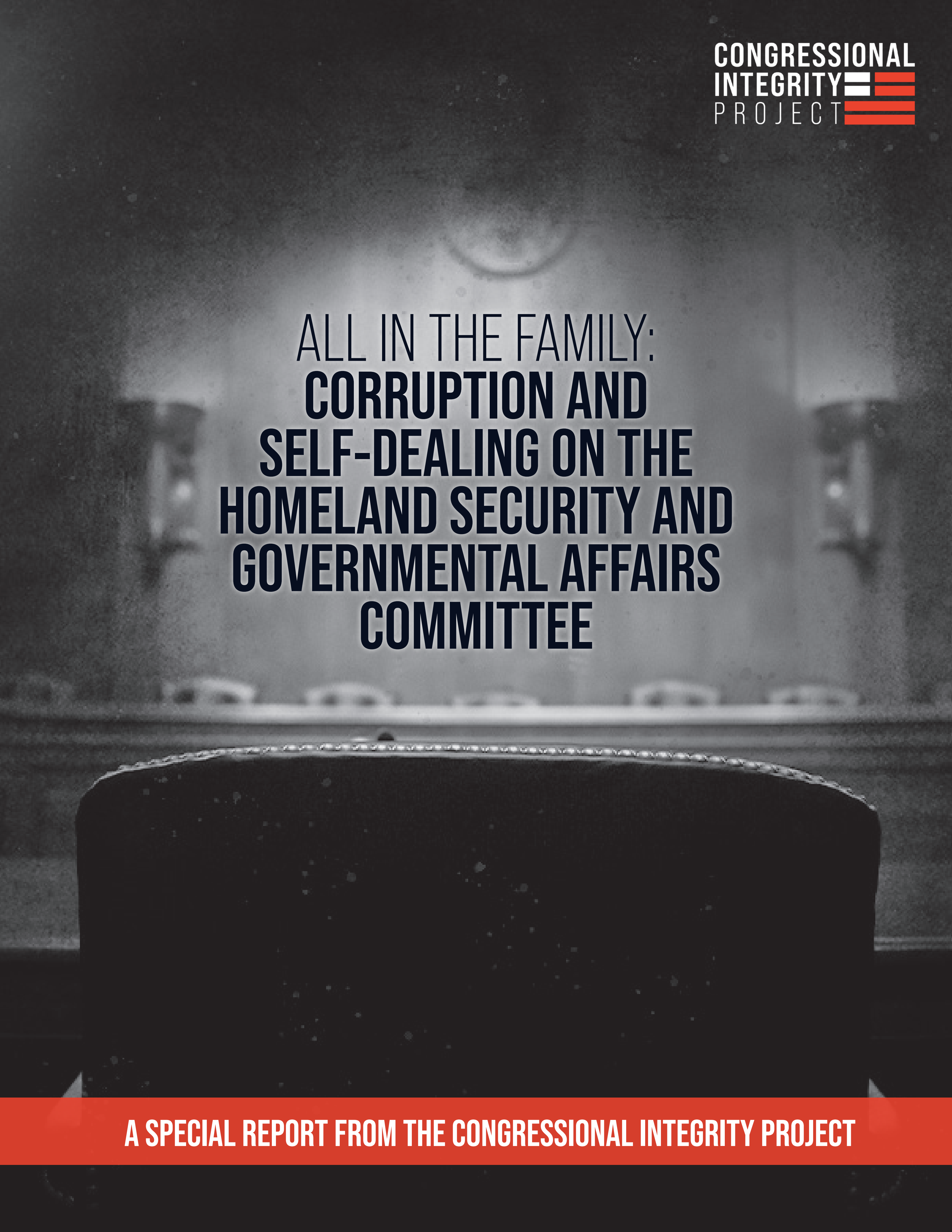
CONGRESSIONAL INTEGRITY PROJECT



ALL IN THE FAMILY: CORRUPTION AND SELF-DEALING ON THE HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

A SPECIAL REPORT FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL INTEGRITY PROJECT

In the U.S. Senate, the task of providing primary oversight of "government operations" falls to the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. Currently, its agenda is controlled by the Republican majority. Unfortunately, members of that majority — Chairman Ron Johnson (WI), and Sens. Rick Scott (FL), Mike Enzi (WY), Josh Hawley (MO), Rand Paul (KY), Mitt Romney (UT), Rob Portman (OH), and James Lankford (OK) — consistently ignore wrongdoing at the highest levels of government when it does not suit their agenda.

