

# RESEARCH DOSSIER

**J.D. VANCE**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	2
EXECUTIVE SYNOPSIS .....	18
DOSSIER NOTES .....	18
POTENTIAL VULNERABILITIES .....	18
Potential Opposition Narrative - Anti-Trump Record And Establishment Ties.....	18
Potential Opposition Narrative - Questionable Conservatism .....	18
TOP HITS .....	20
Political .....	20
Anti-Trump Record And Establishment Ties .....	20
Questionable Conservatism .....	23
Notable Vulnerabilities With Moderates .....	27
BACKGROUND INFORMATION .....	29
PERSONAL INFORMATION: J.D. VANCE.....	29
ELECTION RESULTS.....	31
2022 General Election, U.S. Senate, Ohio.....	31
CAMPAIGN FINANCE.....	31
JD Vance For Senate (2028).....	32
JD Vance For Senate (2022).....	34
Individual Contributions .....	46
VOTING RECORDS.....	47
Hamilton County, OH.....	47
Franklin County, OH .....	49
Butler County, OH .....	50
EDUCATION RECORDS.....	51
Ohio State University.....	51
PUBLIC COMPENSATION RECORDS .....	52
U.S. Senate (2013-Pres.).....	52
MILITARY RECORDS.....	53
U.S. Marine Corps (2003-2007) .....	53
LOBBYING RECORDS .....	53
Sidley Austin.....	54

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CRIMINAL RECORDS ..... 56  
    Traffic Citations ..... 56  
POLICE RECORDS ..... 57  
REAL PROPERTY RECORDS ..... 57  
    1858 William Howard Taft Road, Cincinnati, OH, Hamilton County ..... 57  
    1305 C Street NE, Washington, D.C. .... 58  
BANKRUPTCIES, JUDGMENTS, & LIENS RECORDS..... 60  
    Small Claims ..... 60  
LEGAL ISSUES ..... 61  
BUSINESS RECORDS ..... 61  
    JD Vance Enterprises LLC ..... 62  
    JDE Enterprise Investments LLC ..... 62  
    Narya Capital Management, LLC ..... 63  
    Narya Capital Fund I, L.P. .... 63  
    Narya Capital GP I, LLC ..... 64  
NON-PROFIT RECORDS ..... 64  
    Our Ohio Renewal Foundation ..... 64  
PROFESSIONAL & RECREATIONAL LICENSES ..... 65  
    Attorney License ..... 65  
PERSONAL FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE..... 66  
    2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, U.S. Senate ..... 66  
VANCE’S ANTI-TRUMP RECORD AND ESTABLISHMENT TIES ..... 71  
    VANCE WAS OPPOSED TO TRUMP’S CANDIDACY DURING THE 2016 ELECTION 71  
        As Early As August 2016, Vance Had Announced His Intention To Vote Third Party As  
        Opposed To Voting For Trump ..... 71  
        Vance Was Accused Of “Effectively” Voting For Hillary Clinton ..... 73  
        During The Campaign And After The Election, Vance Doubted Trump’s Ability To Be  
        Effective In Office ..... 73  
        Vance Criticized Trump’s Statements And Policy Proposals..... 74  
        Vance Said Trump’s Election Would Be “Terrible For The Country” ..... 75  
        Vance Compared Trump To Heroin And Mocked MAGA As A “Quick High” ..... 75  
        Vance Called Trump “Dangerous” On Numerous Occasions ..... 75  
        Vance Said Voters Were Not Attached To Trump And He Would Get “Crushed” ..... 76

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Vance Wrote That He “Loathed” Trump’s “Obvious Personal Character Flaws” ..... 76

Vance Said He Fought Against Trump ..... 76

Vance Said Trump Was A Bad 2016 Candidate ..... 77

Vance Said, “We Have To Reject The Rhetoric Of Trump” ..... 77

After The 2016 Election, Vance Said He Did Not Think Trump Fully Appreciated The  
“Complexity Of What’s Going On” ..... 77

Vance Criticized Trump For Creating Finger Pointing Among The White Working Class 78

**DURING THE 2016 CAMPAIGN, VANCE WAS DESCRIBED AS A ‘NEVER TRUMPER’**  
..... 78

In An October 2016 Appearance On “The Charlie Rose Show,” Vance Declared He Was “A  
Never Trump Guy” And “Never Liked Him” ..... 78

Vance Claimed There Was A “Willingness From People Who Think A Lot Like I Do” To  
Say Trump Was “Going To Be A Terrible Candidate” And “That You Were An Idiot If You  
Voted For Him” ..... 78

Vance Said Trump Was Not The Best Candidate For White-Working Class Voters ..... 79

**DURING THE 2016 CAMPAIGN, VANCE INDICATED HE BELIEVED THE WOMEN  
WHO ACCUSED TRUMP OF SEXUAL ASSAULT** ..... 79

In 2016, Vance Indicated He Believed One Of Trump’s Sexual-Assault Accusers Over  
Trump And Mocked Trump For Not Telling The Truth ..... 79

In 2016, It Was Reported That Vance Tweeted “What Percentage Of The American  
Population Has @Realdonaldtrump Sexually Assaulted?” ..... 80

**DURING THE 2016 CAMPAIGN, VANCE LINKED RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA TO  
TRUMP’S BASE OF SUPPORT** ..... 80

In 2016, Vance Said People Who “Might Be Described As If Not As Racist At Least As  
Expressing Some Sort Of Racial Resentment” Were Supporting Trump ..... 80

In 2016, Vance Said, “There Are People Who Are Drawn To Trump Because He Says  
Racially Insensitive Things” ..... 81

In 2018, Vance Was Still An Opponent Of Trump, Citing His Race-Related Policies ..... 84

**VANCE HAS SUGGESTED THERE WAS NO SIGN OF VOTER FRAUD IN THE 2016  
ELECTION** ..... 84

Vance Said Voter Fraud Did Not Impact The 2016 Election And Said There Was No  
Evidence Of It ..... 84

**VANCE ONCE IMPLIED THAT TRUMP IS PRONE TO LYING** ..... 85

In 2017, Vance Criticized Trump For Saying “Half-Truths Or Lies” So Frequently “That  
You Stop Actually Taking The President Literally ..... 85

VANCE APPEARED TO BE CRITICAL OF TRUMP’S COMMENTS SURROUNDING THE EVENTS IN CHARLOTTESVILLE..... 85

    Following The Charlottesville Protests, Vance Said Trump “Really Missed An Opportunity To Name This Phenomenon And Gives People A Sense Where It Comes From And Show The Moral Leadership People Want From A President” ..... 85

    Vance Said Trump Was “Ambivalent Or Too Cautious About Coming Out And Criticizing” Racism And Nazism ..... 86

    Vance Said Trump Failing To Unite The Country Following Charlottesville Was A “Missed Opportunity” ..... 86

EARLY IN THE TRUMP PRESIDENCY, VANCE INDICATED TRUMP WAS FAILING ON HIS LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES ..... 86

    In 2017, Vance Said, “I Think You Hear From A Lot Of Different People If You’re On The Ground In These Areas Talking To People Is A Broad Recognition That Things Aren’t Going Fantastically Well Right Now” Regarding Trump’s Legislative Priorities ..... 86

    Vance: “A Bigger Problem, I Think, Is The Feeling That The Big Pushes That The President Has Really Made On Health Care, On Some Of These Other Issues, Haven’t Really Materialized” ..... 87

    Vance Noted There Was A “Sense That The President Just Isn’t Able To Deliver” ..... 87

VANCE, AT TIMES, APPEARED DISMISSIVE OF EFFORTS TO HIGHLIGHT FRAUD IN THE 2020 ELECTION ..... 87

    After The 2020 Election, Vance Said People Questioning The 2020 Election Results Would Not Become Violent And Also Said Biden Would Be Inaugurated ..... 87

VANCE SERVED WITH THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE – AN ORGANIZATION WITH TIES TO TRUMP CRITICISM..... 88

    In 2019, Vance Was Announced By Yuval Levin As A Part-Time Visiting Scholar At The American Enterprise Institute ..... 88

    In 2021, Levin Criticized Trump For Promoting “Fraud Conspiracies” That Trump Actually Won The Election ..... 88

    Following The 2021 Attack On The Capitol, Levin Criticized Trump In The Dispatch And Wrote That “Trump Almost Fully Inhabits A Boorish, Narcissistic Psychodrama Playing In His Head” ..... 89

VANCE IS AN ALUM OF THE WEBSITE FORMERLY RUN BY DAVID FRUM - A KNOWN NEVER TRUMPER..... 89

    Vance Is A Former Writer For FrumForum, An Online Forum Founded By David Frum.. 89

    In The Acknowledgments Of Hillbilly Elegy, Vance Thanked Frum ..... 91

    Frum, A Former Speechwriter For George W. Bush, Is “One Of The Best Known Never Trumpers” Who “Made His Break With The GOP Long Before Trump” ..... 91

VANCE HAS TIES TO VARIOUS ADDITIONAL TRUMP-ANTAGONISTS ..... 91

- Vance Has Said He Is “Good Friends” With Mike DeWine ..... 91
- Vance Has Previous Ties To Notorious Trump Critic John Kasich ..... 92
- Vance Previously Supported Notorious Trump Critic John McCain ..... 92

VANCE HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED AS A MODERATE WITH DEMOCRAT TENDENCIES ..... 92

- In 2016, Vance Said, “I’m Frankly Not A Libertarian In The Sense That I Think Government Has No Role In Fixing” Societal Problems ..... 92
- In 2017, The American Prospect’s Robert Kuttner Said That At A Recent Conference He Attended With Vance, Vance “Sounded Almost Like A Democrat” ..... 93
- In 2017, Vance Was Described As A “Moderate Republican” ..... 93

VANCE PREVIOUSLY HEAPED PRAISE UPON HILLARY CLINTON ..... 93

- Vance Praised The 2016 Democratic National Convention While Criticizing The Republican Convention..... 93
- Vance Said There Was A Chance He Would Vote For Clinton If Trump Had A Chance To Win..... 93
- In An Op-Ed, Vance Recalled A Time In His Life When He “Admired President Clinton”94

VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY HEAPED PRAISE UPON BARACK OBAMA ..... 94

- Vance Has Praised Obama For Offering “Hope” And Said He Would “Miss Him” As Obama Was Leaving Office..... 94
- Vance Characterized Obama’s “Guns And Religion” Comment As “Well-Intentioned” .... 96
- Vance Claimed Some White Working-Class Voters Supported Trump Because Of A Racially Motivated Backlash To Obama ..... 96

VANCE HAS PRAISED DEMOCRATIC-SOCIALIST BERNIE SANDERS ..... 97

- Vance Said Bernie Sanders Was His Favorite Democrat Running In The 2020 Democrat Primary..... 97
- Vance Predicted That Trump Was Part Of A Political Realignment That Would Position Trump And Bernie Sanders On The Same Side In 20 Years..... 97

VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE ONCE INDICATED THAT JOE BIDEN COULD HAVE BEAT TRUMP IN 2016 ..... 98

- In 2016, Vance Said Biden “Could Have Done A Lot Better” Than Hillary Clinton ..... 98

FOLLOWING THE END OF TRUMP’S PRESIDENCY, VANCE PRAISED TRUMP’S POLICY AND WAS AN ACTIVE SUPPORTER OF HIS 2020 RE-ELECTION..... 98

- Vance In 2021: I “Ultimately Pulled The Trigger And Encouraged A Lot Of My Friends To ... Pull The Lever For Donald Trump In 2020” ..... 98

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Vance: “I Was Really Happy With The Policy. And So, That’s What Caused Me To Become A Trump Supporter” ..... 98

Vance Has Attacked Trump’s Ban From Social Media Outlets ..... 99

Vance Blasted Calls From Democrats To Hold Former Trump Administration Officials Accountable After He Left Office ..... 99

Vance Blasted The Idea In An Appearance On Fox News, And Accused Democrats Of Wanting “Revenge” Rather Than Truth And Reconciliation ..... 99

Vance Worried That Reich’s Proposal Would Make It More Difficult To Staff Future Republican Administrations..... 100

VANCE’S QUESTIONABLE CONSERVATISM..... 101

VANCE ONCE ADMITTED THAT WORKING CLASS AMERICANS BENEFIT FROM DEMOCRAT-POLICIES ..... 101

    In 2016, Vance Said White Working-Class Voters Could “Benefit” From Some Democrat Economic Policies Versus Those From Republicans ..... 101

VANCE ONCE CRITICIZED TRUMP’S “CORE DOMESTIC POLICY PRIORITIES”... 101

    In 2017, Vance Reflected On Trump’s “Core Domestic Policy Priorities,” Claiming It Was “Not Looking Especially Good Right Now” ..... 101

    Vance: “I Just Don't See The Evidence That We're Being Serious About The Policies That Are Necessary To Move The Country Forward Yet” ..... 101

VANCE WAS CRITICAL OF THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION’S 2017 TAX CUTS BILL ..... 102

    In 2018, Vance Criticized Republicans For Living In The 1980s With The Party’s Tax And Health Care Reform Policies ..... 102

    Vance Criticized Republicans For Cutting Taxes For The Wealthy And Cutting The Social Safety Net..... 102

    In 2019, Vance Criticized The 2017 Tax Reform Law As “Ok, It Wasn’t Terrible, But It Wasn’t Great” ..... 102

    It Should Be Noted That Vance Was Also Critical Of The Bush-Era Tax Cuts ..... 102

    Additionally, Vance Has Noted His Opposition To Supply-Side Tax Cuts ..... 103

VANCE HAS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR INCREASING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX RATE ..... 103

    Vance Supports Raising The Capital Gains Tax Rate ..... 103

VANCE HAS CALLED TO RAISE TAXES ON U.S. BUSINESSES IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES ..... 104

    Vance Called For Taxing Firms That Produce Goods Overseas ..... 104

VANCE APPEARS TO SUPPORT HIGHER TAXES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT CHILDREN ..... 104

    In 2021, Vance Said He Supports Higher Taxes For People Who Do Not Have Children 104

VANCE HAS SOMEWHAT FLIP-FLOPPED ON CUTS TO THE FEDERAL BUDGET 104

    In 2017, Vance Warned That GOP Budget Cuts Were Evidence That Trump And Republicans In Congress Were Not Focused On “Core Constituencies” ..... 104

    In 2017, Vance Noted He Supports Using Government Spending To Solve Social Problems ..... 105

    However, Vance Supported The 2011 Ryan Budget ..... 105

VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY SIGNALLED SUPPORT FOR DISTORTING THE FREE-MARKET WITH FEDERAL SUBSIDIES ..... 106

    Vance Called Grover Norquist A “Fiscal Phony” For Opposing Ending Ethanol Subsidies ..... 106

VANCE HAS QUESTIONED CONSERVATIVES FOR PRIORITIZING AMERICA’S BUSINESSES ..... 107

    Vance Previously Criticized Conservatives For Prizing Corporate Interests ..... 107

    Vance Criticized The Practice Of Offering Economic Incentives To Companies To Relocate ..... 108

VANCE HAS INDICATED HE SUPPORTED UNION PRIORITIES OVER THAT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS ..... 109

    Vance Previously Indicated He Opposes Right-To-Work Laws ..... 109

    Vance Has Criticized GOP Donors For Pushing Antagonism Toward Unions..... 109

    Vance Signed Onto A Report Calling For Reforms To Greatly Strengthen Labor Unions 109

    Vance And Other Signers Of The Report Called For Conservatives To Consider Allowing Sectoral Bargaining, Works Councils, And Requiring Seats For Labor Representatives On Corporate Boards ..... 110

    Under Sectoral Bargaining, Collective Bargaining Contracts And Wage Rules Are Negotiated That Apply To All Workers In A Particular Occupation, Industry Or Region, Rather Than At A Single Employer..... 110

    Works Councils – Common In European Factories – Allow Workers To Elect Representatives To Work With Management To Establish Employment Policies Like Work Hours And Disciplinary Rules ..... 110

VANCE HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF FREE-MARKET ECONOMIC PRIORITY ..... 111

    Vance Opposes Milton Friedman-Backed Economic Policies ..... 111

    Vance Has Called For Prioritizing The American “Nuclear Family” Over Free Market Principles..... 112



VANCE WORKED AS A CONTRIBUTOR FOR AN ORGANIZATION THAT EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM OF TRUMP’S AMERICA FIRST TRADE AGENDA..... 114

Vance Is A Contributing Writer For A Conservative Think Tank That Is Skeptical Of Free Market Policies ..... 114

EARLY DURING THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION, VANCE QUESTIONED WHETHER TRUMP SHOULD BE CREDITED FOR THE BOOMING ECONOMY ..... 116

Vance Criticized The Relevance Of The Trump Policies To The Economic Boom And Its Distribution To All Parts Of The Country ..... 116

OPPONENTS COULD SUGGEST VANCE IS HYPOCRITICAL FOR HIS CRITICISM OF ‘BIG TECH’ ..... 117

Vance Has Criticized “Big Tech” But Receives His Salary From Tech Executives..... 117

Vance Said Conservatives Should Break With Corporations Over Censorship Of Donald Trump And His Supporters..... 117

VANCE OPPOSED THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION’S EFFORTS TO REPEAL AND REPLACE OBAMACARE ..... 118

In 2017, Vance Criticized Republican Efforts To Repeal And Replace Obamacare Under President Trump, Claiming He Doesn’t “Love The Plan At All” ..... 118

Vance Warned That The People Who Would “Lose Out Most” In The GOP-Led ObamaCare Replacement Bill Are The Ones Who Voted For Donald Trump ..... 118

Vance: “Those Folks, They Very Well See Their Deductibles Go Up, Their Premiums Go Up. ... There's Obviously A Significant Issue Of Folks Potentially Losing Access To Their Health Care”..... 119

Vance Claimed “Folks Back Home” Were Worried About The GOP-Led ObamaCare Reforms And “About Losing The Medicaid Expansion And Most Worried About Losing Their Health Care” ..... 119

Vance Warned That The Bill Suffered From “Core Deficiencies,” Claiming “Millions Of People” Were “Losing Health Coverage Either Through Medicaid Or Through Another Mechanism” ..... 120

Vance Urged Sen. Rob Portman To Vote Against The House-Passed Bill To Repeal And Replace ObamaCare Due To Its Medicaid Cuts And Tax Cuts..... 120

Vance: “I Don’t Understand Why That Is Such A Focus Of The House Bill. ... Don’t Have A Health Bill And Use It To Cut Taxes” ..... 120

Vance Lamented The Lack Of A Plan To Replace ObamaCare, Saying “There Has Never Been A Shared Republican Vision For What The Replacement Is Going To Look Like” 121

In A 2017 New York Times Op-Ed, Vance Lamented Republican Repeal Efforts For Leaving A Situation Where “Millions Will Be Unable To Pay For Basic Health Care” ... 121

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Vance Said Republicans Would Likely Find Themselves “Mired In Internal Contradictions” Like Arguing That “A Bill That Cuts Subsidies For The Poor Somehow Makes Care More Accessible” ..... 121

Following The Defeat Of The Bill, Vance Called The Legislation A “Moral And Political Disaster” ..... 122

VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED SOME HESITATION CONCERNING SCHOOL CHOICE INITIATIVES ..... 123

    Vance Has Previously Questioned The Effectiveness Of Vouchers For High-School Aged Students..... 123

VANCE HAS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR ASPECTS OF THE LEFT’S EXTREMIST CLIMATE AGENDA..... 124

    Vance Previously Suggested The U.S. Has “A Climate Problem”..... 124

    Vance Previously Acknowledged That Coal Jobs Are Not Coming Back..... 124

    Vance Previously Said Natural Gas Would Not Take Us To A Clean Energy Future ..... 124

    Vance Previously Doubted Whether There Would Be Job-Related Benefits From Pulling Out Of The Paris Climate Agreement..... 124

VANCE WAS CRITICAL OF TRUMP’S SUGGESTION TO BUILD A U.S. SOUTHERN BORDER WALL..... 125

    Vance Previously Criticized The Idea Of A Southern Border Wall..... 125

VANCE WAS CRITICAL OF TRUMP’S PROPOSED TRAVEL BAN ..... 125

    Vance Previously Opposed Trump’s Muslim Ban ..... 125

VANCE PREVIOUSLY BLAMED U.S. BUSINESSES ON THE BORDER CRISIS ..... 126

    In March 2021, Vance Wrote That The “Masters Of The Universe” And The Need For “Cheap Foreign Labor” Resulted In The Border Crisis..... 126

    Vance Said Illegal Immigration Is “About Money” And Cheap Labor For Business Leaders ..... 126

    Vance Said “We Should Take A Page From President Trump's Playbook And Call This What It Is” Despite Accusations From Some That It Is Racist To Criticize Biden’s Immigration Policies ..... 126

    In 2019, Vance Agreed With Fox News’ Tucker Carlson That The “Ruling Class” Had Made The Immigration Debate About Race To Convince Black Voters To Support Liberal Immigration Policies Against Their Economic Interests ..... 127

VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY TAKEN POSITIONS THAT UNDERMINE THE RELIGIOUS-RIGHT ..... 127

    Vance Attacked 2012 GOP Candidates For Missing “The Mark” On Evolution..... 127

    Vance Criticized GOP Presidential Candidates Opposed To The Federal Marriage Amendment, Which He Said Would Rip “Apart New Families”..... 128

VANCE’S CONTROVERSIAL FOREIGN POLICY RECORD..... 129

VANCE CRITICIZED THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION FOR THE AIRSTRIKE THAT KILLED QASEM SOLEIMANI ..... 129

    In 2020, Vance Criticized President Trump’s Airstrike Killing Iranian General Qasem Soleimani, Worrying It Would Continue To Bog Down America In The Middle East To The Advantage Of China ..... 129

    Vance Suggested That The Country Had Been Entangled In Wars In The Middle East So “Financial Elites” Could Profit From The Rise Of China ..... 129

VANCE HAS MADE CONTROVERSIAL REMARKS CONCERNING CHINESE PATRIOTISM..... 130

    Vance Previously Claimed That Chinese Nationals Were More Patriotic Than U.S. Nationals ..... 130

VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE FLIP-FLOPPED ON HIS SUPPORT FOR THE IRAQ WAR ..... 130

    In 2016, Vance Criticized The Iraq War And Jeb Bush For Continuing To Defend The War ..... 130

    However, Vance Previously Noted He Supported The Invasion Of Iraq ..... 131

    Additionally, Vance Was A Reporter For The U.S. Department Of Defense And Reported Successes In Iraq..... 132

    In Early 2017, Vance Has Criticized “Never-Ending Commitment” To Iraq While Calling For “Some Sort Of Happy Median” Going Forward Under Trump ..... 132

VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE EMBRACED NON-INTERVENTIONISM..... 133

    Vance Has Called For A More Non-Interventionist Foreign Policy ..... 133

VANCE HAS BEEN ONE OF THE CHIEF OBSTRUCTIONISTS TO U.S. EFFORTS TO PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO UKRAINE ..... 134

    According To The Associated Press, Vance Expressed His Opposition To Ukraine Funding By Stating “The Problem In Ukraine ... Is That There’s No Clear End Point” ..... 134

    Vance Claimed Ukraine Funding Will “Not Going To Fundamentally Change The Reality On The Battlefield”..... 134

    Vance Supports “Negotiated Peace” Between Russia And Ukraine ..... 134

    Vance Published A Press Release Describing Ukraine Aid Legislation As A “‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package” ..... 135

    In 2023, Vance Signed Onto A Letter To The Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget Calling For Details On Ukraine Spending ..... 137

    Recently, Vance Stated He Opposed Ukraine Funding In Order To Protect Donald Trump From Potential Future Impeachment ..... 139

VANCE’S NOTABLE VULNERABILITIES WITH MODERATES ..... 140

VANCE HAS TAKEN A POPULIST VIEW ON GLOBAL FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS ..... 140

    Vance Supports Trade Policies “Different” From Free Trade..... 140

    Vance Opposed Completely Unwinding Trade Agreements, Noting The “Factories Still Aren’t Coming Back” ..... 140

    Vance Has Criticized The Idea That Bad Trade Deals—including With Countries Like China—Were To Blame For Job Losses ..... 140

    Vance: “It’s Not That We Have This Terrible Trade Deal With China. It’s Just That A Lot Of Things ..... 140

    Vance Has Suggested That The Republican Party’s Support For Free Trade Is At Odds With Its Working Class Base..... 141

VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE ONCE CALLED FOR SLASHING SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE ..... 141

    Prior To Running For Office, Vance Wrote That He Would Support Dramatic Cuts To Social Security And Supported A Plan That The AARP Warned Would “End Medicare As We Know It” ..... 141

VANCE IS OPPOSED TO PROVIDING CHILDCARE ASSISTANCE TO LOW INCOME AMERICANS ..... 145

    Vance Opposed Biden’s Plan To Expand Child Care To Low- And Moderate-Income Families..... 145

    After His Wife Gave Birth To Their First Child, Vance Was Living In Columbus While His Wife Lived In Washington, D.C. With Her Mother ..... 146

    Vance Supports Legislation To Expand Kinship Guardians In Ohio ..... 146

VANCE APPEARS TO OPPOSE STUDENT LOAN FORGIVENESS PROGRAMS ..... 147

    Vance Criticized Student Loan Debt Forgiveness Proposals ..... 147

    However, Vance Indicated Support For Hillary Clinton’s Free-College Plan ..... 147

VANCE IS OPPOSED TO EXPANDING HEALTHCARE ACCESS TO ALL AMERICANS ..... 147

    Vance Criticized Medicare For All As A “Big Handout” To The Healthcare Sector ..... 147

VANCE EXPRESSED A SERIES OF CONTROVERSIAL VIEWS DURING THE COVID PANDEMIC..... 147

    Vance Criticized Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer For Allowing Abortion Clinics To Stay Open Under Her COVID-19 Lockdown Order ..... 147

    Vance Criticized Public Health Experts And Elected Officials For Supporting Black Lives Matter Protests While Condemning Anti-Lockdown Protests..... 148

VANCE SUPPORTS PLACING RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTION ACCESS ..... 149

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Vance Supported Georgia’s Heartbeat Bill..... 149

Vance Opposes Third-Trimester Abortions..... 149

Vance Has Stated He Does Not Support Abortion Exceptions In The Case Of Rape..... 150

Vance Is Noted As Having Expressed That Divorce Is Too Common And That Women In Violent Marriage Should Stay In Them For The Sake Of Their Children ..... 151

VANCE HAS EXPRESSED CONTROVERSIAL VIEWS CONCERNING AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES ..... 154

    Vance Accused Chinese Graduate Students Of “Conspir[ing] To Steal Our Intellectual Property” ..... 154

    Vance Called For Penalizing Universities That Accept Donations From Foreign Counties ..... 154

    In 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Stating “The Anti-Whiteness Movement, Mainstreamed By American Universities And Corporations, Has Blood On Its Hands” ..... 154

VANCE HAS PUSHED PSEUDO-CHRISTIAN VALUES ENCOURAGING THE TRADITIONAL NUCLEAR FAMILY ..... 155

    Vance Has Called For Policies To Encourage Families To Have More Children ..... 155

VANCE APPEARS TO SUPPORT LAWS REQUIRING BUSINESSES TO CLOSE ON SUNDAYS..... 156

    Vance Seemingly Supports “Blue Laws,” Requiring Businesses To Close On Sundays... 156

VANCE APPEARS TO OPPOSE THE LEGALIZATION OF MARIJUANA ..... 156

    Vance Has Criticized Marijuana Legalization ..... 156

    However, Vance Previously Called On Republicans To “Get Serious” About The Punishment Of Black Fathers For Marijuana Possession ..... 156

VANCE PUSHED TRUMP TO NOMINATE CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE BRETT KAVANAUGH TO THE SUPREME COURT ..... 157

    Vance Wrote An Op-Ed In The Wall Street Journal Urging Trump To Select Brett Kavanaugh For The Supreme Court ..... 157

    Vance Signed A Public Letter Praising Brett Kavanaugh’s Nomination To The Supreme Court ..... 158

    Vance Said That Kavanaugh’s Views On Constitutional Interpretation Were More Important Than His Views On Specific Policy Issues..... 159

    Vance Praised Kavanaugh’s Teaching Abilities And Predicted They Would Make Him A Good Supreme Court Justice ..... 160

    Vance Defended Kavanaugh And His Supporters During The Confirmation Hearings .... 160

    Usha Vance Clerked For Kavanaugh..... 161

Notably, Vance Has Complained The Conservative Legal Movement Had Betrayed Social Conservatives After A SCOTUS Ruling Against LGBT Workplace Discrimination ..... 161

VANCE HAS TAKEN A SERIES OF CONTROVERSIAL POSITIONS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS..... 162

    Vance Claimed The Protests Against Police Violence Following The Death Of George Floyd Were Distractions From More Important Economic Issues ..... 162

    Vance Has Been Accused Of Echoing White Supremacists With His Worries About America’s Low Fertility Rate ..... 163

    A Separate Washington Post Op-Ed Attacked Vance For Alleged Comments Supporting Benefits To “Our People” ..... 164

VANCE HAS A TAKEN A SERIES OF OTHER CONTROVERSIAL POSITIONS ON VARIOUS CULTURE WAR TOPICS ..... 164

    Vance Criticized Prince Harry And Meghan Markle For “Complaining” Instead Of Having “Gratitude” For Their Privilege ..... 164

    Vance Said Trump’s Fight With The NFL Over Kneeling Was A Political Win For Trump ..... 165

VANCE HAS TIES TO VARIOUS CONTROVERSIAL FIGURES ..... 166

    Steve Bannon Once Called For Vance To Become Head Of The Heritage Foundation .... 166

    Vance Appears To Have Ties To Alex Jones ..... 166

VANCE’S ADDITIONAL PERSONAL AND POLITICAL FOIBLES ..... 166

VANCE’S ‘OUR OHIO RENEWAL’ HAS BEEN HEAVILY SCRUTINIZED BY CRITICS ..... 166

    Vance Founded Our Ohio Renewal – A Non-Profit With The Goal Of Combatting The Opioid Epidemic And Improving Opportunity In Ohio ..... 166

    In 2019, Vance Maintained That Our Ohio Renewal Was Still Operational – Despite Its Website Being Offline – And Said It Was Sponsoring A Residency For A Researcher In Southern Ohio ..... 169

    Despite Its Stated Goals, Our Ohio Renewal Spent More Than 95 Percent Of Its 2017 Fundraising ..... 171

    Our Ohio Renewal Appears To Have Been Largely Defunct Since 2017 ..... 171

    Our Ohio Renewal Has A Sister Organization Which Has Never Raised More Than \$50,000 In A Year..... 171

    Our Ohio Renewal Was Run By Both A Longtime Republican And A Friend Of Vance Who Is Progressive ..... 171

VANCE’S TIME WORKING WITH ‘REVOLUTION LLC’ CREATES A SERIES OF NOTABLE VULNERABILITIES WITH AMERICA-FIRST CONSERVATIVES..... 172

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Vance Worked At Revolution LLC, A Firm Founded By Steve Case, The Founder Of AOL ..... 172

Steve Case Was A Vocal Supporter Of Hillary Clinton’s 2016 Campaign..... 173

Revolution Backed A Company Invested In By Former Democratic Presidential Candidate John Delaney..... 173

Vance Was A Co-Worker Of Ron Klain, President Joe Biden’s Chief Of Staff..... 174

Shortly After Vance Was Hired By Revolution, Case Came Out Against President Trump’s Immigration Policies..... 174

While Vance Was Employed By Revolution, Case Met With Trump ..... 175

Revolution Backed DraftKings Which Operates Sports Gambling..... 175

Steve Case Sold His Virginia Home To Saudi Arabia For \$43 Million..... 176

Case Was Part Of A Global Advisory Board For A Tourism Destination In Saudi Arabia But Backed Out After The Killing Of Jamal Khashoggi..... 176

VANCE WAS ALSO INVOLVED WITH STEVE CASE’S ‘RISE OF THE REST’ FUND – ANOTHER CONTROVERSIAL ROLE..... 177

    Vance Was Part Of Steve Case’s Rise Of The Rest – An Initiative Backed By Wealthy Tech Investors..... 177

    Rise Of The Rest Invested In A Startup Founded By A Former Obama Official ..... 179

    Rise Of The Rest Invested In Gig Wage, A Company That Assists With Moving Money Within The Gig Economy..... 179

    Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In Various Companies Across The Country..... 180

VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE ENJOYED A LUXURIOUS LIFESTYLE SINCE BECOMING A PUBLISHED AUTHOR SEVERAL YEARS AGO ..... 183

    Since Publishing His Book, Vance Has Enjoyed Luxury Accommodations..... 183

    Vance Admits To Being A Member Of The Elite ..... 183

    Hypocritically, Vance Has Utilized Class-Based Politics ..... 183

VULNERABILITIES STEMMING FROM HILLBILLY ELEGY..... 184

    Vance’s Hillbilly Elegy Received Steady Criticism..... 184

VANCE’S TIES TO CIRCUIT THERAPEUTICS COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES ..... 188

    Vance Worked For A Biotechnology Company That Received Federal Contracts ..... 188

VANCE’S TIES TO INNOVATE OHIO COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES ..... 188

    Vance Served On The Advisory Board Of InnovateOhio ..... 188

VANCE’S TIES TO LED COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES ..... 189

    Vance Invested In An LED Greenhouse Project ..... 189

VANCE’S TIES TO MITHRIL CAPITAL COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES .....	189
After Law School, Vance Worked At A Law Firm And Then Became An Executive At A Biotech Company. From There, He Left To Join Mithril Capital, An Investment Firm....	189
The FBI Probed Mithril Capital, Vance’s Former Employer, Over Possible Financial Misconduct.....	190
VANCE’S TIES TO NARYA CAPITAL COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES.....	190
In 2020, Vance Started An Ohio-Based Venture Capital Fund – Narya Capital – With Backers Including Peter Thiel, Marc Andreessen And Eric Schmidt.....	190
One Of The Founding Partners Of Narya Was Falon Donohue, The Former CEO Of VentureOhio.....	191
Narya Capital Invested In AcreTrader .....	191
Vance And Narya Are Investors In Appharvest - A Startup Growing Produce In Greenhouses In Appalachia .....	191
Narya Capital Invested In Kriya Therapeutics, A Company Located In The Bay Area Of California And The Research Triangle Park In North Carolina .....	193
Parler Attempted To Raise Capital From Narya Capital .....	193
APPENDIX A: ISSUES OF NOTE (BY SUBJECT AREA).....	194
FISCAL AND ECONOMIC.....	194
Overall – Commentary And Philosophy.....	194
Taxes .....	199
Tax Cuts .....	200
Federal Funding .....	201
Subsidies .....	205
Labor .....	205
Miscellaneous .....	207
HEALTHCARE.....	210
Obamacare .....	210
COVID-19.....	214
ENVIRONMENT .....	214
Climate Change – Commentary .....	214
EDUCATION .....	215
School Choice .....	215
IMMIGRATION, PUBLIC SAFETY, CRIMINAL JUSTICE .....	216
Immigration.....	216



Privileged & Confidential

D.C. Criminal Code ..... 219

Miscellaneous – Crime ..... 220

FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE..... 220

    Overall..... 220

    Ukraine-Russia Conflict..... 221

    Trump - Soleimani ..... 228

    Iraq ..... 229

    Israel..... 231

    China ..... 232

    Ireland ..... 232

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES..... 233

    Abortion ..... 233

    Race..... 238

    Religion..... 238

POLITICAL..... 239

    Trump..... 239

    Republican Politicians – Notable Affiliations ..... 253

    Liberal Politicians – Notable Affiliations ..... 254

    GOP Donors – Commentary ..... 258

    Libertarians – Commentary ..... 261

    Conservative Media – Commentary ..... 261

    Campaign Notes - 2018 Campaign ..... 262

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL..... 265

    Legal Career Notes ..... 265

    Notable Residency History ..... 269

## EXECUTIVE SYNOPSIS

### DOSSIER NOTES

In preparing this background report, we undertook an examination of all readily available and relevant electronic and online records, several hundred Nexis and news articles, dozens of active and archived web pages, and several dozen public records from Nexis and the resources of various federal, state, and municipal government offices. The results of our analysis are contained below.

*Typographical Note:* There are a number of articles quoted in this report that contain typographical errors. These are from the original text of the article and have not been corrected when being quoted directly.

### POTENTIAL VULNERABILITIES

#### *Potential Opposition Narrative - Anti-Trump Record And Establishment Ties*

JD Vance's political journey has been marked by notable shifts and contradictions, making his stance on Donald Trump a subject of intrigue and critique.

During the 2016 election, Vance openly opposed Trump, announcing his intention to vote third party and expressing doubt about Trump's effectiveness. His critical views extended to likening Trump to heroin and dismissing the 'MAGA' movement as a 'quick high.' Described as a 'never Trumper,' Vance declared his opposition on public platforms, asserting that Trump was not the ideal candidate for white-working class voters. In 2016, Vance aligned himself with Trump's accusers, tweeting about allegations of sexual assault and implying a skepticism of Trump's honesty. He connected racism and xenophobia to Trump's base of support, emphasizing racial resentment among Trump's followers.

Vance's association with the American Enterprise Institute, an organization critical of Trump, adds another layer to his political affiliations. As a former writer for FrumForum, run by known 'never Trumper' David Frum, Vance's connections to Trump-antagonists become more apparent. Despite initial moderate Republican and Democratic tendencies, Vance shifted his stance, actively supporting Trump's policies and encouraging votes for him in the 2020 election.

Vance's political evolution raises questions about the consistency of his views and the influences shaping his positions.

#### *Potential Opposition Narrative - Questionable Conservatism*

JD Vance's political views display a nuanced landscape, revealing a range of positions that traverse traditional party lines. While acknowledging the benefits of certain Democratic policies for working-class Americans, Vance has been notably critical of aspects of the Trump Administration's agenda. His skepticism extends to Trump's core domestic policy priorities, expressing doubts about their effectiveness and seriousness in moving the country forward. Vance diverged from Republican orthodoxy by criticizing the 2017 tax cuts bill and supporting higher taxes on capital gains, U.S. businesses, and individuals without children.

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In a departure from conservative economic principles, Vance has questioned the emphasis on America's businesses, criticizing corporate interests and economic incentives for company relocations. He has signaled support for strengthening labor unions, opposing right-to-work laws, and advocating for reforms like sectoral bargaining and labor representation on corporate boards. This stands in contrast to traditional free-market priorities, with Vance opposing Milton Friedman-backed policies and emphasizing the nuclear family over free-market principles.

Vance's stances on healthcare reveal further deviations from the conservative playbook, as he opposed the Trump Administration's efforts to repeal and replace Obamacare. Expressing concern for those potentially losing access to healthcare, Vance urged against Medicaid cuts. On environmental issues, Vance acknowledges climate concerns and dismisses the return of coal jobs.

Vance also is known to have criticized Trump's border wall proposal and travel ban. He attributes the border crisis to business interests seeking cheap labor, aligning with Trump's rhetoric but diverging on some points.

## TOP HITS

### *Political*

#### Voting History & Party Affiliation

- Since 2018, Vance has failed to vote in at least four elections including the 2020 primary elections.
- Vance was not a registered Republican Party voter in Hamilton County between September 2018 and May 2022.

