



Lax Taxes

Industry Has Massive Resource Advantage in Fight over Bills that Would Raise Revenue and Bring Fairness to Tax Code

Acknowledgments

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About Public Citizen

Public Citizen is a national non-profit organization with more than 300,000 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, worker safety, safe and affordable health care, campaign finance reform and government ethics, fair trade, climate change, and corporate and government accountability.

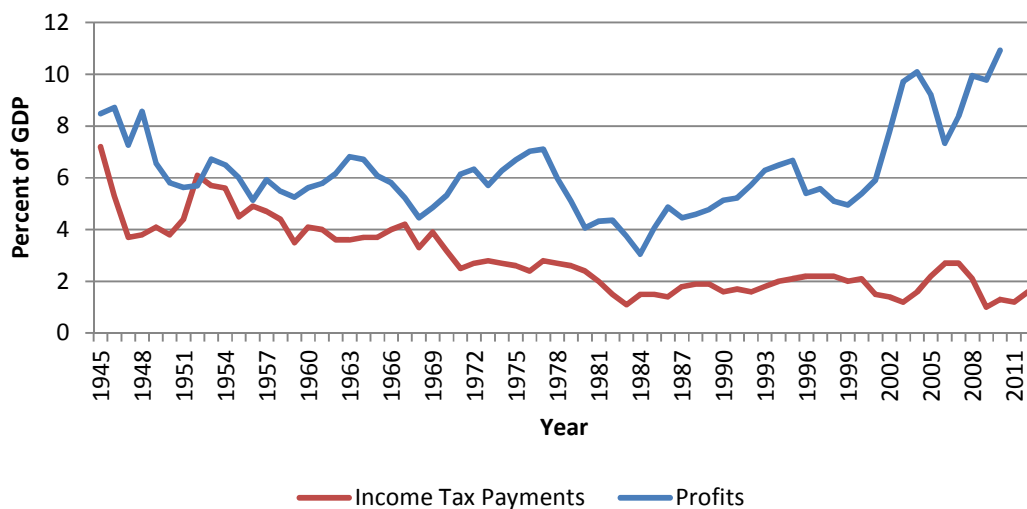


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Although the U.S. economy is still recovering from the economic collapse of 2008, corporations are recording record profits. Corporate profits as a share of the gross domestic product (GDP) have risen to an all-time high.¹ But corporate income tax payments have fallen to near historic lows. Between 2008 and 2012, they averaged only 1.4 percent of GDP, less than half the post-World War II average of 2.9 percent.² See Figure 1 for an illustration of this trend.

Figure 1: Corporate Profits and Income Taxes as a Percentage of GDP, 1945-2012



Source: *Historical Economic Tables*, WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET (viewed May 29, 2013), <http://1.usa.gov/PWZYFg> and Graph: *Corporate Tax Profits After Tax as a Percentage of GDP*, FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ST. LOUIS (viewed May 28, 2013), <http://bit.ly/XWB0Ko>.

In 2011, a joint study by Citizens for Tax Justice and Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy found that between 2008 and 2010, 78 Fortune 500 companies paid no taxes in 2008, 2009, or 2010.³ In May 2013, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations reported that Apple Inc. used offshore tax havens to avoid paying taxes on more than \$74 billion of income from 2009 to 2012.⁴ The financial sector, in particular, is woefully under

¹ Graph: *Corporate Tax Profits After Tax as a Percentage of GDP*, FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ST. LOUIS (viewed May 28, 2013), <http://bit.ly/XWB0Ko>.

² *Historical Economic Tables*, WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET (viewed May 29, 2013), <http://1.usa.gov/PWZYFg>.

³ ROBERT S. MCINTYRE, MATTHEW GARDNER, REBECCA J. WILKINS, AND RICHARD PHILLIPS, CITIZENS FOR TAX JUSTICE AND THE INSTITUTE ON TAXATION AND ECONOMIC POLICY. *CORPORATE TAX PAYERS AND CORPORATE TAX DODGERS 2008-2010* 5 (2011), <http://bit.ly/tSpiBb>.

⁴ Danielle Kurtzleben, *Apple Tax-Dodging Hearing, in Five Quotes*, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT (May 21, 2013), <http://bit.ly/135KEeB> and Memorandum from Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) to Members of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations 4 (May 21, 2013), <http://1.usa.gov/16DCmPO>.

taxed, recently collecting more than 30 percent of the nation's total corporate profits, while paying only about 18 percent of corporate income taxes.⁵

Several tax reform proposals that would address tax loopholes, raise revenue, increase the fairness of the corporate tax code, and seek to increase the stability of the financial system have been introduced in Congress. For this study, Public Citizen analyzed lobbying records and campaign finance contributions of organizations that have lobbied on at least one of three pieces of legislation, which would work towards achieving the goals discussed above. The first two, the Cut Unjustified Tax Loopholes Act ("CUT" Loopholes) and the Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act, would close or seek to deter the use of corporate tax loopholes, including offshore tax havens. A third, the Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act ("FTT"), would place a tax on certain types of financial transactions. Each piece of legislation has been introduced in both the 112th and 113th Congress.

Key Findings

Public Citizen found that 74 organizations and 383 lobbyists have lobbied on at least one of these pieces of legislation. Political action committees controlled by the organizations that have lobbied on at least one of the bills covered in this report donated more than \$25 million to candidates for federal office during the 2012 election cycle. For the purposes of this report, corporations and organizations representing industry are assumed to oppose the reforms; labor organizations and liberal public interest groups are assumed to favor them. Although there may be some anomalies, we believe that such instances would not substantively change the findings in this report.

Although some of this activity has been by organizations that support reform, the overwhelming majority has been on behalf of opponents. Of the 383 lobbyists, 331, or 86 percent, represent industry clients. On each issue, industry and corporate clients have a massive advantage. This is particularly true of activity on the Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act, where industry lobbyists outnumber their reform counterparts by a nearly 20-1 ratio. Of the 172 lobbyists Public Citizen identified as members of the "revolving door," meaning they have past government experience, 165, or 96 percent, represent industry clients. Of the \$25 million donated to federal candidates by PACs, nearly \$20 million was contributed by industry-controlled PACs.

⁵ DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE BUREAU OF ECONOMIC ANALYSIS, CORPORATE PROFITS BY INDUSTRY: 1963-2011 1 (2011), <http://1.usa.gov/11BLmfm> and STIJN CLAESSENS, MICHAEL KEEN, AND CEYLA PAZARBASIOGLU, THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, FINANCIAL SECTOR TAXATION: THE IMF'S REPORT TO THE G-20 AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL 60 (2010), <http://bit.ly/18QUo0Z>.

Table 1: Summary of Legislation

Bill Title	Bill Number	Congress
Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act (STHA)	H.R. 1554	113
Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act (STHA)	S. 1376; H.R. 2669	112
CUT Loopholes Act (CLA)	S. 268	113
CUT Loopholes Act (CLA)	S. 2075	112
Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act (FTT)	S. 410; H.R. 880	113
Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act (FTT)	S. 1787; H.R. 3313	112

Cut Unjustified Tax Loopholes Act and the Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act

In February 2013, Sens. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and Sheldon Whitehouse (D-R.I.) introduced the Cut Unjustified Tax Loopholes Act (“CUT” Loopholes). The bill would close several corporate tax loopholes, including those that facilitate transferring reported profits to offshore tax havens, where income is exempt from U.S. taxation. It would also end policies that provide unwarranted tax breaks, including subsidies for granting stock-options to employees (and particularly executives), incentives to transfer jobs overseas, tax breaks for tar sands oil companies, and a blended tax rate for derivatives profits.⁶ “CUT” Loopholes also would eliminate the “carried interest” loophole that allows hedge fund managers to pay a lower personal income tax rate than workers who earn much lower wages.⁷ The non-partisan Joint Committee on Taxation reported that the bill would raise \$189 billion in revenue over 10 years.⁸

The Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act, introduced by Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-Texas) in April 2013, is based on the first two titles of the CUT Loopholes Act. It seeks to discourage offshore tax havens by increasing public disclosure of their use.⁹ It would require corporations registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission to “report annually on the

⁶ Under our current tax code, profits from certain derivatives are treated more favorably than other capital gains, which lowers the taxes derivatives traders pay and, as a consequence, increases the extent to which these instruments are traded. The CUT Loopholes Act would eliminate the “blended tax rate” loophole, and instead apply traditional capital gains tax rates to derivatives and other financial instruments alike.