This report examines how, as they have ignored their oversight duties and hypocritically accused political opponents of wrongdoing, members of the committee's majority have used their positions to enrich themselves and their families. Of the eight Republican members of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs:

- **Six** have or have had immediate family in government and political jobs that overlap with their duties, including one registered lobbyist.
- **At least $7,443,053** has been paid from committee members' campaigns and political organizations to family members or companies that employ those family members.

Ensuring that public officials are working in the public interest, not their own, is one of Congress's most important responsibilities. But year after year, these lawmakers get it backwards: They turn a blind eye to corruption while launching illegitimate investigations to distract the public. That allows them to hold onto power, which they can use to enrich themselves and those close to them.

The committee should be investigating the failed federal response to a pandemic that has already killed over 200,000 Americans, violent police responses to peaceful protests across the country, and the Trump administration's overt self-dealing in violation of federal law. Instead, as our economy spirals, leaving a historic number of Americans out of work and struggling to get by, they're launching hypocritical, baseless attacks on Donald Trump's opponents.

We can't force the committee to do its job with integrity. But we can expose its members' records to stop them from acting hypocritically and misleading and manipulating voters.

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RON JOHNSON

Johnson's massive fortune is the direct result of nepotism and self-dealing in both the private sector and the U.S. Senate.

Johnson is one of the richest members of the Senate, with a net worth of tens of millions. He became rich not through entrepreneurship, as he frequently suggests, but by marrying the daughter of a billionaire, Howard Curler. In 1979, after marrying Jane Curler, Johnson began running a plastics company called Pacur with his brother-in-law, Pat Curler. Howard Curler was their only customer.

Based on the ranges provided in Johnson's personal financial disclosures, his wealth has likely doubled since running for the Senate in 2010. During his initial campaign, Johnson promised to place his assets in a blind trust to ensure that he would legislate in the public interest instead of padding his own bottom line. That did not happen. Instead, he increased the value of his assets through official actions such as leveraging his position in the Senate to lower taxes for pass-through businesses like Pacur in the 2017 tax bill. Johnson had made as much as $24.2 million from pass-through entities between 2009 and 2018.

Shortly after that legislation passed, which increased Pacur's value, Johnson began seeking a buyer for his stake in the company. Johnson finally sold his stock in Pacur on March 2, 2020 — right before states locked down and markets began to sink due to Covid-19, but after he received a closed-door briefing on the virus's danger. Profits from the sale of his company may have been as high as $25 million, significantly more than the $1 million to $5 million Johnson estimated his stake in the company was worth in 2017, before he used his position to make the company more profitable..

Johnson's adult children benefited from their father's name to skirt the rules, securing questionable "historic" designations for their investment property and up to $2.1 million in state and federal credits.

In 2017, Johnson's three children — Jenna Golem, Carey Sharpe, and Ben Johnson — joined together to purchase the former Eagles Club building in their hometown of Oshkosh, Wisconsin for $350,000. The company they set up to complete the sale, 405 Washington Ave. LLC, was 100 percent owned by a trust set up by their parents. Using funds from that trust, the siblings purchased the property from Art Dumke, a local real estate developer who had also contributed $7,731.25 to their father's campaigns and hosted a fundraiser for him in 2015.

The siblings then applied for and won historic designation from the Wisconsin Historical Society. They also successfully persuaded the National Park Service to add the building, which they turned into an event space called "The Howard," to the National Register Of Historic Places. That sought-after designation made them eligible for millions in tax credits. According to National Park Service data, their application was received on August 8, 2017 and approved on September 18th, 2017 — just over a month.

