

Industry's Messengers

Congressional Recipients of Large Contributions from the Financial Services Sector Swamp Agencies With Requests To Weaken the Volcker Rule

March 2012



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Acknowledgments

This report was written by Negah Mouzoon, Researcher for Public Citizen's Congress Watch Division, and Bart Naylor, Financial Policy Advocate for Congress Watch. It was edited by Congress Watch Director David Arkush and Congress Watch Research Director Taylor Lincoln.

About the Two Cents Series

Public Citizen's "Two Cents" series documents Wall Street's comments to agencies (the industry's "two cents") on various rules pertaining to the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act and the campaign contributions (more than two cents) the industry has used to enhance its clout. This is the third report in the series.

About Public Citizen

Public Citizen is a national non-profit organization with more than 250,000 members and supporters. We represent consumer interests through lobbying, litigation, administrative advocacy, research, and public education on a broad range of issues including consumer rights in the marketplace, product safety, financial regulation, safe and affordable health care, campaign finance reform and government ethics, fair trade, climate change, and corporate and government accountability.



Public Citizen's Congress Watch
215 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
P: 202-546-4996
F: 202-547-7392
<http://www.citizen.org>

Introduction

Few provisions of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act have attracted more attention than Section 619, commonly known as the Volcker Rule. Named for former Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker, the rule bars federally insured banks and affiliates from engaging in a set of risky activities.

Federal agencies are required to write a rule implementing Section 619. In November 2011, four financial agencies released a proposed rule for public comment.¹

The proposed rule would prohibit banks from engaging in proprietary trading, participating in complex securitizations, owning hedge funds or private equity funds, or engaging in any other high-risk activities. It also prohibits banks from taking actions that conflict with the interests of their customers.

The 120-day public comment window closed on Feb. 13. The SEC received more than 18,000 comments, including more than 15,700 from Public Citizen members.² Although the most heated opposition to elements of the proposed rule came from Wall Street's biggest banks, members of Congress also submitted several complaints that largely echoed industry's rhetoric.

This report is based on the 24 comment letters that were submitted by members of Congress. In total, the letters were signed by 196 lawmakers. This report reviews common topics in the comments and compares the campaign contributions received by those members of Congress asking to weaken the rule with those seeking a stronger measure.

¹ The agencies were the Federal Reserve System, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC). The rule is available at <http://1.usa.gov/sSwByz>. A fifth agency, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC), in February released a nearly identical proposal, supplemented by questions that pertained to its supervisory portfolio. Over 120 day periods, all five agencies have solicited public comments on the rule itself and the supplemental questions that follow. While the comment period for the first four agencies expired on Feb. 13, 2012, the CFTC's period will last through April 16. *See* Hearing on The Volcker Rule before the Subcommittee on Capital Markets & Government Sponsored Enterprises, Subcommittee On Financial Institutions, and Consumer Credit Comm. on Financial Services, 112th Cong. (2012) (statement of Governor Daniel K. Tarullo of the Federal Reserve), <http://1.usa.gov/A4ll6y>. *See also* Prohibitions and Restrictions on Proprietary Trading and Certain Interests in, and Relationships With, Hedge Funds and Covered Funds 77 Fed. Reg. 30, (Proposed Feb. 14, 2012) (to be codified at 12 U.S.C. 1851), <http://1.usa.gov/ABCiSq>.

² Public Citizen analysis of internal constituent management relations system and comments to SEC, <http://1.usa.gov/GT3Wqp>.

I. Members of Congress Seeking a Weaker Volcker Rule Have Received Four Times More Campaign Contributions On Average Than Those Seeking a Stronger Rule.

Members of Congress submitted 24 comment letters to the federal agencies drafting the regulations for the Volcker Rule. Seventeen letters seeking to weaken the rule were signed by 172 members. Three letters recommending steps to strengthen the rule were signed by 20 members. Four members individually submitted letters that did not weigh in favor of strengthening or weakening the rule.³

Those seeking to weaken the rule have received \$66.7 million from the financial services industry since the 2010 election cycle compared to only \$1.9 million in contributions received by those asking for a more robust rule. [See Figures 1, 2 and 3] Those seeking to weaken the rule have received an average of \$388,010 from the industry, more than four times as much as the average of \$96,897 received by those asking for a stronger rule.

Figure 1: Campaign Contributions Received by Those Seeking to Weaken the Volcker Rule v. Those Seeking to Strengthen It, 2010-2012 Election Cycles*

Grouping	Cumulative 2010 & 2012 Campaign Contributions Received By Signatories From the Financial Services Industry	Average 2010 & 2012 Campaign Contributions Received By Signatories From the Financial Services Industry
Weakeners	\$66,737,770	\$388,010
Strengtheners	\$1,937,930	\$96,897

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org). *2012 election cycle data are incomplete because cycle is in progress.

³ This report does not analyze the campaign contributions received by signatories of letters that did not ask for substantive change to the Volcker Rule. Of the neutral letters, Rep. Michael Burgess (R-Texas) asked for an extension of the comment period; Rep. Steve Israel (D-N.Y.) asked the agencies to pay close attention to comments submitted by certain business leaders; Sen. Kirsten E. Gillibrand (D-N.Y.) asked agencies to continue to seek a balance between the needs of financial institutions and the rule's restrictions; and Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) requested that regulators draft a simpler version of the rule and take care to provide businesses with proper notice on implementation dates.

