

BANKROLLING HATE:

How Wall Street Supports Racist Politicians and Enables White Supremacy

By Alyxandra Goodwin & Carrie Sloan



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

White supremacy and white nationalism are ascendant in the Trump era,¹ and many elected officials and candidates running for office have been emboldened to rip the mask of politeness off their racist, xenophobic, sexist, and homophobic ideologies.² The finance industry is aiding and abetting the rise of violent white supremacy and nationalism by donating to the congressional campaigns of candidates who have expressed viciously racist, xenophobic, sexist, and homophobic views.

Lobbying Groups Like the American Bankers Association Carry Water for Big Banks

The financial sector—classified by the U.S. Census Bureau as finance, insurance, and real estate, or FIRE—is the largest donor to federal parties and candidates.³ Wall Street banks, like JPMorgan Chase, Wells Fargo, and Bank of America, make their own donations but also rely on trade and lobbying groups, such as the American Bankers Association (ABA) and the American Financial Services Association (AFSA), to carry water for them.

THE FOUL FOUR: The Intersection of Wall Street's Deregulation Agenda and Overt White Supremacy

In this report, we identify four particularly repugnant candidates whom Wall Street has financially supported in recent election cycles. We call these candidates the Foul Four. The four GOP candidates we highlight all ran for election or reelection in November 2018, with substantial support from Wall Street. The four have all embraced Trumpism, and their campaigns received significant backing from the finance industry generally and the ABA especially. Lou Barletta (R-PA), Matt Gaetz (R-FL), Greg Gianforte (R-MT), and Steve King (R-IA) have voted in line with Trump between 80 and 99 percent of the time.⁴ All have cast votes that are anti-choice, anti-immigrant, or anti-Black, and each has aligned himself with or associated with known white supremacists or members of the racist so-called “alt-right”. They have all also consistently voted in line with Wall Street’s aggressive deregulation agenda.

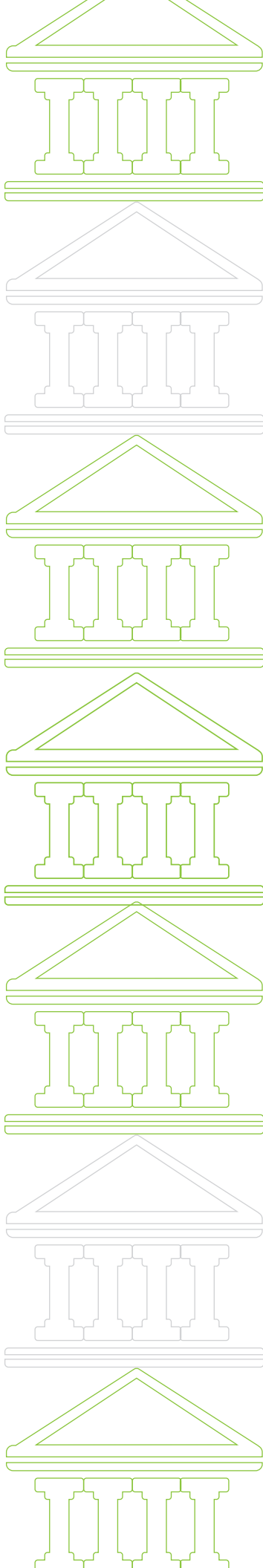


**All four candidates have said or done a number of overtly racist things.
For example:**

- > In 2017, Barletta generated controversy for refusing to cut ties with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), an anti-immigrant hate group.⁵ Between 2012 and 2018, the ABA donated \$45,000⁶ to Barletta’s campaigns—\$10,000 in 2018 alone.
- > When Trump earned global disapproval for referring to Haiti and African nations as “shit hole countries,” Gaetz doubled down on the racism by describing Haiti as a land of “sheet metal and garbage.”⁷ For his 2016 and 2018 campaigns, Rep. Gaetz received a total of \$10,000 from the ABA and \$1,000 from AFSA.
- > Greg Gianforte and his wife both donated to the Montana House of Representatives campaigns of white supremacists Taylor Rose⁸ and Robert Saunders.⁹ In 2018, the ABA gave Rep. Gianforte \$5,000 toward his reelection campaign.
- > In January 2019, Steve King was removed from committee assignments after he questioned why the terms “white nationalist” and “white supremacist” are offensive.¹⁰ From 2010 to 2018, the ABA donated \$49,000 to King’s campaigns. The ABA has donated \$78,500 since 2001, making the organization King’s second highest all-time donor.¹¹ The ABA gave King \$10,000 just in 2018.

We recommend the following:

- > Banks, like JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, and Wells Fargo; their trade associations; and the finance industry more generally must stop donating to candidates who have expressed violent and hateful views, publicly and through their voting records. This includes candidates who vote in line with or express support for Trump’s racist policies.
- > Donors who have already made contributions to these candidates should demand their money back. They should do so publicly and transparently.



INTRODUCTION

White supremacy and white nationalism are ascendant in the Trump era,¹² and many members of the Republican Party have been emboldened to rip the mask of politeness off their racist, xenophobic, sexist, and homophobic ideologies.¹³ As president, Donald Trump has made extreme statements and pushed policies that align with white nationalist agendas. Many Republican elected leaders and candidates have embraced his most extreme views and supported his most destructive actions, with virtually no meaningful resistance from the GOP or their financial supporters, even in the face of high-profile incidents of white nationalist violence. The finance industry is aiding and abetting the rise of violent white supremacy and nationalism by donating to the congressional campaigns of candidates who have expressed viciously racist, xenophobic, sexist, and homophobic views.