#### Lobbying Ties

- While not a lobbyist himself, Vance's old law firm, Sidley Austin, lobbied on behalf of several controversial clients during his tenure with the company.
  - Between 2014 and 2015, Sidley Austin lobbied on behalf of Purdue Pharma, the maker of OxyContin, who has paid billions of dollars in criminal and civil penalties related to the opioid epidemic.
  - Between 2014 and 2015, Sidley Austin lobbied on behalf of multiple Chinese Communist Party-affiliated companies including Alibaba and Kaisa Group.
    - In 2020, Alibaba, is a Chinese company which operates e-commerce platforms, was named by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo as a company Pompeo urged American companies to remove from their digital networks.
    - Kaisa Group is a Chinese real estate firm that was probed over alleged links to a former state official involved in a graft investigation.

### *Anti-Trump Record And Establishment Ties*

#### 2016 Campaign

- Vance was opposed to Trump's candidacy during the 2016 election.
  - As early as August 2016, Vance had announced his intention to vote third party as opposed to voting for Trump.
  - Vance was accused of "effectively" voting for Hillary Clinton.
  - During the campaign and after the election, Vance doubted Trump's ability to be effective in office.
  - Vance criticized Trump's statements and policy proposals.
  - Vance said Trump's election would be "terrible for the country".
  - Vance compared Trump to heroin and mocked MAGA as a "quick high".
- During the 2016 campaign, Vance was described as a 'never Trumper'.

## Privileged & Confidential

- In an October 2016 appearance on “The Charlie Rose Show,” Vance declared he was “a never Trump guy” and “never liked him”.
- Vance claimed there was a “willingness from people who think a lot like I do” to say Trump was “going to be a terrible candidate” and “that you were an idiot if you voted for him”.
- Vance said Trump was not the best candidate for white-working class voters.
- During the 2016 campaign, Vance indicated he believed the women who accused Trump of sexual assault.
  - In 2016, Vance indicated he believed one of Trump’s sexual-assault accusers over Trump and mocked Trump for not telling the truth.
  - In 2016, it was reported that Vance tweeted “what percentage of the American population has @RealDonaldTrump sexually assaulted?”
- During the 2016 campaign, Vance linked racism and xenophobia to Trump’s base of support.
  - In 2016, Vance said people who “might be described as if not as racist at least as expressing some sort of racial resentment” were supporting Trump.
  - In 2016, Vance said, “there are people who are drawn to Trump because he says racially insensitive things”.
  - In 2018, Vance was still an opponent of Trump, citing his race-related policies.
- Vance has suggested there was no sign of voter fraud in the 2016 election.

### **General Criticism**

- Vance once implied that Trump is prone to lying.
  - In 2017, Vance criticized Trump for saying “half-truths or lies” so frequently “that you stop actually taking the president literally.”
- Vance appeared to be critical of Trump’s comments surrounding the events in Charlottesville.
  - Following the Charlottesville protests, Vance said Trump “really missed an opportunity to name this phenomenon and gives people a sense where it comes from and show the moral leadership people want from a president”.
  - Vance said Trump was “ambivalent or too cautious about coming out and criticizing” racism and Nazism.
  - Vance said Trump failing to unite the country following Charlottesville was a “missed opportunity”.

## Privileged & Confidential

- Early in the Trump Administration, Vance indicated Trump was failing on his legislative priorities.
  - In 2017, Vance said, “I think you hear from a lot of different people if you’re on the ground in these areas talking to people is a broad recognition that things aren’t going fantastically well right now” regarding Trump’s legislative priorities.
  - Vance: “A bigger problem, I think, is the feeling that the big pushes that the president has really made on health care, on some of these other issues, haven’t really materialized”.
  - Vance noted there was a “sense that the President just isn’t able to deliver”.

### **2020 Election**

- Vance, at times, appeared dismissive of efforts to highlight fraud in the 2020 election.
  - After the 2020 election, Vance said people questioning the 2020 election results would not become violent and also said Biden would be inaugurated.

### **Additional Anti-Trump Ties**

- Vance served with the American Enterprise Institute – an organization with ties to Trump criticism.
- Vance is an alum of the website formerly run by David Frum - a known never Trumper .
- Vance has ties to various additional Trump-antagonists.
  - Vance has said he is “good friends” with Mike DeWine.
  - Vance has previous ties to notorious Trump critic John Kasich.
  - Vance previously supported notorious Trump critic John McCain.

### **Liberal Tendencies And Ties**

- Vance has been previously described as a moderate with Democrat tendencies.
  - In 2016, Vance said, “I’m frankly not a libertarian in the sense that I think government has no role in fixing” societal problems.
  - In 2017, the American Prospect’s Robert Kuttner said that at a recent conference he attended with Vance, Vance “sounded almost like a Democrat”.
  - In 2017, Vance was described as a “moderate Republican”.
- Vance previously heaped praise upon Hillary Clinton.
  - Vance praised the 2016 Democratic National Convention while criticizing the Republican Convention.

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- Vance said there was a chance he would vote for Clinton if Trump had a chance to win.
- In an op-ed, Vance recalled a time in his life when he “admired President Clinton”.
- Vance has previously heaped praise upon Barack Obama.
  - Vance has praised Obama for offering “hope” and said he would “miss him” as Obama was leaving office.
  - Vance characterized Obama’s “guns and religion” comment as “well-intentioned”.
- Vance has praised democratic-socialist Bernie Sanders.
  - Vance said Bernie Sanders was his favorite Democrat running in the 2020 Democrat primary.
  - Vance predicted that Trump was part of a political realignment that would position Trump and Bernie Sanders on the same side in 20 years.

### **Biden-2016 Comment**

- Vance appears to have once indicated that Joe Biden could have beat Trump in 2016.

### **Current**

- Following the end of Trump’s Presidency, Vance praised Trump’s policy and was an active supporter of his 2020 re-election.
  - Vance in 2021: I “ultimately pulled the trigger and encouraged a lot of my friends to ... pull the lever for Donald Trump in 2020”.
  - Vance: “I was really happy with the policy. And so, that’s what caused me to become a Trump supporter”.
  - Vance has attacked Trump’s ban from social media outlets.
  - Vance blasted calls from Democrats to hold former Trump Administration officials accountable after he left office.

### ***Questionable Conservatism***

### **Overall – Economic, Societal**

- Vance once admitted that working class Americans benefit from Democrat-policies.
- Vance once criticized Trump’s “core domestic policy priorities”.
  - In 2017, Vance reflected on Trump’s “core domestic policy priorities,” claiming it was “not looking especially good right now”.

## Privileged & Confidential

- Vance: “I just don't see the evidence that we're being serious about the policies that are necessary to move the country forward yet”.

### **Fiscal And Business**

- Vance was critical of the Trump Administration’s 2017 Tax Cuts Bill.
  - In 2018, Vance criticized republicans for living in the 1980s with the party’s tax and health care reform policies.
  - Vance criticized republicans for cutting taxes for the wealthy and cutting the social safety net.
  - In 2019, Vance criticized the 2017 tax reform law as “ok, it wasn’t terrible, but it wasn’t great”.
  - It should be noted that Vance was also critical of the Bush-era tax cuts.
- Vance has expressed support for increasing the capital gains tax rate.
- Vance has called to raise taxes on U.S. businesses in certain circumstances.
- Vance appears to support higher taxes for individuals without children.
- Vance has somewhat flip-flopped on cuts to the federal budget.
  - In 2017, Vance warned that GOP budget cuts were evidence that Trump and Republicans in Congress were not focused on “core constituencies”.
  - In 2017, Vance noted he supports using government spending to solve social problems.
  - However, Vance supported the 2011 Ryan budget.
- Vance has previously signaled support for distorting the free-market with federal subsidies.
- Vance has questioned conservatives prioritizing America’s businesses.
  - Vance previously criticized conservatives for prizing corporate interests.
  - Vance criticized the practice of offering economic incentives to companies to relocate.
- Vance has indicated he supported union priorities over that of American business.
  - Vance previously indicated he opposes right-to-work laws.
  - Vance has criticized GOP donors for pushing antagonism toward unions.
  - Vance signed onto a report calling for reforms to greatly strengthen labor unions.



## Privileged & Confidential

- Vance and other signers of the report called for conservatives to consider allowing sectoral bargaining, works councils, and requiring seats for labor representatives on corporate boards.
- Vance has been critical of free-market economic priority.
  - Vance opposes Milton Friedman-backed economic policies.
  - Vance has called for prioritizing the American “nuclear family” over free market principles.
- Vance worked as a contributor for a think tank that expressed skepticism of Trump’s America First trade agenda.
- Early during the Trump Administration, Vance questioned whether Trump should be credited for the booming economy.
- Opponents could suggest Vance is hypocritical for his criticism of ‘big tech’.

### **Healthcare**

- Vance opposed the Trump Administration’s efforts to repeal and replace Obamacare.
  - In 2017, Vance criticized Republican efforts to repeal and replace Obamacare under President Trump, claiming he doesn’t “love the plan at all”.
  - Vance warned that the people who would “lose out most” in the GOP-led Obamacare replacement bill are the ones who voted for Donald Trump.
  - Vance: “Those folks, they very well see their deductibles go up, their premiums go up. ... there's obviously a significant issue of folks potentially losing access to their health care”.
  - Vance claimed “folks back home” were worried about the GOP-led Obamacare reforms and “about losing the Medicaid expansion and most worried about losing their health care”.
  - Vance warned that the bill suffered from “core deficiencies,” claiming “millions of people” were “losing health coverage either through Medicaid or through another mechanism”.
  - Vance urged Sen. Rob Portman to vote against the House-passed bill to repeal and replace Obamacare due to its Medicaid cuts and tax cuts.
  - Vance: “I don’t understand why that is such a focus of the House Bill. ... don’t have a health bill and use it to cut taxes”.

### **Education And Environmental**

- Vance has previously indicated some hesitation concerning school choice initiatives.

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- Vance has expressed support for aspects of the left’s extremist climate agenda.
  - Vance previously suggested the U.S. has “a climate problem”.
  - Vance previously acknowledged that coal jobs are not coming back.
  - Vance previously said natural gas would not take us to a clean energy future.

### **Immigration**

- Vance was critical of Trump’s suggestion to build a U.S. southern border wall.
- Vance was critical of Trump’s proposed travel ban.
- Vance previously blamed U.S. businesses on the border crisis.
  - In march 2021, Vance wrote that the “masters of the universe” and the need for “cheap foreign labor” resulted in the border crisis.
  - Vance said illegal immigration is “about money” and cheap labor for business leaders.
  - Vance said “we should take a page from President Trump's playbook and call this what it is” despite accusations from some that it is racist to criticize Biden’s immigration policies.

### **Social And Cultural Issues**

- Vance has previously taken positions that undermine the religious-right.
  - Vance attacked 2012 GOP candidates for missing “the mark” on evolution.
  - Vance criticized GOP presidential candidates opposed to the Federal Marriage Amendment, which he said would rip “apart new families”.

### **Foreign Policy**

- Vance criticized the Trump administration for the airstrike that killed Qasem Soleimani.
  - In 2020, Vance criticized President Trump’s airstrike killing Iranian General Qasem Soleimani, worrying it would continue to bog down America in the Middle East to the advantage of China.
  - Vance suggested that the country had been entangled in wars in the Middle East so “financial elites” could profit from the rise of China.
- Vance has made controversial remarks concerning Chinese patriotism.
  - Vance previously claimed that Chinese nationals were more patriotic than U.S. nationals.
- Vance appears to have flip-flopped on his support for the Iraq war.

- Vance appears to have embraced non-interventionism.
- Vance has been one of the chief obstructionists to U.S. efforts to providing assistance to Ukraine.

*Notable Vulnerabilities With Moderates*

**Policy**

- Vance has taken a populist view on global free trade agreements.
  - Vance supports trade policies “different” from free trade.
  - Vance opposed completely unwinding trade agreements, noting the “factories still aren’t coming back”.
  - Vance has criticized the idea that bad trade deals—including with countries like China—were to blame for job losses.
  - Vance: “It’s not that we have this terrible trade deal with China. It’s just that a lot of things.
- Vance appears to have once called for slashing Social Security and Medicare.
- Vance is opposed to providing childcare assistance to low income Americans.
  - Vance opposed Biden’s plan to expand child care to low- and moderate-income families.
  - After his wife gave birth to their first child, Vance was living in Columbus while his wife lived in Washington, D.C. with her mother.
- Vance appears to oppose student loan forgiveness programs.
  - Vance criticized student loan debt forgiveness proposals.
  - However, Vance indicated support for Hillary Clinton’s free-college plan.
- Vance is opposed to expanding healthcare access to all Americans.
- Vance expressed a series of controversial views during the Covid pandemic.
  - Vance criticized Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer for allowing abortion clinics to stay open under her Covid-19 lockdown order.
  - Vance criticized public health experts and elected officials for supporting Black Lives Matter protests while condemning anti-lockdown protests.
- Vance supports placing restrictions on abortion access.
  - Vance supported Georgia’s Heartbeat Bill.
  - Vance opposes third-trimester abortions.

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- Vance has stated he does not support abortion exceptions in the case of rape.

### **Social And Cultural Issues**

- Vance has expressed controversial views concerning American universities.
- Vance has pushed pseudo-Christian values encouraging the traditional nuclear family.
- Vance appears to support laws requiring businesses to close on Sundays.
- Vance appears to oppose the legalization of marijuana.
- Vance pushed Trump to nominate controversial figure Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court.
- Vance has taken a series of controversial positions concerning race relations.
- Vance has taken a series of other controversial positions on various culture war topics.
  - Vance criticized Prince Harry and Meghan Markle for “complaining” instead of having “gratitude” for their privilege.
  - Vance said Trump’s fight with the NFL over kneeling was a political win for Trump.
- Vance has ties to various controversial figures.
  - Steve Bannon once called for Vance to become head of the Heritage Foundation.
  - Vance appears to have ties to Alex Jones.

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

### PERSONAL INFORMATION: J.D. VANCE

Full Name: James David “J.D.” Vance  
Formerly: James Donald Bowman

DOB: August 2, 1984 (39)

Social Security:

Home Address: Cincinnati, OH 45206  
Hamilton County  
(2018-Pres.)

Additional Property: Washington, D.C. 20002  
(2014-Pres.)

Marital Status: Married

Partner: Usha Bala Vance (née Chilukuri)  
DOB: January 6, 1986 (38)

Children: Three

Voter Registration: Registered Republican – Hamilton County, Ohio

Education: 2010 – 2013 J.D., Yale Law School  
2007 – 2009 B.A., Political Science & Philosophy, Ohio State  
University

Employment: 2023 – Pres. Senator, U.S. Senate, Ohio  
2019 – 2023 Co-Founder/Partner, Narya  
2017 – 2019 Partner, Revolution LLC (Rise of the Rest)  
2016 – 2017 Principal, Mithril Capital  
2013 – 2015 Attorney, Sidley Austin LLP  
2003 – 2007 Marine, U.S. Marine Corps

Associations: Former Editor, Yale Law Journal  
Former President, Yale Law Veterans Association

Military Service: 2003 – 2007 U.S. Marine Corps



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Election Results: 2022 U.S. Senate, Ohio (General, Won)

Web Sites: <https://jdvance.com/>  
<https://www.vance.senate.gov/>  
<https://en.wikipedia.org/>  
<https://www.harpercollins.com/>  
<https://ballotpedia.org/>  
<https://justfacts.votesmart.org/>

Social Media: [Facebook](#) (Personal)  
[Facebook](#) (Campaign)  
[Facebook](#) (Official)  
[Twitter](#) (Campaign)  
[Instagram](#) (Personal)  
[Instagram](#) (Campaign)  
[Instagram](#) (Official)  
[YouTube](#) (Campaign)  
[YouTube](#) (Official)  
[LinkedIn](#) (Personal)

Email:

Phone:

## ELECTION RESULTS

*J.D. Vance has been serving in the U.S. Senate from Ohio since winning his 2022 campaign.*

### **2022 General Election, U.S. Senate, Ohio**

#### **General Election Results (November 8, 2022)**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Vote Total</b>
J.D. Vance	REP	2,192,114
Tim Ryan	DEM	1,939,489

(Official Election Results, [Federal Election Commission](#), 11/8/22)

### **CAMPAIGN FINANCE**

*Since 2023, J.D. Vance has received an aggregate of \$1,574,894.48 in total contributions for his re-election campaign. Vance transferred more than \$160,000 from his fundraising committee and has also received hundreds of thousands of dollars from special interest groups including the National Association of Convenience Stores and the National Automobile Dealers Association. Vance has also received funding from corporations such as SpaceX, Honeywell, and Comcast. It should also be noted that Vance has accepted funding from Republican PACs and groups who may be considered out-of-touch with the current party, like Mitch McConnell and the Susan B. Anthony List. Further, Vance has begun to pay himself back for the loans he gave to his 2022 campaign, disbursing \$700,000 in 2022 and an additional \$614,500 in 2023.*

*In 2022, Vance received an aggregate of \$15,994,977.29 in total contributions for his campaign for the U.S. Senate. Vance personally loaned his campaign \$1.4 million and received similarly large contributions from Republican-aligned committees including the RNC, the NRSC, and the Republican Jewish Coalition. Vance additionally received large contributions from corporations such as Altria, Nextera, and Marathon Petroleum. Of note, Vance received funding from establishment PACs and groups such as Koch Industries, as well as the leadership PACs of Roy Blunt, Lindsey Graham, and Mike Huckabee. It should also be noted that Vance has received thousands of dollars from individuals with a history of anti-Trump rhetoric like Ken Griffen and Paul Singer.*

*Individually, Vance has contributed an aggregate of \$15,325 to federal and statewide campaign committees. Federally, Vance contributed \$11,255, giving to various Republicans from Ohio including Rob Portman and Max Miller, as well as other prominent Republicans across the country such as Blake Masters and Joe Kent. At the state level, Vance has contributed \$4,100 to campaign committees in the state of Ohio, giving it entirely to Sharon Kennedy's campaign for the Ohio Supreme Court.*

***JD Vance For Senate (2028)*****Notable Contributions**

**Since 2023, Vance Has Received An Aggregate Of \$1,574,894.48 In Total Contributions For His Campaign For U.S. Senate.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount YTD</b>
VANCE VICTORY	\$160,426.51
OHIOANS FOR JD	\$13,166.99
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONVENIENCE STORES	\$10,000.00
BOOTS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$10,000.00
HILL, VERNON	\$6,777.50
SORIANO, JOHN D.	\$6,600.00
SAAD, HENRY B. MR.	\$6,600.00
SAAD, MARA LETICA MRS.	\$6,600.00
MOSING, GREG	\$6,600.00
KAY, ALISON	\$6,600.00
ARMSTRONG, BRIAN	\$6,600.00
BAKER, DANIEL L. MR.	\$6,600.00
WITKOFF, ZACHARY D.	\$6,500.00
OUSTERHOUT, DOUGLAS	\$6,000.00
DIXON, KENNETH	\$6,000.00
KLEIN, RUSSELL B. MR.	\$5,800.00
STEER PAC	\$5,000.00
SPACE EXPLORATION TECHNOLOGIES CORP. PAC	\$5,000.00
US ENERGY OF PAC (THE PAC OF AXPC)	\$5,000.00
SCHNEIDER NATIONAL INC. TRANSPAC	\$5,000.00
VERN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$5,000.00
TRUIST FINANCIAL CORPORATION FEDERAL PAC	\$5,000.00
TZEDEK PAC	\$5,000.00
STRATEGY PAC	\$5,000.00
RECLAIM AMERICA PAC	\$5,000.00
POLITICAL EDUCATION PATTERNS	\$5,000.00
ROBICHAUD, KAREN A.	\$5,000.00
NATIONAL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION PAC	\$5,000.00
R SENATE PAC	\$5,000.00
NATIONAL RESTAURANT ASSOCIATION PAC	\$5,000.00
REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND	\$5,000.00
OBERHEIDEN, NICK MR.	\$5,000.00
ROBINSON, ROBERT S. MR. SR.	\$5,000.00
MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (MORPAC)	\$5,000.00
NACD RESPONSIBLE DISTRIBUTION PAC	\$5,000.00
LODGE, JOHN WILLIAM MR. III	\$5,000.00
LETS GET TO WORK PAC	\$5,000.00
MARSHA PAC	\$5,000.00



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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount YTD</b>
HONEYWELL INTERNATIONAL PAC	\$5,000.00
KOHLHEPP, BRENT A. MR.	\$5,000.00
BUSKIRK, CHRISTOPHER	\$5,000.00
AMERICAN OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION PAC	\$5,000.00
COMCAST CORPORATION & NBCUNIVERSAL PAC	\$5,000.00
ALABAMA FIRST PAC	\$5,000.00
1890 PAC	\$5,000.00
ASSOCIATION OF KENTUCKY FRIED CHICKEN FRANCHISEES PAC	\$5,000.00
CMR PAC	\$5,000.00
CONTINUING AMERICA'S STRENGTH & SECURITY PAC	\$5,000.00
COMMON VALUES PAC	\$5,000.00
CULAC THE PAC OF CREDIT UNION NATIONAL ASSOCIATION	\$5,000.00
AMERICAN EXCELLENCE	\$5,000.00
BLUEGRASS COMMITTEE	\$5,000.00
DAVIDSON, LUTHER	\$5,000.00
SUSAN B. ANTHONY LIST INC. CANDIDATE FUND (DBA SUSAN B. ANTHONY PRO-LIFE AMERICA	\$4,976.66
BLUEPAC-BLUE CROSS AND BLUE SHIELD ASSOCIATION PAC	\$4,500.00
NATIONAL CATTLEMEN'S BEEF ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMI	\$4,000.00
PORK PAC	\$4,000.00
ROBICHAUD, LOUIS RENE	\$3,700.00
CIACCIO, JANE	\$3,544.47
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS POLITICAL ACTION COMMIT	\$3,500.00
RANGER PAC	\$3,500.00
KOBELT, JOHN C. MR.	\$3,500.00
CALFEE FUND FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT	\$3,500.00
SHOR, CHARLES	\$3,435.35
WALTERS, ROBERT D. MR. JR.	\$3,300.00
MOUNTAINEER PAC	\$3,300.00
PACK, STEVE	\$3,300.00
PROTECT OHIO VALUES PAC	\$3,300.00
MCKEE, JACK C.	\$3,300.00
HANNA, DAVID G.	\$3,300.00
MAKOWSKI, BRUCE	\$3,222.64
POGUE, RICHARD W. MR.	\$3,100.00
MCFADDEN, CAROL	\$3,000.00
COUDURES, JOHN	\$3,000.00
SORIANO, MARY	\$2,900.00
YOUNG, DONALD	\$2,900.00
SHAW, BRYAN	\$2,900.00
ZARTLER, BILL	\$2,900.00
TOEWS, ROBERT G.	\$2,900.00

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Recipient	Aggregate Amount YTD
TOLLETT, DOUGLAS J. MR.	\$2,900.00
SCULLIN, REBECCA A. MRS.	\$2,900.00
TERREBLANCHE, ANITA	\$2,900.00
PETERSEN, DAVID	\$2,900.00
PATEL, DIPAL	\$2,900.00
ROBINSON, ROBERT G. MR. JR.	\$2,900.00
MILANO, CONSTANTINO	\$2,900.00
MILLER, DEBBIE	\$2,900.00
OETERS, GAYLE	\$2,900.00
JOHNSON, TRAVIS	\$2,900.00
MCLEAN, STEPHEN M.	\$2,900.00
KEYCORP ADVOCATES FUND-FEDERAL	\$2,900.00
HUGIN, ROBERT	\$2,900.00
MCLEAN, AIMEE E.	\$2,900.00
KOHLHEPP, SCOTT M. MR.	\$2,900.00
DESKINS, CHAD	\$2,900.00
ESTABROOK, ANNE E. MS.	\$2,900.00
HILL, DAVID R. MR.	\$2,900.00
HANNA, FRANK MR.	\$2,900.00
DUNN, MICHEAL	\$2,900.00

([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

**NOTE:** The above table contains the aggregate contributions from the top 100 contributors to J.D. Vance’s 2028 campaign for the United States Senate. A full list of the total amount of contributors can be found [here](#).

**Notable Expenditures**

**Since 2023, Vance Has Disbursed An Aggregate Of \$1,929,395.95 For His Campaign For President.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

- **Since 2023, Vance Has Repaid Himself \$614,500 For His 2022 Loan.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
  - **In 2022, Vance Repaid Himself \$700,000.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

***JD Vance For Senate (2022)***

**Notable Contributions**

**In 2022, Vance Received An Aggregate Of \$15,994,977.29 In Total Contributions For His Campaigns For U.S. Senate.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

Recipient	Aggregate Amount
OHIOANS FOR JD	\$2,092,201.71
VANCE VICTORY	\$2,074,488.89
VANCE, J.D.	\$1,400,000.00
CORNYN VICTORY COMMITTEE	\$152,250.26
TAKE BACK THE SENATE	\$118,856.50
WIN THE SENATE 2022	\$101,153.47

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
OH SENATE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FUND 2022	\$90,769.41
NRSC	\$51,200.00
RNC OHIO VICTORY	\$45,607.55
BUDD VANCE VICTORY FUND	\$43,991.95
REPUBLICAN JEWISH COALITION-POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (RJC)	\$34,831.30
2022 FOUNDERS COMMITTEE	\$27,988.78
MASTERS VANCE COMMITTEE	\$27,383.90
NORPAC	\$25,500.00
STOCK, JOHN	\$20,700.00
LAXALT VANCE VICTORY COMMITTEE	\$19,665.98
WILLIAMS, ANGELA	\$12,532.67
TIMBIE, THOMAS	\$11,600.00
WAMPOLD, MILFORD	\$11,600.00
LAKONISHOK, JOSEF	\$11,600.00
HEAPHY, MICHAEL	\$11,600.00
HASLAM, JAMES	\$11,600.00
CLARKE, TIMOTHY	\$11,600.00
BURGESS, LEE ANN	\$11,600.00
BENSON, BRUCE	\$11,600.00
MOORE, MARY	\$11,500.00
PECK, JOHN	\$11,300.00
RUBIN, STEVEN	\$10,970.00
LONG, CHARLES	\$10,800.00
CAMPBELL, MARTHA	\$10,700.00
BENYO, ALEX	\$10,600.00
YARED, PETER	\$10,000.00
TRUE NORTH PAC	\$10,000.00
STEER PAC	\$10,000.00
SENATE EAGLE PAC	\$10,000.00
PROMOTING OUR REPUBLICAN TEAM PAC	\$10,000.00
RECLAIM AMERICA PAC	\$10,000.00
NATIONAL ASSOC. OF WHOLESALER- DISTRIBUTORS PAC	\$10,000.00
PELICAN PAC	\$10,000.00
MCCONNELL, JOHN	\$10,000.00
MARSHA PAC	\$10,000.00
MITCHELL, REGINA	\$10,000.00
LEAD ENCOURAGE ELECT PAC	\$10,000.00
FIGHTING FOR MISSOURI PAC	\$10,000.00
COMMON VALUES PAC	\$10,000.00
BLUE AND GOLD FUND	\$10,000.00
WALTON, JOHN	\$9,705.00
DORNAU, PETER	\$9,500.00
HOWE, DEBBIE	\$9,375.00
CLARKE, SUE	\$9,200.00
CLARKE, SUE A. MRS.	\$9,200.00
BURTON, JACK	\$9,195.00
LATHREM, DOUGLAS	\$9,000.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
WOLF, STEPHEN	\$8,700.00
ROSEN, DEAN	\$8,700.00
ROBERTSON, JAMES	\$8,700.00
PERZ, KEVIN	\$8,700.00
KANE, JOHN	\$8,700.00
HOLMES, THOMAS	\$8,700.00
GODFREY, JASON	\$8,700.00
ANDERSON, CHARLES	\$8,700.00
CAFARO, JOHN	\$8,500.00
KAESGEN, DIETER	\$8,385.00
JOHNSON, JAMES	\$8,182.00
WOLF, THOMAS	\$7,900.00
SUSAN B. ANTHONY LIST CANDIDATE FUND	\$7,900.00
REPUBLICAN JEWISH COALITION-POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (RJC-PAC)	\$7,803.27
EMOFF, MICHAEL	\$7,800.00
STEARNS, GEORGE	\$7,500.00
POPACK, JOSEPH	\$7,500.00
TALBOTT, DOUG	\$7,400.00
BUCKLEY, CLAIRE	\$7,295.00
YOUNG, JAMES	\$7,023.33
VSS & P FED PAC	\$7,000.00
GOTTEMOELLER, RUSSELL	\$6,900.00
HALPERN, JACK	\$6,900.00
COPELAND, LAMMOT	\$6,900.00
SWAN JR, FORREST	\$6,800.00
CODY, HARVEY	\$6,800.00
ADAMS, MICHAEL	\$6,411.11
EVANS, JAMES	\$6,346.00
TRIPLETT, MICHAEL	\$6,300.00
KONTRAS, NICK	\$6,300.00
LYDEN, PAUL	\$6,250.00
MCDONALD, ROBERT	\$6,050.00
WEDDING, BRYAN	\$6,000.00
HANSEN, MICHAEL	\$6,000.00
KELLY, SUZANNE	\$5,928.90
TAYLOR, KENNETH	\$5,900.00
PETROS, SAM	\$5,900.00
COWIE, CHRISTOPHER	\$5,900.00
TRAN, JAKE	\$5,800.00
WILLIAMS, CHRIS MRS.	\$5,800.00
WILLIAMS, DEVIN	\$5,800.00
THALER, JOHN	\$5,800.00
THALER, BONNIE	\$5,800.00
WRIGHT, ALEX	\$5,800.00
WYNN, STEPHEN	\$5,800.00
UIHLEIN, ELIZABETH A.	\$5,800.00
WEBER, SCOTT	\$5,800.00
UPHAM, PHIN	\$5,800.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
WESTRICK, GLENN	\$5,800.00
VINCZE, CHRISTOPHER	\$5,800.00
WILLIAMS, MATTHEW	\$5,800.00
VINCZE, JANET	\$5,800.00
WILLIAMS, DAVID MR.	\$5,800.00
VONTZ, MARGARET	\$5,800.00
TERREBLANCHE, BEN	\$5,800.00
TANNER, DOUGLAS	\$5,800.00
WYNN, ANDREA	\$5,800.00
ZERBE, JOHN	\$5,800.00
YASTREBENETSKY, ALEXANDER	\$5,800.00
TATUM, JOHN	\$5,800.00
WARNER, GERALDINE	\$5,800.00
ZIMMERMAN, TIM	\$5,800.00
SMUCKER, TIM	\$5,800.00
SORIANO, JOHN D.	\$5,800.00
ROOT, HOWARD C.	\$5,800.00
ROBINSON, ROBERT S. SR.	\$5,800.00
SAUNDERS, JORDAN	\$5,800.00
SOMMER, LORRAINE	\$5,800.00
SUMEREL, CRAIG MR.	\$5,800.00
STEARNS, MICHAEL R.	\$5,800.00
ROBICHAUD, RENE J. MS.	\$5,800.00
ROBERTSON, SCOTT	\$5,800.00
STUHLREYER, JENNIFER	\$5,800.00
ROBINSON, CARLENE	\$5,800.00
STUHLREYER, MARK	\$5,800.00
SIBCY, ROBERT	\$5,800.00
SMUCKER, JENNIFER	\$5,800.00
SHEANSHANG, MARCUS	\$5,800.00
SEXTON, G. MARLYNE MS.	\$5,800.00
PSAROS, MICHAEL	\$5,800.00
MURDOCK, JULIE	\$5,800.00
REYNOLDS, MERCER	\$5,800.00
OETERS, DONALD	\$5,800.00
PROGNER, ROBERT O. MR.	\$5,800.00
MOSING, GREG	\$5,800.00
RABAR, PAUL	\$5,800.00
MOSKOWITZ, CHERNA	\$5,800.00
PIKE, ROBERT	\$5,800.00
RICCI, TONY	\$5,800.00
POPOLO, JOE	\$5,800.00
PALOMINO, QUYNH NHU	\$5,800.00
MUELLER, LINDA	\$5,800.00
RILEY, KAREN	\$5,800.00
QAZI, MOHAMMAD	\$5,800.00
RICART, RHETT	\$5,800.00
NEVELL, MICHAEL	\$5,800.00
MURDOCK, JOHN C. MR.	\$5,800.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
OAKS, KENNETH	\$5,800.00
PHILLIPS, ANGELA	\$5,800.00
O'SCANNLAIN, KATE	\$5,800.00
LINDNER, EDYTH	\$5,800.00
LINDNER, S.	\$5,800.00
LEO, LEONARD	\$5,800.00
LISKA, PAUL	\$5,800.00
MERCER, REBEKAH	\$5,800.00
LLOYD, ALEXANDER	\$5,800.00
LINDNER, MARTHA S. MS.	\$5,800.00
LOJEK, JOSEPH	\$5,800.00
MCCLELLAN, MICHAEL	\$5,800.00
LINDNER, CARL	\$5,800.00
MCNAMARA, KEVIN J.	\$5,800.00
MOLL, FREDERIC	\$5,800.00
MCNAMARA, NATHAN	\$5,800.00
MOKHBERY, JAVAD	\$5,800.00
MILLER, JEFFREY	\$5,800.00
LOQUERCIO, ROBERT	\$5,800.00
LINDNER, FRANCES	\$5,800.00
LUCKEY, PALMER	\$5,800.00
LORNE, SIMON	\$5,800.00
KOHLHEPP, M.	\$5,800.00
KLEKAMP, PETER C. MR.	\$5,800.00
HEIDT, JULIE	\$5,800.00
HOFER, PAUL	\$5,800.00
HUCK, EUGENE	\$5,800.00
KIRBY, TODD M.	\$5,800.00
IACOVELLI, KAREN	\$5,800.00
KNOWLES, HARVEY	\$5,800.00
JAMES, JERRY	\$5,800.00
JURGENSEN, PAUL	\$5,800.00
JAMES, RHONDA	\$5,800.00
KASSOUF, JAMES	\$5,800.00
JOHNS, GARY D.	\$5,800.00
KIMMELMAN, DOUGLAS	\$5,800.00
JOHNS, PEGGY	\$5,800.00
KLEKAMP, LAURA	\$5,800.00
JOHNSON, MATT	\$5,800.00
KNOTT, VIRGINIA C. MS.	\$5,800.00
JOHNSON, WHITNEY	\$5,800.00
KOHLHEPP, BRENT	\$5,800.00
JOSEPH, GEORGE	\$5,800.00
JOSEPH, GREGORY	\$5,800.00
HERR, HEATHER	\$5,800.00
FALLANG, ETHAN	\$5,800.00
GROTE, THOMAS	\$5,800.00
GROTE, LISA	\$5,800.00
FRANKLIN, LARRY	\$5,800.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
FRANKLIN, CHARLOTTE	\$5,800.00
FARMER, MARY	\$5,800.00
GRAY, C. BOYDEN	\$5,800.00
FARMER, SCOTT	\$5,800.00
GROTE, NANCY	\$5,800.00
HASLAM, SUSAN	\$5,800.00
HAHN, EDWARD	\$5,800.00
HATFIELD, EDWARD	\$5,800.00
FELIX, ROBERT	\$5,800.00
GERHARDT, CHARLES	\$5,800.00
FRIENDS OF JOHN THUNE	\$5,800.00
CATSIMATIDIS, JOHN	\$5,800.00
CRAWFORD, EDWARD	\$5,800.00
CIONGOLI, GREG	\$5,800.00
CANIZARO, JOSEPH	\$5,800.00
CASTELLINI, ROBERT	\$5,800.00
COVELLI, SAMUEL A.	\$5,800.00
COLETTI, ROBERT	\$5,800.00
CRAFT, JOE	\$5,800.00
CRAWFORD, MARY MARKLEY	\$5,800.00
CHAMBERS, JOHN	\$5,800.00
DALEY, CLAYTON	\$5,800.00
CASTELLINI, SUSAN	\$5,800.00
DAVIS, ANNE	\$5,800.00
DAVIS, MARTIN	\$5,800.00
DE NICOLA, ANTHONY	\$5,800.00
COOPER, JAMES	\$5,800.00
DEMETRIADES, JIM	\$5,800.00
BORTZ, MARY SUSAN MRS.	\$5,800.00
BAKER, DANIEL L. MR.	\$5,800.00
ATHAS, TERRY	\$5,800.00
BURKE, MARY JO	\$5,800.00
ARNHOLT, CYNTHIA	\$5,800.00
BORTZ, CHRISTOPHER	\$5,800.00
BYRNE, KERRY	\$5,800.00
BABCOX, WILLIAM	\$5,800.00
BRADFORD, BRYAN	\$5,800.00
BUCKLEY, WALTER W. MR. JR.	\$5,800.00
ADDISON, SHANNON MRS.	\$5,800.00
ALI, ARVID	\$5,800.00
ADDISON, JOHN MR.	\$5,800.00
BURKE, PATRICK	\$5,800.00
BUSCH, TIMOTHY MR.	\$5,800.00
ARNHOLT, DAVID	\$5,800.00
ANTAR, ANDREW MR.	\$5,800.00
BLUMENTHAL, WILLIAM	\$5,800.00
CAGLE, LEAH	\$5,800.00
BERRY, JOHN	\$5,800.00
CAMPBELL, DAVID	\$5,800.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
BISHOP, STEVE	\$5,700.00
VIGO, JUDITH	\$5,695.00
NIEDERMAN, ROBERT	\$5,600.00
KLINGENSTEIN, THOMAS	\$5,600.00
SHEAKLEY, LARRY	\$5,550.00
POHLER, SUE	\$5,535.00
MALIK, OMEED MR.	\$5,520.71
HART, VICKI	\$5,400.00
CIACCIO, JANE	\$5,396.50
FITZHUGH, GRAYSON	\$5,300.00
LEWIS, JEFFREY	\$5,200.00
COLLINS, LANCE	\$5,150.00
STEVENSON, CHARLENE	\$5,114.95
HUGIN, KATHLEEN	\$5,030.00
LETICA, ANTON	\$5,029.00
WEAVER, ELIZABETH	\$5,025.00
WILD WONDERFUL PAC	\$5,000.00
U.S. ISRAEL PAC	\$5,000.00
VALERO PAC	\$5,000.00
WILLSEY, KEVIN D. MR.	\$5,000.00
WOOLPERT INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
TRAVELERS COMPANIES INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
TOMORROW IS MEANINGFUL PAC	\$5,000.00
TRUCKING PAC OF THE AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOC. INC.	\$5,000.00
WECK, THOMAS	\$5,000.00
WILLSEY, DELIA A. MRS.	\$5,000.00
WELLS PAC	\$5,000.00
THOMPAC	\$5,000.00
WINNOVEMBER PAC	\$5,000.00
WELSH, G.	\$5,000.00
TENNESSE TOUGH PAC	\$5,000.00
WESTERN ENERGY ALLIANCE PAC	\$5,000.00
TEAPARTYEXPRESS.ORG	\$5,000.00
UPPER HAND FUND	\$5,000.00
UPSPAC	\$5,000.00
STEEL PAC	\$5,000.00
ROBIN, DAN A. JR.	\$5,000.00
STRATEGY PAC	\$5,000.00
SAVE AMERICA	\$5,000.00
SOMMERS, MICHAEL	\$5,000.00
SCHROEDER, JEFF	\$5,000.00
SALEM MEDIA GROUP PAC INC.	\$5,000.00
ROCK HOLDINGS INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
SEAL PAC SUPPORTING ELECTING AMERICAN LEADERS PAC	\$5,000.00
ROBIN, DAN	\$5,000.00
SUMEREL, SUSAN MRS.	\$5,000.00
OHIO COAL PAC	\$5,000.00



