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# SAVING FOR A RAINY DAY II

How Congress Uses  
Leftover Campaign Cash

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Kevin Chaffee

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THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

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I am a **firm** believer in the people. If given the truth, they can be depended upon to meet any national crisis. The great point is to bring them the real facts.

Abraham Lincoln

The Center for Public Integrity is an educational, nonprofit organization examining public service and ethics-related issues in Washington, with a unique approach combining the substantive study of government with **in-depth** reporting. The Center is funded by foundations, corporations, labor **unions**, individuals, revenue from the sale of publications and editorial consulting with news organizations.

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# OVERVIEW

Over the past fifteen years, numerous former members of Congress have taken advantage of a "**grandfather** clause" in an obscure 1979 amendment to the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act allowing them to help themselves to millions of dollars in leftover campaign funds after they leave office. The loophole made it completely legal for former members to convert campaign war chests to personal use if their congressional service began before January 8, 1980.

A public outcry occurred after continuing revelations that many former members had taken advantage of the retirement windfall, compelling an embarrassed Congress to abolish the provision. The resulting legislation, the Ethics Reform Act of 1989, forced the grandfathered members to make a decision to retire before the beginning of the 103rd Congress if they wished to keep their leftover funds. Like their less senior colleagues, grandfathered members serving again would be required, on leaving office, to give all unspent funds to political or charitable causes.

Based on an exhaustive five-year examination of campaign finance records available at the Federal Election Commission, the Center for Public Integrity has found that:

- \* Since 1979, **112** former members of Congress used an estimated \$10.5 million in unspent contributions from individual donors, national parties, and political action committees (PACs) for essentially non-election-related purposes.
- \* Former members or, in case of death, their committees, transferred the largest part of this total, approximately \$6 million, to personal accounts or to the deceased members' **beneficiaries**.
- \* The remaining, approximately \$4.5 million, was used to cover post-retirement office, travel, entertainment, and other so-called "political" expenses, or to pay personal legal fees in criminal trials or congressional ethics probes.

The \$10.5 million total is a significant increase from the amount identified in a **1991** study by the Center for Public Integrity, which reported that \$6.4 million in leftover campaign funds had been disposed for what were, in most cases, non-election-related expenditures. Since the 1991 study, the Center found that:

- \* 23 members who left office in 1993 converted approximately **\$2.4** million directly to personal use or used leftover funds for various post-retirement expenditures.
- \* Of the former members of Congress who left in 1993, six disposed of more than \$100,000 each in leftover campaign funds.
- \* In the period between the two reports, campaign committees of members who died, retired, or were defeated before 1993 disposed of approximately \$1.7 million.

Cumulatively, since the 1979 grandfather clause was written into law, twenty-five members have used their election funds to legally dispose of **\$100,000** or more apiece via transfers to

personal use, **personal** legal fees, or post-retirement expenses. No parachute was more golden than the one for former Rep. Larry J. Hopkins, Republican of Kentucky, who took \$665,000. He had pledged not to use his leftover campaign funds "for personal benefit" in his failed 1991 gubernatorial bid, offering to sign a pledge to that effect in a televised campaign appearance. The previous record had been held by the heirs of the late Rep. John J. Duncan, Jr., of Tennessee, who received \$605,252 in leftover campaign funds. Former Rep. Bob Traxler (**D-Mich.**) converted \$295,750 to personal use. Like Hopkins, Traxler had previously promised publicly not to keep his excess campaign funds. Carroll **Hubbard (D-Ky.)** converted \$216,018 to personal use. **Hubbard** and his wife pled guilty in April 1994 to unrelated criminal charges of misusing campaign contributions.

The findings cast light on a phenomenon stretching across partisan and ideological lines. This study includes a wide range of use by such well-known figures as Vice President Albert Gore, Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy, Office of Management and Budget Director Leon **Panetta**, former Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, former Speakers of the House Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill and Jim Wright, former Vice Presidential candidate **Geraldine Ferraro**, former Secretary of Agriculture Edward **Madigan**, former Veterans Affairs Secretary Edward Derwinski and former Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman.

The study also reveals that some members were defeated in election contests where available funds were not spent during the campaign and were converted later to personal use. Three of these - Reps. Carroll Hubbard of Kentucky, **Fernand St Germain** of Rhode Island and Joseph **Minish** of New Jersey — each declined to spend more than \$200,000 in available funds for races in which each was the losing candidate.

The campaign committees of seven former senators — who are technically prohibited by a U.S. Senate rule from using excess funds for personal use regardless of date of service — and 23 former representatives, whose terms began after the 1980 cutoff date or who were **grandfathered** and served briefly in the 103rd Congress before leaving office, have an additional \$2.8 million in residual campaign funds at their disposal. Those still controlling such accounts include Vice President Albert Gore and former Vice President Dan Quayle. Unlike the grandfathered members, these individuals are now required by law to give unspent sums to political or charitable purposes, although a number have continued to make expenditures they deem "political" long after their period of federal service has concluded.

Former members, both grandfathered and **ungrandfathered**, can also dispose of leftover campaign funds by transforming their campaign committee into a personal PAC. These entities, which are entirely under their **control**, are permitted to spend funds for operational purposes as well as to make political or charitable contributions. Several of them, including those operated by Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, the late Speaker of the **House**, and David Stockman, the former member of the House and director of the Office of Management and Budget, have already spent themselves out of existence. Nine others, with \$1.5 million on hand, have been created by members retiring in 1993.

An additional way former members of Congress use residual funds is by establishing a personal foundation or charitable trust. Seven such entities are currently in existence after the transfer of \$2.9 million from individual campaign committees. Once these funds leave the FEC's accounting system, it is much more difficult to obtain information on their ultimate disposition,



which remains at the discretion of the former member.

The ability of former members of Congress to contribute millions of dollars in political contributions from their personal PACs or campaign committees raises some serious ethical questions. Not only are they giving away other people's money - generally without the knowledge of the original donors - they also have the ability to distribute funds to lawmakers they may be attempting to influence in post-retirement lobbying careers. The Center for Public Integrity has identified 21 **"grandfathered"** former members of the House and one former Senator who are currently working in post-retirement lobbying careers, mostly in Washington. Among the numerous examples of such lawmakers-turned-lobbyists now in the reverse role of campaign benefactor is Norman Lent, former ranking Republican on the House Energy and Commerce Committee, who distributed approximately \$15,000 in leftover campaign funds to 21 members of Congress, including seven Democrats, after leaving office in 1993. (He also gave \$20,750 to 23 Republican and one Democratic member in 1992.) His Washington lobbying firm, Lent and Scrivner, which he formed with his former administrative assistant, has registered to lobby for Mobil, Pfizer and other corporate clients involved in such areas as investment banking, natural gas, and **telecommunications**.

Another grandfathered former member working as a Washington lobbyist, Ronnie G. Flippo (**D-Al.**) had nearly \$500,000 in funds remaining in his campaign treasury after losing a 1990 gubernatorial bid. His committee's political contributions since then total \$47,200, of which \$27,850 was given in 1992 to 35 members of Congress of both parties. Flippo's client roster includes the state of Alabama, Alabama Power Company, Norfolk Southern Corporation, South Central Bell, Federal Express, **RJR** Nabisco, and others.

Nearly five years after Congress reluctantly moved to phase out the controversial provision allowing former members to keep unspent campaign contributions for themselves, today an estimated \$3.2 million remains on hand in the campaign treasuries of 23 grandfathered former members who are *still* eligible to transfer the money to personal use, but who have not yet disposed of the funds.

## I. THE GRANDFATHER CLAUSE

Until the beginning of the current Congress, a complex legal loophole existed that allowed former members of Congress to pocket money that was given to their campaign committees to cover the costs of running for office - legal, that is, for members sworn in before January 8, 1980, and who left office before the convening of the 103rd Congress.

The anomaly **existed** because members of the 96th Congress exempted, or "**grandfathered**," themselves from one provision of 1979 amendments to the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act. The provision outlawed the diversion of leftover campaign funds to personal use, requiring instead that they be used for charitable or political purposes - but only for those lawmakers sworn in after the 1980 **cut-off** date.

According to the law, such funds could not "be converted by any person" (i.e., *any future* member of Congress) "for any personal use, other than to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with his or her duties as a holder of federal office, or to repay to a candidate any personal loans the proceeds of which were used in connection with his or her **campaign**."

One of the opponents of the provision, Rep. Andrew Jacobs (**D-Ind.**), remembered that the House Administration Committee "bootlegged the grandfathering provision so deep in the original bill that most members didn't even hear about it until a couple of days afterward. It wouldn't have passed in a million years on a record **vote**."

**When** the committee's then-chairman, Frank Thompson (**D-N.J.**), who later used \$24,000 in campaign funds for legal fees related to his **Abscam** trial, was asked by *Congressional Quarterly* why a ban on personal use for *all* members had not been adopted, he replied: "It would present too many problems. Some members have stashed away money for campaigns and other purposes . . . They might have objected."

Although the Senate passed the same legislation, a prohibition in the form of a Senate rule was placed on *any* personal use of campaign funds by senators or former senators, although there could be little enforcement over ex-members except by withdrawing such courtesies as floor and dining room privileges. Of all senators departing in recent years, only Harrison Williams (**D-NJ**), who used \$65,000 in campaign funds to pay legal costs related to his **Abscam** trial, has been called in for an accounting, and he was allowed to keep the money.

As word leaked out over the next decade that former members of Congress were taking their campaign treasuries with them into retirement, a movement in the House to end the practice began to be pushed slowly along by several of the younger grandfathered members who found themselves in the position of having to deny intentions of doing the same. According to one senior aide: "Many of the seniors felt that the funds were theirs, period, and that any further discussion was inappropriate. But times had changed, and the younger members found the political heat to be increasingly **embarrassing**."

Reps. Jacobs, Dan Glickman (**D-Kans.**), and Vic Fazio (**D-Calif.**) emerged as the most

outspoken leaders of the reform movement. At first, there was little momentum to spur their **efforts**, according to Jacobs, because of a passive acceptance of the *status quo*: "**When** institutional corruption is endemic, it becomes the norm; when it becomes the norm, it is no longer considered **wrong**."

Prospects appeared dim until 1989, when government ethics and, later, a congressional pay raise, became major national issues. Attention focused on House Speaker Jim Wright and other legislators accused of financial improprieties while in office, which heightened the public awareness of ethics issues and began to increase a consensus in Congress for correcting abuses involving political money.

Because it was also perceived that a 40 percent salary increase could never be enacted without being counterbalanced by some sort of reform measure, and because President Bush announced that he would refuse to sign an increase without reforms, the movement to sacrifice the grandfather clause began to gain ground. In ethical terms, the clause was clearly perceived as being more offensive than the other items at least theoretically on the table, such as honoraria and the franking privilege.

Enough votes to end the loophole should have existed, technically speaking, because **the** number of **un-grandfathered** lawmakers (having nothing to lose) had steadily risen to **251** — a safe majority — in the ten-year period since the loophole was enacted. It also became clear that none of the vested lawmakers would publicly defend his right to a "golden parachute" for his years of congressional service.

Eliminating the clause, however, was more than a matter of gathering votes. To get a bill **through** the complex process leading to approval on the House floor, one had to take into account the backstairs maneuvering of the "Old Guard." Those favoring change risked incurring the **wrath** of powerful senior members, many of whom were committee and subcommittee chairmen, if they pushed too hard to end the retirement perquisite.

Unsuccessful in their efforts to muster enough support to abolish the loophole outright, the reformers finally succeeded in including **a future** prohibition within the Ethics Reform Act, which was passed at the end of 1989. The provision would take effect after three years and cover all members of the 103rd Congress without regard to seniority.

According to most analysts, speeding up the process of a gradual phaseout was the best outcome that could be achieved in light of the internecine political machinations that had to be taken into account. "The compromise was worth it in the end, because we got the pay raise as well as a major ethics bill through," one Hill aide said. "The senior members could have threatened to undo the entire **package**, and since some of them had longstanding plans for their nest eggs, it was felt that an immediate ban might be too draconian a **solution**."

The idea of the gradual phaseout took on a life of its own, part of a tacit "political decision made by the House leadership," according to Glickman, "as an incentive to get the old-timers to retire."

The agreement required the grandfathers to make a decision to take their funds or remain in office without the right to do so after the convening of the 103rd Congress in January 1993.

The new rule also limited them from taking an amount exceeding that which was on hand in their campaign accounts on November 30, 1989, the day the law was passed. Anything in excess of this figure (campaign contributions, interest or other earnings) could not be converted to personal use.

As it turned out, 1992 did turn out to be a high turnover **year**, with a record 108 members of the House not returning to Congress. Of this number, 52 retired, including 32 "**grandfathers**." An additional 56 were defeated or ran for other office (including 21 **grandfathered** members). Five others were sworn in to the 103rd Congress but resigned soon thereafter. Three of those who served briefly in the 103rd Congress (grandfathered except for one) resigned to join President Clinton's Administration. Two other members of the 103rd Congress, both grandfathers, subsequently retired to take jobs in the private sector. The grandfathers left office with a total of \$10.3 million in unspent campaign funds, all of which was theoretically available to them for personal use before the grandfather loophole was permanently closed. In addition, 20 other retirees came to Congress after the 1979 provision went into effect. These members had an additional \$1.3 **million** in unspent funds that they were not permitted to use for personal benefit.