Soon after, the siblings received $944,703 in tax credits via the Wisconsin Economic Development Corporation (WEDC), according to state agency documents. However, in seeking the tax credits, the siblings bypassed the State Historic Preservation Office — the usual arbiter of these requests — and submitted their application directly to WEDC. That should have automatically disqualified the application, according to WEDC policy.

In addition, screenshots from The Howard's Facebook page clearly show that construction was being done in July 2017, before the application to add the property to the Wisconsin Register of Historic Places was completed. That should have made the project was ineligible for tax credits, according to WEDC policy. In its "mandatory guidelines," the WEDC clearly states that to be eligible "no physical work of construction could have been done before a recommendation [from the preservation office]."

Instead, the preservation office decided to ignore their own policy based on favoritism for Johnson's children, according to emails obtained by the Congressional Integrity Project.

One official from the preservation office sent an email to his colleague at WEDC referring to the applicant as "Senator Ron Johnson's daughter," adding: "I do not want to make this difficult for them because of a technicality." If the Johnson children had applied through the proper channel, it might have jeopardized their profits. That is because the tax credits were approved right before then-Gov. Scott Walker was set to lower the tax credits available for projects like The Howard to $500,000 — almost half a million less than the siblings received.

From: MARK T BUECHEL
To: Jon Bartz
Subject: RE: Fraternal Order of the Eagles/405 Washington Ave LLC WEDC Application
Date: Monday, November 6, 2017 4:31:32 PM
Attachments: Fraternal Order of Eagles - 405 Washington Avenue - Oshkosh.pdf

I do not want to make this difficult for them because of a technicality, we should have some level of customer service if we can help them out. In situations where they have the project submitted and approved and just forgot the WEDC application the easiest solution is to merge the documents we need to move it forward. So I have attached the part one and two copies that would normally accompany the submission to you.

The part one was approved for the project by NPS on 9/18/2017 and the part two was conditionally approved by NPS on 10/05/2017.

The point I was making earlier was more to make sure we curb things like this from happening as deadlines loom for project submissions because I anticipate someone will try to speed things up by sending directly to you and bypassing SHPO and we do not want you spending time executing contracts for projects that have not been reviewed and approved. In this instance you can add these to the submission and process it, the project is in good standing and well underway, I do not see any significant issues. Also, an FYI, in case you do not recognize the owner, Carey Sharpe, is Senator Ron Johnson's daughter.

Mark T Buechel, AIA
Senior Preservation Architect
State Historic Preservation Office

Wisconsin Historical Society
816 State Street, Madison, Wi. 53706
608-264-6491 (O)
mark.buechel@wisconsinhistory.org

Email from the Wisconsin Historical Society to the Wisconsin Economic Development Corporation requesting special treatment for Ron Johnson's daughter, Carey Sharpe.

In 2021, The Howard is scheduled to receive millions more from the WEDC, where key figures enjoy close political ties with Johnson. In fact, the "historical preservation" tax credits were personally approved by WEDC's CEO, Mark Hogan, who contributed $2,600 to Johnson's first campaign for Senate, according to FEC filings. In 2016, Sen. Johnson and Hogan appeared together at an Independent Business Association of Wisconsin event. The president of the WEDC board of directors, Lisa Mauer, had also contributed $3,850 to Ron Johnson for Senate.

Upon issuing the tax credits, Hogan personally signed an email to Carey Sharpe congratulating her on "the economic opportunities [The Howard] will bring to the state." According to the WEDC's own data, the project was projected to create exactly zero jobs over the coming year.

Dear Carey Sharpe,

Congratulations and thank you! We are pleased to inform you that WEDC has approved your award. Our team is grateful to have worked with you on this project, and we want to personally thank you for choosing Wisconsin. We are excited about your upcoming project and the economic opportunities it brings to the state.

Attached please find the final, executable contract documents and supplemental information. Your award approval is contingent on the contract being fully executed by Wednesday, February 7, 2018 and there being no changes to the statute or program guidelines that govern the program prior to that date. Please return the signed contract by this date and WEDC will counter-sign. If this date presents an issue for you, please let us know and we will push it back to the following week.

