



November 18, 2021

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**Re: REG 2018-02, Rulemaking Petition to Revise and Amend  
Regulations Relating to the Personal Use of Leadership PAC Funds**

Campaign Legal Center (“CLC”) and Issue One write to again urge the Commission to proceed with a rulemaking on REG 2018-02 and clarify that the prohibition on the personal use of campaign funds applies to so-called “leadership PACs.”

CLC and Issue One’s review of leadership PAC reports from the 2020 election cycle found that lawmakers are continuing to use leadership PACs as their own personal slush funds. Per our latest joint report, attached to this letter, 120 members of Congress directed less than half of their leadership PAC spending towards political contributions or independent expenditures last cycle. Forty-three members of Congress spent less than 25% on politics.

Although the Commission has allowed for the creation of leadership PACs to permit candidates and officeholders to support other candidates or party committees, in the absence of clear rules, leadership PACs have become commonly used as slush funds to subsidize officeholders’ lifestyles.

For example, in the 2020 election cycle, Rep. Seth Moulton’s leadership PACs directed just 8% of their combined \$1.7 million in spending towards aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.<sup>1</sup> Rather than supporting other committees, Moulton’s PAC spent approximately \$20,000 on meals, food, and catering during the

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<sup>1</sup> Serve America PAC - Restricted (C00656439) and Serve America PAC (C00571174), Disbursements, 2019-20, FEC.GOV, [https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?committee\\_id=C00656439&data\\_type=processed&committee\\_id=C00571174&committee\\_id=C00656439&two\\_year\\_transaction\\_period=2020](https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?committee_id=C00656439&data_type=processed&committee_id=C00571174&committee_id=C00656439&two_year_transaction_period=2020) (last visited Nov. 18, 2021).

cycle,<sup>2</sup> including \$3,200 in March 2020 at the East Pole, an upscale farm-to-table restaurant in New York City,<sup>3</sup> and \$350 at Proxi in January 2019, a high-end small plates restaurant in Chicago.<sup>4</sup>

Sen. Rand Paul's leadership PAC spent just 12% of its \$990,000 spending on political purposes.<sup>5</sup> The PAC reported spending nearly \$14,000 on lodging during the cycle, including at The Breakers, a five-star resort in Palm Beach, Florida, and the Inn at Perry Cabin in St. Michaels, Maryland, which U.S. News and World Report has rated as the No. 1 resort in Maryland.<sup>6</sup> The PAC also spent \$2,300 for expenses associated with golf courses and country clubs, including \$680 in expenditures over multiple trips to the Trump National Golf Course in northern Virginia.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Serve America PAC - Restricted (C00656439) and Serve America PAC (C00571174), Disbursements for "meal," "food," or "catering," 2019-20, FEC.GOV, [https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&disbursement\\_description=food&data\\_type=processed&committee\\_id=C00571174&committee\\_id=C00656439&two\\_year\\_transaction\\_period=2020&disbursement\\_description=catering&disbursement\\_description=food&disbursement\\_description=meal&line\\_number=F3X-21B](https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&disbursement_description=food&data_type=processed&committee_id=C00571174&committee_id=C00656439&two_year_transaction_period=2020&disbursement_description=catering&disbursement_description=food&disbursement_description=meal&line_number=F3X-21B) (last visited Nov. 18, 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Serve America PAC (C00571174), Disbursements for "The East Pole," 2019-20, FEC.GOV, [https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&disbursement\\_description=food&data\\_type=processed&committee\\_id=C00571174&committee\\_id=C00656439&recipient\\_name=east+pole&two\\_year\\_transaction\\_period=2020&line\\_number=F3X-21B](https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&disbursement_description=food&data_type=processed&committee_id=C00571174&committee_id=C00656439&recipient_name=east+pole&two_year_transaction_period=2020&line_number=F3X-21B) (last visited Nov. 18, 2021) (showing two payments to The East Pole in March 2020, totaling approximately \$3,200); *see also* About Us, The East Pole, <https://theeastpolenyc.com/about-us/> (last visited Nov. 18, 2021).

<sup>4</sup> Serve America PAC (C00571174), July 2019 Mid-Year Report, FEC Form 3X at 88 (filed July 31, 2019), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?201907319161255962>; *see also* PROXI, <https://www.proxichicago.com/> (last visited Nov. 18, 2021).

<sup>5</sup> Reinventing a New Direction, Disbursements, 2019-20, FEC.GOV, [https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&data\\_type=processed&committee\\_id=C00493924&two\\_year\\_transaction\\_period=2020&line\\_number=F3X-21B](https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&data_type=processed&committee_id=C00493924&two_year_transaction_period=2020&line_number=F3X-21B) (last visited Nov. 18, 2021).

<sup>6</sup> Reinventing a New Direction, Disbursements for "Chateau Elan," "Inn at Perry Cabin," "Marriott," "Resort," "Waldorf Astoria," "airbnb," or "hotel," 2019-20, FEC.gov, [https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&data\\_type=processed&committee\\_id=C00493924&recipient\\_name=CHATEAU+ELAN&recipient\\_name=INN+AT+PERRY+CABIN&recipient\\_name=MARRIOTT&recipient\\_name=RESORT&recipient\\_name=WALDORF+ASTORIA&recipient\\_name=airbnb&recipient\\_name=hotel&two\\_year\\_transaction\\_period=2020&line\\_number=F3X-21B](https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&data_type=processed&committee_id=C00493924&recipient_name=CHATEAU+ELAN&recipient_name=INN+AT+PERRY+CABIN&recipient_name=MARRIOTT&recipient_name=RESORT&recipient_name=WALDORF+ASTORIA&recipient_name=airbnb&recipient_name=hotel&two_year_transaction_period=2020&line_number=F3X-21B) (last visited Nov. 18, 2021); *see also* The Breakers Palm Beach, Fodor's Travel, <https://www.fodors.com/world/north-america/usa/florida/palm-beach-and-the-treasure-coast/hotels/reviews/the-breakers-palm-beach-41004> (last visited Nov. 18, 2021) (describing The Breakers as "a legendary 140-acre self-contained jewel of a resort"); *see also* Best Resorts in Maryland, U.S. News and World Report, <https://travel.usnews.com/Hotels/Best-Resorts-in-Maryland-r70/> (last visited Nov. 18, 2021) (listing Inn at Perry Cabin as the number one ranked resort in Maryland).

<sup>7</sup> Reinventing a New Direction, Disbursements for "Stan Utley LLC," "country club," "golf," or "Trump National," 2019-20, FEC.org, [https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&data\\_type=processed&committee\\_id=C00493924&recipient\\_name=STAN+UTLEY+LLC&recipient\\_name=country+club&recipient\\_name=golf&recipient\\_name=trump+national&two\\_year\\_transaction\\_period=2020&line\\_number=F3X-21B](https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?cycle=2020&data_type=processed&committee_id=C00493924&recipient_name=STAN+UTLEY+LLC&recipient_name=country+club&recipient_name=golf&recipient_name=trump+national&two_year_transaction_period=2020&line_number=F3X-21B) (last visited Nov. 18, 2021).

The attached report, and CLC's and Issue One's earlier reports on this topic, provide many additional examples of leadership PAC abuses.

The Commission has a plain statutory mandate to make clear that the personal use ban applies to leadership PACs.

As noted in our original July 24, 2018, rulemaking petition, and our subsequent comments to the FEC, Congress has prohibited "any contribution accepted by a candidate" and "any other donation received by an individual as support for activities of the individual as a holder of Federal office" from being converted to the "personal use" of the candidate or any other person. 52 U.S.C. §§ 30114(a), 30114(b)(1). By its very terms, this statutory personal use prohibition is applicable to any contribution received by a candidate's leadership PAC, and Commission rules should reflect this clear statutory mandate.