As it turns out, only eight of the grandfathered members took advantage of the legal option to directly convert funds totaling \$1.6 million from their former campaign treasuries to personal use. An additional 14 have been identified in this study as having used approximately \$800,000 in residual funds for such personal expenses as legal fees, automobile and travel expenses, food and entertainment, furniture and computer equipment, clothing, consulting **fees**, and the like. These totals have been added to the funds previously converted or otherwise used by members who left office before 1993 in Appendix I.

## II. GROWTH OF CONGRESSIONAL WAR CHESTS IN THE 1980's

Over the ten-year period from 1979 to 1989, a major change occurred in the way in which congressional elections were financed. Many members began amassing larger and larger nest eggs from vast amounts of special-interest contributions. In many cases, especially those of powerful members with safe seats, the ability to raise enormous war chests with lobbyists' money had little to do with actual need, and this further increased the tendency to discourage or "shut out" viable opposition in many congressional districts. Facing the prospect of being **outspent** 10- or 20-1, many potential challengers simply decided not to run, leaving incumbents facing fringe candidates or no opponent at all.

This is the primary reason for the development of what has been termed an "incumbent protection system," which in 1990 produced 233 lawmakers winning reelection with over 65 percent of the vote. Of this number, 79 won in races with no major-party opponent — a virtual doubling of the 40 uncontested races in 1980. By 1990, **no-opponent** congressional elections were not just confined to one-party districts in big cities and the South. Even traditionally strong two-party states were witness to numerous uncontested congressional races that year: three out of six districts in Iowa, three out of nine in Wisconsin, and six out of 23 in Pennsylvania.

With the incumbent reelection rate higher than 95 percent in election after election, more and more members of Congress found themselves with the ability to carry over huge fund-raising surpluses. In 1982, for example, ten members of Congress ended races with \$250,000 or more to carry over into their next race; after the 1988 election, this number had risen to 77. Those finishing races with more than \$500,000 in cash on hand grew during the same period from two to 20, with two members of Congress each amassing more than a million dollars in campaign funds for the first time.

The common rationale for continuing to accumulate enormous war chests was -- and continues to be — the hypothetical future appearance of a multimillionaire opponent willing to spend vast resources. This scenario, while occasionally occurring in Senate races, has been the political *rara avis* in most House elections, with a miniscule number of incumbents losing races to better-financed opponents.

In reality, the systematic building up of large war chests could more accurately be described, in many **cases**, as a situation whereby the "rainy day" funds stockpiled by **grandfathered** members were destined for other than campaign purposes. Despite a pension plan far more generous than that enjoyed by the average working American, many members were unable to resist helping themselves to campaign funds as an additional retirement benefit. The importance of the "rainy day" money is underscored by the fact that some House members reported large amounts of excess cash after losing reelection bids. Taking campaign funds into retirement was apparently more important to them than winning.

Subsequent to the Center for Public Integrity's 1991 report and the retirement of many of the grandfathered members following the closing of the grandfather loophole, certain trends have emerged. Data compiled after the 1992 congressional election show that incumbent victory margins

and the number of uncontested races both declined from the previous election. Only **180** members finished their 1992 race with a plurality of 65 percent or higher, a 23 percent decline from two years earlier. The number of uncontested races also fell substantially, from 79 to 23 - a 70 percent drop.

Reasons for these changes were both institutional (the House check writing scandal) and political (dissatisfaction over the recession and other political ills, which play a stronger role in congressional races in years when there is a presidential race). **Reapportionment** following the 1990 census also played a role, creating many new districts in faster-growing states, forcing incumbents to run against each other in states that had lost population. The number of primary defeats (19) added to the decision of other incumbents to voluntarily retire (52) or run for other office (13), resulting in the largest turnover of sitting lawmakers in 60 years. These factors -- anti-incumbency sentiment, redistricting and the number of open seats -- all contributed to the increase in competitiveness in many one-party districts or districts where a well-financed retiree had previously been able to stave off a viable opponent.

Many incumbents who chose not to retire found that their races had become more expensive. **Based** on Federal Election Commission data for the fund-raising cycle ending on December 31, 1992, 50 winners reported campaign surpluses of more than \$250,000 compared to 109 in 1990. The number with surpluses in excess of \$500,000 declined from 23 to 14.

It would be difficult to assess the impact these developments will have on future congressional elections. Much will depend on campaign finance reform measures that are expected to be considered during the current Congress. Term limits, caps on political action committee contributions and the amount individual members can carry over from one election to another will be major issues in the debate. How well the public and press are informed throughout this legislative process **will** be vitally important in determining how political election money influences public policy for many years to come.

## ffl. DISPOSAL OF THE RAINY DAY FUNDS

The Center for Public Integrity examined the campaign finance records of more than 300 former members of Congress who left office from 1979 to 1993. Although there were many cases where the personal use of campaign funds might be considered an abuse of the public trust, it should be noted that the preponderant majority of individual senators and representatives did *not* directly or indirectly convert political funds to personal use.

Instead, many of those leaving Congress transferred existing campaign treasuries to committees financing other races in which they were a candidate (Senate, gubernatorial, state attorney general, *etc.*).

Of those who retired, many had ceased fund-raising efforts or had little or nothing left over in the way of campaign funds after their last election. Others, although **grandfathered**, felt honor-bound to abide by the rules legally requiring their **un-grandfathered** colleagues to make donations to state and local party organizations, candidates at various levels of government, or charitable and educational **entities**.

Longtime Rep. Charles E. Bennett (**D-Fla.**), for example, gave \$270,835 to the U.S. Treasury for use by the National Park Service. His Florida colleague, Rep. Don Fuqua, gave more than \$100,000 to Florida State University. Rep. Robert Whittaker (**R-Kans.**) contributed \$509,102 to Kansas State University. Rep. Charles Luken (**D-Oh.**) gave **\$110,000** to the Ohio state treasury to help pay for the cost of a special primary to select his replacement. The funds of the late Senator Henry M. Jackson (**D-Wash.**) were used to make a \$658,000 bequest to the University of Washington International Studies program and a **\$100,000** contribution to a local school district. Another senator who died in office, Spark M. Matsunaga (**D-Hi.**) left \$524,649 in campaign funds to two charitable foundations.

Only a tiny minority have actually refunded contributions in their entirety, or have given back a pro-rated amount based on the amount of funds left over, as Common Cause and other **citizens'** groups have advocated. Former Reps Robert Mrazek (**D-N.Y.**), Harley O. Staggers (**D-W.V.**) and Dan Mica (**D-Fla.**) returned \$218,397, \$59,000 and \$69,000, respectively, to PACs and individual donors; William Brodhead (**D-Mich.**) gave back \$72,000; and former Senator Russell B. Long (**D-La.**), refunded \$360,000 after leaving office. Paul Trible (**R-Va.**), who suddenly decided to retire from the Senate after having raised a large war chest, diversified his distribution by refunding \$797,282, contributing \$227,747 to political committees and candidates, and giving \$176,633 to various charities and nonprofit groups.

Those who decided to make personal use of their campaign war chests did so in a number of different ways (see APPENDIX I). The easiest method for the grandfathered members, of course, was to merely liquidate any remaining funds by writing themselves checks for the remaining balance. Until the loophole was closed at the end of the last Congress this was perfectly legal, with nothing more required than payment of the applicable personal income tax on the windfall. Most of those who made personal use of their election funds took advantage of this simple expedient, converting amounts varying from a few hundred dollars to the \$665,000 taken by ex-Rep, Larry Hopkins (**R-Ky.**), the highest amount taken by a *living* former member. Other

large conversions include **\$397,855** taken by Gene Taylor (**R-Mo.**); \$295,750 by Bob Traxler (**D-Mich.**); \$200,000 by Joseph Minish (**D-N.J.**); \$216,018 by Carroll Hubbard (**D-Ky.**), and \$157,424 by Fernand St Germain (**D-R.I.**). The committee of Edward Madigan, a former Illinois Republican representative and secretary of agriculture, disposed of approximately \$515,000. Of this total, \$433,591 was placed in a personal trust and \$25,000 was directly converted. The remainder was spent on various expenses after leaving office.

Some of the largest conversions of campaign funds to personal use have taken place after the death of an incumbent when the war chest is transferred, often intact, to beneficiaries as part of the decedent's estate. The largest transfer from any campaign fund on record is the \$605,252 willed by the late John J. Duncan Sr. (**R-Tenn.**), to his wife, three daughters, and a son, John J. Duncan Jr., who succeeded his father in Congress in 1988. Other bequests include \$326,561 inherited by the widow of James J. Howard (**D-N.J.**), \$438,561 left to the heirs of Bill Nichols (**D-Al.**), and \$270,000 transferred to the estate of Walter B. Jones (**D-N.C.**).

In a few cases where campaign cash would appear to have been "permanently borrowed" rather than transferred outright, it is unclear whether income tax has ever been paid since personal taxes are not reported to the FEC. One ex-lawmaker, Kenneth L. Holland (**D-S.C.**), for example, kept a \$75,000 interest-free loan to himself on the books of his campaign committee from 1983 until it was written off (i.e. transferred to personal use) along with an additional direct payout of \$7,477 in 1990.

Much like their former colleagues, Harrison Williams and Frank Thompson, other members of Congress needing legal assistance in criminal trials have not hesitated to utilize election funds to help pay for high-priced attorneys' fees. Former New York Democratic Reps. Robert Garcia and Mario Biaggi, for example, spent \$144,859 and \$386,164, respectively, to cover legal fees during their criminal prosecutions in the Wedtech case. Former Rep. Larry Smith (**D-Fla.**) paid out \$76,565 to defend himself after his indictment on tax and campaign finance violations. Among those who have used campaign war chests for legal counsel in **ethics-related** cases are ex-House Speaker Jim Wright (\$354,257) and former House Banking Committee chairman Fernand St Germain (**D-R.I.**), who reported spending at least \$92,500 on legal and accounting fees.

Although some distinction can be made fairly between a criminal indictment on a bribery charge and a transgression of House ethics rules, the use of campaign funds to pay legal **fees**, while permitted by law, is considered to be "highly questionable" by Rep. Andrew Jacobs and others. In Jacobs's opinion, candidates are given funds "for a specific purpose," i.e., getting elected. Lawmakers with personal problems "should set up separate defense funds" if they wish to solicit contributions for other than election purposes.

Another entirely legal method of putting campaign money to personal use is simply using residual funds as an expense account to cover post-retirement "office" and career "transition" costs. Expenditures are recorded for VIP receptions in deluxe hotels, "constituent meetings" (usually restaurant bills); "political conferences" (hotel and airfare charges); limousine service; the purchase or lease and maintenance of "campaign automobiles," moving expenses, office rental, computer equipment, staff and consultant salaries, floral arrangements and other "gifts to constituents." These types of expenditures are documented as "operating expenditures" on FEC reports until nothing is **left** of the remaining funds, at which point the account is officially terminated. Almost any conceivable use for the money is allowable both for current and past members. Examples of



this include Secretary of Agriculture (and former **California Rep.**) Mike Espy's purchase of \$1,325 in formal wear and ex-Rep. Robert **Badham's (R-Calif.)** purchase of silver flatware, jewelry, and clothing. Such personal use of campaign money is permissible as long as some "political" use - no matter how farfetched — can be ascribed to the expenditure. In many **instances**, former members do not even bother with such justifications, since they are not required to **itemize** individual disbursements at all if the recipient has received under \$200 in a given year.

The expense account disposition method may also reduce the tax burden because taxes need be paid only on earnings (interest, dividends, etc.) of political funds. In a direct transfer to personal use, a higher amount of income tax would have to be paid on the total amount converted. Whittling down a war chest **piecemeal** over a number of years is also far less likely to attract negative media attention than in cases where an ex-lawmaker closes out his election fund by writing himself a check for several hundred thousand dollars. The expense-account method, on the other hand, **allows** the ex-member to enjoy use of the money tax-free **unless** the IRS decides such **expenditures** are the **equivalent** of personal use at a later date.

Contributions to political candidates and groups and charitable and other nonprofit organizations also regularly show up alongside many of the expense-account type expenditures in the FEC reports of ex-members. While many are no doubt given with the best interest of the recipient in mind, critics have argued that even such "public-spirited" use may allow former members to enjoy the prestige and personal benefits (attending charity affairs, VIP fund-raising dinners, etc.) more properly due to those who contributed to the campaigns in the first place.

A distinction should certainly be made in the case of expenditures of defeated members who attempt to regain their old seats, although it is often difficult to differentiate personal from political use. Former Rep. Edward Derwinski, for example, who attempted a political comeback after losing his Illinois congressional seat in 1982, slowly ran down a \$32,000 campaign fund, mosdy through purchases of office furniture, car rentals, airfare for himself and family members, and tickets to sports events and political fundraisers.

