caucus each set up “steering committees” to recommend which members should serve on — as well as chair — which committees. Then each party caucus votes on whether to confirm those selections.

Party leaders play a crucial role in determining the steering committees' recommendations for congressional committee assignments. Put bluntly, those who do not play by leadership's rules do not get plum committee assignments, nor do they get to chair any committees.

Party leadership typically requires some basic level of policy knowledge and political skill. And since the party caucuses get to vote on nominees, member-to-member relationships also matter. But because of leadership's near-total control, the ability to raise vast sums of money is a key factor in who is selected to be a chair.

As a result, committee chairs — and those aspiring to become chairs — spend considerable amounts of time raising money instead of developing solutions to complex policy problems.

Moreover, chairs are often reliant on money from lobbyists and special interests, frequently pressuring and cajoling those working in the industries they regulate to donate generously to their campaigns. In

***“You shouldn’t have to buy a position. That’s just not right.”***

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-Former Rep. Chris Shays (R-CT)



### ***What is a transfer?***

Members of Congress are allowed to transfer unlimited amounts of money from their own campaign committees to the national parties' political committees, such as the DCCC and NRCC. Members of Congress can also transfer money from their leadership PACs to the parties, though the amounts of those transfers are capped annually in the six-figure range.

***“Every time you walk into an NRCC meeting, a giant ... tally sheet is on prominent display that lists your name and how much you’ve given — or haven’t. It’s a huge wall of shame.”***

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-Former Rep. Trey Radel (R-FL)

turn, they become more beholden to those lobbyists and interest groups, rather than constituents, when it is time to craft legislation.

Party leadership on both sides of the aisle assigns every member of their party a dollar figure that he or she is expected to pay in dues — money for the party’s coffers to aid vulnerable members and top candidates. These figures are well-known in party circles and are used to shame lawmakers into “supporting the team.”

Some of this fundraising is easy to track in public documents, but some of it is not. Campaign finance reports, which are submitted regularly to the Federal Election Commission, show how much money has been transferred out of lawmakers’ campaign committees and leadership PACs. But there are no public records related to how much money lawmakers are directly raising for the parties by “dialing for dollars,” although leaked information does provide occasional insights.

By law, members of Congress are prohibited from raising campaign cash from their official offices. Instead, lawmakers frequently use facilities on Capitol Hill operated by the NRCC and Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) to dial for dollars. These party-provided call suites are not glamorous, but rather are typically cramped cubicles with just enough space for members of Congress to make phone calls to donors.

### ***‘Committees all have prices’***

Paying party dues is an important part of staying in leadership’s good graces. And although they do not often admit it publicly, party leadership, in private, explicitly ties congressional committee assignments to members’ dues.

Case in point: Rep. Thomas Massie, a Republican from Kentucky, [once told USA Today](#): “They told us right off the bat as soon as we get here, ‘These committees all have prices and don’t pick an expensive one if you can’t make the payments.’”

In the same *USA Today* article, Rep. Marcy Kaptur, a Democrat from Ohio, also complained about the party dues system: “It is clear that political party fundraising has been moved directly into Congress, at levels never imagined by the Founders,” she said.

They are not alone in facing these fundraising burdens.

“If you want to serve on a committee in Congress, you have to pay for the privilege,” wrote Rep. Ken Buck, a Republican from Colorado, in his [new book](#) *Drain the Swamp: How Washington Corruption is Worse than You Think*. “Committee assignments, then, are less about qualifications than they are about cash — or, to put it another way, cash is the chief qualification you need.”

Buck continues:

“When representatives don’t pay their ‘dues’ or fall behind, they are pressured to pay up — or else ...

*Candidates’ ability to raise cash is largely influenced by how well they play the game with leadership, and if you don’t pay your dues, you can’t use the NRCC call suites (or other benefits like the NRCC recording studios) to raise money ...*

*Some members of Congress spend at least half their time fundraising to keep their dues paid and campaign coffers full.”*

Buck has also criticized “transactional giving,” when special interests give money to affect legislation moving through Congress.

“I have real problems with that, and the feedback I get from the American public is they have real problems with it,” Buck recently [told radio station KUNC in Colorado](#).

These experiences and concerns have also been echoed by former lawmakers, including several members of [Issue One’s ReFormers Caucus](#) — the 180-strong bipartisan group of former members of Congress and governors committed to reducing the power of money in politics and strengthening ethics in government — who were interviewed for this report.

In his recent book *Life in the Marble Palace: In Praise of Folly*, former Republican Rep. Cliff Stearns of Florida wrote that committee leadership “is decided by who can raise and give the most money — not the most competitive or competent or best speaker or most politically astute, but who is able to raise the mega bucks.”

Former Republican Rep. Allen West of Florida once told [Breitbart News](#) that committee chairmanships

## What are the DCCC and NRCC?

Both the Democratic Party and Republican Party run operations that focus on aiding House candidates — and increasing their party’s ranks within the U.S. House of Representatives. These operations, known as the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and National Republican Congressional Committee, help recruit candidates and provide strategic advice and resources, including fundraising assistance and advertising.



**Former Rep. Cliff Stearns (R-FL)**





***“The people who raised a lot of money got better committee assignments than those who did not.”***

-Former Rep. Sue Myrick (R-NC)



**Former Rep. Sue Myrick (R-NC)**



come “with a pretty good price tag,” which “becomes a bit of cronyism in and of itself.”

West continued: “Every member got assessed dues and there were freshman colleagues of mine that they so wanted to be on a [top] committee ... and of course their dues were higher.”

Former Republican Rep. Trey Radel of Florida recounted similar observations in his new book *Democracy: A True Story of Weird Politics, Money, Madness and Finger Food*.

“The more money you give, the more powerful you become as a player within your party,” Radel wrote. “When you donate big to the congressional committee, you land on a better committee.”

Radel continued: “Every year members are expected to raise and pay dues to the committee. And you’re reminded of it often ... Every time you walk into an NRCC meeting, a giant goddamn tally sheet is on prominent display that lists your name and how much you’ve given — or haven’t. It’s a huge wall of shame. The big players, people in leadership positions and chairs of powerful committees, always dominate the board, raising millions for the NRCC. Furthermore, if you are in leadership or the head of a big committee, your dues are higher, *much higher*.”

Added former Republican Rep. Sue Myrick of North Carolina: “The people who raised a lot of money got better committee assignments than those who did not.”



**Former Rep. Dan Glickman (D-KS)**



Former Democratic Rep. Dan Glickman of Kansas concurred: “Almost everybody who’s a committee chair or ranking member, particularly in the House of Representatives, is actively involved in raising money. If lawmakers don’t participate in this fundraising system, they generally don’t reach the top of the ranks anymore. Unfortunately, your ability to be a successful politician is now judged as much by how much money you can raise as how smart or how effective you are.”



**Former Rep. Tim Roemer (D-IN)**



And according to former Democratic Rep. Tim Roemer of Indiana, a co-chair of Issue One’s ReFormers Caucus: “It’s destructive to our democracy that just as members of Congress are assuming more legislative responsibility as committee chairs, they’re also being required to raise much more money. There’s a deeply troubling contradiction here. They are diverting precious time to fundraising when they

need to be applying expertise to hearings, solving our nation's problems and conducting the arduous job of shepherding bills through Congress."