Figure 2: Campaign Contributions Received by Members of Congress Who Asked to Weaken the Volcker Rule, 2010-2012 Election Cycles

Date	Number of Signatories	Lead Signature on Letter	2010 & 2012 Campaign Contributions Signatories Received From the Financial Services Industry*
Dec. 20, 2011	121	Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas)	\$35,492,734
Feb. 17, 2012	25	Rep. Gary C. Peters (D-Mich.)	\$8,710,473
Jan. 27, 2012	17	Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.)	\$8,360,243
Feb. 16, 2012	6	Sen. Thomas R. Carper (D-Del.)	\$6,987,107
Dec. 7, 2011	4	Rep. Spencer Bachus (R-Ala.)	\$5,064,654
Feb. 24, 2012	1	Sen. Michael Bennet (D-Colo.)	\$2,461,890
Feb. 13, 2012	1	Sen. Bob Corker (R-Tenn.)	\$2,419,795
March 16, 2012	1	Rep. Jim Himes (D-Conn.)	\$1,665,890
Feb. 17, 2012	1	Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.)	\$1,140,130
Nov. 3, 2011	5	Rep. David P. Roe (R-Tenn.)	\$719,458
Dec. 16, 2011	1	Rep. David Schweikert (R-Ariz.)	\$328,900
Dec. 13, 2011	1	Rep. Anna G. Eshoo (D-Calif.)	\$285,212
Jan. 23, 2011	1	Rep. Jackie Speier (D-Calif.)	\$264,072
Jan. 13, 2012	1	Sen. Kay R. Hagan (D-N.C.)	\$237,831
Dec. 23, 2011	1	Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-Calif.)	\$176,222
Feb. 27, 2012	1	Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.)	\$157,450
Dec. 20, 2011	1	Rep. Michael M. Honda (D-Calif.)	\$109,970
Combined	172**	Average Per Member	\$388,010

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org). *2012 election cycle data are incomplete because cycle is in progress; total amounts and average include all signatories, not just the first name on letters signed by more than one member. **The total number of signatories excludes duplicates.

Figure 3: Campaign Contributions Received by Members of Congress Who Asked to Strengthen the Volcker Rule, 2010-2012 Election Cycles

Date	Number of Signatories	Lead Signature on Letter	2010 & 2012 Campaign Contributions Signatories Received From the Financial Services Industry*
Nov. 16, 2011	17	Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey (D-N.Y.)	\$1,477,406
Oct. 7, 2011	5	Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D-Ore.)	\$497,888
Feb. 13, 2012	2	Sen. Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.)	\$237,500
Combined	20**	Average Per Member	\$96,897

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org). *2012 election cycle data are incomplete because cycle is in progress; total amounts and average include all signatories, not just the first name on letters signed by more than one member. **The total number of signatories excludes duplicates.

II. Members of Congress Draw Their Talking Points from Industry's Doomsday Speculations About Volcker Rule's Effect on Economy.

Several of the letters submitted by members of Congress echoed industry's rhetoric to argue that the rule would hurt the economy.

For example, Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas) and 120 House co-signers claimed in a comment letter that "the rule, as drafted, would result in higher borrowing costs for American businesses, thereby impacting economic growth and job creation."⁴ Their words sound much like those of pro-industry groups like the Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association (SIFMA), the American Bankers Association (ABA), the Financial Services Roundtable, and the Clearing House Association. These industry groups jointly submitted a comment claiming that the Volcker Rule would result in "significantly higher costs of, and limited opportunities for, capital formation" and thus "impose significant costs on the financial system and the economy."⁵ Neugebauer and his co-signers have received \$35.5 million from the financial services industry since the 2010 election cycle.

Neugebauer's letter was one of many to claim that the Volcker Rule would reduce the liquidity of markets. In the simplest terms, liquidity refers to the ease with which things can be bought or sold.

Sen. Michael Bennet (D-Colo.), who has received \$2.5 million in campaign contributions from the financial services industry since 2010, warned that the proposed rule "may unintentionally chill basic market-making activities, which are explicitly permitted under the Volcker Rule."⁶

These claims parallel warnings put forth in comment letters by JP Morgan Chase & Co. and the ABA that the rule will hinder their ability or desire to perform market-making functions.

⁴ Letter from Rep. Randy Neugebauer, *et al.*, U.S. Representative, 112th Cong., to Ben S. Bernanke, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, Mary Schapiro, Chairman of SEC, Gary Gensler, Chairman of the CFTC, Martin J. Gruenberg, Acting Chairman of FDIC, and John Walsh, Acting Comptroller of the Currency of the OCC, (Dec. 20, 2011), <http://1.usa.gov/wROoxX>.

⁵ Letter from the Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association (SIFMA), *et al.*, to John Walsh, Acting Comptroller of the Currency of the OCC, Jennifer J. Johnson, Secretary for the Federal Reserve, Gary Kuiper, Counsel for FDIC, and Information Collection Comments at the Office of Thrift Supervision (OTS), (Feb. 13, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/GXBpTi>.

⁶ Letter from Sen. Michael Bennet, U.S. Senator, 112th Cong., to Ben S. Bernanke, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, Mary Schapiro, Chairman of SEC, Gary Gensler, Chairman of the CFTC, Martin J. Gruenberg, Acting Chairman of FDIC, and John Walsh, Acting Comptroller of the Currency of the OCC, (Feb. 24, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/wqCLTK>.

JP Morgan wrote of the Volcker Rule that it is “an intrusive compliance regime” that would result in a “chill on legitimate economic activity.”⁷ The ABA wrote in its comment letter that the “only natural result [of the Volcker Rule] will be to chill investment that is otherwise prudent.”⁸

Public Citizen’s response: The warnings concerning liquidity are overstated. The law permits banks to engage in legitimate market-making activities, in which they act as intermediaries between buyers and sellers. What the law prohibits is banks speculating on a financial position, hoping to take advantage of changes in the market price.

If it proves difficult to distinguish between market making and proprietary trading, as some argue, then regulators should err on the side of treating transactions as prohibited proprietary trading. Stopping banks from engaging in proprietary trading is the Volcker Rule’s principal command, and to define proprietary trading too narrowly would undermine the law. In contrast, little or nothing is lost by defining proprietary trading broadly. Activities prohibited by the rule can be spun off from banks and conducted through separate nonbank financial institutions. There should be no less liquidity in the markets; the only potential change is that a greater proportion of the liquidity might stem from nonbank financial institutions rather than banks.

III. Members of Congress Seek Exemptions for Venture Capital Firms.

At least ten of the congressional letters asked agencies to create a carve-out that would permit banks to make investments in venture capital funds.