We request that the Commission amend 11 C.F.R. § 113.1(g) to clarify that the personal use prohibition applies to leadership PACs.

Respectfully submitted,

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# All Expenses Paid

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## Another Look at Congressional Leadership PACs' Outlandish Spending

*January 2019 - December 2020*



## Acknowledgments

This report was written by Michael Beckel and Amisa Ratliff of Issue One, and Sophia Gonsalves-Brown of Campaign Legal Center. Reed Hoffmann of Issue One contributed to this report. Design by Issue One's Sydney Richards.

## About Issue One

Issue One is the leading crosspartisan political reform group in Washington, D.C. We unite Republicans, Democrats, and independents in the movement to fix our broken political system and build a democracy that works for everyone. We educate the public and work to pass legislation on Capitol Hill to increase transparency, strengthen ethics and accountability, reduce the corrosive influence of big money in politics, and bolster U.S. elections. Issue One's ReFormers Caucus of more than 200 former members of Congress, governors, and Cabinet officials is the largest coalition of its kind ever assembled to advocate for political reform.

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## About Campaign Legal Center

Campaign Legal Center (CLC) is a nonpartisan, pro-voter organization advocating for a government responsive to the people through the use of tactics such as litigation, policy advocacy, communications, and partnerships. Thinking beyond election cycles, CLC works to create solutions in the program areas of Campaign Finance, Government Ethics, Redistricting, and Voting Rights.

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# All Expenses Paid:

## Another Look at Congressional Leadership PACs' Outlandish Spending

*January 2019 - December 2020*

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**By Michael Beckel, Sophia Gonsalves-Brown, and Amisa Ratliff**

In 1978, Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA), in coordination with powerful allies in California's Democratic Party, asked the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to allow for the creation of "leadership PAC" accounts that would be separate from the authorized campaign committees that candidates use to run for Congress.

These new accounts would allow politicians to raise money and give it away to political allies and like-minded candidates, such as vulnerable colleagues or candidates running in competitive House and Senate races.

The FEC [approved](#) of Waxman's request, and made clear that leadership PAC funds could not be used to pay for lawmakers' re-election campaign expenses.

Today, leadership PACs are not just used by those in leadership roles. Indeed, 92% of members of Congress have them. And while most members of Congress primarily use their leadership PACs to make political contributions, new research from [Issue One](#) and [Campaign Legal Center](#) shows that scores of lawmakers are not, in fact, using the bulk of the money they raise in their leadership PACs to assist other candidates, their parties, or other political groups.

Issue One and Campaign Legal Center found that the leadership PACs of 120 members of Congress spent less than 50% on politics between January 2019 and December 2020. Moreover, 43 members of Congress spent less than 25% on politics during this time. And a handful spent at least five figures without ever contributing a penny to any local, state, or federal candidates, parties, or political groups.

In contrast, during the same period, the typical member of Congress' leadership PAC spent 70% on politics.

This report shines a light on the shocking reality that far too many politicians appear to be [amassing money from special interests](#) in their leadership PACs and then using that cash to enjoy perks of lavish living that are beyond the reach of most Americans — such as meals at fancy restaurants, trips to elite resorts, rounds of golf at premier courses, and more.

While such spending is purportedly done for the purpose of political fundraising, this explanation rings hollow when just a fraction of the money raised goes toward political contributions. Instead, such spending patterns give the impression that some politicians are simply raising money at one posh location to pay for the next fundraiser at the next fancy destination — creating an endless fundraising

cycle at luxurious restaurants and resorts, much of which is paid for by special interest money, with no cost to lawmakers' own pocketbooks.

When leadership PACs are essentially underwriting lavish lifestyles for politicians, it raises serious questions about whether leadership PAC funds are being spent in ways that amount to personal use.

These questions could be answered by the FEC and Congress.

In 2018, Issue One and Campaign Legal Center submitted a [rulemaking petition](#) to the FEC, asking the commission to clarify the regulations of the personal use of leadership PAC funds. The petition remains pending.

For its part, Congress would simply need to make minimal revisions to existing language to confirm that the personal use ban does, in fact, apply to leadership PACs.

Waxman — who has since retired from Congress after a long career as an influential legislator — last year [told Issue One](#) that he never imagined that leadership PACs would be so frequently used as slush funds, calling the abuse of leadership PACs a “loophole that ought to be closed.”

Issue One and Campaign Legal Center agree. It is past time for Congress to act.

## Who spends little on politics?

For this investigation, Issue One and Campaign Legal Center scoured tens of thousands of campaign finance records, examining where leadership PAC funds were flowing, if not toward contributions to local, state, and federal candidates, political parties, and political groups.

Here are eight notable examples of officeholders in the 116th Congress — four Democrats and four Republicans — who spent only small portions of their leadership PAC cash on politics between January 2019 and December 2020. They are listed in order of the portion of their leadership PAC spending that was on politics.

### Rep. George Holding (R-NC) — 2% on politics

Holding's leadership PAC spent roughly \$202,000 during this two-year period, with just 2% of its spending aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.

Where did the rest of the money go? The bulk of Holding's leadership PAC spending went toward airfare, restaurants, hotels, car services, and exclusive members-only clubs in the United States and abroad.

Holding's leadership PAC paid [\\$22,000](#) to commercial airlines and another [\\$12,000](#) to Uber. It also spent nearly \$15,000 in London throughout 2019 and early 2020, including almost [\\$11,000](#) at the [East India Club](#), a private, men-only club.

And the United Kingdom was not the only place Holding was enjoying the perks of exclusive clubs.

Holding's leadership PAC spent close to [\\$9,000](#) over six occasions at the [Union Club](#) in New York City — the fifth-oldest private social club in the United States and the oldest in New York City.

And it spent roughly [\\$4,000](#) for food and beverages over 10 occasions at the 116

***When leadership PACs are essentially underwriting lavish lifestyles for politicians, it raises serious questions about whether leadership PAC funds are being spent in ways that amount to personal use.***

Club in Washington, D.C., a members-only establishment at which lawmakers and lobbyists [routinely mingle](#).

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### Rep. Seth Moulton (D-MA) — 8% on politics

Moulton's two leadership PACs combined to spend roughly \$1.7 million during this two-year period, with just 8% of their spending aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.

While most of this spending went toward consultants, salaries, and administrative expenses, Moulton's leadership PAC also footed sizable bills for transportation, lodging, and meals.

For instance, Moulton's leadership PACs spent roughly [\\$20,000](#) on meals, food, and catering, including [\\$3,200](#) in March 2020 at [the East Pole](#), an upscale [farm-to-table restaurant](#) in New York City, and [\\$350](#) at [Proxi](#), a high-end small plates restaurant in Chicago.

Moulton's leadership PACs also spent [\\$9,200](#) on airfare, and paid [\\$1,200](#) to Uber for transportation. Additionally, his leadership PACs spent [\\$6,800](#) on lodging at Airbnb and an assortment of hotels across the country, including [\\$540](#) at a Canopy by Hilton in Washington, D.C., in the glitzy, waterfront Wharf neighborhood.

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### Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY) — 12% on politics

Just 12% of the roughly \$990,000 Paul's leadership PAC spent during this two-year period went toward contributions to other candidates, political parties, or political groups — the smallest percentage of any senator that did not retire in 2020.

All the while, Paul's leadership PAC spent significant sums on dining, lodging, and transportation.

For instance, it spent [\\$23,000](#) on airfare during this period, [\\$18,000](#) on Uber rides, and [\\$4,000](#) on Amtrak train tickets.