### More influence, more money

Republican David Jolly arrived in Washington, D.C., in March of 2014 after winning a special election in Florida's 13th Congressional District. Even as the most junior member of Congress, he quickly learned the Republican Party expected him to help raise money for them.

"My first week I was given a dues statement for \$87,000 — it was basically \$200,000 for being on T&I, but it was prorated," said Jolly, referring to the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, on which he served during his first term.

In his second term, Jolly joined the powerful House Appropriations Committee — a step up from the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. That year, Jolly said, the party asked him to increase his efforts and raise \$400,000 for the NRCC.

But Jolly did not play ball. Last year, he [told CBS News' "60 Minutes"](#) — as part of an episode that also featured hidden camera footage of the fundraising "wall of shame" from inside the NRCC headquarters — that he stopped paying his party dues.

"If you are on an important committee, you're expected to have a larger role in fundraising for the party," Jolly said. "It's just an additional strain on top of members' already crushing burden to raise money for their own reelection efforts."

Congressional committees are assigned rankings by party leaders — A, B or C — based on their importance. The Transportation and Infrastructure Committee is a "B" committee. Appropriations is an "A" committee. The other A committees are Energy and Commerce; Financial Services; Rules; and Ways and Means. All A committees generally require their members to serve on them exclusively, due to the relative complexity and importance of the issues within their jurisdiction.

Serving as a committee chair — especially on one of the five A committees — frequently ups the ante even further in terms of fundraising expectations.

According to Buck's [book](#), members of Congress who chair a B committee are expected to raise \$875,000 for the NRCC and chairing an A committee brings



**Former Rep. David Jolly (R-FL)**

### ***What is a candidate committee versus a leadership PAC?***

To pay for campaign costs, politicians operate campaign committees, which can raise money, abiding by the legal contribution limits, from individuals and political action committees. Many members of Congress also operate leadership PACs, which cannot be used to pay for their own campaign expenses, but instead are often used to give money to like-minded politicians. Leadership PACs, which also have contribution limits, provide donors an additional way to curry favor with politicians on top of giving directly to candidates' campaigns.

the expectation to raise \$1.2 million for the NRCC during the 2017-2018 election cycle.

Most other House Republicans have six-figure party dues. Rank-and-file members who serve on A committees are generally expected to raise \$450,000 for the NRCC and rank-and-file members who serve on B committees are generally expected to raise \$325,000 for the NRCC.

Serving in the top leadership roles raises the stakes even higher, with the No. 1 and No. 2 House Republicans — i.e., the speaker of the House and majority leader — being expected to raise \$20 million and \$10 million, respectively, for the NRCC, according to Buck.

That is up significantly from a few years earlier.

In his book *Extortion: How Politicians Extract Your Money, Buy Votes and Line Their Own Pockets*, conservative author [Peter Schweizer wrote](#) that the House Republicans who chaired the five A committees were each supposed to pony up

\$990,000 in party dues during the 2013-2014 election cycle. At that time, chairs of B committees were generally expected to raise \$750,000, and other House Republicans were likewise on the hook for six-figure sums, according to the internal party documents Schweizer obtained.

House Republicans are not alone in the practice of asking their highest-ranking members to raise large sums for the party. House Democrats have also embraced a similar system, although the current dues amounts are not publicly disclosed.

According to internal party documents obtained by both Schweizer and [BuzzFeed](#), during the 2013-2014 election cycle, the top Democratic lawmakers on the five A committees were asked to steer \$1.5 million into the coffers of the DCCC.

Other Democratic members of those influential committees were asked to help the DCCC raise between \$450,000 and \$550,000, according to the leaked documents.

## **“Party Dues” or a “Committee Tax”? What the NRCC Expects Committee Chairs to Raise for Election 2018**



Source: *Drain the Swamp* by Rep. Ken Buck (R-CO)

And the Democratic leadership in the House had even loftier fundraising goals. Reps. Nancy Pelosi of California and Steny Hoyer of Maryland — the No. 1 and No. 2 House Democrats — were expected to raise about \$26 million and \$3.3 million, respectively, for the DCCC.

According to former Democratic Rep. Martin Frost of Texas, dues payments were not very substantial back when he chaired the DCCC roughly 20 years ago. But party leaders still encouraged lawmakers to step up to help the party, as they do today. As the DCCC chairman during the 1996 and 1998 elections, Frost published lists of which lawmakers had paid their dues and which had not — and handed them out at caucus meetings to incentivize giving.

Frost estimated that about half of the House Democratic Caucus paid their dues back then. Now, he said, Pelosi “has really put the hammer down on people and told them they have to pay a certain amount if they’re a ranking member or a certain amount if they’re on a key committee.”

Because campaigns have gotten so expensive, Frost says parties and candidates need to be able to raise sizeable amounts of money to defend themselves. The Center for Responsive Politics [calculated](#) that spending in all House and Senate races in 2016 exceeded \$4 billion. That’s up from about \$2.3 billion (after adjusting for inflation) in 2000.

Chairs and ranking members of powerful committees are asked to raise more funds for the party, Frost said, because “those are the people who have the best chance of raising money.”

For the GOP, dues payments took on more importance after the 1994 “Republican Revolution” that earned Newt Gingrich the speaker’s gavel. It was the first time that Republicans controlled the U.S. House of Representatives in four decades.

In subsequent elections, both parties sought to have the financial resources available to win competitive races as they battled to control the U.S. House of Representatives. Thus, each party aims to incentivize its members to raise funds to help the party — to either stay in the majority, if it is already in power, or to regain the majority, if it is not. As former Republican Rep. Tom Davis of Virginia, who chaired the NRCC ahead of the 2000 and 2002 elections, put it: “If they want the gavels, they’ve got to have their party in control.”



**Former Rep. Martin Frost (D-TX)**  
DCCC Chairman 1995-1998

***“If you are on an important committee, you’re expected to have a larger role in fundraising for the party.”***

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-Former Rep. David Jolly (R-FL)



**Former Rep. Tom Davis (R-VA)**  
NRCC Chairman 1999-2002



**Former Rep. Zach Wamp (R-TN)**

According to former Republican Rep. Zach Wamp of Tennessee, “the quotas really started gathering momentum” on the Republican side under Dennis Hastert, who served as speaker of the House from 1999 until 2007.

Wamp — who was first elected in 1994, left Congress in 2011 and now serves as a co-chair of [Issue One's ReFormers Caucus](#) — said that John Boehner, who served as speaker of the House from January 2011 until October 2015, also “really put pressure on people” to raise money for the party.

That fundraising pressure has not abated today. But former lawmakers note that it was not always this way.



**Former Rep. Chris Shays (R-CT)**

“When I was first elected, there was no such thing as someone having to raise money in order to be on a certain committee or in order to be a subcommittee chairman or in order to be a chairman,” said former Republican Rep. Chris Shays of Connecticut, who served in Congress from 1987 until 2009.

“You shouldn’t have to buy a position,” Shays continued. “That’s just not right.”