Rep. Gary C. Peters (D-Mich.) and 24 of his House colleagues wrote, “Congress treated venture capital funds differently than hedge funds and private equity funds because of the unique characteristics of their investment model ... These characteristics mean that investment in venture capital funds does not pose a danger to the safety and soundness of the banking system or create systemic risk for the larger economy.”⁹ Peters and his co-signers have received \$8.7 million in campaign contributions from the financial services industry since 2010.

⁷ Letter from Barry L. Zubrow, Corporate Regulatory Affairs of JPMorgan Chase & Co., to the Department of Treasury, the Federal Reserve, SEC, FDIC, and OCC (Feb. 13, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/H5Q9P5>.

⁸ Letter from Frank Keating, President & CEO, American Bankers Association, to Jennifer J. Johnson, Secretary for the Federal Reserve, Elizabeth M. Murphy, Secretary for the SEC, Robert E. Feldman, Executive Secretary for FDIC, and David A. Stawick, Secretary for the CFTC, and OCC (Feb. 13, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/Hahznu>.

⁹ Letter from Rep. Gary C. Peters, U.S. Representative, 112th Cong., to Ben S. Bernanke, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, Mary Schapiro, Chairman of SEC, Gary Gensler, Chairman of the CFTC, Martin J. Gruenberg, Acting Chairman of FDIC, and John Walsh, Acting Comptroller of the Currency of the OCC (Feb. 17, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/AqW53W>.

Individually signed letters from Rep. Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.), Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.), Rep. Michael Honda (D-Calif.), Rep. Jackie Speier (D-Calif.), Sen. Michael Bennet (D-Colo.), Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.), and a jointly signed letter from Sens. Thomas Carper (D-Del.), Scott Brown (R-Mass.), Christopher A. Coons (D-Del.), Mike Crapo (R-Idaho), Pat Toomey (R-Pa.) and Mark Warner (D-Va.), all sought exemptions for venture capital investments. Together, these signatories have received \$11.4 million in campaign contributions from the financial services industry over the past two election cycles.

Public Citizen's response: It is in the best interest of the public that banks not be accorded an exemption for venture capital investments. An exemption for venture capital would open a loophole for other high risk investments, such as those in hedge funds or private equity, which are defined under the same legal terms.

Second, venture capital investments are risky by definition, putting them at odds with the underlying objective of the Volcker Rule. Some venture capital investments are directed toward worthy, long-term entrepreneurial objectives that Public Citizen supports, such as the development of clean energy technologies. But because venture capital investments by definition pose high risks, they should not be made by bank holding companies.

Third, only about 7 percent of venture capital investments come from banks.¹⁰ As with other activities that the Volcker Rule covers, banks that currently make venture capital investments could provide for such investments to continue by spinning off the relevant portion of their operations.

Finally, prohibiting banks from making venture capital investments may encourage banks to focus more on traditional banking functions. The sponsors of the Volcker Rule, Sen. Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.) and Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.), elaborated on this issue in their comment on the proposed rule: "Rather than investing in venture capital funds, banks can and should issue loans directly to new businesses which they judge creditworthy."¹¹

¹⁰ Letter from Mary Dent, General Counsel for SVB Financial Group to Jennifer J. Johnson, Secretary for the Federal Reserve, Elizabeth M. Murphy, Secretary for the SEC, Robert E. Feldman, Executive Secretary for the FDIC, and OCC, (Feb. 13, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/xFmYMS>.

¹¹ Letter from Sen. Jeff Merkley and Sen. Carl Levin, U.S. Senators, 112th Cong., to Jennifer Johnson, Secretary for the Federal Reserve, Elizabeth M. Murphy, Secretary for the SEC, David A. Stawick, Secretary for the Commission of the CFTC, Robert Feldman, Executive Secretary for the FDIC, and the OCC (Feb. 13, 2012), <http://1.usa.gov/H5SJo4>.

IV. Members of Congress Parrot Industry's Warning of "Exodus of Clients."

Many industry associations commented that the rule would result in a loss of American business to less-regulated overseas competitors. As on other subjects relating to the Volcker Rule, members of Congress chimed in with comments that closely resembled industry's. Two letters echoing this concern were signed by 10 members of Congress, who collectively received \$11.4 million from the financial services industry.

"Depending on how the Volcker Rule is implemented, it would spark an exodus of clients from U.S. banks to competitors based overseas,"¹² wrote Rep. Spencer Bachus (R-Ala.), Rep. Jeb Hensarling (R-Texas), Rep. Scott Garrett (R-N.J.), and Rep. Shelley Moore Capito (R-W.Va.). These lawmakers have received \$5.1 million from the financial services industry since 2010.

Likewise, Sen. Thomas Carper (D-Del.) and five other senators wrote: "It is essential that the Volcker Rule allow both U.S. banks and foreign banks with U.S. operations to maintain their ability to compete globally with local firms where the Volcker Rule does not apply."¹³ Carper and his five co-signers have received nearly \$7 million from the financial services industry since 2010.

These letters paralleled the Chamber of Commerce's comment on the Volcker Rule: "If customers seek to use full-service financial firms, they may be forced to go overseas to engage in certain transactions, or engage other businesses that fall outside of the Volcker Rule prohibitions," the Chamber claimed.¹⁴

Public Citizen's response: These arguments hold little weight. Under the Volcker Rule, banks may still underwrite securities, a primary service for business clients. No less important, investors should grow more, not less, attracted to American banks when the banks are barred from trading for their own benefit rather than that of their clients, and are barred from having conflicts of interest with their customers.

¹² Letter from Rep. Spencer Bachus, Chairman of the Comm. of Financial Services, 112th Cong., *et al.*, to Ben S. Bernanke, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, Mary Schapiro, Chairman of SEC, Gary Gensler, Chairman of the CFTC, Martin J. Gruenberg, Acting Chairman of FDIC, and John Walsh, Acting Comptroller of the Currency of the OCC (Dec. 7, 2011), <http://1.usa.gov/yADBTT>.