Furthermore, Paul made a habit of staying at luxury hotels on his leadership PAC's tab — spending a total of [\\$14,000](#) on lodging during this two-year period. Among the destinations were several of the top resorts in the country, including:

- ▶ \$1,900 at The Breakers, a five-star resort in Palm Beach, Florida, which Fodor's [describes as](#) "a legendary 140-acre self-contained jewel of a resort."
- ▶ \$1,500 at the [Inn at Perry Cabin](#) in St. Michaels, Maryland, which U.S. News and World Report [has rated as the No. 1 resort in Maryland](#).
- ▶ \$760 at the Salamander Resort, a luxury resort and spa in Middleburg, Virginia.
- ▶ \$710 at Chateau Elan, which [calls itself](#) "North Georgia's premier destination resort."

Additionally, Paul's leadership PAC spent [\\$2,300](#) for expenses associated with golf courses and country clubs. These included a \$600 payment to a golf instructor, \$620 for registration fees at the Kelly Plantation Golf Club in Florida, and \$680 in expenditures over multiple trips to the Trump National Golf Club in northern Virginia.

Moreover, Paul's leadership PAC spent roughly [\\$13,000](#) on meals at locations including the Capitol Hill Club, BLT Prime, and The Monocle. It paid around [\\$820](#) for baseball tickets at Nationals Park, home of the Washington Nationals MLB team. And it paid around [\\$390](#) for a "miscellaneous" expense at Karlštejn Castle, a Gothic fortress outside of Prague, in the Czech Republic.



## Rep. Gwen Moore (D-WI) — 12% on politics

Moore's leadership PAC spent roughly \$320,000 during this two-year period, with just 12% of its spending aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.

All the while, her leadership PAC spent freely on food, beverages, travel, and events.

Moore's leadership PAC spent [\\$29,000](#) at hotels and lodging throughout the country, including nearly \$22,000 on reservations through Hotels.com; roughly \$1,700 at Kimpton Hotels in San Francisco; and \$320 at the W Hotel in New Orleans' French Quarter.

Her leadership PAC also spent [\\$15,000](#) on airfare, and [\\$5,300](#) for transportation expenses on car services, taxis, Lyfts, and Ubers.

Furthermore, Moore's leadership PAC spent around [\\$32,000](#) on meals and catering, including [\\$7,400](#) at steakhouses like Ruth's Chris Steak House and Kobe Japanese Steakhouse, and [\\$5,000](#) for delivery services through Uber Eats, DoorDash, Grubhub, Instacart, and Postmates.

Additionally, it spent [\\$9,000](#) for event tickets through Live Nation, StubHub, and Ticketmaster, and another [\\$1,300](#) for catering and facility rental at the Capital One Arena in downtown Washington, D.C., home to the Washington Capitals NHL team and Washington Wizards NBA team.

## Rep. Josh Gottheimer (D-NJ) — 17% on politics

Gottheimer's leadership PAC spent \$590,000 during this two-year period, with just 17% of

its spending aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.

While much of this spending went toward consultants, salaries, and administrative expenses, Gottheimer's leadership PAC also footed sizable bills for transportation and meals.

For instance, his leadership PAC spent [\\$7,000](#) for meals and catering during this two-year period, including [\\$1,600](#) at [District Taco](#) in the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C.; roughly [\\$1,200](#) at the [Stony Hill Inn](#) in New Jersey; [\\$770](#) at [Santa Rosa Taqueria](#) in Washington, D.C.; and [\\$820](#) at the [Capital Grille](#), an upscale steakhouse near the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Gottheimer's leadership PAC also spent [\\$2,600](#) on airfare, and spent [\\$180](#) for the CLEAR biometric identity verification service that allows its members to get through airport security faster.

## Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) — 18% on politics

Cruz's leadership PAC spent roughly \$2.2 million during this two-year period, with just 18% of its spending aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.

While much of this spending went toward digital advertising expenses and consultants, Cruz's leadership PAC also footed sizable bills for transportation and lodging — and it even spent more than [\\$12,000](#) for facility and equipment rentals from the Houston Astros MLB baseball team.

During this two-year period, Cruz's leadership PAC spent roughly [\\$59,000](#) on airfare, and it paid another [\\$4,700](#) for other transportation expenses such as car services and limousines.

*Far too many politicians appear to be using leadership PACs to enjoy perks of lavish living that are beyond the reach of most Americans.*

Moreover, Cruz's leadership PAC paid [\\$20,000](#) during this period to hotels in Alaska, California, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Nebraska, Tennessee, and Virginia, including:

- ▶ \$5,000 at the Cloister at Sea Island — a five-star resort in Georgia, which has been named the state's best hotel by [U.S. News and World Report](#).
- ▶ \$4,300 for a stay at the Mr. C Hotel in Beverly Hills, a four-star boutique hotel in Los Angeles, and
- ▶ \$3,100 for a stay at The Breakers, a five-star establishment in Palm Beach, Florida.

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### Rep. Mike Kelly (R-PA) — 22% on politics

Kelly's leadership PAC spent roughly \$205,000 during this two-year period, with just 22% of its spending aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.

Much of his leadership PAC's other expenditures went toward travel and extravagant hotels — including trips to Florida, Georgia, Nevada, New York, and Utah.

For instance, Kelly's leadership PAC paid [\\$52,000](#) for lodging, catering, and meals at the St. Regis in Deer Valley, a five-star ski resort in Park City, Utah. It also spent [\\$23,000](#) for expenses connected to fundraising events associated with the famed Sea Island Resort in Georgia.

#### How does your member of Congress stack up?

Check out the appendix at the end of this report for detailed information about the leadership PAC spending — and total portion spent on politics during this two-year period — for all members of Congress.

During this time, Kelly's leadership PAC spent an additional [\\$12,000](#) at hotels in Florida, Nevada, New York, and Washington, D.C., including \$5,200 at The Breakers, a five-star establishment in Palm Beach, Florida; \$3,000 at properties in Las Vegas, including the Venetian/Palazzo, Wynn Las Vegas, and the Four Seasons; and \$2,300 at the Sheraton near Times Square in New York City.

Kelly's leadership PAC also spent [\\$20,000](#) on airfare, roughly [\\$1,900](#) on Amtrak train tickets, and [\\$7,200](#) on food, beverages, and catering at restaurants.

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### Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) — 24% on politics

Gillibrand's two leadership PACs combined to spend roughly \$1.9 million during this two-year period, with just 24% of that aiding other candidates, political parties, and political groups.

While much of this spending went toward digital fundraising expenses, consultants, salaries, and administrative costs, Gillibrand's leadership PAC also footed sizable bills for transportation, lodging, and meals.

For instance, her leadership PACs paid [\\$13,000](#) to hotels in California, Colorado, New York, and Washington, D.C., including:

- ▶ \$7,800 to the five-star JW Marriott Essex House adjacent to Central Park in New York City, which has been [called an "indulgent retreat"](#) by U.S. News and World Report,
- ▶ \$2,100 to the five-star Viceroy L'Ermitage Beverly Hills, which [calls itself](#) "the epitome of Hollywood glamour," and
- ▶ \$250 to the five-star Jefferson hotel in downtown Washington, D.C., which [offers guests](#) "luxury hotel accommodations and Michelin starred dining" just four blocks from the White House.

## Lawmakers whose leadership PACs spent little on politics collectively spent...



Source: Issue One and Campaign Legal Center analysis of FEC data covering leadership PAC spending between January 2019 and December 2020.

\*Note: Spending at ski resorts is a subset of hotel and resort spending.

