

THE BRIEFING

Tom Emmer (R-MN-06)



Cody Pobuda

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All claims in this book are drawn from public records and named secondary sources — congressional votes, federal filings, financial disclosures, census data, and published reporting. When this book states that no legislation was introduced or no public statement was made, that finding is based on a search of Congress.gov legislative records, the representative's official press releases, the Congressional Record, and published media coverage through the date of publication.

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P A R T O N E

The Cost

T H E C O M M U N I T Y

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The suburbs fade into small towns. The small towns fade into farms.

Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District covers the outer ring of the Twin Cities — Sherburne County, Wright County, Carver County, parts of Anoka, Benton, and Stearns. The western edge is rural — Monticello on the Mississippi, where thousands of trumpeter swans gather along the river in winter and kids grow up fishing from the park docks. Buffalo sits between two lakes, its downtown still lined with the local shops and restaurants that have been there for generations — the kind of main street where the owner knows your name. Delano straddles the Crow River, a town of about six thousand with good schools, low taxes, and what it claims is the oldest Fourth of July celebration in the state.

Waconia wraps around the shore of the second-largest lake in the metro, a place where families put boats in the water in May and don't pull them out until October. In between is a community of 793,533 people who make things, grow things, build things, and take care of each other.

The community is predominantly white — 86.6%, according to the Census. There are small and growing Hispanic, Black, and East African populations, mostly in the St. Cloud area and the eastern suburbs. It is a conservative community. It has sent a Republican to Congress in every election for more than two decades, and it voted for Donald Trump each time he ran. The churches are Lutheran, Catholic, evangelical. They are where the prayer groups meet, where the funerals are held, where the community organizes when something goes wrong.

Manufacturing is the largest employment sector. Across the district, 49,255 workers are employed in manufacturing — building transit buses in St. Cloud, assembling medical devices in Anoka County, processing food across Stearns County. Small businesses fill in the gaps between the big employers. Construction, health-care, retail, then agriculture. The median household earns \$98,171 a year. The median home is worth \$318,900. The homeownership rate is 80.4% — well above the national average.

In cities like Blaine, Andover, and Ham Lake, many residents drive south into the Twin Cities every morning for work. The pattern is visible in the numbers — the average wage for local jobs is \$64,212, while the median household in these communities earns \$90,027, often with two incomes making the difference. The community sleeps in one place and works in another. The money flows in along the highway. The hours flow out.

The population is young. The median age is 37.3. There are 181,593 residents under 18. Neighbors know each other. Their kids play together, go to the same public schools, and cheer on the high school football team on Friday nights. Parents fundraise to build the hockey rinks and then volunteer to run them. Anoka has held its Halloween parade since 1920. Monticello holds Riverfest on the Mississippi every July. The county fairs draw families from three towns over — Wright County's has run since 1870. People hunt in the fall, fish on weekends, and teach their kids to do the same. Most of the community turns out for the

State Fair in late August. There are grandparents who remember what the farms looked like before the housing went in. Parents commuting an hour each way.

Between 2017 and 2022, the counties that make up the district lost 1,253 farms — roughly one in four. Most of that land became housing tracts and subdivisions.

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More than 33,000 veterans live in this community. An estimated 11,100 of them carry service-connected disabilities — injuries and conditions earned in uniform that require ongoing care, ongoing medication, ongoing attention. The St. Cloud VA Medical Center employs between 1,200 and 1,500 people serving them. These veterans are neighbors, coworkers, and hockey coaches. Their service is a visible part of the community's identity.

The community is aging. Retired teachers, retired machinists, retired nurses — people who paid into a system for decades and now depend on it to work.

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Healthcare costs are rising. Most families get coverage through an employer, but the cost is the cost, and someone pays it. Statewide, the share of Minnesotans without health insurance rose from 3.8% to 5.8% between 2023 and 2025 — a 53% increase. Nearly 79,000 residents in this district are enrolled in Medicaid — roughly one in ten.

Across the four counties with complete district-level SNAP data, 37,773 households receive benefits. That number grew steadily from 2019 to 2023 — a span that includes the pandemic, the inflation that followed, and the slow recovery from both. The increase was not a spike that receded. It held.

According to Feeding America's 2025 estimates, Minnesota's food insecurity rate is 10.4%. This community falls below the

state average, but even here, an estimated 70,000 people do not have steady access to enough food. Many of the food shelves that serve them are run by churches and volunteers.