### **Tangled webs of transactional giving**

To be able to pay their six- or seven-figure party dues, committee chairs and ranking members need to be able to raise vast sums of money. To do so, they frequently turn to the people and interests with business before them.

The more powerful lawmakers are, the more leverage they have over the people and special interest groups they solicit for campaign cash — donors who are often quite interested in obtaining access to the influential legislators.

This tangled web brings with it risks and potential conflicts of interests.

“Big money doesn’t come in casually,” said former Democratic Rep. Jim Jones of Oklahoma. “It wants to have its point of view prevail, whether it’s to block legislation or to promote legislation.”



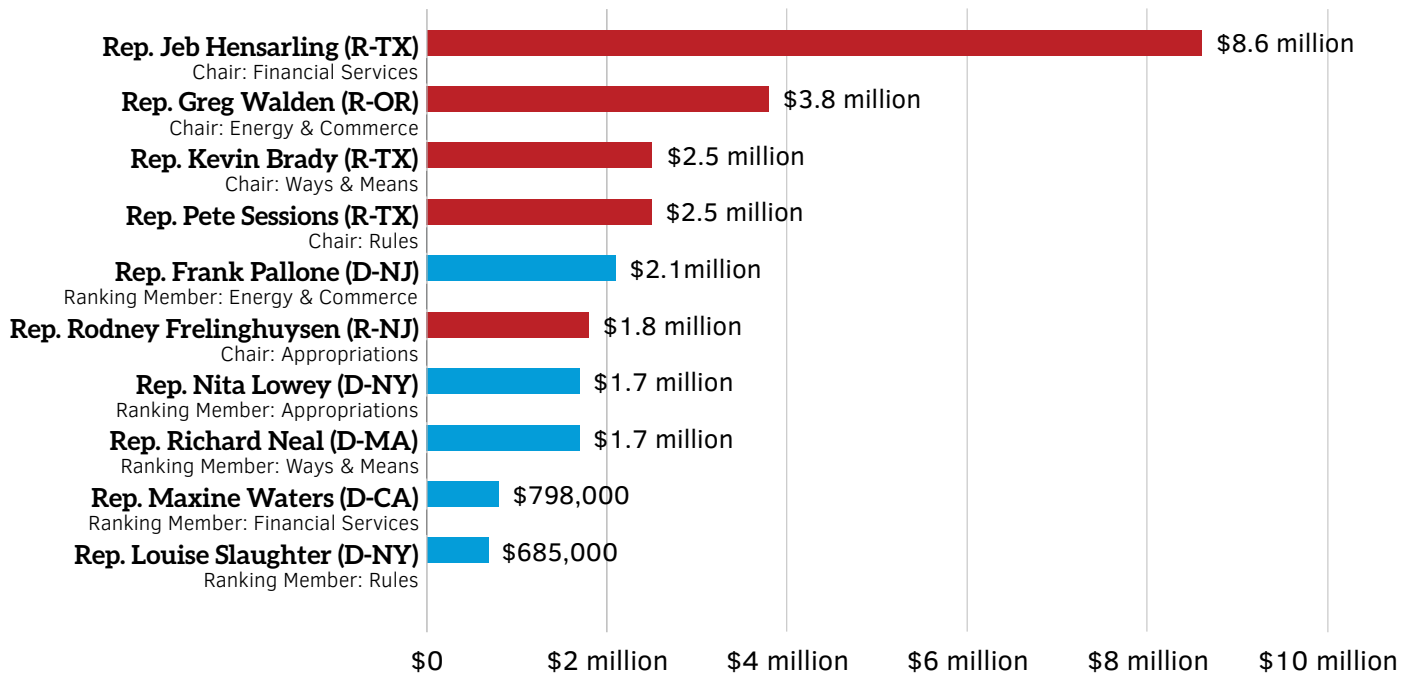
**Former Rep. Jim Jones (D-OK)**



**Former Rep. Mike Castle (R-DE)**

That sentiment was echoed by former Republican Rep. Mike Castle of Delaware: “Individuals who are contributing to candidates are often people who want to influence decision-making.”

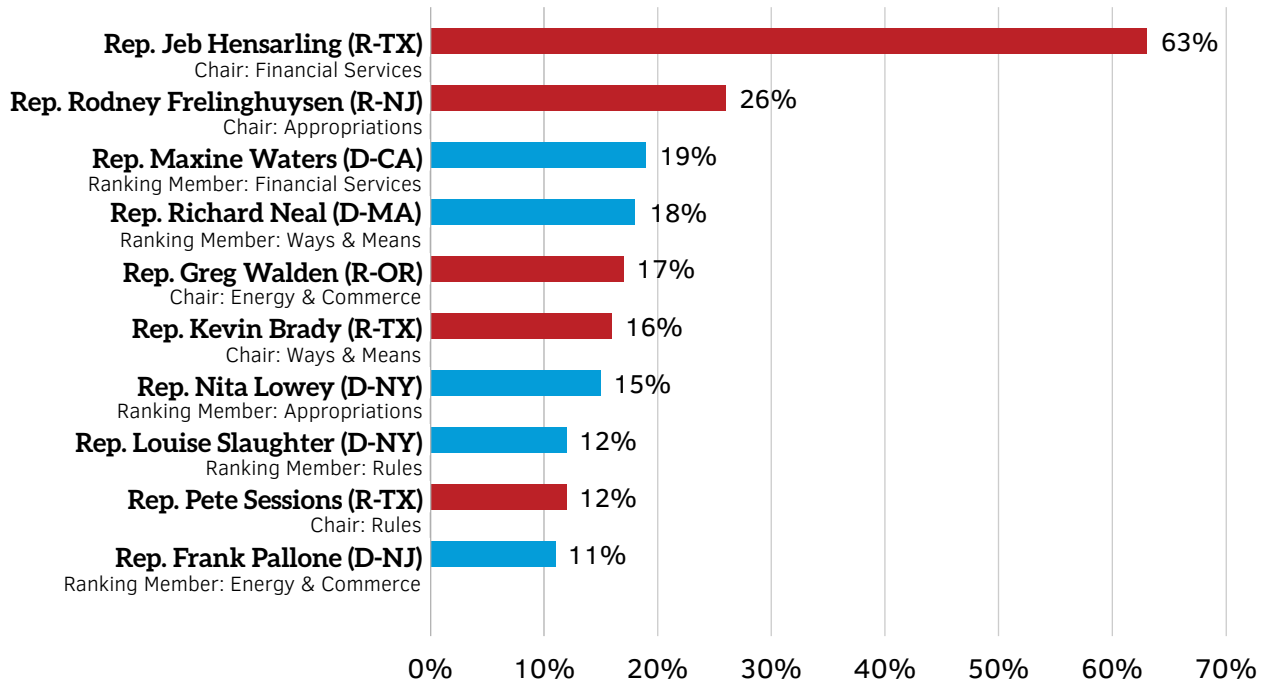
## Key Lawmakers Gave Significant Amounts to the NRCC/DCCC and other House Candidates between January 2009 and December 2016



Note: Figures shown are contributions and transfers from lawmakers' campaign committees and leadership PACs.