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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS PAC	\$5,000.00
REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA-FEDERAL	\$5,000.00
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANIES PAC	\$5,000.00
NATIONAL BEER WHOLESALERS ASSOCIATION PAC	\$5,000.00
NEW MAJORITY FEDERAL PAC	\$5,000.00
NECAPAC	\$5,000.00
PHILLIPS 66 PAC	\$5,000.00
NEBRASKA SANDHILLS PAC	\$5,000.00
NEXT CENTURY FUND	\$5,000.00
PROJECT WEST PAC	\$5,000.00
NEXTERA ENERGY PAC	\$5,000.00
NATIONAL PRO-LIFE ALLIANCE PAC	\$5,000.00
PNC PAC FEDERAL	\$5,000.00
NATIONAL SHOOTING SPORTS FOUNDATION INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
REINVENTING A NEW DIRECTION - RAND PAC	\$5,000.00
RELY ON YOUR BELIEFS FUND	\$5,000.00
OLD NORTH STATE PAC	\$5,000.00
NFIB FEDERAL PAC	\$5,000.00
RESPONSIBILITY & FREEDOM WORK PAC	\$5,000.00
ONE GEORGIA PAC	\$5,000.00
OORAH! PAC	\$5,000.00
NATIONAL VICTORY ACTION FUND	\$5,000.00
POPP, JAMES	\$5,000.00
PAC OF ALABAMA FARMERS FEDERATION	\$5,000.00
LANK PAC	\$5,000.00
MADISON PROJECT INC.	\$5,000.00
MAAS, ANTHONY	\$5,000.00
LOVELESS, ROBERT	\$5,000.00
LAWLOR, JOSEPH	\$5,000.00
MARATHON PETROLEUM CORPORATION EMPLOYEES PAC	\$5,000.00
LETS GET TO WORK PAC	\$5,000.00
LEADERSHIP IN SAVING AMERICA (LISA) PAC	\$5,000.00
MOORE, NOEL	\$5,000.00
LOOSE GROUP	\$5,000.00
HEARTLAND VALUES PAC	\$5,000.00
INTEL PAC	\$5,000.00
IWLA PAC	\$5,000.00
KOCHPAC - KOCH INDUSTRIES INC.	\$5,000.00
HERTOG, ROGER MR.	\$5,000.00
KIRKLAND, MACY MS.	\$5,000.00
JACKIE PAC	\$5,000.00
JURGENSEN, LORI MS.	\$5,000.00
HOME DEPOT INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
HOOSIER PAC	\$5,000.00
INFIN A FINANCIAL SERVICES ALLIANCE PAC	\$5,000.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
HUCKPAC	\$5,000.00
INSURPAC	\$5,000.00
JECKERING, THOMAS	\$5,000.00
IPAA WILDCATTERS FUND	\$5,000.00
KONTOS, ARTHUR MR.	\$5,000.00
JOBS OPPORTUNITY & NEW IDEAS PAC	\$5,000.00
GATORPAC LLC	\$5,000.00
EUREKA PAC	\$5,000.00
ENERGY TRANSFER EMPLOYEE MANAGEMENT COMPANY PAC (ENERGY TRAN	\$5,000.00
FREEDOM FUND	\$5,000.00
FREEMAN, BRADFORD	\$5,000.00
FOREVER Y.O.U.N.G. PAC	\$5,000.00
FUND FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE	\$5,000.00
FRANKEL, TAMMY	\$5,000.00
GENERAL MOTORS COMPANY PAC (GM PAC)	\$5,000.00
EXPRESS SERVICES INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
GEO GROUP INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
GREIFELD, ROBERT	\$5,000.00
DEFEND OUR CONSERVATIVE SENATE PAC	\$5,000.00
CONSERVATIVES HARVESTING SUCCESS PAC	\$5,000.00
DAKOTA PAC	\$5,000.00
CHEVRON EMPLOYEES PAC	\$5,000.00
CONTINUING AMERICA'S STRENGTH & SECURITY PAC	\$5,000.00
COUNCIL OF INSURANCE AGENTS & BROKERS	\$5,000.00
DEFEND AMERICA PAC	\$5,000.00
CATHOLICVOTE. ORG PAC	\$5,000.00
CITIZENS UNITED POLITICAL VICTORY FUND	\$5,000.00
CITIZENS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT	\$5,000.00
CJS PAC	\$5,000.00
CHAMPION AMERICAN VALUES	\$5,000.00
CORECIVIC PAC	\$5,000.00
COMMITTEE TO DEFEAT THE PRESIDENT	\$5,000.00
DIRIGO PAC	\$5,000.00
DEPENDABLE CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP PAC	\$5,000.00
CONCRETEPAC	\$5,000.00
CONSERVATIVE PROMISES PAC	\$5,000.00
CONTINENTAL RESOURCES INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
BLUEGRASS COMMITTEE	\$5,000.00
BUILDING AMERICAS REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATION PAC	\$5,000.00
ALVENDIA, JOHN A.	\$5,000.00
ARAPAC	\$5,000.00
ANTHEM PAC	\$5,000.00
BIELLENBERG, JAMES	\$5,000.00
ARKANSAS FOR LEADERSHIP PAC	\$5,000.00
BREAD FINANCIAL HOLDINGS INC. PAC	\$5,000.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
ABOUSSIE, KENNETH	\$5,000.00
AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION PAC	\$5,000.00
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PHYSICIANS SURGEONS POLITICAL ACTION	\$5,000.00
BURGER KING FRANCHISEE PAC	\$5,000.00
ASSOCIATION OF KENTUCKY FRIED CHICKEN FRANCHISEES PAC	\$5,000.00
BIG SKY OPPORTUNITY PAC	\$5,000.00
AT & T INC. EMPLOYEE FEDERAL PAC	\$5,000.00
CALIFORNIA DAIRIES PAC	\$5,000.00
BADLANDS PAC	\$5,000.00
ALTRIA GROUP INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
AGC PAC	\$5,000.00
BRENNAN, CHARLES	\$5,000.00
BALLARD, BRIAN D. MR.	\$5,000.00
AMERICAN BAKERS ASSOCIATION PAC	\$5,000.00
BE VICTORIOUS OVER DEMOCRATS PAC	\$5,000.00
BUDDY PAC	\$5,000.00
BECKHAM, JEFF	\$5,000.00
BUILDING AND RESTORING THE AMERICAN DREAM FUND	\$5,000.00
ALAMO PAC	\$5,000.00
AMGEN INC. PAC	\$5,000.00
BUSE, J.B.	\$5,000.00
BESHEAR, RONALD	\$5,000.00
NRA POLITICAL VICTORY FUND	\$4,950.00
MAKOWSKI, BRUCE	\$4,923.45
WEINBERG, RONALD	\$4,900.00
FARRELL, PETER	\$4,900.00
EMOFF, NORMALYN	\$4,900.00
DARGUSCH, WILLIAM	\$4,900.00
BARDES, DAVID	\$4,900.00
BAIN, MICHAEL	\$4,900.00
SMITH, MICHAEL	\$4,830.50
MCENTEE, JOHN	\$4,815.00
WILLIAMS, ARTHUR L. MR. JR.	\$4,785.00
HAYES, PHILLIP	\$4,710.00
MURRAY, JOHN	\$4,685.00
RICHARDS, MARY	\$4,650.00
ANDERSON, EVAN	\$4,650.00
VOTESANE PAC	\$4,644.00
HUBER, BARBARA GAIL	\$4,560.00
KISHMAN, THOMAS	\$4,550.00
TOWNSEND, GARY	\$4,500.00
TOWNSEND, AMY	\$4,500.00
VAN SCOY, RANDALL	\$4,500.00
DILLMAN, ROGER S. MR.	\$4,500.00
BROYLES, LEONARD	\$4,500.00
YATES, PEYTON	\$4,400.00

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<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Aggregate Amount</b>
RICKMAN, WILLIAM	\$4,400.00
MILLER, JUDY	\$4,400.00
MARTIN, WILLIAM	\$4,400.00
SUSAN B. ANTHONY LIST INC. CANDIDATE FUND (DBA SUSAN B. ANTHONY PRO-LIFE AMERICA	\$4,374.85
COOK, WILLIAM	\$4,350.00
COOK, ANDRA	\$4,350.00
STEINER, EDWARD	\$4,300.00
JENKINS, DALE	\$4,150.00
CHAMPER, JEANNE	\$4,100.00
BRENDAMOUR, DOUGLAS	\$4,100.00
ROWE, JOHN W. MR.	\$4,087.55
OSKOWSKI, LARRY	\$4,005.00
RICHARDS, CORNELIA	\$4,001.00
WEISENBURGER, DENNIS	\$4,000.00
SCCOTT, GARY	\$4,000.00
SUGDEN, RICHARD	\$4,000.00
PETTY, DALE	\$4,000.00
PORTMAN FOR SENATE	\$4,000.00
NGA GROCERS PAC	\$4,000.00
PEARCE, STEVEN	\$4,000.00
RICHMOND, THOMAS	\$4,000.00
MANION, JASON	\$4,000.00
HIGGINS, BRENDAN	\$4,000.00
GRIFFIN, ALLEN	\$4,000.00
URTON, DEBORAH	\$3,970.00
JOSH HAWLEY FOR SENATE	\$3,940.28
KEREIAKES, DEAN	\$3,915.00
MILLS, BRUCE	\$3,905.00
WEIRICH, TERRY	\$3,900.00
SCALA, WILLIAM	\$3,900.00
RUSSETT, AMY	\$3,900.00
SAUNDERS, MARY J	\$3,900.00
SOWAR, JIM	\$3,900.00
SCHRAMM, LOREN	\$3,900.00
SAUNDERS, JOHN	\$3,900.00
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (NABPAC)	\$3,900.00
REPLOGLE, STEPHEN	\$3,900.00
NESS, JOHN	\$3,900.00
PACE, RICHARD	\$3,900.00
RETTIG, JACK	\$3,900.00
LANG, GEORGE	\$3,900.00
MILLER, DON	\$3,900.00
MCBRIDE, JAMES	\$3,900.00
HUBER, TERESA	\$3,900.00
HEAVENER, JAMES	\$3,900.00
GUYURON, BAHMAN	\$3,900.00

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Recipient	Aggregate Amount
DALY, JUSTIN	\$3,900.00
DOWNES, RAISSA	\$3,900.00
DAVIDSON, JON	\$3,900.00
AMES, CHARLES	\$3,900.00
BISHOP, AUSTIN	\$3,900.00
BARBOUR, HALEY	\$3,900.00
BILLER, ANDREW	\$3,900.00
BILLS, CHARLES	\$3,900.00
VAN DENEND, GARY	\$3,857.50
HARBERT, MERRITT	\$3,855.00
SOREF, CATHY C. MS.	\$3,840.00
SOMMERFELD, MARGO	\$3,790.11
ADAMSON, CAROL ANNE	\$3,780.00
MALACOS, GEORGE	\$3,760.00
HUFF, KELLEY	\$3,731.00
WILLIAMS, GREGG	\$3,705.00
SACKS, DAVID O. MR.	\$3,700.00
STANLEY, TREVOR M	\$3,700.00
FINDLEY, KERI	\$3,700.00
GOODWIN, WILLIAM	\$3,700.00

([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

**NOTE:** The above table contains the aggregate contributions from the top 500 contributors to J.D. Vance’s 2022 campaign for the United States Senate. A full list of the total amount of contributors can be found [here](#).

**Notable Megadonors With A History Of Anti-Trump Rhetoric Or Actions**

**Since 2021, Vance Has Received At Least \$5,800 In Aggregate Contributions From Notable Political Megadonors With A History Of Anti-Trump Rhetoric Or Actions.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

- **In 2022, Vance Received \$2,900 From Ken Griffin, Founder And Chief Executive Officer Of Citadel LLC.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
  - **In November 2022, Griffin Stated He Would Support Governor Ron DeSantis For The 2024 Republican Party Presidential Nomination And Declined To Support Trump, Stating “I Think It’s Time To Move On To The Next Generation.”** “Politically, he’s also tired of Donald Trump. Griffin liked his fiscal policies while in the White House, but his only financial support to Trump came in donating \$100,000 to his inaugural committee. ‘He did a lot of things really well and missed the mark on some important areas,’ Griffin said. ‘And for a litany of reasons, I think it’s time to move on to the next generation.’ While he’s supporting one of this cycle’s biggest culture warriors in DeSantis, Griffin said most hot-button issues — abortion rights, battles over sex education and LGBTQ rights — don’t define his interests. He wants to improve the diversity of the GOP and blunt the vein of populism that has complicated the party’s relationship with the corporate world — two things he’s consulted with House Minority Leader

Kevin McCarthy about.” (Shia Kapos, “GOP Megadonor: I’m Ready To Back DeSantis For President In ’24,” [Politico](#), 11/6/22)

- **In 2022, Vance Received \$2,900 From Paul Singer, Co-Chief Executive Officer Of Elliott Investment Management.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
  - **In October 2017, Singer Was Reported As A Major Funder For The Washington Free Beacon, A Conservative News Outlet With Establishment Republican Party Ties, Which Reportedly Hired The Political Research Firm Fusion GPS To Produce Negative Information Against Trump During The 2016 Presidential Election.** “A conservative website with strong ties to the Republican establishment triggered the investigation into Donald Trump’s past that ultimately produced the dossier that alleged a compromised relationship between the president and the Kremlin. The Washington Free Beacon on Friday confirmed it originally retained the political research firm Fusion GPS to scour then-candidate Trump’s background for negative information, a common practice known as “opposition research” in politics. Leaders from the Free Beacon, which is funded largely by Republican billionaire Paul Singer, insisted none of the early material it collected appeared in the dossier released later in the year detailing explosive allegations, many uncorroborated, about Trump compiled by a former British spy... The Washington Free Beacon was initially founded as a project of the conservative nonprofit group Center for American Freedom, as an alternative to liberal news sites run by progressive nonprofits. The Center for American Freedom was organized as a 501(c)4 and did not reveal its donors, but Singer was the sole funder of the site as recently as 2014, according to a Republican political veteran familiar with the site. The veteran spoke on condition of anonymity to detail the newspaper’s financial background. The Free Beacon first retained Fusion to investigate Trump in the fall of 2015 and ended its relationship after Trump secured the Republican presidential nomination in late spring of 2016, according to a person close to Goldfarb, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to share private discussions. The website and its leaders have strong ties throughout the Republican establishment. Goldfarb was deputy communications director on John McCain’s presidential campaign. Singer was backing Florida Sen. Marco Rubio’s presidential bid at the time of the Free Beacon’s involvement. And one of Singer’s closest associates, Republican operative Dan Senor, served as Speaker Ryan’s chief adviser during the 2012 president campaign. A representative to Singer did not immediately respond to a request for comment.” (Steve Peoples And Zeke Miller, “AP report: Website With GOP Ties Funded Research On Trump Dossier,” [PBS](#), 10/28/17)

### ***Individual Contributions***

#### **Federal Election Commission**

**According To The Federal Election Commission, Vance Has Contributed An Aggregate Of \$11,225 To Federal Campaign Committees.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

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- **In 2021, Vance Contributed \$5,800 To Blake Masters For Senate.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
- **In 2021, Vance Contributed \$2,900 To Max Miller For Congress.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
- **In 2021, Vance Contributed \$1,000 To Joe Kent For Congress.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
- **In 2019, Vance Contributed \$1,000 To Portman For Senate.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
- **In 2020, Vance Contributed \$500 To Driscoll For Congress.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
- **In 2021, Vance Contributed \$25 To WinRed.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)
  - **In 2021, Vance Earmarked \$25 To His Campaign.** ([Federal Election Commission](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

**Ohio Secretary Of State**

**According To The Ohio Secretary Of State, Vance Has Contributed An Aggregate Of \$X To Campaign Committees In The State Of Ohio.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Accessed 2/23/24)

- **In 2021, Vance Contributed \$4,100 To Kennedy For Ohio.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Accessed 2/23/24)

**VOTING RECORDS**

*J.D. Vance has been a registered voter in Hamilton County, Ohio since September 11, 2018; Vance registered as a Republican in May 2022. Since 2018, Vance has failed to vote in at least four elections including the 2020 primary elections. Vance previously registered to vote in Hamilton County on May 17, 2013; Vance did not vote in Hamilton County while previously registered there. Vance initially registered to vote as an unaffiliated voter in Butler County, Ohio in July 2004, voting in the 2004 and 2006 general elections while registered there. Vance later registered to vote in Franklin County, Ohio in April 2017, failing to vote in two elections while registered in the county. (Note: Additional records relating to Vance's voter history have been submitted. An update will be provided upon receipt).*

***Hamilton County, OH***

**According To The Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Vance Has Been An Actively-Registered Voter In Hamilton County, Ohio Since September 11, 2018.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 9/11/18, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

**JAMES DAVID VANCE**

Registered Address :  
CINCINNATI OH 45206

Voter-ID: 01985429 Registered: 09-11-2018

Status: Active Total Items: 3

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 9/11/18, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

- **On May 26, 2022, Vance Registered As A Republican Party Voter.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 5/26/22, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

Change History: 2 Records FILTER/GROUPING ON

Transaction ID	Field Changed	Old Value	New Value	Reason	Changed By	Changed On
	PartyCode	REP	REP		BMCJOYNT_SQL	09/12/2022
	PartyCode	NON	REP		BMCJOYNT_SQL	05/26/2022

Page 1 of 1 (2 Items) Rows per page: 50

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 5/26/22, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

**Since 2018, Vance Has Failed To Vote In At Least Four Elections: The 2018, 2019, 2020, And 2021 Primary Elections.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 9/11/18, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

Election Date	Party	Precinct	Ballot Style	Vote Type	Vote Date	Date Recorded	Operator
11/07/2023	R	CINCINNATI 5-C	N05030	E	10/27/2023	10/27/2023 03:54:43 PM	EPB - STACEY MOHER
08/08/2023	R	CINCINNATI 5-C	N05030	E	07/18/2023	07/18/2023 08:22:50 AM	LYNN WALDEN
11/08/2022		CINCINNATI 5-C		VOTE AT POLL	11/08/2022	11/14/2022 11:48:15 AM	CONVERSION
08/02/2022		CINCINNATI 5-C		VOTE AT POLL	08/02/2022	08/10/2022 12:31:17 PM	CONVERSION
05/03/2022		CINCINNATI 5-C		VOTE AT POLL	05/03/2022	05/10/2022 04:53:33 PM	CONVERSION
11/02/2021		CINCINNATI 5-C		IN PERSON	11/02/2021	10/31/2021 02:13:04 PM	CONVERSION
11/03/2020		CINCINNATI 5-C		IN PERSON	11/03/2020	10/28/2020 10:13:13 AM	CONVERSION
11/05/2019		CINCINNATI 5-C		VOTE AT POLL	11/05/2019	11/12/2019 02:05:58 PM	CONVERSION
11/06/2018		CINCINNATI 5-C		VOTE AT POLL	11/06/2018	11/12/2018 05:06:56 PM	CONVERSION

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 9/11/18, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)



**Vance Previously Registered To Vote In Hamilton County, Ohio On May 17, 2013.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 5/17/13, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filed 1/22/24)

MAY 17 2013

0901

1. Are you a U.S. citizen?  Yes  No

2. Will you be at least 18 years of age on or before the next general election?  Yes  No  
If you answered NO to either of the questions, do not complete this form.

3. Last Name: VANCE      First Name: JAMES      Middle Name or Initial: DAVID      Jr., II, etc.

4. House Number and Street (Enter new address if changed): 964 PARADROME ST      Apt or Lot #:      5. City or Post Office: CINCINNATI      6. Zip Code: 45202-1526

7. Additional Rural or Mailing Address (if necessary):      County where you live: HAMILTON

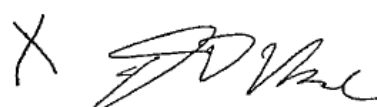
9. Birthdate (MO-DAY-YR): 8/2/1984      10. Ohio driver's license No. OR last 4 digits of Social Security No. (required):      11. Phone No. (voluntary):

12. PREVIOUS ADDRESS IF UPDATING CURRENT REGISTRATION

Previous House Number and Street:      County:      State:      City, Village, Twp.:      Ward:      Precinct:      School Dist.:      Cong. Dist.:

13. CHANGE OF NAME ONLY      Former Legal Name:      Former Signature:

I declare under penalty of election falsification I am a citizen of the United States, will have lived in this state for 30 days immediately preceding the next election, and I will be at least 18 years of age at the time of the general election.

14. Your Signature: 

Date: 05 / 17 / 2013  
MO DAY YR

FOR BOARD USE ONLY  
SEC4010 (REV. 9/08)  
City, Village, Twp.:  
Ward:  
Precinct:  
School Dist.:  
Cong. Dist.:  
SENATE DIST.  
MAY 22 2013  
HOUSE DIST.  
BOEREC'D

002666

06052013

11:17

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 5/17/13, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filed 1/22/24)

- **Vance Does Not Appear To Have Voted While Registered In Hamilton County During This Time.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Hamilton County Board Of Elections, Filed 5/17/13, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filed 1/22/24)

***Franklin County, OH***

**According To The Franklin County Board Of Elections, Vance Registered To Vote In Franklin County, Ohio On April 4, 2017.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 4/4/17, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filed 1/22/24)

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I am:  Registering as an Ohio voter  Updating my address  Updating my name

1. Are you a U.S. citizen?  Yes  No  
 2. Will you be at least 18 years of age on or before the next general election?  Yes  No  
 If you answered NO to either of the questions, do not complete this form.

3. Last Name: VANCE | First Name: JAMES | Middle Name or Initial: DAVID | Jr., II, etc.

4. House Number and Street (Enter new address if changed) | Apt. or Lot # | 5. City or Post Office: COLUMBUS | 6. ZIP Code: 43206

7. Additional Mailing Address (if necessary) | 8. County (where you live): FRANKLIN

9. Birthdate (MM/DD/YYYY) (required): [REDACTED] 1984 | 10. Ohio Driver's License number OR Last Four Digits of Social Security number (one form of ID required to be listed or provided): [REDACTED] | 11. Phone Number (voluntary): [REDACTED]

12. PREVIOUS ADDRESS IF UPDATING CURRENT REGISTRATION - Previous House Number and Street | Previous City or Post Office | Previous County | Previous State: Ohio

13. CHANGE OF NAME ONLY Former Legal Name | Former Signature

14. I declare under penalty of election falsification I am a citizen of the United States, will have lived in this state for 30 days immediately preceding the next election, and will be at least 18 years of age at the time of the general election.

Your Signature: [Signature] | Date (MM/DD/YYYY): 04/04/2017

FOR BOARD USE ONLY SEC4010 (rev. 4/15)  
 City, Village, Twp: [REDACTED]  
 Ward: [REDACTED]  
 Precinct: [REDACTED]  
 School Dist: [REDACTED]  
 Cong. Dist: [REDACTED]  
 Senate Dist: [REDACTED]  
 House Dist: [REDACTED]

04/06/2017 Rec Mail Fran Co BOE

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 4/4/17, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

**Between 2017 And 2018, Vance Voted In The 2017 General And Special Elections.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 4/4/17, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

**VOTE HISTORY**

Election Date	Party	Precinct	Vote Type
05/08/2018	U	COLS 08-D	Eligible
11/07/2017	U	COLS 08-D	VOTE AT POLL
08/08/2017	U	COLS 08-D	Not Eligible
05/02/2017	U	COLS 08-D	VOTE AT POLL

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 4/4/17, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

***Butler County, OH***

**According To The Franklin County Board Of Elections, Vance, Then-Hamel, Registered As A Republican Party Voter In Butler County, Ohio On July 30, 2004.** (Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 7/30/04, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

**REGISTRATION AND ABSENTEE BALLOT REQUEST - FEDERAL POST CARD APPLICATION (FPCA)**  
**APPLICATION FOR STATE OF OHIO COUNTY OF Butler CITY OF JEFFERSON OF Middleburg**  
**REQUEST ABSENTEE BALLOTS FOR ALL ELECTIONS IN WHICH I AM ELIGIBLE TO VOTE**

1. APPLICANT INFORMATION (Please Indicate if:)  
 a. TYPED OR PRINTED NAME (Last, First, Middle Initial) **HAMBL, JAMES D.**  
 b. SEX (M or F) **M**  
 c. DATE OF BIRTH **08/02/84**  
 d. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER [REDACTED]  
 e. DRIVER LICENSE NUMBER (Optional, if valid)

2. LAST VOTED OR PLACE OF LAST REGISTRATION (Do not leave this section blank. See instructions.)  
 a. YEAR **NA** b. COUNTY, CITY, OR TOWNSHIP **NA** c. STATE **OH** d. VOTER REGISTRATION NO. (If known)

3. VOTING RESIDENCE (Do not leave this section blank. For overseas citizens, see instructions in U.S. IF USING ALTERNATE ADDRESSES, SEE VOTER INFORMATION.)  
 a. NUMBER AND STREET ADDRESS AND ROOM (If any) **1451 D'ELBERT DR. W. MIDDLEBURG, OH 44646**  
 b. CITY, TOWNSHIP OR VILLAGE **MIDDLEBURG, OHIO** c. COUNTY OR PARISH **Butler** d. STATE **OH**  
 e. ZIP CODE (9-DIGIT, if known) **44646-1073**

4. MAIL ABSENTEE BALLOT TO: (Mailing address where you want the ballot to be sent.)  
**PO BOX 80113  
 WHEELY BOUTWORTH NORTH CAROLINA  
 28593**

5. YOUR FAX NUMBER (If this application is covered by an alternate method, see instructions.)

6. POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION (This information is required by most states in order to qualify for absentee ballots. See instructions.)  
**REPUBLICAN PARTY**

7. REASONS (Provide additional information when indicated local election officials or election laws give authority to require this info. See instructions.)  
**I WAS ON OTHER RESIDENT FOR  
 48/1073**

8. AFFIRMATION BY APPLICANT (If any one (a)-(d).)  
 I swear (or affirm) under penalty of perjury, that I am: (See instructions.)  
 a. a member of the Uniformed Services or merchant marine on active duty, or an eligible spouse or dependent.  
 b. a U.S. citizen temporarily residing outside the U.S.  
 c. a U.S. citizen overseas by virtue of deployment or accompanying spouse or dependent. **SOH**  
 d. other U.S. citizen residing outside the U.S.

9. I am a U.S. citizen, eligible to vote in the above jurisdiction, and subscribe to any required electoral oath or statement. I have not been convicted of a felony or other disqualifying offense or been adjudicated mentally incompetent, or if so, my voting rights have been reinstated.  
 I am not registering, requesting a ballot, or voting in any other jurisdiction in the U.S.  
 The information on this form is true and complete.

10. SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT: **James D. Hambl** DATE **07/30/04**

11. WITNESS (Notary Address and Signature (if required by state law)) DATE SIGNED **07/30/04**

The information contained herein is for official use only. Any unauthorized release of this information may be punishable by law.

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 7/30/04, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

**While Registered In Butler County, Vance Voted In The 2004 And 2006 General Elections.**

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 7/30/04, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

**Voting History**

11/07/2006 2006\_NOV\_GENERAL  
 11/02/2004 GENERAL NOV 2004

(Voter Profile Report: James David Vance, Franklin County Board Of Elections, Filed 7/30/04, Ohio Open Records Act Request, Filled 1/22/24)

*NOTE: Additional records relating to Vance's voter history have been submitted. An update will be provided upon receipt.*

**EDUCATION RECORDS**

According to the National Student Clearinghouse, J.D. Vance graduated from Ohio State University In August 2009 with a bachelor of science in philosophy.

**Ohio State University**

According To The National Student Clearinghouse, Vance Graduated From Ohio State University In August 2009 With A Bachelor Of Science In Philosophy. (National Student Clearinghouse, Accessed 2/20/24)

**INFORMATION YOU PROVIDED**

**Subject Name:** JAMES VANCE  
First Name Middle Name LastName

**Name Used While Attending School:** JAMES HAMEL  
(if different from above) First Name Middle Name LastName

**Date of Birth:** 08/02/1984  
mm/dd/yyyy

**School Name:** OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

**Degree Award Year:** 2009

**Attempt To:** Verify a degree

**INFORMATION VERIFIED**

**Name On School's Records:** JAMES VANCE

**Date Awarded:** 08/30/2009

**Degree Title:** BACHELOR OF ARTS

**Official Name of School:** THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

**Major Course(s) of Study:** POLITICAL SCIENCE  
PHILOSOPHY

**(and NCES CIP Code, if available):** 451001  
380101

**Academic Honors:** SUMMA CUM LAUDE

**Dates of Attendance:** 09/19/2007 to 08/30/2009

(National Student Clearinghouse, Accessed 2/20/24)

**PUBLIC COMPENSATION RECORDS**

*Since 2023, J.D. has received approximately \$203,000 in taxpayer-funded compensation while serving in the United State Senate.*

***U.S. Senate (2013-Pres.)***

**Since 2023, Vance Has Received Approximately \$203,000 In Taxpayer-Funded Compensation While Serving In The United States Senate.** (Salaries, [U.S. Senate](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

2023	\$174,000 per annum
2024	\$174,000 per annum

(Salaries, [U.S. Senate](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

## MILITARY RECORDS

*According to the U.S. Department Of Defense Manpower Data Center, J.D. Vance served in the U.S. Marine Corps between September 22, 2003 and September 21, 2007.*

### U.S. Marine Corps (2003-2007)

**According To The U.S. Department Of Defense Manpower Data Center, Vance Served In The U.S. Marine Corps Between September 22, 2003 And September 21, 2007.** (SCRA, Accessed 2/23/24)

Department of Defense Manpower Data Center

Results as of : Feb-23-2024 10:03:29 AM

SCRA 5.18



**Status Report  
Pursuant to Servicemembers Civil Relief Act**

SSN:  
 Birth Date: Aug-XX-1984  
 Last Name: VANCE  
 First Name: JAMES  
 Middle Name:  
 Status As Of: Jan-01-2007  
 Certificate ID: TB84FL8RZH0FTXL

On Active Duty On Active Duty Status Date			
Active Duty Start Date	Active Duty End Date	Status	Service Component
Sep-22-2003	Sep-21-2007	Yes	Marine Corps Active Duty
This response reflects the individual's active duty status based on the Active Duty Status Date			
Left Active Duty Within 367 Days of Active Duty Status Date			
Active Duty Start Date	Active Duty End Date	Status	Service Component
NA	NA	No	NA
This response reflects where the individual left active duty status within 367 days preceding the Active Duty Status Date			
The Member or His/Her Unit Was Notified of a Future Call-Up to Active Duty on Active Duty Status Date			
Order Notification Start Date	Order Notification End Date	Status	Service Component
NA	NA	No	NA
This response reflects whether the individual or his/her unit has received early notification to report for active duty			

(SCRA, Accessed 2/23/24)

## LOBBYING RECORDS

*While not a lobbyist himself, J.D. Vance's old law firm, Sidley Austin, lobbied on behalf of several controversial clients during his tenure with the company. Between 2014 and 2015, Sidley Austin lobbied on behalf of Purdue Pharma, the maker of OxyContin, who has paid billions of dollars in criminal and civil penalties related to the opioid epidemic. Likewise, between 2014 and 2015, Sidley Austin lobbied on behalf of multiple Chinese Communist Party-affiliated companies including Alibaba and Kaisa Group. In 2020, Alibaba, is a Chinese company which operates e-commerce platforms, was named by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo as a company Pompeo urged American companies to remove from their digital networks. Meanwhile, Kaisa Group is a Chinese real estate firm that was probed over alleged links to a former state official involved in a graft investigation.*

*Sidley Austin*

**Purdue Pharma**

**In 2014, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of Purdue Pharma For \$40,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

**In 2015, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of Purdue Pharma For \$160,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

**In 2020, Purdue Pharma, The Maker Of OxyContin, Agreed To Plead Guilty To Criminal Charges Related To The Marketing Of The Painkiller And Face Penalties Of \$8.3 Billion.** “Purdue Pharma, the maker of OxyContin, has agreed to plead guilty to criminal charges related to its marketing of the addictive painkiller, and faces penalties of roughly \$8.3 billion, the Justice Department announced on Wednesday. The settlement could pave the way for a resolution of thousands of lawsuits brought against the company for its role in a public health crisis that has killed more than 450,000 Americans since 1999. The company’s owners, members of the wealthy Sackler family, have agreed to pay \$225 million in civil penalties. Prosecutors said the agreement did not preclude the filing of criminal charges against Purdue executives or individual Sacklers.” (Jan Hoffman and Katie Benner, “Purdue Pharma Pleads Guilty To Criminal Charges For Opioid Sales,” [The New York Times](#), 10/21/20)

**In A 2017 Op-Ed, Vance Targeted OxyContin.** “Partially because of the high costs of those clinical trials, and partially because of the larger dynamics of the American health-care market, the development costs of new pharmaceuticals are extremely high. By some estimates, the cost of developing a new drug reaches as high as \$2 billion. Yet the benefits of owning a popular drug are astronomical: Last year, the highest-selling drug in the United States netted more than \$10 billion in revenues. This creates a conundrum for drug developers: how to maximize blockbuster new therapies without paying the skyhigh costs of drug development. In practice, this has created a remarkable incentive for big drug companies to repackage already tested and marketed therapies. And there are a variety of strategies pharmaceutical companies employ: They can seek extended patent protection for their blockbuster drugs, apply old drugs to new disease indications, or develop new formulations or delivery mechanisms. This latter strategy led directly to the nation’s most famous prescription opioid: OxyContin.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

- **Vance Noted That Purdue Pharmaceuticals’ Claims About OxyContin Were “Bogus” And Was The Subject Of Lawsuits Across The Country.** “OxyContin, or ‘Oxy’ as it’s often known, was sold by Purdue Pharmaceuticals and promised ‘smooth and sustained pain control all day and night.’ Its active ingredient is an old, cheap narcotic. Though Purdue had developed a technique to delay the full release of the drug’s payload, its claims about all day relief were bogus — so bogus, in fact, that Purdue was fined about \$600 million in 2006 and is now a defendant in lawsuits all over the country.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)
- **Vance Noted That Then-Attorney General Mike DeWine Sued Purdue And Other Companies And “Correctly” Argued The Companies “Mised Doctors And Their Patients About The Potential For Opioid Abuse.”** “Indeed, Ohio Attorney General Mike DeWine recently initiated one such lawsuit against Purdue and other

pharmaceutical companies. In the suit, DeWine correctly argues that drugmakers misled doctors and their patients about the potential for opioid abuse.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

- **Vance Wrote That Purdue Acted “Unethically.”** “Why was Purdue ever legally permitted to market these drugs as nonaddictive, all-day pain relievers? Purdue certainly acted unethically, and may have even acted illegally, but our legal system places one significant barrier between companies like Purdue and the American consumer: the FDA.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)
- **Vance Also Wrote That The Problems With OxyContin Were Evident “Almost Immediately.”** “With Oxy, evidence of its potential problems arose almost immediately. A single dose, for instance, promised to relieve pain for 12 hours. But about half of the enrollees in OxyContin’s first clinical trial required additional medication before their 12 hours elapsed, according to one report. And despite the potential for addiction that any narcotic opioid possesses, Purdue never tested the drug as a six- or eight-hour pain reliever before selling it. The FDA never required that testing, and the rest is history: OxyContin became one of the most successful pharmaceutical products in the country, a number of other prescription opioids followed it onto the market, and America’s consumption of opioid pain medications skyrocketed.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

### Alibaba

**In 2014, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of The Alibaba Group For \$50,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 4/27/21)

**In 2015, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of The Alibaba Group For \$10,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 4/27/21)

**In 2020, Alibaba, A Chinese Company Which Operates E-Commerce Platforms, Was Named By Secretary Of State Mike Pompeo As A Company Pompeo Urged American Companies To Remove From Their Digital Networks.** “Alibaba hasn’t yet been threatened with the same kinds of sanctions that US President Donald Trump has proposed or levied against other Chinese tech firms. And Trump has even spoken fondly of company founder Jack Ma, calling him a ‘friend of mine’ earlier this year after the Chinese billionaire said he would donate supplies for fighting the coronavirus pandemic. But the company is on the minds of US officials. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo name-checked Alibaba last week when he urged American companies to remove ‘untrusted’ Chinese-owned technology from their digital networks. ... Alibaba, which did not respond to requests for comment for this story, operates widely popular e-commerce platforms, mostly available in China and other Southeast Asian markets. It also started Alipay, one of the most dominant payment apps in China alongside Tencent’s WeChat Pay.” (Sherisse Pham, “After Tiktok And Wechat, Alibaba Could Be The Next Target In Trump’s Tech War,” [CNN Business](#), 8/13/20)

**Kaisa Group**

**In 2015, Sidley Austin LLP Represented Kaisa Group Holdings, A Chinese Real Estate Firm That Was Probed Over Alleged Links To A Former State Official Involved In A Graft Investigation.** “The Shenzhen government is holding talks with several property developers to orchestrate investments in troubled real estate firm Kaisa Group Holdings Ltd. (01638.HK), Bloomberg News reported, citing unnamed sources. Kaisa is under probe over alleged links to Jiang Zunyu, the former security chief of the southern Chinese city who was taken into custody in a graft investigation. The company failed to make a US\$23 million coupon payment, due Jan. 8, on its US\$500 million of 2020 dollar bonds, putting it at risk of becoming the first mainland developer to default on US currency debt. ... Moelis & Co. is in talks with several Kaisa noteholders, while law firm Kirkland & Ellis LLP is representing holders of its convertible debentures. Kaisa has hired Sidley Austin LLP to advise on debt restructuring.” (“Shenzhen Govt Holds Talks With Potential Kaisa Investors,” [EJ Insight](#), 1/23/15)

**CRIMINAL RECORDS**

*J.D. Vance has been issued at least one traffic citation for which he paid a \$95 fine.*

***Traffic Citations***

**In September 2006, Vance, Then-Hamel, Was Issued A Traffic Citation For Speeding In Fairborn, Ohio.** (Case No. TRD 0610349, Fairborn Municipal Court, Filed 9/7/06)

**Party Involved**

<b>Defendants Name:</b> HAMEL, JAMES D	<b>Date of Birth:</b> 08/02/1984
<b>A.K.A.:</b>	<b>Race:</b> Undocumented
<b>Address:</b> Psc Box 8013	<b>Sex:</b> Undocumented
<b>City/State/ZIP:</b> Chevy Point, NC 28533	<b>Eye Color:</b> Undocumented
<b>Telephone #:</b> Confidential	<b>Height:</b> Undocumented
<b># of Priors:</b>	<b>Weight:</b> Undocumented
<b>Warrant(s):</b> None	<b>Hair Color:</b> Undocumented

**Complainant/Officer**

**Name:** Sgt J Luebbbers  
**Agency Code:** OSP  
**Unit Number:**

**Violation Information**

<b>File Date:</b> 09/07/2006	<b>Section #:</b> 4511.21D2
<b>Ticket Number:</b> X180087	<b>Degree:</b> Minor Misdemeanor
<b>Violation Date:</b> 09/01/2006	<b>Points:</b> 2
<b>Violation Time:</b>	<b>BMV Offense Code:</b> 24
<b>Violation Description:</b> 80/65 SPEED	<b>Waive Amount:</b> 95.00

(Case No. TRD 0610349, Fairborn Municipal Court, Filed 9/7/06)

- **Vance Paid A \$95 Fine For The Citation.** (Case No. TRD 0610349, Fairborn Municipal Court, Filed 9/7/06)