If you have questions regarding your contract or disbursement, reporting and other requirements, please contact your Regional Economic Development Director, Jon Bartz at 608.210.6846 or jon.bartz@wedc.org, or respond to this email.

Again, thank you for choosing Wisconsin!

Mark R. Hogan
Secretary and CEO

Tricia Braun
Deputy Secretary
and COO

Email from WEDC CEO and Johnson booster Mark Hogan to Carey Sharpe personally congratulating her on the awarded tax credits.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, WEDC and the Recipient have executed and delivered this Agreement effective the date set forth next to WEDC's signature below.

WISCONSIN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

By: Mark R. Hogan, Secretary & CEO — 2/13/18 Date

405 WASHINGTON AVE, LLC

By: Carey Sharpe, Managing Member — 2-6-18 Date

Notices to the Recipient hereunder shall be effective upon mailing by first class mail, postage prepaid, and addressed to the following person and address or such other person and address as the Recipient may designate in writing:

405 Washington Ave, LLC
5736 I Ah May Tah Rd
Oshkosh, WI 54901
Attn: Carey Sharpe

Notices to WEDC hereunder shall be effective upon mailing by first class mail, postage prepaid, and addressed as follows:

Wisconsin Economic Development Corporation
Division of Credit & Risk
P.O. Box 1687
Madison, WI 53701
Attn: Historic Preservation Tax Credit
Contract # HTC FY18-24049

Signed agreement between Mark Hogan and Carey Sharpe.

Barry Johnson made tens of thousands from his brother's campaigns for U.S. Senate.

During his re-election campaign in 2016, Ron Johnson's campaign committee paid $27,503.96 to a company called Dynamic Drinkware that was run by his brother, Barry Johnson, according to filings with the Federal Election Commission. Filings vaguely list the money as going toward "Material For State Convention" and "Paraphernalia: Campaign Materials." It is unclear whether Johnson's political supporters knew their donations were heading into his brother's pockets.

RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE LLC	WI	COLLATERAL: TUMBLERS	08/20/2018	$1,437.38
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	CAMPAIGN PROMOTIONAL ITEMS: CUPS	12/22/2016	$890.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	COLLATERAL: CUPS	04/28/2016	$1,856.50
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	CAMPAIGN PROMOTIONAL ITEMS	12/04/2015	$16,995.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	CAMPAIGN SUPPLIES	01/09/2015	$701.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	PARAPHERNALIA: CAMPAIGN MATERIALS	09/26/2012	$1,578.08
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	MATERIAL FOR STATE CONVENTION	06/13/2012	$1,152.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	RJ CUPS FOR ELECTION NIGHT	11/02/2010	$590.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	PACUR	WI	PARAPHERNALIA: COLLATERAL DESIGN WORK	08/23/2010	$300.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	PARAPHERNALIA: CAMPAIGN COLLATERAL	08/23/2010	$704.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	CAMPAIGN CARDS	07/16/2010	$800.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	PACUR	WI	COMPUTER SET-UP TIME	07/09/2010	$1,600.00
RON JOHNSON FOR SENATE INC	DYNAMIC DRINKWARE, LLC	WI	POLLING: LENTICULAR CARDS	06/30/2010	$800.00

Federal Election Commission data showing campaign contributions to Barry Johnson's company, as well as Pacur, a plastics company then owned in part by Sen. Johnson.

RICK SCOTT

Scott's daughter, Allison Guimard, cashed in on her father's election through a plum job in the Tallahassee office of a media firm that worked on Scott's campaign.

The Scott family began trading on Rick Scott's office immediately after his first gubernatorial campaign. Harris Media, a Texas-based firm that Scott's campaign had paid over $500,000, hired his daughter Allison Guimard as Vice President of Marketing and Business Development shortly after his election. According to her LinkedIn, she had no previous political or public affairs experience to qualify her for the role.