Former congresswoman and 1984 Democratic vice presidential candidate Geraldine A. **Ferraro**, on the other hand, transferred a lump sum of \$67,000 from her old campaign fund to an "Exploratory Committee" to **"study the feasibility"** of a 1986 senate race. As this was not a FEC-registered entity, it is unclear how the money was actually spent, although Ferraro also took \$20,405 as a direct payout to herself.

Occasionally there are former lawmakers, usually younger individuals, who routinely keep unspent campaign cash on hand with the possibility of using it for future campaigns for office at the local, state or national level. Several of those mentioned in this report could fall into **this** category, including former Vice President Dan Quayle (\$347,003), former Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (\$73,849) and Vice President **Albert Gore (\$201,161)**.

If funds are carefully invested and managed, their interest earnings can ensure that they last for years. A good example was the campaign committee of former Rep. Donald Mitchell (**R-N. Y.**), which contained about \$60,000 when he retired in 1983. For the ten-year period until it was finally terminated with contribution of \$27,745 to a foundation, the committee reported expenditures of approximately \$57,000 for wedding, **anniversary**, and graduation gift, flowers, contributions to local churches, and political campaigns, subscriptions and other small expenses.

A PAC may also be established with leftover funds and used primarily as an "expense account" in the same manner as described above, although some members have used these "personal **PACs**" for their intended purpose and have made campaign contributions from time to time. When he retired from office, the late Thomas A. "Tip" O'Neill, the former House Speaker, closed out his reelection committee by transferring \$25,302 to his PAC, the Democratic Candidate Fund. Over the next four years, the PAC (which had raised funds separately from the campaign committee) gave \$25,930 to federal candidates and \$13,500 to local politicians and charities. It also reported spending approximately \$40,000 on airfare, hotel and restaurant expenses, office and consultants' fees, and other miscellaneous disbursements, including \$4,750 for limousine service, \$918 for golf-related supplies and fees, \$881 for flowers, and \$7,418 for gifts of Lenox crystal and sweaters.

When David Stockman (**R-Mich.**), resigned to become President Reagan's Office of Management and Budget director in 1981, he established the Free Enterprise Fund PAC with \$31,000 left over from his campaign committee. Before terminating the aptly named entity five years later with a \$9,735 personal payout to himself, Stockman spent most of the rest on limousine service, White House Mess fees, and catering and liquor for parties, including \$250 for a clown rental. The PAC reported only \$4,000 in campaign donations during its brief existence.

It is too soon to tell how PACs created by members leaving office after the last Congress will be operated. Nine new personal PACs have been established since 1992, containing approximately \$1.5 million. At least 30 other former members - senators as well as **grandfathered** and **un-grandfathered** members of the House - have additional millions remaining on hand [See Appendix II] in their old campaign committees for potential distribution to former congressional colleagues; national, state and local parties and candidates; and other political groups.

Such political contributions seem to be particularly questionable in cases where former members distribute funds to colleagues who are still serving in Congress - at the same time these former members may also be lobbying them in their post-retirement legal careers.

The Center for Public Integrity has identified 21 former members of the House and one former Senator who are currently working in post-retirement lobbying careers, mostly in Washington. They continue to maintain committees (three have been converted into personal PACs) that, according to the FEC's latest **reports**, now have more than \$3.3 million on hand. All of these funds are theoretically available for political use, and while not all of the individuals involved have dispensed contributions to former colleagues, there is nothing to prevent them from doing so. The law, in fact, encourages it as one of the two options for the disposition of unspent funds by all those leaving Congress after 1993.

Among the numerous examples of lawmakers-turned-lobbyists is Norman Lent, former ranking Republican on the House Energy and Commerce Committee, who distributed approximately \$15,000 in leftover campaign funds to 21 members of Congress, including seven Democrats, after leaving office in 1993. (He also gave \$20,750 to 23 Republican and one Democratic member in 1992.) His Washington lobbying **firm**, Lent and Scrivner, which he formed with his former administrative assistant, has registered to lobby for Mobil, Pfizer and other corporate clients involved in such areas as investment banking, natural gas, and telecommunications.

Another former member working as a lobbyist in Washington is Ronnie G. Flippo (**D-AL**), who had approximately \$500,000 in funds remaining in his campaign treasury after losing a 1990 gubernatorial bid. His committee's political contributions since then total **\$47,200**, of which \$27,850 was given in 1992 to 35 members of Congress of both parties. Flippo's client roster includes the state of Alabama, Alabama Power Co., Norfolk Southern Corp., South Central Bell, Federal Express, **RJR** Nabisco, and others.

Another method former members utilize to dispose of residual funds is through the establishment of personal foundations or charitable trusts. Seven such entities are currently in existence after the transfer of \$2.9 million in assets from individual campaign committees. The FEC's Office of General Counsel has noted that such entities also raise **personal** use issues. In cases where a former officeholder donates excess funds to a charitable organization that he or she controls, for example, that individual is able to decide how those funds will subsequently be used without any disclosure requirements. They are also able to use excess campaign funds for contributions to charities for which they receive personal credit.

Regardless of whether leftover campaign funds end up being used for political or charitable causes, it seems reasonable to assume that the vast majority of those who give election money to members of Congress are unaware that it may eventually end up in the hands of another candidate or a nonprofit organization. This, however, continues to be the only method of disposition of such funds under current law.

# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

The information in this Appendix is based on an exhaustive search of campaign committee records of former members of Congress on file at the Federal Election Commission in Washington, D.C. While every effort was made to determine how these individuals disposed of excess campaign funds, it was not possible to analyze in detail the records of everyone leaving office during the period covered in the study (January 1, 1979, through December 31, 1993).

Dollar amounts shown are broken down by individual member.

*Amount taken* indicates a direct transfer from a campaign committee for personal use by an ex-member or the heirs or estate of an ex-member.

*Amount used* refers to other dispositions of funds as explained in the sections following each entry.

Key: (\*) deceased

(L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or  
in election to other office

(G) grandfathered member

(+) funds also remain in existing FEC campaign account  
or PAC, state PAC, private foundation or trust

(X) member not covered under provisions of the  
"grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for  
personal use

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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
<b>HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES</b>			
D-NY	1961-86	Joseph P. Addabbo (*) (G) Funds transferred to estate	<b>\$145,118</b>
D-AR	1969-93	Bill Alexander (L) (G) Converted to personal use	\$ 351
D-AR	1979-93	Beryl E Anthony, Jr. (L) Post-retirement office rent and vehicle insurance	<b>\$ 2,490 (+)</b>
D-OH	1955-81	Thomas L. Ashley (L) (G) Converted to personal use	<b>\$ 20,000</b>
		<p>It <b>didn't</b> give me a hell of a lot of trouble. I used it to <b>help</b> tide me over. (<i>Washington Monthly</i>, September 1984).</p>	
D-WI	1971-93	<b>Les Aspin</b> former Secretary of Defense	<b>\$13,800</b>
		<p>Aspin spent <b>\$13,800</b> on inauguration-related parties, including one at Washington's exclusive Four Seasons Hotel. Aspin's committee also refunded \$28,800 to contributors. As of July 8, 1994, "Friends of Les Aspin" remained open, with \$105,863 cash on hand.</p>	
R-CA	1977-89	Robert E. <b>Badham</b> (G)	approx. \$ 40,000
		<p><b>Badham</b> spent thousands on travel, formal wear</p>	

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in **reelection** bid for Congress or in **election** to another office; (G) **grandfathered** member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for **personal** use.

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Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		and jewelry for his wife; political attire for himself, club dues, <b>gifts</b> , constituent entertainment <b>in his</b> home and restaurants, dry cleaning, etc.	
D-GA	1977-93	Douglas Barnard, Jr. (G) Converted \$80,000 to personal use. Automobile lease and expenses: \$7,500; telephone, meals, gifts, flowers, etc.: \$5,000.	approx. \$ 92,500 (+)
		Barnard told the <i>Associated Press</i> in February 1994, that he also planned to convert his remaining balance (\$172,473 as of December 31, 1993) for personal use. "I don't think it's anyone's business but mine and I'm paying about \$70,000 in taxes on <b>it</b> ."	
D-RI	1975-81	Edward P. Beard (L) (G) Converted for personal use	\$ 11,185
		Beard told <i>U.S. News &amp; WorldReport</i> that he used the money to live on.	
D-IN	1977-82	Adam Benjamin, Jr. (*) (G) Funds given to widow	\$ 9,896
D-NY	1969-89	Mario Biaggi (L) (G) Legal fees in 1987 criminal trial	\$386,064

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection **bid** for Congress or in election **to** another office; (G) **grandfathered** member; (+) funds **also** remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under **provisions** of the "**grandfather** clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
D-TN	1979-89	<b>William E. Boner (G)</b> Legal fees relating to 1986-87 House Ethics and Justice Department probes of alleged kickbacks from defense contractors.	\$197,005
D-MS	1973-83	<b>David R. Bowen (G)</b> Converted to personal use	\$114,568
<p>"As long as the law provides for it, and I'm eligible for it, I've never been able to see any reason why I shouldn't use [it] so long as it is in my <b>interest</b>." (<i>Congressional Quarterly</i>, January 21, 1989).</p>			
D-IN	1959-81	<b>John Brademas (L) (G)</b> The former Majority Whip used funds for travel, office expenses and equipment, consulting services, purchase of a \$2,500 painting by artist Robert Indiana, etc.	\$ 20,334
D-CA	1975-83	John Burton (G) Converted to personal use	\$ 18,000
<p>"I don't really give a [expletive], I took it because I needed it." (<i>Washington Monthly</i>, September, 1984)</p>			
R-NY	1979-87	<b>William E. Carney (G)</b> Converted to personal use	\$ 83,695

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in **election** to another office; (G) **grandfathered** member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, stale PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

<i>Party &amp; State</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Member</i>	<i>Amount Taken or Used</i>
R-WA	1983-93	Rodney <b>Chandler</b> (X) Food and entertainment	approx. \$ 900 (+)
D-FL	1969-89	<b>William V. Chappell, Jr.</b> (L) (*) (G) \$34,000 converted to personal use before his death; estate received \$2,324	\$ 36,348
R-CA	1963-83	Donald H. Clausen (L) (G)  Automobile purchase, <b>dinners</b> , travel, private of- <b>fice</b> & moving charges, <b>unitemized</b> expenses, etc. Clausen also made <b>\$55,921</b> in political and charitable contributions.	approx. \$ 25,000
D-CA	1978-89	Anthony "Tony" <b>Coelho</b> (G)  <b>Miscellaneous</b> expenses after leaving <b>office</b> -- food, office, travel, flowers, <b>etc.</b> -- approx. \$27,000; legal fees in House Ethics Committee and Justice Depart- ment probes of alleged campaign payoffs by savings and loan executives, \$30,000. (Also has Valley Education Fund, a personal PAC)	approx. \$ 57,000
R-MA	1959-91	Silvio O. Conte (*) (G) After his death in office, cam- paign committee paid for fu- neral expenses and a \$40,000 tombstone	\$ 67,159 (+)
D-NH	1977-85	Norman <b>D'Amours</b> (G) Used funds from failed Senate campaign for travel expenses, purchase of an automobile, etc.	approx. \$ 20,000

*Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.*



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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
D-VA	1969-89	W. C. "Dan" Daniel (L) (*) (G) Transferred to estate	\$112,910
D-SC	1971-81	Mendel J. Davis (G)  Davis stated he used money to pay medical bills.	\$ 42,047
R-MI	1979-83	Robert W. Davis (G) Converted to personal use (includes petty cash); re- funded contributions: \$2,750 (raised bulk of funds during last term in office)	\$ 40,147 (+)
R-IL	1959-83	Edward Derwinski (L) (G) (former Secretary of Veterans Affairs) travel, "constituent enter- tainment," restaurants, of- fice furniture, etc.	approx. \$ 29,000
R-OH	1959-81	Samuel L. Devine (L) (G) Converted to personal use.	\$ 29,712

When asked by *Congressional Quarterly*, (Janu-  
ary 21, 1989) what he did with the money, Devine  
said "Jeez, I can't remember."