## POLICE RECORDS

*NOTE: No immediately actionable information could be gleaned from municipal law enforcement records relating to J.D.*

## REAL PROPERTY RECORDS

*Cincinnati, OH, Hamilton County*

*This is the primary residence owned by J.D. Vance and his wife, Usha, through a holding company, [REDACTED]. This single-family residence comprises four bedrooms and four-and-a-half bathrooms and has a 2023 total value of \$1,365,490. Vance and his wife have owned the property since June 2018 and transferred the property to their holding company in December 2020.*



([Hamilton County Auditor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

### Property Information

Full Address:	Cincinnati, OH 45206
County:	Hamilton County
Parcel ID:	
Property Type:	Single-Family Residential
Owner:	
Transfer Date:	12/01/2020
Sale Date:	06/07/2018
Sale Price:	\$1,392,500
Year Built:	1867
Total Bedrooms:	4
Total Bathrooms:	4.5
Total Square Footage:	5,028
2023 Total Value:	\$1,365,490

([Hamilton County Auditor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

**Tax Information**

**In 2024, Vance Will Paid \$29,287.02 In Total Municipal Property Taxes.** ([Hamilton County Auditor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

Tax Distribution Information					
Market Value		Assessed Value (35%)		Tax Rate Information	
Land	302,010	Land	105,700	Full Tax Rate (mills)	106.660000
Building	1,063,480	Building	372,220	Reduction Factor	0.350257
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,365,490</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>477,920</b>	Effective Tax Rate (mills)	69.301606
				Non Business Credit	0.086712
				Owner Occupancy Credit	0.021678

To estimate taxes based on a different market value, enter the market value here:

**Calculate**

Tax Calculations		Half Year Tax Distributions	
Gross Real Estate Tax	\$50,974.94	School District	\$8,951.68
- Reduction Amount	\$17,854.32	Township	\$0.00
- Non Business Credit	\$2,871.96	City/Village	\$2,849.69
- Owner Occupancy Credit	\$655.04	Joint Vocational School	\$0.00
- Homestead	\$0.00	County General Fund	\$473.51
Half Year Real Taxes	\$14,796.81	Public Library	\$292.22
- Sales Tax Credit	\$190.12	Family Service/Treatment	\$45.28
+ Current Assessment	\$36.82	HLTH/Hospital Care-Indigent	\$227.25
+ Delinquent Assessment	\$0.00	Mental Health Levy	\$287.85
+ Delinquent Real Estate	\$0.00	Developmental Disabilities	\$525.84
Semi Annual Net	\$14,643.51	Park District	\$329.78
		Crime Information Center	\$22.19
		Children Services	\$564.31
		Senior Services	\$180.12
		Zoological Park	\$47.09

([Hamilton County Auditor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

***Washington, D.C.***

*This is an additional property owned by J.D. Vance and his wife, Usha. This single-family residence comprises two bedrooms and two bathrooms and has a 2023 assessed value of \$718,000. Vance and his wife have owned the property since September 2014.*



([Washington D.C. Assessor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

### **Property Information**

Full Address: Washington, D.C. 20002  
County:  
Parcel ID:  
Property Type: Single-Family Residential  
Owner: VANCE JAMES D & CHILUKURI USHA  
Sale Date: 09/03/2014  
Sale Price: \$590,000  
Year Built: 1914  
Total Bedrooms: 2  
Total Bathrooms: 2  
Total Square Footage: 1,116  
2023 Assessed Value: \$718,000  
([Washington D.C. Assessor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

### **Tax Information**

**In 2024, Vance Will Paid \$6,043.68 In Total Municipal Property Taxes.** ([Washington D.C. Assessor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

Property Details

SSL :

> [Make a Payment](#)

Premise Address :

**Balance** : **\$3,021.84**

[Details](#) [Assessment](#) [Tax Information](#) [Features](#) [Map](#) [Applications and Actions](#)

[Tax Summary](#) [Tax History](#) [Billing History](#) [Payment History](#)

Tax Summary		<a href="#">Help</a>
2024		
Half	Tax Type	Balance
Second Half	Real Property Tax	\$0.00
First Half	Real Property Tax	\$3,021.84

([Washington D.C. Assessor](#), Accessed 2/20/24)

## BANKRUPTCIES, JUDGMENTS, & LIENS RECORDS

*In October 2013, J.D. Vance and Kiel Brennan-Marquez filed a small claims complaint against Bluebird Partners, LLC demanding \$4,200 for rent and damages; in January 2014, the parties appear to have settle and the case was dismissed.*

### *Small Claims*

#### **James Vance, Et Al. V. Bluebird Partners, LLC**

**In October 2013, Vance And Kiel Brennan-Marquez Filed A Small Claims Complaint Against Bluebird Partners, LLC Demanding \$4,200 For Rent And Damages In New Haven, Connecticut.** (Case No. SCC-510422, *James Vance, Et Al. V. Bluebird Partners, LLC*, New Haven Clerk Of Court, Filed 10/9/13)

Case Summary			
<b>Case Caption : BRENNAN-MARQUEZ et al vs. BLUEBIRD PARTNERS, LLC</b>			
Court : New Haven JD			
Docket No : SCC-510422		Case Type : Rent and Damages	
File Date : 10/09/2013		Amount of Claim : \$4,200.00	
Answer Date : 11/06/2013		Entry Fee : \$90.00	
Last Hearing Date : 01/08/2014 10:00 AM		Last Hearing Reason : TRIAL	
Judgment Information			
<b>Magistrate : STEVEN PELLETIER</b>			
Disposition Date : 01/22/2014		Disposition : Other	
Damages Awarded : \$0.00		Entry Fee : \$0.00	
Prejudgment Interest \$0.00		Service Costs : \$0.00	
:		:	
Attorney's Fees : \$0.00		Other Costs : \$0.00	
Payments Ordered :		First Payment Due :	
:		Judgment Satisfied On:	
<b>Total Amount of Judgment and Costs Awarded : \$0.00</b>			
Parties / Attorneys			
Party No	Party Name	Answer	Attorney Name & Address
1	KIEL BRENNAN-MARQUEZ		
Plaintiff			
2	JAMES DAVID VANCE		
Plaintiff			
50	BLUEBIRD PARTNERS, LLC	Denied	
Defendant			
File Activity			
#	Date	Activity	
1	10/16/2013	Def. Answer Notice Sent on 10/16/2013 -PPS	
2	11/12/2013	Hearing Scheduled on 1/8/2014 at 10:00 AM for TRIAL -PPS	
3	01/08/2014	Awaiting Magistrate Decision	
	01/22/2014	Magistrate filed decision.	
4	01/23/2014	Disposition Notice - Other Sent 1/22/2014	
5	01/23/2014	Disposition Notice - Other Sent 1/22/2014	

(Case No. SCC-510422, *James Vance, Et Al. V. Bluebird Partners, LLC*, New Haven Clerk Of Court, Filed 10/9/13)

- **In January 2014, The Parties Appear To Have Settle And The Case Was Dismissed.**  
(Case No. SCC-510422, *James Vance, Et Al. V. Bluebird Partners, LLC*, New Haven Clerk Of Court, Filed 1/23/14)

## LEGAL ISSUES

*NOTE: No legal issues of note could be found for J.D. Vance.*

## BUSINESS RECORDS

*Vance is the current manager of two Ohio-domiciled businesses: JD Vance Enterprises LLC and JDE Enterprise Investments LLC; both companies are active to. According to his own disclosures, Vance is a former partner of three Delaware-domiciled, Ohio-registered businesses: Narya Capital Management, LLC, Narya Capital Fund I, L.P., and Narya Capital GP I, LLC.*

***JD Vance Enterprises LLC***

**In February 2017, Vance Incorporated JD Vance Enterprises LLC As A Domestic For-Profit Entity With Secretary Of State.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 2/22/17)

Entity #:	3994226	Business Name:	JD VANCE ENTERPRISES LLC
Filing Type:	DOMESTIC LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY	Status:	Active
Original Filing Date:	02/22/2017	Exp. Date:	-

**AGENT/REGISTRANT INFORMATION**

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JAMES VANCE  
671 S. 6TH STREET  
COLUMBUS OH 43206  
02/22/2017  
Active

(Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 2/22/17)

- **The Company Is Currently Active To Date.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Accessed 2/23/24)

***JDE Enterprise Investments LLC***

**In February 2018, Vance Incorporated JDE Enterprise Investments LLC As A Domestic For-Profit Entity With Secretary Of State.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 2/22/18)

Entity #:	4138565	Business Name:	JDE ENTERPRISE INVESTMENTS LLC
Filing Type:	DOMESTIC LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY	Status:	Active
Original Filing Date:	02/22/2018	Exp. Date:	-

**AGENT/REGISTRANT INFORMATION**

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JAMES VANCE  
671 S. 6TH STREET  
COLUMBUS OH 43206  
02/22/2018  
Active

(Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 2/22/18)

- **The Company Is Currently Active To Date.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Accessed 2/23/24)

***Narya Capital Management, LLC***

**In January 2020, Narya Capital Management, LLC Was Registered With The Ohio Secretary Of State.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 1/27/20)

Entity #:	4426015	Business Name:	NARYA CAPITAL MANAGEMENT, LLC
Filing Type:	FOREIGN LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY	Status:	Active
Original Filing Date:	01/27/2020	Exp. Date:	-

**AGENT/REGISTRANT INFORMATION**

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TAFT SERVICE SOLUTIONS CORP.  
425 WALNUT STREET, SUITE 1800  
CINCINNATI OH 45202  
01/27/2020  
Active

(Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 1/27/20)

- **The Company Is Currently Active To Date.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Accessed 2/23/24)

***Narya Capital Fund I, L.P.***

**In June 2019, Narya Capital Fund I, L.P. Was Registered With The Ohio Secretary Of State.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 6/21/19)

Entity #:	4426012	Business Name:	NARYA CAPITAL FUND I, L.P.
Filing Type:	FOREIGN LIMITED PARTNERSHIP	Status:	Active
Original Filing Date:	06/21/2019	Exp. Date:	-

**AGENT/REGISTRANT INFORMATION**

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TAFT SERVICE SOLUTIONS CORP.  
425 WALNUT STREET, SUITE 1800  
CINCINNATI OH 45202  
06/21/2019  
Active

(Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 6/21/19)

- **The Company Is Currently Active To Date.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Accessed 2/23/24)

***Narya Capital GP I, LLC***

**In January 2020, Narya Capital GP I, LLC Was Registered With The Ohio Secretary Of State.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 1/27/20)

Entity #:	4426017	Business Name:	NARYA CAPITAL GP I, LLC
Filing Type:	FOREIGN LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY	Status:	Active
Original Filing Date:	01/27/2020	Exp. Date:	-

**AGENT/REGISTRANT INFORMATION**

TAFT SERVICE SOLUTIONS CORP.  
425 WALNUT STREET, SUITE 1800  
CINCINNATI OH 45202  
01/27/2020  
Active

(Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 1/27/20)

- **The Company Is Currently Active To Date.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Accessed 2/23/24)

*NOTE: All the above Narya companies were incorporated in Delaware, likely for tax purposes; Vance has declared interest in each of the companies on his disclosures.*

**NON-PROFIT RECORDS**

*J.D. Vance is the former honorary chairman of the Ohio-domiciled non-profit Our Ohio Renewal, which he served on between 2019 and 2022.*

***Our Ohio Renewal Foundation***

**In May 2017, Our Ohio Renewal Foundation Was Incorporated As A Domestic Non-Profit With The Ohio Secretary Of State.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 5/16/17)

Entity #:	4029900	Business Name:	OUR OHIO RENEWAL FOUNDATION
Filing Type:	CORPORATION FOR NON-PROFIT	Status:	Cancelled
Original Filing Date:	05/16/2017	Exp. Date:	05/16/2022
Location:	COLUMBUS FRANKLIN		

(Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 5/16/17)

- **In May 2022, The Organization Was Cancelled For Failing To File Its Statement Of Continued Existence.** (Ohio Secretary Of State, Filed 5/16/22)



**Vance Declared He Was The Honorary Chairman Of Our Ohio Renewal Between June 2019 And December 2022.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Part 8. Positions**

Did you hold any reportable outside positions during the reporting period? **Yes**

#	Position Dates	Position Held	Entity	Entity Type	Comments
1	Feb 2017 to present	Other (Member)	JD Vance Enterprises LLC Columbus, Ohio	Company	n/a
2	Jun 2019 to Dec 2022	Partner	Narya Capital Management LLC Cincinnati, Ohio	Corporation	n/a
3	Jan 2017 to Nov 2021	Other (Honorary Chairman)	Our Ohio Renewal Cincinnati, Ohio	Nonprofit Organization	n/a

(2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**PROFESSIONAL & RECREATIONAL LICENSES**

*J.D. Vance has been a licensed attorney in the state of Kentucky since October 18, 2013.*

***Attorney License***

**Kentucky**

**Vance Has Been A Licensed Attorney In The State Of Kentucky Since October 18, 2013.**

([Kentucky Bar](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

**James David Vance**

Regular 2

[jamesdavidvance@gmail.com](mailto:jamesdavidvance@gmail.com)

**OFFICIAL ADDRESS INFORMATION**

1858 William Howard Taft Rd.

(443) 618-8543 (Phone)

Cincinnati

Ohio

45206 United States

[ Map ]

County:

Out-Of-State

**OTHER INFORMATION**

Date of Admission: 10/18/2013

Status: Active

CLE Non-practice Exemption: Yes

Public Discipline History: No record of final public discipline.

Practice Information pursuant to SCR 3.023: I am NOT engaged in the Private Practice of Law.

([Kentucky Bar](#), Accessed 2/23/24)

**PERSONAL FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE**

*On his 2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, J.D. Vance declared his net worth was valued between \$3,708,154 and \$10,394,999 stemming from assets valued between \$4,208,154 and \$10,645,000 and liabilities totaling between \$250,001 and \$500,000. Outside of his standard investments in mutual and index funds, the majority of Vance’s assets are investments through his companies, JD Vance Enterprises and Narya Capital, which investments in a variety of companies across the country. Vance listed his positions with both companies, and interestingly, declared he received more than \$110,000 in salary from Narya, which appears to be in conflict with the 1978 Ethics in Government Act, which states Representatives and Senators are limited to earning 15% in excess of their yearly Congressional salary. Vance also received nearly \$1 million in income from Narya, which appears to be from his partnership dividends.*

**2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, U.S. Senate**

**Net Worth**

**Vance’s Calculable Net Worth Was Valued Between \$3,708,154 And \$10,394,999.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

- **Vance’s Assets Were Valued Between \$4,208,154 And \$10,645,000.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)
- **Vance’s Liabilities Were Valued Between \$250,001 And \$500,000.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Assets**

<b>Asset Name</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Income</b>
Residential Real Estate	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000
QQQ - Invesco QQQ Trust, Series 1	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	None (or less than \$201)
DIA - SPDR Dow Jones Industrial Average ETF	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	\$15,001 - \$50,000
SPY - SPDR S&P 500	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	\$5,001 - \$15,000
The Huntington National Bank	\$250,001 - \$500,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Memoir, Inc. d/b/a Chapter	\$250,001 - \$500,000	None (or less than \$201)
Marcus Goldman Sachs (Acct #1)	\$250,001 - \$500,000	\$2,501 - \$5,000
APPH - AppHarvest, Inc. - Common Stock	\$100,001 - \$250,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Rumble Inc.	\$100,001 - \$250,000	None (or less than \$201)
USAA Federal Savings Bank (Acct x69)	\$100,001 - \$250,000	None (or less than \$201)
Marcus Goldman Sachs (Acct #5)	\$100,001 - \$250,000	\$201 - \$1,000
TLT - iShares 20+ Year Treasury Bond ETF	\$100,001 - \$250,000	\$2,501 - \$5,000
SPDR Gold Shares ETF EC	\$100,001 - \$250,000	None (or less than \$201)
Charles Schwab	\$100,001 - \$250,000	\$201 - \$1,000

Privileged & Confidential

BTC	\$100,001 - \$250,000	None (or less than \$201)
Robin Hood	\$100,001 - \$250,000	None (or less than \$201)
WMT - Walmart Inc. Common Stock	\$50,001 - \$100,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Kriya Therapies	\$50,001 - \$100,000	None (or less than \$201)
Marcus Goldman Sachs (Acct #2)	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$1,001 - \$2,500
Marcus Goldman Sachs (Acct #3)	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$1,001 - \$2,500
Marcus Goldman Sachs (Acct #4)	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$1,001 - \$2,500
OILK - K-1 Free Crude Oil Strategy ETF	\$50,001 - \$100,000	\$5,001 - \$15,000
Investment in AcreTrader, Inc.	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Beren Therapeutics P.B.C.	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Hallow, Inc.	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
APPH - AppHarvest, Inc. - Common Stock	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Memoir, Inc. d/b/a Chapter	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Rumble Inc.	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Beren Therapeutics P.B.C.	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Hallow, Inc.	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
SWKXX - Schwab California Muni Money Fund Inv Shares	\$15,001 - \$50,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Summersalt, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in 120 Water Audit, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in 75F, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in 8th Stage, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Abartys Health LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in ALTality, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Americademy, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Amplion, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Anduril Industries, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in ANVL, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
APPH - AppHarvest, Inc. - Common Stock	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Atlas Space Operations, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Atomos Nuclear and Space Corporation	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Aurora Insights, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Back to the Roots, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in BacklotCars, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Bidr Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Bionaut Labs, LTD	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)

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Investment in Blokable, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Brace Software, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Branch Financial, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in CareAcademy.co, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Caribu, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Catalyst IT Services, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Chase Therapeutics Corporation	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Collective Hotels and Retreats, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in DeepConvo Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in DemandJump Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in DispatchIt, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Edisun Microgrids, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in EIE Materials, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Energy Intelligence, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Ethex Software Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in FiscalNote, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in FlavorCloud, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Fluree, PBC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Flytedesk Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Foxtrot Ventures, Incorporated	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Freightwaves Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in FTC Holdings LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Gathering, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Global Uprising, PBC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Glow Technologies, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in GoGuardian Holdings, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Gramercy Technologies, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Guardhat, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Hatch Technologies, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in HealthCare Interactive, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Hermeus Corporation	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Huge Legal Technology Company, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in ICX Media, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in IdealSpot, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)

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Investment in Immersive Tech, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Inscope Medical Solutions, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Insightin Health, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in JMM Partners DE, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in K4Connect, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Kidizen, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Kiswe Mobile Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Ledger Investing, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in LifeLoop, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in LockerDome, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Losant IoT, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Lunar Labs, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Lynk Global, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in MANTL, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in MCH Ventures, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Medici Technologies, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Megh Computing, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Mend Tech, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Mint Apartment Cleaning, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Mixtroz, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Neighbor Storage, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Neighborhood Goods, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in NeoLight, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in NeuScience, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Nickson, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Off the Record, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Ordway Labs, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in PartySlate, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in PatientOne, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Peanut Butter, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Pop Biotechnologies, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in POPS! Diabetes Care, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Pryon Incorporated	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Qwick, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Raptor Acquisition Holdings, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Ready Responders, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)

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Investment in Replica, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in SaaS Industries, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Scholly, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in ShearShare, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Sisu Global Health Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Slingshot Aerospace, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Smartwyre, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Sole Power, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Soundways, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in SparkCharge, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in StockX, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Stord, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Structural, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Tap Projects, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in The Next One's On Me, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Thrive Global Holdings, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Understory, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Vemos, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Visage Enterprise, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Waymark, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in We Quilt, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in WealthForge Holdings, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in WhyHotel, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in WireWheel, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in World View Enterprises, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in World Waters Holdings, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Xendoo, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in ZenBusiness PBC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Zylo, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in AcreTrader, Inc.	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in AmplifyBio, LLC	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Investment in Kriya Therapies	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
USAA Federal Savings Bank (Acct x87)	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Navy Federal Credit Union	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Charles Schwab	\$1,001 - \$15,000	None (or less than \$201)
Narya Capital Management, LLC	None (or less than \$1,001)	Other \$945,000.00
Rise of the Rest Seed Fund AIV GP, LLC	None (or less than \$1,001)	None (or less than \$201)

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Navy Federal Credit Union	None (or less than \$1,001)	\$1,001 - \$2,500
SWTXX - Schwab Municipal Money Fund - Investor Shares	None (or less than \$1,001)	None (or less than \$201)

(2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Liabilities**

**Vance Declared A Mortgage Valued Between \$250,001 And \$500,000 To Navy Federal Credit Union As A Liability.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Earned Income**

**Vance Declared He Earned \$110,146 In Salary From Narya Capital Management, LLC.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Vance Declared He Earned \$121,376 In Royalties From HarperCollins.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Vance Declared His Spouse Earned Less Than \$1,000 In Salary From Munger Tolles & Olsen LLP.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

*NOTE: According to the [1978 Ethics in Government Act](#), Representatives and Senators are limited to earning 15% in excess of their yearly Congressional salary.*

**Positions**

**Vance Declared He Has Been A Member Of JD Vance Enterprises LLC Since February 2017.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Vance Declared He Was A Partner Of Narya Capital Management LLC Between June 2019 And December 2022.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Vance Declared He Was The Honorary Chairman Of Our Ohio Renewal Between June 2019 And December 2022.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**Agreements**

**Vance Declared A Royalty Agreement With HarperCollins, Established In July 2013, For His Book, Hillbilly Elegy.** (2022 Personal Financial Disclosure, [Clerk Of The U.S. Senate](#), Filed 10/30/23)

**VANCE’S ANTI-TRUMP RECORD AND ESTABLISHMENT TIES**

**VANCE WAS OPPOSED TO TRUMP’S CANDIDACY DURING THE 2016 ELECTION**

***As Early As August 2016, Vance Had Announced His Intention To Vote Third Party As Opposed To Voting For Trump***

**As Early As August 2016, Vance Said He Planned To Vote For Third Party Candidate Evan McMullin Because He Couldn’t “Stomach Trump.”** GROSS: “...What are you going to

do this election, if you don't mind saying?" VANCE: "My current plan is to vote either third party or, as I joked to my wife, I might write in my dog because that's about as good as it seems. But, you know, I think there's a chance, if I feel like Trump has a really good chance of winning, that I might have to hold my nose and vote for Hillary Clinton. But at the end of the day, I just feel like she is so culturally disconnected from the people that I grew up around that it would be very, very hard for me to cast my ballot for her. So ultimately I think I'll probably vote third party. I might vote for this new guy who I really like, Evan McMullin, who I actually met the other day. But I think that I'm going to vote third party because I can't stomach Trump. I think that he's noxious and is leading the white working class to a very dark place. And ultimately I just don't share Hillary Clinton's politics." (NPR's "[Fresh Air](#)," 8/17/16)

- **Vance: "I Think That He's Noxious And Is Leading The White Working Class To A Very Dark Place."** (NPR's "[Fresh Air](#)," 8/17/16)

**Vance In 2016: "I Didn't Vote For Trump Or Hillary Where I Was Almost Saying Look, I Told You So, Hillary Is Going To Win, We Shouldn't Have Nominated Trump In The First Place..."** VANCE: "Yes. And I guess I felt pretty much the same way. There was a certain amount of confidence. There was almost an arrogance that I had. So I didn't vote for Trump or Hillary where I was almost saying look, I told you so, Hillary is going to win, we shouldn't have nominated Trump in the first place, it just shows that in some ways I was in my own bubble and I'm guilty of some of the same things that I criticize the elite of being guilty of." (CNN's "CNN Tonight," 11/9/16)

**Vance Said He Voted For Evan McMullin And Said, "My Fear With Trump Was Always That He Didn't Have Great Solutions."** "Vance voted for independent Evan McMullin, not Trump, last month. 'I always understood why he was so appealing to so many folks back home,' he said of the president-elect. 'It's not surprising they voted for him. ... My fear with Trump was always that he didn't have great solutions.'" (James Hohmann, "The Daily 202: Why The Author Of 'Hillbilly Elegy' Is Moving Home To Ohio," [The Washington Post](#), 12/21/16)

- **Vance: "I Am Pessimistic That You Can Flip The Trade Switch And Make All These Steel Jobs Come Back To Middletown."** (James Hohmann, "The Daily 202: Why The Author Of 'Hillbilly Elegy' Is Moving Home To Ohio," [The Washington Post](#), 12/21/16)

**In 2017, Vance Defended People Who Had Voted For Trump Despite His Incendiary Rhetoric, Saying A Vote Against Trump Was A Vote For Hillary Clinton.** VANCE: "Yeah, I agree. The point about risk tolerance for some of the things that Trump said, I think, is a very important one. It's something I've tried to talk about with my family a lot, that if we maybe looked a little bit different, if our names were a little bit different, then maybe we wouldn't be so tolerant of some of the things he said. We wouldn't be so willing to cast it aside and say that's not really what he means or that's not really what he thinks. The complicating factor, of course, is that people weren't voting a binary yes or no Trump. They were necessarily voting, if not for Trump, then for Hillary Clinton. The framing I have always had to this is that there's both a substance and a process element to Trump. There's the things that he says, the policies, such as they are, that he hopes to enact. That's the substantive part of Trump, but then there's the process part of Trump, which is a criticism of the elites, a criticism of the way we engage in political discourse, a criticism, specifically, of the Clintons and especially Hillary Clinton. And my sense is that the process side of Trump was very appealing to a lot of people even as the substantive side of him was at least a little bit disconcerting, even to a lot of his voters." (Ezra Klein, "A Conversation With J.D. Vance, The Reluctant Interpreter Of Trumpism," [Vox](#), 2/2/17)



***Vance Was Accused Of “Effectively” Voting For Hillary Clinton***

**In 2018, While Vance Was Considering Running For Senate, Another Candidate Said He Had “Effectively Voted For Hillary Clinton” In The 2016 Election.** “Vance and McConnell have spoken more than once as party leaders apparently continue to shop for a candidate beyond wealthy Cleveland-area investment banker Mike Gibbons, who also is a political novice. Gibbons last week signaled a willingness to invest \$5 million of his own money, and potentially more, in the race. Gibbons' campaign spanked Vance on Wednesday for his failure to vote for Trump. Vance cast his ballot for Evan McMullin, an independent supported by conservatives opposed to Trump. ‘Mike Gibbons was a co-chair for President Trump in Ohio and never wavered in his support for the president. J.D. Vance effectively voted for Hillary Clinton when he voted against President Trump. There's only one candidate in the race who would support the president, Mike Gibbons,’ said Mike Biundo, a Gibbons campaign consultant.” (Jessica Wehrman And Randy Ludlow, “Renacci Shifts Gears; Sources Say He's Pulling Out Of Governor's Race To Run For U.S. Senate,” *The Repository*, 1/17/18)

***During The Campaign And After The Election, Vance Doubted Trump’s Ability To Be Effective In Office***

**In 2016, Vance Said Cynicism And Frustration In The Country “Needs To Find A Better Outlet Than Donald Trump” And Said Trump Was Not “Going To Make The Problem Better.”** VANCE: “I think that it’s more about the white working-class folks who aren’t necessarily economically destitute but in some ways feel very culturally isolated and very pessimistic about the future. That’s one of the biggest predictors of whether someone will support Donald Trump – it may be the biggest predictor – is the belief that America is headed in the wrong direction, the belief that your kids are not going to have a better life than you did. And that cynicism really breeds frustration at political elites, but, frankly, that frustration needs to find a better outlet than Donald Trump. And that’s why I’ve made some of the analogies that I have because I don’t think that he’s going to make the problem better. I think, like you said, he is in some ways a pain reliever. He’s someone who makes people feel a little bit better about their problems. But whether he’s elected president or not, those problems are still going to be there, and we’ve got to recognize that.” (NPR’s “[Fresh Air](#),” 8/17/16)

**Vance Said Trump Diagnosed Problems In A Successful And Passionate Way, “But I Don't See Him As Offering Many Solutions.”** “VANCE: “Well, I think one thing they should be doing is thinking seriously about what's wrong in their communities and going, both in personal ways, but also in the political leaders that they choose, really holding their feet to the fire and asking that they do things that will actually address their problems. I think, frankly, that's a big problem with Trump is that he diagnoses the problems in a very successful and very passionate way, but I don't see him as offering many solutions.” (ABC’s “This Week,” 8/14/16)

**Vance Claimed Trump Offered “A Slogan About Greatness With Little Substance To Support It.”** “It is a far cry from the patriotism of my youth. Our faith in our country fell so far, so fast, that many support a man whose very slogan — ‘Make America Great Again’ — implicitly argues that a central tenet of my childhood was false. Our mistrust of those in power has swelled to the point that many will support Donald Trump, who offers a slogan about greatness with little substance to support it.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “How The White Working Class Lost Its Patriotism,” [The Washington Post](#), 7/25/16)

**Vance, On Trump In January 2017: “As For The Question About Whether He'll Be Ultimately Effective, My Guess Is That He Probably Won't Be. But We'll See.”** “Q: Do you think people you wrote about who voted for Trump are going to have a voice? Or do you think they're going to get played? Vance: Definitely, folks feel like they have a voice now. Whether he does good things or not is going to be determined over the next few years. I think it's too early to say whether they got played. I tend to think even if he's not a successful president, I wouldn't say they got played, because I don't think that gives enough credit to, frankly, how smart people are when they're weighing their vote and what to do with it. As for the question about whether he'll be ultimately effective, my guess is that he probably won't be. But we'll see. I'm hoping that he is.” (“Trump And The 'Hillbilly Elegy' Effect,” *Journal And Courier*, 1/30/17)

### ***Vance Criticized Trump's Statements And Policy Proposals***

**In 2016, Vance Said Of Trump: “Half Of The Things That He Says Don't Make Any Sense Or A Quarter Of The Things That He Says Are Offensive.”** VANCE: “I certainly understand why a lot of folks are surprised. I think a big part of it is just the way that Donald Trump conducts himself. A lot of people feel that you can't trust anything Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama say, not because they necessarily lied a lot but because they sound so filtered and they sound so rehearsed. Donald Trump, if nothing else, is relatable to the average working-class American because he speaks off the cuff. He's clearly unfiltered and unrehearsed. And there is something relatable about that, even if, you know, half of the things that he says don't make any sense or a quarter of the things that he says are offensive. There's something to be said about relatability. And it's not, you know – there's been a lot written about how elite political conversation is not emotionally relatable to big chunks of the country. I think that in a lot of ways, Trump is just the first person to tap into that sense of disconnect in the way that he conducts himself with politics.” (NPR's “[Fresh Air](#),” 8/17/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said Trump's Policy Proposals, “Such As They Are, Range From Immoral To Absurd.”** “Though Trump held his fire in the debate, he lit into W. on social media and in interviews. Other candidates defended the former president. They, too, failed to understand Trump's appeal, how something so offensive to their political palate could be cathartic for millions of their own voters. I quickly realized that Trump's actual policy proposals, such as they are, range from immoral to absurd. But as a Marine veteran who grew up in a struggling Rust Belt town, I understand why many adore him. He tells America's rich and powerful precisely what we wish we could tell them ourselves: that many of the things they view as accomplishments suck for people like us.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump Fans Feel Betrayed By G.W. Bush,” *Tulare Advance-Register*, 2/18/16)

**In A 2016 Op-Ed, Vance Wrote That “Trump's Policies, Such As They Are, Offer Little Substance To Those Suffering From Addiction, Joblessness, And Downward Mobility.”** “The institutional offshoots of this peculiar moment have monopolized the conversation. Donald Trump is the voice of poor white America. The Black Lives Matter movement is the voice of dispossessed blacks and their sympathizers. Yet if these voices have monopolized the conversation, they certainly haven't monopolized the good ideas. Trump's policies, such as they are, offer little substance to those suffering from addiction, joblessness, and downward mobility.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Two Underclasses,” [National Review](#), 8/29/16)

***Vance Said Trump's Election Would Be "Terrible For The Country"***

**In 2016, Vance Claimed He Had Texted His Book Editor That Trump Winning The Election Would Be "Terrible For The Country, But Good For Book Sales."** "During his 2016 book tour, Vance was not shy about his disdain for Trump. When NPR's Terry Gross asked how he planned to vote that November, he said, 'I think that I'm going to vote third party because I can't stomach Trump. I think that he's noxious and is leading the white working class to a very dark place.' In the course of a conversation with Vox's Ezra Klein, he readily agreed that Trump's rhetoric was racially incendiary. And appearing on the podcast I hosted at the time, Need to Know, Vance said that as the election year progressed, he became more and more convinced that Trump could win. He had texted his book agent, he told Jay Nordlinger and me, saying that, 'If Trump wins it would be terrible for the country, but good for book sales.'" (Mona Charen, "J.D. Vance Joins The Jackals," [The Bulwark](#), 3/17/21)

***Vance Compared Trump To Heroin And Mocked MAGA As A "Quick High"***

**In 2016, Vance Said "What Trump Offers Is An Easy Escape From The Pain" And That "Trump's Promises Are The Needle In America's Collective Vein."** "What Trump offers is an easy escape from the pain. To every complex problem, he promises a simple solution. He can bring jobs back simply by punishing offshoring companies into submission. As he told a New Hampshire crowd-folks all too familiar with the opioid scourge-he can cure the addiction epidemic by building a Mexican wall and keeping the cartels out. He will spare the United States from humiliation and military defeat with indiscriminate bombing. It doesn't matter that no credible military leader has endorsed his plan. He never offers details for how these plans will work, because he can't. Trump's promises are the needle in America's collective vein." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "Opioid Of The Masses," [The Atlantic](#), 7/4/16)

**Vance Wrote That After Trump Lost "Perhaps The Nation Will Trade The Quick High Of 'Make America Great Again' For Real Medicine."** "I'm not sure when or how that realization arrives: maybe in a few months, when Trump loses the election; maybe in a few years, when his supporters realize that even with a President Trump, their homes and families are still domestic war zones, their newspapers' obituaries continue to fill with the names of people who died too soon, and their faith in the American Dream continues to falter. But it will come, and when it does, I hope Americans cast their gaze to those with the most power to address so many of these problems: each other. And then, perhaps the nation will trade the quick high of 'Make America Great Again' for real medicine." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "Opioid Of The Masses," [The Atlantic](#), 7/4/16)

**Vance: "I Think In Many Ways What Trump Is Is Just Another Opioid. He Is Something That Is Gong To Take The Pain Away, He Is Going To Make People Feel Better For A Little While."** (MSNBC's "[Morning Joe](#)," 7/1/16)

**Vance: "But At The End Of The Day, The Problems Are Still Going To Still Be There And Donald Trump Isn't Going To Make Them Any Better."** (MSNBC's "[Morning Joe](#)," 7/1/16)

***Vance Called Trump "Dangerous" On Numerous Occasions***

**In 2016, Vance Called Trump "Dangerous."** "It's like you guys have no idea the groundswell of support this guy has and it makes me very sad for my country, because as someone who thinks that Donald Trump is frankly dangerous, I don't want the lesson that everyone should learn from 2016 to not take. We may just be in a worse situation four years down the road or

eight years down the road unless there is some recognition of what's going on on the other side of the country.” (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**During A 2016 Interview, Vance Said Trump’s Campaign Rhetoric Was “Dangerous.”**

INTERVIEWER: “JD, is that a dangerous movement because though it separates us into classes rather than talking about how growth can lift everyone up? “VANCE: “I definitely think it’s dangerous in a lot of ways. One it segregates us into classes.” ([The Wall Street Journal](#), 8/31/16)

**Vance: “So I Do Think There Is A Danger In The Way That Trump Talks About Politics And Ultimately, I Think Fundamentally He Is Not The Right Guy For That Reason.”** ([The Wall Street Journal](#), 8/31/16)

***Vance Said Voters Were Not Attached To Trump And He Would Get “Crushed”***

**In 2016, Vance Said, “People Are Not That Strongly Attached To Trump” And Said Trump Would Get “Crushed” In The General Election.** “Thrush: Is there any such thing as Trumpism after Trump? Vance: People are not that strongly attached to Trump; he is a vehicle to attach that anger to, but they don't especially love him. He'll say something ridiculous or offensive, and they'll be like, ‘Well, I mostly agree with him.’ But it's not a deep thing. What happens to Trumpism after Trump depends on how the Republican Party answers after Trump gets crushed. If it's going to answer that the party wasn't sufficiently ideological-or what you need is a true-blue rehash of Reagan's '80 campaign-Trump's voters are going to be pissed and find someone to project that anger onto. And then it just keeps going.” (Glenn Thrush, “What's Going On With America's White People?” *Politico*, 9/12/16)

**Vance In 2016: “I’ll Probably Vote Third-Party ... But I’m Definitely Not Voting For Trump. He Exacerbates The Very Worst Tendencies Of People In The Area Where I Grew Up.”** “‘I’ll probably vote third-party,’ said Vance. ‘But I’m definitely not voting for Trump. He exacerbates the very worst tendencies of people in the area where I grew up.’” (Brent Larkin, “Suburban Columbus Women Hold Key For Clinton In Ohio,” *Plain Dealer*, 9/25/16)

***Vance Wrote That He “Loathed” Trump’s “Obvious Personal Character Flaws”***

**In 2016, Vance Wrote That He “Loathed” Trump’s “Obvious Personal Character Flaws.”** “As the son of a white, working-class family, I saw the Donald Trump phenomenon coming sooner than most. He had captured a zeitgeist in my community, not because they loved Trump but because they mistrusted the institutions that his opponents - Republican and Democratic - represented. There was something sympathetic about the affinity so many felt for Trump, even though I loathed the man's obvious personal character flaws. He was, as American film-maker and labour activist Michael Moore recently argued, a ‘Molotov cocktail’ to throw into the inner workings of the elite universe. The system had failed so many in my home town, and Trump was the vehicle with which they would blow it up.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “JD Vance: The Coasts And The Flyover Country’ - The Great US Divide,” *London Evening Standard*, 10/28/16)

***Vance Said He Fought Against Trump***

**In 2016, Vance Said He Had Fought Trump “Pretty Robustly.”** J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, NEW YORK TIMES: “Well, I think it depends in large part on how Trump himself reacts to defeat. If he reacts to a loss graciously like we all expect him to, just kidding, then he may actually do a good service to the country and allow some healing to take place and hopefully some constructive government down the road. But if Trump decides to go to war against the Bret

Stephens of the Republican party, those who have fought him, folks like me who fought him pretty robustly, then I think there's a chance that we're going to have a long-term civil war in the Republican party where we have to figure out what we really believe.” (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

**Vance: “And My View Is That Folks Like Me Would Be Smart To Repudiate The Intellectual Leaders Of Trump But To Recognize That The Voters Of Trump Actually Have A Lot To Be Concerned About And That's Why He's Our Candidate.”** (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

### ***Vance Said Trump Was A Bad 2016 Candidate***

**In 2016, Vance Said If Hillary Clinton Won, It Would Have To Come With The Recognition She Won “Because The Other Party's Candidate Was So Bad.”** VANCE: “Yes. But to Bret's point, the '90s were very good on the surface but there were already very serious planted seeds that caused a lot of problems over the next couple of decades. And I think that what either for Hillary Clinton to govern effectively or for Trump if he wins to govern effectively, they need to start with a massive dose of humility. The recognition that if they won, they won because the other party's candidate was so bad. And with that humility, hopefully, will come some measure of constructive government. Because without it, I agree with Bret that we're not going to have a very effective policy or politics in the next few years.” (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