¹³ Letter from Sen. Thomas R. Carper, U.S. Senator, 112th Cong., *et al.*, to Ben S. Bernanke, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, Mary Schapiro, Chairman of SEC, Gary Gensler, Chairman of the CFTC, Martin J. Gruenberg, Acting Chairman of FDIC, and John Walsh, Acting Comptroller of the Currency of the OCC (Feb. 16, 2011), <http://1.usa.gov/Ha14Zc>.

¹⁴ Letter from David T. Hirschmann, President and Chief Executive Officer of Center for Capital Markets Competitiveness of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to the Financial Stability Oversight Council (FSOC) (Feb. 16, 2011) (on file with author).

The United States should not be intimidated into engaging in a foolhardy race to the bottom on financial regulation. If certain banks are inclined to move operations overseas to avoid laws ensuring that they are safe, sound, and free of conflicts of interest, then Americans should say “good riddance.” The United States has no interest in competing with other countries to attract risky banks that put taxpayer dollars and economic stability at risk.

V. A Few Members Ask for Stronger Rule.

Three of the 24 letters requested a stronger Volcker Rule.

A letter submitted by Levin and Merkley urged the agencies to impose stricter guidelines to prevent evasion of the proprietary trading ban, reduce permissions for hedge fund ownership, tighten the prohibition against engaging in complex securitizations, and regulate repurchase agreements more closely (repurchase agreements are both a key source of funding for proprietary trades and a vehicle for engaging in certain types of proprietary trading). In each case, the senators said that the regulators had failed to honor the statute’s intent to prevent high-risk banking activity.

Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D-Ore.) and his four co-signers wrote that they were “extremely concerned” about the proposal’s “broad exception”:¹⁵

We emphasize that your responsibility is to abide the terms of the statute and the intent of Congress by issuing an ironclad rule to prevent the proprietary trading operations that benefit banks while putting their customers and the entire financial system at risk.¹⁶

Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey (D-N.Y.), along with 16 co-signers wrote, “In order to ensure our country is never again faced with a repeat of the recent financial crisis, we urge you to reject the draft Volcker Rule and replace it with a strong and simple rule that prohibits commercial banks from engaging in investment activities.”¹⁷

¹⁵ Letter from Rep. Earl Blumenauer, U.S. Representative, 112th Cong., to John Walsh, Acting Comptroller of the Currency of the OCC (Oct. 7, 2011), <http://1.usa.gov/AEptAU>.

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ Letter from Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey, U.S. Representative, 112th Cong., to Ben S. Bernanke, Chairman of the Federal Reserve (Nov. 16, 2011), <http://1.usa.gov/xW0JGB>.

Appendix 1: Campaign Contributions From the Financial Services Industry to Members of Congress Who Submitted Comment Letters

(Arranged By Letter)

I. Letters Seeking to Weaken Rule

**Lead Signatory: Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas);
Number of Signatories: 121; Date Submitted: Dec. 20, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Ed Royce (R-Calif.)	\$1,383,278
Dave Camp (R-Mich.)	\$1,249,291
Patrick J Tiberi (R-Ohio)	\$1,246,889
Erik Paulsen (R-Minn.)	\$946,099
Peter Roskam (R-Ill.)	\$867,535
Judy Biggert (R-Ill.)	\$860,077
Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas)	\$835,811
Pete Sessions (R-Texas)	\$771,373
John Campbell (R-Calif.)	\$743,081
Dave Reichert (R-Wash.)	\$679,536
Aaron Schock (R-Ill.)	\$615,066
Tom Price (R-Ga.)	\$567,512
Patrick McHenry (R-N.C.)	\$564,977
Lynn Jenkins (R-Kan.)	\$550,127
Robert Dold (R-Ill.)	\$501,150
Nan Hayworth (R-N.Y.)	\$482,471
Lamar Smith (R-Texas)	\$456,350
Pete King (R-N.Y.)	\$453,510
Steve Stivers (R-Ohio)	\$445,585
Leonard Lance (R-NJ)	\$443,294
Geoff Davis (R-Ky.)	\$441,178
Blaine Luetkemeyer (R-Mo.)	\$437,620
Charles W Boustany Jr. (R-La.)	\$424,239
Don Manzullo (R-Ill.)	\$412,317
Kenny Marchant (R-Texas)	\$401,812
Lee Terry (R-Neb.)	\$399,146
Sam Johnson (R-Texas)	\$396,940
Gary Miller (R-Calif.)	\$389,249
Kevin Brady (R-Texas)	\$386,389
Michael Grimm (R-N.Y.)	\$378,381
Bill Posey (R-Fla.)	\$373,588
Michael McCaul (R-Texas)	\$370,974
Frank D Lucas (R-OK)	\$370,926
Mike Rogers (R-Mich.)	\$350,329
Rick Berg (R-N.D.)	\$342,936
Adrian Smith (R-Neb.)	\$341,092
David Schweikert (R-Az.)	\$328,900
Greg Walden (R-Ore.)	\$323,228