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*Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.*

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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
R-AL	1965-93	William L. Dickinson (G) Post-retirement office expenses: \$16,395, including <b>furniture</b> (\$5,600) and a computer (\$7,165); a <b>\$3,135</b> payment for a Chrysler Imperial; airfare and auto expenses: <b>\$12,100</b> , including insurance for three cars; miscellaneous <b>unitemized</b> expenses: \$5,974; lump sum salary payment to wife Barbara at the end of his last term: <b>\$17,500</b> .	approx. <b>\$ 55,104 (+)</b>
D-NY	1975-93	Thomas J. Downey (L) (G) Purchase of computer two months after his defeat	<b>\$ 14,996 (+)</b>
R-TN	1965-88	John J. Duncan, Jr. (*) (G) Funds divided among widow and four children	\$605,252
D-MS	1985-93	Mike Espy (X) (resigned to serve as Secretary of Agriculture) Spent \$1,325 on formal wear and another \$15,000 to reserve a table at the Presidential Inaugural Gala. Food and lodging in 1993: \$1,409	<b>\$ 17,734 (+)</b>
D-FL	1955-93	Dante B. <b>Fascell</b> (G) Payments to consultant Ms. <b>Lamar</b> Noriega after announcing retirement; plus <b>\$10,000</b> public relations payment in <b>late</b> 1993.	<b>\$ 41,153 (+)</b>

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Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
D-OH	1983-93	Edward F. <b>Feighan</b> (X) Office furniture and equipment \$10,648; est. <b>\$9,000</b> for meals, parties, travel, etc.; \$12,573 for legal fees	approx. \$ 32,221(+)
D-NY	1979-85	<b>Geraldine A. Ferraro</b> (G) Converted for personal use; She also used \$67,000 for <b>non-FEC</b> registered Explor- atory Committee to study the viability of a 1986 sen- ate campaign.	\$ 20,405
R-IL	1960-83	Paul Findley (L) (G) \$55,000 converted for per- sonal use; <b>\$15,000</b> in ex- penses (travel, office, etc.)	\$ 70,000
"It was permitted by law and I had use for it. "( <i>Washington Monthly</i> , September 1984)			
R-NJ	1970-84	Edwin B. <b>Forsythe</b> (*) (G) Transferred to estate	\$ 41,259
D-NC	1953-83	L. H. Fountain (G)  According to his former campaign treasurer, Foun- tain received a new Cadillac upon retirement, subsi- dized by residual funds.	\$ 14,880
D-NY	1978-90	Robert A. Garcia (G) Legal expenses for 1989	\$146,969

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to **another** office; (G) **grandfathered** member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or **PAC**, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member **not** covered under provisions of the "**grandfather** clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		racketeering trial in <b>Wedtech</b> case (conviction was overturned in 1993).	
D-PA	1969-93	Joseph <b>M.</b> Gaydos (G) Converted to personal use refunded contributions: <b>\$1,500</b> ; (does not include \$949 for "purchase of hams for political distribution")	\$ 98,500
		Gaydos is a partner in his own law firm, Gaydos, Gaydos & Associates, in <b>McKeesport</b> , Pennsylvania.	
R-OH	1973-81	<b>Tennyson</b> Guyer (*) (G) Funds given to widow	\$ 24,897
D-TX	1976-85	Sam <b>B. Hall</b> (*) (G) Converted to personal use	\$ 58,433
D-NY	1965-81	James M. <b>Hanley</b> (G) Campaign fund terminated with remaining assets being used for <b>unspecified</b> purposes	\$ 29,406
D-CA	1963-91	Augustus F. Hawkins (G) Converted to personal use Also made a \$20,000 gift to a neighborhood association in his old district.	\$122,297

Although the funds were placed in his personal

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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		bank account, Hawkins told <i>Roll Call</i> (February 15, 1993) that he did not intend to keep the money. He said that the money would be placed in various foundations, including one named for himself.	
D-TX	1975-85	Jack <b>Hightower</b> (L) (G) Personal travel and computer equipment, office, gifts and consultants	\$ 14,057
R-IN	1971-87	<b>Elwood H. Hillis</b> (G) \$ 816 converted to personal use; <b>\$6,032</b> repayment of a personal educational loan	\$ 6,848
D-SC	1975-83	Kenneth L. Holland (G) <b>\$75,000</b> interest-free loan to himself during period 1977-1990 (later converted for personal use along with a direct payout of <b>\$7,477</b> ). Holland also apparently kept an automobile purchased by his committee, which cost \$ 5,735	\$ 88,212
R-MD	1973-87	Marjorie S. Holt (G) Converted to personal use	\$ 60,743
R-KY	1979-93	Larry J. Hopkins (G) Converted to personal use	\$665,000
		Hopkins pledged not to use his leftover funds for personal benefit in his failed 1991 Kentucky gubernatorial bid, offering to sign a pledge to that effect in a	

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

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Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		<p>televised campaign appearance. He told a stakeout team from NBC News in March of 1994 that he had changed his mind — <b>"people</b> do that in this town all the <b>time."</b> Soon afterward, he resigned from his appointed job as director of the Agriculture Department's Tobacco Division.</p>	
R-NY	1963-93	<p><b>Frank J. Horton (G)</b>            Converted to personal use;            also made <b>\$7,000</b> in political contributions</p> <p>Currently counsel with the law firm of Venable, Baetjer, Howard and Civiletti. Horton told <i>Roll Call</i> (Feb. 15, 1993) that he would use some of the funds to defray expenses incurred as a former member of Congress and that the rest would go to charity and scholarships, including a scholarship fund at the State University of New York.</p>	\$112,430
D-NJ	1965-88	<p><b>James J. Howard (*) (G)</b>            Funds transferred to widow</p>	\$326,306
D-KY	1975-93	<p>Carroll <b>Hubbard, Jr. (L) (G)</b>            Converted for personal use</p> <p>Hubbard told <i>Roll Call</i> (August 5, 1993) that he was paying off debts incurred during his congressional service, and that he would probably also convert the \$16,500 remaining in his campaign fund.</p>	\$216,018 (+)
D-TN	1969-89	<p>Ed Jones (G)            Converted for personal use</p>	\$130,686

"The contributors didn't care what I did with [the

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Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in *reelection* bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) *grandfathered* member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, stale PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

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### USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		<p><b>fund]</b>. I just decided to close the sucker out and be through with <b>it.</b>" (<i>Baltimore Sun</i>, February 9, 1990).</p>	
D-NC	1966-92	<p><b>Walter B. Jones (*)</b> (G) Transferred to estate</p>	\$270,000
D-TX	1973-79	<p>Barbara C. Jordan (G) Expenses</p> <p>"Most contributors want the recipient to be free with the <b>funds.</b>" (<i>Los Angeles Times</i>, October 19, 1984).</p>	\$ 15,536 (+)
R-FL	1975-81	<p><b>Richard Kelly</b> (L) (G)</p> <p>Legal fees for trial on charges in the <b>Abscam</b> corruption <b>case.</b> (convicted of bribery.)</p>	\$ 23,731
D-TX	1979-91	<p><b>Marvin Leath</b> (G)</p> <p><b>Leath</b> terminated his committee in September 1993, after making a <b>\$320,000</b> contribution to the Baptist Foundation of Texas and making an unexplained \$131,717 payment to the Internal Revenue Service. After announcing his retirement plans in December of 1989, Leath also has apparently kept a 1990 Lincoln Town Car which his committee purchased for <b>\$23,284</b> on January <b>31</b>, 1990. The committee also reported approx. \$19,000 in post-retirement expenses, including approximately \$4700 on automobile expenses; \$2800 on phone expenses; \$3500 on entertainment; and \$3900 of reimbursed expenses to Leath for furniture, <b>transportation</b>, <b>phone</b> expenses, and gifts.</p>	approx. \$ 42,284

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) **defeated** in reelection bid for Congress or in **election** to another office; (G) **grandfathered** member; (+) **funds** also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or **private** foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "**grandfather** clause" regarding **transfer** of funds for personal use.

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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		<p><b>Leath</b> made an <b>additional</b> \$27,900 in political gifts (including \$19,900 to Senate and House candidates) and <b>\$1,500</b> in charitable contributions.</p> <p>Leath began his own lobbying practice in D.C. and has been lobbying for such defense industry clients as the American Logistics Association, FMC Corporation, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Martin Marietta, and Textron as well as the National Soft Drink, the National Guard, and the National Rifle Associations.</p>	
D-FL	1973-93	<p>William <b>Lehman</b> (G)</p> <p>Post-retirement office staff expenses, travel and automobile expenses, meals, <b>gifts</b>, flowers, bills for personal trainer and pool service, and miscellaneous credit card payments.</p> <p>Lehman also made out a <b>\$1,000</b> check to his nine-year-old grandson, reporting the expenditure as an early contribution to a congressional campaign in the year 2012.</p>	approx. \$ 20,000 (+)
D-MD	1963-85	<p>Clarence D. Long (L) (*) (G)</p> <p>\$ 15,200 converted to personal use, plus <b>\$4,300</b> expenses</p>	\$ 19,500
D-LA	1963-65 1973-85	<p>Gillis Long (*) (G)</p> <p>Used by his widow for her congressional race</p>	\$448,663
R-CA	1979-89	<p>Daniel E. Lungren (G)</p> <p>Reimbursed himself for moving expenses</p>	\$ 16,170

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.



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## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
R-IL	1973-91	<p><b>Edward R. Madigan (G)</b> (former Secretary of Agriculture)</p> <p>Post-retirement employee fees \$28,280. Purchase of a <b>\$1,000 bond</b>. Maintenance of a home security system (to protect campaign records, according to a spokesperson quoted in the <i>Indianapolis News</i> on October 15, 1992), plus meals, accounting services, automobile expenses, airfare and other travel expenses, approximately \$25,000.</p> <p>Madigan converted <b>\$25,000</b> to personal use and established a personal trust, currently managed by an <b>unnamed</b> charity with an additional <b>\$433,591</b>. Madigan told the Center he plans to donate interest off of principle to selected charities and eventually will donate the principle itself to the charity currently managing the trust.</p> <p>Madigan told the Center he gave some of his <b>\$41,000</b> remaining campaign funds (as of December 1993) to former Capitol Hill colleagues and to his <b>brother's</b> reelection campaign in Illinois.</p>	approx. \$512,871 (+)
R-IL	1981-91	<p><b>Lynn Martin (L) (X)</b> Post-retirement expenses: salaries, transportation, automobile repair, office, etc.</p>	approx. \$ 15,800 (+)
D-NJ	1963-85	<p><b>Joseph G. Minish (L) (G)</b> Converted to personal use</p> <p>Minish told <i>Congressional Quarterly</i> that he was "...not a hungry man."</p>	\$200,000

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in **reelection** bid for Congress or in **election to** another office; (G) **grandfathered** member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding **transfer** of funds for personal use.

# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
R-NY	1973-83	<b>Donald J. Mitchell</b> (G)  Mitchell has reimbursed himself for small charitable donations to his church and other organizations, and for flowers, gifts, publications, etc. In November of 1992, the residual balance of \$27,745 was transferred to the <b>Utica</b> (N.Y.) Foundation.	approx. \$ 40,500 (+)
D-NY	1963-81	<b>John M. Murphy</b> (L) (G) Committee terminated with funds on hand  Murphy was convicted of bribery and conspiracy in the <b>Absecon</b> scandal.	\$ 2,715
D-IL	1971-81	<b>Morgan F. Murphy</b> (G) Committee terminated with funds on hand	\$ 18,148
D-AL	1967-89	<b>William F. Nichols</b> (*) (G) Transferred to estate	\$438,561
R-UT	1983-91	Howard Curtis <b>Nielson</b> (X) <b>*Errata:</b> Howard Curtis <b>Nielson's</b> campaign account remains open with \$38,443 on hand.	\$0
R-IL	1973-86	George M. O'Brien (*) (G) Funds transferred to widow	\$ 65,355

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
D-MA	1953-87	Thomas P. <b>O'Neill</b> (*) (G) (former Speaker of the House)	approx. \$ 65,000
<p>From 1985 (the beginning of his last term in office) through 1990, O'Neill's campaign committee and his PAC, the Democratic Campaign Fund, made more than \$69,000 in political and charitable distributions. They also paid for approximately \$36,000 in restaurant, hotel and travel expenses; \$5,000 in limousine rentals; <b>\$10,000</b> for Lenox crystal and other gifts; and \$9000 in miscellaneous staff and office expenses.</p>			
D-CA	1977-93	Leon E. Panetta (G) (Currently serving as director of Office of Management and Budget)	approx. \$ 22,650
<p>Paid wife a salary of \$4,500 and paid an additional \$7,550 to fly his family to Washington for the Inauguration. According to <i>Roll Call</i> (August 16, 1993), he spent \$3,600 on airfare to attend non-campaign related events. He <b>also</b> spent approximately \$7,000 on entertainment for constituents around the time of the Inauguration.</p> <p>The FEC issued an advisory opinion in July of 1993 stating that <b>Panetta's</b> committee could pay a portion of his hotel fees related to the winding down of his Congressional office and round-trip transportation costs for Democratic Party appearances.</p> <p>Panetta also refunded \$2,000 and made \$6,762 in political and \$52,000 in other contributions.</p>			
R-VA	1981-91	Stanford E. Parris (L) (X)	approx. \$17,000
<p>Miscellaneous expenses, which include \$3,000</p>			

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in **reelection** bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) **grandfathered** member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign **account** or PAC, **state** PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		in consulting fees paid by committee to Martha Parris.	
		Approximately \$37,000 was transferred to a state PAC in Virginia and disbursed for personal use (country club expenses, flowers, chartered planes, auto, office expenses). The PAC's political contributions totaled \$7,100 in the same period. ( <i>Washington Times</i> , July 1, 1992)	
		After a flurry of negative news reports about the use of his fund, Parris told the <i>Washington Post</i> (July 1, 1992): "To hell with it. If I'm going to get this kind of reporting I'm not sure it's worth it."	
D-NJ	1963-81	Edward Patten (G) Convened for personal use	\$ 3,327
D-FL	1962-89	Claude Pepper (*) (G) Funds transferred to estate and subsequently distributed to member of his staff.	\$ 37,353
R-NY	1978-83	Peter F. Peyser (L) (G) Converted for personal use	\$ 12,000
		"I am not a wealthy person and I needed the money after I left office." ( <i>Washington Monthly</i> , September 1984).	
R-WA	1973-85	Joel M. Pritchard (G) Converted for personal use	\$ 3,986