The poverty rate is 4.1%. Most people here work long hours. They commute long distances. They own their homes and file their taxes and send their children to school.

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When Washington makes decisions about every one of these lives, these families have a single voice in the House. One office. One vote. One person who can write the laws, sit on the committees, and stand on the floor of the House of Representatives.

793,533 people. One representative.

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U.S. Census Bureau ACS 2019-2023 5-year estimates (DP02, DP03, DP04, DP05); Census County Business Patterns 2022; CMS Medicare enrollment data; Congressional District Health Dashboard 2024; Minnesota Health Access Survey 2023, 2025 (statewide); Minnesota DHS SNAP enrollment 2019-2025 (county-level data for counties fully within district boundaries); Feeding America Map the Meal Gap 2021; USDA Census of Agriculture 2017, 2022; March of Dimes maternity care access data; individual employer data (New Flyer, Medtronic, Jennie-O/Hormel, St. Cloud VA) from company reports and local news. Some data (SNAP, USDA agriculture, CMS Medicare, housing burden) is reported at the county level; counties partially within the district (Anoka, Benton, Stearns) may include areas outside district boundaries.

T H E D E A D

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More than 33,000 veterans live in Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District. The nearest major VA medical center is in St. Cloud — about an hour's drive from much of the district.

As of 2025, the average wait time for a new outpatient surgical appointment at the VA is 41 days — 13 days longer than the department's own target. Some veterans drive hours to the nearest VA facility only to learn that the specialist they need has not been replaced since the last one left.

Every one of the VA's 139 medical facilities reported severe occupational staffing shortages in 2025. Every single one. 94% cannot hire enough doctors. 79% cannot hire enough nurses. More than 64,000 positions sit vacant. In December 2025, instead of filling them, the VA announced plans to eliminate approximately 35,000 of those unfilled roles — including 4,900 nursing positions and 1,500 physician slots.

The shortage is not new. The VA has struggled to recruit and retain medical staff for decades, under administrations of both parties, through multiple reform efforts. The scale of the current crisis is new.

Veterans treated at VA facilities are 20% more likely to survive than veterans treated elsewhere, after adjusting for patient health, demographics, and prior care. Every one of the 64,000 unfilled positions is a gap between a veteran and that care.

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On July 15, 2025, Congressman Emmer introduced the Veterans Burial Accountability Act. The problem it addresses is real: when a veteran dies in a VA facility, the VA clinician must sign the death certificate. But the clinicians are overworked — the same staffing shortage that delayed the veteran's care in life delays their paperwork in death. Families wait weeks. They cannot bury their loved one. They cannot access survivor benefits. They cannot begin to move forward.

Emmer's bill requires the VA to issue a death certificate within 48 hours. If the VA clinician cannot sign it in time, a local coroner or medical examiner may sign it instead.

"Our duty to our veterans must not end with their final breath," he said.

The bill does not hire a doctor. It does not fund a nurse. It does not fill any of the 64,000 vacant positions that caused the delays it addresses. It addresses the delay. The staffing shortage continues.

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There was another bill. It was called the Sergeant First Class Heath Robinson Honoring our Promise to Address Comprehensive Toxics Act of 2022. It is named for an Ohio National Guard combat medic who served in Kosovo and Iraq — twice named his unit's NCO of the Year. He was diagnosed with a rare lung cancer linked to burn pit exposure in 2017. He died in 2020. He was 39 years old. He left a wife and a daughter.

The PACT Act was the single largest expansion of VA healthcare in more than thirty years. It expanded eligibility to 3.5 million veterans exposed to burn pits and other toxic substances. It established more than twenty presumptive conditions so veterans would no longer have to prove a direct connection between their illness and their service. It created a dedicated fund to cover the cost of care. And it funded the hiring — 62,000 new VA employees in 2023 alone.

The bill was bipartisan. In the Senate, it was co-led by Senator Jon Tester and Senator Jerry Moran — a Republican from Kansas. The final House vote was 342 to 88. The majority of Republicans voted yes. All 88 no votes were Republican.

A bipartisan bill, co-authored by a Republican senator, named after a soldier who died from burn pit exposure, backed by a majority of his own party. Tom Emmer voted no.

He had already voted no on the earlier version.

A review of his official press releases, floor statements, and media coverage yielded no public statement explaining his vote.