Source: Issue One analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics and the Federal Election Commission. See appendices for more details.

## The "Committee Tax"? Percent of Campaign Receipts Transferred to the NRCC or DCCC between January 2009 and December 2016



Note: Figures reflect only transfers from lawmakers' campaign committees.

Source: Issue One analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics and the Federal Election Commission. See appendices for more details.



Added former Republican Rep. Richard Hanna of New York: “Those who contribute have much more access than people who don’t.”

Here are a few specific examples from the current A committees.

The highest-ranking Republican and Democrat on the House Financial Services Committee, Reps. Jeb Hensarling (R-TX) and Maxine Waters (D-CA), for instance, have both collected significant sums from donors with business before the committee — and steered huge portions of that cash back to the parties.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, nearly 60 percent of the \$2.2 million Hensarling raised during the 2015-2016 election cycle came from people and political action committees within the finance, insurance and real estate sector.\*

Only [nine other members](#) of the U.S. House of Representatives raised more money than Hensarling did from the finance, insurance and real estate sector during the 2015-2016 election cycle, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

All the while, Hensarling used the money he collected to substantially boost the coffers of the GOP — and his fellow House Republicans.

Between January 2009 and December 2016, Hensarling transferred \$6.3 million from his campaign committee to the NRCC — about 63 percent of the money he raised.\* During the same time, he transferred an additional \$90,000 to the NRCC from his leadership PAC and used his leadership PAC to give about \$2.2 million directly to other GOP House candidates. That amounts to about \$8.6 million in financial aid to the NRCC and other House Republicans over eight years.\*

Meanwhile, about one-third of the \$954,000 Waters raised during the 2015-2016 election cycle came from people and PACs within the finance, insurance and real estate sector.\* When Waters was only the No. 3 Democrat on the House Financial Services Committee during the 2009-2010 election cycle, the finance, insurance and real estate sector accounted for only about 6.5 percent of her campaign war chest.\*

For her part, Waters transferred about \$707,000 from her campaign committee to the DCCC between January 2009 and December 2016, or about 19 percent of the money she raised for her campaigns.\*



**Former Rep. Richard Hanna (R-NY)**

***“They told us right off the bat as soon as we get here, ‘These committees all have prices and don’t pick an expensive one if you can’t make the payments.’”***

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-Rep. Thomas Massie (R-KY)



**Minority Leader Pelosi  
“has really put the  
hammer down on people  
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to pay a certain amount  
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key committee.”**

-Former Rep. Martin Frost (D-TX)

Waters used her leadership PAC to transfer an additional \$40,000 to the DCCC and give another \$51,000 directly to other Democratic House candidates during this time.\*

Then there is Rep. Kevin Brady (R-TX), the chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, whose fundraising from financial interests skyrocketed as he ascended on the committee that has primary jurisdiction over the tax code.

Brady raised about \$966,000 from people and PACs associated with the finance, insurance and real estate sector during the 2015-2016 election cycle.\*\* Just [17 other members](#) of the U.S. House of Representatives raised more money from donors in this sector during this time period, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

As recently as the 2013-2014 election cycle, Brady had only raised about half that sum — \$500,000 — from donors in the finance, insurance and real estate sector.\*\* And back during the 2009-2010 election cycle, Brady had raised only about \$274,000 from such donors\*\* — barely putting him in the [top 100 beneficiaries](#) of the sector.

Between January 2009 and December 2016, Brady transferred about \$1.5 million from his campaign committee to the NRCC — about 16 percent of the money he raised.\*\* During this time, Brady gave an additional \$134,000 to the NRCC from his leadership PAC and donated another \$808,000 directly to other GOP House candidates.\*\*

Meanwhile, Rep. Richard Neal (D-MA), who serves opposite Brady as the highest-ranking Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee, raised about \$777,000 from people and PACs associated with the finance, insurance and real estate sector during the 2015-2016 election cycle.\*\* That was up from about \$651,000 during the 2009-2010 election cycle.\*\*

For his part, Neal transferred about \$1.4 million from his campaign committee to the DCCC between January 2009 and December 2016, or about 18 percent of the money he raised for his campaigns.\*\* During this time, he donated another \$331,000 to other Democratic House candidates through his leadership PAC.\*\*

Or take the case of Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-NJ), who doubled his fundraising from defense sector donors when he rose to a powerful legislative position over the industry.



In 2013, Frelinghuysen became the chair of the Appropriations Committee's subcommittee on defense. During the 2013-2014 election cycle, Frelinghuysen went on to raise about \$270,000 from the people and PACs associated with the defense industry, which represented about 20 percent of his total campaign war chest.\*\*\*

Only one other member of the U.S. House of Representatives — Rep. Mac Thornberry (R-TX), the chair of the House Armed Services Committee — raised [more funds from the defense industry](#) during that two-year period.

Previously, during the 2011-2012 election cycle, Frelinghuysen had only raised about \$132,000 from defense industry sources — which represented about 12 percent of his total campaign war chest.\*\*\*

Frelinghuysen is now Appropriations Committee chair.

Between January 2009 and December 2016, Frelinghuysen transferred about \$1.4 million from his campaign committee to the NRCC — about 26 percent of the money he raised.\*\*\* During this time, he transferred an additional \$166,000 to the NRCC from his leadership PAC and gave about \$169,000 directly to other GOP House candidates.\*\*\*

### An edge gained

Moreover, raising money can be a big advantage to members who want to become chairs and help them gain an edge over their competitors.

To wit: In the waning days of 2016, two prominent lawmakers were jockeying to be the next chair of the powerful House Energy and Commerce Committee, Reps. John Shimkus (R-IL) and Greg Walden (R-OR).

While Shimkus had more seniority on the committee, many within the GOP saw Walden, who served as chairman of the NRCC ahead of the 2014 and 2016 elections, as more helpful to the party.

As one lobbyist [told Roll Call](#) when discussing the race: “If Walden doesn’t get it, you might as well hang a banner off of the speaker’s balcony [which says] that hard work doesn’t matter.”

Walden was ultimately elected chair. after having doled out, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, more than twice as much money as Shimkus to the NRCC and fellow Republicans in 2015 and 2016: \$1.7 million versus \$740,000.

***“If Walden doesn’t get it, you might as well hang a banner off of the speaker’s balcony [which says] that hard work doesn’t matter.”***

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-Lobbyist quoted by Roll Call

## What Can Be Done about This? Here are Potential Solutions

Although the connection between fundraising and legislative leaders is troubling, there are solutions.

The following reform ideas represent important first steps that would weaken the bonds between money and influential positions on congressional committees.

### ► Reforming House Rules

The official House rules govern the process by which committee chairs are elected. A rule could be adopted by the House — without the need for concurrence by the Senate or support from the president — making it clear that party leaders and steering committees cannot take party dues into account when determining whom to recommend for committee chairs. Such a rule would state that no member can be elected as a committee chair if their nomination was based, in

part or in full, on the payment of party dues or the obligation to pay party dues, or their equivalent.

To be clear, under this approach, party dues would not be prohibited or restricted. Members of Congress could continue to support their parties and like-minded politicians. Fundraising and dues payments, however, could not be a factor for determining a lawmaker's legislative committee assignments.