Additionally, Gillibrand's leadership PACs spent [\\$11,300](#) at restaurants for meals and catering, including roughly \$5,200 at Bistro Bis, an upscale French restaurant just blocks away from the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Moreover, it paid [\\$10,300](#) to a travel agency in Washington, D.C., and spent an additional [\\$4,500](#) on airfare and [\\$1,000](#) on Amtrak tickets.

### What can be done to curb the misuse of leadership PAC funds?

By law, federal officeholders cannot use official campaign funds for "[personal use](#)" — like clothing purchases, health club dues, or household supplies. This is to guard against corruption and the appearance of corruption.

As Brad Smith, a former Republican chair of the FEC, [once observed](#): "If officeholders are free to spend contributions for personal enrichment," the "crucial distinction between bribes and contributions begins to break

down" because "campaign contributions begin to look more like personal gifts than an integral part of political speech, and opportunities are created for personal corruption."

As part of this investigation, Issue One and Campaign Legal Center identified several leadership PAC expenditures that would likely have been illegal had lawmakers used their campaign funds to cover the costs, including expenditures at clothing stores and dues payments at gyms and social clubs.

Moreover, when members of Congress host leadership PAC fundraising events at high-end resorts, golf clubs, and restaurants, the lines between "event" expenditures and personal expenditures are blurred — especially when lawmakers give away only paltry portions of the money they raise at these "fundraising" events.

Over the years, both Democrats and Republicans have raised concerns about leadership PACs' lavish spending.

For instance, prominent conservative writer Peter Schweizer has derided leadership PACs as “essentially a second personal bank account” from which “politicians can pull money.” Smith, the former Republican FEC chair, has criticized leadership PACs as “kind of an incumbent racket.” And some politicians — on both sides of the aisle — have questioned whether leadership PACs should exist at all, with Rep. Dean Phillips (D-MN), for example, saying that eradicating leadership PACs [would be](#) a “huge step” to help restore people’s trust in government.

Yet regardless of what you think about the merits of leadership PACs, everyone should agree that politicians should not be permitted to use them as slush funds.

[Existing law states](#) that any “contribution accepted by a candidate” or “received by an individual as support for activities of the individual as a holder of federal office” cannot be put toward personal use. Based on a plain reading of the law, this prohibition on the personal use of contributions “accepted by” candidates should clearly apply to leadership PAC contributions accepted by candidates.

Yet, mystifyingly, the FEC has failed to agree on whether the personal use prohibition applies to leadership PACs — and thus, the agency has abdicated its responsibility to step up enforcement of leadership PAC spending.

***Legislation to rein in the abuses of leadership PACs should be quickly adopted, and the FEC should recommit itself to scrutinizing questionable leadership PAC spending.***

As Issue One and Campaign Legal Center [have noted](#) in [previous reports](#) and on Issue One’s “Swamp Stories” [podcast](#), it defies common sense that expenditures that would be criminal offenses if they were paid for with campaign cash can be paid for by leadership PACs without getting politicians in trouble.

From a statutory perspective, Congress only needs to add a comma and three simple words to the law three different times to make it crystal clear that leadership PAC funds cannot be used for lawmakers’ personal use. That is all it would take to clarify that the personal use restrictions that govern campaign committees also apply to leadership PACs and other political committees.

Against this backdrop, a bipartisan array of lawmakers — including **Reps. Mike Gallagher (R-WI), John Katko (R-NY), Derek Kilmer (D-WA), Scott**

**Peters (D-CA), Dean Phillips (D-MN), Kathleen Rice (D-NY), and Greg Steube (R-FL)** — have [pushed for legislation](#) that would clarify that leadership PAC funds cannot be used for lawmakers’ personal use.

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## Appendix: Leadership PAC Spending by Members of the 116th Congress between January 2019 and December 2020

A

B

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Abraham, Ralph	R	House	LA	\$34,552	0%
Adams, Alma	D	House	NC	\$18,054	97%
Aderholt, Robert	R	House	AL	\$174,130	55%
Aguilar, Pete	D	House	CA	\$1,144,730	56%
Alexander, Lamar	R	Senate	TN	\$632,672	26%
Allen, Rick W.	R	House	GA	\$79,144	95%
Allred, Colin	D	House	TX	\$11,907	84%
Amash, Justin	I	House	MI	\$7,669	0%
Amodei, Mark	R	House	NV	\$9,666	62%
Armstrong, Kelly	R	House	ND	\$64,452	85%
Arrington, Jodey	R	House	TX	\$63,694	72%
Axne, Cindy	D	House	IA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Babin, Brian	R	House	TX	\$60,746	87%
Bacon, Don	R	House	NE	\$165,286	83%
Baird, Jim	R	House	IN	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Balderson, Troy	R	House	OH	\$55,734	83%
Baldwin, Tammy	D	Senate	WI	\$538,794	48%
Banks, Jim	R	House	IN	\$4,287,776	14%
Barr, Andy	R	House	KY	\$419,561	46%
Barragan, Nanette	D	House	CA	\$44,571	91%
Barrasso, John	R	Senate	WY	\$976,606	70%
Bass, Karen	D	House	CA	\$417,271	52%
Beatty, Joyce	D	House	OH	\$114,274	70%
Bennet, Michael	D	Senate	CO	\$288,487	56%
Bera, Ami	D	House	CA	\$143,482	80%
Bergman, John	R	House	MI	\$310,292	51%
Beutler, Jaime Herrera	R	House	WA	\$199,090	87%
Beyer, Don	D	House	VA	\$425,171	84%
Biggs, Andy	R	House	AZ	\$25,160	94%
Bilirakis, Gus	R	House	FL	\$56,648	82%
Bishop, Dan	R	House	NC	\$16,789	54%
Bishop, Rob	R	House	UT	\$57,037	72%
Bishop, Sanford, Jr.	D	House	GA	\$68,499	90%
Blackburn, Marsha	R	Senate	TN	\$813,950	59%
Blumenauer, Earl	D	House	OR	\$317,321	85%
Blumenthal, Richard	D	Senate	CT	\$613,076	44%
Blunt, Roy	R	Senate	MO	\$1,466,049	45%
Bonamici, Suzanne	D	House	OR	\$32,936	82%
Booker, Cory	D	Senate	NJ	\$957,038	51%



Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Boozman, John	R	Senate	AR	\$570,652	58%
Bost, Mike	R	House	IL	\$87,102	79%
Boyle, Brendan	D	House	PA	\$58,894	61%
Brady, Kevin	R	House	TX	\$1,042,324	79%
Braun, Mike	R	Senate	IN	\$412,014	79%
Brindisi, Anthony	D	House	NY	\$30,077	97%
Brooks, Mo	R	House	AL	\$26,550	85%
Brooks, Susan	R	House	IN	\$62,762	87%
Brown, Anthony	D	House	MD	\$78,262	86%
Brown, Sherrod	D	Senate	OH	\$2,463,304	47%
Brownley, Julia	D	House	CA	\$14,012	49%
Buchanan, Vern	R	House	FL	\$444,663	25%
Buck, Ken	R	House	CO	\$16,873	89%
Bucshon, Larry	R	House	IN	\$69,948	86%
Budd, Ted	R	House	NC	\$38,740	76%
Burchett, Tim	R	House	TN	\$14,156	99%
Burgess, Michael	R	House	TX	\$684,971	39%
Burr, Richard	R	Senate	NC	\$331,732	77%
Bustos, Cheri	D	House	IL	\$867,389	84%
Butterfield, G. K.	D	House	NC	\$104,185	41%
Byrne, Bradley	R	House	AL	\$162,011	16%
Calvert, Ken	R	House	CA	\$253,742	75%
Cantwell, Maria	D	Senate	WA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Capito, Shelley Moore	R	Senate	WV	\$462,866	72%
Carbajal, Salud	D	House	CA	\$230,158	72%
Cárdenas, Tony	D	House	CA	\$503,262	69%
Cardin, Ben	D	Senate	MD	\$242,762	69%
Carper, Tom	D	Senate	DE	\$634,448	54%
Carson, André	D	House	IN	\$38,527	67%
Carter, Buddy	R	House	GA	\$228,007	67%
Carter, John	R	House	TX	\$36,061	43%
Cartwright, Matt	D	House	PA	\$61,352	64%
Case, Ed	D	House	HI	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Casey, Bob	D	Senate	PA	\$635,091	66%
Cassidy, Bill	R	Senate	LA	\$933,556	45%
Casten, Sean	D	House	IL	\$8,537	94%
Castor, Kathy	D	House	FL	\$79,833	51%
Castro, Joaquin	D	House	TX	\$10,370	0%
Chabot, Steve	R	House	OH	\$82,121	85%
Cheney, Liz	R	House	WY	\$640,110	66%
Chu, Judy	D	House	CA	\$54,860	57%
Cicilline, David	D	House	RI	\$266,978	94%
Cisneros, Gil	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Clark, Katherine	D	House	MA	\$498,546	73%