Member	Amount Received
Charlie Dent (R-Pa.)	\$317,563
Tom Reed (R-N.Y.)	\$312,227
Lynn A Westmoreland (R-Ga.)	\$308,777
Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-Wash.)	\$308,136
Devin Gerald Nunes (R-Calif.)	\$300,100
Kay Granger (R-Texas)	\$299,748
Steve Scalise (R-La.)	\$298,897
Wally Herger (R-Calif.)	\$293,281
Joe Wilson (R-S.C.)	\$288,776
Steve Fincher (R-Tenn.)	\$282,663
John Carter (R-Texas)	\$277,499
Tom Rooney (R-Fla.)	\$272,273
Francisco Canseco (R-Texas)	\$271,976
Mike Conaway (R-Texas)	\$270,198
Heath Shuler (D-N.C.)	\$264,520
Sean P Duffy (R-Wis.)	\$260,534
Jean Schmidt (R-Ohio)	\$249,630
Pete Olson (R-Texas)	\$248,093
Robert Hurt (R-Va.)	\$243,982
Kevin Yoder (R-Kan.)	\$243,584
Todd Akin (R-Mo.)	\$242,919
Tim Scott (R-S.C.)	\$240,274
John Fleming (R-La.)	\$239,790
Bill Cassidy (R-La.)	\$231,440
Jim Renacci (R-Ohio)	\$226,334
Ben Quayle (R-Ariz.)	\$221,500
Patrick Meehan (R-Pa.)	\$218,353
Mike Coffman (R-Colo.)	\$215,483
John M Shimkus (R-Ill.)	\$212,481
Rodney Alexander (R-La.)	\$198,882
James D Jordan (R-Ohio)	\$198,854
Sue Myrick (R-N.C.)	\$197,150
Jo Bonner (R-Ala.)	\$196,500
Mike D Rogers (R-Ala.)	\$194,650
John Culberson (R-Texas)	\$192,300
Jason Chaffetz (R-Utah)	\$192,008
Sam Graves (R-Mo.)	\$187,297
Diane Black (R-Tenn.)	\$185,035
Joe Walsh (R-Ill.)	\$183,400
Michael G Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.)	\$172,600
Paul Broun Jr. (R-Ga.)	\$163,979
Randy Hultgren (R-Ill.)	\$159,900
Ted Poe (R-Texas)	\$154,448
Cory Gardner (R-Colo.)	\$153,256
Sanford D Bishop Jr. (D-Ga.)	\$141,050
Walter B Jones Jr. (R-N.C.)	\$140,535
Bill Huizenga (R-Mich.)	\$137,790
Chris Gibson (R-N.Y.)	\$132,783
Tim Griffin (R-Ark.)	\$129,850
Adam Kinzinger (R-Ill.)	\$129,450
Frank Guinta (R-N.H.)	\$128,443

Member	Amount Received
Robert Aderholt (R-Ala.)	\$125,046
Bill Flores (R-Texas)	\$120,450
Tim Walberg (R-Mich.)	\$117,518
Gregg Harper (R-Miss.)	\$115,800
Richard Hanna (R-N.Y.)	\$114,299
Robert E Latta (R-Ohio)	\$109,074
Joe Pitts (R-Pa.)	\$107,100
Virginia Foxx (R-N.C.)	\$106,550
Mac Thornberry (R-Texas)	\$106,075
Mike Pompeo (R-Kan.)	\$105,959
Ed Whitfield (R-Ky.)	\$98,700
Ralph M Hall (R-Texas)	\$95,200
Todd Rokita (R-Ind.)	\$87,829
Alan Nunnelee (R-Miss.)	\$85,500
Sandy Adams (R-Fla.)	\$85,300
Austin Scott (R-Ga.)	\$84,045
Steven Palazzo (R-Miss.)	\$81,249
Scott Desjarlais (R-Tenn.)	\$79,050
Billy Long (R-Mo.)	\$79,000
Dennis Ross (R-Fla.)	\$76,900
Steve Chabot (R-Ohio)	\$74,823
Larry Bucshon (R-Ind.)	\$70,120
Todd Young (R-Ind.)	\$67,000
John J Duncan Jr. (R-Tenn.)	\$59,600
Timothy V Johnson (R-Ill.)	\$57,600
Renee Ellmers (R-N.C.)	\$57,200
Jeff Miller (R-Fla.)	\$55,950
Mark Amodei (R-Nev.)	\$49,850
Jeff Duncan (R-S.C.)	\$47,750
Robert L Turner (R-N.Y.)	\$45,800
Bill Johnson (R-Ohio)	\$39,850
Mo Brooks (R-Ala.)	\$23,100
Total	\$35,492,734

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/wROox>.

**Lead Signatory: Rep. Rep. Gary C. Peters (D-Mich.);
Number of Signatories: 25; Date Submitted: Feb. 17, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Joseph Crowley (D-N.Y.)	\$1,085,320
Edwin Perlmutter (D-Colo.)	\$851,617
Gary Peters (D-Mich.)	\$777,259
Allyson Schwartz (D-Pa.)	\$703,699
Ron Kind (D-Wis.)	\$677,787
Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.)	\$476,010
Jason Altmire (D-Pa.)	\$421,996
Bill Owens (D-N.Y.)	\$401,657
John Barrow (D-Ga.)	\$335,105
Gerry Connolly (D-Va.)	\$313,374
Gwen Moore (D-Wis.)	\$311,820
Mike Quigley (D-Ill.)	\$291,524

Member	Amount Received
Russ Carnahan (D-Mo.)	\$250,676
Adam Schiff (D-Calif.)	\$243,490
Loretta Sanchez (D-Calif.)	\$228,040
Kurt Schrader (D-Ore.)	\$200,704
John Carney (D-Del.)	\$199,000
Rick Larsen (D-Wash.)	\$190,600
Jim Moran (D-Va.)	\$176,750
Jaren Polis (D-Colo.)	\$162,271
Adam Smith (D-Wash.)	\$143,700
Lois Capps (D-Calif.)	\$108,185
Jay Inslee (D-Wash.)	\$93,589
Cedric Richmond (D-La.)	\$39,050
Karen Bass (D-Calif.)	\$27,250
Total	\$8,710,473

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/AqW53W>.

**Lead Signatory: Rep. Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.);
Number of Signatories: 17; Date Submitted: Jan. 27, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Jim Himes (D-Conn.)	\$1,665,890
Judy Biggert (R-Ill.)	\$860,077
Gary Peters (D-Mich.)	\$777,259
Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.)	\$642,948
Patrick McHenry (R-N.C.)	\$564,977
Robert Dold (R-Ill.)	\$501,150
Nan Hayworth (R-N.Y.)	\$482,471
Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.)	\$476,010
Steve Stivers (R-Ohio)	\$445,585
Michael Grimm (R-N.Y.)	\$378,381
Gwen Moore (D-Wis.)	\$311,820
Tom Perriello (D-Va.)	\$268,244
Robert Hurt (R-Va.)	\$243,982
Jim Renacci (R-Ohio)	\$226,334
John Carney (D-Del.)	\$199,000
William Clay (D-Mo.)	\$178,325
Bill Huizenga (R-Mich.)	\$137,790
Total	\$8,360,243

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/GRWT70>.