### ► Changing Party Practices

Each party could, on its own, adopt a merit-based system for determining committee assignments and who chairs each committee, taking into account a member of Congress' personal experience, knowledge of the relevant issues, legislative prowess, management experience, credibility, loyalty to the party and seniority. A mix of these factors would allow the parties to retain some carrots and some sticks without resorting to fundraising quotas or judging members solely by how much money they can raise. Alternatively, the parties could allow members of each committee to select the

chair themselves, rather than relying on the steering committees for those decisions.

Additionally, given the widespread displeasure with the current system inside of Congress, party leaders could voluntarily lower the dues amounts expected from their members, perhaps making it part of their pitches to fellow lawmakers during leadership elections. Furthermore, if paying party dues is a *de facto* requirement to become a committee chair, a position governed by official House rules, those dues amounts should be publicly disclosed.

### ► Changing the Fundraising System

As a way to help reduce the constant pressure on lawmakers to raise money to meet their party dues, House members could be prohibited from soliciting campaign funds while their chamber is in session. In many states, legislators [are prohibited](#) from engaging in fundraising activities while the legislature is in session. The House could adopt a modified version of this approach at the federal level, as Congress meets throughout the year, while most state legislatures are in session for only a few months at a time.

Another reform could be barring members of Congress from accepting contributions from lobbyists, as [several states have done](#). South Carolina, for example, has a total ban

on lobbyists making contributions to state legislators. Other states, such as Arizona, ban contributions from lobbyists while the legislature is in session. Alternatively, members of Congress could prohibit contributions from lobbyists that specifically target their committees or require a cooling-off period between the time when lobbyists make campaign contributions and when they make lobbying contacts with a member of Congress or staff. To be the most effective, these prohibitions on lobbyists should cover not only direct campaign contributions but also political fundraising, also known as “bundling.”



***An increasing number  
of members of Congress  
are rebelling against the  
costs imposed on them  
and their time.***

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## Conclusion

Democracy is broken when fundraising pressures are taking members of Congress away from their legislative duties. What masquerades as party loyalty has morphed into a “committee tax.”

The American people know this and are right to demand that members of Congress work together to fix this system. Citizens across the country expect their legislative leaders to be keenly focused on solving the pressing issues facing our country, rather than thinking about who they can call to shake down for more campaign funds. Those who are expected to handle the government’s most important work should be selected primarily for their knowledge and skill, not their fundraising prowess. Doing otherwise further erodes the people’s trust in government.

The ability to raise vast sums of money — mostly from interests with significant issues pending before their committees — should not be such a critical factor in who is selected to be a committee chair. Members of Congress would be right to speak out against this practice — and would be rewarded by their constituents for doing so.

The information revealed in this report should spark a new conversation about how to begin changing the transactional nature of raising money in Washington. Tackling this issue would empower legislative leaders to focus more on crafting policy and realigning the government to be more responsive to the needs of average Americans.

# HOUSE FINANCIAL SERVICES COMMITTEE

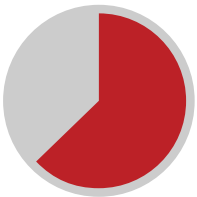
## Chair



**Rep. Jeb Hensarling**  
(R-TX)

**Rep. Hensarling**  
**also donated**  
**\$2.3 MILLION**

to the NRCC and other House Republicans through his leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$2**

in Rep. Hensarling's campaign war chest came from finance, insurance and real estate sector donors



**raised**  
**\$10.1 MILLION**

for his campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016



**of that,**  
**\$6.3 MILLION**

was transferred from his campaign committee to the NRCC



**That's**  
**~\$3 OF EVERY \$5**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that he directly transferred to NRCC



**raised**  
**\$3.7 MILLION**

for her campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016



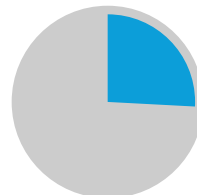
**of that,**  
**\$707,000**

was transferred from her campaign committee to the DCCC



**That's**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$5**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that she directly transferred to DCCC



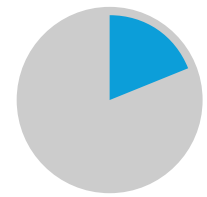
## Ranking Member



**Rep. Maxine Waters**  
(D-CA)

**Rep. Waters**  
**also donated**  
**\$91,000**

to the DCCC and other House Democrats through her leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$4**

in Rep. Waters' campaign war chest came from finance, insurance and real estate sector donors

# HOUSE WAYS & MEANS COMMITTEE

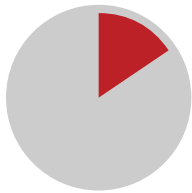
## Chair



**Rep. Kevin Brady**  
(R-TX)

**Rep. Brady**  
**also donated**  
**\$942,000**

to the NRCC and other House Republicans through his leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$5**

in Rep. Brady's campaign war chest came from finance, insurance and real estate sector donors



**raised**  
**\$9.7 MILLION**

for his campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016



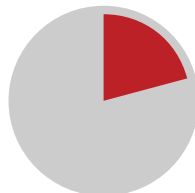
**of that,**  
**\$1.5 MILLION**

was transferred from his campaign committee to the NRCC



**That's**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$6**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that he directly transferred to NRCC



**raised**  
**\$7.7 MILLION**

for his campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016



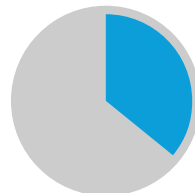
**of that,**  
**\$1.4 MILLION**

was transferred from his campaign committee to the DCCC



**That's**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$6**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that he directly transferred to DCCC



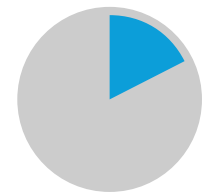
## Ranking Member



**Rep. Richard Neal**  
(D-MA)

**Rep. Neal**  
**also donated**  
**\$331,000**

to the DCCC and other House Democrats through his leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$3**

in Rep. Neal's campaign war chest came from finance, insurance and real estate sector donors

# HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

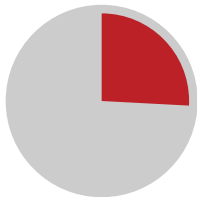
## Chair



**Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen**  
(R-NJ)

**Rep. Frelinghuysen  
also donated  
\$335,000**

to the NRCC and other  
House Republicans through  
his leadership PAC between  
January 2009 and  
December 2016



**Where did the  
money come from?  
~\$1 OF EVERY \$7**

in  
Rep. Frelinghuysen's  
campaign war chest  
came from defense  
sector donors



**raised  
\$5.5 MILLION**

for his campaign  
committee from January  
2009 to December 2016

**of that,  
\$1.4 MILLION**

was transferred from  
his campaign  
committee to  
the NRCC

**That's  
~\$1 OF EVERY \$4**

raised between January  
2009 and December  
2016 that he directly  
transferred to NRCC