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Clarke, Yvette	D	House	NY	\$67,213	40%
Clay, William Lacy, Jr.	D	House	MO	\$42,323	39%
Cleaver, Emanuel	D	House	MO	\$87,030	71%
Cline, Ben	R	House	VA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Cloud, Michael	R	House	TX	\$37,048	77%
Clyburn, James	D	House	SC	\$1,336,569	70%
Cohen, Steve	D	House	TN	\$0	0%
Cole, Tom	R	House	OK	\$501,081	76%
Coleman, Bonnie Watson	D	House	NJ	\$7,018	0%
Collins, Chris	R	House	NY	\$18,852	0%
Collins, Doug	R	House	GA	\$240,942	30%
Collins, Susan	R	Senate	ME	\$454,684	78%
Comer, James	R	House	KY	\$24,458	76%
Conaway, Mike	R	House	TX	\$130,961	23%
Connolly, Gerry	D	House	VA	\$120,538	71%
Cook, Paul	R	House	CA	\$39,985	23%
Coons, Chris	D	Senate	DE	\$632,326	70%
Cooper, Jim	D	House	TN	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Cornyn, John	R	Senate	TX	\$1,700,170	31%
Correa, Lou	D	House	CA	\$39,730	90%
Costa, Jim	D	House	CA	\$116,759	85%
Cotton, Tom	R	Senate	AR	\$1,228,124	34%
Courtney, Joe	D	House	CT	\$88,519	96%
Cox, TJ	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Craig, Angie	D	House	MN	\$49	0%
Cramer, Kevin	R	Senate	ND	\$514,833	77%
Crapo, Mike	R	Senate	ID	\$1,047,011	68%
Crawford, Rick	R	House	AR	\$297,101	59%
Crenshaw, Dan	R	House	TX	\$367,885	72%
Crist, Charlie	D	House	FL	\$159,783	66%
Crow, Jason	D	House	CO	\$60,015	96%
Cruz, Ted	R	Senate	TX	\$2,211,705	18%
Cuellar, Henry	D	House	TX	\$131,278	78%
Cummings, Elijah	D	House	MD	\$71,350	52%
Cunningham, Joe	D	House	SC	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Curtis, John	R	House	UT	\$56,120	52%
Daines, Steve	R	Senate	MT	\$540,842	45%
Davids, Sharice	D	House	KS	\$104,171	98%
Davidson, Warren	R	House	OH	\$23,243	89%
Davis, Danny K.	D	House	IL	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Davis, Rodney	R	House	IL	\$287,361	45%
Davis, Susan	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Dean, Madeleine	D	House	PA	\$39,137	95%
DeFazio, Peter	D	House	OR	\$450,545	71%

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Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
DeGette, Diana	D	House	CO	\$79,730	94%
DeLauro, Rosa	D	House	CT	\$547,165	78%
DelBene, Suzan	D	House	WA	\$337,331	92%
Delgado, Antonio	D	House	NY	\$0	0%
Demings, Val	D	House	FL	\$48,483	96%
DeSaulnier, Mark	D	House	CA	\$25,863	90%
DesJarlais, Scott	R	House	TN	\$11,165	99%
Deutch, Ted	D	House	FL	\$88,495	72%
Diaz-Balart, Mario	R	House	FL	\$128,829	89%
Dingell, Debbie	D	House	MI	\$118,810	95%
Doggett, Lloyd	D	House	TX	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Doyle, Mike	D	House	PA	\$253,436	26%
Duckworth, Tammy	D	Senate	IL	\$650,301	62%
Duffy, Sean	R	House	WI	\$181,219	10%
Duncan, Jeff	R	House	SC	\$74,033	93%
Dunn, Neal	R	House	FL	\$60,600	92%
Durbin, Dick	D	Senate	IL	\$1,052,652	61%
Emmer, Tom	R	House	MN	\$721,103	80%
Engel, Eliot	D	House	NY	\$31,564	29%
Enzi, Mike	R	Senate	WY	\$169,306	38%
Ernst, Joni	R	Senate	IA	\$904,640	56%
Escobar, Veronica	D	House	TX	\$27,913	61%
Eshoo, Anna	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Espaillet, Adriano	D	House	NY	\$0	0%
Estes, Ron	R	House	KS	\$220,066	81%
Evans, Dwight	D	House	PA	\$46,795	81%
Feinstein, Dianne	D	Senate	CA	\$387,471	43%
Ferguson, Drew	R	House	GA	\$293,125	79%
Finkenauer, Abby	D	House	IA	\$24,292	99%
Fischer, Deb	R	Senate	NE	\$703,628	60%
Fitzpatrick, Brian	R	House	PA	\$397,505	33%
Fleischmann, Chuck	R	House	TN	\$64,659	95%
Fletcher, Lizzie	D	House	TX	\$0	0%
Flores, Bill	R	House	TX	\$34,837	95%
Fortenberry, Jeff	R	House	NE	\$67,631	90%
Foster, Bill	D	House	IL	\$251,970	87%
Foxx, Virginia	R	House	NC	\$369,698	82%
Frankel, Lois	D	House	FL	\$49,796	98%
Fudge, Marcia	D	House	OH	\$96,991	86%
Fulcher, Russ	R	House	ID	\$7,949	99%
Gabbard, Tulsi	D	House	HI	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Gaetz, Matt	R	House	FL	\$8,977	44%
Gallagher, Mike	R	House	WI	\$93,276	55%
Gallego, Ruben	D	House	AZ	\$114,616	89%