As the *Miami Herald* originally reported, Guimard subsequently used the governor's name to "drum up" clients for the firm's Tallahassee office, the opening of which coincided with Scott's election. The *Herald* reported at the time that "Guimard twice identifies herself as 'Allison Scott'" in calls to potential clients, "and mentions that 'we just did Gov. Scott's campaign.'"

By 2014, Harris Media no longer employed Guimard and had abandoned its Tallahassee operation.

Scott's wife Ann, an interior designer by trade, is worth hundreds of millions because of assets Scott transferred to her name – likely to skirt transparency rules and avoid conflict-of-interest charges.

The New York Times, in a 2018 investigation into the couple's finances during Scott's time as Governor of Florida, reported that the couple's "equity investments largely mirrored each other." That meant that "Mr. Scott could, if he wanted, track his own holdings by following his wife's." The arrangement allowed Scott to claim he maintained a blind trust when it wasn't blind at all, leading to blatant self-dealing from the governor's mansion.

Recent financial disclosures accessed by the Congressional Integrity Project show how that pattern has continued in the Senate. Scott simply lists 125 assets under his wife's name at "over $1 million" each, with no further detail given. Given Scott's history of transferring assets to his wife to avoid conflict of interest charges, these assets could match or even exceed his own assets, which based on available data approach half a billion dollars.

As a candidate for Senate in 2018, Scott pledged to use a blind trust if elected to avoid "even the appearance of the conflict of interest." He almost immediately broke that promise – possibly because Senate rules require a trustee to be "independent of and not associated with any interested party," which would exclude his wife.

Scott is now unapologetic about keeping voters in the dark when it comes to the intersection of his public duties and private investments. "I'm not going to have a blind trust," Scott flatly told Floridians in a quick reversal soon after winning his seat. To continue his self-dealing, he has committed to releasing only the vague, bare-minimum financial disclosures required of all members of Congress regarding his and his wife's finances.

MIKE ENZI

Enzi's son Brad worked as a government affairs executive for North American Power, an energy group that defrauded the government and used taxpayer money to pay his salary.

Enzi was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1996, making him one of the longest-tenured senators still in office. Across his nearly quarter-century in the Senate, Enzi's family has profited handsomely from proximity to power. From June 2006 to August 2018, Brad Enzi served as Vice President Of Government Affairs for North American Power Group (NAPG), a job that allowed him to cash in on connections in Wyoming and Washington. In 2009, the company received $9.9 million in federal funding – authorized by stimulus legislation passed in the midst of the Great Recession – to study carbon storage at its planned Powder River Basin site in Wyoming.

Before receiving the carbon-study funds, NAPG was already far behind on their plan to build two coal-fired power plants on the site – a project the company called "Two Elk." At the time, area residents derisively referred to the effort as "No Elk" due to a decade-plus planning process and promises from the company that never materialized.

The plants were never built, and the carbon study was never conducted despite receiving the funds. Brad's salary, however, did materialize: The company paid him $128,000 in taxpayer money intended to stimulate the economy. Federal auditors charitably deemed the expense "questionable" when it initially came to light.

Enzi's former boss, NAPG Chief Executive Officer Michael Ruffatto, paid himself $1,000,000 in stimulus money. Ruffato's action were later proven to be worse than questionable; he was sentenced to 18 months in federal prison after admitting to stealing $5.7 million. In the end, the Two Elk project and millions in federal dollars never led to a single good-paying job – other than, of course, jobs for Brad Enzi and other NAPG executives.

Brad Enzi lobbied both the state government in Wyoming and the federal government in Washington, advocating for fossil fuel interests that align with his father's views.

Brad Enzi was registered as a lobbyist in Wyoming from 2003 to 2013, and registered to lobby the federal government from 2000 to 2002. As a federal lobbyist, he represented the interests of clients including Novartis, Smithkline Beecham Corporation, Pitney Bowes Inc., Corning Inc., Xerox Corporation, and Envirocare of Utah.

A Google Earth image of the Two Elk site in 2016, seven years after the project received nearly $10 million in taxpayer dollars. The project never materialized.