⁷ Press Release, Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.), *Summary of the Cut Unjustified Tax Loopholes Act* (February 22, 2013), (<http://1.usa.gov/12GYvd1>).

⁸ Press Release, Sen. Carl Levin (D. Mich.), *Levin Floor Statement on Cut Unjustified Tax Loopholes Act* (February 11, 2013), <http://1.usa.gov/Y7cOSd>.

⁹ Press Release, Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-Texas), *Doggett Releasing GAO Report, Corporate Tax Reform Package on Tax Day, Monday, April 15 as Corporations “Continue Lobbying to Pay a Nickel on the Dollar in Taxes”* (April 11, 2013), (<http://1.usa.gov/YfZ0EW>).

number of employees, sales, financing, tax obligations, and tax payments on a country-by-country basis.”¹⁰ The Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act also would impose penalties for non-compliance with the bill’s disclosure requirements. It would also give regulators more authority to ensure that companies are complying with U.S. tax law independent of the disclosure requirements set forth in the bill.

Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act

The Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act (“FTT”) was introduced in February 2013 by Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) in the Senate and Rep. Peter Defazio (D-Ore.) in the House. Designed to both raise revenue and curb dangerous Wall Street trading practices, the bill calls for imposing a 0.03 percent tax (3 cents per \$100) on trades of stocks, bonds, and derivatives. Much of the tax would be paid by high-frequency traders who engage in high-volume, speculative trading. High-frequency trading is potentially extremely destabilizing, as evidenced by the “flash-crash” of May 2012 that erased nearly 1,000 points from the Dow Jones Industrial Average in a matter of minutes.¹¹ High-frequency traders sometimes engage in predatory trading practices that disadvantage traditional “buy and hold” traders. The Joint Committee on Taxation projects that the bill would raise approximately \$350 billion of revenue over 10 years.

Methodology

Lobbying records were drawn for the period covered by the 112th and 113th Congresses, or 2011 to present. Public Citizen searched lobbying disclosure reports for key words, including bill names and numbers, to identify organizations that lobbied on each bill. Then, Public Citizen analyzed individual reports to determine which lobbyists were listed as lobbying on the relevant piece of legislation. Revolving door information was sourced using a database maintained by the Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org). Public Citizen’s analysis of campaign contributions consist of contributions made to federal candidates by the political action committees of organizations Public Citizen identified as having lobbied on one of these three pieces of legislation.

¹⁰ Press Release, Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-Texas), *Doggett Releasing GAO Report, Corporate Tax Reform Package on Tax Day, Monday, April 15 as Corporations “Continue Lobbying to Pay a Nickel on the Dollar in Taxes”* (April 11, 2013), <http://1.usa.gov/YfZ0EW>.

¹¹ MICAH HAUPTMAN, WRITTEN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING, , HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITIES, INSURANCE, AND INVESTMENTS, PUBLIC CITIZEN 2 (2012), <http://bit.ly/PAxzDo>.

Findings: Lobbying Activity and the Revolving Door

A snapshot of lobbying activity reveals that a wide array of corporate interests, including several prominent corporations and trade associations, have lobbied on the FTT, “CUT” Loopholes, or the Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act. Corporations include JPMorgan Chase and Co., AT&T, General Electric, IBM, and American Express. Trade associations include the Managed Funds Association, the Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. In total, 74 organizations and 383 lobbyists reported lobbying on at least one of these pieces of legislation in either the 112th or 113th Congresses.¹² For each piece of legislation, industry has deployed overwhelmingly more lobbyists than the bill’s proponents. For the Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act, lobbyists supporting industry interests outnumber pro-tax reform lobbyists by a nearly 20-to-1 ratio. The ratios decline for “CUT” Loopholes and the FTT, but are still substantial, at 10-1 and 5-1 respectively. [See Table 2]

**Table 2: Lobbying on Select Tax Issues
in the 112th and 113th Congresses**

Bill	Clients	Lobbyists	“Revolving Door” Lobbyists
CUT Loopholes Act			
<i>Support</i>	6	17	4
<i>Oppose</i>	24	150	68
<i>Total</i>	30	167	72
Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act			
<i>Support</i>	2	5	0
<i>Oppose</i>	18	119	60
<i>Total</i>	20	124	60
Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act			
<i>Support</i>	13	43	4
<i>Oppose</i>	33	218	108
<i>Total</i>	46	261	112
TOTALS¹³			
<i>Support</i>	15	52	7
<i>Oppose</i>	59	331	165
<i>Total</i>	74	383	172

Source: Public Citizen analysis of the lobbying disclosure database maintained by the secretary of the Senate and the Center for Responsive Politics’ “Revolving Door” Database (<http://www.opensecrets.org/revolving/>)

¹² The number of clients presented in Table 2 sums to greater than 74 because many clients lobbied on more than one issue. The number of lobbyists sums to more than 383 because lobbyists reported lobbying on more than one of pieces of legislation.

¹³ These totals sum to less than the individual bills because clients, lobbyists, and “revolvers” have worked on multiple bills.

Lobbying activity on these issues is escalating. In the 112th Congress, lobbyists worked on these pieces of legislation on behalf of 55 total clients. In the 113th Congress, for which only three months of disclosed reports are available, lobbyists have already worked on behalf of 57 clients on these issues. Appendices A, B, and C provide full lists of the companies that lobbied on each piece of legislation.

Many of the lobbyists working on these issues have passed through the “revolving door,” a term applied to those who had federal government experience before becoming lobbyists. Of the 383 lobbyists who were identified by Public Citizen as having lobbied on these bills, at least 172 previously worked for the federal government. These include five former members of Congress, as well as 21 former congressional chiefs of staff and seven former congressional committee staff directors. [See Table 3] For example, William McKenney and Melissa Mueller both served as the staff director for the House Ways and Means Committee and later lobbied on behalf of FMR Corp, the parent company of Fidelity Investments. Wayne Abernathy, who served as the staff director for the Senate Banking Committee, now lobbies for the American Bankers Association.

Industry clients employ the vast majority of members of the revolving door, with 165 “revolvers” lobbying against these bills and only 7 lobbying in support. A complete list of clients, firms, lobbyists, and their prior government service (if applicable) can be found in Appendix D.

The vast majority of “revolvers” started on Capitol Hill before becoming lobbyists. Of the 172 lobbyists who have federal government experience, 123 worked only in congressional posts. Far fewer, only 21, worked within the executive branch. Twenty-eight worked for Congress and within the executive branch.

Table 3: Former Members of Congress who Lobbied on Corporate Tax Issues

Name	Years	Relevant Committee Assignments
Sen. Dirk Kempthorne (R-Idaho)	1993-1999	Senate Small Business Committee
Rep. Kenneth Bentsen (D-Texas)	1995-2002	House Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs; House Budget Committee
Rep. Richard Baker (R-La.)	1987-2008	House Financial Services Committee
Robert Cramer (D-Ala.)	1991-2009	House Appropriations Committee
Robert Walker (R-Pa.)	1977-1997	House Budget Committee

Sources: Public Citizen analysis of the lobbying disclosure database maintained by the secretary of the Senate and the Center for Responsive Politics’ “Revolving Door” Database (<http://www.opensecrets.org/revolving/>).

Findings: Contributions from Political Action Committees

Few would dispute that campaign finance contributions enhance lobbyists' access to lawmakers. This access can come from interaction at fundraising events that require substantial contributions for entry or from meetings with elected officials (or high-level staffers) that are more likely to be granted to large campaign contributors than others. Campaign contributions have the potential to influence a lawmaker's position on an issue, though it is impossible to determine for certain when campaign contributions actually influence a lawmaker's position. Given lawmakers' dependence on fundraising to stay in office, it is undeniable that their reelection fundraising is made easier when they vote in accordance with the views of well-funded industries.