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Garamendi, John	D	House	CA	\$125,232	67%
García, Jesús	D	House	IL	\$18,249	52%
Garcia, Mike	R	House	CA	\$82,830	67%
Garcia, Sylvia	D	House	TX	\$3,071	98%
Gardner, Cory	R	Senate	CO	\$693,357	46%
Gianforte, Greg	R	House	MT	\$16,193	99%
Gibbs, Bob	R	House	OH	\$23,353	90%
Gillibrand, Kirsten	D	Senate	NY	\$1,933,040	24%
Gohmert, Louie	R	House	TX	\$0	0%
Golden, Jared	D	House	ME	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Gomez, Jimmy	D	House	CA	\$80,608	72%
Gonzalez, Anthony	R	House	OH	\$112,766	99%
Gonzalez, Vicente	D	House	TX	\$25,833	78%
Gooden, Lance	R	House	TX	\$111,113	57%
Gosar, Paul	R	House	AZ	\$40,793	71%
Gottheimer, Josh	D	House	NJ	\$594,912	17%
Graham, Lindsey	R	Senate	SC	\$733,149	63%
Granger, Kay	R	House	TX	\$313,134	57%
Grassley, Chuck	R	Senate	IA	\$1,101,970	86%
Graves, Garret	R	House	LA	\$68,915	90%
Graves, Sam	R	House	MO	\$227,462	45%
Graves, Tom	R	House	GA	\$248,767	23%
Green, Al	D	House	TX	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Green, Mark	R	House	TN	\$102,540	96%
Griffith, Morgan	R	House	VA	\$116,562	80%
Grijalva, Raúl	D	House	AZ	\$33,938	80%
Grothman, Glenn	R	House	WI	\$38,700	99%
Guest, Michael	R	House	MS	\$13,070	69%
Guthrie, Brett	R	House	KY	\$118,518	79%
Haaland, Debra	D	House	NM	\$105,641	18%
Hagedorn, Jim	R	House	MN	\$8,675	88%
Hall, Kwanza	D	House	GA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Harder, Josh	D	House	CA	\$134,559	94%
Harris, Andy	R	House	MD	\$95,837	77%
Harris, Kamala	D	Senate	CA	\$798,729	14%
Hartzler, Vicky	R	House	MO	\$142,735	85%
Hassan, Maggie	D	Senate	NH	\$609,478	54%
Hastings, Alcee	D	House	FL	\$7,979	98%
Hawley, Josh	R	Senate	MO	\$219,718	48%
Hayes, Jahana	D	House	CT	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Heck, Denny	D	House	WA	\$59,948	83%
Heinrich, Martin	D	Senate	NM	\$636,348	77%
Hern, Kevin	R	House	OK	\$38,910	91%
Hice, Jody	R	House	GA	\$3,783	0%

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Higgins, Brian	D	House	NY	\$42,384	83%
Higgins, Clay	R	House	LA	\$125,402	7%
Hill, French	R	House	AR	\$327,565	70%
Hill, Katie	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Himes, Jim	D	House	CT	\$322,216	66%
Hirono, Mazie	D	Senate	HI	\$417,452	62%
Hoeven, John	R	Senate	ND	\$422,174	70%
Holding, George	R	House	NC	\$202,366	2%
Hollingsworth, Trey	R	House	IN	\$46,079	88%
Horn, Kendra	D	House	OK	\$0	0%
Horsford, Steven	D	House	NV	\$100,332	59%
Houlahan, Chrissy	D	House	PA	\$99,960	90%
Hoyer, Steny	D	House	MD	\$5,869,749	43%
Hudson, Richard	R	House	NC	\$417,169	74%
Huffman, Jared	D	House	CA	\$182,802	77%
Huizenga, Bill	R	House	MI	\$380,910	58%
Hunter, Duncan	R	House	CA	\$32,921	61%
Hurd, Will	R	House	TX	\$343,329	24%
Hyde-Smith, Cindy	R	Senate	MS	\$92,123	87%
Inhofe, Jim	R	Senate	OK	\$609,681	63%
Isakson, Johnny	R	Senate	GA	\$536,119	25%
Jacobs, Chris	R	House	NY	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Jayapal, Pramila	D	House	WA	\$1,349,274	16%
Jeffries, Hakeem	D	House	NY	\$970,846	89%
Johnson, Bill	R	House	OH	\$195,874	92%
Johnson, Dusty	R	House	SD	\$32,269	100%
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	D	House	TX	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Johnson, Hank	D	House	GA	\$24,265	62%
Johnson, Mike	R	House	LA	\$1,014,828	50%
Johnson, Ron	R	Senate	WI	\$364,893	49%
Jones, Doug	D	Senate	AL	\$295,503	65%
Jones, Walter, Jr.	R	House	NC	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Jordan, Jim	R	House	OH	\$12,422,797	76%
Joyce, David	R	House	OH	\$113,087	85%
Joyce, John	R	House	PA	\$128,246	95%
Kaine, Tim	D	Senate	VA	\$1,763,094	38%
Kaptur, Marcy	D	House	OH	\$100,186	91%
Katko, John	R	House	NY	\$107,920	62%
Keating, Bill	D	House	MA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Keller, Fred	R	House	PA	\$60,673	97%
Kelly, Mike	R	House	PA	\$205,411	22%
Kelly, Robin	D	House	IL	\$37,028	93%
Kelly, Trent	R	House	MS	\$24,526	99%
Kennedy, Joe III	D	House	MA	\$459,482	53%



Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Kennedy, John	R	Senate	LA	\$491,011	48%
Khanna, Ro	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Kildee, Dan	D	House	MI	\$192,375	94%
Kilmer, Derek	D	House	WA	\$236,777	83%
Kim, Andy	D	House	NJ	\$0	0%
Kind, Ron	D	House	WI	\$411,508	43%
King, Angus	I	Senate	ME	\$249,795	27%
King, Pete	R	House	NY	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
King, Steve	R	House	IA	\$92	0%
Kinzinger, Adam	R	House	IL	\$268,828	59%
Kirkpatrick, Ann	D	House	AZ	\$24,128	98%
Klobuchar, Amy	D	Senate	MN	\$499,251	78%
Krishnamoorthi, Raja	D	House	IL	\$231,750	89%
Kuster, Ann McLane	D	House	NH	\$75,595	98%
Kustoff, David	R	House	TN	\$71,556	96%
LaHood, Darin	R	House	IL	\$259,678	84%
LaMalfa, Doug	R	House	CA	\$37,358	91%
Lamb, Conor	D	House	PA	\$5,415	55%
Lamborn, Doug	R	House	CO	\$31,570	92%
Langevin, Jim	D	House	RI	\$137,222	100%
Lankford, James	R	Senate	OK	\$414,495	73%
Larsen, Rick	D	House	WA	\$160,505	91%
Larson, John	D	House	CT	\$302,453	55%
Latta, Bob	R	House	OH	\$166,603	98%
Lawrence, Brenda	D	House	MI	\$2,528	79%
Lawson, Al	D	House	FL	\$14,538	0%
Leahy, Patrick	D	Senate	VT	\$801,092	45%
Lee, Barbara	D	House	CA	\$254,279	81%
Lee, Mike	R	Senate	UT	\$508,739	45%
Lee, Sheila Jackson	D	House	TX	\$22,649	89%
Lee, Susie	D	House	NV	\$29,801	80%
Lesko, Debbie	R	House	AZ	\$159,630	89%
Levin, Andy	D	House	MI	\$40,975	98%
Levin, Mike	D	House	CA	\$119,089	45%
Lewis, John	D	House	GA	\$7,400	68%
Lieu, Ted	D	House	CA	\$315,080	72%
Lipinski, Daniel	D	House	IL	\$154,376	70%
Loeb sack, Dave	D	House	IA	\$25,061	92%
Loeffler, Kelly	R	Senate	GA	\$17,896	16%
Lofgren, Zoe	D	House	CA	\$346,367	28%
Long, Billy	R	House	MO	\$176,895	29%
Loudermilk, Barry	R	House	GA	\$59,650	79%
Lowenthal, Alan	D	House	CA	\$4,948	81%
Lowey, Nita	D	House	NY	\$183,868	76%