**Lead Signatory: Sen. Thomas R. Carper (D-Del.);
Number of Signatories: 6; Date Submitted: Feb. 16, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Scott Brown (R-Mass.)	\$3,565,219
Mark Warner (D-Va.)	\$975,716
Mike Crapo (R-Idaho)	\$931,211
Tom Carper (D-Del.)	\$719,980
Chris Coons (D-Del.)	\$510,125
Pat Toomey (R-Pa.)	\$284,856
Total	\$6,987,107

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/Ha14Zc>.

**Lead Signatory: Sen. Spencer Bachus (R-Ala.);
Number of Signatories: 4; Date Submitted: Dec. 7, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Scott Brown (R-Mass.)	\$3,565,219
Mark Warner (D-Va.)	\$975,716
Mike Crapo (R-Idaho)	\$931,211
Tom Carper (D-Del.)	\$719,980
Total	\$5,064,654

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/yADBTT>.

**Signatory: Michael Bennet (D-Colo.);
Date Submitted: Feb. 24, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Michael Bennet (D-Colo.)	\$2,461,890

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/wqCLTK>.

**Signatory: Bob Corker (R-Tenn.);
Date Submitted: Feb. 13, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Bob Corker (R-Tenn.)	\$2,419,795

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/zZNwDY>.

**Signatory: Rep. Jim Himes (D-Conn.);
Date Submitted: March 16, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Jim Himes (D-Conn.)	\$1,665,890

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/H472ND>.

**Signatory: Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.);
Date Submitted: Feb. 17, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.)	\$1,140,130

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/GRpYvK>.

**Lead Signatory: Rep. Phil Roe (R-Tenn.);
Number of Signatories: 5; Date Submitted: Nov. 3, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Marsha Blackburn (R-Tenn.)	\$293,079
Diane Black (R-Tenn.)	\$185,035
Chuck Fleischmann (R-Tenn.)	\$132,109
John J Duncan Jr. (R-Tenn.)	\$59,600
Phil Roe (R-Tenn.)	\$49,635
Total	\$719,458

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/xMXnBM>.

**Signatory: David Schweikert (R-Az.);
Date Submitted: Dec. 16, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
David Schweikert (R-Az.)	\$328,900

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/GSE1h5>.

**Signatory: Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.);
Date Submitted: Dec. 13, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.)	\$285,212

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/xajIN3>.

**Signatory: Jackie Speier (D-Calif.);
Date Submitted: Jan. 23, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Jackie Speier (D-Calif.)	\$264,072

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/GQZ8aw>.

**Signatory: Kay R Hagan (D-N.C.);
Date Submitted: Jan. 13, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Kay R Hagan (D-N.C.)	\$237,831

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/GSGBns>.

**Signatory: Zoe Lofgren (D-Calif.);
Date Submitted: Dec. 23, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Zoe Lofgren (D-Calif.)	\$176,222

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/yrPSHv>.

**Signatory: Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.);
Date Submitted: Feb. 27, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.)	\$157,450

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/GQwp4P>.

**Signatory Mike Honda (D-Calif.);
Date Submitted: Dec. 20, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Mike Honda (D-Calif.)	\$109,970

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/H71YEz>.

II. Letters Seeking to Strengthen Rule

**Lead Signatory: Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-N.Y.);
Number of Signatories: 17; Date Submitted: Nov. 16, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-Ill.)	\$190,975
Mazie Hirono (D-Hawaii)	\$157,250
Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.)	\$154,199
Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.)	\$140,700
David Cicilline (D-R.I.)	\$117,412
Peter Welch (D-Vt.)	\$89,200
Louise M Slaughter (D-N.Y.)	\$78,906
Jim McDermott (D-Wash.)	\$75,500
Maurice Hinchey (D-N.Y.)	\$73,509
Bob Filner (D-Calif.)	\$67,900
Raul Grijalva (D-Az.)	\$62,450
Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio)	\$60,500
Lynn Woolsey (D-Calif.)	\$55,500
Pete Visclosky (D-Ind.)	\$47,100
John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.)	\$44,255
Grace Napolitano (D-Calif.)	\$32,800
Peter DeFazio (D-Ore.)	\$29,250
Total	\$1,477,406

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/xW0JGB>.

**Lead Signatory: Rep. Earl Blumenauer (D-Ore.);
Number of Signatories: 5; Date Submitted: Oct. 7, 2011**

Member	Amount Received
Earl Blumenauer (D-Ore.)	\$223,024
Peter Welch (D-Vt.)	\$89,200
Maurice Hinchey (D-N.Y.)	\$73,509
Bob Filner (D-Calif.)	\$67,900
John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.)	\$44,255
Total	\$497,888

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/AEptAU>.

**Signatories: Sen. Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.) and Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.);
Date Submitted: Feb. 13, 2012**

Member	Amount Received
Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.)	\$236,500
Carl Levin (D-Mich.)	\$1,000
Total	\$237,500

Source: <http://1.usa.gov/H5SJo4>.

Appendix 2: Campaign Contributions From Financial Industry to Members of Congress Who Submitted Comment Letters Seeking to Strengthen or Weaken Volcker Rule (Sorted By Amount)