In this report, we identify four particularly repugnant candidates whom Wall Street has financially supported in recent election cycles. We call these candidates the Foul Four. Though white supremacy and racism infect our entire political system, the most blatantly racist candidates we identified are all Republicans. This is not surprising, since the GOP has made a comfortable, welcoming home for overtly racist politics and candidates.

This report offers a snapshot of just a portion of Wall Street's support for noxious and destructive candidates and policies, but we hope to contribute to efforts to hold Wall Street and big banks accountable for how they use their immense wealth and power to influence politics in ways that harm people and communities, particularly people and communities of color.

Lobbying Groups Like the American Bankers Association Carry Water for Big Banks

The financial sector—classified by the U.S. Census Bureau as finance, insurance, and real estate, or FIRE—is the largest donor to federal parties and candidates.¹⁴ Wall Street banks, like JPMorgan Chase, Wells Fargo, and Bank of America, make their own donations but also rely on trade and lobbying groups, such as the American Bankers Association (ABA) and the American Financial Services Association (AFSA), to carry water for them.

The ABA serves as the representative organization for America's banks—small, regional, and large—and lobbies on behalf of the industry, protecting the interests of big banks, like JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, Citigroup, Wells Fargo, U.S. Bank, and others. JPMorgan Chase and Bank of America both have representatives on the ABA's board of directors.¹⁵ The ABA donated \$2.6 million



LOU BARLETTA (R-PA),
MATT GAETZ (R-FL),
GREG GIANFORTE (R-MT),
AND STEVE KING (R-IA) HAVE
VOTED IN LINE WITH TRUMP
***BETWEEN 80 AND 99
PERCENT OF THE TIME.***
ALL HAVE CAST VOTES
THAT ARE ANTI-CHOICE,
ANTI-IMMIGRANT, OR
ANTI-BLACK, AND EACH HAS
ALIGNED HIMSELF WITH OR
ASSOCIATED WITH KNOWN
WHITE SUPREMACISTS OR
MEMBERS OF THE RACIST
SO-CALLED “ALT-RIGHT”.
THEY HAVE ALL ALSO
CONSISTENTLY VOTED IN
LINE WITH WALL STREET’S
AGGRESSIVE DEREGULATION
AGENDA.

to candidates running for Congress in the 2018 election.¹⁶ In April 2018, the ABA for the first time began independently funding ads in support of political candidates, and by September it had produced twelve ads, eight of which were for Republican candidates.¹⁷

The AFSA represents the consumer credit industry and lobbies on its behalf.¹⁸ Wells Fargo, Bank of America, JPMorgan Chase, and SunTrust Bank all have representation within the AFSA’s board of directors.¹⁹ In 2018, donations by the AFSA’s political action committee (PAC) to congressional candidates totaled nearly \$540,000, and 69 percent of those donations went to Republicans.²⁰

When these groups make donations to political candidates, they do so on behalf of their members, especially the members who pay the highest dues. And dues can be quite high. For example, Wells Fargo²¹ and Bank of America²² paid at least \$25,000 for membership to one of these organizations in 2018. Wall Street banks bear responsibility for the donations made by the trade and lobbying groups they support financially, which do their bidding. In 2018, finance-sector PACs gave at least \$88.8 million to candidates running for federal offices.²³

THE FOUL FOUR: The Intersection of Wall Street’s Deregulation Agenda and Overt White Supremacy

The four GOP candidates we focus on here all ran for election or reelection in November 2018. (Three won their races, and one lost.) They have all embraced Trumpism, and their campaigns received significant backing from the finance industry generally and the ABA especially. Lou Barletta (R-PA), Matt Gaetz (R-FL), Greg Gianforte (R-MT), and Steve King (R-IA) have voted in line with Trump ***between 80 and 99 percent of the time.***²⁴ All have cast votes that are anti-choice, anti-immigrant, or anti-Black, and each has aligned himself with or associated with known white supremacists or members of the racist so-called “alt-right”. They have all also consistently voted in line with Wall Street’s aggressive deregulation agenda.

How Wall Street’s Deregulation Agenda Intersects with White Supremacy

In August 2018, Americans for Financial Reform (AFR) issued a report analyzing the way the 115th Congress voted on thirty-nine bills aimed at deregulating the finance industry. AFR found a “disturbing pattern” of legislators from both parties bowing to the will of the financial industry, “with little or no thought given to the interests of consumers, borrowers, or investors, or to the stability, transparency, and accountability of the financial sector.” Additionally, AFR said, these voting patterns “reflect the unconscionable willingness of many lawmakers to enable racial discrimination in lending, and the extraction of wealth from working people, particularly people of color.”²⁵

For example, Congress passed the ironically named Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protection Act (S. 2155), a sweeping set of regulation rollbacks that received strong bipartisan support.²⁶ Among other things, the act rolled back protections against predatory and racially discriminatory lending.²⁷ Members of Congress also supported Wall Street’s predatory behavior with votes in favor of the PROSPER Act (H.R. 4508),²⁸ which targets student borrowers with higher repayment costs while letting fraudulent institutions off the hook; voted to inhibit the power of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) to protect consumers from getting caught in debt traps by predatory short-term lenders;²⁹ and voted in favor of the Portfolio Lending and Mortgage Access Act (H.R. 2226), which would enable predatory lending by exempting many banks from regulations prohibiting mortgage lenders from steering borrowers into excessively expensive loans.³⁰ As we know, nonwhite borrowers are far more likely to be steered toward more expensive loans than white borrowers.³¹ The Foul Four voted for the vast majority of the deregulatory bills in AFR’s analysis. See *Table 1*.

TABLE 1:

FOUL FOUR VOTES FOR WALL STREET DEREGULATION IN THE 115TH CONGRESS.