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Lucas, Frank	R	House	OK	\$92,024	44%
Luetkemeyer, Blaine	R	House	MO	\$674,890	74%
Luján, Ben Ray	D	House	NM	\$208,550	73%
Luria, Elaine	D	House	VA	\$271,915	94%
Lynch, Stephen	D	House	MA	\$21,803	50%
Malinowski, Tom	D	House	NJ	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Maloney, Carolyn	D	House	NY	\$199,793	57%
Maloney, Sean Patrick	D	House	NY	\$100,538	96%
Manchin, Joe	D	Senate	WV	\$577,603	65%
Marchant, Kenny	R	House	TX	\$21,286	87%
Marino, Tom	R	House	PA	\$12,327	63%
Markey, Ed	D	Senate	MA	\$585,942	56%
Marshall, Roger	R	House	KS	\$200,487	48%
Massie, Thomas	R	House	KY	\$55,449	73%
Mast, Brian	R	House	FL	\$85,811	76%
Masto, Catherine Cortez	D	Senate	NV	\$904,078	59%
Matsui, Doris	D	House	CA	\$149,321	44%
McAdams, Ben	D	House	UT	\$0	0%
McBath, Lucy	D	House	GA	\$255	0%
McCarthy, Kevin	R	House	CA	\$4,705,216	78%
McCaul, Michael	R	House	TX	\$243,007	85%
McClintock, Tom	R	House	CA	\$13,803	56%
McCollum, Betty	D	House	MN	\$175,246	70%
McConnell, Mitch	R	Senate	KY	\$1,642,936	68%
McEachin, A. Donald	D	House	VA	\$52,338	72%
McGovern, Jim	D	House	MA	\$12,484	96%
McHenry, Patrick	R	House	NC	\$1,251,681	61%
McKinley, David B.	R	House	WV	\$73,614	88%
McNerney, Jerry	D	House	CA	\$44,428	27%
McSally, Martha	R	Senate	AZ	\$424,626	44%
Meadows, Mark	R	House	NC	\$61,014	75%
Meeks, Gregory	D	House	NY	\$214,890	50%
Menendez, Robert	D	Senate	NJ	\$592,728	39%
Meng, Grace	D	House	NY	\$117,411	46%
Merkley, Jeff	D	Senate	OR	\$1,519,098	40%
Meuser, Dan	R	House	PA	\$4,100	68%
Mfume, Kweisi	D	House	MD	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Miller, Carol	R	House	WV	\$136,118	86%
Mitchell, Paul	R	House	MI	\$32,519	6%
Moolenaar, John	R	House	MI	\$96,255	49%
Mooney, Alex	R	House	WV	\$185,921	76%
Moore, Gwen	D	House	WI	\$320,410	12%
Moran, Jerry	R	Senate	KS	\$821,434	73%
Morelle, Joe	D	House	NY	\$32,492	92%

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Moulton, Seth	D	House	MA	\$1,741,524	8%
Mucarsel-Powell, Debbie	D	House	FL	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Mullin, Markwayne	R	House	OK	\$201,294	92%
Murkowski, Lisa	R	Senate	AK	\$602,117	60%
Murphy, Chris	D	Senate	CT	\$135,733	71%
Murphy, Greg	R	House	NC	\$33,892	94%
Murphy, Stephanie	D	House	FL	\$325,832	65%
Murray, Patty	D	Senate	WA	\$1,017,154	74%
Nadler, Jerry	D	House	NY	\$194,187	64%
Napolitano, Grace	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Neal, Richard	D	House	MA	\$913,827	63%
Neguse, Joe	D	House	CO	\$74,937	95%
Newhouse, Dan	R	House	WA	\$44,797	69%
Norcross, Donald	D	House	NJ	\$169,303	89%
Norman, Ralph	R	House	SC	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Nunes, Devin	R	House	CA	\$576,042	31%
O'Halleran, Tom	D	House	AZ	\$66,038	60%
Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria	D	House	NY	\$334,632	77%
Olson, Pete	R	House	TX	\$2,516	0%
Omar, Ilhan	D	House	MN	\$87,481	59%
Palazzo, Steven	R	House	MS	\$60,978	71%
Pallone, Frank, Jr.	D	House	NJ	\$849,261	75%
Palmer, Gary	R	House	AL	\$107,582	74%
Panetta, Jimmy	D	House	CA	\$70,525	75%
Pappas, Chris	D	House	NH	\$15,026	98%
Pascrell, Bill, Jr.	D	House	NJ	\$81,382	84%
Paul, Rand	R	Senate	KY	\$988,450	12%
Payne, Donald, Jr.	D	House	NJ	\$0	0%
Pelosi, Nancy	D	House	CA	\$9,340,273	40%
Pence, Greg	R	House	IN	\$77,490	59%
Perdue, David	R	Senate	GA	\$1,242,608	58%
Perlmutter, Ed	D	House	CO	\$231,710	65%
Perry, Scott	R	House	PA	\$13,225	60%
Peters, Gary	D	Senate	MI	\$681,760	67%
Peters, Scott	D	House	CA	\$121,016	93%
Peterson, Collin	D	House	MN	\$133,636	62%
Phillips, Dean	D	House	MN	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Pingree, Chellie	D	House	ME	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Pocan, Mark	D	House	WI	\$143,245	90%
Porter, Katie	D	House	CA	\$384,666	56%
Portman, Rob	R	Senate	OH	\$1,372,671	47%
Posey, Bill	R	House	FL	\$48,187	82%
Pressley, Ayanna	D	House	MA	\$50,368	25%
Price, David	D	House	NC	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Quigley, Mike	D	House	IL	\$67,266	84%
Raskin, Jamie	D	House	MD	\$186,132	6%
Ratcliffe, John	R	House	TX	\$26,468	32%
Reed, Jack	D	Senate	RI	\$505,620	74%
Reed, Tom	R	House	NY	\$241,609	77%
Reschenthaler, Guy	R	House	PA	\$45,385	72%
Rice, Kathleen	D	House	NY	\$267,223	28%
Rice, Tom	R	House	SC	\$116,942	83%
Richmond, Cedric	D	House	LA	\$140,309	40%
Riggleman, Denver	R	House	VA	\$64,126	61%
Risch, James	R	Senate	ID	\$205,130	86%
Roberts, Pat	R	Senate	KS	\$179,492	11%
Roby, Martha	R	House	AL	\$101,263	65%
Rochester, Lisa Blunt	D	House	DE	\$105,811	78%
Rodgers, Cathy McMorris	R	House	WA	\$745,137	85%
Roe, Phil	R	House	TN	\$380,514	49%
Rogers, Hal	R	House	KY	\$326,250	23%
Rogers, Mike	R	House	AL	\$265,763	67%
Romney, Mitt	R	Senate	UT	\$827,602	23%
Rooney, Francis	R	House	FL	\$33,815	21%
Rose, John	R	House	TN	\$37,582	89%
Rose, Max	D	House	NY	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Rosen, Jacky	D	Senate	NV	\$987,601	53%
Rouda, Harley	D	House	CA	\$11,908	34%
Rounds, Mike	R	Senate	SD	\$407,165	45%
Rouzer, David	R	House	NC	\$94,773	88%
Roy, Chip	R	House	TX	\$6,830	99%
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	D	House	CA	\$11,326	99%
Rubio, Marco	R	Senate	FL	\$870,380	41%
Ruiz, Raul	D	House	CA	\$167,289	81%
Ruppersberger, C.A. Dutch	D	House	MD	\$121,188	74%
Rush, Bobby	D	House	IL	\$17,800	76%
Rutherford, John	R	House	FL	\$94,341	96%
Ryan, Tim	D	House	OH	\$405,995	8%
Sánchez, Linda	D	House	CA	\$294,174	78%
Sanders, Bernie	I	Senate	VT	\$63,194	78%
Sarbanes, John	D	House	MD	\$433,247	73%
Sasse, Ben	R	Senate	NE	\$930,363	23%
Scalise, Steve	R	House	LA	\$2,125,121	84%
Scanlon, Mary Gay	D	House	PA	\$225,933	32%
Schakowsky, Jan	D	House	IL	\$231,562	85%
Schatz, Brian	D	Senate	HI	\$643,755	51%
Schiff, Adam	D	House	CA	\$2,626,955	94%
Schneider, Brad	D	House	IL	\$210,992	74%