Organizations engaged on the issues covered in this report donate considerable money to candidates through political action committees under their control. Public Citizen's analysis of campaign finance data found that of the 74 organizations that lobbied on at least one of these pieces of legislation, 46 had political action committees (PACs) that made contributions to candidates during the most recent (2012) election cycle. These political action committees contributed more than \$25 million to candidates for federal office. Much like the lobbying disparity, pro-industry PACs far outnumber the pro-reform PACs in every important metric. Of the 46 PACs who made contributions, the 40 that are aligned with industry interests donated nearly \$20 million to their preferred candidates. Table 4 lists the top 20 organizations whose PACs donated to federal candidates during the 2012 cycle. A full listing can be found in Appendix E.

Table 4: Top 20 Political Action Committee Contributors to Federal Candidates, 2012 Cycle

Organization	Amount	Stance	Bill
National Association of Realtors	\$3,102,512	Against	CLA
Credit Union National Association	\$1,771,700	Against	CLA, FTT
American Bankers Association	\$1,713,750	Against	FTT
AT&T Inc.	\$1,648,000	Against	CLA
National Education Association	\$1,416,500	For	FTT
Teamsters Union	\$1,381,910	For	FTT
Communications Workers of America	\$1,204,474	For	FTT
United Auto Workers	\$1,125,500	For	CLA
General Electric	\$1,036,575	Against	FTT
Pfizer Inc	\$851,700	Against	CLA , STHA
National Multi Housing Council	\$780,000	Against	CLA
Microsoft Corp	\$771,000	Against	CLA
JPMorgan Chase & Co	\$658,723	Against	FTT
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	\$656,650	Against	FTT
National Federation of Independent Business	\$617,293	Against	FTT
Investment Co Institute	\$589,000	Against	CLA , FTT, STHA
International Paper	\$499,300	Against	CLA, STHA
Hewlett-Packard	\$482,337	Against	CLA
Credit Suisse Securities	\$382,000	Against	FTT
Property Casualty Insurers Association of America	\$378,500	Against	CLA , STHA

Source: Public Citizen analysis of campaign finance data downloaded from the Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org).

Conclusion

Currently, it's good to be a member of corporate America. Profits are at all-time highs and tax payments are at nearly historic lows. This represents the great irony of our current tax debate: corporate America is seeking to exploit its advantages at a time when its books are flush and ordinary Americans continue to suffer from the Great Recession. The policies

proposed in the bills discussed in this report are needed because they address several problems simultaneously: they raise new sources of revenue, improve the fairness of our tax code and help ensure the stability of the financial system. But industry is exploiting its advantages by deploying an overwhelming numbers of lobbyists and distributing campaign contributions that far outweigh the resources available to pro-reform advocates.

Appendix A: Stop Tax Haven Abuse Act Lobbying Clients by Congress

Client	Stance	Congress
ACE INA	Against	112
Agilent Technologies	Against	112
American Bar Association	For	112, 113
American Express	Against	112
Amway/Alticor Inc	Against	112, 113
Center for Freedom & Prosperity	Against	112
Covidien US	Against	112
DuPont Co	Against	112
Hong Kong Trade Development Council	Against	112, 113
IBM Corp	Against	112
International Paper	Against	112
Investment Co Institute	Against	112
Managed Funds Association	Against	112
Masco Corp	Against	112
Organization for International Investment	Against	112
Pfizer Inc	Against	112
Property Casualty Insurers Association of America	Against	112
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Against	112
US Chamber of Commerce	Against	112
US Public Interest Research Group	For	112

Sources: Public Citizen analysis of the lobbying disclosure database maintained by the secretary of the Senate

Appendix B: FTT Lobbying Clients by Congress

Client	Stance	Congress
Aegon NV	Against	112, 113
AFL-CIO	For	112, 113
American Bankers Association	Against	112, 113
American Bar Association	For	112
American Council of Life Insurers	Against	112
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	For	112, 113
Ameriprise Financial	Against	112, 113
BATS Global Markets	Against	112
Bond Dealers of America	Against	113
Charles Schwab & Co	Against	112, 113
Citigroup Inc	Against	113
CME Group	Against	112
Communications Workers of America	For	112
Credit Suisse Securities	Against	113
Credit Union National Association	Against	112
DuPont Co	Against	112
Fifth Third Bancorp	Against	112, 113
Financial Services Institute	Against	112, 113
FMR Corp	Against	112
Food & Water Watch	For	113
General Electric	Against	112, 113
Health Care for America Now	For	113
HSBC North America	Against	112, 113
International Securities Exchange	Against	112, 113
Investment Co Institute	Against	112, 113
JPMorgan Chase & Co	Against	112, 113

Client	Stance	Congress
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	For	112, 113
Managed Funds Association	Against	112, 113
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Against	112, 113
Nasdaq OMX Group	Against	112
National Education Association	For	112, 113
National Federation of Independent Business	Against	112
National Women's Law Center	For	112, 113
Nationwide Mutual Insurance	Against	112
Network	Against	112, 113
Northwestern Mutual	Against	112, 113
Public Citizen	For	112, 113
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Against	112, 113
Security Traders Association	Against	112, 113
TD Ameritrade	Against	112, 113
Teamsters Union	For	112, 113
UBS AG	Against	112, 113
US Chamber of Commerce	Against	112, 113
US Public Interest Research Group	For	113
Vanguard Group	Against	112, 113
Wildcat Communications	Against	113

Sources: Public Citizen analysis of the lobbying disclosure database maintained by the secretary of the Senate

Appendix C: CUT Loopholes Act Lobbying Clients by Congress

Client	Stance	Congress
Accenture	Against	112
Agilent Technologies	Against	113
Alliance Bernstein	Against	113
American Bar Association	For	112, 113
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	For	113
Ameriprise Financial	Against	112
AT&T Inc	Against	113
Business Roundtable	Against	113
Covidien US	Against	113
Credit Union National Association	Against	113
DuPont Co	Against	112, 113
Facebook Inc	Against	113
Financial Executives International	Against	112
Hewlett-Packard	Against	113
HR Policy Association	Against	113
IBM Corp	Against	112, 113
International Paper	Against	112
Investment Company Institute	Against	112, 113
Managed Funds Association	Against	112, 113
Microsoft Corp	Against	113
National Association of Realtors	Against	113
National Multi Housing Council	Against	113
National Women's Law Center	Against	113
NCR Corp	Against	113
Neuberger Berman LLC	Against	113
Oz Management	Against	113

Client	Stance	Congress
Pfizer Inc	Against	113
United Auto Workers	For	113
US Chamber of Commerce	Against	112, 113
US Public Interest Research Group	For	112, 113

Sources: Public Citizen analysis of the lobbying disclosure database maintained by the secretary of the Senate