In the two years after the PACT Act became law, nearly 740,000 veterans enrolled in VA healthcare. More than 1.65 million claims were filed. Over one million were granted. The VA delivered \$5.7 billion in earned benefits to veterans and their survivors.

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His other veterans legislation addressed oversight and recognition. The VA Accountability First Act and Same-Day Accountability Veterans Enhancement Act focused on personnel accountability procedures at the VA. The Atomic Veterans Service Medal Act authorized a medal for veterans exposed to nuclear testing. None funded a new position or expanded access to care.

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The most serious defense of his PACT Act vote is fiscal. The Congressional Budget Office scored the bill at \$277 billion over ten years — roughly \$27.7 billion a year. The strongest version of the argument, made by Senator Pat Toomey and shared by fiscal conservatives in both chambers, was that the bill's shift from discretionary to mandatory spending would create a "slush fund" for unrelated programs. The concern was structural: mandatory spending, once established, is harder to control than discretionary appropriations. Congress loses the ability to adjust funding year by year. For legislators who believe federal spending must be actively governed, the mechanism mattered as much as the cause.

Fiscal responsibility is a principle, and principles apply even to sympathetic causes.

In April 2022 — between his two PACT Act votes — Emmer called for action against "our nation's spending addiction."

Three years later, on May 22, 2025, Tom Emmer — the Majority Whip, the man whose job is to deliver the votes — whipped the One Big Beautiful Bill Act through the House, 215 to 214. One vote. The bill does not pass without him. The bill is a budget reconciliation package covering tax policy, border security, energy, and defense — the kind of omnibus legislation that defines a congressional majority's priorities.

The CBO estimated the bill would add \$3.1 to \$4.7 trillion to federal deficits over the next decade. Among its provisions: an extension and expansion of the 2017 tax cuts. The Joint Committee on Taxation estimated that nearly one quarter of the bill's tax benefits would go to the top 1% of earners.

The bill includes tax deductions for tips and overtime — provisions that would directly benefit workers in the district. Those deductions expire in 2028. The corporate tax rate, the estate tax exemption, the business deductions — those are permanent.

The median household income in Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District is \$98,171.

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The veteran served. The veteran came home. The VA could not see them — 64,000 vacancies, months-long waits. The care that reduces mortality by 20% never reached them. And then the system that could not treat them could not sign their death certificate either.

Their congressman introduced a bill to let someone else sign the death certificate. He voted against the bill that hired the doctors.

"Our duty to our veterans must not end with their final breath."
— Congressman Tom Emmer, July 15, 2025

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PACT Act roll calls -- Roll 57 (March 3, 2022), Roll 309 (July 13, 2022), via house.gov. VA staffing -- VA Office of Inspector General; GAO. VA staffing history -- GAO reports spanning multiple administrations. VA wait times -- VA data. VA mortality studies -- NIH (peer-reviewed, risk-adjusted). PACT Act impact -- VA.gov. PACT Act opposition -- Sen. Pat Toomey floor statement. OBBBA cost -- CBO. OBBBA vote -- house.gov. OBBBA tax distribution -- Joint Committee on Taxation (JCX-36-25). OBBBA provision expirations -- bill text; CBO. Emmer "spending addiction" statement -- April 2022. Veterans Burial Accountability Act -- house.gov press release, July 15, 2025. MN-06 median household income -- Census ACS 2019-2023. MN-06 veterans -- Census ACS 2022.

T H E W A I T I N G R O O M

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Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District has 94,278 residents over 65. More than 126,000 are enrolled in Medicare. An estimated 15,000 to 18,000 use insulin. The national average family health insurance premium is \$26,993 a year. Approximately 28,600 people in the district have no coverage at all.

87% of Americans support capping insulin at \$35 a month. 85% support letting Medicare negotiate drug prices. Among Republican voters, 75%. Among Trump voters, 70%.

The community's representative has introduced no drug pricing legislation. He has cosponsored none. Across six Congresses, his legislative record on insulin is blank.

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The cost to produce a vial of insulin is less than seven dollars. The pharmacy price reaches \$315. Insulin list prices tripled in the decade before 2017. Three manufacturers — Eli Lilly, Novo Nordisk, Sanofi — control more than 90% of the market. Insulin was discovered in 1921.