Candidate Who Supported Wall Street Deregulatory Bills (out of 39)⁹²

Barletta	34	
Gaetz	37	
Gianforte	29	
King	38	



LOU BARLETTA
(R-PA, Challenger, Lost)

LOST HIS RUN FOR SENATE
IN 2018 WHILE SERVING
AS CONGRESSMAN FROM
PENNSYLVANIA'S 11TH

VOTED WITH TRUMP NEARLY
98 PERCENT OF THE TIME³²

- \$ Between 2012 and 2018, the ABA donated \$45,000³³ to Barletta's campaigns— \$10,000 in 2018 alone.
- \$ AFSA, USAA Bank, and Navient have also contributed to Barletta's campaigns. Navient is the largest student loan servicing company and has been sued multiple times for its predatory practices, such as creating barriers for loan repayment.³⁴

BARLETTA'S RECORD OF RACISM

- Barletta is an anti-immigration extremist. In June 2018, Barletta defended the president's barbaric zero-tolerance immigration policy that separated thousands of children from their parents on the U.S.-Mexico border.³⁵
- In 2017, Barletta generated controversy for refusing to cut ties with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), an anti-immigrant hate group.³⁶
- As Mayor of Hazelton, Pennsylvania, Barletta pushed for English to become the city's official language and tried to crack down on immigration with a local ordinance establishing punishments for businesses that hired undocumented immigrants and landlords who rented to them.³⁷ A federal court found the ordinance to be unconstitutional.³⁸

BARLETTA'S LEGISLATIVE RECORD

- Introduced the anti-immigrant Mobilizing Against Sanctuary Cities Act³⁹ bill that would withhold federal funding from sanctuary cities, which attempt to protect immigrants from unfair deportation.
- Voted for the anti-immigrant No Sanctuary for Criminals Act (H.R. 3003),⁴⁰ another attempt to force sanctuary cities to cooperate with federal immigration authorities on penalty of losing federal public safety funds.
- Voted for Kate's Law (H.R. 3004), yet another bill seeking to criminalize immigrants by imposing a five-year mandatory minimum sentence on people who reenter the country after being deported.⁴¹
- Cosponsored the anti-choice and anti-health care bill Defund Planned Parenthood Act of 2017 (H.R. 354),⁴² which would have eliminated federal funding for Planned Parenthood.
- Voted multiple times to repeal or defund the Affordable Care Act.⁴³



MATT GAETZ
(R-FL, Incumbent, Won)

U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, 1ST
DISTRICT (WESTERN
PANHANDLE)

MEMBER OF U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES SINCE 2017;
MEMBER OF FLORIDA HOUSE
FROM 2000- 2016

VOTED IN LINE WITH TRUMP
NEARLY 83 PERCENT OF THE
TIME⁴⁴

- \$ For his 2016 and 2018 campaigns, Rep. Gaetz received a total of \$10,000 from the ABA and \$1,000 from AFSA.
- \$ The Credit Union National Association donated \$3,500 to Gaetz's 2018 reelection campaign.

Gaetz's Record of Racism

- GQ has dubbed Matt Gaetz “the Trumpiest congressman in Trump’s Washington.”⁴⁵
- When Trump earned global disapproval for referring to Haiti and African nations as “shit hole countries,” Gaetz doubled down on the racism by describing Haiti as a land of “sheet metal and garbage.”⁴⁶
- In 2018, Gaetz gave a ticket to the State of the Union to Chuck C. Johnson, an apparent Holocaust denier who is widely known as a right-wing troll.⁴⁷
- In October 2018, Gaetz tweeted an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory alleging that philanthropist and Holocaust survivor George Soros had funded a group of migrants (in fact, refugees seeking asylum) to “storm” the U.S. border. Trump made a similar tweet a few days later. Within days, a Trump supporter attempted to murder Soros and other political figures, including Hillary Clinton, via pipe bombs sent through the U.S. mail.⁴⁸ A few days after that, an apparent white supremacist murdered eleven people at a synagogue in Pittsburgh; the shooter had shared anti-Soros conspiracy theories on his social media pages and blamed Jews for the caravan of “invaders” intent on “killing our people.”⁴⁹
- A 2016 campaign ad promised that Gaetz would “fight to pass open carry, kill Muslim terrorists, and build the wall” — the wall being Trump’s fantasized barrier between the U.S. and Mexico.⁵⁰

GAETZ'S LEGISLATIVE RECORD

- During his seven years as a representative, Gaetz has voted to support at least ten anti-choice bills and sponsored a bill that would prohibit some insurance from covering abortion.⁵¹
- Gaetz voted for the No Sanctuary for Criminals Act (H.R. 3003), a hard-line anti-immigration bill that would force sanctuary cities to cooperate with federal immigration authorities on penalty of losing federal public safety funds.⁵²
- Proposed an amendment to Florida’s racist “stand your ground”⁵³ law that would expunge the records of those who use the law to get away with murder.⁵⁴ “Stand your ground” laws allow people to use lethal

“FIGHT TO PASS OPEN CARRY,
KILL MUSLIM TERRORISTS,
AND BUILD THE WALL”

force in response to a perceived threat to their life. The most famous case may be George Zimmerman’s murder of Black seventeen-year-old Trayvon Martin. Researchers studying the application of the law in Florida found a “quantifiable racial bias that reveals a leniency in convictions if the victim is non-White”; defendants using “stand your ground” are twice as likely to be convicted when victims are white as opposed to when victims are not white.⁵⁵ Zimmerman’s 2013 acquittal inspired the Black Lives Matter movement; Gaetz proposed the amendment about eight months after that acquittal.