Appendix D: List of Clients, Registrants, Lobbyists, and Revolving Door Profiles

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Accenture	Capitol Tax Partners	Christopher Javens	Tax Counsel, Grassley, Chuck, 2005-2008; Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee, 2005-2008
Accenture	Capitol Tax Partners	Jonathan Talisman	Assistant Secretary, Tax Policy, Dept of Treasury
Accenture	Capitol Tax Partners	Joseph Mikrut	Congressional Affairs, Dept of Treasury
Accenture	Capitol Tax Partners	Lawrence Wilcox	
Accenture	Capitol Tax Partners	Lindsay Hooper	Legislative Director, Wallop, Malcolm
Accenture	Capitol Tax Partners	Richard Grafmeyer	Senior Republican Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee; Deputy Republican Staff Director, Senate Finance Committee; Deputy Chief of Staff, Joint Taxation Committee
Accenture	Capitol Tax Partners	William McKenney	Legislative Director, Chandler, Rod, 1985-1990; Staff Director, House Ways & Means Committee, 1998-2001; Chief of Staff, Houghton, Amo, 2001-2004
ACE INA	ACE INA	Karen Valanzano	
ACE INA	ACE INA	Yancy Molnar	
Aegon NV	Aegon NV	Byron Anderson	
Aegon NV	Aegon NV	Jeanne de Cervens	
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	Andrea DiBitetto	
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	Brett Gibson	
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	Cecelie Counts	
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	Gail Dratch	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	Gregory Jefferson	
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	Lauren Rothfarb	
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	Raymond Liebfried	
AFL-CIO	AFL-CIO	William Samuel	
Agilent Technologies	Agilent Technologies	Catherine Porter	
Alliance Bernstein	C2 Group	D. Patrick Robertson	Deputy Chief of Staff, Rockefeller, Jay, 2002-2009
Alliance Bernstein	C2 Group	Thomas Crawford	
Alliance Bernstein	FTI Government Affairs	D. Patrick Robertson	Deputy Chief of Staff, Rockefeller, Jay, 2002-2009
Alliance Bernstein	FTI Government Affairs	Thomas Crawford	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Cecalia Calaby	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Deborah Shannon	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Dionne Davies	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Edward Elfmann	Agriculture Legislative Assistant, King, Steven, 2010-2012
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Floyd Stoner	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Fran Mordi	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Frank Keating	U.S. Attorney, US District Court, District of N OK, 1981-1986; Assistant Secretary, Dept of Treasury, 1988-1989; Acting Deputy Secretary & General Consul, Dept of Housing & Urban Development, 1990-1993
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	James Ballentine	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	James Clark	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Joan Gregory	Legislative Assistant, Strickland, Ted, 2003-2007; Legislative Director, Wilson, Charlie, 2007-2011
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Kenneth Clayton	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Lawrence Seyfried	Policy Advisor, Cantor, Eric
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Michael Hunter	Chief of Staff, Watts, J C Jr
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Peter Blocklin	
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Seaver Sowers	Deputy Chief of Staff, Emerson, Jo Ann
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	Wayne Abernathy	Senior Legislative Assistant, Gramm, Phil, 1987-1989; Economist, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee, 1989-1994; Staff Director, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Subcommittee on Securities, 1995-1998; Assistant Sec, Financial Institutions, Department of Treasury
American Bankers Association	American Bankers Association	William Borger	
American Bar Association	American Bar Association	Larson Frisby	
American Bar Association	American Bar Association	Thomas Susman	
American Council of Life Insurers	American Council of Life Insurers	Ben Brewster	
American Council of Life Insurers	American Council of Life Insurers	Dianne Sullivan	Policy Advisor, Matsui, Robert T
American Council of Life Insurers	American Council of Life Insurers	Dirk Kempthorne	Member, US Senate, 1993-1999; Secretary of the Interior, Dept of Interior, 2006-2009; Governor, State of Idaho, 1999-2006

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
American Council of Life Insurers	American Council of Life Insurers	Kimberly Dorgan	
American Council of Life Insurers	American Council of Life Insurers	Maurice Perkins	
American Council of Life Insurers	American Council of Life Insurers	Morris Goff	
American Express	American Express	Antonella Pianalto	Ambassador to the United Kingdom, US Diplomatic Missions
American Express	American Express	Arne Christenson	Legislative Director, Boschwitz, Rudy; Chief of Staff, Weber, Vin, 1990-1992; Chief of Staff, Gingrich, Newt, 1994-1999
American Express	American Express	David Morgan	
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Barbara Coufal	
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Charles M. Loveless	
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Cynthia Bradley	
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Edwin S. Jayne	
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Frances Bernstein	
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Linda Bennett	
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Marc Granowitter	Legislative Assistant , Pelosi, Nancy, 1999-2001
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	Rebecca Levin	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Ameriprise Financial	Ameriprise Financial	Denise Ferguson	
Amway/Alticor Inc	Amway/Alticor Inc	Michael Zarrelli	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Barry Hutchinson	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Gerald Francis Hogan	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Katreice Banks	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Keith Krom	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Kent Wells	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Laura Zuckerman	Deputy Chief of Staff, Buyer, Steve, 2001-2007
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Lyndon Boozer	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Marian McDowell	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Marie Long	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Peter Jacoby	Legislative Assistant, Synar, Michael Lynn; Congressional Affairs & Assistant to President, White House, 1995-1998
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Susan Santana	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Theodore Reynolds Kinglsey	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Timothy McGivern	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Timothy McKone	
AT&T Inc	AT&T Inc	Wendy Donoho	
BATS Global Markets	Bryan Cave LLP	Annie Pressley	
BATS Global Markets	Bryan Cave LLP	Matt Jessee	Aide (Eric Cantor), House Majority Whip, 2001-2003

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Bond Dealers of America	Marshall, Ellen	Ellen Marshall	
Business Roundtable	Duberstein Group	Daniel Meyer	Chief of Staff, Gingrich, Newt, 1989-1996; House Liaison, White House, 2007-2008
Business Roundtable	Duberstein Group	Eric Ueland	Staff Director, Senate Rules & Administration Committee; Chief of Staff to Sen Bill Frist, Senate Majority Leader
Business Roundtable	Duberstein Group	Kenneth Duberstein	Research Assistant, Javits, Jacob K; Director, Congressional Intergovernmental Affairs, General Services Administration; Deputy Undersecretary, Dept of Labor; Chief of Staff, White House, 1987-1989
Business Roundtable	Duberstein Group	Marti Thomas	Staff, Riegle, Donald W Jr, 1986-1987; Executive Floor Assistant, Gephardt, Richard A, 1989-1998; Deputy Assistant Sec, Tax & Budget, Dept of Treasury, 1998-1999; Assistant Sec, Leg Affairs/Pub Policy, Dept of Treasury, 2000-2000
Business Roundtable	Duberstein Group	Steven Champlin	Legislative Director, Bonior, David E, 1981-1986
Center for Freedom & Prosperity	Center for Freedom & Prosperity	Andrew Quinlan	Staff , Joint Economic Committee
Charles Schwab & Co	Charles Schwab & Co	Jeffrey Brown	
Charles Schwab & Co	Charles Schwab & Co	Michael Townsend	
Charles Schwab & Co	Charles Schwab & Co	Scott Eckel	Senior Legislative Assistant, Sununu, John; Professional Staff Member, Garrett, Scott
Citigroup Inc	Citigroup Inc	Candida Wolff	Tax Counsel, Wallop, Malcolm, 1993-1994; Deputy Staff Director, Senate Republican Policy Committee, 1996-2000; Legislative Affairs Assistant, Vice President's Office, 2001-2003; Congressional Liaison, White House, 2005-2007

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Citigroup Inc	Citigroup Inc	John Emling	Chief of Staff, Cantor, Eric; Deputy Assistant, White House; Leg/Congressional Affairs, Federal Emergency Management Agency
Citigroup Inc	Citigroup Inc	Paul Thornell	Leadership Staff, Daschle, Tom; Deputy Director, Congress Affairs, Vice President's Office
Citigroup Inc	Citigroup Inc	William Rys	Deputy Executive Secretary, Dept of Treasury
CME Group	Williams & Jensen	Christopher Hatcher	Legislative Manager, Dept of Treasury; Legislative Director , McInnis, Scott, 1998-2004
CME Group	Williams & Jensen	David Frasiak	Staff, Nowak, Henry J; Staff Director, Tax Oversight Subcommittee , House Small Business Committee, 1979-1981
CME Group	Williams & Jensen	Eric Robins	
CME Group	Williams & Jensen	George Baker	Attorney, Dept of Energy, 1977-1980
CME Group	Williams & Jensen	Joel Oswald	Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee, 2000-2003; Legislative Assistant, Enzi, Mike, 2000-2003; Prof Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Subcommittee on Securities, 2001-2003
CME Group	Williams & Jensen	Stephen Blumenthal	Acting Director, Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight; Counsel, House Energy & Commerce Committee
Communications Workers of America	Communications Workers of America	Nancy Biagini	
Communications Workers of America	Communications Workers of America	Shane Larson	
Covidien US	Covidien US	Timothy McBride	Special Assistant to President, White House; Aide, Vice President's Office; Assistant Secretary, Trade Development , Dept of Commerce