**raised  
\$8.1 MILLION**

for her campaign  
committee from January  
2009 to December 2016

**of that,  
\$1.3 MILLION**

was transferred from  
her campaign  
committee to  
the DCCC

**That's  
~\$1 OF EVERY \$6**

raised between January  
2009 and December  
2016 that she directly  
transferred to DCCC

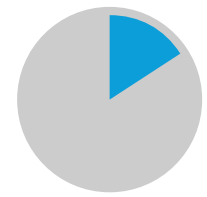
## Ranking Member



**Rep. Nita Lowey**  
(D-NY)

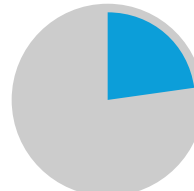
**Rep. Lowey  
also donated  
\$483,000**

to the DCCC and other  
House Democrats through  
her leadership PAC between  
January 2009 and  
December 2016



**Where did the  
money come from?  
~\$1 OF EVERY \$4**

in Rep. Lowey's  
campaign war chest  
came from finance,  
insurance and real  
estate sector donors



# HOUSE ENERGY & COMMERCE COMMITTEE

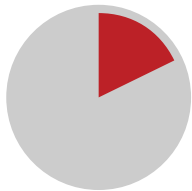
## Chair



**Rep. Greg Walden**  
(R-OR)

**Rep. Walden also donated \$1.8 MILLION**

to the NRCC and other House Republicans through his leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$7**

in Rep. Walden's campaign war chest came from communications and electronics sector donors



**raised \$11.5 MILLION**

for his campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016

**of that, \$2 MILLION**

was transferred from his campaign committee to the NRCC

**That's ~\$1 OF EVERY \$6**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that he directly transferred to NRCC

**raised \$9.7 MILLION**

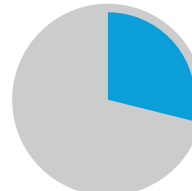
for his campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016

**of that, \$1 MILLION**

was transferred from his campaign committee to the DCCC

**That's ~\$1 OF EVERY \$9**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that he directly transferred to DCCC



## Ranking Member



**Rep. Frank Pallone**  
(D-NJ)

**Rep. Pallone also donated \$1 MILLION**

to the DCCC and other House Democrats through his leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$3 OF EVERY \$10**

in Rep. Pallone's campaign war chest came from health sector donors





## HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE

### Chair



**Rep. Pete Sessions**  
(R-TX)

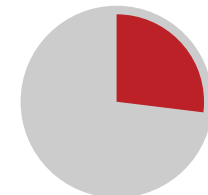
**Rep. Sessions**  
**also donated**  
**\$1.5 MILLION**

to the NRCC and other House Republicans through his leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$4**

in Rep. Sessions' campaign war chest came from finance, insurance and real estate sector donors



**raised**  
**\$9 MILLION**

for his campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016



**of that,**  
**\$1 MILLION**

was transferred from his campaign committee to the NRCC



**That's**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$9**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that he directly transferred to NRCC



**raised**  
**\$5.5 MILLION**

for her campaign committee from January 2009 to December 2016



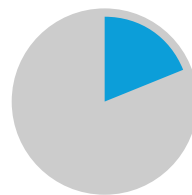
**of that,**  
**\$656,000**

was transferred from her campaign committee to the DCCC



**That's**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$8**

raised between January 2009 and December 2016 that she directly transferred to DCCC



### Ranking Member



**Rep. Louise Slaughter**  
(D-NY)

**Rep. Slaughter**  
**also donated**  
**\$28,500**

to the DCCC and other House Democrats through her leadership PAC between January 2009 and December 2016



**Where did the money come from?**  
**~\$1 OF EVERY \$5**

in Rep. Slaughter's campaign war chest came from labor sector donors



# Appendix 1.1: House Financial Services Committee

## Rep. Jeb Hensarling (R-TX), the current chair of the House Financial Services Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Financial Services Cmte and Budget Cmte	Vice Chair: Financial Services Cmte	Chair: Financial Services Cmte	Chair: Financial Services Cmte	
Total raised for his campaign committee	\$1,745,500	\$3,017,392	\$3,121,515	\$2,237,757	\$10,122,164
Raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	\$831,860	\$1,321,706	\$1,630,186	\$1,283,695	\$5,067,447
Percent raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	47.7%	43.8%	52.2%	57.4%	50.1%
Transfers to NRCC from his campaign committee	\$762,208	\$1,512,000	\$2,130,739	\$1,944,000	\$6,348,947
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to NRCC	43.7%	50.1%	68.3%	86.9%	62.7%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$355,500	\$634,719	\$725,403	\$535,000	\$2,250,622
Transfers to NRCC from leadership PAC	\$15,000*	\$0	\$30,000	\$45,000*	\$90,000
Contributions to other House GOP candidates from leadership PAC	\$340,500	\$634,719	\$695,403	\$490,000	\$2,160,622
Combined financial aid to NRCC and other House candidates	\$1,117,708	\$2,146,719	\$2,856,142	\$2,479,000	\$8,599,569

## Rep. Maxine Waters (D-CA), the current ranking Democratic member on the House Financial Services Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Financial Services Cmte and Judiciary Cmte	Member: Financial Services Cmte and Judiciary Cmte	Ranking Member: Financial Services Cmte	Ranking Member: Financial Services Cmte	
Total raised for her campaign committee	\$694,021	\$729,888	\$1,301,924	\$953,624	\$3,679,457
Raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	\$44,994	\$156,500	\$435,870	\$305,751	\$943,115
Percent raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	6.5%	21.4%	33.5%	32.1%	25.6%
Transfers to DCCC from her campaign committee	\$0	\$207,000	\$215,000	\$285,000	\$707,000
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to DCCC	0.0%	28.4%	16.5%	29.9%	19.2%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$7,500	\$28,500	\$31,500	\$23,800	\$91,300
Transfers to DCCC from leadership PAC	\$0	\$15,000*	\$10,000	\$15,000*	\$40,000
Contributions to other House Dem candidates from leadership PAC	\$7,500	\$13,500	\$21,500	\$8,800	\$51,300
Combined financial aid to DCCC and other House candidates	\$7,500	\$235,500	\$246,500	\$308,800	\$798,300

### Methodology:

Unless otherwise noted, all figures are from the Center for Responsive Politics. Issue One analyzed trends related to fundraising for the highest-ranking Democrat and Republican on each A committee, including money raised from top industry supporters and contributions made to other House candidates and the arms of the Democratic and Republican parties focused on aiding House candidates.

The specific sector shown above represents this member of Congress' top financial backer between January 2009 and December 2016, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. The percentage raised from each sector was calculated by dividing the sector-specific fundraising figure by the total fundraising figure. The percentage transferred to the DCCC or NRCC was calculated by dividing the amount transferred by the total fundraising figure.

The additional leadership PAC giving reflects the combined sum of a lawmaker's leadership PAC transfers to the party's House-focused arm, plus leadership PAC funds given directly to other

House candidates as identified by the Center for Responsive Politics. This does not include certain other leadership PAC contributions, such as money given to joint fundraising committees, state parties or non-House candidates.

\* Transfers to the DCCC and NRCC displayed by the Center for Responsive Politics were cross-referenced against primary source documents on the website of the Federal Election Commission. In cases of discrepancies, which are denoted by an asterisk, Issue One used figures from FEC filings after consulting with the Center for Responsive Politics.