Three pharmacy benefit managers — OptumRx, Caremark, Express Scripts — control 80% of the pharmacy benefit market. The Federal Trade Commission found they systematically excluded lower-priced insulins in favor of high-list-price, heavily rebated products. The rebate savings go to the PBM, not the patient. UnitedHealth owns both the insurer and the PBM. The company raising the premium and the company inflating the drug price are the same company.

A conservative who opposes government price caps has a point: price controls can distort markets, reduce supply signals, and shift costs in ways that are difficult to predict. The free-market answer to a \$315 vial that costs seven dollars to produce is to break the monopoly — patent reform, PBM transparency, generic competition, antitrust enforcement against vertically integrated insurers.

Emmer introduced none of those bills. He cosponsored none. He opposed the price cap and offered no market-based alternative. The pharmaceutical industry spent \$384.5 million on lobbying in 2024 alone. The insulin market remained exactly as it was.

In March 2022, the Affordable Insulin Now Act came to the House floor. It would have capped out-of-pocket insulin costs at \$35 a month for people with private insurance. Tom Emmer voted NAY. The vote fell along party lines — all but 12 Republicans voted no. All four Minnesota Democrats voted yes. All three Minnesota Republicans voted no. UnitedHealth Group PAC — the political arm of the company that owns both the insurer and the PBM — contributed to Emmer's campaign in every cycle he has served.

The provision to extend the cap to private insurance went to the Senate. It received 57 votes — a majority, but short of the 60 needed. 43 Republicans voted against it. The private-market cap died. Medicare beneficiaries got the \$35 cap through the Inflation Reduction Act. The privately insured did not.

Emmer voted NAY on the Inflation Reduction Act — a spending bill he opposed on broader fiscal grounds that also contained the only federal insulin price protection to become law.

A review of his official press releases, floor statements, and media coverage yielded no public statement on insulin pricing. No bill introduced, none cosponsored.

His campaign website describes him as "lowering costs for 100% of American families."

* * *

The pharmaceutical industry has been the top lobbying spender in America for 25 consecutive years. \$4.7 billion in federal lobbying since 1999.

In 2003, a provision banning Medicare from negotiating drug prices was written into the Medicare Part D prescription drug benefit. The government's largest drug purchaser was prohibited by law from negotiating. The congressman who authored the provision, Billy Tauzin, left office and became president of PhRMA, the pharmaceutical lobby. The ban he wrote is the ban that held for nineteen years. Every time a bill to lift it reached the House floor, Emmer voted to keep it in place.

Congress tried at least six times between 2003 and 2022. Each time, it failed.

85% of the country wanted this. For nineteen years, the industry outspent every effort to pass it.

In 2022, the Inflation Reduction Act finally cracked the ban — for a limited set of Medicare drugs. Emmer called it a "prescription drug price fixing scheme."

Between 1999 and 2018, the pharmaceutical industry spent \$1.4 trillion on research and development and \$2.2 trillion on marketing and administration. After the IRA passed, drug R&D spending increased.

* * *

The No Surprises Act prohibited surprise medical billing — the practice of charging patients out-of-network rates for care they received at in-network facilities. It passed with bipartisan support. Emmer voted YEA. Across six Congresses, he voted YEA on every bill to cut or repeal healthcare coverage — five ACA repeal votes, the 2017 healthcare overhaul, the 2025 reconciliation bill that included Medicaid reductions. He voted NAY on every bill to expand it — the 2021 social spending bill, the Inflation Reduction Act, the Affordable Insulin Now Act. One exception: the No Surprises Act, which passed as part of a larger spending package. Some of those NAY votes had legitimate conservative rationale — large spending bills bundled healthcare provisions with policies that a limited-government Republican would reject on principle. Six Congresses. Zero bills addressing the cost of insulin, the cost of prescription drugs, or the structure of the PBM monopoly. The conservative case against the Democratic bills may be sound. The legislative record that followed is empty.

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Alec Smith was 26 years old. He earned approximately \$35,000 a year as a restaurant manager. When he turned 26, he lost his parents' health insurance. His insulin and supplies cost approximately \$1,300 a month without coverage. The best plan available to him: \$450 a month in premiums with a \$7,600 deductible. Too much income for Medicaid. Too little for the insurance.

On June 22, 2017, he went to the pharmacy to refill his insulin. He could not afford it. He left without the medication.

On June 27, his girlfriend found him on the floor of his apartment in Richfield, Minnesota. An empty insulin pen lay beside him. Cause of death: diabetic ketoacidosis. He died 27 days after losing coverage. Three days before payday.