Brad Enzi claimed he never discussed government affairs with his father when his literal job description was making connections and persuading policymakers in D.C. Or, as his LinkedIn page vaguely puts it: "maintaining business relationships ... across both private and public stakeholders," as his father sat on the powerful Senate Finance Committee.

Brad Enzi is currently the president and CEO of the Laramie Chamber Business Alliance, which bills itself as "a unified voice for the existing business community and economic growth in Laramie, Wyoming." The Alliance does not disclose their full membership, but the largest member with a logo on the website is Rocky Mountain Power, a subsidiary of PacifiCorp. PacifiCorp operates 22 coal-fired power plants across the Western United States. Meanwhile Sen. Enzi's campaign and PAC have taken $8,500 in contributions from PacifiCorp PAC and a former VP of the company.

The younger Enzi's financial interests continue to frequently overlap with his father's official positions, especially when it comes to coal. In 2016, Sen. Enzi slammed an administration rule to halt new private coal leases on federally owned lands, calling it an issue that "hits close to home for me." Just this year, he declared that "Wyoming's vast coal reserves must remain an important part of our energy future." Given his son's questionable profits from the coal industry, that statement was probably more literal than most of his constituents realized.

Mike Enzi's campaigns and political action committee have funneled nearly a million dollars to his daughter-in-law Danielle Enzi's "consulting" company.

Mike Enzi's daughter-in-law and her company, Enzi Strategies, have been paid almost $1 million by Mike Enzi's campaign and political action committee while he has been in the Senate. Enzi Strategies does not have an office, or any employees that the Congressional Integrity Project could identify. Rather, it is based out of the home that Danielle Enzi shares with Sen. Enzi's son, Brad, in North Cheyenne, Wyoming.

According to FEC data, Enzi Strategies and Danielle Enzi have received a total $847,526.75 for "fundraising consulting" from Sen. Enzi's campaign operation and Making Business Excel, his political action committee. Danielle Enzi, conveniently, also serves as the PAC's treasurer – meaning she plays a role in authorizing the payments to herself.

This familial self-dealing, spanning from at least 2002 to 2015, has been a hallmark of Sen. Enzi's robust fundraising operation whether or not he is up for election in a given cycle. According to the *Casper Star-Tribune*, between 2003 and 2006 Danielle Enzi "received $150,000 for fundraising" while "Enzi Strategies received an additional $170,000" – a total of $320,000. From July 2010 to July 2011, Enzi Strategies was paid $70,910 in retainers and commissions from Mike Enzi's political funds. During the 2012 cycle, Making Business Excel paid Enzi Strategies $90,516, and in the 2014 cycle the PAC and Enzi's campaign combined to contribute more than $115,000 to Danielle's coffers.

RAND PAUL

After his election, Rand Paul's wife Kelley was hired by a Republican consulting firm that his campaign organizations have paid almost $6 million.

Almost as soon as Rand Paul entered the Senate in 2011, his wife Kelley Paul began working for Strategy Group for Media, which had collected $4.3 million from Paul's campaign during the 2010 cycle. The Congressional Integrity Project was not able to identify any prior professional experience in politics or consulting that would have qualified her for the position. It is far more likely that she received the job because, to paraphrase Sen. Paul's own criticism of his political opponents, her "last name is [Paul]."

Indeed, records show that Paul's political operation continued to make payments to Strategy Group for Media for years after he took office. From 2010 to 2016, Paul's political organizations — his campaigns and associated PACs, such as RANDPAC — disbursed a total of $5,967,390.68 to the company, according to FEC filings. RANDPAC also paid $14,200 directly for Kelley Paul's travel on the PAC's behalf, according to the *Louisville Courier-Journal*.

JOSH HAWLEY

After his election, Josh Hawley abandoned Missouri to move his family to a tony D.C. suburb – and potentially violated Missouri law by registering to vote at his sister's address back in Christian County, Missouri.

After getting elected to the Senate in November 2018, Josh Hawley immediately went full Washington, selling his Missouri residence and moving his family to Vienna, Virginia – a suburb 15 miles from his office on Capitol Hill. Hawley and his wife Erin bought the property for over $1.3 million in January 2019.