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

APPENDIX I

USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS  
BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
R-MI	1977-93	<p><b>Carl D. Pursell</b> (G)</p> <p>Converted \$128,867 for personal use; spent \$2,169 on <b>furniture</b> and supplies; an est. <b>\$5,500</b> on computer <b>equipment</b>, consulting fees and other miscellaneous expenses.</p> <p>This amount does not include an additional <b>\$63,800</b> transferred to a Senate campaign committee in 1993 and \$7,700 in political contributions.</p>	approx. \$134,922 (+)
D-WI	1955-83	<p><b>Henry S. Reuss</b> (G)</p> <p>\$ 45,000 transferred for personal use for later unspecified charitable contributions <b>plus</b> \$ 7,100 in <b>pay-</b>ments to personnel during two-year period after retirement</p>	\$ 52,100
R-AZ	1953-83	<p><b>John J. Rhodes</b> (G)</p> <p>During his last term in office, the former House Minority Leader purchased gifts, an oil portrait of himself, paid for club memberships, etc.</p>	approx. \$ 24,500
D-TX	1962-81	<p><b>Ray Roberts</b> (G)</p> <p>\$ 13,014 converted for personal use, <b>plus</b> \$2,383 for expenses</p> <p>"I took it, I'm glad I got it, and I wish it had been <b>more.</b>" (<i>U.S. News &amp; WorldReport</i>).</p>	\$ 15,397
R-VA	1971-85	<p><b>J. Kenneth Robinson</b> (*) (G)</p> <p><b>\$7,500</b> converted for personal</p>	\$ 10,750

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

<i>Party &amp; State</i>	<i>Years of Service</i>	<i>Member</i>	<i>Amount Taken or Used</i>
		use, plus \$3,250 for office furniture	
D-NY	1963-83	<b>Benjamin S. Rosenthal (*)</b> (G) Transferred to widow	\$ 47,367
R-AZ	1977-87	<b>Eldon Rudd</b> (G) \$ 53,835 placed in Eldon Rudd Fund; \$18,078 in payments to his OPM account; approx \$8,700 for computer equipment, a reception and other expenses.  "Winding it [the committee] all down is a real pain in the neck," he told <i>Congressional Quarterly</i> .	\$ 75,913
D-RI	1961-89	<b>Fernand J. St Germain</b> (L) (G)  Terminated committee with \$157,424 on hand, plus an additional \$92,500 in legal and accounting fees related to House Ethics Committee and Justice Department probes of financial improprieties and alleged kickbacks.	\$249,924
R-KS	1969-81	<b>Keith Sebelius</b> (*) (G) \$ 1,877 in expenses; \$14,588 transferred to estate; \$14,000 placed in personal foundation	\$ 30,465
D-WV	1959-80	<b>John M. Slack</b> (*) (G) Funds transferred to widow	\$91,888
D-FL	1983-93	Larry Smith (X) Legal fees related to indictment on tax and campaign finance violations	\$ 76,565 (+)

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# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
R-NB	1975-91	Virginia Dodd Smith (G) Converted to personal use	\$ 28,410
R-KY	1963-65 1967-87	Gene <b>Snyder</b> (G) Converted for personal use	\$173,202
<p style="text-align: center;">"I don't think it's any of your business what I am going to do with it. I'm not a public figure." (<i>Louis- ville Courier-Journal</i>, February 8, 1990).</p>			
D-NY	1975-93	<b>Stephen J. Solarz</b> (L) (G) Legal fees	\$197,376 (+)
R-MI	1977-81	David Stockman (G) (former director of Office of Management and Budget) \$9,735 converted for personal use; <b>\$18,857</b> in expenses, in- cluding catering, limousines, clown rental, etc.	\$ 28,952
D-NY	1959-89	<b>Samuel S. Stratton</b> (*) (G) Converted for personal use be- fore his death	\$198,795
R-MO	1973-89	Gene Taylor (G) \$345,044 converted for per- sonal use, plus <b>\$52,811</b> given to the Gene Taylor Library & Museum, Inc. in Sarcoxie, Missouri.	\$397,855

"I haven't done anything wrong. I do a lot of things

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*Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.*

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# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		for public service and I'm going to use some of it for <b>that.</b> " ( <i>New York Times</i> , August 22, 1989)	
D-NJ	1955-81	Frank Thompson, Jr. (*) (G) Legal fees in bribery trial in the Abscam case.	\$ 24,020
D-MI	1974-93	Bob Traxler (G) Converted <b>\$295,750</b> for per- sonal use and gave \$5,800 to his own campaign for a trustee post at Michigan State Universtiy	\$301,550 (+)
		In 1992, Traxler promised he would not keep ex- cess funds and was planning to set up an <b>educational</b> fund and make political contributions. "If you think that was a factor in my decision [to retire], then you're grossly mistaken." ( <i>Roll Call</i> , May 4, 1992)	
		Traxler, who held a fundraiser the week before he announced his retirement, is now a trustee of Michi- gan State University.	
D-AZ	1961-91	Morris <b>Udall</b> (G) Excess funds turned over to legal guardian	\$ 56,037
D-OR	1957-81	<b>Al Ullman</b> (L) (G) (former chairman of House Ways and Means Committee) converted for personal use	\$ 17,332
R-VA	1953-55 1967-83	William C. <b>Wampler</b> (L) (G) \$15,100 loan to <b>self</b> ; \$6,000	approx. \$ 21,000

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) **defeated** in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) **grandfathered** member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign **account** or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under **provisions** of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.



# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
		for furniture purchase and of- fice expenses	
R-MN	1981-93	<b>Vin Weber (X) (L)</b> Food and entertainment ex- penses. <b>Weber's</b> New Ma- jority <b>Leadership</b> PAC has <b>\$3,494</b> on hand at the end of March 1994.	\$ 5,150 (+)
		Weber told <i>Roll Call</i> (February 15, 1993) that his committee had also purchased his congressional office furniture from the government for \$4,840, and then turned it over to a new state political action committee.	
D-TX	1965-83	Richard C. White (G) \$40,808 converted to per- sonal use, plus \$ 8,670 for interest on a personal loan and office furniture	\$ 49,478
		In October 1981, White told the <i>Dallas Morning News</i> that he planned "a public use for the funds, a use people would like."	
R-CA	1953-81	<b>Robert C. Bob Wilson (G)</b> Converted to personal use	\$ 2,030
D TX	1955-89	James C. <b>Wright, Jr. (G)</b> (former Speaker of the House)	approx. \$ 388,000
		\$354,257 legal fees in House Ethics Committee probe of financial improprieties, plus estimated \$34,000 expenses from June 1989 through June 1992	

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in *reelection bid* for Congress or in *election* to another office; (C) *grandfathered* member; (+) *funds* also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, stale PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.

# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
R-NY	1963-81	John C <b>Wydler</b> (*) (G) Terminated committee with funds on hand before his death	\$ 38,519
D-PA	1969-93	<b>Gus Yatron</b> (G) Legal fees \$83,577; office ex- penses \$2,378	\$ 85,953 (+)
D-MO	1977-87	Robert A. Young (L) (G) Various expenses, including meals, airfare, moving, travel and automobile, etc.	approx. \$ 21,500

**HOUSE TOTAL:      \$ 9,785,134**

### SENATE

R-SD	1981-87	James Abdnor (X) Travel, telephone, storage fees, and other expenses	approx. \$ 8,700 (+)
D-GA	Senate 1987-93 House 1977-87	<b>Wyche</b> Fowler, Jr. (X) Travel and automobile ex- penses, restaurant bills, and telephone bills	approx. \$ 4,200 (+)
D-TN	Senate 1985-1993 House 1977-85	Albert Gore, Jr. (X) After he became Vice President, Gore's former committee spent \$8,926 on catering and recep-	\$ 21,517 (+)

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# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
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tions; \$749 for flowers; **\$8,302** on consultants; and \$3,540 for computer services.

Gore is permitted by law to use excess campaign funds to defray expenses in connection with his duties as an elected federal officeholder.

<b>D-HI</b>	Senate 1977-90 House 1963-77	Spark <b>Matsunaga</b> (X) Funeral expenses approxi- <b>mately</b> \$19,946; including \$ 12,446 reimbursement to his widow, plus the transfer to her of a Cadillac De <b>Ville</b> and Ford Club Wagon. Commit- tee terminated with payment of \$324,649 to the Matsunaga Charitable Foundaiton.	approx. \$ 19,946
<b>R-ID</b>	1973-91	James A. McClure (X) Reimbursement for moving expenses	\$ 18,804 (+)
<b>R-TX</b>	1961-85	John G. Tower (X) Various expenses, including office, meals, consultant fees, etc.	approx. \$175,000

In addition to the above, Tower also made \$200,000 in political contributions and gave \$100,000 to Southwestern University after leaving office.

Also, Tower spent large amounts of campaign funds in 1984, his last year in office. Although he was no longer a candidate, his reelection committee reported operating expenditures of

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# APPENDIX I

## USE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS BY SELECTED FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Amount Taken or Used
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**\$359,624.** (It also made political donations totaling \$392,000 and refunded \$120,605 to contributors in 1983 and 1984).

R-CT	Senate 1971-89 House 1969-71	Lowell P. Weicker (X) Converted for personal use	<b>\$ 11,634</b>
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Weicker reportedly gave the funds to charity after the conversion was raised as an issue in his 1990 Connecticut gubernatorial race.

D-NJ	1959-82 Senate 1953-57 House	Harrison Williams (X) Legal fees related to his criminal trial	<b>\$ 65,781</b>
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SENATE TOTAL:                      \$ 325,582

HOUSE AND SENATE GRAND TOTAL: \$10,110,716

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*Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) grandfathered member; (+) funds also remaining in existing FEC campaign account or PAC, state PAC, or private foundation or trust; (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use.*

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**APPENDIX II**  
**FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS**  
**OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS**  
**(as of December 31, 1993)**

Appendix II is a compilation of all funds in campaign accounts of members no longer serving in Congress. For **grandfathered** members, these funds can still be converted for personal use. For **nongrandfathered** members, leftover funds must be disbursed by political **and/or** charitable **contributions**, according to FEC regulations. In some **instances**, former members transferred funds to an outside PAC, foundation, or family trust. Disbursement of funds to outside foundations and trusts are not required to be disclosed to the FEC; therefore, public records do not reveal how these funds were used.

A Committee or **PAC's** *political* contributions include donations to candidates for office, political fundraisers, political parties and committees.

*Other* contributions include donations to various charities, non-profit organizations, universities, hospitals, **etc.**

**Refunded** contributions are donations the former lawmaker returned to the donor after leaving Congress.

**Key:** (\*) deceased

(L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office

(G) grandfathered member

(x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use

(I) member also appears in Appendix I

APPENDIX II  
FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

D-AR	1979-93	<b>Beryl F. Anthony</b> (L) (G) (I) Political Contributions: \$ 3,000	\$ 4,732	
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The former member of the House Ways and Means Committee is working in the Washington office of Winston and **Strawn**, a Chicago-based law firm, and is working on rewriting **Superfund** legislation for the American Insurance Association. He is also representing the American Hospital Association, the American Home Products Corporation, and the Walt Disney Company.

D-GA	1977-93	Druie Douglas Barnard, Jr. (G) (I) Political Contributions: \$ 250	\$172,473	
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R-MI	1957-93	William S. <b>Broomfield</b> (G) <b>Transferred to Acorn PAC:</b> Broomfield Charitable Foundation received: Refunded Contributions: \$ 3,565 Political Contributions: \$ 5,700 (including \$1,500 from Acorn PAC)	\$ -0-	\$303,000 \$517,688
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R-WA	1983-93	Rodney Chandler (L) (X) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$ 3,715 Political Contributions: \$ 4,040 Other Contributions: \$ 9,575	\$ 61,661	
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Chandler is working for Columbia Resource Group, a Seattle communications firm that specializes in international trade development and marketing. (*Business Wire*, April 21, 1993)

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Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection *bid* for Congress or in election to *another* office; (C) grandfathered member (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use. (I): member *also* appears in **Appendix I**; Note: Members of the U.S. Senate are *prohibited* by Senate rules from converting campaign funds to *personal* use.