GREG GIANFORTE
(R-MT, Incumbent, Won)

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MONTANA'S AT-LARGE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

MEMBER OF U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SINCE 2017

VOTED IN LINE WITH TRUMP MORE THAN 93 PERCENT OF THE TIME⁵⁶

- \$ In 2018, the ABA gave Rep. Gianforte \$5,000 toward his reelection campaign.
- \$ U.S. Bancorp and Comerica Bank have also contributed to Gianforte.

GIANFORTE'S RECORD OF RACISM

- Gianforte made national headlines in 2017 when he body-slammed Ben Jacobs, a Jewish reporter for the *Guardian*, after Jacobs asked him a question about the Republican health care plan.⁵⁷ Gianforte later pleaded guilty to misdemeanor assault.⁵⁸ This act of violence against a member of the press won Gianforte praise from Trump.⁵⁹
- Gianforte and his wife both donated to the Montana House of Representatives campaigns of white supremacists Taylor Rose⁶⁰ and Robert Saunders.⁶¹
- When Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court confirmation vote was scheduled for the same day as the wedding of Senator Steve Daines' (R-MT) daughter, Gianforte made sure that Daines would be able to get from Montana to D.C. in time to vote for the right-wing justice. There was intense controversy around Kavanaugh, who was under scrutiny for sexual assault allegations, and his confirmation was not assured. Gianforte, the second richest member of Congress,⁶² offered to let Daines (R-MT) borrow his private jet so Daines could help ensure Kavanaugh's confirmation.⁶³
- Gianforte is a vocal supporter of Trump's racist border wall fantasy.⁶⁴

GIANFORTE'S LEGISLATIVE RECORD

- During his short time in Congress, Gianforte has voted to exempt some power plants from certain Environmental Protection Agency regulations.⁶⁵
- Voted for a resolution against a carbon tax.⁶⁶
- Voted to make it harder for regulators to track racial bias in lending.⁶⁷
- Resorted to xenophobic fearmongering in his 2018 reelection campaign by distorting his opponent's positions on immigration.⁶⁸



STEVE KING

(R-IA, Incumbent, Won)

U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, 4TH DISTRICT
(NORTHWESTERN IOWA)

MEMBER OF U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES SINCE 2003

VOTED IN LINE WITH TRUMP
92 PERCENT OF THE TIME⁶⁹

- \$ From 2010 to 2018, the ABA donated \$49,000 to King's campaigns. The ABA has donated \$78,500 since 2001, making the organization King's second highest all-time donor.⁷⁰ The ABA gave King \$10,000 just in 2018.
- \$ Since 2012, King has received over \$161,000 in donations from the finance sector, including Cigna Corporation, Mutual of Omaha, and the National Association of Realtors.

KING'S RECORD OF RACISM

- In January 2019, King was removed from committee assignments after questioning why terms like "white nationalist" and "white supremacist" are offensive.⁷¹
- In October 2018, Representative Steve Stivers of Ohio, the chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, rebuked King for racist comments and tweets, saying, "We must stand up against white supremacy and hate in all forms, and I strongly condemn this behavior."⁷²
- King endorsed Donald Trump's reelection campaign in early 2018⁷³ and joined a group of Republicans to nominate the president for a Nobel Peace Prize for "his work to ease nuclear tensions with North Korea."⁷⁴
- King rated Trump a nine on a ten-point scale for what King described as "(getting) his public message out there, what he has done to the tone and culture of America."⁷⁵
- King has retweeted neo-Nazis⁷⁶ and has claimed undocumented immigrants are smuggling drugs across the border into the U.S.⁷⁷
- King is vocally anti-Muslim. He has said that he doesn't want Muslims to work in meatpacking plants in his district,⁷⁸ endorsed a viciously anti-Muslim Dutch politician,⁷⁹ and voiced support for an anti-Islam event because, he explained to CNN, "Western civilization is superior."⁸⁰
- Vice* collected a "short history" of his racist remarks going back to 2004. They include comparing immigrants to livestock and proudly displaying a Confederate battle flag on his desk—even though he's from Iowa, which was part of the Union during the Civil War.⁸¹ King had the battle flag on his desk until 2017, long after the flag became strongly associated with Dylann Roof's massacre in a Black South Carolina church, which prompted some Southern states to remove such flags from state capitol grounds.⁸²

FROM 2010 TO 2018, THE ABA DONATED \$49,000 TO KING'S CAMPAIGNS. THE ABA HAS DONATED \$78,500 SINCE 2001, MAKING THE ORGANIZATION KING'S SECOND HIGHEST ALL-TIME DONOR.



- In October 2018, King endorsed a white nationalist for mayor of Toronto,⁸³ tweeting that the candidate is “Pro Western Civilization.”⁸⁴
- Like Gaetz, King has spread anti-Semitic conspiracy theories about George Soros.⁸⁵

KING'S LEGISLATIVE RECORD

- Tried to interfere with the equal right to marriage by cosponsoring⁸⁶ a constitutional amendment defining marriage as a union of “a man and a woman.”⁸⁷
- Voted in support of an extension on the authoritarian Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, legislation that serves as the legal basis for warrantless spying on residents of the United States.⁸⁸
- Has been a very vocal supporter of Trump’s Muslim ban.⁸⁹
- Voted to repeal a federal rule enacted to protect minority car buyers from discriminatory markups on auto loans.⁹⁰
- Voted to penalize states and localities with sanctuary laws protecting immigrants from persecution.⁹¹



CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Banks like Wells Fargo, JPMorgan Chase and Bank of America may rely on trade associations, such as the ABA and AFSA, to support candidates who will do the bidding of the finance industry, but once they are in office, these candidates are voting for a white supremacist agenda and using their offices as platforms to propagate white supremacist views. By providing these candidates with the funding they need to get elected, whether directly or through their trade associations, such as the ABA, these banks are complicit in the extremist agendas these politicians enact when they are in office. Furthermore, the industry is telling us it is willing to financially contribute to white supremacists in order to increase profits.