### ***Vance Said, “We Have To Reject The Rhetoric Of Trump”***

**In 2016, Vance Said, “We Have To Reject The Rhetoric Of Trump.”** VANCE: “So it definitely is harder to deal with these cultural issues and you look at all the metrics that are going on, the white working class especially from the opioid epidemic to family breakdown, all of these metrics are moving in the wrong direction. So there needs to be a recognition in our culture, in our policy. And I think that what's important about this is that politics can be upstream from culture. The discourse that we have as a political group definitely affects the way that our culture changes and the way that my white working class culture responds to some of these changes. So to Bret's point, I think we have to reject the rhetoric of Trump but we also have to recognize that there's really complex factors that are hitting Trump's voters have to be dealt with and have to be dealt with wisely.” (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

### ***After The 2016 Election, Vance Said He Did Not Think Trump Fully Appreciated The “Complexity Of What’s Going On”***

In 2016 After Trump’s Election, Vance Said, “I Continue To Worry That Trump Didn’t Fully Appreciate The Complexity Of What’s Going On” And Was Worried “About Whether He’s Going To Make The Problems A Whole Lot Better.” “Still, the 32-year-old remains somewhat nervous about the policies that Trump espoused on the campaign trail, though his fingers are crossed. ‘Solutions are complex,’ he noted, ‘and I continue to worry that Trump didn’t fully appreciate the complexity of what’s going on. Consequently, I worry about whether he’s going to make the problems a whole lot better. ... But I am a Republican, and we really should give the guy a chance to govern and hope he’s successful.’” (James Hohmann, “The Daily 202: Why The Author Of ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Is Moving Home To Ohio,” [The Washington Post](#), 12/21/16)

**In February 2017, Vance Said Trump “Ran An Angry, Very Adversarial Campaign” That Vance Added Was “Pretty Cynical.”** “For the record, Vance is not a Trump fan. Trump, he says, ‘ran an angry, very adversarial campaign that in tone matched the frustrations of the people I wrote about. He certainly ran a pretty cynical campaign, and got a lot of votes from people who are feeling cynical about the future.’ Vance voted for independent candidate Evan McMullin.” (Karen Heller, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Made J.D. Vance The Voice Of The Rust Belt. But Does He Want That Job?,” [The Washington Post](#), 2/6/17)

***Vance Criticized Trump For Creating Finger Pointing Among The White Working Class***

**In 2017, Vance Criticized Trump For Changing The Focus Of The White Working Class To Pointing The “Finger At Mexican Immigrants, Or Chinese Trade.”** J.D. VANCE: “I think that this election is really having a negative effect especially on the white working class, right. Because I think a lot of these grievances are legitimate, but what it is doing is it’s giving people an excuse to point the finger at someone else. Point the finger at Mexican immigrants, or Chinese trade, or the Democratic elites or whatever else. And sometimes these villains are legitimate. I think it’s totally fair to say that the policy elites of the Democratic Party haven’t been totally concerned about the white working class. But at the same time, fundamentally what’s going on and what Donald Trump has done is change the focus of the white working class from a sort of engaged and constructive politics to a politics of pointing the finger.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 8/30/17)

**DURING THE 2016 CAMPAIGN, VANCE WAS DESCRIBED AS A ‘NEVER TRUMPER’**

***In An October 2016 Appearance On “The Charlie Rose Show,” Vance Declared He Was “A Never Trump Guy” And “Never Liked Him”***

**In An October 2016 Appearance On “The Charlie Rose Show,” Vance Declared He Was “A Never Trump Guy” And “Never Liked Him.”** J.D. VANCE: “Yeah, exactly. And, you know, that feeling unfortunately if you think about the political dialogue that we’re already starting to have, you know, both on the left and the right, there’s a movement to sort of gloat over the fact that the elites were right about Donald Trump, right. I’m a never Trump guy. I never liked him.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

***Vance Claimed There Was A “Willingness From People Who Think A Lot Like I Do” To Say Trump Was “Going To Be A Terrible Candidate” And “That You Were An Idiot If You Voted For Him”***

**Vance Claimed There Was A “Willingness From People Who Think A Lot Like I Do” To Say Trump Was “Going To Be A Terrible Candidate” And “That You Were An Idiot If You Voted For Him.”** VANCE: “And I – but I noticed this willingness from people who think a lot like I do that, look, we told you so. To all these white working class voters, we told you so. We told you that Trump was going to be a terrible candidate. We told you that you were an idiot if you voted for him. The problem is if you take that attitude as sort of gloating over Trump’s defeat. Then you’re playing into the very thing that gave rise to Trump in the first place, which is a feeling that the elites think that they are smarter than you and just think you’re a bunch of idiots.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

***Vance Said Trump Was Not The Best Candidate For White-Working Class Voters***

**Vance Said Trump Was Not The Best Candidate For White-Working Class Voters.** J.D. VANCE: “Absolutely. You think about the slogan, Make America Great Again. The implication is that America isn’t great right now, and if you’re very unhappy about your life that’s going to resonate.” CHARLIE ROSE: “Do you think this is a large number of people? Do you think this is enough people to elect Donald Trump?” J.D. VANCE: “No, I don’t think it’s a large enough people to elect Donald Trump. Obviously, the demographics of the country have changed a lot, and the white working class community is still a pretty significant part of the electorate, but it’s not merely enough to let Donald Trump alone. So, my fear is – you know, I think Donald Trump is not the right candidate for this group of voters.” CHARLIE ROSE: “Who would have been?” J.D. VANCE: “Well, I don’t know that there was a single candidate who really appealed to these voters in a way that, one, inspired them, and two, actually had a set of policies that would have been good for them, either on the Democratic side or on the Republican side. Part of the problem with this election is in fact that I think that the problems that are unique to some of these working class communities don’t get a lot of attention, and maybe, you know, hopefully the book will raise people’s awareness a little bit.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said He Would “Certainly Not Vote For Trump” And Said Voting For Him Was “Unacceptable.”** “Who will you choose? I will certainly not vote for Trump. I can understand why it is popular, but I find it unacceptable.” (Hubert Wetzels, “Hillbillies,” [Süddeutsche Zeitung](#), 10/21/16)

- *NOTE: This interview was translated from the original German to English using Google Translate.*

**DURING THE 2016 CAMPAIGN, VANCE INDICATED HE BELIEVED THE WOMEN WHO ACCUSED TRUMP OF SEXUAL ASSAULT**

***In 2016, Vance Indicated He Believed One Of Trump’s Sexual-Assault Accusers Over Trump And Mocked Trump For Not Telling The Truth***

**In 2016, Vance Indicated He Believed One Of Trump’s Sexual-Assault Accusers Over Trump And Mocked Trump For Not Telling The Truth.** JESSICA LEEDS, SAYS TRUMP GROPED HER: “These are not memories that you want to go over. It has been somewhat unnerving since Friday to be rehashing it so many times. You suppress it. It’s not part of your active thinking every day. But you don’t forget. Somehow or other, the armrest in the seat disappeared. And it was a real shock when, all of a sudden, his hands were all over me. He was like an octopus. It was like he had six arms. He was all over the place. When he started putting his hand on my skirt, and that was it. That was it. I was out of there. I wish the stewardess would come and rescue me. And then I decided, I got up. I got my purse. And I said, I’m going back to my seat in coach.” MATTHEWS: “What do you think of this? This is something, it’s sort of interesting evocative of the time because of the time because we used to say stewardess first of all. That was a flight attendant. It just gives us a sense of history. But this woman is not a showoff. She’s just telling what happened so we can know it.” J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, “HILLYBILLY ELEGY”: “Yes, yes. And it’s sort of - - it makes me think that at fundamental, this is sort of he said/she said, right? And at the end of the day, do you believe Donald Trump who always tells the truth? Just kidding, or do you believe that woman on the tape? And I –” (MSNBC’s “Hardball,” 10/12/16)

***In 2016, It Was Reported That Vance Tweeted “What Percentage Of The American Population Has @Realdonaldtrump Sexually Assaulted?”***

**“In October 2016, For Example, Vance Tweeted: ‘What Percentage Of The American Population Has @RealDonaldTrump Sexually Assaulted?’”** (Jessica Wehrman, “Author’s Candidacy Tainted, Other Republicans Say,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, 1/12/18)

**DURING THE 2016 CAMPAIGN, VANCE LINKED RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA TO TRUMP’S BASE OF SUPPORT**

***In 2016, Vance Said People Who “Might Be Described As If Not As Racist At Least As Expressing Some Sort Of Racial Resentment” Were Supporting Trump***

**In 2016, Vance Said People Who “Might Be Described As If Not As Racist At Least As Expressing Some Sort Of Racial Resentment” Were Supporting Trump.** VANCE: “Well, I think it’s important to note that definitely some of it is about race. I don’t think you can be honest and deny that some of it is. But I don’t think most of it’s about race. And so there’s this interesting question about when you poll people and they express higher levels of racial animosity or a variety of views that might be described as if not as racist at least as expressing some sort of racial resentment, what I see in those polls is frankly that they’re following Donald Trump, not that Donald Trump is following them.” (MSNBC’s “All In With Chris Hayes,” 8/3/16)

**Vance Said It Was “Not Just That He’s Found A Way Into These Voters’ Hearts And Into Their Political Preferences, He’s Actually I Think Leading People In A Certain Way, And He’s Leading Our Political Discourse To A Very Negative Place”**

**Vance Said It Was “Not Just That He’s Found A Way Into These Voters’ Hearts And Into Their Political Preferences, He’s Actually I Think Leading People In A Certain Way, And He’s Leading Our Political Discourse To A Very Negative Place.”** VANCE: “I think this is a really important, and frankly a very unfortunate part of the Donald Trump phenomenon. It’s not just that he’s found a way into these voters’ hearts and into their political preferences, he’s actually I think leading people in a certain way, and he’s leading our political discourse to a very negative place.” (MSNBC’s “All In With Chris Hayes,” 8/3/16)

**Vance In 2016: “People Listen To What Their Political Leaders Are Telling Them, And My View Is Both That Trump Is Tapping Into Some Racially Ugly Attitudes, But Also That He Is Leading People To Racially Ugly Attitudes.”** (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance: “I Don’t Think That 60-70 Percent Of Working-Class White Voters Would Have Supported A Muslim Ban Before Donald Trump Said Something About A Muslim Ban.”** (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance: “There Is An Element Here Where I Think It’s Not Just That Trump Is Exploiting Something But He’s Also Leading The White Working Class To A Very Dark Place.”** (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)



***In 2016, Vance Said, “There Are People Who Are Drawn To Trump Because He Says Racially Insensitive Things”***

**In 2016, Vance Said, “There Are People Who Are Drawn To Trump Because He Says Racially Insensitive Things.”** “OK, but could the Trump package work with these voters if he weren't so racist? I see what you're saying. There are people who are drawn to Trump because he says racially insensitive things.” (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance Said “50-60 Percent Of Donald Trump Supporters Don't Have Attitudes That Are Actively Racist But Also Don't Have Attitudes That Completely Conform With Modern Notions Of Equality.”** “I think that's probably true and that's why I hope that he is soundly defeated. I worry that this situation is only going to get worse before it gets better. The way I feel about this is that probably 50-60 percent of Donald Trump supporters don't have attitudes that are actively racist but also don't have attitudes that completely conform with modern notions of equality. I think those people can be won or lost to the cause of more social integration and more social involvement. It just depends a lot on the political media conversation. I really feel that that conversation is failing that very large group of voters.” (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said There Was A “Significant Chunk” Of Trump Voters “Who Are Not Racists.”** VANCE: “Well, I think the press has to be nuanced in how it recognizes that there are some parts that are racial to Donald Trump's appeal, but there are some significant chunk of his voters and his supporters who are not racists, who are just hurting in a lot of different ways, some economic, some social, some, like I said, seeing heroin overdoses in the newspaper. And frankly, at the end of the day, I think Trump is probably going to lose this election, and the biggest question is, what happens four or eight years from now what kind of conversation are we having? And if the media wants to do right by the country, I think it should recognize that there are legitimate hurts in these communities because if it keeps on talking about race, as if it's a reductionist issue, as if it's the only explanation for Donald Trump's appeal, then it's going to push a lot of good people away from the national conversation and on to places like the worst parts of the Internet.” (CNN's “Reliable Sources,” 8/28/16)

**In 2016, When Asked About Hillary Clinton's “Basket Of Deplorables” Statement, Vance Said There Was An Element Of Truth In The Statement And Declared That “There Is Definitely An Element Of Donald Trump's Support That Has Its Basis In Racism Or Xenophobia.”** JUDY WOODRUFF: “We have been paying attention to something Hillary Clinton said in describing Donald Trump's followers. She called them a basket of deplorables. Is there something to what she said, or is she completely off-base?” J.D. VANCE: “Well, I think it's probably both. There are definitely – there is definitely an element of Donald Trump's support that has its basis in racism or xenophobia. But a lot of these folks are just really hardworking people who are struggling in really important ways. And the way that I think about is that folks can be led by political leaders in one direction or another. They can be pushed or pulled. And when Hillary Clinton says something like that, it strikes me that she's pushing people away from what she wants them to get out of her message.” (PBS's “NewsHour,” 9/27/16)

**Vance: “A Lot Of People Think Trump Is Just The First To Appeal To The Racism And Xenophobia That Were Already There, But I Think He's Making The Problem Worse.”** “Finally, what did watching Donald Trump's speech last night make you think about this fall

campaign, and the future of the country? Well, I think the speech itself was a perfect microcosm of why I love and am terrified of Donald Trump. On the one hand, he criticized the elites and actually acknowledge the hurt of so many working class voters. After so many years of Republican politicians refusing to even talk about factory closures, Trump's message is an oasis in the desert. But of course he spent way too much time appealing to people's fears, and he offered zero substance for how to improve their lives. It was Trump at his best and worst. My biggest fear with Trump is that, because of the failures of the Republican and Democratic elites, the bar for the white working class is too low. They're willing to listen to Trump about rapist immigrants and banning all Muslims because other parts of his message are clearly legitimate. A lot of people think Trump is just the first to appeal to the racism and xenophobia that were already there, but I think he's making the problem worse." (Rod Dreher, "Trump: Tribune Of Poor White People," [The American Conservative](#), 7/22/16)

**Vance In 2016: "Racism Is Definitely A Part Of The Trump Phenomenon. And I Think To His Great Discredit, Trump Has Not Disavowed The David Dukes Of The World As Strongly As He Should."** (Marilou Johaneck, *The Blade*, 9/10/16)

**Vance Said He Opposed Trump Since Trump Was Encouraging His Base To Think Of Their Fellow Citizens "As Scapegoats For All Of Their Problems. He's Taking That Significant Portion Of The White Working Class Poor, Who Are Not Explicitly Racist, And Pulling Them In A More Racist Direction."** "Mr. Vance, a Republican, says one reason he is so against Donald Trump is because he's encouraging his base -- the people and community known by the author -- to think of their fellow citizens 'as scapegoats for all of their problems. He's taking that significant portion of the white working class poor, who are not explicitly racist, and pulling them in a more racist direction.'" (Marilou Johaneck, *The Blade*, 9/10/16)

**Vance: "The Trump People Are Certainly More Racist Than The Average White Professional, But It Doesn't Strike Me That This Is The 1950s."** "Vance: I certainly think a lot of liberals are able to see what these people are going through, but there is this weird obsession-a preoccupation-with the belief that the Trump movement is all about racism. The Trump people are certainly more racist than the average white professional, but it doesn't strike me that this is the 1950s. There is a certain amount of racial resentment, but it's paired with economic insecurity, and a willingness to believe Trump and a lot of the things that he says, despite evidence that a lot of it isn't true. I really worry if this becomes a selffulfilling prophecy. If he's couching what he's talking about in a racial resentment, and progressive elites are saying, 'All these people are racist and xenophobic,' people's attitudes are going to change and they are going to become more racist over time. That's probably happening here. I actually think that Donald Trump is changing the way people think about other groups of people in a very negative way." (Glenn Thrush, "What's Going On With America's White People?" *Politico*, 9/12/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said, "If You Think Of The Republican Party Rhetoric, It Is Almost Designed To Turn Off Black Voters."** J.D. VANCE: I think it's a winning coalition. I think it's possible, but I just don't think that many people have actually tried, right? I mean, if you think of the Republican Party rhetoric, it is almost designed to turn off black voters." (PBS's "The Charlie Rose Show," 10/18/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said If Trump Won, "We Could Have An Even Angrier White Working Class That Hates The Elites Or The Mexicans Or The Chinese, Or Whoever Trump Is Targeting, Even More."** "Suppose Trump wins after all. Then what about four years from now?"

He won't have changed or improved anything. Doesn't the frustration just grow? Clear. Problems will get bigger no matter who is president. The question is, what do you do with people's anger and frustration? I'm afraid Trump would do what he has done so far, which is to simply direct the frustration and anger onto other people and groups. So after four years of Trump we could have an even angrier white working class that hates the elites or the Mexicans or the Chinese, or whoever Trump is targeting, even more.” (Hubert Wetzel, “Hillbillies,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10/21/16)

- *NOTE: This interview was translated from the original German to English using Google Translate.*

**In 2016, Vance Said Trump “Doesn't Speak To Issues Of Special Concern Of Minority Voters Or Black Voters, It's That He Seems To Like Actively Antagonizing A Lot Of The Black Voters.”** J.D. VANCE, ‘HILLBILLY ELEGY’ AUTHOR: “Yes, well, I think that's absolutely right, and it's not just that Donald Trump doesn't speak to issues of special concern of minority voters or black voters, it's that he seems to like actively antagonizing a lot of the black voters.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 10/24/16)

**Vance Said It Had Been The “Republican Party Strategy For 30 Years” And Trump “Seems To Be Taking That Strategy Just To The Next Level.”** VANCE: “Unfortunately, that's been the Republican Party strategy for 30 years. I say that as a republican who wants the party to get more black voters. And Trump seems to be taking that strategy just to the next level. It shows in the polls, right, he's not going to do especially well on Election Day.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 10/24/16)

**Vance Said Trump “Could Have Had A Chance With African-American Voters, But He Never Really Tried.”** LEMON: “Do you (AUDIO GAP) that Trump ever had any chance (AUDIO GAP) voters, and did he blow it?” VANCE: “Well, I definitely think that he could have had a chance with African-American voters, but he never really tried. You know, and other commentators have talked about President Obama and whether House republicans have obstructed. But at the end of the day a lot of the problems that exist in the black community, the black/white wealth gap, the income gap and so forth, these problems are really long term. They didn't come about during the Obama administration or the Bush administration. And so, it's not like Donald Trump entered a vacuum where these problems were all of a sudden new. He entered a problem where republican politics maybe could have made a difference. But he chose not to focus on those issues. And I really it's his fault and it's going to hurt us on Election Day.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 10/24/16)

**In October 2016, Vance Said He Found Trump “Reprehensible” Because He Makes “People I Care About Afraid,” Such As Immigrants And Muslims.** “That same month, he also said: ‘Trump makes people I care about afraid. Immigrants, Muslims, etc. Because of this I find him reprehensible.’” (Jessica Wehrman, “Author's Candidacy Tainted, Other Republicans Say,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, 1/12/18)

**In 2016 After The Election, Vance Said There Was A “Racist Part Of Trump.”** J.D. VANCE: “Well, if you look at the data, I definitely think there's a small element of it, but I really don't think that's what's driving most of these voters. If you think about their lives, you think about, you know a lot of folks have said they're not necessarily racist, but they're countenancing racism. But if you think about the opioid crisis, if you think about jobs crisis, if you think about the number of-- of intersecting problems that are going on in these communities,

it's not so much that-- much that they're countenancing racism, as if they're saying, well, we don't like that racist part of Trump, but at least he's offering us something different." (NBC's "Today Show," 11/13/16)

**Vance In January 2017: "The Message Of Trump's Campaign Was Obviously Not Super-Appealing To Latino Americans, Black Americans And So Forth. That Really Bothered Me."** "Q: You're a Republican, but you didn't vote for Trump. Why not? (Vance instead voted for Evan McMullin, an independent candidate supported by anti-Trump conservatives.) A: A couple of reasons. He used rhetoric that's not in the best interest of the party or country. I happen to think that conservatism, when properly applied to the 21st Century, could actually help everybody. And the message of Trump's campaign was obviously not super-appealing to Latino Americans, black Americans and so forth. That really bothered me. In some ways even more importantly than that, while I think Trump had clearly diagnosed very real problems, I didn't see any real evidence that he had much in the way of positive solutions that would address a lot of these concerns. . . . I'm sort of taking a wait-and-see approach, but if he doesn't [provide solutions], that's going to leave people in an even worse position than they were four years ago." (Henry J. Gomez, "'Hillbilly Elegy' Author Returns To Ohio To Help Working-Class Pundit," *Plain Dealer*, 1/1/17)

***In 2018, Vance Was Still An Opponent Of Trump, Citing His Race-Related Policies***

**In Early 2018, Vance Was Still A Critic Of Trump's "Dog-Whistle" Politics Related To Race And Immigration And Was Skeptical Of Trump's Long-Term Strategy.** "The truth is that his politics are complicated. A year into Trump's presidency, Vance still has an ambivalent view of the man, melding awe and discomfort. 'He is one of the few political leaders in America that recognises the frustration that exists in large parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania, eastern Kentucky and so forth,' Vance says. He has been and remains critical of Trump's dog-whistle politics related to race and immigration. And he is sceptical about the president's long-term strategy. 'The part that is forward-looking and answers the question 'What do we do now?' — it's just not there yet.'" (Shawn Donnan, "Hillbilly Elegist JD Vance: 'The People Calling The Shots Really Screwed Up'," *Financial Times*, 2/2/18)

**VANCE HAS SUGGESTED THERE WAS NO SIGN OF VOTER FRAUD IN THE 2016 ELECTION**

***Vance Said Voter Fraud Did Not Impact The 2016 Election And Said There Was No Evidence Of It***

**In 2017, Vance Criticized The Idea That Voter Fraud Impacted The 2016 Election "In Any Significant Way," Claiming He Just Does Not "See The Evidence."** CAMEROTA: "I didn't know we were going to go so far down this rabbit hole but it has been really interesting to hear both of you. J.D., what did you hear in President Obama's final press conference yesterday?" J.D. VANCE: "Well, I mean, one, it was obviously a criticism of the idea that voter fraud affected the election in any significant way, and I think that's right. I think Sen. Santorum is right that there are occasional cases of voter fraud but the idea that it really affects the outcomes in our election, I just don't see the evidence." (CNN's "New Day," 1/19/17)

## **VANCE ONCE IMPLIED THAT TRUMP IS PRONE TO LYING**

### ***In 2017, Vance Criticized Trump For Saying “Half-Truths Or Lies” So Frequently “That You Stop Actually Taking The President Literally”***

**In 2017, Vance Criticized Trump For Saying “Half-Truths Or Lies” So Frequently “That You Stop Actually Taking The President Literally.”** LEMON: “He said Barack Obama faked his birth certificate because he was born in Africa. That’s false. We know that. He said thousands of New Jersey Muslims were on TV celebrating 9/11, false. Ted Cruz’s father had something to do with Lee Harvey Oswald, false. Let’s not forget the inaugural crowd size, three to five million illegal voters, and the list goes on and on. There are some Americans who simply cannot trust President Trump because he is a serial liar. Do you think this time that should be different given how severe this charge is?” VANCE: “Well, I don’t know if it’s different or not. It’s certainly a pretty severe charge but I think you get to a point with President Trump where to take a phrase that Salena coined, you start to take him not literally anymore. And that’s something obviously Devin Nunes say today during a press conference, which is a pretty striking admission from a republican leader of Congress to say that these half-truths or lies get to such a point and they’re uttered so frequently that you stop actually taking the president literally. That’s a pretty striking thing for a guy like Devin to say.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 3/7/17)

## **VANCE APPEARED TO BE CRITICAL OF TRUMP’S COMMENTS SURROUNDING THE EVENTS IN CHARLOTTESVILLE**

### ***Following The Charlottesville Protests, Vance Said Trump “Really Missed An Opportunity To Name This Phenomenon And Gives People A Sense Where It Comes From And Show The Moral Leadership People Want From A President”***

**Following The Charlottesville Protests, Vance Said Trump “Really Missed An Opportunity To Name This Phenomenon And Gives People A Sense Where It Comes From And Show The Moral Leadership People Want From A President.”** BLITZER: “What actually -- get your reaction to the way President Trump has handled this since Saturday. The initial statement didn't specifically name the KKK, anti-Semites, didn't mention the white supremacists, none of that by name. He did yesterday. What do you think are the way he's handled this?” VANCE: “I think the president really missed an opportunity to name this phenomenon and gives people a sense where it comes from and show the moral leadership people want from a president. The thing that's important for folks from my political side, the conservative side of the aisle, have to keep in mind that a lot of the people who feel physically threatened by white supremacists, not people angry by it, the people who see it get upset by it, that's all of us. The people who feel physically threatened by it are, by and large, not those who voted for Donald Trump. When they look to that movement, I think the president needs to show leadership saying you may not have voted for me but I'm coming out to deplore and criticize that particular movement as strongly as I would if it was on the other side of the political spectrum. Many a lot felt the president could have spoken to that. Unfortunately, by not naming it what it was, white supremacism, he missed an opportunity.” (CNN, 8/15/17)

**Vance: “I Think The President Missed An Opportunity Over The Weekend. Hopefully, An Opportunity He Will Take Advantage Of Today To Name This Enemy To Describe It And Then Tell The Country What We Need To Do To Defeat It”**

**Vance: “I Think The President Missed An Opportunity Over The Weekend. Hopefully, An Opportunity He Will Take Advantage Of Today To Name This Enemy To Describe It And Then Tell The Country What We Need To Do To Defeat It.”** JEFF GLOR: “J.D., from-- from your vantage point right now, what should the President be doing?” J.D. VANCE: “Well, I think it is really important for the President to name this particular phenomenon. If you think about all of the controversy about whether Barack Obama said radical Islamic terrorism, there is a real human need for people to have their enemies named and described by their political leaders. And I think the President missed an opportunity over the weekend. Hopefully, an opportunity he will take advantage of today to name this enemy to describe it and then tell the country what we need to do to defeat it.” (CBS’s “This Morning,” 8/14/17)

***Vance Said Trump Was “Ambivalent Or Too Cautious About Coming Out And Criticizing” Racism And Nazism***

**Vance Said Trump Was “Ambivalent Or Too Cautious About Coming Out And Criticizing” Racism And Nazism.** VANCE: “Yes, absolutely. If I was President Trump in this situation, I’d spike the football. This is one of the things that really unites the entire country. Racism is bad. Nazism is bad. We fought a war to defeat Nazism. And the president should not just be -- there’s a sense in which he’s ambivalent or too cautious about coming out and criticizing this stuff.” (CNN, 8/15/17)

***Vance Said Trump Failing To Unite The Country Following Charlottesville Was A “Missed Opportunity”***

**Vance Said Trump Failing To Unite The Country Following Charlottesville Was A “Missed Opportunity.”** VANCE: “Well, I think it is his charge and I do think that he can do that. Obviously, it’s question of whether he chooses to. What really bothers me about last weekend is that if you think about how divided this country is along virtually every dimension, the one thing or one of the few things that really unites us is the idea that Nazis are bad. I mean, we are the country whose grandparents defeated the Nazis. And so, the fact this provides an opportunity for the president to go and say this is the thing that should really unite us together, and it was a missed opportunity. He chose not to name that enemy. He chose not to make it about what unifies us as a country. I do think it’s a missed opportunity and it will continue to be a missed opportunity.” (CNN’s “New Day,” 8/15/17)

**EARLY IN THE TRUMP PRESIDENCY, VANCE INDICATED TRUMP WAS FAILING ON HIS LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES**

***In 2017, Vance Said, “I Think You Hear From A Lot Of Different People If You’re On The Ground In These Areas Talking To People Is A Broad Recognition That Things Aren’t Going Fantastically Well Right Now” Regarding Trump’s Legislative Priorities***

**In 2017, Vance Said, “I Think You Hear From A Lot Of Different People If You’re On The Ground In These Areas Talking To People Is A Broad Recognition That Things Aren’t**

**Going Fantastically Well Right Now” Regarding Trump’s Legislative Priorities. J.D.**

VANCE, CNN CONTRIBUTOR: “Well, I think it’s a little of both, like some of the folks you talk to said he has a long leash, right? Folks aren’t going to abandon him in six months. They’re going to give him a little time to accomplish his agenda. But what you hear, I think you hear from a lot of different people if you’re on the ground in these areas talking to people is a broad recognition that things aren’t going fantastically well right now. And whether going well comes in the form of a big legislative win, whether it means another big victory that Trump can sort of pin his hat on, there is a recognition that folks think that the president could do a little better. And if that persists over the next couple of years, and I do think he will lose not all of his base, but he’ll lose some people. And in a state like Michigan, where he won by 11,000 votes, losing some could be the difference between re-election and not.” (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

**Vance: “Even Though You See Unemployment Numbers Doing Reasonably Well, What’s Happening In Places Like The Industrial Midwest, In Michigan And Ohio, Is That The Economic Recovery Still Hasn’t Fully Set In”**

**Vance: “Even Though You See Unemployment Numbers Doing Reasonably Well, What’s Happening In Places Like The Industrial Midwest, In Michigan And Ohio, Is That The Economic Recovery Still Hasn’t Fully Set In.”** VANCE: “Well, there are a couple of things. The first is that even if the economy is going broadly well, obviously that economy doing well doesn’t reach across all sectors of the country. And so, even though you see unemployment numbers doing reasonably well, what’s happening in places like the industrial Midwest, in Michigan and Ohio, is that the economic recovery still hasn’t fully set in.” (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

***Vance: “A Bigger Problem, I Think, Is The Feeling That The Big Pushes That The President Has Really Made On Health Care, On Some Of These Other Issues, Haven’t Really Materialized”***

**Vance: “A Bigger Problem, I Think, Is The Feeling That The Big Pushes That The President Has Really Made On Health Care, On Some Of These Other Issues, Haven’t Really Materialized.”** (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

***Vance Noted There Was A “Sense That The President Just Isn’t Able To Deliver”***

**Vance Noted There Was A “Sense That The President Just Isn’t Able To Deliver.”** VANCE: “And so, when people see the president really going after a major health care reform effort, and then failing, and when people are still obviously frustrated about the way the health care system is working right now, that leads to this sense that the president just isn’t able to deliver.” (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

**VANCE, AT TIMES, APPEARED DISMISSIVE OF EFFORTS TO HIGHLIGHT FRAUD IN THE 2020 ELECTION**

***After The 2020 Election, Vance Said People Questioning The 2020 Election Results Would Not Become Violent And Also Said Biden Would Be Inaugurated***

**In November 2020, Vance Said He Did Not See The People Protesting Biden’s Win Would Become “Violent Or Chaotic.”** VANCE: “We’re three weeks after the election and there are

these legal challenges working their way through the courts. And people are just preoccupied that Trump needs to accept the legitimacy of the election. I think that hypocrisy, the fact that nobody accepted his election and we're supposed to accept the election so quickly after its done causes some real frustration. I don't think – you look at the last three weeks, you have had a lot of court filings, you've had a lot of peaceful protests, had a lot of people complaining on social media, but really I don't see any reason to think that this is going to become violent or chaotic.” ([The Megyn Kelly Show YouTube Channel](#), 11/28/20, 4:35-5:50)

**Vance: “Frankly, I Don’t Think These Are The Sorts Of People Who Are Going To Go Burn Up Stores And Set Cars On Fire And Make Life A Living Hell For Everybody.”**

VANCE: “People certainly feel that they need to fight and they need to see this through to the end. I think they are supportive of the President continuing the litigation. But frankly, I don't think these are the sorts of people who are going to go burn up stores and set cars on fire and make life a living hell for everybody.” ([The Megyn Kelly Show YouTube Channel](#), 11/28/20, 4:35-5:50)

**Vance: “I Think When Biden Is Inaugurated People Will More Or Less Accept It And It Will Be On To The Next Fight.”** ([The Megyn Kelly Show YouTube Channel](#), 11/28/20, 4:35-5:50)

## **VANCE SERVED WITH THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE – AN ORGANIZATION WITH TIES TO TRUMP CRITICISM**

### ***In 2019, Vance Was Announced By Yuval Levin As A Part-Time Visiting Scholar At The American Enterprise Institute***

**In 2019, Vance Was Announced By Yuval Levin As A Part-Time Visiting Scholar At The American Enterprise Institute.** “American Enterprise Institute (AEI) Resident Scholar Yuval Levin, who directs the Institute’s recently launched Social, Cultural, and Constitutional Studies research division, announced today that several resident and nonresident scholars will be joining AEI to pursue important research work. ... In addition, five new scholars will join AEI in part-time visitor capacities to pursue scholarly projects: ... J.D. Vance is a writer, activist, investor, and author of “Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis” (Harper, 2016).” (American Enterprise Institute, “AEI Announces New Scholars In Its Social, Cultural, And Constitutional Studies Research Division,” [Press Release](#), 8/21/19)

### ***In 2021, Levin Criticized Trump For Promoting “Fraud Conspiracies” That Trump Actually Won The Election***

**In 2021, Levin Criticized Trump For Promoting “Fraud Conspiracies” That Trump Actually Won The Election.** “President Trump himself has obviously encouraged them in this course. He is deeply fluent in the fraud conspiracies, and seems genuinely to believe them — as he has often shown himself incapable of separating fact from fiction too. We now also know that he has tried to get state officials to steal votes for him even as he claims the Democrats stole them away. He is intent on talking a different reality into being and demands that others accept it. To abide and encourage the election-fraud conspiracies is to affirm the web of lies he has been spinning, and the Republican politicians who have chosen to do that know full well that this is what it means. To knowingly pretend a lie is true is, simply put, to lie. Doing that carefully enough to let you claim you're only raising questions only makes it even clearer that you know you're lying. Lying to people is no way to speak for them or represent them. It is a way of showing contempt for them, and of using them rather than being useful to them. This is what too



many Republican politicians have chosen to do in the wake of the election. They have decided to feign anger at a problem that cannot be solved because it does not exist, and this cannot help but make them less capable of taking up real problems on behalf of their voters. And in any case, it makes them cynical liars.” (Yuval Levin, Op-Ed, “Failures of Leadership in a Populist Age,” [National Review](#), 1/4/21)

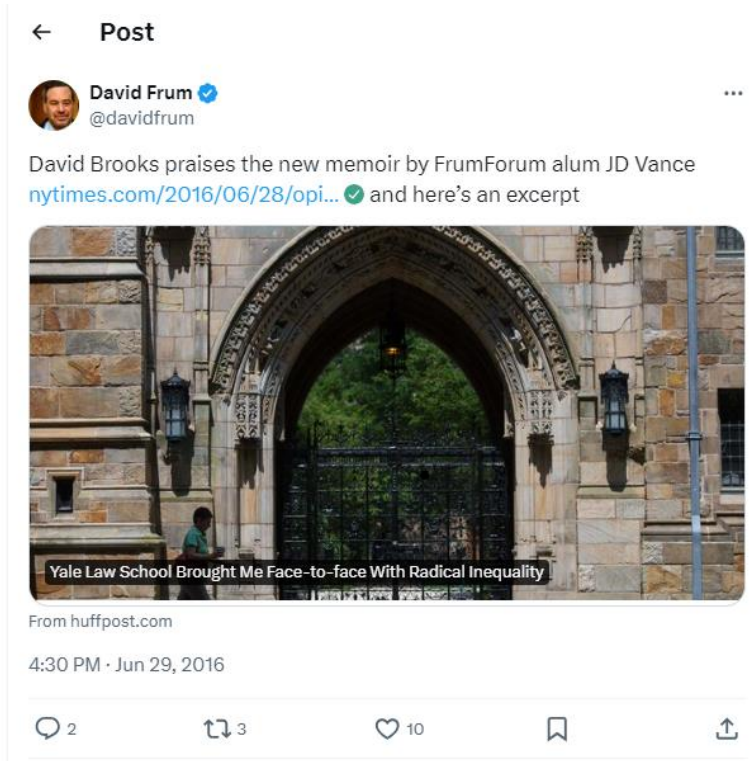
***Following The 2021 Attack On The Capitol, Levin Criticized Trump In The Dispatch And Wrote That “Trump Almost Fully Inhabits A Boorish, Narcissistic Psychodrama Playing In His Head”***

**Following The 2021 Attack On The Capitol, Levin Criticized Trump In *The Dispatch* And Wrote That “Trump Almost Fully Inhabits A Boorish, Narcissistic Psychodrama Playing In His Head.”** “Like so much of what Trump has wrought, the attack on the Capitol had the feel of fiction, and even many of the people involved seemed to be playing out a fantasy in their heads, living in a world in which sinister forces had stolen the election from their lion-hearted hero and they had come to set things straight by a show of strength. It’s all a lie, every part of it, yet the actions taken by the crowd were very real, and very dangerous. There has always been something of this unreality about Trump’s behavior in the presidency. From the very beginning, it has seemed that Trump almost fully inhabits a boorish, narcissistic psychodrama playing in his head. Through the power of his personality and celebrity, he has been able to draw others into that fantasy world for decades, and through the power of the presidency he has now been able to project it onto the real world and draw yet more followers into it.” (Yuval Levin, Op-Ed, “Trump’s Rebellion Against Reality,” [The Dispatch](#), 1/7/21)

**VANCE IS AN ALUM OF THE WEBSITE FORMERLY RUN BY DAVID FRUM - A KNOWN NEVER TRUMPER**

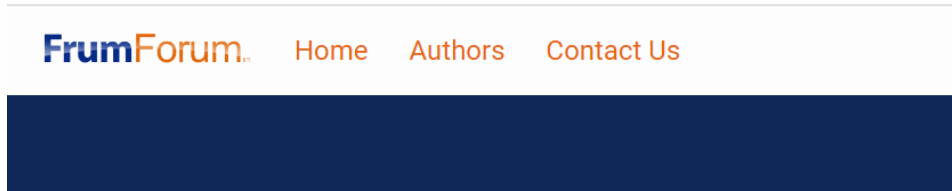
***Vance Is A Former Writer For FrumForum, An Online Forum Founded By David Frum***

**Vance Is A Former Writer For FrumForum, An Online Forum Founded By David Frum.**  
(David Frum Twitter, 6/29/16)



**Vance Wrote Under Hamel At FrumForum**

**Vance Wrote Under Hamel At FrumForum.** ([FrumForum Website](#), Accessed February 2024)



# J.D. Hamel

- [Huntsman: The Truer Conservative](#)
- [Norquist Loses in Ethanol Subsidy Fight](#)
- [What's at Stake in Ryan's Budget](#)
- [Obama's Stealth SCOTUS Pick](#)
- [Wikileaks Shows True Nature of War](#)

([FrumForum Website](#), Accessed February 2024)

***In The Acknowledgments Of Hillbilly Elegy, Vance Thanked Frum***

**In The Acknowledgments Of Hillbilly Elegy, Vance Thanked Frum.** “I’ve been fortunate, too, to have mentors and friends of incredible ability, each of whom ensured that I had access to opportunities I simply didn’t deserve. They include: Ron Selby, Mike Stratton, Shannon Arledge, Shawn Haney, Brad Nelson, David Frum, Matt Johnson, Judge David Bunning, Reihan Salam, Ajay Royan, Fred Moll, and Peter Thiel. Many of these folks read versions of the manuscript and provided critical feedback.” (J.D. Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy*, p. 267)

***Frum, A Former Speechwriter For George W. Bush, Is “One Of The Best Known Never Trumpers” Who “Made His Break With The GOP Long Before Trump”***