The Fairfax County Real Property Database, which would normally indicate homeownership in Vienna, does not reflect the Hawleys' purchase. That could be a maneuver designed to shield them from political criticism back in Missouri. After all, Hawley claims he still lives in Missouri on his website, where he describes a home life "with his wife, Erin, their two boys, Elijah and Blaise, and their horse, Snap." Hawley also promised constituents he would maintain a residence in Springfield, MO, which he sold earlier this year.

Along with misleading his constituents about where he really lives, Hawley is possibly breaking the law. After moving to Virginia, Hawley registered to vote at his sister's home address in Missouri, which does not have enough bedrooms to accommodate his family. That is a potential violation of Missouri's voter registration laws, which require voters to have residency in Missouri and be "registered to vote in the jurisdiction of the person's domicile prior to the election."

The Congressional Integrity Project is calling on Hawley to explain to Missourians how moving out of the state he represents and registering to vote at an address where he does not reside aligns with Missouri law.

This is not the first time Hawley has gotten caught playing fast and loose with residency requirements for public officials. In 2017, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* reported that he "decided he doesn't have to live in the capital city. That decision comes despite a law that says the state's top legal officer 'shall reside at the seat of government.'"

After campaigning against career politicians, Hawley blurred the lines between his public duties as attorney general and personal advancement, using public resources to burnish his political profile.

Since taking office as Missouri's Attorney General, Hawley has used his government positions to advance his political ambitions. He initially created a stir when he empowered out-of-state political consultants to dictate his agenda as Attorney General. Soon after Hawley was sworn into office, his out-of-state political consultants began giving "direct guidance and tasks to his taxpayer-funded staff, and followed up to ensure the tasks were completed," according to emails and other documents first obtained by the *Kansas City Star*.

The inappropriate mixing of private and public business reportedly "raised legal and ethical concerns among some of Hawley's employees." An audit of Hawley's tenure by the Missouri Auditor General found "evidence of 11 in-person and phone meetings between Hawley's staff and his political consultants from January to July 2017."

The entire arrangement raised ethics concerns among watchdogs and good-government groups. It also could have violated a Missouri state constitution prohibition on use of state resources for personal or political purposes if campaign staff ran meetings on government property. That prompted an investigation by Missouri's Secretary of State into whether Hawley misused public funds as Attorney General to support his candidacy for U.S. Senate. An audit of Hawley's time in office from the Missouri Auditor General also found that Hawley had used a state car and driver on multiple occasions, including once to take him and his wife to a Kansas City Chiefs game where "they watched the game from a lobbyist's private box."

Throughout his time as attorney general, Hawley and his staff used private emails to communicate about official business. During his campaign, he had criticized then-presidential nominee Hillary Clinton for the same practice, tweeting that "Sec. Clinton's outrageous conduct & lack of prosecution shows we need an AG who knows how to win for the rule of law."

Sen. Hawley aligns his official actions with the views of a far-right, anti-LGBTQ group, Focus on the Family, that published his wife's book and paid her salary.

Erin Hawley has close ties to anti-LGBTQ and anti-choice group Focus on the Family, even writing a book called "Living Beloved" that was published by the group. Josh Hawley later promoted the book on his campaign Twitter account, further mixing his political operation with his family's finances.

In 2018, due to the vague ranges on financial disclosures, we only know that Erin Hawley earned a salary of more than $1,000 from Focus on the Family, not her book sales or other incomes through the organization. We do know what Focus on the Family has pushed for bigoted positions throughout the years, many of which Sen. Hawley has adopted.

Right now, Focus on the Family employees can be fired for "homosexual acts" or "transgender identity expression." The organization remains virulently opposed to same-sex marriage and reproductive choice, and supports laws that allow adoption agencies to turn away same-sex couples. They have also called children of same-sex couples "human guinea pigs" and supported deeply harmful conversion therapy.