Recommendations:

1. Banks, like JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, and Wells Fargo; their trade associations; and the finance industry more generally must stop donating to candidates who have expressed violent and hateful views, publicly and through their voting records. This includes candidates who vote in line with or express support for Trump's racist policies.
2. Donors who have already made contributions to these candidates should demand their money back. They should do so publicly and transparently.

About Our Numbers

For the Foul Four, we used campaign finance data provided by the National Institute on Money and State Politics, which operates the Follow the Money database at followthemoney.org. For aggregate data, such as total donations from the finance sector, we used campaign contribution data from the Center for Responsive Politics' [OpenSecrets.org](https://www.opensecrets.org) database. We used campaign contribution data from followthemoney.org because it allowed us to pull more specific breakdowns for donations to the individual candidates, and we used aggregate data from [OpenSecrets.org](https://www.opensecrets.org) because we were able to access its final 2018 data earlier.

- 1 Trevor Hughes, "Number of White and Black Hate Groups Surge under Trump, Extremist-Tracking Organization Says," USA Today, February 22, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/02/22/number-white-and-black-hate-groups-surge-under-trump-extremist-tracking-organization-says/363978002/>.
- 2 Jason Sattler, "Trump Could Blow Lid off GOP's Well-Mannered White Supremacy," USA Today, August 31, 2017, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/08/29/trump-blow-lid-off-polite-gop-white-supremacy-jason-sattler-column/607732001>.
- 3 "Finance/Insurance/Real Estate," OpenSecrets.org, accessed January 2019, <https://www.opensecrets.org/industries/indus.php?Ind=F>.
- 4 Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump, FiveThirtyEight, accessed January 24, 2019 <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/lou-barletta/>
- 5 "Federation for American Immigration Reform," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed October 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/federation-american-immigration-reform>.
- 6 All donation data to individual candidates was obtained from followthemoney.org in February 2019.
- 7 Nash Jenkins, "Rep. Matt Gaetz Wants to Make Trumpism the New Normal," Time, April 5, 2018, <http://time.com/5228970/rep-matt-gaetz-wants-to-make-trumpism-the-new-normal/>.
- 8 David Neiwart, "Montana Republicans Warmly Embrace a White Nationalist's Legislative Candidacy," Southern Poverty Law Center, October 10, 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/10/10/montana-republicans-warmly-embrace-white-nationalists-legislative-candidacy>.
- 9 Jayme Fraser, "Gianforte on Donating to Suspected White Nationalist: 'I Was Unaware of Some of His Views,'" Missoulian, May 18, 2017, https://missoulian.com/news/state-and-regional/govt-and-politics/gianforte-on-donating-to-suspected-white-nationalist-i-was-unaware/article_fc11afb9-518a-5f98-b637-5dc08c3a51b2.html.
- 10 Trip Gabriel, Jonathan Martin, and Nicholas Fandos, "Steve King Removed from Committee Assignments over White Supremacy Remark," New York Times, January 14, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/us/politics/steve-king-white-supremacy.html>.
- 11 "Rep. Steven A. King—Iowa District 04," OpenSecrets.org, accessed February 2019, <https://www.opensecrets.org/members-of-congress/contributors?cid=N00025237&cycle=CAREER&recs=100&type=I>. By providing these candidates with the funding they need to get elected, whether directly or through their trade associations such as the ABA, big banks are complicit in the extremist agendas these politicians enact when they are in office. Furthermore, the industry is telling us it is willing to financially contribute to
- white supremacists in order to increase profits. But it's not too late for banks and their trade associations to take responsibility.
- 12 Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump, FiveThirtyEight, accessed January 24, 2019 <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/lou-barletta/>
- 13 "Federation for American Immigration Reform," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed October 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/federation-american-immigration-reform>.
- 14 All donation data to individual candidates was obtained from followthemoney.org in February 2019.
- 15 Nash Jenkins, "Rep. Matt Gaetz Wants to Make Trumpism the New Normal," Time, April 5, 2018, <http://time.com/5228970/rep-matt-gaetz-wants-to-make-trumpism-the-new-normal/>
- 16 David Neiwart, "Montana Republicans Warmly Embrace a White Nationalist's Legislative Candidacy," Southern Poverty Law Center, October 10, 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/10/10/montana-republicans-warmly-embrace-white-nationalists-legislative-candidacy>.
- 17 Jayme Fraser, "Gianforte on Donating to Suspected White Nationalist: 'I Was Unaware of Some of His Views,'" Missoulian, May 18, 2017, https://missoulian.com/news/state-and-regional/govt-and-politics/gianforte-on-donating-to-suspected-white-nationalist-i-was-unaware/article_fc11afb9-518a-5f98-b637-5dc08c3a51b2.html.
- 18 Trip Gabriel, Jonathan Martin, and Nicholas Fandos, "Steve King Removed from Committee Assignments over White Supremacy Remark," New York Times, January 14, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/us/politics/steve-king-white-supremacy.html>.
- 19 "Rep. Steven A. King—Iowa District 04," OpenSecrets.org, accessed February 2019, <https://www.opensecrets.org/members-of-congress/contributors?cid=N00025237&cycle=CAREER&recs=100&type=I>.
- 20 "American Financial Services Assn: Recipients," OpenSecrets.org, accessed January 2019, <https://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/toprecips.php?id=D000000590&cycle=2018>.
- 21 "Wells Fargo Trade Association Memberships—\$25,000 or More 2018," Wells Fargo, accessed December 2018, <https://www08.wellsfargomedia.com/assets/pdf/about/corporate-responsibility/trade-associations.pdf>.
- 22 "Political Activities," Bank of America Investor Relations, accessed January 2019, <http://investor.bankofamerica.com/phoenix.zhtml?c=71595&p=i-rol-govpac#fbid=U1zfSAHILJR>.
- 23 "Finance, Insurance & Real Estate Sector," OpenSecrets.org, accessed January 2019, <https://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/sector.php?txt=F&cycle=2018>.
- 24 Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump, FiveThirtyEight, accessed January 24, 2019 <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/lou-barletta/>
- 25 Americans for Financial Reform, "Where They Stand on Financial Reform: Votes Cast in the 115th Congress," August 2018, <http://ourfinancialsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/2018-Voting-Record-Aug.-2018.pdf>. Accessed February 2019.
- 26 David Dayen, "Elizabeth Warren Was Right: New Law Is Already Making Banks Bigger," Intercept, February 8, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/02/08/elizabeth-warren-was-right-new-law-is-already-making-banks-bigger/>.
- 27 Americans for Financial Reform, "Where They Stand on Financial Reform," 32.
- 28 *ibid.*, 33.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 31 Tracy Jan, "The Senate Rolls Back Rules Meant to Root Out Discrimination by Mortgage Lenders," Washington Post, March 14, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2018/03/14/the-senate-rolls-back-rules-meant-to-root-out-discrimination-by-mortgage-lenders/?utm_term=.e063bc44703f.
- 32 Aaron Bycoffe, "Lou Barletta," Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump, FiveThirtyEight, accessed January 24, 2019, <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/lou-barletta/>.
- 33 All donation data to individual candidates was obtained from followthemoney.org in February 2019.
- 34 Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, "CFPB Sues Nation's Largest Student Loan Company Navient for Failing Borrowers at Every Stage of Repayment," January 18, 2017, <https://www.consumerfinance.gov/about-us/newsroom/cfbp-sues-nations-largest-student-loan-company-navient-failing-borrowers-every-stage-repayment>.
- 35 Igor Bobic, "Pennsylvania GOP Senate Candidate Defends Trump Family Separation Policy," Huffington Post, June 18, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/lou-barletta-trump-family-separation_us_5b27c247e4b056b2263c62c4.
- 36 "Federation for American Immigration Reform," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed October 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/federation-american-immigration-reform>.
- 37 Rebekah Enralgo, "GOP Congressman Refuses to Cut Ties with Extremist Group," ThinkProgress, August 24, 2017, <https://thinkprogress.org/gop-congressman-refuses-to-cut-ties-with-extremist-group-020a36aef3f3/>.
- 38 Michael W. Savage, "Immigration Law Unconstitutional, Court Rules," Washington Post, September 10, 2010, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/09/AR2010090907024.html>.