**Frum, A Former Speechwriter For George W. Bush, Is “One Of The Best Known Never Trumpers” Who “Made His Break With The GOP Long Before Trump.”** “David Frum, a former speechwriter for George W. Bush and current staff writer at The Atlantic, is one of the best known Never Trumpers, but he’s also an exception, having made his break with the GOP long before Trump.” (David Klion, “David Frum’s Hold Over The Center,” *New Republic*, 5/29/20)

**VANCE HAS TIES TO VARIOUS ADDITIONAL TRUMP-ANTAGONISTS**

***Vance Has Said He Is “Good Friends” With Mike DeWine***

**In 2018, Vance Said He Was “Good Friends” With Mike DeWine.** VANCE: “And in - in poll after poll and person after person that I’ve talked to, you know, I’m good friends with Mike DeWine who luckily eked out a win in the Ohio Governor’s race, the - the consistent theme is that that Republican healthcare bill actually put a little bit of a millstone around Republicans running in the industrial Midwest.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 11/23/18)

**In 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Expressing His Support For Mike DeWine**

**In December 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Expressing His Support For Mike DeWine.** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 12/28/23)



(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 12/28/23)

**Vance Endorsed DeWine For Governor In 2018**

**In 2018, Vance Endorsed Mike DeWine For Governor Of Ohio, Calling Him “The Leader With The Vision And Experience To Lead Ohio.”** “J.D. Vance, author of the bestselling book

'Hillbilly Elogy,' endorsed Attorney General Mike DeWine for governor at a Saturday opioid panel discussion in Dayton. DeWine, who is seeking the Republican nomination, sat on a panel at the Cornerstone Project which does outpatient treatment, was joined by his running mate Jon Husted, Montgomery County Sheriff Phil Plummer, and Mike Ward, founder of the Cornerstone Project. 'The fact that he has made his 12-point action plan to end the opioid epidemic the centerpiece of his campaign shows that Mike DeWine is the leader with the vision and experience to lead Ohio,' Vance, a Middletown native, said in a statement following the panel." (Kaitlin Schroeder, "'Hillbilly Elogy' Author Endorses DeWine," *Dayton Daily News*, 4/7/18)

***Vance Has Previous Ties To Notorious Trump Critic John Kasich***

**Vance Is Advised By A Former Top Aide To Gov. John Kasich**

**In 2016, Vance Planned To Start A Nonprofit With Jai Chabria, A Former Kasich Adviser.** "The name and exact nature of the organization remain undetermined, but Vance will be working with Jai Chabria, a top political adviser to Gov. John Kasich and now manager of a public strategy firm in Columbus." (Alan Johnson, "Voters Went After Change, Author Says," *The Columbus Dispatch*, 11/13/16)

***Vance Previously Supported Notorious Trump Critic John McCain***

**In 2008, Vance Participated In An Al Jazeera Panel Of OSU Students In Support Of Sen. John McCain's 2008 Campaign, Praising McCain's "Political Courage" While Calling On Him To Make "More Of A Distinction" From Obama On "Big Picture, Philosophical Issues."** "Al Jazeera English, the third-largest English language international news network, came to Eddie George's Grill 27 Tuesday. The network hosted a panel of Ohio State students, who watched and discussed the second debate between Sens. Barack Obama and John McCain. ... 'I heard what I needed to hear,' said J.D. Hamel, a senior in political science and philosophy, after the debate. A staunch McCain supporter, Hamel said the Arizona senator's 'political courage' had earned him his support, but wished McCain would have 'made more of a distinction (from Obama) on big picture, philosophical issues.'" (Wilson Dizard, "Al Jazeera Comes To OSU," *The Lantern*, 10/9/08)

**VANCE HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED AS A MODERATE WITH DEMOCRAT TENDENCIES**

***In 2016, Vance Said, "I'm Frankly Not A Libertarian In The Sense That I Think Government Has No Role In Fixing" Societal Problems***

**In 2016, Vance Said, "I'm Frankly Not A Libertarian In The Sense That I Think Government Has No Role In Fixing" Societal Problems.** VANCE: "I think the criticism of the book as this sort of libertarian manifesto is unfair for a couple of reasons. One, because I think I'm criticizing a lot of libertarian arguments for why these problems exist and two, I'm frankly not a libertarian in the sense that I think government has no role in fixing these problems. I just think that the government's role has been overemphasized so I decided to emphasize something else." (Isaac Chotiner, "A Conversation With Hillbilly Elogy Author J.D. Vance.," *Slate*, 8/25/16)

***In 2017, The American Prospect's Robert Kuttner Said That At A Recent Conference He Attended With Vance, Vance "Sounded Almost Like A Democrat"***

**In 2017, The American Prospect's Robert Kuttner Said That At A Recent Conference He Attended With Vance, Vance "Sounded Almost Like A Democrat."** "But J.D. Vance is far from Bannon. Indeed, he could well be the anti-Bannon. He may appeal to same white working class demographic that Bannon does, but Vance is a serious and sober person, and his views have evolved since he wrote that book. At the conference, he sounded almost like a Democrat. Vance is also the opposite of Bannon in that he displays modesty and intellectual curiosity, while Bannon displays a know-nothing swagger and cheap jingoism." (Robert Kuttner, "J.D. Vance: Republican Presidential Nominee In 2032?" *The American Prospect*, 11/21/17)

***In 2017, Vance Was Described As A "Moderate Republican"***

**In 2017, Vance Was Described As A "Moderate Republican."** "Vance, a moderate Republican and a scholar in residence in Ohio State's Department of Political Science, has been hitting the Republican circuit in Ohio, speaking at Lincoln Day dinners and at other gatherings." (Mark Ferencik, "Columbus Author Draws Crowds, Questions About Political Future," *Dayton Daily News*, 8/1/17)

**VANCE PREVIOUSLY HEAPED PRAISE UPON HILLARY CLINTON**

***Vance Praised The 2016 Democratic National Convention While Criticizing The Republican Convention***

**In 2016, Vance Wrote That The Democratic National Convention Was "A Celebration Of America's Promise" And Said The "Cynical Flavor Of Last Week's Republican Convention In Cleveland Bore Little Resemblance."** "This week, the Democrats have gathered in Philadelphia, and though much drama undoubtedly remains, their convention has already struck an upbeat tone. Hillary Clinton earned the endorsement of her chief rival, something Trump failed to do. And in some ways, the Democratic convention itself has been a celebration of America's promise: The first lady, in an implicit shot at Trump, argued eloquently that America is already great; Sen. Cory Booker of New Jersey, striking high notes of optimism, promised the delegates that 'we will rise'; and former president Bill Clinton offered a folksy, loving tribute to his wife. The cynical flavor of last week's Republican convention in Cleveland bore little resemblance." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "Hey Democrats, Do More Than Talk," [USA Today](#), 7/28/16)

***Vance Said There Was A Chance He Would Vote For Clinton If Trump Had A Chance To Win***

**In 2016, Vance Joked That He "Might Write In My Dog" And Said There Was A Chance He Would "Hold My Nose" And Vote For Hillary Clinton If Trump Had A Chance To Win.** GROSS: "...What are you going to do this election, if you don't mind saying?" VANCE: "My current plan is to vote either third party or, as I joked to my wife, I might write in my dog because that's about as good as it seems. But, you know, I think there's a chance, if I feel like Trump has a really good chance of winning, that I might have to hold my nose and vote for Hillary Clinton. But at the end of the day, I just feel like she is so culturally disconnected from the people that I grew up around that it would be very, very hard for me to cast my ballot for her." (NPR's "[Fresh Air](#)," 8/17/16)

**In The Same Interview, Vance Said He Planned To Vote For Third Party Candidate Evan McMullin, Someone “I Really Like,” Since He Couldn’t “Stomach Trump.”** GROSS: “...What are you going to do this election, if you don’t mind saying?” VANCE: “My current plan is to vote either third party or, as I joked to my wife, I might write in my dog because that’s about as good as it seems. But, you know, I think there’s a chance, if I feel like Trump has a really good chance of winning, that I might have to hold my nose and vote for Hillary Clinton. But at the end of the day, I just feel like she is so culturally disconnected from the people that I grew up around that it would be very, very hard for me to cast my ballot for her. So ultimately I think I’ll probably vote third party. I might vote for this new guy who I really like, Evan McMullin, who I actually met the other day. But I think that I’m going to vote third party because I can’t stomach Trump. I think that he’s noxious and is leading the white working class to a very dark place. And ultimately I just don’t share Hillary Clinton’s politics.” (NPR’s [“Fresh Air,”](#) 8/17/16)

***In An Op-Ed, Vance Recalled A Time In His Life When He “Admired President Clinton”***

**In 2017, Vance Praised President Bill Clinton, Recalling How He—As A Young Man—“Admired President Clinton In A Way That Happens When Someone Like You Really Makes It.”** “I wasn’t sophisticated enough to have an opinion on that topic, though I watched the impeachment proceedings like an interested spectator at a sporting event. My politics had started to drift to the right of my family, many of them classic blue dog Democrats. Still, I admired President Clinton in a way that happens when someone like you really makes it. ... Yet it was that very relatability that made Mr. Clinton’s personal failings frightening. The data shows that working-class families like mine face much higher rates of marital strife and domestic instability. Demons like Mr. Clinton’s had haunted my home and family for generations, and at an age when I first began to develop strong feelings about my future, I knew that I wanted to outrun them. I cared little for Mr. Clinton’s elite education, his economic success or even his ascendancy to the most powerful office in the world. I cared that he had managed to build the domestic tranquility that he lacked as a child. But here, in one sex scandal, he had blown it all up. If a man of his abilities had done this, then what hope was there for me?” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**Vance: “As My Grandmother Told Me, Presidents Were Almost Always Rich People, But Bill Clinton Was One Of Us.”** “He was a poor boy with a vaguely Southern accent, raised by a single mother with a heavy dose of loving grandparents. As my grandmother told me, presidents were almost always rich people, but Bill Clinton was one of us.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY HEAPED PRAISE UPON BARACK OBAMA**

***Vance Has Praised Obama For Offering “Hope” And Said He Would “Miss Him” As Obama Was Leaving Office***

**In 2017—While Obama Was Still President—Vance Said He Had “Personal Admiration For The President.”** CAMEROTA: “But, J.D., it’s always interesting to talk to you because of your book, ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’ where your family sort of personifies the working class in the Rust Belt that turned away from Democrats in this election and voted for Donald Trump. So, what do you think all of your folks are feeling at the end of President Obama’s eight years? VANCE:

“Well, I think a lot of them share my personal admiration for the president, and a lot of folks are looking to turn the page politically. I think one of the failures of the Obama years is the failure to recognize I think both from Democrats and Republicans this sense of real existential crisis that a lot of Americans feel. And if you think of the last 15 or so years of politics this way that we sort of have these big swing elections from one party to the other and I think we are in the middle of that, we’re in the middle of a very long political moment where folks are very, very unhappy with how things are going and are constantly looking to turn the page. And I think that is one of the legacies of the president is that he lived in this moment where there was this constant swing first to him and to his party, but now away from him and away from his party.” (CNN’s “New Day,” 1/10/17)

**In A 2017 *New York Times* Op-Ed, Vance Called President Obama “An Admirable Man,” Calling It “One Of The Great Failures Of Recent Political History” That The GOP Was Not Able To Overcome Their “Legitimate Political Disagreements” With Him.** “It is one of the great failures of recent political history that the Republican Party was too often unable to disconnect legitimate political disagreements from the fact that the president himself is an admirable man. Part of this opposition comes from this uniquely polarized moment in our politics, part of it comes from Mr. Obama's leadership style -- more disconnected and cerebral than personal and emotive -- and part of it (though a smaller amount than many on the left suppose) comes from the color of his skin.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

- ***The New York Times* Op-Ed Headline: “Barack Obama And Me”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**While Expressing His Past Differences With Obama, Vance Noted That Obama’s “Example Offered Something No Other Public Figure Could: Hope.”** “I suspected that there were skeletons lurking in his closet, too. Surely this was a man with a secret sex addiction, or at least an alcohol problem. I secretly guessed that before the end of his term, some major personal scandal would reveal his family life to be a sham. I disagreed with many of his positions, so perhaps a dark part of me wanted such a scandal to come out. But it never came. He and his wife treated each other with clear love and respect, and he adored and cared for his children. Whatever scars his childhood left, he refused to let those scars control him. The president's example offered something no other public figure could: hope. I wanted so desperately to have what he had -- a happy marriage and beautiful, thriving children. But I thought that those things belonged to people unlike me, to those who came from money and intact nuclear families. For the rest of us, past was destiny. Yet here was the president of the United States, a man whose history looked something like mine but whose future contained something I wanted. His life stood in stark contrast to my greatest fear.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**Vance: “For At A Pivotal Time In My Life, Barack Obama Gave Me Hope That A Boy Who Grew Up Like Me Could Still Achieve The Most Important Of My Dreams. For That, I’ll Miss Him, And The Example He Set.”** “On Jan. 20, the political side of my brain will breathe a sigh of relief at Mr. Obama's departure. I will hope for better policy from the new administration, a health reform package closer to my ideological preferences, and a new approach to foreign policy. But the child who so desperately wanted an American dream, with a happy family at its core will feel something different. For at a pivotal time in my life, Barack Obama gave me hope that a boy who grew up like me could still achieve the most important of

my dreams. For that, I'll miss him, and the example he set.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**Vance: “I Continue To Think The Racial Explanation Of The Reaction To Obama Doesn't Quite Capture How Much Everything About Him Is Both Envable But Also Dislikable. Because We Dislike The Things That We Envy.”**

“Vance plays down this explanation, but I bring up a line in his book that seems to hint at a racially toned resentment. ‘Obama,’ he writes, ‘strikes at the heart of our deepest insecurities’. ‘I think that Obama is everything that the American meritocracy values at a time when a lot of us feel like the American meritocracy doesn't value very much about us at all,’ he explains. ‘It is just sort of like everything about him. He's like the American ideal at the very moment that we feel like we're the opposite of the American ideal.’ He adds: ‘The natural question that comes - especially in the modern political context as part of that - is the fact he has black skin. I think for some people that's definitely part of it. But I continue to think the racial explanation of the reaction to Obama doesn't quite capture how much everything about him is both enviable but also dislikable. Because we dislike the things that we envy.’” (Paul Lewis, “Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: 'We Dislike The Things We Envy',” *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

***Vance Characterized Obama's “Guns And Religion” Comment As “Well-Intentioned”***

**In 2016, Vance Called Obama's “Guns And Religion” Comment “Well-Intentioned” But “Layered With A Certain Amount Of Condescension.”**

J.D. VANCE: “Yeah. So I think there is precious little dialogue between these two big cultural segments of America. Sort of middle America, fly over country, whatever you want to call it. You know, Donald Trump has become their sort of representative and they're very proud.” ROSE: “And the trouble in Pennsylvania...” VANCE: “Exactly.” ROSE: “... in 2008.” VANCE: “Sure, for saying that folks cling to their guns and religion, right?” ROSE: “Yes.” VANCE: “Which I think was a well-intentioned comments, right? He mentioned that folks were struggling economically and that was his explanation. But it was sort of layered with a certain amount of condescension. You don't – you know, adults that you respect don't clings to things, you might have said a much different way and I don't think the comment would have had nearly the effect that it did if he'd said it in a much more compassionate way.” (PBS's “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

***Vance Claimed Some White Working-Class Voters Supported Trump Because Of A Racially Motived Backlash To Obama***

**In 2017, Vance Disputed Claims That White Working-Class Voters Supported Trump Because Of A Racially-Motivated Backlash Against Barack Obama.**

“Trump's election was seen, at least in part, as a backlash from white, working-class voters frustrated at their relative decline in status in America – symbolized, of course, by its first black president. Vance plays down this explanation, but I bring up a line in his book that seems to hint at a racially toned resentment. ‘Obama,’ he writes, ‘strikes at the heart of our deepest insecurities.’ ‘I think that Obama is everything that the American meritocracy values at a time when a lot of us feel like the American meritocracy doesn't value very much about us at all,’ he explains. ‘It is just sort of like everything about him. He's like the American ideal at the very moment that we feel like we're the opposite of the American ideal.’ He adds: ‘The natural question that comes – especially in the modern political context as part of that – is the fact he has black skin. I think for some people that's definitely part of it. But I continue to think the racial explanation of the reaction to Obama doesn't quite capture how much everything about him is both enviable but also dislikable.



Because we dislike the things that we envy.’” (Paul Lewis, “Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: ‘We Dislike The Things We Envy,’” *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

**Vance Said That Trump Was More Relatable Than Obama, Because Obama “Talks In A Way That A Professor Talks” While “Trump Talks Like A Guy At A Bar In West Virginia.”** “There is an arrogance to Obama’s demeanour, he adds, that makes him especially difficult to relate to. ‘He talks in a way that a professor talks, he talks in a way that you sort of aspire to talk if you’re a young law student. Trump talks like a guy at a bar in West Virginia. Trump talks like my dad sitting around the dinner table.’” (Paul Lewis, “Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: ‘We Dislike The Things We Envy,’” *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

## **VANCE HAS PRAISED DEMOCRATIC-SOCIALIST BERNIE SANDERS**

### ***Vance Said Bernie Sanders Was His Favorite Democrat Running In The 2020 Democrat Primary***

**In 2019, Vance Said His Three Favorite Democrats In Order In Terms Of Policy Outcomes Were Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, And Tulsi Gabbard.** VANCE: “So I did this event at the Yale Federalist Society recently where they asked me for my three favorite Democrats purely in terms of policy outcomes. And I said in order, Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Tulsi Gabbard.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 26:24-26:48)

**Vance: “And The Reason Is That, One, I Think Those Are The Three Candidates Who Are The Least Crazy On The Cultural Issues In The Democratic Party And Two, I Think Those Are The Candidates Least Likely To Start A Stupid War In The Democratic Party.”** ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 26:24-26:48)

**Vance Said That Three Years Before His 2019 Comments, He Said If Sanders Ran Against Trump In 2020, Sanders Would Win.** VANCE: “I think I said this publicly three years ago that I thought Trump would run against Bernie in 2020 and I thought if he did, Bernie would win. I think that’s a real possibility.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 31:25-31:35)

### ***Vance Predicted That Trump Was Part Of A Political Realignment That Would Position Trump And Bernie Sanders On The Same Side In 20 Years***

**In 2017, Vance Claimed That Trump Was Part Of A Political Realignment, Predicting That “In 20 Years” Trump And Sen. Bernie Sanders Would Be In The Same Party, While Paul Ryan And Hillary Clinton Would Be In A Different Party.** “This writer pressed Vance on how to gauge the Trumpian upheaval that has gripped the capitol and filled airports and public squares with protesters this past week. Vance described an ongoing conversation with Michael Lind, cofounder of the New America Foundation, and a contributor to Politico. ‘He argued something that earned a lot of scorn and a lot of derision, but he said basically what we’re witnessing is a political realignment, which we haven’t seen since the 1930s,’ Vance explained. Then came this jawdropper: ‘In 20 years, Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders will be in the same party. And in 20 years, Hillary Clinton and Paul Ryan will be in the same party. I think that is very, very interesting and that shift will be a big part of where we go over the next 20 or 30 years.’ During the Indiana presidential primary, Hoosiers witnessed both Trump and Sanders insisting that the economic and political systems were ‘rigged.’ Both used the Carrier and United Technology job flight to Mexico as evidence. But on the ideological spectrum, they were

approaching the vortex seemingly 180 degrees apart.” (Brian Howey, “Trump Ushers In A Political Realignment,” *Journal Review*, 2/4/17)

## **VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE ONCE INDICATED THAT JOE BIDEN COULD HAVE BEAT TRUMP IN 2016**

### ***In 2016, Vance Said Biden “Could Have Done A Lot Better” Than Hillary Clinton***

**In 2016, Vance Said Biden “Could Have Done A Lot Better” Than Hillary Clinton.**

LEMON: “And I misspoke. That was July. That wasn't today. So what's the issue there and would Biden have done a better you think?” VANCE: “I think Biden could have done a lot better because he at least recognized that there's a lot of pain in these communities and what the vice president said there is very true, that a lot of voters feels so ignored that there was a relatively low bar. All they wanted was somebody who recognized that they were struggling and who really sold a political agenda, a political narrative that was tailored to them. Trump was the only guy that did that this election cycle.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 11/9/16)

## **FOLLOWING THE END OF TRUMP’S PRESIDENCY, VANCE PRAISED TRUMP’S POLICY AND WAS AN ACTIVE SUPPORTER OF HIS 2020 RE-ELECTION**

### ***Vance In 2021: I “Ultimately Pulled The Trigger And Encouraged A Lot Of My Friends To ... Pull The Lever For Donald Trump In 2020”***

**Vance In 2021: I “Ultimately Pulled The Trigger And Encouraged A Lot Of My Friends To ... Pull The Lever For Donald Trump In 2020.”** VANCE: “Yeah. That’s- that’s- that’s exactly right actually. And you know, 1 of the interesting things about you know, you- you think about my trajectory, you know, I was an investor working in California when Trump was running. I was you know, this book had just come out. I- I was sort of anti-Trump and you know, didn’t really think about politics. Obviously, I was in California so my vote didn’t count that much. And so, I- I wrote somebody in in California and then you know, got more and more supportive of the president and ultimately pulled the trigger and encouraged a lot of my friends to pull uh, you know, pull- pull the lever for Donald Trump in 2020.” (Sebastian Gorka, “Reinvigorating America’s Heartland: J.D. Vance Talks With Sebastian Gorka,” [American Greatness](#), 3/10/21)

### ***Vance: “I Was Really Happy With The Policy. And So, That’s What Caused Me To Become A Trump Supporter”***

**Vance: “I Was Really Happy With The Policy. And So, That’s What Caused Me To Become A Trump Supporter.”** VANCE: “And you know, wa- 1 of the interesting things people always ask me ‘What- what changed? You know, what did you learn in those 4 years?’ And I think the easy stock answer is well, I didn’t think the policy was going to be that good and the policy was much better than it was than I thought it was going to be. I was really happy with the policy. And so, that’s what caused me to become a Trump supporter. And I- I think the- the actual answer for me is- is much more- is much more, you know, from the gut. It’s that in 2016, I was a kid who is being at an just a fundamental level recruited into the American Elite. I was invited to all of these circles. (Sebastian Gorka, “Reinvigorating America’s Heartland: J.D. Vance Talks With Sebastian Gorka,” [American Greatness](#), 3/10/21)

***Vance Has Attacked Trump's Ban From Social Media Outlets***

**In 2021, Vance Criticized Facebook And Twitter's Decision To Ban Donald Trump's Accounts, Say It Was "Censorship" That Not Only Threatened Trump's Speech, But Also The "75 Million People That Voted For Trump In 2020."** INGRAHAM: "Trump came along and said it doesn't have to be this way, and now he is suddenly shut off Twitter and Facebook. And they are relishing squelching his freedom of speech." VANCE: "That's exactly right. And of course, it's not just about President Trump. It's also about his voters. If you are a supporter, if you're one of those 75 million people that voted for Trump in 2020, you recognize that the censorship that's directed against him can be and has been directed against you, either through firings, either through shadow banning or Twitter just making it impossible for you to post. And so these things influence and affect the broader public discourse in this country." (Fox News' "Ingraham Angle," 2/17/21)

***Vance Blasted Calls From Democrats To Hold Former Trump Administration Officials Accountable After He Left Office***

**In 2020, Former Clinton Labor Secretary Robert Reich Called For A "Truth And Reconciliation Commission" When Trump Left Office.** "When this nightmare is over, we need a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It would erase Trump's lies, comfort those who have been harmed by his hatefulness, and name every official, politician, executive, and media mogul whose greed and cowardice enabled this catastrophe." ([Robert Reich Twitter Feed](#), 10/17/20)

***Vance Blasted The Idea In An Appearance On Fox News, And Accused Democrats Of Wanting "Revenge" Rather Than Truth And Reconciliation***

**Vance Blasted The Idea In An Appearance On Fox News, And Accused Democrats Of Wanting "Revenge" Rather Than Truth And Reconciliation.** CARLSON: "J.D. Vance is the author of the book, 'Hillbilly Elegy.' We're always happy to have him on the show, J.D., great to see you. So it strikes me that one of the many ironies here is that a lot of people, maybe a lot of higher income voters want the chaos to end, they want something calmer, so -- and they want -- they do want like actual reconciliation, which is good, and so they're voting for Biden in the hope of that. His supporters calling for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission doesn't sound like a first step toward reconciliation to me." J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, 'HILLBILLY ELEGY': "No, it doesn't, Tucker, and this really is, like you said, torn from a page out of a George Orwell novel because there's -- you know, who can protest truth or reconciliation? But a Truth and Reconciliation Commission would not be about truth and it wouldn't be about reconciliation, it would be about revenge." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 10/19/20)

**Vance: "Instead Of Trying To Win The Next Election And Moving On With The Life Of American Democratic Politics, They Want To Go Backwards And Punish Everybody, And I Just Can't Help But Think, Why Are You Guys Being Total Babies And Talking About This?"**

**Vance: "Instead Of Trying To Win The Next Election And Moving On With The Life Of American Democratic Politics, They Want To Go Backwards And Punish Everybody, And I Just Can't Help But Think, Why Are You Guys Being Total Babies And Talking About This?"** (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 10/19/20)

***Vance Worried That Reich's Proposal Would Make It More Difficult To Staff Future Republican Administrations***

**Vance Worried That Reich's Proposal Would Make It More Difficult To Staff Future Republican Administrations.** VANCE: "I think it definitely is, and what worries me most about this, Tucker, isn't what it means about those who worked in the Trump administration. Those who maybe can't find jobs now that they're looking for jobs in the private sector. I see it more as a warning for the future, whether it's a second Trump administration or a Republican President who comes after." CARLSON: "That's right." VANCE: "Really what this is saying is you're going to be punished for trying to implement your ideals and principles into the work of government. As you know well, you can't actually run a government with just one guy. A President is obviously the most important piece. But you need people running the Cabinet departments. You need people working at the White House. And if the warning that's out there is we're going to come after you if you work in the administration of somebody who holds your values, then it's going to be harder to actually staff a Republican government in the future." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 10/19/20)

## VANCE'S QUESTIONABLE CONSERVATISM

### VANCE ONCE ADMITTED THAT WORKING CLASS AMERICANS BENEFIT FROM DEMOCRAT-POLICIES

*In 2016, Vance Said White Working-Class Voters Could “Benefit” From Some Democrat Economic Policies Versus Those From Republicans*

**In 2016, Vance Said White Working-Class Voters Could “Benefit” From Some Democrat Economic Policies Versus Those From Republicans.** “While Vance conceded that white working-class voters could 'benefit' from some Democratic economic policies versus those from their Republican counterparts, there's a reason why so many in that voting bloc are hesitant to switch to the Democratic ticket.' Even though they recognize that they need some help, they're very proud in some ways and they're not going to be as attracted to a political candidate or a political party that's fundamentally offering them free money or handouts in some way or another,' he said.” (Rahel Gebreyes, “Author J.D. Vance Explains Why Rural, White Communities Support Trump,” *The Huffington Post*, 8/16/16)

### VANCE ONCE CRITICIZED TRUMP'S “CORE DOMESTIC POLICY PRIORITIES”

*In 2017, Vance Reflected On Trump's “Core Domestic Policy Priorities,” Claiming It Was “Not Looking Especially Good Right Now”*

**In 2017, Vance Reflected On Trump's “Core Domestic Policy Priorities,” Claiming It Was “Not Looking Especially Good Right Now.”** LEMON: “J.D., is he right? Because our new poll shows 52 percent of Americans see the president's approach to the presidency as an unnecessary risk. Forty-seven percent say it's a necessary shakeup. What do you think?” VANCE: “Well, he is fundamentally arguing that he is being unconventional. And obviously it sounds like a fair number of voters actually agree with that. The thing about those risks is it really matters what consequence they eventually have. And I think that we're at this stage right now where Trump can argue persuasively that he has been an unconventional president. But that has to lead somewhere. If it leads to a tax reform proposal that fundamentally hurts his own voters, if it leads to health care reform proposal that starts to hurt his own voters or hurt the country, then that's not going to mean anything that he is unconventional. You can be unconventionally right or unconventionally wrong. And I think it's way too early to tell. But you know, fundamentally, the conversation has to turn to is Donald Trump making the lives of majority Americans better? Or is he enabling them to make their own lives better? And right now, it's too early to say. But the core domestic policy priorities, the core domestic policy proposals that he's put out there, even though they are obviously not very detailed, to the degree that there are details, it's not looking especially good right now.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 4/26/17)

*Vance: “I Just Don't See The Evidence That We're Being Serious About The Policies That Are Necessary To Move The Country Forward Yet”*

**Vance: “I Just Don't See The Evidence That We're Being Serious About The Policies That Are Necessary To Move The Country Forward Yet.”** VANCE: “And I say that of course as a

conservative who really wants this president to succeed in certain ways. But I just don't see the evidence that we're being serious about the policies that are necessary to move the country forward yet.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 4/26/17)

## **VANCE WAS CRITICAL OF THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION’S 2017 TAX CUTS BILL**

### ***In 2018, Vance Criticized Republicans For Living In The 1980s With The Party’s Tax And Health Care Reform Policies***

**In 2018, Vance Criticized Republicans For Living In The 1980s With The Party’s Tax And Health Care Reform Policies.** “Vance is more scathing still when he discusses a broader Republican party that he sees as intellectually ossified. It cleared the way for Trump, he argues, by blindly pushing an agenda of Reaganesque trickle-down economics and engaging in misplaced military adventures in the years before the real estate developer’s brash arrival. ‘I wasn’t as critical of my party in 2016 as I was the person,’ he says. ‘But when I look at tax reform, when I look at healthcare reform, I see Trump as the least worrisome part of the Republican party’s problem, which is that we are basically living in the 1980s. We are constantly trying to resurrect domestic policies from the 1980s.’” (Shawn Donnan, “Hillbilly Elegist JD Vance: ‘The People Calling The Shots Really Screwed Up’,” [Financial Times](#), 2/2/18)

### ***Vance Criticized Republicans For Cutting Taxes For The Wealthy And Cutting The Social Safety Net***

**Vance Criticized Republicans For Cutting Taxes For The Wealthy And Cutting The Social Safety Net.** “Such as? ‘Let’s cut taxes for the wealthy! Let’s cut the social safety net! . . . The fundamental thesis that underlined basic Republican policies in the early 1980s, which is right, is that you had an economy which was simultaneously stagnating and experiencing high inflation. I don’t think the primary problem facing the American economy right now is that. It is that the opportunities that are out there require an adjustment in skills, an adjustment in training . . . And if that’s the problem, I don’t necessarily see how unleashing tax cuts for the wealthy . . .’ Vance trails off as our food arrives. The tacos are small enough that I immediately order another.” (Shawn Donnan, “Hillbilly Elegist JD Vance: ‘The People Calling The Shots Really Screwed Up’,” [Financial Times](#), 2/2/18)

### ***In 2019, Vance Criticized The 2017 Tax Reform Law As “Ok, It Wasn’t Terrible, But It Wasn’t Great”***

**In 2019, Vance Criticized The 2017 Tax Reform Law As “Ok, It Wasn’t Terrible, But It Wasn’t Great.”** VANCE: “When I think about the tax cut legislation which was ok, it wasn’t terrible, but it wasn’t great. If I think about the health care legislation which I think was genuinely a moral and political disaster and I am glad that it never passed.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 10:52-11:06)

### ***It Should Be Noted That Vance Was Also Critical Of The Bush-Era Tax Cuts***

**In 2016, Vance Criticized The Bush Tax Cuts For Not Creating Jobs.** “What unites Trump’s voters is a sense of alienation from the wealthy and powerful. People with Ivy League degrees lord over our business and political institutions, yet zero graduates of my high school class

attended an Ivy League undergraduate college. People in my hometown voted for President Reagan because he promised that tax cuts would bring higher wages and new jobs. It seemed he was right, so we voted for the next Republican promising tax cuts and job creation, George W. Bush. He wasn't right." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "Trump Fans Feel Betrayed By G.W. Bush," *Tulare Advance-Register*, 2/18/16)

**Vance Has Criticized The Republican Party For Pushing Tax Cuts, Deregulation, And Free Trade For Not Addressing A "Very Real Social Crisis That's Going On In The White Working Class."** VANCE: "The other side, I think, is that for many years, the Republican elites, the part of the party that really drives policy has pushed a combination of tax cuts, deregulation, free trade, those policies, whatever their merit as matters of good government, have not addressed, I think, a very real social crisis that's going on in the white working class." (MSNBC's "All In With Chris Hayes," 8/2/16)

*Additionally, Vance Has Noted His Opposition To Supply-Side Tax Cuts*

**Vance Claimed He Was Disinvited From Joining Jeb Bush's Campaign Due To His Opposition To Supply-Side Tax Cuts.** "In hindsight, the group contained all kinds of ideological fissures that would prevent it from exercising greater influence on national politics—most notably on immigration, with hardliners and doves about equally represented. Though intellectually enriching, it was also a bit awkward: I had, just weeks earlier, been invited to join Jeb Bush's then-promising presidential campaign on one day, and then uninvited the very next. The problem? I had written in 2012 that an obsession with supply-side tax cuts was equal measures politically stupid and morally unjust, and someone on the campaign had uncovered my transgression." (JD Vance, "End the Globalization Gravy Train," *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

**VANCE HAS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR INCREASING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX RATE**

*Vance Supports Raising The Capital Gains Tax Rate*

**In 2017, Vance Said He Supported Senator Mike Lee's Proposal To Increase The Capital Gains Tax Rate To That Of Ordinary Income.** VANCE: "This is one area where I actually think conservative Senator Mike Lee from Utah has had some really really interesting ideas. One of tax reform proposals Senator Lee has advocated for is actually setting the capital taxation rate at the same rate as they ordinary income rate. Because that's what is really driving this difference, right. It's not ordinary income earners. It's not salaried professionals." ([Brookings Institution YouTube Channel](#), 9/6/17, 1:45:27-1:45:45)

**In 2017, Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) Wrote That A Capital Gains Tax Rate That Was Lower Than The Labor Income Rate Gave Preferential Treatment To Wealthier Americans.**

"Problem number two is that the federal government, as usual, has not kept up with the change, and indeed, has only exacerbated the problem. For instance, Washington still taxes investment income at much lower rates than labor income on the outdated logic that Americans' dividends and capital gains will be reinvested in the national economy. But what in 1981 may have incentivized a virtuous economic cycle in 2017 may just be giving preferential treatment to rich Americans for creating jobs in other countries." (Sen. Mike Lee, Op-Ed, "How Congress And Trump Can Reform Taxes To Put America First," [The Federalist](#), 1/23/17)

**Lee Proposed Raising The Tax Rates On Capital Gains And Dividends.** “It would also, of course, reduce federal revenue. But lost revenue could be recouped, at least in part, by raising the tax rates on capital gains and dividends. That’s step two. Taken together, these two changes would transfer the workers’ share of the corporate tax onto American investors, who, again, are the natural and disproportionate beneficiaries of globalization relative to American workers.” (Sen. Mike Lee, Op-Ed, “How Congress And Trump Can Reform Taxes To Put America First,” [The Federalist](#), 1/23/17)

## **VANCE HAS CALLED TO RAISE TAXES ON U.S. BUSINESSES IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES**

### ***Vance Called For Taxing Firms That Produce Goods Overseas***

**In 2020, Vance Called For Taxing Firms That Produce Goods Overseas And Using The Proceeds To Subsidize Firms That Bring Their Manufacturing Back To The United States.** “Most of the interesting ideas on the Right—from Patrick Deneen’s critique of liberalism to Peter Thiel’s long efforts against globalization—unsurprisingly come from thinkers not subject to the financial pressures of Conservatism, Inc. Though it’s still early, an anti-globalization agenda has begun to take shape. We should tax the labor arbitrage so many ‘U.S. firms’ depend on, while subsidizing—as Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has proposed—firms to move some of their manufacturing capacity back to the United States.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” [The American Mind](#), 4/21/20)

## **VANCE APPEARS TO SUPPORT HIGHER TAXES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT CHILDREN**

### ***In 2021, Vance Said He Supports Higher Taxes For People Who Do Not Have Children***

**In 2021, Vance Said He Supports Higher Taxes For People Who Do Not Have Children.** VANCE: “I will go back to something I said earlier. We need to reward the things that we think are good and punish the things that we think are bad. So you talk about tax policy. Let’s tax the things that are bad and not tax the things that are good. If you are making \$100,000, \$400,000 a year and you’ve got three kids you should pay a different lower tax rate than if you are making the same amount of money and you don’t have any kids.” ([Charlie Kirk YouTube Channel](#), 3/22/21, 40:28-21:00)

## **VANCE HAS SOMEWHAT FLIP-FLOPPED ON CUTS TO THE FEDERAL BUDGET**

### ***In 2017, Vance Warned That GOP Budget Cuts Were Evidence That Trump And Republicans In Congress Were Not Focused On “Core Constituencies”***

**In 2017, Vance Criticized GOP-Led Budget Cuts, Claiming The Political Calculus “Hasn’t Actually Been Especially Thoughtful” And Were Evidence That Trump And Congress Had Not Focused On “Core Constituencies.”** CABRERA: “So it’s not just the health care issue. President Trump’s budget proposes massive cuts to food stamps. J.D. of the top ten states with the largest percentage of people on food stamps, seven of them voted for Trump. What is the Trump administration putting on (INAUDIBLE) on his proposed budget?” VANCE: “Well, my guess is that the political calculus hasn’t actually been especially thoughtful (ph). My guess here



is that what's effectively happened is that the Trump administration has outsourced domestic policy to Congress and hasn't really focused on some of its core constituencies and hasn't really thought very seriously about the fact that a lot of what's being proposed is, one, very contrary to what Donald Trump promised during the campaign, and more importantly, is actually contrary to what a lot of his core voters want in this very moment. And republicans have to deal with that real contradiction that exists in their constituency. You have very ideological folks who maybe are excited about tackling some of these government programs. And you have the base of working in middle class Republican voters who actually like some of these programs, or even if they don't like them, they don't want them completely taken away. So, that calculus needs to be made within the White House. And if it is not, I do think the Republicans across the board are going to pay a pretty heavy political price.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 5/28/17)

***In 2017, Vance Noted He Supports Using Government Spending To Solve Social Problems***

**In 2017, Vance Said That A “Fundamental Problem That Conservatives Have To Accept Is That Sometimes You Have To Spend Money To Solve Social Problems.”** VANCE: “The fundamental hill we have to get over, the fundamental problem that conservatives have to accept is that sometimes you have to spend money to solve social problems. Not always. Does that mean that government is always the answer? Certainly, it doesn’t.” ([Brookings Institution YouTube Channel](#), 9/6/17, 1:36:30-1:37:05)

**Vance: “I Think The Sort Of Baseline Constant Refusal To Accept That Sometimes You Have To Spend Money Is At The Core Of Our Real Problem. And If We Can Get Past That, I Actually Think There Might Be Some Good Ideas Coming Out And Hopefully I Can Be A Part Of That.”** ([Brookings Institution YouTube Channel](#), 9/6/17, 1:36:30-1:37:05)