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APPENDIX II

FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
R-WY	1979-89	Richard C. Cheney (G) (resigned to serve as Secretary of Defense)	\$ 73,849	
		Cheney has also formed his own PAC, the Alliance for American Leadership, to underwrite future political activities and provide support (\$3,000 to date) to Republican candidates. Cheney's PAC raised \$115,338 and spent \$50,662 in the first quarter of 1994, contributing \$3,000 to Senate candidates.		
R-MA	1959-91	Silvio O. Conte (*) (G) (I) Died in Office Conte Education Foundation received:	\$ -0-	\$195,183
R-PA	1969-93	Lawrence Coughlin (G) Coughlin's campaign committee became the Leadership Council PAC, receiving: The Coughlin Family Charitable Trust received: Refunded Contributions: \$ 4,045 Political Contributions: \$65,156 (from Coughlin's committee, including contributions to 20 GOP House incumbents or challengers) and \$3,750 from his PAC	\$ -0-	\$ 49,271 \$208,000

Coughlin is working as senior counsel in the Washington and Philadelphia offices of Eckert Seamans Cherin and Mellott, a Pittsburgh-based law firm. Clients include the Regional Transportation Commission

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) grandfathered member (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use; (I) member also appears in Appendix I; Note: Members of the U.S. Senate are prohibited by Senate rules from converting campaign funds to personal use.

# APPENDIX II

## FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
		of Clark County, Nevada, to lobby on mass transit appropriations ( <i>National Journal</i> , March 5, 1994), and the Behavior Research Institute of Providence, Rhode Island, to lobby on general health and education legislation (Justice Department reports).		
		He has refused to say whether he will have a <b>role</b> in administering the trust, claiming the details are private. (Gannett News Service, August 3, 1993)		
D-IL	1991-93	John W. Cox, Jr. (L) (X) Political Contributions: \$ 1,145	\$ 4,642	
		Cox is working as an attorney in private practice in Galena, Illinois.		
R-MI	1979-93	Robert W. Davis (G) (I) Bob Davis State PAC received: Refunded Contributions: \$2,750	\$ -0-	\$2,350
		Davis has set up his own lobbying <b>firm</b> , Bob Davis & Associates in Arlington, Virginia. (Public Citizen interview, September 1, 1993)		
R-AI	1965-93	William L. Dickinson (G) (I) Political Contributions: \$13,500	\$319,312	
		Dickinson has a consulting <b>firm</b> , William Dickinson & Associates, with offices in Washington, D.C., and Montgomery, <b>Alabama</b> . The <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> reported on October 4, 1993, that Dickinson had been fined for violating the embargo of Libya by accepting fees from the Libyan government to improve bilateral ties with the United States.		

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in **reelection** bid for Congress or in **election** to another **office**; (G) grandfathered member (X) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use. (1): member also **appears** in Appendix I; **Note:** Members of the U.S. Senate are prohibited by Senate rules from converting campaign funds to personal use.



# APPENDIX II

## FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS (as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside <b>PAC or</b> Foundation
D-MA	1979-93	Brian Donnelly (G) Political Contributions: \$ 30,000 (includes <b>\$10,000</b> to members of Congress and \$20,000 to <b>his</b> state election <b>committee</b> ) Other Contributions: \$ 950 (Maximum amount allowed for transfer for personal use is \$541,521)	\$726,710	
		After deciding not to run for governor of Massa- chusetts, Donnelly said that in 1994, his campaign began to give some remaining funds to charity, begin- ning with \$50,000 to local high schools for scholar- ship programs. Donnelly told the Center that he works as a <b>self-employed</b> consultant on economic develop- ment projects in the New England area.		
R-NH	1989-91	Chuck Douglas (L) (X)  Douglas's funds were transferred to the New Hampshire Conser- vative <b>Political</b> Victory Fund, which made \$4,900 in contri- butions and loans to political groups and candidates.	\$ 4,290	
D-NY	1975-93	Thomas J. Downey (L) (G) (I) Refunded Contributions: <b>\$ 1,750</b> Political Contributions: \$18,624 Other Contributions: <b>\$ 1,500</b>	\$ 32,230	

The former member of the Appropriations Com-  
mittee has formed his own Washington consulting **firm**,  
Thomas J. Downey & Associates, and has registered to

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Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection **bid** for Congress or in election **to another** office; (G) **grandfathered** member  
(X) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding **transfer** of funds for personal use; (I)  
member also appears in Appendix I; Note: Members of the U.S. Senate are prohibited by Senate rules from converting  
campaign funds **to** personal use.

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APPENDIX II

FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
		<p>lobby for such clients as <b>Time Warner Inc</b> ( for all legislation concerning telecommunications and trade ), U.S. Healthcare and Medco Containment Services, <b>Inc.</b>, Monitor Aerospace Corporation, Metropolitan Life and Affiliated Companies, du Pont (health care, the environment and Superfund), Breakthrough Technologies Institute (fuel cell technology and development), Joseph E. Seagram &amp; Sons (excise taxes and <b>trade</b>), and United Feather and Down.</p>		
D-MA	1975-93	Joseph D. Early (L,G) Other Contributions: \$ 1,000	\$ 9,892	
D-OH	1981-93	Dennis E. <b>Eckart</b> (X) Refunded Contributions: \$ 1,500 Political Contributions: \$ 23,500 Other Contributions: \$188,396 (including \$185,000 to Kent State University)	\$ 17,672	
		<p>Eckart works for the Washington law firm of <b>Arter &amp; Hadden</b> representing the American Insurance Association on the Superfund program, and other clients, including Financial Guaranty Insurance Corporation, Merck &amp; Corporation (health care reform), the Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association, Sprint and the U.S. Long Distance Corporation, the National Association of Broadcasters, the Hearst Corporation, and Corning Inc. (all for telecommunications issues).</p>		
D-OK	1974-93	Glenn English (X) Refunded Contributions: \$32,860	\$138,817	

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APPENDIX II

FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
<p>English resigned from the House on December 10, 1993 to head the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. He <b>told</b> <i>Roll Call</i> (February 21, 1994) that he <b>will</b> probably donate his excess funds to charities and other political candidates.</p>				
D-AL	1983-93	<b>Ben L. Erdreich</b> (L) (X) Cash on hand is based on June 1993 FEC filing.	\$ 5,597	
<p>Erdreich is working at the Merit Systems Protection Board.</p>				
D-MS	1987-93	<b>Mike Espy</b> (X) (I)  Political Contributions: \$2,000 Other Contributions: <b>\$3,000</b>	\$112,393	
<p>Resigned from his seat to serve as Secretary of Agriculture.</p>				
D-FL	1955-93	<b>Dante B. Fascell</b> (G) (I) Refunded Contributions: <b>\$ 61,535</b> Political Contributions: <b>\$ 11,887</b> Other Contributions: \$156,075 (including \$100,000 to the University of Miami and \$50,000 to Miami Children's Hospital Foundation)	\$144,406	
<p>Fascell is an attorney with Fine, Jacobson, <b>Schwartz</b>, Nash &amp; Block, a Miami firm, and works on behalf of the University of Miami and post-hurricane rebuilding efforts. (<i>Miami Herald</i>, May 12, 1993)</p>				

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# APPENDIX II

## FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
D-OH	1983-93	Edward F. <b>Feighan</b> (X) (I) Political Contributions: \$76,550 (including \$14,500 to Senate and House incumbents and challengers) Other Contributions: \$19,850	\$ 55,088	
<p>Feighan is an attorney with <b>Climaco, Climaco, Seminatore, Lefkowitz</b> &amp; Garofoli, a Cleveland firm. He told <i>National Journal's CongressDaily</i> (January 14, 1993) that he <b>will</b> specialize in international trade and finance law. The law <b>firm</b> has registered on behalf of such clients as Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Ohio and the Carbon Fuels Corporation of Cleveland (in support of clean coal program development).</p>				
D-AL	1977-90	Ronnie G. <b>Flippo</b> (L,G) Refunded Contributions: \$ 1,000 Political Contributions: \$47,200 (including <b>\$27,850</b> to 35 members of Congress for the 1992 election)	\$485,009	
<p>Flippo had substantial funds remaining in his congressional fund after losing his 1990 governor's race. Working as a lobbyist in Washington since then, he has made contributions to candidates of both parties. "I haven't made any permanent judgments about the fund. I make contributions occasionally . . . to people who will provide good <b>government</b> . . . There's no master smarts guiding it." (<i>Associated Press</i>, August 29, 1992)</p> <p>His clients include the state of <b>Alabama</b>, South Central Bell, Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company, Federal Express Corporation, Alabama Power Corporation, <b>RJR</b> Nabisco, Norfolk Southern Corporation, the <b>Huntsville</b> Madison County Airport Authority and Troy State University in Troy, Alabama. Mr. <b>Flippo's</b> office did not respond to the Center's inquiries.</p>				

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## APPENDIX II

### FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS (as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
R-OH	1975-93	Willis D. <b>Gradison</b> Jr. (X) Refunded Contributions: \$ <b>39,037</b> Political Contributions: \$208,100 (including \$5,250 to nine GOP House and Senate Candidates in 1992)	\$213,057	
Gradison resigned from the house on January 31, 1993, to head the Health Insurance Association of America.				
D-NJ	1979-93	Frank J. <b>Guarini</b> (G) Political Contributions: approx. \$ 94,390 (including \$23,000 to 25 members of Congress for 1992 election) Other: <b>approx. \$243,326</b> (raised bulk of funds during last term in office)	\$ 6,808	
Guarini has his own law firm, Guarini and Guarini, in Jersey City, New Jersey.				
D-AL	1987-93	Claude Harris, Jr. (X) Refunded Contributions: \$50,800 Political Contributions: \$58,215 (including \$25,500 to 36 members of Congress or candidates, 1992-1993) Other Contributions: \$69,000	\$ 2,836	
Harris was appointed a U.S. attorney in Ala- bama in September 1993.				
R-MI	1985-93	Paul B. <b>Henry</b> (*) (X) Died in office	\$306,169	

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campaign funds to personal use.

APPENDIX II  
FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
D-MI	1981-93	Dennis M. Hertel (X) Refunded Contributions: \$13,133 Political Contributions: \$15,075	\$170,232	
		Hertel launched an industry-financed group, the National Environmental Policy Institute, in September 1993, with former Representative Don Ritter (R-PA) to advance new ideas for developing environmental policies that are based on good science, rational risk assessment, and sound economics, according to an institute brochure.		
D-MO	1990-93	Joan Kelly Horn (L) (X)	\$ 4,568	
D-KY	1975-93	Carroll Hubbard, Jr. (L) (G) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$5,000	\$ 16,678	
		Hubbard joined a Kentucky law firm and took a consulting job with the Independent Bankers Association in Washington. "In law," he said, "it's not what you know, but who you know." (Public Citizen interview, July 13, 1993) He pleaded guilty to various campaign finance abuse charges on April 15, 1994. ( <i>World News Digest</i> , April 28, 1994)		
D-GA	1977-93	Edgar L. Jenkins (G) Refunded Contributions: \$ 1,360 Political Contributions: \$51,600 (including \$36,700 to 40 Senate and House incumbents and challengers) Other Contributions: \$ 2,000	\$394,115	

A former member of the Ways and Means Committee,

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**APPENDIX II**  
**FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF**  
**FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS**  
**(as of December 31, 1993)**

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
		Jenkins formed a lobbying firm, <b>Winburn &amp; Jenkins</b> , with a former committee staffer, John Winburn, in Washington, D.C.. Clients include the American Insurance Association, Hartford Insurance Company, Lockheed, Delta Air Lines, Chicago North and Western Transportation Company (railroad), Norfolk Southern Company (railroad), Pfizer, <b>Milliken &amp; Company</b> (textiles), BR Services (energy), Philip Morris, and Transitional Hospitals Corporation, National Association of Urban Critical Access Hospitals, and the Michigan Hospital Association.		
D-OK	1973-91	<b>James R. Jim Jones</b> (L,G)	\$ 2,322	
D-TX	1973-79	Barbara Jordan (G) (I)	\$ 5,476	
D-FL	1973-93	William Lehman (G) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$39,775 Political Contributions: \$ 8,190 Other Contributions: \$12,950 (Raised bulk of funds during last term in office)	\$194,856	
		Working as an intergovernmental relations liaison for the Metro Dade Transit Agency in Miami, Lehman is also registered to lobby for highway funds on behalf of the Fort Lauderdale-based Blockbuster Entertainment Corporation.		
D-TX	1978-89	Mickey <b>Leland</b> (*) (G)	\$ 6,958	
R-NY	1971-93	<b>Norman F. Lent</b> (G) Funds transferred to New Frontier Leadership PAC: Lent Family Charitable Trust:	\$ -0-	\$ 83,800 \$570,000

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## APPENDIX II

### FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
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Refunded Contributions: \$56,050  
**Political** Contributions: \$80,101  
(including \$ 5,348 from Lent's PAC)  
Other Contributions: \$55,650  
(including **\$1,950** from **Lent's** PAC)

The former ranking Republican on the Energy and Commerce Committee formed Lent and **Scrivner**, a Washington lobbying firm with Michael Scrivner, his former administrative assistant. The firm has registered to lobby for Pfizer, Mobil, Iroquois Gas Transmission Systems, Bernard L. Madoff Investment Securities, J. **Makowski** Company (**natural** gas issues), the **RBOC-GAPC** Task Force (telecommunications), and the MFJ Task Force, a coalition of regional Bell operating companies.

Lent's political donations went to 17 Republican and 7 Democratic members, including Energy and Commerce Committee chairman John Dingell (D-Mich.) and 9 other committee members.