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Schrader, Kurt	D	House	OR	\$167,383	96%
Schrier, Kim	D	House	WA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Schultz, Debbie Wasserman	D	House	FL	\$1,074,324	56%
Schumer, Chuck	D	Senate	NY	\$1,628,879	21%
Schweikert, David	R	House	AZ	\$36,325	42%
Scott, Austin	R	House	GA	\$90,646	69%
Scott, Bobby	D	House	VA	\$138,305	93%
Scott, David	D	House	GA	\$165,005	85%
Scott, Rick	R	Senate	FL	\$1,480,082	39%
Scott, Tim	R	Senate	SC	\$1,149,300	63%
Sensenbrenner, Jim	R	House	WI	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Serrano, José E.	D	House	NY	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Sewell, Terri	D	House	AL	\$216,920	74%
Shaheen, Jeanne	D	Senate	NH	\$410,317	47%
Shalala, Donna	D	House	FL	\$259,868	65%
Shelby, Richard	R	Senate	AL	\$663,648	50%
Sherman, Brad	D	House	CA	\$491,376	77%
Sherrill, Mikie	D	House	NJ	\$87,013	91%
Shimkus, John	R	House	IL	\$74,049	76%
Simpson, Mike	R	House	ID	\$80,951	33%
Sinema, Kyrsten	D	Senate	AZ	\$867,074	42%
Sires, Albio	D	House	NJ	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Slotkin, Elissa	D	House	MI	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Small, Xochitl Torres	D	House	NM	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Smith, Adam	D	House	WA	\$244,319	82%
Smith, Adrian	R	House	NE	\$71,673	93%
Smith, Chris	R	House	NJ	\$60,442	29%
Smith, Jason	R	House	MO	\$218,646	70%
Smith, Tina	D	Senate	MN	\$276,959	98%
Smucker, Lloyd	R	House	PA	\$107,672	75%
Soto, Darren	D	House	FL	\$66,335	75%
Spanberger, Abigail	D	House	VA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Spano, Ross	R	House	FL	\$13,539	87%
Speier, Jackie	D	House	CA	\$86,748	71%
Stabenow, Debbie	D	Senate	MI	\$974,078	62%
Stanton, Greg	D	House	AZ	\$10,587	76%
Stauber, Pete	R	House	MN	\$93,842	88%
Stefanik, Elise	R	House	NY	\$871,014	59%
Steil, Bryan	R	House	WI	\$102,237	74%
Steube, Greg	R	House	FL	\$16,277	12%
Stevens, Haley	D	House	MI	\$25,724	71%
Stewart, Chris	R	House	UT	\$158,555	85%
Stivers, Steve	R	House	OH	\$599,349	59%



# T

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Sullivan, Dan	R	Senate	AK	\$649,343	37%
Suozzi, Thomas	D	House	NY	\$186,538	96%
Swalwell, Eric	D	House	CA	\$619,719	60%
Takano, Mark	D	House	CA	\$184,191	94%
Taylor, Van	R	House	TX	\$73,888	93%
Tester, Jon	D	Senate	MT	\$845,552	45%
Thompson, Bennie	D	House	MS	\$122,085	62%
Thompson, Glenn	R	House	PA	\$256,909	98%
Thompson, Mike	D	House	CA	\$274,100	63%
Thornberry, Mac	R	House	TX	\$208,218	50%
Thune, John	R	Senate	SD	\$2,012,684	49%
Tiffany, Tom	R	House	WI	\$17,020	100%
Tillis, Thom	R	Senate	NC	\$547,309	60%
Timmons, William	R	House	SC	\$41,289	90%
Tipton, Scott	R	House	CO	\$17,005	91%
Titus, Dina	D	House	NV	\$27,373	91%
Tlaib, Rashida	D	House	MI	\$54,566	78%
Tonko, Paul	D	House	NY	\$12,616	97%
Toomey, Pat	R	Senate	PA	\$875,177	62%
Torres, Norma	D	House	CA	\$35,871	77%
Trahan, Lori	D	House	MA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Trone, David	D	House	MD	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Turner, Michael	R	House	OH	\$184,420	44%
Udall, Tom	D	Senate	NM	\$126,139	41%
Underwood, Lauren	D	House	IL	\$41,738	52%
Upton, Fred	R	House	MI	\$295,663	31%
Van Drew, Jeff	R	House	NJ	\$30,900	100%
Van Hollen, Chris	D	Senate	MD	\$601,829	51%
Vargas, Juan	D	House	CA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Veasey, Marc	D	House	TX	\$123,374	61%
Vela, Filemon	D	House	TX	\$169,611	52%
Velázquez, Nydia	D	House	NY	\$26,732	75%
Visclosky, Pete	D	House	IN	\$68,700	45%
Wagner, Ann	R	House	MO	\$360,532	74%
Walberg, Tim	R	House	MI	\$62,763	93%
Walden, Greg	R	House	OR	\$601,735	75%
Walker, Mark	R	House	NC	\$118,450	27%
Walorski, Jackie	R	House	IN	\$249,614	82%
Waltz, Michael	R	House	FL	\$134,335	36%
Warner, Mark	D	Senate	VA	\$749,593	53%
Warren, Elizabeth	D	Senate	MA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Waters, Maxine	D	House	CA	\$144,437	63%
Watkins, Steve	R	House	KS	\$3,725	54%
Weber, Randy	R	House	TX	\$28,000	100%

# U V

# W

Name	Party	Chamber	State	Total Spent	Percent Spent on Politics
Webster, Daniel	R	House	FL	\$500	0%
Welch, Peter	D	House	VT	\$48,593	61%
Wenstrup, Brad	R	House	OH	\$147,849	82%
Westerman, Bruce	R	House	AR	\$164,231	93%
Wexton, Jennifer	D	House	VA	\$17,114	40%
Whitehouse, Sheldon	D	Senate	RI	\$810,952	61%
Wicker, Roger	R	Senate	MS	\$1,246,709	57%
Wild, Susan	D	House	PA	N/A	Does not have a leadership PAC
Williams, Roger	R	House	TX	\$381,524	69%
Wilson, Frederica	D	House	FL	\$0	0%
Wilson, Joe	R	House	SC	\$58,652	78%
Wittman, Rob	R	House	VA	\$117,532	83%
Womack, Steve	R	House	AR	\$123,186	53%
Woodall, Rob	R	House	GA	\$44,050	58%
Wright, Ron	R	House	TX	\$0	0%
Wyden, Ron	D	Senate	OR	\$718,031	53%
Yarmuth, John	D	House	KY	\$91,771	75%
Yoho, Ted	R	House	FL	\$1,881	100%
Young, Don	R	House	AK	\$62,070	30%
Young, Todd	R	Senate	IN	\$984,779	57%
Zeldin, Lee	R	House	NY	\$248,379	75%

Source: Issue One and Campaign Legal Center analysis of Federal Election Commission data, covering leadership PAC spending between January 2019 and December 2020.

## Methodology

Issue One and Campaign Legal Center counted as political spending all itemized transactions that showed contributions to federal, state, and local political candidates, party committees, and political groups, as well as independent expenditures on political ads urging people to vote for or against candidates. Lawmakers whose leadership PACs spent \$0 between January 2019 and December 2020 are omitted from this report's top-line findings on page 3 about how many lawmakers' leadership PACs spent less than 50% or less than 25% on politics. For lawmakers that operated more than one leadership PAC, spending figures were aggregated.