- 39 “Bill O’Boyle, “Barletta’s 1st Bill of 115th Congress: De-fund Sanctuary Cities.” Times Leader. January 06, 2017. <https://www.timesleader.com/news/local/622587/barlettas-1st-bill-of-115th-congress-de-fund-sanctuary-cities>.
- 40 “Lou Barletta’s Selected Sponsorships,” Vote Smart, accessed October 2018, https://votesmart.org/candidate/key-votes/47143/lou-barletta/?p=1&sponsorships=1#.W7_H0C-ZPq0.
- 41 American Civil Liberties Union, “ACLU Opposes S. 2193, Kate’s Law,” July 6, 2016, <https://www.aclu.org/letter/aclu-opposes-s-2193-kates-law>.
- 42 Defund Planned Parenthood Act of 2017, H.R. 354, 115th Congress (2017–2018), list of cosponsors, accessed January 2019, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/354/cosponsors?pageSort=lastToFirst&r=34&q=%7B%22cosponsor-state%22%3A%22Pennsylvania%22%7D>.
- 43 Colin Deppen, “Controversial Healthcare Ad: Did Barletta Vote to ‘Strip Coverage’ for Pre-existing Conditions?” Billy Penn, October 20, 2018, <https://billypenn.com/2018/10/20/controversial-healthcare-ad-did-barletta-vote-to-strip-coverage-for-pre-existing-conditions/>.
- 44 Aaron Bycoffe, “Matt Gaetz,” Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump, FiveThirtyEight, accessed January 24, 2019. <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/matt-gaetz/>.
- 45 Ben Schreckinger, “Matt Gaetz Is the Trumpiest Congressman in Trump’s Washington,” GQ, April 11, 2018, <https://www.gq.com/story/matt-gaetz-trumpiest-congressman-in-washington>.
- 46 Nash Jenkins, “Rep. Matt Gaetz Wants to Make Trumpism the New Normal,” Time, April 5, 2018, <http://time.com/5228970/rep-matt-gaetz-wants-to-make-trumpism-the-new-normal/>.
- 47 David Corn, “Two Republican Congressmen Hobnob with an Alleged Holocaust Denier. Again,” Mother Jones, September 13, 2018, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2018/09/alleged-holocaust-denier-chuck-johnson-attends-matt-gaetz-fund-raiser-dana-rohrbacher/>.
- 48 Danielle Paquette, Lori Rozsa, and Matt Zapotosky, “‘He Felt That Somebody Was Finally Talking to Him’: How the Package-Bomb Suspect Found Inspiration in Trump,” Washington Post, October 27, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2018/10/27/cesar-sayoc-was-someone-lost-then-he-found-father-trump-family-attorney-tells-cnn/?utm_term=.e4043a633fb2.
- 49 Adam Serwer, “Trump’s Caravan Hysteria Led to This,” Atlantic, October 31, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/10/caravan-lie-sparked-massacre-american-jews/574213/>.
- 50 Ryan Ray, “Matt Gaetz Vows to ‘Fight Back’ against Washington in New TV Spot,” Florida Politics, June 28, 2016. <http://floridapolitics.com/archives/214854-matt-gaetz-vows-fight-back-washington-new-tv-spot>.
- 51 “HB 97—Prohibits Insurance Coverage of Abortion—Florida Key Vote,” Vote Smart, June 2, 2011, <https://votesmart.org/bill/13199/34794/117101/prohibits-insurance-coverage-of-abortion#.W85idC-ZP-Y>. Accessed October 2018.
- 52 “HR 3003—No Sanctuary for Criminals Act—National Key Vote,” Vote Smart, June 29, 2017. <https://votesmart.org/bill/23224/60153/117101/no-sanctuary-for-criminals-act#.W77ixi-ZO9Y>.
- 53 Erin Meisenzahl-Peace, “‘Stand Your Ground’ Laws Are Racist, New Study Reveals,” Broadly, December 1, 2015, https://broadly.vice.com/en_us/article/nz8pek/stand-your-ground-laws-are-racist-new-study-reveals.
- 54 Dexter Mullins, “Proposed ‘Stand Your Ground’ Amendment Would Expunge Records,” Al Jazeera America, March 25, 2014, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/3/25/amendment-would-cut-journalists-access-to-stand-your-ground-records.html>.
- 55 Nicole Ackermann, Melody S. Goodman, Keon Gilbert, Cassandra Arroyo-Johnson, and Marcello Paganò, “Race, Law, and Health: Examination of ‘Stand Your Ground’ and Defendant Convictions in Florida,” Social Science and Medicine 142 (October 2015): 194–201, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0277953615300642#!>.
- 56 Aaron Bycoffe, “Greg Gianforte,” Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump, FiveThirtyEight, accessed October 10, 2018, <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/greg-gianforte/>.