D-CA	1983	Mel <b>Levine</b> (L) (X)	S 36,184
		Refunded Contributions: \$ 6,000	
		Political Contributions: \$26,960	
		(Candidate's senate campaign shows debts of \$800,000)	

According to *Legal Times*, Levine is a partner at the Washington law firm of Gibson, Dunn and **Crutcher** and will represent high-technology companies and firms hoping to do business abroad.

R-IL	1973-91	Edward R. Madigan (G) (I)	\$ 41,288
		Political Contributions: \$2,000	
		(to 3 GOP and 1 Democratic candidates for Congress)	

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APPENDIX II

FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
<p>The former congressman and Secretary of Agriculture in the Bush administration is registered to lobby on <b>legislation</b> affecting the property and casualty insurance industry as well as the <b>collection</b> of insurance data for State Farm Insurance Companies.</p>				
R-NY	1981-93	David O'Brien Martin (X) Political Contributions: <b>\$22,000</b> (including \$8,500 to members of Congress)	\$28,752	
<p>The former New York congressman went to work for his successor, Rep. John <b>McHugh</b> (R-N.Y), to help prevent cuts or closings at three upstate military bases. (<i>National Journal</i>, May 1, 1993)</p>				
R-IL	1981-91	Lynn Martin (L) (X) (I) As of <b>3/31/94</b> , funds transferred to New American Century Fund: Political Contributions: \$10,350 (including <b>\$1,000</b> from PAC)	\$ -0-	\$ 5,711
R-NY	1981-91	Raymond J. <b>McGrath</b> (X) Political Contributions: \$32,380 Other Contributions: \$77,025	\$146,402	
<p>After retirement, McGrath went to work for the Beer Institute, presumably to lobby the Ways and Means Committee (on which he served) against new taxes on alcohol to support health care reform.</p>				
D-MD	1987-93	C. Thomas McMillen (L) (X) Based on June 1993 FEC filing Political Contributions: \$9,138	\$ 17,764	

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# APPENDIX II FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS (as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
<p>Following his defeat, <b>McMillen</b> was hired by <b>CliniCorp, Inc.</b>, a chiropractic clinic management company, to run its <b>13-state</b> Northeast region and Washington office. (<i>Business Wire</i>, February 16, 1993)</p>				
D-NY	1975-93	Henry J. Nowak (G) Henry J. Nowak PAC received: Refunded Contributions: \$ 2,254 Political Contributions: <b>\$21,525</b> (from Committee and PAC) no gifts reported as yet to members of Congress Other Contributions: <b>\$91,295</b> (from Committee and PAC)	\$ -0-	\$78,052
<p>Nowak was appointed to the board of directors of New York's Marine Midland Bank and has been doing legal and consulting work from his Buffalo home base. (<i>National Journal's Congress Daily</i>, April 21, 1993)</p>				
D-UT	1987-91 1973-75	Wayne Owens (X)  Refunded Contributions: \$ 4,936 Political Contributions: <b>\$ 7,250</b>	\$ 682	
<p>Owens serves as vice chairman of the Washington/Montreal-based Center for Middle East and Economic Cooperation.</p>				
R-MI	1977-93	Carl D. <b>Pursell</b> (G) (I) Political Contributions: \$13,070 Other Contributions: \$81,250	\$ 8,829	
<p>Pursell is a Member of the Board of Regents of Eastern Michigan University</p>				

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APPENDIX II

FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
R-AZ	1987-93	John J. Rhodes, <b>III</b> (L) (X)	\$ 2,118	
R-NJ	1973-93	Matthew J. <b>Rinaldo</b> (G) Transfer to personal charitable trust: Refunded <b>Contributions:</b> \$41,477 Political Contributions: \$19,000 Other Contributions: \$42,700 (Maximum amount allowable for transfer to personal use is \$879,738)	\$264,168	\$640,597
<p style="text-align: center;">Rinaldo was a part-time lecturer at Rutgers University School of Management from February - June 1993. As of April 1994, he is registered to lobby for the International <b>Cellularvision</b> Association.</p>				
R-PA	1979-93	Donald J. Ritter (L,G) Other Contributions: \$5,000	\$ 13,303	
<p style="text-align: center;">Ritter founded the National Environmental Policy Institute with former colleague Dennis <b>Hertel</b> to fight environmental regulations that business finds too costly.</p>				
D-NJ	1969-93	Robert Roe (G) Roe Political Committee (PAC): Robert A. Roe Charitable <b>Fdn.:</b> Refunded Contributions: <b>\$50,100</b> Political Contributions: \$45,603 Other Contributions: \$15,246 (All contributions based on period July 1, 1992 - Dec 31, 1993) Roe raised the bulk of his leftover funds during his last term in office)	\$ -0-	\$203,748 \$569,512

The *Washington Post* reported the former chair-

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## APPENDIX II

### FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS (as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
		<p>man of the Public Works and Transportation Committee may have accepted a \$75,000 consulting fee to return to the nation's capital to lobby former colleagues on behalf of his old Bergen County, New Jersey district. His firm, Robert A. Roe Associates, in Wayne, New Jersey, is also representing environmental and transportation clients. (Public Citizen interview, September 1, 1993)</p>		
D-CA	1963-93	<p>Edward R. Roybal (G) Edward R. Roybal Foundation received: Political Contributions: \$1060</p> <p>Roybal is a consultant to the Ed Roybal Institute on Applied Gerontology, California State University, Los Angeles.</p>	\$ -0-	\$208,500
R-PA	1975-93	<p><b>Dick Schulze</b> (G) Cash on hand as of April 1994 Personal PAC (S-PAC) received: Political Contributions: \$1,000 (Raised bulk of funds during last term in office)</p> <p>Schulze is working for <b>Valis</b> Associates, a Washington lobbying firm, whose clients include <b>Caldwell</b> Banker, Texaco, the Association of Wholesale Distributors, Aetna, and the National Federal Healthcare Equity Action League. He pledged to donate PAC funds to fiscally conservative candidates but FEC records indicate he has yet to do so.</p>	\$ -0-	\$254,430

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APPENDIX II

FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside <b>PAC or</b> Foundation
D-FL	1983-93	Larry Smith (X) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$45,174 Political Contributions: (approx.): \$27,175 (including \$20,412 to 41 Democratic members of Congress) Other Contributions: \$2,179	\$177,678	
<p>In March 1993, Smith was hired by the House Administration Committee for three months at \$6,000/month to work as a consultant for the House Restaurant. In January 1994, he completed a three-month prison sentence after pleading guilty to two federal counts of tax evasion and lying about campaign finance violations. He now faces disbarment proceedings in Florida.</p>				
D-NY	1975-93	Stephen J. Solarz (L) (G) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$76,370 Political Contributions: \$ 2,000	\$162,746	
<p>Solarz, a part-time senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, recently lost out on a bid to be named ambassador to India by the Clinton administration. He will teach at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs on a part-time basis beginning in the fall of 1994.</p>				
D-SC	1983-93	Robin Tallon (L) (X) Refunded Contributions: \$1,500 Political Contributions: \$2,000 Other Contributions: \$ 300	\$417,866	

*Knight-Ridder* has reported that Tallon may be

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# APPENDIX II FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS (as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to <b>Outside PAC or Foundation</b>
		under FBI investigation for violating a one-year ban on lobbying Congress (specifically Rep. James E. <b>Clyburn</b> , D-S.G), while working as a senior federal government relations consultant for the Tobacco Institute. Other news reports indicate he is considering a run for the U.S. Senate.		
D-GA	1983-93	Robert Lindsay Thomas (L) (X) Refunded Contributions: \$ 1,350 Political Contributions: \$ 1,925 Other Contributions: \$10,005	\$ 2,566	
		Thomas is Government Relations Director for the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games.		
D-MI	1974-93	Bob Traxler (G) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$34,570 Political Contributions: \$32,548 (including \$14,650 to 11 members of Congress) Other Contributions: \$17,252	\$ 68,192	
		Traxler is a member of the board of trustees of Michigan State University.		
R-MN	1981-93	Vin Weber (X) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$ 5,510 Political Contributions: \$73,750 Other Contributions: \$ 5,000	\$112,231	
		Weber has formed his own consulting company, The Weber Group, in addition to his affiliation with the Empower America advocacy group. Columnist Robert Novak reported on March 21, 1994, that the group's new president, Bill DalCol, was dismayed		

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# APPENDIX II FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS (as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
		<p>to learn that Weber had been advising major insurance companies in the upcoming health care fight.</p> <p>His new Majority Leadership PAC received <b>\$91,110</b> since its formation, according to the <i>Washington Post</i>.</p> <p>It also has approximately \$4,000 in remaining funds after dispensing \$38,804 to congressional candidates, mostly in 1992.</p>		
R-OH	1967-93	<p>Chalmers P. <b>Wylie</b> (G)</p> <p>A personal community service fund received:</p> <p>Refunded Contributions: \$2900</p> <p>Political Contributions: \$7000</p> <p>Attorney with the law firm of <b>Emens</b>, Kegler, Brown, Hill &amp; Ritter in Columbus, Ohio. He is also an adjunct professor at Ohio State University's Business School.</p>		\$ 59,549
D-PA	1969-93	<p><b>Gus</b> Yatron (G) (I)</p> <p>Political Contributions: \$2,400</p>	\$16,189	

House Totals	
Committee	\$ 5,209,806
PAC	\$ 980,362
Foundation/Trust	\$ 2,969,029
<b>House Total</b>	<b>\$ 9,159,197</b>

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) grandfathered member (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use; (I) member also appears in Appendix I; Note: Members of the U.S. Senate are prohibited by Senate rules from converting campaign funds to personal use.

APPENDIX II  
FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside <b>PAC or</b> Foundation
SENATE				
R-SD	1981-87	James A. Abdnor (L) (X) (I) Political Contributions: <b>\$ 6,125</b> Other Contributions: \$22,500 (to the South Dakota State Historical Society)	\$ 34,820	
D-TX	House 1949-55 Senate 1971-93	<b>Lloyd Bentsen</b> (X) Refunded Contributions: <b>\$587,723</b> Other Contributions: \$ 5,000 (to U.S. Botanic Gardens)	\$ 40,770	
Appointed Secretary of the Treasury by President Clinton.				
D-GA	Senate 1987-93 House 1977-87	<b>Wyche Fowler</b> (X) (I) Refunded Contributions: \$ 5,825 Other Contributions: \$60,500 (including \$50,000 to Oglethorpe University)	\$ 28,809	
D-TN	Senate 1985-93 House 1977-85	Albert Gore, Jr. (X) (I) (Currently Vice President) Political Contributions: <b>\$1,000</b> (Tennessee Democratic Party)	\$201,161	
R-PA	Senate 1977-91 House 1971-77	H. John <b>Heinz</b> (*) (X) Committee turned into PAC Political Contributions: \$77,911		\$497,312

The PAC also spent approximately \$480,000 on

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APPENDIX II  
FUNDS REMAINING IN ACCOUNTS OF  
FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside PAC or Foundation
		film production expenses after Heinz's death in April 1991.		
R-ID	Senate 1973-91 House 1967-73	James A. McClure (X) Political Contributions: \$ 6,000 Other Contributions: \$30,000	\$139,613	
		According to the <i>National Journal</i> , the clients registered by the ex-Senator's lobbying firm, McClure, Gerard and Neuenschwander, Inc., are General Atomic Inc., the National Rifle Association, Idaho Power Company, and numerous companies with timber and mining interests.		
R-IN	Senate 1981-89 House 1971-81	Dan Quayle (X) (former Vice President) Political Contributions: \$10,000 Other Contributions: \$75,000 (including \$50,000 to Dan Quayle Commemorative Foundation)	\$347,003	
D-NB	1976-87	Edward Zorinsky (*) (X) \$95,000 given to the City of Omaha Parks and Recreation Department	\$ 4,096	
		Committee: \$ 796,272 PAC: \$ 497,312 Foundation/Trust: \$ -0- Senate Total: \$ 1,293,584		

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FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS  
(as of December 31, 1993)

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Cash on Hand	Transferred to Outside <b>PAC or</b> Foundation
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TOTALS

HOUSE

Committee	\$ 5,209,806
PAC	\$ 980,362
Foundation/Trust	\$ 2,969,029
House Total	\$ 9,159,197

SENATE

Committee	\$ 796,272
PAC	\$ 497,312
Foundation/Trust	\$ -0-
Senate Total	\$ 1,293,584

HOUSE AND SENATE

Committee	\$ 6,006,078
PAC	\$ 1,477,674
Foundation/Trust	\$ 2,969,029
GRAND TOTAL	\$10,452,781

*Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (C) grandfathered member (x) member not covered under provisions of the "grandfather clause" regarding transfer of funds for personal use. (I): member also appears in Appendix I; Note: Members of the U.S. Senate are prohibited by Senate rules from converting campaign funds to personal use.*

## APPENDIX III TERMINATED ACCOUNTS

### FORMER MEMBERS WHO REFUNDED FUNDS OR GAVE EXCLUSIVELY TO POLITICAL AND CHARITABLE CAUSES

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Total Amount Disbursed
D-CA	1969-93	Glenn M. Anderson (G) <b>Organizations</b> in the Long Beach, California area:	\$ 5,625
D-NJ	1965-93	Frank <b>Annunzio</b> (G) Political/Other contributions: Gave \$22,900 to other members in the 1989-90 election cycle.	\$ 8,540
D-F	1949-93	Charles E. Bennett (G) U.S. Treasury for National Park Service:	\$270,835
D-MI	1975-83	<b>William Brodhead</b> (G) Refunded Contributions: \$72,000	\$ 72,000
R-CA	1981-87	Eugene A. Chappie Funds donated for scholarships	\$41,000
D-MI	1981-93	George William Crockett, Jr. <b>Morehouse</b> College in Atlanta received: \$26,021 Miscellaneous contributions totalled: \$ 7,250	\$ 33,271
D-NJ	1981-93	<b>Bernard J. Dwyer</b> Political Contributions: \$54,986 Other Contributions: \$43,900, mostly to medical and educational groups in New Jersey.	\$ 98,886
R-OK	1977-93	Mickey Edwards (L) (G) Refunded Contributions: \$19,186	\$ 19,186
R-IA	1981-87	<b>Cooper Evans</b> Political Contributions: \$ 30,148	\$ 30,148

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to **another** office; (G) grandfathered member  
Note: **Members** of the U.S. Senate are **prohibited** by Senate rules from **converting** campaign funds to personal use.