Sen. Hawley, in turn, has promised to reject any Supreme Court nominee who doesn't publicly state Roe v. Wade was "wrongly decided" and to protect government officials who refuse to issue same-sex marriage licenses as required by law. These positions have even put Hawley on President Trump's recently announced campaign short list for the Supreme Court, should he be reelected.

As Missouri's attorney general, Hawley pushed to allow businesses to discriminate against same-sex customers, and strongly opposed an order allowing transgender people to use restrooms aligned with their identities. Given Sen. Hawley's financial ties to Focus on the Family, it is fair to ask exactly how much he and his wife have profited from the group and how that profit relates to their support for its full range of extreme positions.

The Hawleys both drew speaking fees from the Alliance Defending Freedom, an SLPC-designated hate group that Sen. Hawley has taken official action to support.

The Hawleys also have profited off of the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF), which the Southern Poverty Law Center has designated an anti-LGBTQ "hate group." According to *The Riverfront Times*, financial disclosures accessed by the Congressional Integrity Project, and emails obtained through public records requests, Josh and Erin Hawley have pocketed at least $10,700 in speaking fees and other expenses from the Alliance since 2013.

The Congressional Integrity Project calls on the Hawleys to release the transcripts of these speeches so Missourians can determine the extent to which their rhetoric aligns with the group's hateful views.

Financial contributions to the Hawley family already appear to be paying dividends for ADF. In April 2019, Yale University Law School announced that they would not provide loan repayments or stipends to students who worked for certain discriminatory organizations, including ADF. In response, Josh Hawley wrote a letter to Attorney General Barr and Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos requesting "legal action to strip Yale of federal funding" when the policy went into place.

#	Date	Activity	Amount	Who Paid?	Who received payment?
1	06/13/2017	Speech	$2,000.00	Alliance Defending Freedom Phoenix, AZ	Self
2	06/13/2017	Speech	$2,000.00	Alliance Defending Freedom Phoenix, AZ	Spouse
3	03/30/2017	Speech	$500.00	National Constitution Center Philadelphia, PA	Spouse
4	02/22/2017	Speech	$1,250.00	University of Missouri - Agricultural Extension Columbia, MO	Spouse
5	06/16/2016	Speech	$2,000.00	Alliance Defending Freedom Phoenix, AZ	Spouse

U.S. Senate financial disclosure form accessed by the Congressional Integrity Project. The form shows direct payments to Josh and Erin Hawley for speaking fees from an SLPC-designated hate group, the Alliance Defending Freedom.

MITT ROMNEY

Sen. Romney's son, Tagg, used his father's name and political connections to start a lucrative private equity firm despite having no training or experience in the sector.

The late George Romney, Mitt Romney's father, was the former Chairman of American Motors Corporation and Governor of Michigan. Sen. Romney famously built his career on the back of his father's wealth and connections. Now, it appears his own son, Tagg Romney, has continued the family tradition.

After Romney's first unsuccessful run for president in 2008, Tagg teamed up with Spencer Zwick, the campaign's top fundraiser, to found a private equity firm called Solamere Capital. Neither of them had any private equity experience or training. Instead, they relied on political connections to raise funds. According to *The New York Times*, the pair made one of their first investment pitches to John R. Miller, a beef executive who had been a major donor to Romney's campaign.

In 2012, by the time Romney's second run for president, the firm consisted of only Tagg Romney, Mr. Zwick, and Eric Scheuermann—a third partner who actually had private equity experience. Yet Solamere was in line to collect at least $16.8 million in fees over their first six years in operation. At times, Solamere did not even attempt to hide its dependence on Sen. Romney's political connections. The company shared its first address with the Romney campaign In Boston, and later operated from the same building as Romney's leadership PAC, Free and Strong America.

As he geared up to run for U.S. Senate in 2017, Mitt Romney supported the GOP tax bill that provided a massive boon to private equity firms like his son's—giving Tagg another leg up in a life already full of them.

CONGRESSIONAL INTEGRITY PROJECT

The Congressional Integrity Project is a 501 (c)(4) that exposes the truth about members of Congress who put their own interests ahead of their constituents, covering for corruption while launching baseless investigations to distract the public.

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