***However, Vance Supported The 2011 Ryan Budget***

**In April 2011, Vance Criticized The Anticipated Anger At The Ryan Budget Plan, Which Trimmed Nearly \$4 Trillion From The 10-Year Budget.** “Paul Ryan’s budget plan could spur an intelligent conversation on spending. But what we’ll probably hear from the left are the same scare tactics and budget cut horror stories. Tomorrow, Rep. Paul Ryan will release his highly anticipated budget plan. Early reports suggest that along with serious changes to Social Security and Medicare, the budget will trim nearly \$4 trillion from the 10-year budget deficit. I don’t know how the Left will react, but I’m confident that they’ll overreact. And I’m hoping that when the dust settles, we’re having a more intelligent conversation about spending cuts than we’ve had during my lifetime.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

**Vance Wrote That Budget Cuts Were Coming Due To The Welfare System Depending On A Rapidly Growing Population.** “Of all the things I can’t stand about politics, the tendency to emotionalize a difficult topic is probably the worst. Budget cuts hurt—just ask our friends in the United Kingdom. But budget cuts are coming, because our entire welfare system depends on a false premise: a rapidly growing population. It’s a pretty simple concept: the taxes from young workers support the benefits of elderly dependents, so the system works fine so long as the young significantly outnumber the old. Our system is stressed because the number of retirees is growing at a faster pace than the number of workers. And America is actually relatively lucky; most countries in Western Europe face a far more serious population problem than we do.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

- **Vance: “Without Serious Budget Cuts, America Will Transfer Trillions Of Dollars From The Yet To Be Born To The Living. Every Dollar Spent Is A Dollar That Must Be Taxed, And The Left Seems Oblivious To The Fact That The Tax Burden Of Today’s Profligacy Will Fall Hardest On Future Citizens. How’s That For Wealth Redistribution?”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

**Although Vance Wrote Was, “Not One Of Those Conservatives Who Shudders At Any Mention Of Tax Increases,” He Opposed Tax Increases To Fill The Budget Gap.** “The other answer, of course, is to raise taxes on people now. That’s not a great idea, as economists from across the political spectrum argue that raising taxes in the midst of a recession is bad for growth, and growth is the one thing that can close the budget gap faster than entitlement reform. More importantly, increased revenue will only take us so far—with a projected deficit of well over \$1 trillion next year, a return to pre-Bush era tax rates would fill, at best, about 10 percent of our current fiscal hole. I am not one of those conservatives who shudders at any mention of tax increases, but like every thoughtful American, I realize that soaking the rich is a painfully inadequate solution.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

- **Vance: “The Way Forward Is As Obvious As It Is Politically Difficult: Streamline The Tax Code, Reform Current Entitlements And Avoid Enacting New Ones.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)
- **Vance Said If Democrats “Gave A Damn About Inequality In This Country, They’d Be Leading The Charge For Budget Cuts Instead Of Opposing Them.”** “And the whole time, I’ll be thinking to myself: if these people gave a damn about inequality in this country, they’d be leading the charge for budget cuts instead of opposing them.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

## **VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY SIGNALLED SUPPORT FOR DISTORTING THE FREE-MARKET WITH FEDERAL SUBSIDIES**

### ***Vance Called Grover Norquist A “Fiscal Phony” For Opposing Ending Ethanol Subsidies***

**In A 2011 Op-Ed On Ethanol Subsidies, Vance Wrote That “Tom Coburn Was The Fiscal Conservative While Grover Norquist Was A Fiscal Phony.”** “During the debate over ending ethanol subsidies, Tom Coburn was the fiscal conservative while Grover Norquist was a fiscal phony.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

**Vance Criticized Norquist For Opposing Ending Ethanol Subsidies.** “The media largely framed the debate over ethanol subsidies between Senator Tom Coburn and Americans for Tax Reform president Grover Norquist as a contrast between two approaches to deficit reduction: Coburn’s pragmatic willingness to raise more revenue on the one hand, and Norquist’s ideologically-rigid opposition to tax increases on the other. That’s one way to look at it. But there’s a better way to look at it: Tom Coburn is the ideologically-consistent conservative, and Grover Norquist is a fiscal phony. It’s worth remembering exactly what ethanol subsidies are. As ‘tax expenditures’ they redirect money from the US Treasury to a particular group -- in this case corn farmers -- to provide financial incentives for that group to engage in a certain behavior.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

**Vance: “As Grover Norquist Is Undoubtedly Aware, Taxpayer Dollars Don’t Grow On Trees. The Money That Pays For Ethanol Subsidies Is Confiscated From The American Public At Large. So While The Farm Lobby Benefits From The Expenditures, The Rest Of Us In The Form Of Higher Taxes Or Increased Deficit Spending.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

**Vance: “To Call The End Of These Subsidies -- A Government Transfer Program -- A Tax Increase Is Possibly The Most Un-Conservative Argument That I Have Ever Heard.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

## **VANCE HAS QUESTIONED CONSERVATIVES FOR PRIORITIZING AMERICA’S BUSINESSES**

### ***Vance Previously Criticized Conservatives For Prizing Corporate Interests***

**In 2019, Vance Defended Tucker Carlson After Carlson Argued Against A Conservatism That “Consistently Prizes Commercial Interests Above Those Of Everyone Else.”** “Tucker Carlson’s monologue heard round the world is interesting on its own terms. In it, he argues against a conservatism that consistently prizes commercial interests above those of everyone else. I encourage you to watch or read it in full. Yet the response on the right is as interesting as Carlson’s monologue itself, for it reveals a discomfort among some conservatives for balancing the tensions that exist in our coalition and in our ideology. There is, by many on the right, an effort to sing the praises of market capitalism without acknowledging the tensions between our pro-market principles and everything else.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The Health Of Nations,” [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

**Vance Also Criticized Ben Shapiro For Defending “Supply And Demand Economics.”** “I respect Ben Shapiro a great deal, but I found this paragraph in his response to Carlson curious: Supply and demand economics has powered most of the world’s human beings out of extreme poverty, and led to the richest society in human history. It has allowed us to live longer, in bigger houses, in more comfort. It has meant fewer dead children and more living parents. If we’ve blown that advantage, that’s our own fault. Traditional conservatives recognized that the role of economics is to provide prosperity — to raise the GDP. The role of a social fabric and a value system is to provide meaning.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The Health Of Nations,” [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

**Vance Pointed To The Pharmaceutical Industry And The Explosion Of Opioids And Said That In Some Cases “You Need Some Government Intervention.”** “Some economic libertarians might say that these problems are the consequence of bad individual choices, and I wouldn’t entirely disagree. I grew up in a family plagued by addiction, and I saw some bad choices. Yet bad choices simply aren’t enough to explain the crisis — people have always made bad choices, and the familial, neighborhood, and economic contexts in which they live can exacerbate or improve them. Others might admit that it’s not all bad choices, that bad policy plays a role, but oddly the bad policy they point to is almost always the negative incentives of the welfare state. Again, they have a point — our welfare state is far from perfect, especially when it comes to encouraging work and family formation — but there are many other policies at play here. To keep the focus on the opioid epidemic, the Los Angeles Times’ reporting on the role of the pharmaceutical industry is both excellent and disturbing. It chronicles the ways in

which some companies gamed our regulatory system to obtain approval and patent protection for highly addictive drugs. Those companies then knowingly lied about the safety of those drugs to doctors and patients. Some commentators have framed their problem with Tucker's argument as promoting "government intervention" when that same intervention is the problem. But if you want to protect a community from drugs that can take hold of a person's mind and destroy whole neighborhoods soon thereafter, you need some government intervention." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "The Health Of Nations," [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

**Vance Wrote That Corporate Interests Do Not Always Align With Civil Society's Interests.** "Of course, the recognition that corporate interests might not always align with civil society's interests comes from the patron saint of capitalism, Adam Smith. We simply must develop the intellectual ability to understand the way in which law and policy drive outcomes in our society besides creating bad incentives for poor people. Sometimes they create bad incentives for the rich. Sometimes they allow the incentives that already exist to run roughshod over our communities and families. The market, as Smith understood, is merely a tool — a powerful tool, yes. But if we care about the flourishing of our society, and if we value ends besides a larger GDP, then we have to do the difficult work of balancing the competing demands of our values. Instead, many of our intellectuals simply pretend there is no competition — that what is good for markets is good for the rest of our nation. This is a recipe for boring thinking and bad policy." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "The Health Of Nations," [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

***Vance Criticized The Practice Of Offering Economic Incentives To Companies To Relocate***

**In 2018, Vance Criticized Local Governments For Seeking To "Effectively Bribe" Companies Like Amazon To Relocate There.** "One of the things I have not been excited about is the desire from a lot of folks to effectively bribe companies to relocate to their areas as opposed to creating something of real value that is home grown. In Columbus, Ohio (like Indianapolis), for example, they're one of the finalists for Amazon HQ2. 'I understand 100% why the individual business and civic leaders want to get Amazon in their city, but at the same time it would be great if they spent as many resources trying to foster and create the next Amazon. Columbus is doing a lot of great things to attract and retain and build up the entrepreneurial ecosystem. I'd love to see more of that and a little less of spending money to convince Amazon to relocate.'" (Thom Schuman, "Words Of Wisdom," [BizVoice](#), 09/18)

**AppHarvest – A Company In Which Vance Invested – Accepted \$2.5 Million In Tax Incentives From The State Of Kentucky In 2017.** "AppHarvest, financed in part by an investment group co-managed by 'Hillbilly Elegy' author J.D. Vance, has experienced significant delays since it was first approved for state tax incentives totaling \$2.5 million in February 2017. Company officials said at the time that construction of a 2 million square-foot greenhouse in Pikeville would begin in June of that year. 'It's very difficult, it's very difficult, but we're charging every day,' Jonathan Webb, founder and chief executive officer at AppHarvest, told a crowded gymnasium Monday at Shelby Valley." (Will Wright, "AppHarvest Launches High-Tech Agriculture Class In Pike County. Still No Word On Jobs.," [Lexington Herald Leader](#), 9/17/18)

## VANCE HAS INDICATED HE SUPPORTED UNION PRIORITIES OVER THAT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

### *Vance Previously Indicated He Opposes Right-To-Work Laws*

**In 2020, Vance Said “I Am Not A Big Fan Of Right-To-Work Laws.”** VANCE: “The primary driver of the decline of private sector union is not Right-To-Work laws, I am not a big fan of Right-To-Work laws.” ([Ohio State Center For Ethics And Human Values YouTube Channel](#), 2/10/20, 26:26-26:33)

### *Vance Has Criticized GOP Donors For Pushing Antagonism Toward Unions*

**In 2020, Vance Criticized Republican Donors For Pushing Republicans To Denounce Unions Despite Their Beneficial Effects.** “Take another example: we have known for some time that members of unions are less likely to drink and more likely to maintain their familial commitments. We have also learned that these benefits appear independent of the (obviously important) wage benefits of union membership. Social capital, and the mediating institutions that cultivate it, really are useful. But in virtually every major campaign of recent decades, the donors have demanded the denouncement of unions and their pernicious commercial effects. And so denounce them we have.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

### *Vance Signed Onto A Report Calling For Reforms To Greatly Strengthen Labor Unions*

**In 2020, Vance Attached His Name To A Report From American Compass Warning That Conservatives Had Become “Overly Solicitous Of Business” And Calling For Reforms To Strengthen Labor Unions.** “AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES rightly place economic freedom and limited government among our dearest values. The defense of markets, though, has at times made us overly solicitous of businesses. As we advocate for owners and managers in their pursuit of profit, and celebrate the enormous benefits their efforts can generate for us all, we must accord the same respect to the concerns of workers and ensure that they, too, have a seat at the table. In a well-functioning and competitive market, participants meet as equals able to advance their interests through mutually beneficial relationships. Institutions of organized labor have traditionally been the mechanism by which workers take collective action and gain representation and bargaining power in the private sector. Strong worker representation can make America stronger. Unfortunately, our nation’s Great Depression–era labor laws no longer provide an effective framework, many unions have become unresponsive to workers’ needs and some outright corrupt, and membership has fallen to just 6% of the private-sector workforce. Rather than cheer the demise of a once-valuable institution, conservatives should seek reform and reinvigoration of the laws that govern organizing and collective bargaining...” (“A Seat At The Table,” [American Compass](#), 9/20)

***Vance And Other Signers Of The Report Called For Conservatives To Consider Allowing Sectoral Bargaining, Works Councils, And Requiring Seats For Labor Representatives On Corporate Boards***

**Vance And Other Signers Of The Report Called For Conservatives To Consider Allowing Sectoral Bargaining, Works Councils, And Requiring Seats For Labor Representatives On Corporate Boards.** “The standard partisan arguments over labor have tended to accept our nation’s current legal framework as the only one, and thus to present its expansion or contraction as the only options. Entirely different arrangements deserve consideration. In parts of Europe, for instance, ‘right-to-work’ is the norm, but so is sectoral bargaining. On the one hand, labor and management in Germany often partner on ‘works councils,’ which are illegal in the United States and opposed by American labor unions. On the other hand, such ‘codetermination’ can also extend to labor holding seats on corporate boards, which American unions support but shareholders resist. In some places, unions manage functions like unemployment insurance and job training that we take for granted as government responsibilities. In Canada, collective bargaining offers the parties autonomy to depart from government mandates in regulating their own workplaces. Conservatives should be willing to consider all these approaches, and others besides.” (“A Seat At The Table,” [American Compass](#), 9/20)

***Under Sectoral Bargaining, Collective Bargaining Contracts And Wage Rules Are Negotiated That Apply To All Workers In A Particular Occupation, Industry Or Region, Rather Than At A Single Employer***

**Under Sectoral Bargaining, Collective Bargaining Contracts And Wage Rules Are Negotiated That Apply To All Workers In A Particular Occupation, Industry Or Region, Rather Than At A Single Employer.** “Sectoral bargaining—also known as multiemployer, industrywide, or broadbased bargaining—is a form of collective bargaining that provides contract coverage and sets compensation floors for most workers in a particular occupation, industry, or region. While broadbased bargaining can—and sometimes does—occur in the United States, current labor laws emphasize enterprise-based bargaining, in which unions negotiate with individual employers on behalf of a group of workers at a particular worksite. For example, a union might negotiate with a supermarket chain on behalf of workers at a particular store or with a building service company on behalf of janitors in a specific building. With sectoral bargaining, collectively bargained standards extend to every grocery store worker or janitor in the region.” (David Madland and Malkie Wall, “What Is Sectoral Bargaining?,” [Center for American Progress](#), 3/2/20)

***Works Councils – Common In European Factories – Allow Workers To Elect Representatives To Work With Management To Establish Employment Policies Like Work Hours And Disciplinary Rules***

**Works Councils – Common In European Factories – Allow Workers To Elect Representatives To Work With Management To Establish Employment Policies Like Work Hours And Disciplinary Rules.** “A works council is a committee, common at German factories, in which white-collar and blue-collar workers elect representatives who establish

policies on issues like work hours, vacations and standards for firing workers.” (Steven Greenhouse, “Labor Regroups In South After VW Vote,” *The New York Times*, 2/16/14)

## **VANCE HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF FREE-MARKET ECONOMIC PRIORITY**

### ***Vance Opposes Milton Friedman-Backed Economic Policies***

**In 2016, Vance Wrote That The GOP Had Pushed For Policies Backed By Thinkers Like Milton Friedman Including Tax Cuts, Regulatory Reform, And Open Trade But That The “Evidence Slowly Accumulated That They Failed To Address A Very Real Social Crisis Among The Republican Base.”** “At least since the late 1970s, a relatively consistent domestic policy agenda has guided the Republican Party. GOP leaders, drawing on thinkers such as the brilliant economist Milton Friedman, pushed a combination of tax cuts, regulatory reform and open trade. Sometimes, as in President Reagan’s time, these policies proved popular. And other times, as during President George W. Bush’s time, they didn’t. Yet the party marched on, with little revision to the core ideas that informed Reagan’s presidency. As late as summer 2015, putative Republican presidential front-runners announced their candidacies in speeches that promised the same basic agenda. Whatever you might think of these policies, evidence slowly accumulated that they failed to address a very real social crisis among the Republican base. The factories that formed the base of the blue-collar economy shed jobs or ceased operating altogether. Median wages stagnated, and white working-class voters began telling pollsters that they believed their children’s future would be worse than their own. Divorce rates crept steadily upward, and a frightening drug epidemic took hold. Last year, in the medium-sized Ohio county where I was born, deaths from drug overdoses outnumbered deaths from natural causes.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Hey Democrats, Do More Than Talk,” [USA Today](#), 7/28/16)

**In 2020, Vance Called Economist Milton Friedman’s Argument For Free Trade “Nonsense” And Said That Free Trade Had Resulted In “Millions Of Men In The South And Midwest” With “Pill Bottles And iPhones” Instead Of Jobs.** “Almost certainly the most influential right-of-center thinker of the last fifty years was Milton Friedman, a brilliant monetary economist and quick-witted debater. Friedman’s ideas have influenced at least two generations of conservatives (including yours truly), but he missed a lot. His view that commercial freedom would reduce ‘the area over which political power is exercised’ motivated a lot of U.S. policymakers in their approach to China and has proven tremendously short-sighted. China is perhaps the most hypercapitalist regime in the world, but it has used its economic power to become even more politically authoritarian. His views on trade similarly encouraged policy makers to ignore the costs of opening our markets to cheap consumer goods. ‘Can you think of a better deal,’ Friedman wrote in 1970, to those then concerned about Japan, ‘than our getting fine textiles, shiny cars, and sophisticated T.V. sets for a bale of green printed paper?’ Well, a conservative in 2020 might reply to this nonsense that a better deal might include millions of men in the South and Midwest with jobs instead of pill bottles and iPhones. How about communities with more steady father figures than opioids?” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

***Vance Has Called For Prioritizing The American “Nuclear Family” Over Free Market Principles***

**In 2019, Vance Argued That Conservatives Should Prioritize The Interests Of The American “Nuclear Family” Over Protecting And Maintaining Free Markets.** CARLSON: “Well, for decades, the Republican Party has been proud to call itself the party of free markets, and good for them. There's nothing wrong with markets, of course. We're for them. But there is something much more important than any economic system, and that is the health of people. When corporate interests, and the interests of American families conflict, you've got to side with American families. It seems like an obvious one. We made it last week. We'll continue to make it. One person who's been saying this for a long time is J. D. Vance. He's the Author of Hillbilly Elogy, and he joins us tonight. J. D. Vance, thanks very much for coming on.” J. D. VANCE, HILLBILLY ELEGY AUTHOR, VENTURE CAPITALIST: “Yes.” CARLSON: “So, the point is not to make some kind of argument against market capitalism or any country - company, in particular. The - the point is only—” VANCE: “Yes.” CARLSON: “--that maybe Conservatives, as they think about what's important, ought to put individual Americans, particularly the family unit, the nuclear family, above all other considerations. Do you think that that's a crazy way to see the world?” VANCE: “No, I don't at all. The way that I would frame it, Tucker, is we treat market capitalism as an end or we treat market capitalism as a tool, a tool to create prosperity—” CARLSON: “Exactly.” VANCE: “--a tool to create a lot of wealth, a tool to create a healthy society. And I think what a lot of folks in the past 10, 15, 20 years on the Right have forgotten is that it is a powerful tool, but it is not the end. It is not, as I said in a piece, a platonic deity that enforces healthy families that enforces a prosperous society.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**Vance Pointed To The Opioid Epidemic As An Example Of Why More Government Intervention In The Economy Is Needed.** “To keep the focus on the opioid epidemic, the Los Angeles Times’ reporting on the role of the pharmaceutical industry is both excellent and disturbing. It chronicles the ways in which some companies gamed our regulatory system to obtain approval and patent protection for highly addictive drugs. Those companies then knowingly lied about the safety of those drugs to doctors and patients. Some commentators have framed their problem with Mr. Carlson’s argument as promoting “government intervention” when that same intervention is the problem. But if you want to protect a community from drugs that can take hold of a person’s mind and destroy whole neighborhoods soon thereafter, you need some government intervention. This raises a fundamental question with which so many of Mr. Carlson’s critics refuse to even engage: What happens when the companies that drive the market economy — and all of its benefits — don’t care about the American nation’s social fabric? What happens when, as in the case of a few massive narcotics sellers, they profit by destroying that fabric?” (JD Vance, “The Health Of Nations,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 1/8/19)

- **Vance: “Sometimes The Corporate Interests Who Are Responding To Market Incentives, Who Are Acting Just As You Might Expect A Company To Act, Is Actively Going To Harm The American Social Fabric.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)



- **Vance: “The Market Is Not A Platonic Deity, Floating In The Sky And Imposing Goodnes And Prosperity From On High. It Is The Creation Of Our Choices, Our Laws, And Our Democratic Process.”** (JD Vance, “The Health Of Nations,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 1/8/19)
- **Vance: “If A Company Is Pushing Opioids Into A Community In A Way That's Destroying Families, Whose Side Are We Going To Take? Are We Going To Take The Side Of The Corporate Interest Or Are We Going To Take The Side Of American Families?”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**Vance Complained That Conservatives Had “Lost A Little Bit Of Our Muscle Memory, A Little Bit Of A Recognition That Libertarianism And Conservatism Aren't The Same Thing.”** VANCE: “Well, I think there are a couple things going on. I mean, first, so many of the battles in the 1980s and the 1990s were about the Republicans being the party of markets and Democrats being the party--” CARLSON: “Right.” VANCE: “--against markets. And I think what happened is that we lost a little bit of our muscle memory, a little bit of a recognition that libertarianism and conservatism aren't the same thing, and that sometimes—” CARLSON: “That's right.” VANCE: “--the interests of families do conflict with some of these corporate interests. I - I really don't think there's anything bizarre or anti- conservative about this.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

- **Vance: “Do We Remember Who We're Fighting For? Are We For Healthy Communities, Healthy Families Or Are We Just Going To Constantly Defer To Corporate Interests Every Time Those Two - Those Two Sides Collide?”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**Vance Warned That Failure To Stand Up To “Corporate World” Could Result Of Damaging Ideologies, As Had Happened In The Past With The Rise Of Communism And Fascism.** CARLSON: “I'm worried that if we don't articulate this, really clearly, and act on it that the reaction against our current form of capitalism will be so intensive, we're going to wind up with something really destructive, socialism, or some awful economic system. Do you share that worry?” VANCE: “I definitely share that worry. And, Tucker, if you look through history, if you look at the Bolshevik Revolution in the early 20th Century--” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “--if you look at what was going on in the world as the American or, excuse me, the world economy transferred from an agrarian society to the industrial economy, there was a lot of war. There was fascism. There was Nazism.” CARLSON: “Right.” VANCE: “There was communism. And the United States avoided it because people like Teddy Roosevelt actually stood up for American workers, and said, ‘I'm not always going to defer to the interests of the corporate world.’ I think what's going on right now in our economy is actually a similar level of transformation. We're seeing a lot of people move—” CARLSON: “I agree.” VANCE: “--from an industrial-based economy to an informationbased economy. And the question is what do we do to protect the promise of the free market to ensure that it continues to be a tool to create prosperity, so that we can have a healthy community, have a healthy society, or do we continue to ignore the fact that a lot of people in America are hurting right now?” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

- **Vance: “And When People Hurt, They Eventually Go To The Ballot Box, And Eventually, Sometimes, People Do Things Even Worse Than Voting For Politicians And Policies That You Don’t Like. That’s The Lesson Of History.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)
- **Vance: “And The Question Is Do We Heed The Lesson Of History? Do We Build A Modern Conservative Coalition That Supports Working And Middle-Class Families? It’s Really, To Me, The Only Way Out Of This.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**According To *Washington Post* Columnist Henry Olsen, Vance Spoke At A Conservative Conference And “Sought To Distance The New Conservatism From The Old Movement’s Dependence Upon Libertarian-Infused Thinking For Its Domestic Policies.”** “President Trump’s election shook conservatism to its core. Rejected by the voters of a party they had considered their natural home, movement conservatives are now engaged in a long overdue conversation about principles and political strategy. A recent conference offered much solid advice about both what should and should not be done. The event was billed as the start of a new American ‘national conservatism.’ This title clearly tries to align the new thinking with the burgeoning sense of nationalism one sees throughout the world, but much depends on what the words mean. What constitutes the American nation? What should this conservatism seek to conserve? The speakers differed a lot on how to answer the second question. Some speakers, such as the Hudson Institute’s Chris DeMuth and the Faith and Reason Institute’s Mary Eberstadt, sought to reintegrate priorities of the old conservatism — deregulation and social conservatism — into the new. Others, such as ‘Hillbilly Elogy’ author J.D. Vance, sought to distance the new conservatism from the old movement’s dependence upon libertarian-infused thinking for its domestic policies.” (Henry Olsen, Op-Ed, “Conservatives Are Still Grappling With The Trump Era. And Many Haven’t Yet Learned Their Lesson.,” [The Washington Post](#), 7/22/19)

### **VANCE WORKED AS A CONTRIBUTOR FOR AN ORGANIZATION THAT EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM OF TRUMP’S AMERICA FIRST TRADE AGENDA**

***Vance Is A Contributing Writer For A Conservative Think Tank That Is Skeptical Of Free Market Policies***

#### **Vance Is A Contributing Writer For American Compass, A Conservative Think Tank**

**Vance Is A Contributing Writer For American Compass, A Conservative Think Tank.** “J.D. Vance, the author of the book ‘Hillbilly Elogy,’ which chronicled the despair in parts of rural America that helped fuel the rise of a figure like Mr. Trump, said the work being done at American Compass, where he is a contributing writer, was ultimately part of the larger debate over what happens to the Republican Party once Mr. Trump is no longer leading it. And the hope for him and like-minded Republicans is that they can shape that future.” (Jeremy W. Peters, “New Schism Shakes The Republican Faith In A Supreme Market,” *The New York Times*, 5/6/20)

**American Compass Was Created In 2020 To Challenge Some Of The “Small-Government, FreeMarket Tenets At The Heart Of The Republican Party’s Agenda”**

**American Compass Was Created In 2020 To Challenge Some Of The “Small-Government, FreeMarket Tenets At The Heart Of The Republican Party’s Agenda.”** “A growing push by lawmakers and policy experts on the right is challenging some of the small-government, free-market tenets at the heart of the Republican Party's agenda. Questions over whether the government should play a more active role in protecting Americans from global shocks like the coronavirus pandemic have exposed a widening divide in the Republican Party over whether the small-government, free-market brand of conservatism at the heart of its agenda -- and a top priority of its biggest donors -- is out of step with the times. The debate traces some of the same ideological fault lines that run through the party over President Trump's economic and trade policies, which excite many of the voters who are drawn to his nationalist appeals but alarm the party's more traditional, pro-business wing...Oren Cass, the founder of American Compass, a new group that is publishing the essays by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Rubio and plans to host events that highlight similar themes, said this moment of national crisis was ‘almost kind of tailor-made to bring a lot of these issues to the fore.’” (Jeremy W. Peters, “New Schism Shakes The Republican Faith In a Supreme Market,” *The New York Times*, 5/6/20)

**American Compass Founder Oren Cass Said The Group Was Formed To Appeal To Working-Class Trump Voters Hurt By Traditional Republican Free Market Principles**

**American Compass Founder Oren Cass Said The Group Was Formed To Appeal To Working-Class Trump Voters Hurt By Traditional Republican Free Market Principles.** “Oren Cass, the founder of American Compass, a new group that is publishing the essays by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Rubio and plans to host events that highlight similar themes, said this moment of national crisis was ‘almost kind of tailormade to bring a lot of these issues to the fore.’ Conservatives like Mr. Cass believe that the traditional Republican economic view is not only hamstringing the country's ability to protect itself, but also hurting the party with the voters whom Mr. Trump brought in -- and who are not sharing in the vast wealth gains at the very top of the ladder.” (Jeremy W. Peters, “New Schism Shakes The Republican Faith In a Supreme Market,” *The New York Times*, 5/6/20)

**American Compass Would Embrace “Trump’s Skepticism Of Unfettered Trade”**

**American Compass Would Embrace “Trump’s Skepticism Of Unfettered Trade.”** “American Compass will try to address what some conservatives see as the failure on the part of the right's biggest think tanks and interest groups to embrace Mr. Trump's skepticism of unfettered trade, and his willingness to use the power of the government to give American companies a competitive advantage.” (Jeremy W. Peters, “New Schism Shakes The Republican Faith In a Supreme Market,” *The New York Times*, 5/6/20)

**EARLY DURING THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION, VANCE  
QUESTIONED WHETHER TRUMP SHOULD BE CREDITED FOR THE  
BOOMING ECONOMY**

*Vance Criticized The Relevance Of The Trump Policies To The Economic Boom And  
Its Distribution To All Parts Of The Country*

**In 2017, Vance Said There Was Reason To Question Whether The Economic Boom Was  
Due To Trump Or The Obama Administration**

**In 2017, Vance Said There Was Reason To Question Whether The Economic Boom Was  
Due To Trump Or The Obama Administration.** J.D. VANCE, CONTRIBUTOR, CNN:  
“Well, obviously the economic numbers are pretty good and we can did he bail all night  
whether those numbers are because of him or because of the policies of the past administration.  
So, at least in some ways you're starting to see things like wage growth, you're starting to see  
some job growth in the country. And whether, again, the president deserves some credit for it,  
he's definitely going to get a fair amount of credit for it especially from the folks who voted and  
put him into office. I think the most interesting thing to watch politically over the next few  
months is whether if republicans fail to make big results on tax reform, whether the party starts  
to turn against the congressional leadership. Because the temptation for the president at that  
point is not going to be able to throw up his hands and say, well, I'm sorry, we haven't gotten  
anything done. It's going to be to point fingers and I think the person who is going to point  
fingers at most directly is Mitch McConnell and Paul Ryan. So I think there's a really  
interesting question over the next few months whether the republican party civil war which has  
really been bubbling below the surface for the past year breaks open or whether ultimately  
they're able to get a legislative program done. And people are circulating the wagons and  
celebrating regardless of whether the ultimate policy is super affected down the road. It at least  
gives the president a win. So that's what I'm looking at.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 11/15/17)

**In 2017, Vance Said That Despite The Good Jobs Numbers During The Trump  
Administration, “That Doesn't Necessarily Mean It's Broadly Distributed Across All  
Geographies Of The Country”**

**In 2017, Vance Said That Despite The Good Jobs Numbers During The Trump  
Administration, “That Doesn't Necessarily Mean It's Broadly Distributed Across All  
Geographies Of The Country.”** BLITZER: “You're surprised -- I'm surprised, you're surprised,  
only 32 percent approve, at a time when pretty robust job numbers are out there.” J.D. VANCE,  
CNN CONTRIBUTOR: “Yes, well, it's definitely, you know, you see jobs numbers like this and  
you'd expect the approval rating to be higher. I think that part of that is obviously the fact that the  
president likes to mix it up with the media and he mixes it up enough and people start to get  
exhausted and that probably drives down the approval rating a little bit. But I also think what  
Steve said is really important, which is that part of what's driving people's sense of how well  
they're doing is not the top line job numbers, but whether there are jobs in their communities and  
real growth in their communities. And we saw this during the Obama administration. I think  
we've seen this during the first year of the Trump administration, that though we're seeing some

job growth and the economy's starting to pick back up, that that doesn't necessarily mean it's broadly distributed across all geographies of the country. And that's, in fact, one of the things that we're trying to work on is make sure that if you're living in southwestern Ohio, if you're living in Indianapolis, you have access to that high growth economy that we're seeing reflected in some of those good job numbers.” (CNN’s “Wolf,” 12/8/17)

## **OPPONENTS COULD SUGGEST VANCE IS HYPOCRITICAL FOR HIS CRITICISM OF ‘BIG TECH’**

### ***Vance Has Criticized “Big Tech” But Receives His Salary From Tech Executives***

**In 2021, Vance Tweeted That Establishment Republicans’ “Apologies For Our Oligarchy” Should Include A Disclaimer That “Big Tech Pays My Salary” Despite Vance’s Salary At Narya Being Partially Paid For By Two Directors At Facebook And The Former CEO Of Google.** “Delicate dance: Vance made his name as an author, but he's made his career as a venture capitalist, backed by many of the coastal billionaires he now plans to rhetorically run against. Earlier this week Vance tweeted: ‘Establishment Republican apologies for our oligarchy should always come with the following disclaimer: ‘Big Tech pays my salary.’” Yet Vance's salary, as a partner with Narya, has literally been paid, at least in part, by two directors at Facebook and the former CEO of Google.” (Dan Primack, “J.D. Vance Tells Associates He Plans To Run For Senate In Ohio,” [Axios](#), 4/15/21)

### ***Vance Said Conservatives Should Break With Corporations Over Censorship Of Donald Trump And His Supporters***

**In 2021, Vance Accused The Left And Democrats Of Accommodating Big Tech Monopolies And Other Corporations Because “They Recognize That Corporate Power Is Being Used Against Their Enemies, In This Case President Donald Trump And His Voters.”**

INGRAHAM: “Rush Limbaugh reshaped the public square by forging a path for conservative media. But now that square is being increasingly squeezed by tech oligarchs. You'd think the classical left would be upset about corporate monopolies, they used to be, but they aren't. So why is that? Of course, while former President Trump is banned from platforms like Facebook and Twitter, big tech hasn't lifted a finger to prevent the CCP from spreading anti-American lies. Someone who has thought a lot about this is J.D. Vance, author of ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’ and he joins me now. J.D., why do you think the modern left is suddenly OK with the concentration of power in a few corporate entities? J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, ‘HILLBILLY ELEGY’: “I think unfortunately it's just very cynical. They realize that the big tech oligarchs are actually on their side, and where they used to complain about corporate power, now they recognize that corporate power is being used against their enemies, in this case President Donald Trump and his voters. And so I think they're more than willing to cozy up to those people if it gives them more power, which it does in this case, because those companies really control the public square in this country.” (Fox News’ “Ingraham Angle,” 2/17/21)

**Vance: “They're More Than Willing To Cozy Up To Those People If It Gives Them More Power, Which It Does In This Case, Because Those Companies Really Control The Public Square In This Country.”** (Fox News’ “Ingraham Angle,” 2/17/21)

**Vance Called For Conservatives To Break With Corporations, Saying “We Have To Recognize That They’re Not Our Friends Anymore.”** “VANCE: “I think at a fundamental level what’s going on right now is that big corporations in America are increasingly more invested in the Chinese government than they are in their own country. And what that means for us as conservatives is we’ve actually got to do something about this. I think we’ve gotten so used to big business, to corporations being on the side of the right, because of China, because of the woke left, they’re increasingly on the side of the left. And we have to do something about it. We have to recognize that they’re not our friends anymore, and that should inform the way that we think about public policy. It’s a really big departure, but I think it’s an important thing for us to recognize so we can move forward and actually solve these problems and make it possible for people to express themselves and be conservatives without fear of getting fired or censored.” (Fox News’ “Ingraham Angle,” 2/17/21)

## **VANCE OPPOSED THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION’S EFFORTS TO REPEAL AND REPLACE OBAMACARE**

### ***In 2017, Vance Criticized Republican Efforts To Repeal And Replace Obamacare Under President Trump, Claiming He Doesn’t “Love The Plan At All”***

**In 2017, Vance Criticized Republican Efforts To Repeal And Replace Obamacare Under President Trump, Claiming He Doesn’t “Love The Plan At All.”** LEMON: “The majority of the people who are on Obamacare are from red districts and many of them were supporters. So, you say that this new replacement plan is risky for them. You don't like this plan.” VANCE: “No, I don't love the plan at all, in fact. We have to keep in mind, right, that there's both a short-term political answer to this question and I think a long-term political and more substantive question about who is helped and who is hurt by this repeal and replace plan. I mean, I think that folks may, and when I say congressmen and congresswomen may actually benefit from the repeal. Because that means they keep the campaign promise, right. These folks have running on repealing and replacing Obamacare for eight years now. So they may get a shortterm jolt when they actually do it. The problem is that a lot of the benefits that exist in Obamacare just generally speaking people having health insurance, that's popular. And if you actually move forward with this particular repeal and replace package, it clearly is going to leave a few Americans uninsured and it's probably going to continue to raise premiums for a lot of the folks who have coverage right now.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 3/7/17)

### **Vance: “So, I Think That Over The Long-Term When People See The Consequences Of This Particular Replacement Provision, It's Not Going To -- It's Not Going To End Well For The Republicans Who Vote For It”**

**Vance: “So, I Think That Over The Long-Term When People See The Consequences Of This Particular Replacement Provision, It's Not Going To -- It's Not Going To End Well For The Republicans Who Vote For It.”** (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 3/7/17)

### ***Vance Warned That The People Who Would “Lose Out Most” In The GOP-Led ObamaCare Replacement Bill Are The Ones Who Voted For Donald Trump***

**Vance Warned That The People Who Would “Lose Out Most” In The GOP-Led ObamaCare Replacement Bill Are The Ones Who Voted For Donald Trump.** VANCE: “So

we don't have the CBO projection of this most recent bill but we do have a CBO projection for the bill on which the most recent bill was modeled. And if you look at that projection the evidence suggest that the people who will lose out most in that American Health Care Act are a lot of the folks who voted for Donald Trump, working class and lower middle class voters, older voters. ... But if you think of the political problem, you know, folks have always asked, what is it that's going to drive Donald Trump voters away from them while loosing their health care may actually be the answer to that question. And unfortunately the Republicans, who I think have been very smart, and frankly correct in the fact that Obamacare hasn't solved a lot of the core problems of the American health care market, now own the problem. They're going to learn very quickly unless they craft a better bill that it's not just enough to critique the bill that has failed in the past, you have to actually offer a better alternative, and we're going to see if the Senate is able to actually put forward the alternative.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 5/4/17)

***Vance: “Those Folks, They Very Well See Their Deductibles Go Up, Their Premiums Go Up. ... There's Obviously A Significant Issue Of Folks Potentially Losing Access To Their Health Care”***

**Vance: “Those Folks, They Very Well See Their Deductibles Go Up, Their Premiums Go Up. ... There's Obviously A Significant Issue Of Folks Potentially Losing Access To Their Health Care.”** VANCE: “Those folks, they very well see their deductibles go up, their premiums go up. And as we've been talking about, this is not just a policy problem, there's obviously a significant issue of folks potentially loosing access to their health care.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 5/4/17)

***Vance Claimed “Folks Back Home” Were Worried About The GOP-Led ObamaCare Reforms And “About Losing The Medicaid Expansion And Most Worried About Losing Their Health Care”***

**Vance Claimed “Folks Back Home” Were Worried About The GOP-Led ObamaCare Reforms And “About Losing The Medicaid Expansion And Most Worried About Losing Their Health Care.”** CABRERA: “Here are the numbers, 1.3 million Kentuckians are on Medicaid today. About a third are covered by that Medicaid expansion under Obamacare. This is Trump country. How worried are these folks about the GOP health care plan? VANCE: “Well, I think they are especially worried, and what's so interesting is when you talk to folks back home, even though Russia and Comey and all of these scandals dominate the news, they dominate twitter, they dominate a lot of what journalists are talking about, the things I hear most commonly from folks back home, those who voted for Hillary Clinton and those who voted for Donald Trump, is that they're most worried about losing the Medicaid expansion and most worried about losing their health care. But it is interesting actually to sort of step outside of my own twitter bubble when people were so obsessed with what's going on with the Russiagate, so called, and actually talked to people and realized that the thing that may be most politically damaging for the president right now is if the AHCA passes in its present form. That's the thing that I think is most politically destructive for him potentially if it ends up passing a month (INAUDIBLE) voters.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 5/28/17)

***Vance Warned That The Bill Suffered From “Core Deficiencies,” Claiming “Millions Of People” Were “Losing Health Coverage Either Through Medicaid Or Through Another Mechanism”***