The combined financial aid to other House candidates and the party's House-focused arm was calculated by adding the campaign-to-party transfer amount to the additional leadership PAC giving amount. This analysis does not include the unknown amount of money for which a member of Congress is credited by the party for directly raising for the DCCC or NRCC.

Please cite as an Issue One analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics and the Federal Election Commission.

## Appendix 1.2: House Ways and Means Committee

### Rep. Kevin Brady (R-TX), the current chair of the House Ways and Means Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Ways & Means Cmte	Member: Ways & Means Cmte	Member: Ways & Means Cmte	Chair: Ways & Means Cmte	
Total raised for his campaign committee	\$1,028,855	\$1,385,894	\$2,525,942	\$4,808,899	\$9,749,590
Raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	\$273,900	\$310,289	\$500,356	\$965,900	\$2,050,445
Percent raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	26.6%	22.4%	19.8%	20.1%	21.0%
Transfers to NRCC from his campaign committee	\$209,250	\$413,000	\$816,170	\$96,900	\$1,535,320
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to NRCC	20.3%	29.8%	32.3%	2.0%	15.8%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$0	\$0	\$330,700	\$611,304	\$942,004
Transfers to NRCC from leadership PAC	\$0	\$0	\$62,400	\$72,000	\$134,400
Contributions to other House GOP candidates from leadership PAC	\$0	\$0	\$268,300	\$539,304	\$807,604
Combined financial aid to NRCC and other House candidates	\$209,250	\$413,000	\$1,146,870	\$708,204	\$2,477,324

### Rep. Richard Neal (D-MA), the current ranking Democratic member on the House Ways and Means Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Ways & Means Cmte	Member: Ways & Means Cmte	Member: Ways & Means Cmte	Member: Ways & Means Cmte	
Total raised for his campaign committee	\$2,273,405	\$1,793,587	\$1,809,130	\$1,791,836	\$7,667,958
Raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	\$651,200	\$606,700	\$683,965	\$776,863	\$2,718,728
Percent raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	28.6%	33.8%	37.8%	43.4%	35.5%
Transfers to DCCC from his campaign committee	\$500,000	\$300,000*	\$225,000	\$325,000	\$1,350,000
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to DCCC	22.0%	16.7%	12.4%	18.1%	17.6%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$206,000	\$73,000	\$27,000	\$24,500	\$330,500
Transfers to DCCC from leadership PAC	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Contributions to other House Dem candidates from leadership PAC	\$206,000	\$73,000	\$27,000	\$24,500	\$330,500
Combined financial aid to DCCC and other House candidates	\$706,000	\$373,000	\$252,000	\$349,500	\$1,680,500

#### Methodology:

Unless otherwise noted, all figures are from the Center for Responsive Politics. Issue One analyzed trends related to fundraising for the highest-ranking Democrat and Republican on each A committee, including money raised from top industry supporters and contributions made to other House candidates and the arms of the Democratic and Republican parties focused on aiding House candidates.

The specific sector shown above represents this member of Congress' top financial backer between January 2009 and December 2016, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. The percentage raised from each sector was calculated by dividing the sector-specific fundraising figure by the total fundraising figure. The percentage transferred to the DCCC or NRCC was calculated by dividing the amount transferred by the total fundraising figure.

The additional leadership PAC giving reflects the combined sum of a lawmaker's leadership PAC transfers to the party's House-focused arm, plus leadership PAC funds given directly to other

House candidates as identified by the Center for Responsive Politics. This does not include certain other leadership PAC contributions, such as money given to joint fundraising committees, state parties or non-House candidates.

\* Transfers to the DCCC and NRCC displayed by the Center for Responsive Politics were cross-referenced against primary source documents on the website of the Federal Election Commission. In cases of discrepancies, which are denoted by an asterisk, Issue One used figures from FEC filings after consulting with the Center for Responsive Politics.

The combined financial aid to other House candidates and the party's House-focused arm was calculated by adding the campaign-to-party transfer amount to the additional leadership PAC giving amount. This analysis does not include the unknown amount of money for which a member of Congress is credited by the party for directly raising for the DCCC or NRCC.

Please cite as an Issue One analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics and the Federal Election Commission.

# Appendix 1.3: House Appropriations Committee

## Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-NJ), the current chair of the House Appropriations Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Appropriations Cmte	Member: Appropriations Cmte	Member: Appropriations Cmte	Member: Appropriations Cmte	
Total raised for his campaign committee	\$1,044,840	\$1,101,628	\$1,348,295	\$1,991,920	\$5,486,683
Raised from defense sector interests	\$111,250	\$131,775	\$269,881	\$308,350	\$821,256
Percent raised from defense sector interests	10.7%	12.0%	20.0%	15.5%	15.0%
Transfers to NRCC from his campaign committee	\$370,000	\$310,700	\$333,000	\$425,285	\$1,438,985
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to NRCC	35.4%	28.2%	24.7%	21.4%	26.2%
Additional leadership PAC giving	N/A	\$55,800	\$88,000	\$191,200	\$335,000
Transfers to NRCC from leadership PAC	N/A	\$55,800*	\$60,000*	\$50,000	\$165,800
Contributions to other House GOP candidates from leadership PAC	N/A	\$0	\$28,000	\$141,200	\$169,200
Combined financial aid to NRCC and other House candidates	\$370,000	\$366,500	\$421,000	\$616,485	\$1,773,985

## Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY), the current ranking Democratic member on the House Appropriations Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Appropriations Cmte	Member: Appropriations Cmte	Ranking Member: Appropriations Cmte	Ranking Member: Appropriations Cmte	
Total raised for her campaign committee	\$2,062,770	\$2,165,669	\$2,133,891	\$1,705,900	\$8,068,230
Raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	\$544,350	\$457,250	\$449,250	\$429,900	\$1,880,750
Percent raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	26.4%	21.1%	21.1%	25.2%	23.3%
Transfers to DCCC from her campaign committee	\$275,224	\$239,612	\$350,234	\$385,086*	\$1,250,156
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to DCCC	13.3%	11.1%	16.4%	22.6%	15.5%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$26,000	\$189,000	\$95,000	\$173,000	\$483,000
Transfers to DCCC from leadership PAC	\$0	\$0	\$30,000	\$115,000	\$145,000
Contributions to other House Dem candidates from leadership PAC	\$26,000	\$189,000	\$65,000	\$58,000	\$338,000
Combined financial aid to DCCC and other House candidates	\$301,224	\$428,612	\$445,234	\$558,086	\$1,733,156

### Methodology:

Unless otherwise noted, all figures are from the Center for Responsive Politics. Issue One analyzed trends related to fundraising for the highest-ranking Democrat and Republican on each A committee, including money raised from top industry supporters and contributions made to other House candidates and the arms of the Democratic and Republican parties focused on aiding House candidates.

The specific sector shown above represents this member of Congress' top financial backer between January 2009 and December 2016, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. The percentage raised from each sector was calculated by dividing the sector-specific fundraising figure by the total fundraising figure. The percentage transferred to the DCCC or NRCC was calculated by dividing the amount transferred by the total fundraising figure.