He lived in Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District — not MN-06. He was not Emmer's constituent. The pricing structure that led to his death runs through the same committees, the same floor votes, the same chamber.

Jesimya David Scherer-Radcliff was 21. He died in Minnesota in June 2019 — rationing insulin because he could not afford the full dose. He was at least the second Minnesotan to die this way.

The state acted. In 2020, the governor signed the Alec Smith Insulin Affordability Act — a 30-day emergency supply for \$35, ongoing coverage at \$50 per 90-day supply. Over 1,100 Minnesotans used the program in its first full year. In 2025, the attorney general reached settlements with all three manufacturers, capping insulin at \$35 a month regardless of insurance. Effective January 1, 2025, state law caps monthly insulin cost at \$25 for state-regulated plans.

Since becoming Majority Whip, he has introduced no insulin pricing legislation, no drug pricing reform, and no PBM transparency bill. He has the leadership position and the vote count. The community's healthcare needs remain where they have been for six Congresses.

In December 2025, the House passed the Lower Health Care Premiums for All Americans Act, which included PBM transparency provisions. Emmer voted yes. In media appearances, he described PBMs as "the middleman" and said the bill would "give you transparency so the consumer knows if they're being ripped off." He did not introduce the bill. He did not cosponsor it. The Senate has not scheduled it for a vote.

His district has 15,000 to 18,000 insulin users.

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FEC Schedule A (C00545749, UnitedHealth Group PAC, March 30, 2022); House roll calls 549 and 923 (H.R. 6833), roll call 867 (H.R. 5376/IRA), via clerk.house.gov; KFF Health Tracking Polls (2024-2026); Gallup healthcare polling (2025); Arnold Ventures/Data for Progress polling (April 2025); FTC PBM interim report; Census ACS 2019-2023 (DP05); CMS Medicare enrollment; CDC

PLACES 2023 (county-level diabetes estimates); Annals of Internal Medicine (insulin rationing, 2022); BMJ Global Health, Gotham et al. (2018, insulin production cost); Minnesota Legislature (Alec Smith Insulin Affordability Act, 2020); MN Attorney General (manufacturer settlements, 2024-2025); MN statute (insulin cap, effective Jan 1, 2025); AP News, Star Tribune, KFF Health News (Alec Smith reporting); PhRMA lobbying data (OpenSecrets); emmerforcongress.com (campaign messaging).

T H E K I N G

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When the Securities and Exchange Commission took enforcement action against the cryptocurrency industry, Tom Emmer responded — with legislation, letters, or cosponsorships, usually within weeks.

The Sixth District of Minnesota, which Emmer represents, has no significant cryptocurrency employers. Not a single bill for the district's top employment sectors has advanced past committee.

SEC Action	Date	Emmer Response	Days Later
SEC v. Telegram	Oct 11, 2019	Announces legislation for "regulatory certainty"	13
SEC v. BlockFi	Feb 14, 2022	Letter criticizing SEC approach to crypto industry	30
SEC v. Kraken	Feb 9, 2023	Reintroduces Blockchain Regulatory Certainty Act	42

SEC Action	Date	Emmer Response	Days Later
SEC v. Binance	Jun 5, 2023	Cosponsors bill to restructure SEC authority	7
SEC v. Coinbase	Jun 6, 2023	Same bill — his largest crypto donor, six days	6
Ongoing enforcement	Nov 2023	Restricts SEC crypto enforcement via appropriations rider	—
<i>SEC v. Ripple Labs</i>	Jul 13, 2023	<i>No legislative response</i>	—
<i>SEC v. Grayscale (D.C. Cir.)</i>	Aug 29, 2023	<i>No legislative response</i>	—

Seven years. Five enforcement actions against the industry. Six responses — bills, letters, cosponsorships, and an appropriations rider. Every one in the same direction. Two court rulings that supported his position. No response to either.

During those seven years, the district's top employment sectors — manufacturing, healthcare, agriculture, construction — received 22 bills sponsored by their representative. None advanced past committee. The cryptocurrency industry, which employs no one in the district, received 13 more, plus 11 he cosponsored.

His stated justification: the SEC under Chair Gary Gensler was "regulation by enforcement" — applying securities law to digital assets without clear legislative authority, stifling innovation, creating uncertainty. These are real arguments. Federal courts partially agreed — *SEC v. Ripple Labs* partially vindicated his position on digital asset classification; the D.C. Circuit ruled against the SEC in *Grayscale v. SEC*.