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Covidien US	Covidien US	Whitney Gardiner	
Covidien US	Ernst & Young	Nick Giordano	Legislative Director, Baucus, Max, 1993-1995; Chief Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee, 1997-1999
Credit Suisse Securities	Podesta Group	Andrew Lewin	Legislative Director, Sandlin, Max; Legislative Director, Moore, Dennis
Credit Suisse Securities	Podesta Group	Israel Klein	Political Director, Markey, Edward J; Deputy Staff Director for Communications, Joint Economic Committee; Communications Director, Schumer, Charles E, 2005-2006
Credit Suisse Securities	Podesta Group	Lauren Maddox	Communications Advisor (Gingrich), Speaker of the House; Assistant Secretary, Communications & Outreach, Dept of Education, 2006-2007
Credit Suisse Securities	Podesta Group	Michael Quaranta	Legislative Assistant, Durenberger, Dave; Chief of Staff, Castle, Michael N, 2003-2010
Credit Suisse Securities	Podesta Group	Oscar Ramirez	Legislative Director, Baca, Joe, 2002-2004; Deputy Chief of Staff, Green, Al, 2005-2008; Chief of Staff, Solis, Hilda L, 2008-2009; Special Assistant to the Secretary, Dept of Labor, 2009-2009
Credit Suisse Securities	Podesta Group	Paul Brathwaite	Staff, Castle, Michael N; Staff, Carper, Tom; Deputy Assistant Secretary, Employment Standards Administration
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Bill Cheney	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Bill Hampel	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Chris Gaginis	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Eric Richard	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Jeremy Dalpiaz	Legislative Assistant, Ehlers, Vernon J
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	John Hildreth	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	John Magill	Administrative Assistant, Whitehurst, G. William; Counsel, Robinson, J. Kenneth
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Mary Dunn	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Michele Johnson	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Phil Drager	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Ryan Donovan	
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Sam Whitfield	Staff, Lott, Trent; Press Officer, Coalition Provisional Authority Iraq, Dept of Defense; Employee/Staff, Office of National Drug Control Policy
Credit Union National Association	Credit Union National Association	Zachary Pfister	Legislative Correspondent , Ellsworth, Brad, 2007-2009; Legislative Director, Kissell, Larry, 2009-2012
DuPont Co	DuPont Co	Aaron Whitesel	Senior Legislative Assistant, Lugar, Richard G, 2003-2011; Professional Staff Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 2006-2006
DuPont Co	DuPont Co	Gilbert Holland	
DuPont Co	DuPont Co	Maria Angelo	
DuPont Co	DuPont Co	Michael Parr	
Facebook Inc	Facebook Inc	Chris Herndon	Legislative Counsel, McHenry, Patrick, 2005-2006; Legislative Director, Radanovich, George, 2006-2010; Counsel, Senate Commerce, Science, & Transportation Committee, 2010-

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
			2012
Facebook Inc	Facebook Inc	Greg Maurer	Legislative Assistant, Ballenger, Cass, 2000-2001; Director/Coalitions and Member Services, House Education & the Workforce Committee, 2001-2006; Director of Member Services, House Majority Leader, 2006-2007;
Facebook Inc	Facebook Inc	Joel Kaplan	Deputy Chief of Staff, White House, 2001-2009
Facebook Inc	Facebook Inc	Louisa Terrell	Counsel, Biden, Joseph R Jr, 2003-2008; Deputy Chief of Staff, Biden, Joseph R Jr, 2006-2007
Facebook Inc	Facebook Inc	Myriah Jordan	Attorney Advisor, Dept of Commerce, 2001-2004; Deputy General Counsel, Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, 2004-2006; Gen Counsel/Coalition Provisional Auth., Dept of Defense, 2004-2004; Spec Assistant to President for Policy, White House,
Facebook Inc	Patton Boggs LLP	Manny Rossman	Legislative Director, Crane, Phil; Chief of Staff, Lott, Trent, 2005-2007; Chief of Staff, Kyl, Jon, 2008-2009
Fifth Third Bancorp	Fifth Third Bancorp	Eric Rizzo	Staff Assistant, Zeff, Bill; Legislative Assistant, Sessions, Pete
Fifth Third Bancorp	Fifth Third Bancorp	Thomas Ruebel	
Financial Executives International	Financial Executives International	A. Tyler Roberts	
Financial Executives International	Financial Executives International	Karen Bachman Lapsevic	
Financial Executives International	Financial Executives International	Robert Kramer	Legislative Assistant , Chandler, Ben, 2008-2011
Financial Services Institute	Financial Services Institute	Dale Brown	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Financial Services Institute	Financial Services Institute	David Bellaire	
Financial Services Institute	Financial Services Institute	Robert E. Lewis	Legislative Assistant, Miller, Zell; Staff, US Attorney's Office
Financial Services Institute	Financial Services Institute	Robert Lewis	Legislative Assistant, Miller, Zell; US Attorney's Office
Financial Services Institute	Financial Services Institute	Ryan Caruso	Staff, US House of Representatives
Financial Services Institute	Financial Services Institute	Ryan Cooperman	
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	Christopher Javens	Tax Counsel, Grassley, Chuck, 2005-2008; Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee, 2005-2008
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	Jonathan Talisman	Assistant Secretary, Tax Policy, Dept of Treasury
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	Joseph Mikrut	Congressional Affairs, Dept of Treasury
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	Lawrence Wilcox	
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	Lindsay Hooper	Legislative Director, Wallop, Malcolm
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	Melissa Mueller	Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee, 2004-2007; Staff Director , House Ways & Means Committee, 2007-2011
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	Richard Grafmeyer	Senior Republican Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee; Deputy Republican Staff Director, Senate Finance Committee; Deputy Chief of Staff, Joint Taxation Committee
FMR Corp	Capitol Tax Partners	William McKenney	Legislative Director, Chandler, Rod, 1985-1990; Staff Director, House Ways & Means Committee, 1998-2001; Chief of Staff, Houghton, Amo, 2001-2004
FMR Corp	FMR Corp	Andrew Vermilye	Legislative Director, Bryan, Richard H; Senior Policy Advisor , Breux, John; Aide, McKay, Bruce

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
FMR Corp	FMR Corp	James Febeo	
FMR Corp	FMR Corp	James Johnson	
FMR Corp	FMR Corp	Shahira Knight	Policy Advisor, House Ways & Means Committee, 1996-2006
FMR Corp	FMR Corp	Stephanie Markiewicz	
Food & Water Watch	Food & Water Watch	Liz Schuster	
General Electric	General Electric	Eric Pelletier	Congressional Affairs, White House; Legislative Assistant, Solomon, Gerald B H; Congressional Affairs, Office of Management & Budget
General Electric	General Electric	Joshua Raymond	Budget & Policy Analyst, Office of Management & Budget; Chief of Staff, Murphy, Chris; Staff, Hooley, Darlene
General Electric	General Electric	Nancy Dorn	Special Assistant to President, White House, 1988-1990; Natl Security Advisor, Hastert, Dennis, 2000-2000; Leg Affairs Assistant to VP, Vice President's Office, 2001-2001; Deputy Director, Office of Management & Budget, 2002-2003; Staff, House Appropriati
General Electric	General Electric	William Behrens	Special Assistant to the President, Executive Office of the President
Health Care for America Now	Health Care for America Now	Tara Straw	
Hewlett-Packard	Hewlett-Packard	Bret Wincup	Staff, Daschle, Tom, 2001-2002; Deputy Finance Director, Reid, Harry
Hewlett-Packard	Hewlett-Packard	Maria Cino	Deputy Secretary, Dept of Transportation, 2005-2007
Hewlett-Packard	Hewlett-Packard	Mark Tomb	Congressional Affairs, Dept of Defense
Hewlett-Packard	Hewlett-Packard	Randolph Dove	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Hewlett-Packard	Hewlett-Packard	Shawn Vasell	Staff, Abraham, Spencer; State Director, Burns, Conrad, 2001-2003
Hong Kong Trade Development Council	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Assoc	R.D. Folsom	
Hong Kong Trade Development Council	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Assoc	Robert Cramer	Member, US House of Representatives, 1991-2009
Hong Kong Trade Development Council	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Assoc	Robert Walker	Member, US House of Representatives, 1977-1997;
Hong Kong Trade Development Council	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Assoc	Timothy Hannegan	Staff, General Accounting Office
HR Policy Association	McGuinness & Yager	Alexander Wescott	
HR Policy Association	McGuinness & Yager	Daniel Yager	Legislative Director, Roukema, Marge, 1981-1983; Counsel, House Education & Labor Committee, 1983-1988
HR Policy Association	McGuinness & Yager	Jeffrey McGuinness	Chairman, Civil Rights Authority, Dept of Health & Human Services
HR Policy Association	McGuinness & Yager	Kendra Kosko	
HR Policy Association	McGuinness & Yager	Michael Peterson	
HR Policy Association	McGuinness & Yager	Timothy Bartl	Legislative Director, Gunderson, Steve, 1993-1996
HSBC North America	HSBC North America	Janet St. Amand	
HSBC North America	HSBC North America	Monique Frazier	Legislative Director, Ross, Mike
HSBC North America	HSBC North America	Thomas Rosenkoetter	Aide, Crane, Phil; Legislative Assistant , McCollum, Bill, 1993-1997
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Adrienne Rhone	Press Secretary, Stokes, Louis
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Alex Manning	Legislative Director, McCaul, Michael; Legislative Director, McCotter, Thaddeus G; Professional Staff Member, House Oversight Committee