I. Contributions to Signatories of Letters Seeking to Weaken Rule

Member	Amount Received
Scott Brown (R-Mass.)	\$3,565,219
Michael Bennet (D-Colo.)	\$2,461,890
Bob Corker (R-Tenn.)	\$2,419,795
Spencer Bachus (R-Ala.)	\$1,716,125
Jim Himes (D-Conn.)	\$1,665,890
Jeb Hensarling (R-Texas)	\$1,477,357
Ed Royce (R-Calif.)	\$1,383,278
Scott Garrett (R-N.J.)	\$1,270,565
Dave Camp (R-Mich.)	\$1,249,291
Patrick J Tiberi (R-Ohio)	\$1,246,889
Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.)	\$1,140,130
Joseph Crowley (D-N.Y.)	\$1,085,320
Mark Warner (D-Va.)	\$975,716
Erik Paulsen (R-Minn.)	\$946,099
Mike Crapo (R-Idaho)	\$931,211
Peter Roskam (R-Ill.)	\$867,535
Judy Biggert (R-Ill.)	\$860,077
Edwin Perlmutter (D-Colo.)	\$851,617
Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas)	\$835,811
Gary Peters (D-Mich.)	\$777,259
Pete Sessions (R-Texas)	\$771,373
John Campbell (R-Calif.)	\$743,081
Tom Carper (D-Del.)	\$719,980
Allyson Schwartz (D-Pa.)	\$703,699
Dave Reichert (R-Wash.)	\$679,536
Ron Kind (D-Wis.)	\$677,787
Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.)	\$642,948
Aaron Schock (R-Ill.)	\$615,066
Shelley Moore Capito (R-W.V.)	\$600,607
Tom Price (R-Ga.)	\$567,512
Patrick McHenry (R-N.C.)	\$564,977
Lynn Jenkins (R-Kan.)	\$550,127
Chris Coons (D-Del.)	\$510,125
Robert Dold (R-Ill.)	\$501,150
Nan Hayworth (R-N.Y.)	\$482,471
Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.)	\$476,010
Lamar Smith (R-Texas)	\$456,350
Pete King (R-N.Y.)	\$453,510
Steve Stivers (R-Ohio)	\$445,585
Leonard Lance (R-NJ)	\$443,294
Geoff Davis (R-Ky.)	\$441,178

Member	Amount Received
Blaine Luetkemeyer (R-Mo.)	\$437,620
Charles W Boustany Jr. (R-La.)	\$424,239
Jason Altmire (D-Pa.)	\$421,996
Don Manzullo (R-Ill.)	\$412,317
Kenny Marchant (R-Texas)	\$401,812
Bill Owens (D-N.Y.)	\$401,657
Lee Terry (R-Neb.)	\$399,146
Sam Johnson (R-Texas)	\$396,940
Gary Miller (R-Calif.)	\$389,249
Kevin Brady (R-Texas)	\$386,389
Michael Grimm (R-N.Y.)	\$378,381
Bill Posey (R-Fla.)	\$373,588
Michael McCaul (R-Texas)	\$370,974
Frank D Lucas (R-OK)	\$370,926
Mike Rogers (R-Mich.)	\$350,329
Rick Berg (R-N.D.)	\$342,936
Adrian Smith (R-Neb.)	\$341,092
John Barrow (D-Ga.)	\$335,105
David Schweikert (R-Az.)	\$328,900
Greg Walden (R-Ore.)	\$323,228
Charlie Dent (R-Pa.)	\$317,563
Gerry Connolly (D-Va.)	\$313,374
Tom Reed (R-N.Y.)	\$312,227
Gwen Moore (D-Wis.)	\$311,820
Lynn A Westmoreland (R-Ga.)	\$308,777
Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-Wash.)	\$308,136
Devin Gerald Nunes (R-Calif.)	\$300,100
Kay Granger (R-Texas)	\$299,748
Steve Scalise (R-La.)	\$298,897
Wally Herger (R-Calif.)	\$293,281
Marsha Blackburn (R-Tenn.)	\$293,079
Mike Quigley (D-Ill.)	\$291,524
Joe Wilson (R-S.C.)	\$288,776
Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.)	\$285,212
Pat Toomey (R-Pa.)	\$284,856
Steve Fincher (R-Tenn.)	\$282,663
John Carter (R-Texas)	\$277,499
Tom Rooney (R-Fla.)	\$272,273
Francisco Canseco (R-Texas)	\$271,976
Mike Conaway (R-Texas)	\$270,198
Tom Perriello (D-Va.)	\$268,244
Heath Shuler (D-N.C.)	\$264,520
Jackie Speier (D-Calif.)	\$264,072
Sean P Duffy (R-Wis.)	\$260,534
Russ Carnahan (D-Mo.)	\$250,676
Jean Schmidt (R-Ohio)	\$249,630
Pete Olson (R-Texas)	\$248,093
Robert Hurt (R-Va.)	\$243,982
Kevin Yoder (R-Kan.)	\$243,584
Adam Schiff (D-Calif.)	\$243,490
Todd Akin (R-Mo.)	\$242,919

Member	Amount Received
Tim Scott (R-S.C.)	\$240,274
John Fleming (R-La.)	\$239,790
Kay R Hagan (D-N.C.)	\$237,831
Bill Cassidy (R-La.)	\$231,440
Loretta Sanchez (D-Calif.)	\$228,040
Jim Renacci (R-Ohio)	\$226,334
Ben Quayle (R-Ariz.)	\$221,500
Patrick Meehan (R-Pa.)	\$218,353
Mike Coffman (R-Colo.)	\$215,483
John M Shimkus (R-Ill.)	\$212,481
Kurt Schrader (D-Ore.)	\$200,704
John Carney (D-Del.)	\$199,000
Rodney Alexander (R-La.)	\$198,882
James D Jordan (R-Ohio)	\$198,854
Sue Myrick (R-N.C.)	\$197,150
Jo Bonner (R-Ala.)	\$196,500
Mike D Rogers (R-Ala.)	\$194,650
John Culberson (R-Texas)	\$192,300
Jason Chaffetz (R-Utah)	\$192,008
Rick Larsen (D-Wash.)	\$190,600
Sam Graves (R-Mo.)	\$187,297
Diane Black (R-Tenn.)	\$185,035
Joe Walsh (R-Ill.)	\$183,400
William Clay (D-Mo.)	\$178,325
Jim Moran (D-Va.)	\$176,750
Zoe Lofgren (D-Calif.)	\$176,222
Michael G Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.)	\$172,600
Paul Broun Jr. (R-Ga.)	\$163,979
Jaren Polis (D-Colo.)	\$162,271
Randy Hultgren (R-Ill.)	\$159,900
Bob Goodlatte (R-Va.)	\$157,450
Ted Poe (R-Texas)	\$154,448
Cory Gardner (R-Colo.)	\$153,256
Adam Smith (D-Wash.)	\$143,700
Sanford D Bishop Jr. (D-Ga.)	\$141,050
Walter B Jones Jr. (R-N.C.)	\$140,535
Bill Huizenga (R-Mich.)	\$137,790
Chris Gibson (R-N.Y.)	\$132,783
Chuck Fleischmann (R-Tenn.)	\$132,109
Tim Griffin (R-Ark.)	\$129,850
Adam Kinzinger (R-Ill.)	\$129,450
Frank Guinta (R-N.H.)	\$128,443
Robert Aderholt (R-Ala.)	\$125,046
Bill Flores (R-Texas)	\$120,450
Tim Walberg (R-Mich.)	\$117,518
Gregg Harper (R-Miss.)	\$115,800
Richard Hanna (R-N.Y.)	\$114,299
Mike Honda (D-Calif.)	\$109,970
Robert E Latta (R-Ohio)	\$109,074
Lois Capps (D-Calif.)	\$108,185
Joe Pitts (R-Pa.)	\$107,100