The additional leadership PAC giving reflects the combined sum of a lawmaker's leadership PAC transfers to the party's House-focused arm, plus leadership PAC funds given directly to other

House candidates as identified by the Center for Responsive Politics. This does not include certain other leadership PAC contributions, such as money given to joint fundraising committees, state parties or non-House candidates.

\* Transfers to the DCCC and NRCC displayed by the Center for Responsive Politics were cross-referenced against primary source documents on the website of the Federal Election Commission. In cases of discrepancies, which are denoted by an asterisk, Issue One used figures from FEC filings after consulting with the Center for Responsive Politics.

The combined financial aid to other House candidates and the party's House-focused arm was calculated by adding the campaign-to-party transfer amount to the additional leadership PAC giving amount. This analysis does not include the unknown amount of money for which a member of Congress is credited by the party for directly raising for the DCCC or NRCC.

Please cite as an Issue One analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics and the Federal Election Commission.

# Appendix 1.4: House Energy and Commerce Committee

Rep. Greg Walden (R-OR), the current chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee					
Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Energy & Commerce Cmte	Member: Energy & Commerce Cmte	Member: Energy & Commerce Cmte; NRCC Chairman	Member: Energy & Commerce; NRCC Chairman	
Total raised for his campaign committee	\$1,944,720	\$2,736,873	\$3,498,327	\$3,275,202	\$11,455,122
Raised from communications and electronics sector interests	\$192,600	\$480,586	\$481,107	\$544,429	\$1,698,722
Percent raised from communications and electronics sector interests	9.9%	17.6%	13.8%	16.6%	14.8%
Transfers to NRCC from his campaign committee	\$205,088	\$328,088	\$400,000	\$1,070,000	\$2,003,176
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to NRCC	10.6%	12.0%	11.4%	32.7%	17.5%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$232,350	\$425,100	\$520,000	\$608,400	\$1,785,850
Transfers to NRCC from leadership PAC	\$65,800*	\$30,000	\$22,500	\$105,000*	\$223,300
Contributions to other House GOP candidates from leadership PAC	\$166,550	\$395,100	\$497,500	\$503,400	\$1,562,550
Combined financial aid to NRCC and other House candidates	\$437,438	\$753,188	\$920,000	\$1,678,400	\$3,789,026

Rep. Frank Pallone (D-NJ), the current ranking Democratic member on the House Energy and Commerce Committee					
Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Energy & Commerce Cmte and Natural Resources Cmte	Member: Energy & Commerce Cmte and Natural Resources Cmte	Member: Energy & Commerce Cmte and Natural Resources Cmte	Ranking Member: Energy & Commerce Cmte	
Total raised for his campaign committee	\$2,235,780	\$1,868,760	\$3,170,209	\$2,409,149	\$9,683,898
Raised from health sector interests	\$725,076	\$640,061	\$691,722	\$754,326	\$2,811,185
Percent raised from health sector interests	32.4%	34.3%	21.8%	31.3%	29.0%
Transfers to DCCC from his campaign committee	\$220,000	\$220,303	\$270,003	\$315,000*	\$1,025,306
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to DCCC	9.8%	11.8%	8.5%	13.1%	10.6%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$61,000	\$65,500	\$443,000	\$478,500	\$1,048,000
Transfers to DCCC from leadership PAC	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$210,000*	\$300,000
Contributions to other House Dem candidates from leadership PAC	\$31,000	\$35,500	\$413,000	\$268,500	\$748,000
Combined financial aid to DCCC and other House candidates	\$281,000	\$285,803	\$713,003	\$793,500	\$2,073,306

## Methodology:

Unless otherwise noted, all figures are from the Center for Responsive Politics. Issue One analyzed trends related to fundraising for the highest-ranking Democrat and Republican on each A committee, including money raised from top industry supporters and contributions made to other House candidates and the arms of the Democratic and Republican parties focused on aiding House candidates.

The specific sector shown above represents this member of Congress' top financial backer between January 2009 and December 2016, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. The percentage raised from each sector was calculated by dividing the sector-specific fundraising figure by the total fundraising figure. The percentage transferred to the DCCC or NRCC was calculated by dividing the amount transferred by the total fundraising figure.

The additional leadership PAC giving reflects the combined sum of a lawmaker's leadership PAC transfers to the party's House-focused arm, plus leadership PAC funds given directly to other

House candidates as identified by the Center for Responsive Politics. This does not include certain other leadership PAC contributions, such as money given to joint fundraising committees, state parties or non-House candidates.

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# Appendix 1.5: House Rules Committee

## Rep. Pete Sessions (R-TX), the current chair of the House Rules Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Member: Rules Cmte	Vice Chair: Rules Cmte	Chair: Rules Cmte	Chair: Rules Cmte	
Total raised for his campaign committee	\$2,153,120	\$1,836,552	\$2,567,779	\$2,392,920	\$8,950,371
Raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	\$554,507	\$498,350	\$707,580	\$658,843	\$2,419,280
Percent raised from finance, insurance and real estate sector interests	25.8%	27.1%	27.6%	27.5%	27.0%
Transfers to NRCC from his campaign committee	\$312,000	\$250,680	\$303,000	\$183,600	\$1,049,280
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to NRCC	14.5%	13.7%	11.8%	7.7%	11.7%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$597,000	\$420,500	\$303,860	\$157,291	\$1,478,651
Transfers to NRCC from leadership PAC	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$120,000
Contributions to other House GOP candidates from leadership PAC	\$567,000	\$390,500	\$273,860	\$127,291	\$1,358,651
Combined financial aid to NRCC and other House candidates	\$909,000	\$671,180	\$606,860	\$340,891	\$2,527,931

## Rep. Louise Slaughter (D-NY), the current ranking Democratic member on the House Rules Committee

Election cycle	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Combined Total, 2009-2016
Position	Chair: Rules Cmte	Ranking Member: Rules Cmte	Ranking Member: Rules Cmte	Ranking Member: Rules Cmte	
Total raised for her campaign committee	\$720,705	\$2,278,709	\$1,112,376	\$1,409,333	\$5,521,123
Raised from labor sector interests	\$206,500	\$305,000	\$247,500	\$265,500	\$1,024,500
Percent raised from labor sector interests	28.7%	13.4%	22.3%	18.8%	18.6%
Transfers to DCCC from her campaign committee	\$450,006	\$60,000**	\$136,000	\$10,000	\$656,006
Percent of campaign receipts transferred to DCCC	62.4%	2.6%	12.2%	0.7%	11.9%
Additional leadership PAC giving	\$0	\$5,000	\$3,500	\$20,000	\$28,500
Transfers to DCCC from leadership PAC	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$15,000*	\$15,000
Contributions to other House Dem candidates from leadership PAC	\$0	\$5,000	\$3,500	\$5,000	\$13,500
Combined financial aid to DCCC and other House candidates	\$450,006	\$65,000	\$139,500	\$30,000	\$684,506

### Methodology:

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\*\*Figure does not include approximately \$16,000 paid to the DCCC for polling and research services.

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