- 57 Julia Carrie Wong and Sam Levin, “Republican Candidate Charged with Assault after ‘Body-Slamming’ Guardian Reporter,” Guardian, May 25, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/24/greg-gianforte-body-slams-reporter-ben-jacobs-montana>.
- 58 Kyung Lah, “Gianforte Pleads Guilty to Assault on Incident with Reporter,” CNN, June 12, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/06/12/politics/greg-gianforte-assault-plea/index.html>.
- 59 Kevin Breuninger, “Republicans Quiet on Trump’s Praise for Montana Lawmaker Greg Gianforte’s Assault on Reporter,” CNBC, October 19, 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/10/19/gop-quiet-on-trump-praising-greg-gianforte-for-assaulting-reporter.html>. Accessed January 2019.
- 60 David Neiwart, “Montana Republicans Warmly Embrace a White Nationalist’s Legislative Candidacy,” Southern Poverty Law Center, October 10, 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/10/10/montana-republicans-warmly-embrace-white-nationalists-legislative-candidacy>.
- 61 Jayme Fraser, “Gianforte on Donating to Suspected White Nationalist: ‘I Was Unaware of Some of His Views,’” Missoulian, May 18, 2017, https://missoulian.com/news/state-and-regional/govt-and-politics/gianforte-on-donating-to-suspected-white-nationalist-i-was-unaware/article_fc11afb9-518a-5f98-b637-5dc08c3a51b2.html.
- 62 Zack Friedman, “The Richest Members Of Congress Built Wealth This Way,” Forbes, March 30, 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/zack-friedman/2018/03/30/congress-money-entrepreneur/#17ad98923c5a>.
- 63 Paul LeBlanc, “Greg Gianforte’s Private Plane Could Be Critical to Kavanaugh’s Confirmation,” CNN, October 5, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/05/politics/greg-gianforte-plane-steve-daines/index.html>.
- 64 Tom Lutey, “Gianforte Firmly behind Trump’s Wall Demand after Visiting Border in Arizona,” Billings Gazette, January 25, 2019, https://billingsgazette.com/news/state-and-regional/gianforte-firmly-behind-trump-s-wall-demand-after-visiting-border/article_453aef22-2903-5f09-802b-9c6a7e1c3981.html.
- 65 “HR 1119—SENSE Act—National Key Vote,” Vote Smart, March 8, 2018, <https://votesmart.org/bill/24439/62447/168594/sense-act#.W7-APS-ZO9Y>.
- 66 “H Con Res 119—Expressing the Sense of Congress That a Carbon Tax Would Be Detrimental to the United States Economy—National Key Vote,” Vote Smart, July 19, 2018, <https://votesmart.org/bill/24938/63566/168594/expressing-the-sense-of-congress-that-a-carbon-tax-would-be-detrimental-to-the-united-states-economy#.W7-BXS-ZO9Y>.
- 67 “S 2155—Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protection Act—National Key Vote,” Vote Smart, May 24, 2018, <https://votesmart.org/bill/24460/63003/168594/economic-growth-regulatory-relief-and-consumer-protection-act#.W7-EpS-ZO9Y>.
- 68 Tom Lutey, “Gianforte Ad Characterizes Williams as Soft on Immigration—and There’s Little Support for That,” Billings Gazette, August 17, 2018, https://billingsgazette.com/news/government-and-politics/gianforte-ad-characterizes-williams-as-soft-on-immigration-and-there/article_13ed148e-213e-538c-a8e4-0f6526d32cc2.html.
- 69 Aaron Bycoffe, “Steve King,” Tracking Congress in the Age of Trump, FiveThirtyEight, accessed January 24, 2019, <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/congress-trump-score/steve-king/>.
- 70 “Rep. Steven A. King—Iowa District 04,” OpenSecrets.org, accessed February 2019, <https://www.opensecrets.org/members-of-congress/contributors?cid=N00025237&cycle=CAREER&recs=100&type=I>.
- 71 Trip Gabriel, Jonathan Martin, and Nicholas Fandos, “Steve King Removed from Committee Assignments over White Supremacy Remark,” New York Times, January 14, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/us/politics/steve-king-white-supremacy.html>.
- 72 Catie Edmondson, “Standing ‘against White Supremacy,’ G.O.P. Campaign Chief Rebukes Steve King,” New York Times, October 30, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/30/us/politics/steve-king-white-supremacy.html?module=inline>. Accessed January 2019.
- 73 William Petroski, “Steve King Embracing Trump as