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Betsy Laird	Staff, Johnson, Nancy L; Aide, Gekas, George W
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Christopher Padilla	Undersecretary for International Trade, Dept of Commerce; US Trade Representative, Office of US Trade Representative, 2002-2005
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Craig Bury	Professional Staff Member, Senate Appropriations Committee, 2000-2003
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Dana Gray	Senior Policy Advisor, Tauscher, Ellen
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Edgar McCulloch	Legislative Assistant, Lieberman, Joe
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Edmund Perry	
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Jennifer Platt	
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Kent Jeffreys	
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Linda Evans	
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Meredith Singer	
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Michael DiPaula-Coyle	Policy Advisor, Bureau of Industry & Security; Chief of Staff, International Trade Administration
IBM Corp	IBM Corp	Steve Stewart	
International Paper	Capitol Tax Partners	Christopher Javens	Tax Counsel, Grassley, Chuck, 2005-2008; Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee, 2005-2008
International Paper	Capitol Tax Partners	Jonathan Talisman	Assistant Secretary, Tax Policy, Dept of Treasury
International Paper	Capitol Tax Partners	Joseph Mikrut	Congressional Affairs, Dept of Treasury
International Paper	Capitol Tax Partners	Lawrence Wilcox	
International Paper	Capitol Tax Partners	Lindsay Hooper	Legislative Director, Wallop, Malcolm

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
International Paper	Capitol Tax Partners	Richard Grafmeyer	Senior Republican Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee; Deputy Republican Staff Director, Senate Finance Committee; Deputy Chief of Staff, Joint Taxation Committee
International Paper	Capitol Tax Partners	William McKenney	Legislative Director, Chandler, Rod, 1985-1990; Staff Director, House Ways & Means Committee, 1998-2001; Chief of Staff, Houghton, Amo, 2001-2004
International Securities Exchange	International Securities Exchange	Kirsten Wegner	
International Securities Exchange	International Securities Exchange	Kristen Wenger	
Investment Co Institute	American Bankers Association	Adam Noah	Counsel, House Small Business Committee, 2005-2007; Legislative Assistant, Chambliss, Saxby, 2007-2010
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Allen Huffman	Senior Legislative Adviser/Tax Counsel, Dorgan, Byron, 2000-2010
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Dean R. Sackett	
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Dean Sackett	
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Don Auerbach	Professional Staff Member , Maloney, Carolyn B
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Donald Auerbach	Professional Staff Member , Maloney, Carolyn B
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Donald C. Auerbach	Professional Staff Member, Maloney, Carolyn B
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Keith Lawson	
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Netonis Wybensingier	Chief of Staff, Feeney, Tom, 2004-2009; Chief of Staff , Posey, Bill, 2009-2011
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Peter Gunas	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Investment Co Institute	Investment Co Institute	Peter J. Gunas	
JPMorgan Chase & Co	JPMorgan Chase & Co	Jack Bartling	Legislative Counsel, Bond, Christopher "Kit", 1999-2005; Deputy Assist Secretary for Intl Affairs , Dept of Treasury, 2006-2008
JPMorgan Chase & Co	JPMorgan Chase & Co	Jason Rosenberg	Senior Legislative Assistant, Davis, Artur, 2004-2007; Senior Economic Policy Adviser, Tester, Jon, 2007-2009
JPMorgan Chase & Co	JPMorgan Chase & Co	Nathan Gatten	Professional Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee
JPMorgan Chase & Co	JPMorgan Chase & Co	Pierce Scranton	Legislative Assistant, Dunn, Jennifer
JPMorgan Chase & Co	JPMorgan Chase & Co	Thomas Koonce	Legislative Director, Miller, Brad
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Lisa Donner	
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Marcus Stanley	
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Marvin Silver	
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Nancy Zirkin	
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Rahul Randhava	
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	Wade Henderson	
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	Benjamin Allensworth	
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	David Landers	Legislative Assistant, Gallegly, Elton, 1993-1994; Legislative Counsel, Heineman, Fred, 1995-1996; Legislative Counsel, Faircloth, Lauch, 1997-1998
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	Louis Costantino	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	Richard Baker	Member, US House of Representatives, 1987-2008
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	Richard Policastro	
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	Roger Hollingsworth	Legislative Aide, Schumer, Charles E; Legislative Director, Corzine, Jon S
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	Sarah Morgan	Assistant Communications Director , House Financial Services Committee
Managed Funds Association	Managed Funds Association	Stuart Kaswell	Minority Counsel, House Committee on Energy & Commerce Committee
Masco Corp	Laurin Baker Group	Jennifer Baker Reid	
Masco Corp	Laurin Baker Group	Laurin Baker	
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	BGR Group	Charles Jefferson	Special Assistant (Dick Gephardt), House Minority Leader; Chief of Staff, Thompson, Mike, 2003-2009
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	BGR Group	Loren Monroe	Legislative Aide, Domenici, Pete V
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Alison Weiss	
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Ann Cammack	
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Camille Donald	Labor Counsel , House Education & the Workforce Committee
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	Mary Kertz	Staff, Dept of Treasury
Microsoft Corp	Ernst & Young	LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson	Joint Taxation Committee, 1982-1987
Microsoft Corp	Ernst & Young	Nick Giordano	Legislative Director, Baucus, Max, 1993-1995; Chief Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee, 1997-1999
Nasdaq OMX Group	Nasdaq OMX Group	Jameel Alim-Johnson	Chief of Staff, Meeks, Gregory W

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Nasdaq OMX Group	Nasdaq OMX Group	John Yetter	
Nasdaq OMX Group	Nasdaq OMX Group	Terry G. Campbell	Legislative Assistant, Hagel, Chuck
Nasdaq OMX Group	Porterfield, Lowenthal & Fettig	Andrew Lowenthal	Legislative Director, Maloney, Carolyn B; Legislative Director , Bayh, Evan, 1998-1999; Chief of Staff, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, 1999-2001
Nasdaq OMX Group	Porterfield, Lowenthal & Fettig	Dawn Callaghan	Staff, Hatch, Orrin G; Legislative Counsel, Terry, Lee
Nasdaq OMX Group	Porterfield, Lowenthal & Fettig	Jason Pitcock	Counsel, House Financial Services Subcommittee on Capital Markets, Insurance, and Government Sponsored Enterprises
Nasdaq OMX Group	Porterfield, Lowenthal & Fettig	Jillien Williams	
Nasdaq OMX Group	Porterfield, Lowenthal & Fettig	Kirsten Johnson-Obey	Professional Staff Member, House Banking & Financial Services Subcommittee on Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit
Nasdaq OMX Group	Porterfield, Lowenthal & Fettig	Lendell Porterfield	Staff, Shelby, Richard C, 1994-1995; Staff Director, House Financial Services Subcommittee on Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit, 1995-1997; Financial Advisor, House Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs Committee, 1997-2000
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Colin Allen	
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Dan Blair	
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Evan Liddiard	Senior Tax Advisor, Hatch, Orrin G, 1988-1997; Senior Tax Advisor, Hatch, Orrin G, 1999-2011
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Helen Devlin	Chief of Staff, Lewis, Ron
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	James Gregory	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Jerry Giovaniello	
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Ken Wingert	
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Kevin Donnelly	
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Linda Goold	
National Association of Realtors	National Association of Realtors	Vijay Yadlapati	
National Education Association	National Education Association	Alfred Campos	Aide, Robb, Charles S
National Education Association	National Education Association	Barbara Moldauer	
National Education Association	National Education Association	Carrie Lewis	
National Education Association	National Education Association	Erin Duncan	Legislative Director, Osborne, Tom
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Amanda Austin	Scheduler , Gregg, Judd
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Brad Close	Legislative Assistant, Hyde, Henry J; Administrative Assistant , Ewing, Thomas W
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Chris Walters	Legislative Aide, Santorum, Rick
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Daniel Bosch	
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Donald Danner	Chief of Staff to Secretary William Verity Jr, Dept of Commerce; Deputy Director, Office of Public Liaison
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Gary Palmquist	Legislative Director, Bentsen, Ken, 2000-2002; Legislative Director, 2002-2003; Legislative Director, Cardoza, Dennis, 2003-2007
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Katherine Bonner	Legislative Assistant, Bradley, Jeb