The question is not whether the policy position had merit. The question is why the responses tracked enforcement actions rather than court rulings. Neither Ripple nor Grayscale triggered new

legislation. The SEC's lawsuits against Coinbase and Binance — against companies whose employees and PACs funded his campaigns — triggered responses within days.

* * *

In November 2023, Binance pled guilty to federal charges — \$4.3 billion in fines for willful violations of the Bank Secrecy Act, money laundering, and sanctions violations. The SEC had been investigating Binance. Emmer had been attacking the SEC for investigating Binance.

The investigation proved correct — the Department of Justice, not the SEC, ultimately secured the guilty plea. Whether his legislation, if enacted, would have constrained the enforcement that caught those violations is a question the bill's defeat left unanswered. The evidence does not establish that he knew of Binance's crimes when he criticized the SEC.

On June 6, 2023, the SEC sued Coinbase. Six days later, Emmer cosponsored legislation to restructure the agency's authority. Coinbase employees and PACs have contributed \$64,900 to his campaigns — his largest cryptocurrency-linked donor.

The Securities Clarity Act — introduced in the 116th Congress, reintroduced in the 118th, folded into the CLARITY Act in the 119th — reclassifies cryptocurrency tokens so they are not considered securities. The defendants whose cases the bill would have affected are among the donors who funded his campaigns.

The Blockchain Regulatory Certainty Act has been introduced in five consecutive Congresses. It has died in four. He introduces it again each session. The donors keep paying. The bill keeps dying.

One reading of the pattern: the bill's value to the donor is not its passage. Its value is its introduction. As long as he keeps introducing it, the SEC knows what the third-ranking Republican in the House thinks about their enforcement priorities.

In August 2020, he told cryptocurrency executives at a virtual town hall:

"Do you know how powerful this is for some elected officials to look over and say, 'What's Emmer doing, he's getting what? He's getting, oh my goodness, campaign contributions? I need to learn more about what's going on with cryptocurrencies.'"

In March 2022, Emmer led eight House members in a letter to SEC Chair Gary Gensler calling the agency's inquiries "overburdensome" and "stifling innovation." The letter addressed the industry broadly. Eight months later, FTX collapsed. Bankman-Fried was convicted of fraud. Billions of dollars belonging to ordinary people who trusted the platform had been stolen.

He called Bankman-Fried "fraudulent," then accused Gensler of insufficient oversight. In March, the SEC had been too aggressive. By December, not aggressive enough. Same man, same year, same regulator.

In November 2023, he passed an appropriations amendment prohibiting the SEC from using taxpayer funds for cryptocurrency enforcement until Congress granted clear regulatory jurisdiction. No standalone bill. No hearings. A rider attached to the budget that restricted the SEC from spending funds on crypto enforcement — including active investigations of companies whose employees had donated to his campaigns.

* * *

More than \$1 million in cryptocurrency industry money has flowed through his campaign, his joint fundraising committees, and his leadership PAC. Top cryptocurrency industry donors — through their PACs and employees — include Coinbase

(\$64,900), Andreessen Horowitz (\$58,200), Paradigm (\$24,800), and Winklevoss Capital (\$23,500).

An industry with no documented employer presence in the district received 24 bills introduced or cosponsored benefiting the industry and the consistent protection of the third-ranking Republican in the House.

Manufacturing — the district's largest employment sector — received zero enacted legislation.

He owns no cryptocurrency.

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SEC filings and court documents (Telegram, Ripple Labs, Grayscale, BlockFi, Kraken, Coinbase, Binance, FTX); FEC Schedule A (C00545749, using OpenSecrets industry classification for cryptocurrency-linked donors); Congress.gov (Securities Clarity Act, Blockchain Regulatory Certainty Act, CLARITY Act); DOJ press release, Binance guilty plea, November 21, 2023; Washington Post, Tony Romm, December 8, 2022 (virtual town hall); Census County Business Patterns 2022 (manufacturing employment); Financial disclosure, 2024 (crypto ownership, IRA); CapitolTrades (zero crypto trades).

Part One ends here.

The full book continues through nineteen chapters
and five parts — the representative's record,
the donor patterns, the machine that sustains it,
and what it costs.

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