- He Seeks Re-election in Crowded Field,” Des Moines Register, February 24, 2018, <https://www.desmoines-register.com/story/news/politics/2018/02/23/steve-king-embracing-trump-he-seeks-re-election-crowded-field/367641002/>.
- 74 Kevin Freking, “Iowa Rep. Steve King Nominates President Donald Trump for Nobel Peace Prize,” Des Moines Register, May 2, 2018, <https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/news/politics/2018/05/02/iowa-rep-steve-king-nominates-president-donald-trump-nobel-peace-prize/574412002/>.
- 75 Bret Hayworth, “Steve King Grades the President: 9 on 10-Scale for Trump,” Sioux City Journal, April 30, 2018, https://siouxcityjournal.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/steve-king-grades-the-president-on-scale-for-trump/article_d3153839-cd51-591c-b4be-edae0c376581.html.
- 76 Jane Coaston, “Steve King Is a Racist, and Conservatives Don’t Want to Talk about It,” Vox, June 28, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/2018/6/28/17506880/steve-king-twitter-racism-congress-republicans>.
- 77 Robin Marty, “13 Times Representative Steve King Has Been Horribly Offensive,” Cosmopolitan, March 16, 2018, <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a9129973/steve-king-quotes-abortion-immigration/>.
- 78 Jamie Ehrlich, “Steve King Doesn’t Want Somali Muslims to Package Pork in His District,” CNN, June 22, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/22/politics/steve-king-muslims-pork/index.html>.
- 79 Eve Peyser, “A Short History of Congressman Steve King Saying Racist Shit,” Vice, March 13, 2017, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/ez8a44/a-short-history-of-congressman-steve-king-saying-racist-shit. Accessed October 2018.
- 80 David Edwards, “Rep. Steve King: Muhammad Cartoon Contest Teaches Muslims That ‘Western Civilization Is Superior,’” Raw Story, May 5, 2015, <https://www.rawstory.com/2015/05/steve-king-muhammad-cartoon-contest-teaches-muslims-that-western-civilization-is-superior/>.
- 81 Peyser, “A Short History of Congressman Steve King Saying Racist Shit.”
- 82 Jack Jenkins, “How the Charleston Shooting Is Linked to the Confederate Flag, According to a South Carolinian,” ThinkProgress, June 19, 2015, <https://thinkprogress.org/how-the-charleston-shooting-is-linked-to-the-confederate-flag-according-to-a-south-carolinian-1b97034fb56f/>.
- 83 Tina Nguyen, “Republican Congressman Endorses White Supremacy,” Hive, October 17, 2018, <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2018/10/steve-king-endorses-white-supremacist>.
- 84 Steve King (@SteveKingIA), “Faith Goldy, an excellent candidate for Toronto mayor, pro Rule of Law, pro Make Canada Safe Again, pro balanced budget, &...BEST of all, Pro Western Civilization and a fighter for our values. @FaithGoldy will not be silenced. <https://pgj.cc/USEJFh>,” Twitter, October 16, 2018, 7:46 p.m., <https://twitter.com/SteveKingIA/status/1052390445735706624>.
- 85 Spencer Ackerman, “There’s Been a George Soros for Every Era of Anti-Semitic Panic.” Daily Beast, October 13, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/theres-been-a-george-soros-for-every-era-of-antisemitic-panic>.
- 86 Marriage Protection Amendment, H. J. Res. 51, 113th Congress (2013–2014), list of cosponsors, accessed October 2018, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/113th-congress/house-joint-resolution/51/cosponsors?overview=closed#tabs>.
- 87 Marriage Protection Amendment, H. J. Res. 88, 109th Congress (2005–2006), accessed October 2018, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/109th-congress/house-joint-resolution/88>.
- 88 John Arit, “Congress Votes to Extend Warrantless-Spying Program through 2023,” Bloomberg, January 18, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-01-18/congress-votes-to-extend-warrantless-spying-program-through-2023>.
- 89 Erin Warner, “Rep Steve King Attacks ‘Rogue’ Judges in Pro-Muslim Ban Rant,” National Iranian American Council, October 30, 2017, <https://www.niacouncil.org/rep-steve-king-attacks-rogue-judges-pro-muslim-ban-rant/>.
- 90 Bycoffe, “Steve King.”
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Americans for Financial Reform, “Where They Stand on Financial Reform,” 41.

About ACRE

The **Action Center on Race & the Economy** (ACRE) is a campaign hub for organizations working at the intersection of racial justice and Wall Street accountability. We provide research and strategic support for campaigns to win structural change by directly taking on the financial elite that are responsible for pillaging communities of color, devastating working-class communities, and harming our environment.

About CRESCENDO

Crescendo is a project of ACRE that is focused on researching and campaigning against anti-Muslim corporations. We seek to stem the rise of anti-Muslim bigotry by creating consequences for corporations that enable, promote, or partake in attacks on Muslims.