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Kevin Kuhlman	
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	Susan Eckerly	Legislative Director, Kasten, Bob
National Federation of Independent Business	National Federation of Independent Business	William Rys	Deputy Executive Secretary, Dept of Treasury
National Multi Housing Council	National Multi Housing Council	Cynthia Chetti	Chief of Staff, Roukema, Marge, 1981-1989; Senior Professional Staff, House Financial Services Committee, 2001-2011
National Multi Housing Council	National Multi Housing Council	David Cardwell	Branch Chief, Dept of Housing & Urban Development
National Multi Housing Council	National Multi Housing Council	Eileen Lee	
National Multi Housing Council	National Multi Housing Council	Jeanne McGlynn Delgado	
National Multi Housing Council	National Multi Housing Council	Lisa Blackwell	
National Multi Housing Council	National Multi Housing Council	Matthew Berger	Principal Advisor Taxes & Federal Budget, Snowe, Olympia J; Economist & Press Secretary, Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee
National Women's Law Center	National Women's Law Center	Regina Oldak	
Nationwide Mutual Insurance	Nationwide Mutual Insurance	Ben Brewster	
Nationwide Mutual Insurance	Nationwide Mutual Insurance	Bridget F. Hagan	
Nationwide Mutual Insurance	Nationwide Mutual Insurance	Gerard M. Golden	
NCR Corp	Cassidy & Associates	Barry Rhoads	Trial Attorney, DOJ Tax Division, 1986-1989; Deputy General Counsel, Base Closure and Realignment Commission, 1991-1991
NCR Corp	Cassidy & Associates	Kevin Binger	Staff, Quayle, Dan; Chief of Staff, Burton, Dan, 1992-1997; Staff Director, House Government

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
			Reform Committee, 1999-2005
NCR Corp	NCR Corp	Marija Zivanovic-Smith	
Network	Network	Marge Clark	
Network	Network	Rachael Travis	
Neuberger Berman LLC	C2 Group	D. Patrick Robertson	Deputy Chief of Staff, Rockefeller, Jay, 2002-2009
Neuberger Berman LLC	C2 Group	Thomas Crawford	
Neuberger Berman LLC	FTI Government Affairs	D. Patrick Robertson	Deputy Chief of Staff, Rockefeller, Jay, 2002-2009
Neuberger Berman LLC	FTI Government Affairs	Thomas Crawford	
Northwestern Mutual	Northwestern Mutual	Alison Watson	
Northwestern Mutual	Northwestern Mutual	Douglas Bates	
Northwestern Mutual	Northwestern Mutual	Kathleen Schuller	
Northwestern Mutual	Northwestern Mutual	Steven Radke	
Organization for International Investment	Organization for International Investment	John Lettieri	Legislative Assistant, Hagel, Chuck
Organization for International Investment	Organization for International Investment	Nancy McLernon	
Oz Management	Heather Podesta & Partners	Heather Podesta	Counsel, Pomeroy, Earl; Counsel, Matsui, Robert T; Staff, Bradley, Bill
Oz Management	Heather Podesta & Partners	Mary Stanton	Legislative Assistant, Weiner, Anthony D; Policy Advisor, Senate Special Aging Committee; Legislative Assistant, Kohl, Herb
Oz Management	Heather Podesta & Partners	Stephen Bailey	Senior Tax Counsel, Senate Budget Committee, 2001-2011
Pfizer Inc	Duberstein Group	Brian Griffin	Senior Leadership Advisor, Dorgan, Byron L; Staff Assistant, Senate Democratic Policy

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
			Committee
Pfizer Inc	Duberstein Group	Daniel Meyer	Chief of Staff, Gingrich, Newt, 1989-1996; House Liaison, White House, 2007-2008
Pfizer Inc	Duberstein Group	Eric Ueland	Staff Director, Senate Rules & Administration Committee; Chief of Staff to Sen. Bill Frist, Senate Majority Leader
Pfizer Inc	Duberstein Group	Kenneth Duberstein	Research Assistant, Javits, Jacob K; Director, Congressional Intergovernmental Affairs, General Services Administration; Deputy Undersecretary, Dept of Labor; Chief of Staff, White House, 1987-1989
Pfizer Inc	Duberstein Group	Marti Griffin	
Pfizer Inc	Duberstein Group	Michael Berman	Counsel & Deputy Chief of Staff, Vice President's Office
Pfizer Inc	Duberstein Group	Steven Champlin	Legislative Director, Bonior, David E, 1981-1986
Pfizer Inc	Ernst & Young	Amy Swonger	Floor Assistant (Mitch McConnell), Senate Majority Whip; Deputy Assistant for Legislative Affairs, Vice President's Office
Pfizer Inc	Ernst & Young	Nick Giordano	Legislative Director, Baucus, Max, 1993-1995; Chief Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee, 1997-1999
Pfizer Inc	Pfizer Inc	Caroline Schellhas	
Pfizer Inc	Pfizer Inc	Jennifer Duck	
Pfizer Inc	Pfizer Inc	Kenneth Cole	
Pfizer Inc	Pfizer Inc	Maria Cino	Deputy Secretary, Dept of Transportation, 2005-2007
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Benjamin McKay	Chief of Staff , Harris, Katherine, 2003-2004

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Donald Griffin	
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	John Hair	
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Leon Buck	Attorney, Navy, Judge Advocate, 1990-1993; Aide/Staff, Jackson Lee, Sheila, 1994-1999; Minority Counsel, House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration & Claims, 1999-2002
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Nathaniel Wienecke	Professional Staff, House Government Reform & Oversight Committee, 1998-2001; Assistant Secretary for Legislative & Intergovernmental Affairs, Dept of Commerce, 2004-2009
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Robert Gordon	Legal Counsel, Dreier, David; Senior Counsel, House Financial Services Committee, 2001-2008
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Robert Woody	Legislative Assistant, Pearson, James, 1969-1971; House Commerce Committee, 1971-1973
Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Property Casualty Insurers Association/America	Thomas Litjen	
Public Citizen	Public Citizen	Bart Naylor	Chief of Investigations, Senate Banking Committee
Public Citizen	Public Citizen	David Arkush	
Public Citizen	Public Citizen	Lisa Gilbert	
Public Citizen	Public Citizen	Micah Hauptman	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Bradley Edgell	Legislative Director, Marshall, Jim
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Carter McDowell	Chief Counsel, House Financial Services Committee
Securities Industry & Financial Markets	Securities Industry & Financial Markets	Chris Killian	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Association	Association		
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Dave Oxner	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	David Strongin	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	John Hallmark	Legislative Aide, Enzi, Mike, 2003-2009
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Joseph Vaughan	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Kenneth Bentsen	Member, US House of Representatives, 1995-2002
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Kevin Carroll	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Kyle Brandon	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Lisa Bleier	Legislative Assistant, Roukema, Marge
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Matthew McGinley	Chief of Staff, Price, Tom
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Melissa MacGregor	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Michael Decker	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Nancy McCarthy	Tax Counsel, Senate Finance Committee
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Payson Peabody	Tax Counsel, Bunning, Jim