## APPENDIX III TERMINATED ACCOUNTS

### FORMER MEMBERS WHO REFUNDED FUNDS OR GAVE EXCLUSIVELY TO POLITICAL AND CHARITABLE CAUSES

Party & State	Years of <b>Service</b>	Member	Total Amount <b>Disbursed</b>
R-MN	1971-91 Political contributions:	Bill <b>Frenzel</b> (G)	\$184,990
D-FL	1963-87 Other Contributions: <b>\$103,430</b> , including \$101,500 to Florida State <b>University</b>	Don <b>Fuqua</b> (G)	\$103,430
R-FL	1977-93 Political Contributions: <b>\$28,000</b> , including <b>\$25,000</b> to Florida Republican Party Other Contributions: \$ 4,350	Andrew P. Ireland (G)	\$ 32,350
R-FL	1989-93 Refunded Contributions: <b>\$16,182</b>	Craig <b>James</b>	<b>\$ 16,182</b>
R-CA	1975-93 Refunded Contributions: \$19,889	Robert <b>Lagomarsino</b> (L) (G)	\$ 19,889
R-OH	1959-89 Political Contributions: \$47,725 Other Contributions: \$75,150 (mostly to Ohio colleges and medical institutions)	Delbert L. <b>Latta</b> (G)	\$122,875
R-NM	1969-89 Other Contributions: Scholarship <i>fund</i> received \$123,062	Manuel J. <b>Luhan</b> (G)	\$123,062
D-OH	1990-93 Political Contributions: \$55,950 Other Contributions: \$132,870, including \$110,000 to the Ohio State Treasury to help reimburse the cost of a special primary to select his replacement.	Charles J. Luken	\$188,820

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) *defeated in reelection bid* for Congress or in *election* to another *office*; (G) grandfathered member  
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### APPENDIX III TERMINATED ACCOUNTS

#### FORMER MEMBERS WHO REFUNDED FUNDS OR GAVE EXCLUSIVELY TO POLITICAL AND CHARITABLE CAUSES

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Total Amount Disbursed
R-CA	1981-93 Refunded Contributions:	William D. <b>Lowery</b> \$35,795	\$35,795
D-NY	1975-93 Refunded Contributions: \$ 3,994 Political Contributions: \$24,750 Other Contributions: <b>\$50,500</b>	Matthew F. <b>McHugh</b> (G)	\$ 79,244
D-FL	1979-89 Refunded Contributions: \$69,000	Dan Mica (G)	\$ 69,000
D-NY	1983-93 Refunded Contributions: <b>\$218,397</b>	<b>Robert Mrazek</b>	\$218,397
D-OH	1977-93 Refunded Contributions: \$40,129 Political Contributions: \$37,980 Other Contributions: \$155,355 (including \$25,000 to Oberlin College and \$130,355 to the Lorain, Ohio Community Foundation)	Donald J. Pease (G)	\$233,464
D-IL	1975-93 Refunded Contributions: \$32,156 Political Contributions: \$ 8,300  Russo now works as a lobbyist for Cassidy and Associates, which represents AT&T, General Dynamics, Glaxo, Inc. and other large corporations.	Marty <b>Russo</b> (L) (G)	\$ 40,456
D-WV	1949-81 Refunded Contributions: \$59,000	<b>Harley O. Staggers</b> (*) (G)	\$ 59,000

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## APPENDIX III TERMINATED ACCOUNTS

### FORMER MEMBERS WHO REFUNDED FUNDS OR GAVE EXCLUSIVELY TO POLITICAL AND CHARITABLE CAUSES

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Total Amount Disbursed
R-MI	1967-93 Refunded Contributions: \$26,485	Guy <b>Vander Jagt</b> (L) (G)	\$ 26,485
R-VA	1969-87 Donated money for scholarships	<b>G. William Whitehurst</b> (G)	\$ 13,660
D-NC	1977-87 Other Contributions: funds donated to two small colleges in his former district	<b>Charles Whitley</b> (G)	\$ 40,000
R-KS	1979-91 Kansas State Univ received \$509,102 Other organizations: \$ 16,710	Robert R. <b>Whittaker</b> (G)	\$525,812
R-KS	1967-85 Transferred to a personal PAC, the <b>Jayhawk</b> Political Action Committee, which disbursed funds to various political and charitable causes in Kansas. Political Contributions: \$14,720 Other contributions: \$ 4,400	Larry Winn (G)	\$ 19,120
D-MI	1979-93 Refunded Contributions: \$29,400 Political Contributions: \$67,075 (includes \$37,675 for his gubernatorial campaign.) Other Contributions: \$ 1,500	Howard E. <b>Wolp</b> (G)	\$ 60,870
D-WI	1947-83 Funds given to Wisconsin colleges	<b>Clement J. Zablocki</b> (*) (G)	\$ 21,372

Key: (\*) deceased; (L) ~~defeated~~ in reelection ~~bid~~ for Congress or in election to another office; (G) ~~grandfathered~~ member  
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## APPENDIX III TERMINATED ACCOUNTS

### FORMER MEMBERS WHO REFUNDED FUNDS OR GAVE EXCLUSIVELY TO POLITICAL AND CHARITABLE CAUSES

Party & State	Years of Service	Member	Total Amount Disbursed
<b>SENATE</b>			
<b>R-WY</b>	1967-79 Funds given to University of Wyoming	<b>Clifford Hansen</b>	\$ 25,000
<b>D-WA</b>	Senate 1953-8 1941-53 University of Washington International House Studies program received \$658,000. \$100,000 donated to a local school district.	Henry M. Jackson (*)	<b>\$ 758,000</b>
<b>D-LA</b>	1949-87 Refunded Contributions: \$360,000	Russell B. Long	\$ 360,000
<b>D-HI</b>	Senate 1977-90 House 1963-77 Pacific Peace Foundation received \$200,000; Matsunaga Charitable Foundation received \$324,649	Spark M. <b>Matsunaga</b> (*)	\$ 524,649
<b>D-MN</b>	1965-77 Leftover funds from 1984 Presidential campaign committee given to the Hubert H. Humphrey Center at the University of Minnesota	Walter F. <b>Mondale</b>	<b>\$ 130,000</b>
<b>R-VA</b>	1983-89 Refunded Contributions: \$797,282 Political: \$227,747 Other Contributions: \$176,633 (to various charities and nonprofit groups)	<b>Paul Trible</b>	\$1,201,662

*Key: (\*) deceased; (L) defeated in reelection bid for Congress or in election to another office; (G) grandfathered member  
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APPENDIX IV

CASH ON HAND BALANCES OF MEMBERS  
WHO HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR RETIREMENT  
AT THE END OF THE 103RD CONGRESS  
(JANUARY 1995)

Party & State	Began Service	Member	Cash on Hand
D-PA	1977	Austin J. Murphy	18,762
D-KY	1953	William H. Natcher (*)	-0-
D-NC	1975	Stephen L. <b>Neal</b>	106,414
D-MN	1983	Timothy J. Penny	164,118
D-TX	1963	J. J. Pickle	11,596
D-GA	1983	James R. Rowland, Jr.	184,118
D-IL	1988	George E. <b>Sangmeister</b>	792
D-IN	1975	Philip R. Sharp	-0-
R-OR	1983	Robert F. "Bob" Smith	247,946
D-WA	1979	<b>Al</b> Swift	30,154
D-NC	1983	Tim Valentine	6,209
D-TX	1989	Craig Washington (L)	24,197
(Cash-on-hand figure reflects subtraction of current campaign debts in unsuccessful primary campaign as of March 31, 1994.)			
D-MS	1941	Jamie L. Whitten	236,402

**HOUSE TOTAL: \$2,298,256**

Source: 12/31/93 and 3/31/94 FEC filings.



APPENDIX IV  
CASH ON HAND BALANCES OF MEMBERS  
WHO HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR RETIREMENT  
AT THE END OF THE 103RD CONGRESS  
(JANUARY 1995)

Party & State	Began Service	Member	Cash on Hand
HOUSE			
D-OH	1977	Douglas Applegate	S 180,783
D-FL	1991	Jim Bacchus	127,568
D-SC	1975	Butler Derrick	200,139
D-CA	1963	Don Edwards	8,225
R-NY	1969	Hamilton Fish, Jr.	22,704
D-MI	1965	William D. Ford	54,625
D-NJ	1975	<b>William J. Hughes</b>	97,276
D-FL	1979	Earl Hutto	169,618
D-OR	1991	Mike <b>Kopetski</b>	25,622
R-FL	1983	Tom Lewis	19,949
D-TN	1975	Marilyn Lloyd	6,766
D-KY	1971	Romano L. Mazzoli	46
R-CA	1983	Alfred A. McCandless	63,780
R-NC	1985	J. Alex McMillan	166,128
R-IL	1957	Robert H. Michel	86,841
Michel's Republican Leaders Fund PAC has:			37,478

Source: 12/31/93 and 3/31/94 **FEC** filings

APPENDIX IV

CASH ON HAND BALANCES OF MEMBERS  
WHO HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR RETIREMENT  
AT THE END OF THE 103RD CONGRESS  
(JANUARY 1995)

Party & State	Began service	Member	Cash on Hand
<b>SENATE</b>			
D-OK	1979	<b>David Boren</b>	290,484
R-MO	1976	<b>John Danforth</b>	654,340
		<b>Danforth's Fund for the Future Committee PAC has:</b>	3,927
D-AZ	1977	Dennis DeConcini	42,862
R-MN	1978	Dave Durenberger	16,670
D-TN	1993	Harlan Mathews	75,492
D-OH	1976 1974	<b>Howard Metzenbaum</b>	-0-
		<b>Metzenbaum's Committee for Democratic Action PAC has:</b>	87,961
D-ME	1980	George Mitchell	1,568,319
D-MI	1976	Donald W. Riegle, Jr.	514,608
R-WY	1977	Malcolm Wallop	282,205

**SENATE TOTAL: \$3,536,868**

**HOUSE AND SENATE TOTAL: \$5,835,124**

*Source: 12/31/93 and 3/31/94 FEC filings*

## APPENDIX V

### LEGISLATION AND SENATE RULE BARRING CONVERSION OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS FOR PERSONAL USE

#### **Amendment to the Federal Election Campaign Act, passed in 1979, which created the grandfather clause:**

Amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his **expenditures**, and any other amounts contributed to an individual for the purpose of supporting his or her activities as a holder of Federal **office**, may be used by such candidate or individual, as the case may be, to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with his or her duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed to any organization described in Section 170(c) of Title 26, or may be used for any lawful purpose, including transfers without limitation to any national, state or local committee of any political party; except that, with respect to any individual who is not a Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress on January 8, 1980, no such amounts may be converted by any person to any personal use, other than to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with his or her duties as a holder of federal office.

(Federal Election Campaign Act, Section 439a)

#### **1989 Repeal of Grandfather Clause:**

(a) IN GENERAL Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 439a) is amended by striking , with respect to and all that follows through 1980 .

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE The amendment made by subsection (a)

(1) in the case of an individual who serves as a Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress in the 102nd Congress or an earlier Congress, shall apply except as provided in paragraph (2), to the use of excess amounts totaling more than the amount equal to the unobligated balance on hand on the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(2) in the case of an individual who serves as a Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress after the 102nd Congress (including an individual referred to in paragraph (1) who so serves), shall apply to the use of any excess amount on or after the first day of such service.

(Ethics Reform Act of 1989: Section 504)

#### **Senate Rule Barring Conversion of Campaign Funds to Personal Use:**

No contribution (as defined in section 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (2 U.S.C. 431)) shall be converted to the personal use of any Member or any former Member. For the purposes of this rule personal use does not include reimbursement of expenses incurred by a Member in connection with his official duties.

(Senate Rule XXXVIII, 2)