Member	Amount Received
Virginia Foxx (R-N.C.)	\$106,550
Mac Thornberry (R-Texas)	\$106,075
Mike Pompeo (R-Kan.)	\$105,959
Ed Whitfield (R-Ky.)	\$98,700
Ralph M Hall (R-Texas)	\$95,200
Jay Inslee (D-Wash.)	\$93,589
Todd Rokita (R-Ind.)	\$87,829
Alan Nunnelee (R-Miss.)	\$85,500
Sandy Adams (R-Fla.)	\$85,300
Austin Scott (R-Ga.)	\$84,045
Steven Palazzo (R-Miss.)	\$81,249
Scott Desjarlais (R-Tenn.)	\$79,050
Billy Long (R-Mo.)	\$79,000
Dennis Ross (R-Fla.)	\$76,900
Steve Chabot (R-Ohio)	\$74,823
Larry Bucshon (R-Ind.)	\$70,120
Todd Young (R-Ind.)	\$67,000
John J Duncan Jr. (R-Tenn.)	\$59,600
Timothy V Johnson (R-Ill.)	\$57,600
Renee Ellmers (R-N.C.)	\$57,200
Jeff Miller (R-Fla.)	\$55,950
Mark Amodei (R-Nev.)	\$49,850
Phil Roe (R-Tenn.)	\$49,635
Jeff Duncan (R-S.C.)	\$47,750
Robert L Turner (R-N.Y.)	\$45,800
Bill Johnson (R-Ohio)	\$39,850
Cedric Richmond (D-La.)	\$39,050
Karen Bass (D-Calif.)	\$27,250
Mo Brooks (R-Ala.)	\$23,100

II. Contributions to Signatories of Letters Seeking to Strengthen Rule

Member	Amount Received
Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.)	\$236,500
Earl Blumenauer (D-Ore.)	\$223,024
Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-Ill.)	\$190,975
Mazie Hirono (D-Hawaii)	\$157,250
Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.)	\$154,199
Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.)	\$140,700
David Cicilline (D-R.I.)	\$117,412
Peter Welch (D-Vt.)	\$89,200
Louise M Slaughter (D-N.Y.)	\$78,906
Jim McDermott (D-Wash.)	\$75,500
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Raul Grijalva (D-Az.)	\$62,450
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Lynn Woolsey (D-Calif.)	\$55,500
Pete Visclosky (D-Ind.)	\$47,100
John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.)	\$44,255
Grace Napolitano (D-Calif.)	\$32,800
Peter DeFazio (D-Ore.)	\$29,250
Carl Levin (D-Mich.)	\$1,000

Appendix 3: Campaign Contributions From Financial Industry to Members of Congress Who Submitted Comment Letters Seeking to Strengthen or Weaken Volcker Rule (Sorted Alphabetically)

I. Contributions to Signatories of Letters Seeking to Weaken Rule

Member	Amount Received
Sandy Adams (R-Fla.)	\$85,300
Robert Aderholt (R-Ala.)	\$125,046
Todd Akin (R-Mo.)	\$242,919
Rodney Alexander (R-La.)	\$198,882
Jason Altmire (D-Pa.)	\$421,996
Mark Amodei (R-Nev.)	\$49,850
Spencer Bachus (R-Ala.)	\$1,716,125
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Rick Berg (R-N.D.)	\$342,936
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Tim Walberg (R-Mich.)	\$117,518
Greg Walden (R-Ore.)	\$323,228
Joe Walsh (R-Ill.)	\$183,400
Mark Warner (D-Va.)	\$975,716
Lynn A Westmoreland (R-Ga.)	\$308,777
Ed Whitfield (R-Ky.)	\$98,700
Joe Wilson (R-S.C.)	\$288,776
Kevin Yoder (R-Kan.)	\$243,584
Todd Young (R-Ind.)	\$67,000

II. Contributions to Signatories of Letters Seeking to Strengthen Rule

Member	Amount Received
Earl Blumenauer (D-Ore.)	\$223,024
David Cicilline (D-R.I.)	\$117,412
John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.)	\$44,255
Peter DeFazio (D-Ore.)	\$29,250
Bob Filner (D-Calif.)	\$67,900
Raul Grijalva (D-Az.)	\$62,450
Maurice Hinchey (D-N.Y.)	\$73,509
Mazie Hirono (D-Hawaii)	\$157,250
Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-Ill.)	\$190,975
Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio)	\$60,500
Carl Levin (D-Mich.)	\$1,000
Jim McDermott (D-Wash.)	\$75,500
Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.)	\$236,500
Grace Napolitano (D-Calif.)	\$32,800
Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.)	\$154,199
Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.)	\$140,700
Louise M Slaughter (D-N.Y.)	\$78,906
Pete Visclosky (D-Ind.)	\$47,100
Peter Welch (D-Vt.)	\$89,200
Lynn Woolsey (D-Calif.)	\$55,500