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Association	Association		
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Richard Dorfman	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Steve Pastrick	
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	Tim Ryan	Director, Office of Thrift Supervision
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Christopher Hatcher	Legislative Manager, Dept of Treasury; Legislative Director , McInnis, Scott, 1998-2004
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	David Franasiak	Staff, Nowak, Henry J; Staff Director, Tax Oversight Subcommittee , House Small Business Committee, 1979-1981
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Eric Robins	
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Erin Book	
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Frank Vlossak	Staff, Boehlert, Sherwood; Legislative Assistant, Cook, Merrill, 1997-1998
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Joel Oswald	Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee, 2000-2003; Legislative Assistant, Enzi, Mike, 2000-2003; Prof Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Subcommittee on Securities, 2001-2003
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Matthew Hoekstra	
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Melinda Maxfield	
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Michael Kans	Press Secretary, Gonzalez, Charlie A
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Stephen Blumenthal	Acting Director, Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight; Counsel, House Energy &

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
			Commerce Committee
Security Traders Association	Williams & Jensen	Tess Illos	
TD Ameritrade	TD Ameritrade	John Markle	
TD Ameritrade	TD Ameritrade	Paul Jiganti	
TD Ameritrade	Williams & Jensen	David Franasiak	Staff, Nowak, Henry J; Staff Director, Tax Oversight Subcommittee, House Small Business Committee, 1979-1981
TD Ameritrade	Williams & Jensen	Joel Oswald	Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee, 2000-2003; Legislative Assistant, Enzi, Mike, 2000-2003; Prof Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Subcommittee on Securities, 2001-2003
Teamsters Union	Teamsters Union	Janice Oliver	
Teamsters Union	Teamsters Union	Michael Dolan	
Teamsters Union	Teamsters Union	Sunshine McBride	
UBS AG	UBS AG	Peter Rowan	
United Auto Workers	United Auto Workers	Josh Nassar	Staff, Schakowsky, Jan
United Auto Workers	United Auto Workers	Sam Loesche	
United Auto Workers	United Auto Workers	Sylvia Johnson	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Alice Joe	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Anne Warhola	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Ashley Wilson	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Benjamin Taylor	Legislative Assistant, Hobson, Dave

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Bradley Hayes	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Caroline Harris	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Cholly Smith	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Chris Strow	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Daniel Hillenbrand	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Daniel Mahoney	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	David Brinton	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	David Hirschmann	Legislative Director, Roth, Toby
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	David Tully	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Dick Castner	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Douglas Loon	Legislative Director, Specter, Arlen
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Geoffrey O'Hara	Legislative Assistant, Machtley, Ronald Keith
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Giovanni Coratolo	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	James Dechene	Clerk, House Government Reform Committee
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Jason Goldman	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Jason Matthews	Chief of Staff, Landrieu, Mary L, 1996-2009
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Jeffrey Lungren	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Jess Sharp	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	John Gonzales	District Director, Burgess, Michael
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Justin Lumadue	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Martin Regalia	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Monique Thierry	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Moore Hallmark	District Legislative Director, Linder, John
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Paul Casasco	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	R. Bruce Josten	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Robert Purser	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Rolf Lundberg	Deputy Assistant Secretary, Import Admin , Dept of Commerce; Legal Counsel, Lott, Trent, 1993-1995; Legal Counsel, Dole, Bob, 1995-1997
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Ronald Eidshaug	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Sarah Suckow	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Scott Eckart	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Stephen Lutes	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Stephen McAllister	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Thomas Donohue	Deputy Assistant Postmaster General, US Postal Service, 1969- 1976
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Thomas Quaadman	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	Timothy Maney	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	William Kovacs	
US Chamber of Commerce	US Chamber of Commerce	William Miller	Chief of Staff, Morella, Connie, 1991-1999
US Public Interest Research Group	US Public Interest Research Group	Daniel Smith	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
US Public Interest Research Group	US Public Interest Research Group	Edmund Mierzwinski	
US Public Interest Research Group	US Public Interest Research Group	Gary Kalman	
US Public Interest Research Group	US Public Interest Research Group	Richard Williams	
Vanguard Group	Vanguard Group	Ann Combs	
Vanguard Group	Vanguard Group	Brian Mattes	
Vanguard Group	Vanguard Group	James Delaplane	
Vanguard Group	Williams & Jensen	Christopher Hatcher	Legislative Manager, Dept of Treasury; Legislative Director , McInnis, Scott, 1998-2004
Vanguard Group	Williams & Jensen	David Frasiak	Staff, Nowak, Henry J; Staff Director, Tax Oversight Subcommittee , House Small Business Committee, 1979-1981
Vanguard Group	Williams & Jensen	David Starr	Legislative Director, Metzenbaum, Howard M, 1981-1989
Vanguard Group	Williams & Jensen	J. Steven Hart	Staff, Dept of Labor; Staff, Office of Management & Budget, 1978-1979; Assistant to Assistant Attorney General, Office of the Attorney General, 1981-1982
Vanguard Group	Williams & Jensen	Joel Oswald	Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee, 2000-2003; Legislative Assistant, Enzi, Mike, 2000-2003; Prof Staff, Senate Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Subcommittee on Securities, 2001-2003
Vanguard Group	Williams & Jensen	John McMackin	
Vanguard Group	Williams & Jensen	Stephen Blumenthal	Acting Director, Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight; Counsel, House Energy & Commerce Committee
Wildcat Communications	Burton Kamins Advocacy	Jeff Burton	

Client	Registrant	Lobbyists	Combined Position
Wildcat Communications	Burton Kamins Advocacy	Scott Kamins	Director of Congressional & Public Affairs, Bureau of Industry & Security; Deputy Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Dept of State

Sources: Public Citizen analysis of the lobbying disclosure database maintained by the secretary of the Senate and the Center for Responsive Politics' "Revolving Door" Database (<http://www.opensecrets.org/revolving/>).

Appendix E: Political Action Committee Contributions to Federal Candidates, 2012 Election Cycle

Organization	Amount	Stance	Bill
National Association of Realtors	\$3,102,512	Against	CLA
Credit Union National Association	\$1,771,700	Against	CLA, FTT
American Bankers Association	\$1,713,750	Against	FTT
AT&T Inc	\$1,648,000	Against	CLA
National Education Association	\$1,416,500	For	FTT
Teamsters Union	\$1,381,910	For	FTT
Communications Workers of America	\$1,204,474	For	FTT
United Auto Workers	\$1,125,500	For	CLA
General Electric	\$1,036,575	Against	FTT
Pfizer Inc	\$851,700	Against	CLA , STHA
National Multi Housing Council	\$780,000	For	CLA
Microsoft Corp	\$771,000	Against	CLA
JPMorgan Chase & Co	\$658,723	Against	FTT
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	\$656,650	Against	FTT
National Federation of Independent Business	\$617,293	Against	FTT
Investment Co Institute	\$589,000	Against	CLA , FTT, STHA
International Paper	\$499,300	Against	CLA, STHA
Hewlett-Packard	\$482,337	Against	CLA
Credit Suisse Securities	\$382,000	Against	FTT
Property Casualty Insurers Association of America	\$378,500	Against	CLA , STHA
FMR Corp	\$359,500	Against	FTT
American Express	\$346,700	Against	CLA , STHA
Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association	\$332,500	Against	FTT, STHA
Facebook Inc	\$249,500	Against	CLA
Citigroup Inc	\$246,000	Against	FTT
AFL-CIO	\$243,000	For	FTT

American Council of Life Insurers	\$242,880	Against	FTT
ACE INA	\$222,500	Against	STHA
Accenture	\$206,000	Against	CLA
Covidien US	\$178,300	Against	STHA
US Chamber of Commerce	\$177,500	Against	CLA , FTT, STHA
HSBC North America	\$171,500	Against	FTT
Vanguard Group	\$169,140	Against	FTT
DuPont Co	\$154,900	Against	CLA , FTT STHA
Charles Schwab & Co	\$139,000	Against	FTT
Managed Funds Association	\$134,000	Against	CLA , FTT, STHA
Financial Services Institute	\$130,000	Against	FTT
Ameriprise Financial	\$97,000	Against	CLA, FTT
Fifth Third Bancorp	\$89,100	Against	FTT
NASDAQ OMX Group	\$70,000	Against	FTT
Amway/Alticor Inc	\$65,000	Against	STHA
International Securities Exchange	\$45,750	Against	FTT
NCR Corp	\$23,500	For	CLA
Security Traders Association	\$22,000	Against	FTT
TD Ameritrade	\$10,250	Against	FTT
Masco Corp	\$1,000	Against	STHA

Sources: Public Citizen analysis of the campaign finance data downloaded from the Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org).