**Vance Warned That The Bill Suffered From “Core Deficiencies,” Claiming “Millions Of People” Were “Losing Health Coverage Either Through Medicaid Or Through Another Mechanism.”** VANCE: “I think it definitely could have an impact on mid-terms. Of course, what we have to remember is that this is just a bill that hasn't yet actually passed and there's a question about whether you can address some of the core deficiencies in the bill. I think you could, it would require pretty significant amendments, but I do think you could fix the bill. And of course if you fix the bill in such a way that millions of people aren't losing health coverage either through Medicaid or through another mechanism, then I think it is not going to be quite as politically destructive.” (CNN's “CNN Newsroom,” 5/28/17)

***Vance Urged Sen. Rob Portman To Vote Against The House-Passed Bill To Repeal And Replace ObamaCare Due To Its Medicaid Cuts And Tax Cuts***

**Vance Urged Sen. Rob Portman To Vote Against The House-Passed Bill To Repeal And Replace ObamaCare Due To Its Medicaid Cuts And Tax Cuts.** “Virtually as he spoke, Senate Republicans in Washington released their plan to repeal and replace Obamacare. Here's an edited version of the conversation with Vance: Q: You said Medicaid cuts under consideration in the American Health Care Act could be disastrous for Ohio. How should Republican Ohio Sen. Rob Portman vote? A: With the caveat I haven't seen the Senate version of the bill, if it's exactly like the House version, I would say he should vote against it. Two big issues I saw with the AHCA bill as it was structured in the House were, first, that it cuts Medicaid without any alternatives, and, second, it seems to prioritize tax cuts, which may be good or bad, but which don't seem to be the province of a health-care bill.” (Steven Litt, “Hillbilly Elegy' Author Questions Health Bill's Focus,” *Plain Dealer*, 6/23/17)

***Vance: “I Don't Understand Why That Is Such A Focus Of The House Bill. ... Don't Have A Health Bill And Use It To Cut Taxes”***

**Vance: “I Don't Understand Why That Is Such A Focus Of The House Bill. ... Don't Have A Health Bill And Use It To Cut Taxes.”** “Q: Why does the AHCA make such an emphasis on cutting taxes? A: I don't understand why that is such a focus of the House bill. If you want to cut taxes, have a tax reform bill. Don't have a health bill and use it to cut taxes.” (Steven Litt, “Hillbilly Elegy' Author Questions Health Bill's Focus,” *Plain Dealer*, 6/23/17)

**The AHCA Eliminated Taxes On Health Insurance Companies, Pharmaceutical Companies, And Medical Device Manufacturers, As Well As Taxes Applied To Capital Gains, Dividend, Interest, And Wage Income For Higher-Income Earners**

**The AHCA Eliminated Taxes On Health Insurance Companies, Pharmaceutical Companies, And Medical Device Manufacturers, As Well As Taxes Applied To Capital Gains, Dividend, Interest, And Wage Income For Higher-Income Earners.** “And we're not talking about a small amount of money. It works out to approximately \$5,000 worth of tax cuts per household. Except most households aren't going to see their taxes cut at all because of which taxes the AHCA cuts. It eliminates a 3.8 percent tax that applied to capital gains, dividend, and



interest income for families with \$250,000 or more in income (\$125,000 for singles). It eliminates a 0.9 percent tax on wage income in excess of \$250,000 a year (\$200,000 for unmarried people). It eliminates taxes on health insurance companies, pharmaceutical companies, and medical device manufacturers.” (Matthew Yglesias, “Republicans’ Health Bill Takes \$600 Billion Out Of Health Care To Cut Taxes For The Rich,” [Vox](#), 5/4/17)

***Vance Lamented The Lack Of A Plan To Replace ObamaCare, Saying “There Has Never Been A Shared Republican Vision For What The Replacement Is Going To Look Like”***

**Vance Lamented The Lack Of A Plan To Replace ObamaCare, Saying “There Has Never Been A Shared Republican Vision For What The Replacement Is Going To Look Like.”**

J.D. VANCE: “Well, I think one of the things it taught us is that there has never been a shared republican vision for what the replacement is going to look like. It's not just enough to say we're going to undo Obamacare. You also have to replace it with something. And the worry that I have as a republican is that this same issue is going to crop up in tax reform, it's going to pop up in a number of other substantive areas of policy where it's not just enough to say you're against something. You also have to be for something and to be for something, you really need presidential leadership. You really need the Congress to actually have a shared vision of what's happening. And what this particular battle teaches us is that there isn't a great amount of disagreement within the republican tent about what actually needs to happen.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 7/18/17)

***In A 2017 New York Times Op-Ed, Vance Lamented Republican Repeal Efforts For Leaving A Situation Where “Millions Will Be Unable To Pay For Basic Health Care”***

**In A 2017 New York Times Op-Ed, Vance Lamented Republican Repeal Efforts For Leaving A Situation Where “Millions Will Be Unable To Pay For Basic Health Care.”**

“These sentiments conflict with recent iterations of Republican health care reform. The ‘full repeal’ bill is nothing of the sort -- it preserves the regulatory structure of Obamacare, but withdraws its supports for the poor. The House version of replacement would transfer many from Medicaid to the private market, but it doesn't ensure that those transferred can meaningfully purchase care in that market. The Senate bill offers a bit more to the needy, but still leaves many unable to pay for basic services. In the rosier projections of each version, millions will be unable to pay for basic health care.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

**Vance: “This Wasn't Acceptable To Reagan In 1961, And It Shouldn't Be Acceptable To His Political Heirs”**

**Vance: “This Wasn't Acceptable To Reagan In 1961, And It Shouldn't Be Acceptable To His Political Heirs.”** (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

***Vance Said Republicans Would Likely Find Themselves “Mired In Internal Contradictions” Like Arguing That “A Bill That Cuts Subsidies For The Poor Somehow Makes Care More Accessible”***

**Vance Said Republicans Would Likely Find Themselves “Mired In Internal Contradictions” Like Arguing That “A Bill That Cuts Subsidies For The Poor Somehow**

**Makes Care More Accessible.** “But if Republicans fail to accept some baseline provision of care, we'll find ourselves mired in internal contradictions -- arguing, for instance, that a bill that cuts subsidies for the poor somehow makes care more accessible.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

- **Vance: “We'll Rail Against The Way The Government Has Destroyed Our Health Care Market In One Breath And Resist The Support Offered To The Poor And Middle Class To Navigate This Brokenness With The Other. This Is Not Conservative; It Is Incoherence Masquerading As Ideological Purity.”** (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

***Following The Defeat Of The Bill, Vance Called The Legislation A “Moral And Political Disaster”***

**In 2019, Vance Called The ObamaCare Replacement Bill A “A Moral And Political Disaster” And Said he Was “Glad That It Never Passed”**

**In 2019, Vance Called The ObamaCare Replacement Bill A “A Moral And Political Disaster” And Said he Was “Glad That It Never Passed.”** VANCE: “When I think about the tax cut legislation which was ok, it wasn’t terrible, but it wasn’t great. If I think about the health care legislation which I think was genuinely a moral and political disaster and I am glad that it never passed.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 10:52-11:06)

**In 2020, Vance Criticized Republican Efforts To Eliminate ObamaCare, Calling It A “Small Government, Everyone-Is-On-Their-Own Approach To The Welfare State”**

**In 2020, Vance Criticized Republican Efforts To Eliminate ObamaCare, Calling It A “Small Government, Everyone-Is-On-Their-Own Approach To The Welfare State.”** MARA LIASSON: “But despite those Republican tensions, J.D. Vance says, it will be hard for the president and his party to continue to argue that popular programs like Obamacare should be eliminated lock, stock and barrel.” JD VANCE: “I think the appetite for small government, everyone-is-on-their-own approach to the welfare state - frankly, it was always pretty small, and it's going to be even smaller, I think, over the next couple of years.” (NPR’s “Morning Edition,” 4/21/20)

**In 2018, Vance Blamed Republican Efforts To Repeal ObamaCare For Republican Losses In The 2018 Midterm Elections**

**In 2018, Vance Blamed Republican Efforts To Repeal ObamaCare For Republican Losses In The 2018 Midterm Elections.** VANCE: “So, one of the takeaways is that Republicans are continuing to become the middle and working class party, and Democrats are more and more popular among wealthy Suburbanites. The second takeaway is that the single most unpopular piece of Republican legislation in the past couple of years wasn't Donald Trump's brainchild, and if you trust the media reports, Donald Trump wasn't even a huge fan of it, and that was the healthcare bill that came out of the House Republican leadership. And in - in poll after poll and person after person that I've talked to, you know, I'm good friends with Mike DeWine who luckily eked out a win in the Ohio Governor's race, the - the consistent theme is that that Republican healthcare bill actually put a little bit of a millstone around Republicans running in the industrial Midwest. It was not a popular piece of legislation. And, in some ways, I think it's almost better that it didn't pass and that it didn't go into effect causing even more damage down the road.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 11/23/18)

## VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED SOME HESITATION CONCERNING SCHOOL CHOICE INITIATIVES

### *Vance Has Previously Questioned The Effectiveness Of Vouchers For High-School Aged Students*

**In 2014, Vance Wrote That Vouchers Might Be Useful For Younger Children And Less Helpful For High-School Aged Children.** “Conservatives have supported vouchers for all the right reasons: Vouchers give kids the opportunity to escape a failing school, they give parents a choice, and they force educators to compete. Yet it needs to be said that vouchers grow less effective as children age. Skills beget skills, and knowledge begets knowledge: Heckman’s research shows that a good preschool produces significantly better results for children than does a good high school. The most effective voucher programs will target our youngest kids, not those nearing adulthood.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The College Trap,” [National Review](#), 1/9/14)

**In 2021, Ohio Republicans Introduced Legislation To Make All Ohio K-12 Students Eligible For Vouchers.** “Any Ohio kid would be eligible for a voucher to cover part of the cost of their private school tuition if a bill introduced by House Republicans becomes law. ‘The intent of this bill is if you think it’s a better option to look at alternative education for your children, you would have state funding available to pursue that goal,’ bill sponsor Rep. Riordan McClain, R-Upper Sandusky, said. It’s called the backpack method of school funding because the money follows the student wherever he or she goes. And Ohio would be just the second state to adopt a universal voucher program if House Bill 290 became law. West Virginia passed a similar program in March. It’s scheduled to start in the fall of 2022 and has the potential to apply to children who currently attend private schools later down the road.” (Anna Staver, “Ohio Republicans Want To Make Every K-12 Student Eligible For A School Voucher,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 5/6/21)

### **Notably, Vance Has Also Praised Vouchers And Charter Schools**

**In 2016, Vance Praised Charter Schools And Vouchers.** “This would require a conservative agenda that appealed to black Americans. Recent Pew polls suggest that black Americans care especially about residential segregation and access to good schools. Conservatives have potential answers for each of these problems. Urban ghettos, created by racist housing policy and sustained by bizarre administration of federal housing programs, constitute one of the few entrenched problems amenable to policy interventions. The administration of the federal Section 8 program, for instance, often ignores the importance of eradicating government-created concentrated poverty. Conservative ideas on vouchers and charter schools have delivered better, if still imperfect, schools — often with active participation from local (and progressive) school leaders.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Two Underclasses,” [National Review](#), 8/29/16)

## VANCE HAS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR ASPECTS OF THE LEFT'S EXTREMIST CLIMATE AGENDA

### *Vance Previously Suggested The U.S. Has “A Climate Problem”*

#### Vance Said We “Have A Climate Problem In Our Society”

**In 2020, Vance Said We “Have A Climate Problem In Our Society, One Largely Caused Now By Unrestrained Emissions In China.”** VANCE: “Think about energy. We have of course have a climate problem in our society, one largely caused now by unrestrained emissions in China. Part of the reason we have that problem is because we are not generating energy much cleaner than we used to 30 or 40 years. In fact the biggest improvement in emissions is solar energy which can provide a substantial amount of our power but can’t provide anything like 50 percent of our power, definitely not 100 percent of our power.” ([Ohio State Center For Ethics And Human Values YouTube Channel](#), 2/10/20, 19:20-20:00)

### *Vance Previously Acknowledged That Coal Jobs Are Not Coming Back*

**In 2017, Vance Claimed “Folks Who Are Involved In The Coal Industry” Were “Very Realistic” That “A Lot Of Those Jobs Are Not Coming Back.”** VANCE: “What I find so amazing about this conversation is that when you talk to folks who are involved in the coal industry, folks who live in these areas, they're very realistic about the fact that a lot of those jobs are not coming back. And I think that what that shows is that we really have to be asking ourselves, what's the next generation of American jobs? What are people going to be doing 10, 20, 30 years down the road. And it's so interesting to me how much of the national conversation is driven by, can we bring coal miners back to work?” BERMAN: “Yes.” VANCE: “And when you talk to folks on the ground, they're actually a lot more realistic about what the economy is going to be looking like in a decade or two.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 6/2/17)

### *Vance Previously Said Natural Gas Would Not Take Us To A Clean Energy Future*

**In 2020, Vance Said Natural Gas Was “An Improvement Over Dirtier Forms Of Power But Isn’t Exactly The Sort Of Thing That Is Going To Take Us To A Clean Energy Future.”** VANCE: “And through our increasing reliance on natural gas which of course is an improvement over dirtier forms of power but isn’t exactly the sort of thing that is going to take us to a clean energy future.” ([Ohio State Center For Ethics And Human Values YouTube Channel](#), 2/10/20, 19:20-20:00)

### *Vance Previously Doubted Whether There Would Be Job-Related Benefits From Pulling Out Of The Paris Climate Agreement*

**In 2017, Vance Claimed It’s “Really Tough To Argue” The Trump Administration’s Withdrawal From The Paris Climate Agreement Would “Bring A Lot Of People Back To Work.”** HARLOW: “J.D., the president promised coal miners, you're going to go back to work. You're born in Kentucky, you grew up in Ohio, you know these towns, you know these people. We've seen it on the ground. Are these people en mass going to go back to work because the president pulled out of the Paris climate agreement?” VANCE: “Well, no, because the Paris climate agreement, of course, was nonbinding. And so a lot of the commitments that the United

States made, even if you think that the United States shouldn't have made those commitments, they were effectively voluntary, and so it's really tough to argue that pulling out of that accord is going to bring a lot of people back to work.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 6/2/17)

**Vance: “People Are Going To Be Looking Around And Saying, Is My Life Actually Getting Better? Are These Things Actually Improving? And Unfortunately, I Don't Think Pulling Out Of The Paris Accord Does Much Good.”** VANCE: “Well, Chris, you made a really important point, which is that a majority of the public does support the deal, but the strength of that support is actually pretty weak, so it's not a high priority issue, and consequently, I think the politics are pretty ambivalent here for the president. But, the most important is, actually, the one that you made just there, is you got to actually bring jobs back to these communities and that implicates productivity. That implicates our education system. It, frankly, implicates issues that are much more difficult and much more complex than just pulling out of the Paris Climate Accords. And so, I think while the president may get a short-term, very minor political advantage with his core base of supporters, at a fundamental level over the long term, people are going to be looking around and saying, is my life actually getting better? Are these things actually improving? And unfortunately, I don't think pulling out of the Paris Accord does much good. And I don't think that much of what we've seen so far in the first 120 days does much good. This is a really long term question that the president has to answer better.” (CNN’s “New Day,” 6/2/17)

## **VANCE WAS CRITICAL OF TRUMP’S SUGGESTION TO BUILD A U.S. SOUTHERN BORDER WALL**

### ***Vance Previously Criticized The Idea Of A Southern Border Wall***

**In 2016, Vance Said Problems In His Community Were “Not Going To Be Solved By A Mexican Border Wall Or Better Trade Deals With China.”** “Do you think Trump offers something that's valuable to these voters because he speaks their language? My view is that Trump is projecting a very complex problem on a simple villain. Without some recognition that some of these problems in our community are not the fault of other people - they're not going to be solved by a Mexican border wall or better trade deals with China - without some recognition along those lines, I don't believe these problems are ever truly going to get better.” (Michael Lindberger, “A Proverbial Middle Finger,” *Dallas Morning News*, 9/25/16)

- **Vance In 2016: “I Don’t Think If You Build A Great Mexican Wall, All Of A Sudden All Of These Steel Mill Jobs Are Going To Come Back To Southern Ohio.”** ([Yahoo YouTube Channel](#), 9/15/16, 9:00-9:10)

## **VANCE WAS CRITICAL OF TRUMP’S PROPOSED TRAVEL BAN**

### ***Vance Previously Opposed Trump’s Muslim Ban***

**Vance Opposed Trump’s So-Called “Muslim Ban” And Blamed Trump For Putting The Idea In Voters’ Heads.** VANCE: “But when we start, talking having conversations for example about a Muslim ban which thankfully President Trump retracted later on in the campaign. But as soon as he talked about a Muslim ban, all of a sudden a lot of voters supported the idea of a Muslim ban.” ([UChicago Institute Of Politics YouTube Channel](#), 2/3/17, 1:09:15-1:09:30)

## **VANCE PREVIOUSLY BLAMED U.S. BUSINESSES ON THE BORDER CRISIS**

### ***In March 2021, Vance Wrote That The “Masters Of The Universe” And The Need For “Cheap Foreign Labor” Resulted In The Border Crisis***

**In March 2021, Vance Wrote That The “Masters Of The Universe” And The Need For “Cheap Foreign Labor” Resulted In The Border Crisis.** “I’ve thought of this moment frequently, as our southern border has exploded into crisis. We’re a year into the COVID-19 pandemic, with tens of millions of people unemployed. Countless businesses have been destroyed. Despite the enormous challenges facing America’s working class, those same masters of the universe and the politicians they fund are still looking for the same thing: cheap foreign labor. No one seems to care that many migrants test positive for COVID every day and will directly compete with our struggling service sector workers.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

### ***Vance Said Illegal Immigration Is “About Money” And Cheap Labor For Business Leaders***

**Vance Said Illegal Immigration Is “About Money” And Cheap Labor For Business Leaders.** “The answer is what I saw at that dinner: It’s about money. Nearly every major business and financial leader in this country is a supporter of the Democratic Party. They love illegal immigration for the simple reason that their livelihoods are subsidized by illegal immigration—while illegal aliens themselves are subsidized by the taxpayer. It’s a redistribution scheme from the poor to the rich.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

- **Vance: “More Immigration Means Lower Wages For Their Workers And Easier Access To Servants For Their Decadent Personal Lives.”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

### ***Vance Said “We Should Take A Page From President Trump’s Playbook And Call This What It Is” Despite Accusations From Some That It Is Racist To Criticize Biden’s Immigration Policies***

**Vance Said “We Should Take A Page From President Trump’s Playbook And Call This What It Is” Despite Accusations From Some That It Is Racist To Criticize Biden’s Immigration Policies.** “We should take a page from President Trump’s playbook and call this what it is. Whenever I criticize the Biden administration’s immigration policies, someone tells me I’m ‘racist.’ Many Republicans naturally grow defensive—no one wants to be tagged as a racist, especially in today’s environment when an accusation like that can end your career or ruin your life.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

- **Vance: “What’s So Disgusting About The Charge Of Racism Is That It Takes Something Good About The American People—Their Compassion For Their Fellow Citizens—And Warps It In Service Of Our Corporate Overlords.”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

- **Vance: “Who Cares About American Solidarity If Your Hotel Chain Share Price Goes Up A Few Pennies, Right?”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)
- **Vance: “It’s Not Racist To Refuse To Do The Bidding Of America’s Corporate Oligarchy, And It’s Not Compassionate To Create A Crisis On Both Sides Of Our Southern Border.”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

***In 2019, Vance Agreed With Fox News’ Tucker Carlson That The “Ruling Class” Had Made The Immigration Debate About Race To Convince Black Voters To Support Liberal Immigration Policies Against Their Economic Interests***

**In 2019, Vance Agreed With Fox News’ Tucker Carlson That The “Ruling Class” Had Made The Immigration Debate About Race To Convince Black Voters To Support Liberal Immigration Policies Against Their Economic Interests.** CARLSON: “So if you’re, you know, a working class black person, immigration doesn’t help you in any sense, it helps rich people. But a ruling class makes the conversation about race, so all of a sudden, you feel like you’ve got to be in favor of this because there’s some sort of solidarity, which is false.” VANCE: “Yes. One of the pretty consistent findings is that the biggest problem with low-wage, low-skilled immigration is that it has a competitive effect for black Americans on the lower end of the income scale.” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “That’s the group of people that low-wage and low-skilled immigration is worse for. Again, it’s good for people who are employing the low-skilled workers. And so if you again distract from the people who are benefiting from the problem, and you put the onus on a group of people who are also suffering from low-wage, low-skill competition, then you manage to build up the elites. And of course, you don’t actually solve any of the real problems.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 5/14/19)

**Vance: “If You Again Distract From The People Who Are Benefiting From The Problem, And You Put The Onus On A Group Of People Who Are Also Suffering From Low-Wage, Low-Skill Competition, Then You Manage To Build Up The Elites”**

**Vance: “If You Again Distract From The People Who Are Benefiting From The Problem, And You Put The Onus On A Group Of People Who Are Also Suffering From Low-Wage, Low-Skill Competition, Then You Manage To Build Up The Elites.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 5/14/19)

**VANCE HAS PREVIOUSLY TAKEN POSITIONS THAT UNDERMINE THE RELIGIOUS-RIGHT**

***Vance Attacked 2012 GOP Candidates For Missing “The Mark” On Evolution***

**In A 2011 Op-Ed, Vance Attacked Rick Perry And Michelle Bachmann’s Conservatism For Opposing “Science.”** “Perry and Bachmann’s conservatism is defined by what it opposes: science, liberalism, and gays. Others insist that their conservatism is reflexively anti-government, but each supports the Federal Marriage Amendment, a proposal that would annul the marriages of gay couples—ripping apart new families, many of which count young children as members.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)

- **Vance: “Their Assertions That Evolution Is ‘Just A Theory’ Miss The Mark, And Discourage Otherwise Sympathetic Voters From Joining The Conservative Cause.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)
- **Vance: “I Don’t Buy That I’m A Moderate Because I Believe What Scientists Say About Evolution.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)

***Vance Criticized GOP Presidential Candidates Opposed To The Federal Marriage Amendment, Which He Said Would Rip “Apart New Families”***

**In A 2011 Op-Ed, Vance Criticized Rick Perry And Michelle Bachmann For Supporting The Federal Marriage Amendment, A Proposal Vance Said Would Result In The Annulment Of Gay Marriages And Would Rip “Apart New Families, Many Of Which Count Young Children As Members.”** “Others insist that their conservatism is reflexively anti-government, but each supports the Federal Marriage Amendment, a proposal that would annul the marriages of gay couples—ripping apart new families, many of which count young children as members.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)

- **Vance: “I Don’t Buy That I’m A Moderate Because I Think That Families—All Of Them, Even The Ones Headed By Gay People—Are Vital To The Survival Of The Republic.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)



## VANCE'S CONTROVERSIAL FOREIGN POLICY RECORD

### VANCE CRITICIZED THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION FOR THE AIRSTRIKE THAT KILLED QASEM SOLEIMANI

*In 2020, Vance Criticized President Trump's Airstrike Killing Iranian General Qasem Soleimani, Worrying It Would Continue To Bog Down America In The Middle East To The Advantage Of China*

**In 2020, Vance Criticized President Trump's Airstrike Killing Iranian General Qasem Soleimani, Worrying It Would Continue To Bog Down America In The Middle East To The Advantage Of China.** VANCE: "One person who is paying close attention to this, one of the few who cares is J.D. Vance, the author of course of 'Hillbilly Elegy.' We're happy to have him on our show tonight. J.D., thanks so much for coming on. I don't think anybody mourns the death of Soleimani, in this country anyway, but I wonder what the Chinese think as they watch this?" J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR: "Well, I think one thing they're thinking is that, just as the past two American presidencies have been bogged down in the Middle East in various ways, this conflict risks escalating in a way that makes America focus on the Middle East for yet another few years, maybe another 10 years, even as the Chinese grow and military might in economic power. And we know, of course, that they're planting various infrastructure and economic institutions all over Africa, all over Asia, that their entire economy is growing and flourishing. And yet, again, we risk focusing on this small region of the world that is obviously important, but not nearly as important as our biggest geopolitical rival continuing to gain strength and power." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 1/3/20)

**Vance: "This Conflict Risks Escalating In A Way That Makes America Focus On The Middle East For Yet Another Few Years, Maybe Another 10 Years, Even As The Chinese Grow And Military Might In Economic Power"**

**Vance: "This Conflict Risks Escalating In A Way That Makes America Focus On The Middle East For Yet Another Few Years, Maybe Another 10 Years, Even As The Chinese Grow And Military Might In Economic Power."** (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 1/3/20)

*Vance Suggested That The Country Had Been Entangled In Wars In The Middle East So "Financial Elites" Could Profit From The Rise Of China*

**Vance Suggested That The Country Had Been Entangled In Wars In The Middle East So "Financial Elites" Could Profit From The Rise Of China.** CARLSON: "I mean, just a macro question to end on, why is it so hard for our elites to police themselves? If someone is consistently wrong about the big things, why is he still in the same job? If we allowed our heart surgeons to keep working with that kind of track record, no one would survive surgery. So why do we allow our policymakers to be wrong time and again?" VANCE: "Well, Tucker, I'll give you a cynical answer, and then a less cynical answer. I mean, the less cynical answer is basically that a lot of people just aren't very good and very smart at what they do. And honestly, I actually hope that's the answer, because the more cynical answer is that as our country has successfully bungled, or sorry successively, bungled Middle Eastern wars and allowed China to rise, there is of course a group of people who've gotten very wealthy off of China's growing power, and that's the financial elites who actually run the country, who donate to the think tanks, of course, that

produce the policy papers that so many of our politicians rely on. And so I do think that one way of recognizing that there's been a massive failure here is that the people who have not been in service of the American national interests are still collecting a paycheck, and the people who have gotten it right are still largely on the fringes.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/3/20)

**Vance: “And I Think That's Fundamentally A Story Of Incentives And A Story Of Who Donors Are Benefiting From And Who Donors Are Paying To Effectively Issue What Is Propaganda.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/3/20)

## **VANCE HAS MADE CONTROVERSIAL REMARKS CONCERNING CHINESE PATRIOTISM**

### ***Vance Previously Claimed That Chinese Nationals Were More Patriotic Than U.S. Nationals***

**Vance Said That China Had An Advantage Over The United States Because Chinese Nationals Were More Patriotic.** CARLSON: “Right. And they know that we're so self-hating that they can control us. They can bully us into submission, but the Chinese don't hate themselves, do they?” VANCE: “No, they don't Tucker. And that's one of the craziest things about China is whether it's Chinese nationals who are living overseas in America or Western Europe, whether it's folks who maybe go on a student visa, and then come back; what's pretty clear, is that China is very good at ensuring that its own citizens actually love the country. And I don't think there's a whole lot that's especially lovable about the Chinese nation these days. But they're very good at making their own citizens patriotic. And unfortunately, we have a country that has a lot to be -- you know, we have a lot to be proud of in America.” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “But unfortunately, a lot of folks don't think that this country is something to be proud of. When you have -- when you're in a global geopolitical struggle, where one nation is afraid of its own shadow, and the other nation is proud of itself, it's not too difficult to imagine which nation is going to win.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 10/7/19)

## **VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE FLIP-FLOPPED ON HIS SUPPORT FOR THE IRAQ WAR**

### ***In 2016, Vance Criticized The Iraq War And Jeb Bush For Continuing To Defend The War***

**In 2016, Vance Criticized The Iraq War And The Consequences To Veterans Of The War.** “To Mamaw, the president was the living embodiment of privilege, and he had cashed in when it mattered most: by joining the Texas Air National Guard while his less fortunate peers lost their lives in the jungles of Vietnam. Though I never acquired Mamaw's disdain for the president, I eventually learned that her wariness about the war was justified. Thirteen years later, the war's costs are obvious, especially to military families. Though I avoided significant combat, many did not. One good friend suffered horrible burns when his vehicle rolled over a roadside bomb. Another came home traumatized; his alcoholism eventually landed him in prison.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

- **Vance: “And The Best That Can Be Said Of Our Nation's Effort Is That We Produced A Feckless And Disorganized Iraqi Government.”** (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Said He Was Proud Of His Service But The Middle East Was “Humiliatingly Worse Off Than The Way We Found It”**

**Vance Said He Was Proud Of His Service But The Middle East Was “Humiliatingly Worse Off Than The Way We Found It.”** “I am proud of my service and proud of those who served alongside me. But war is about more than service and sacrifice -- it's about winning. Sixty years ago, Americans looked to Europe and Asia and saw continents liberated and despots defeated. With the Islamic State on the rampage, Americans today look to a Middle East that is humiliatingly worse off than the way we found it.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Criticized Republicans For Running Candidates In 2008 And 2012 Who “Refused To Rethink The Bush Foreign Policy That Led To Iraq”**

**Vance Criticized Republicans For Running Candidates In 2008 And 2012 Who “Refused To Rethink The Bush Foreign Policy That Led To Iraq.”** “Yet while the Democrats elected an anti-Iraq war candidate in 2008, the Republicans never addressed the anger of their own voters. At best, they criticized the mismanagement of the war or hauled V.A. officials into Congress for hearings. But in 2008 and 2012, the party ran candidates who refused to rethink the Bush foreign policy that led to Iraq.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Said Jeb Bush’s Advisers Were From “The Same Pool Of Discredited Thinkers Who Planned And Executed The War”**

**Vance Said Jeb Bush’s Advisers Were From “The Same Pool Of Discredited Thinkers Who Planned And Executed The War.”** “In early 2015, the party appeared ready to coronate Jeb Bush, the brother of the man who started the Iraq war. Jeb drew his advisers from the same pool of discredited thinkers who planned and executed the war. Meanwhile, his chief adversaries rushed to praise George W. Bush's national security record.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance: “Mr. Trump Is Unfit For Our Nation's Highest Office. But To Those Humiliated By Defeat, He Promises We'll Win Again.”** (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Said When Bush Was In Office, “He Sent Their Children On A Bloody Misadventure.”** “Anger about the wars isn't the only reason voters support Mr. Trump. But his willingness to say what other G.O.P. candidates won't reflects what people like most about him: his complete break with the party elite. Because the last time Republican voters put a member of that elite in the White House, he sent their children on a bloody misadventure. Until others recognize that failure, expect many to support the one major candidate who does.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

***However, Vance Previously Noted He Supported The Invasion Of Iraq***

**In 2010, Vance Wrote That He “Supported The Iraq Invasion On The Merits.”** “The New York Times points out that psychological necessity may force the gung-ho attitude displayed by the helicopter crews, and I can only lamely add that soldiers are people, too. We can legislate laws of war and refine rules of engagement, but war will always be a grisly business. I'm not a peacenik, and I supported the Iraq invasion on the merits, but it's folly to send troops to do the

toughest job and then be shocked by the attitude that some show while doing it.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Wikileaks Shows True Nature Of War,” [FrumForum](#), 4/12/10)

**Vance Said Of “All Of President Bush’s Mistakes, His Failure To Emotionally Prepare The American People For War Is Perhaps The Most Severe.”** “The second is that of all of President Bush’s mistakes, his failure to emotionally prepare the American people for war is perhaps the most severe. We ought to demand the best of our troops, and do whatever necessary to rectify mistakes, but the American people are too often confused or shocked when things like this happen. Maybe we wouldn’t be if we understood the monumental difficulty of our task.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Wikileaks Shows True Nature Of War,” [FrumForum](#), 4/12/10)

***Additionally, Vance Was A Reporter For The U.S. Department Of Defense And Reported Successes In Iraq***

**In 2005, Vance, Then Going By Hamel, Reported That The Iraqi Security Forces Were Part Of A “Successful Evolution” Toward U.S. Policy Of Slowly Relinquishing Control Of Iraq To Its Own People.** “‘As the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down.’ Those are the words of President George W. Bush, stating the U.S. policy of slowly relinquishing control of Iraq to its own people. At the heart of this policy is the successful evolution of the Iraqi Security Forces, who, despite bombs and death threats, continue to learn the ropes of combat patrols and provincial security. But to be successful, the Iraqis need bases of operations, and that’s where the Engineer Support Battalion Marines at Al Asad, Iraq, serve as important a role as any in Operation Iraqi Freedom. The Marines are busy every day in the hot Iraqi sun building a fully functional, self-sustaining ISF base. It is one of many sites Iraqis will use to assume responsibility for the security of their nation.” (Cpl. James D. Hamel, “Al Asad Detachment Helps Build New Iraq,” US Department Of Defense Information, 9/13/05)

**In 2005, Vance Wrote About The Marines Assistance In The “Successful Iraqi Election.”** “As Iraqis took to the polls for the third time this year, Marines from the 2nd Marine Aircraft Wing and other units stationed in Iraq, supported Operation Liberty Express, filling vital roles in the security, transportation and livelihood of Iraqi poll workers. At Camp Liberty, Iraq, a makeshift city that housed nearly 700 election workers and officials, Marines provided security and comfortable living conditions for the poll workers, while others at Al Asad, Iraq, ensured their safe transportation, by air and ground, to polling sites around the country. ‘Our basic goal was to provide a secure environment with basic life amenities for the poll workers and (Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq) poll captains,’ said Gunnery Sgt. Stephen Ahern, a Castle Rock, Colo., native and staff noncommissioned officer-in-charge of the security element at Camp Liberty. The security detachment included Marines from every conceivable job specialty and background. After brief refresher courses in basic security tactics, the Marines took to their duties with enthusiasm and skill, Ahern said.” (Cpl. James D. Hamel, “Operation Liberty Express Ensures Successful Iraqi Election,” Defense Department Documents And Publications, 12/20/05)

***In Early 2017, Vance Has Criticized “Never-Ending Commitment” To Iraq While Calling For “Some Sort Of Happy Median” Going Forward Under Trump***

**In 2017, Vance Said He Embraced The “Very Old-Fashioned View” On Iraq—“Which Can Be Simply Stated As You Break It, You Buy It”—While Criticizing A “Sort Of Never-Ending Commitment To The Country.”** VANCE: “My worry is that we’re going in too far in the other direction, right? I mean, I have a very old-fashioned view, especially with regards to

Iraq, which can be simply stated as you break it, you buy it. And I don't think that we can have this sort of never-ending commitment to the country of Iraq. But I think about, you know, these military interpreters. I actually talked to a general a few days ago, his interpreter was trapped in an airport after this refugee order came down. And I just think about what we really owe to these people, especially the people who helped us out.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

**Vance Expressed Concern That The U.S. Had “Gone Again Too Far In The Other Direction” And Urged Us To “Find Some Sort Of Happy Median.”** VANCE: “And I worry that we've gone again too far in the other direction. And so, like with everything, I always hope that we can find some sort of happy median, where maybe we can balance these interests a little bit better than we have in the past. But we're not, you know, putting a hard ban on people in a way that affects people who've been very good to us. But, it's in some ways, I think, a natural outgrowth of a pretty dark period in the American foreign policy.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

## **VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE EMBRACED NON-INTERVENTIONISM**

### ***Vance Has Called For A More Non-Interventionist Foreign Policy***

**In 2019, Vance Called For The Conservative Movement To Push “A Foreign Policy That Was Built Around Fiercely Securing And Defending America's National Interests, But Not Sacrificing So Many Of The People That I Served With To Imperial Hubris.”** “Now, I won't sit up here and preach at you a conservative platform for the next 21st century. I will not tell you precisely what that conservative politics looks like for two reasons. The first is that it's pretty late, and I imagine you've had a fair amount to drink, and I don't want to keep you too long. But the second is that we still need to figure out a lot of the details for how this vision of conservative politics, a pro-family, pro-worker, pro-American nation, conservatism actually looks in practice. There's a lot of work to be done. I think in broad strokes, there are a few things that that conservatism will possess...It would build a foreign policy that was built around fiercely securing and defending America's national interests, but not sacrificing so many of the people that I served with to imperial hubris.” (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

**In 2017, Vance Faulted “Elites Of Both Parties” For Going “Off On Various Military Misadventures” In The Name Of “Humanitarian Goals.”** AXELROD: “But, the second question is, what is the consequence of that in terms of terrorism and other problems that are unavoidable in a world this small.” VANCE: “Right. Yes, well, I'm very mindful of the fact that there obviously is a tradeoff between humanitarian interest and national interest sometimes. And I do worry that folks on both the left and the right have been a little bit too high-minded about American foreign policy. And so, there's been this backlash, right? There's this sense that we have to retrench a little bit because the elites of both parties have sort of gone off on various military misadventures, in the name of very -- various humanitarian goals.” AXELROD: “And the hubris (ph) that said we can impose democracy --” VANCE: “Exactly.” AXELROD: “-- in places that didn't have the civic --” VANCE: “Absolutely.” AXELROD: “-- sort of institutions to support it, and where tribalism is a much more potent force.” VANCE: “Right. And so, I sort of get the reaction against that in a certain way, right? I understand this impulse, and for a very long time, I was, you know, what are my culture. I'm curious for this very reason that he was willing to criticize some of these sacred cows --” AXELROD: “Yes.” VANCE: “-- in the foreign policy consensus.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

## **VANCE HAS BEEN ONE OF THE CHIEF OBSTRUCTIONISTS TO U.S. EFFORTS TO PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO UKRAINE**

***According To The Associated Press, Vance Expressed His Opposition To Ukraine Funding By Stating “The Problem In Ukraine ... Is That There’s No Clear End Point”***

**According To The Associated Press, Vance Expressed His Opposition To Ukraine Funding By Stating “The Problem In Ukraine ... Is That There’s No Clear End Point”.** “Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, U.S. Vice President Kamala Harris and others have advocated passage of the \$60 billion in aid at the Munich Security Conference, which coincided with Ukraine withdrawing troops from the eastern city of Avdiivka after months of intense combat. But Sen. JD Vance, an Ohio Republican and ally of Donald Trump, said “the problem in Ukraine ... is that there’s no clear end point” and that the U.S. doesn’t make enough weapons to support wars in eastern Europe, the Middle East and “potentially a contingency in East Asia.”” (“Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference,” [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

***Vance Claimed Ukraine Funding Will “Not Going To Fundamentally Change The Reality On The Battlefield”***

**Vance Claimed Ukraine Funding Will “Not Going To Fundamentally Change The Reality On The Battlefield”.** “If the package goes through, “that is not going to fundamentally change the reality on the battlefield,” Vance argued, pointing to limited American manufacturing capacity. “Can we send the level of weaponry we’ve sent for the last 18 months?” he asked. “We simply cannot. No matter how many checks the U.S. Congress writes, we are limited there.”” (“Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference,” [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

- **Vance: “Can We Send The Level Of Weaponry We’ve Sent For The Last 18 Months... We Simply Cannot. No Matter How Many Checks The U.S. Congress Writes, We Are Limited There.”** (“Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference,” [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

***Vance Supports “Negotiated Peace” Between Russia And Ukraine***

**Vance Supports “Negotiated Peace” Between Russia And Ukraine.** ““I think what’s reasonable to accomplish is some negotiated peace,” he said, arguing that Russia, Ukraine, Europe and the U.S. all have an incentive to come to the table now and that the two-year-old war will at some point end in a negotiated peace. Ricarda Lang, a co-leader of one of Germany’s governing parties, the Greens, responded that Russian President Vladimir Putin has shown repeatedly “that he has no interest in peace at the moment.”” (“Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference,” [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

***Vance Published A Press Release Describing Ukraine Aid Legislation As A “Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package”***

**Vance Published A Press Release Describing Ukraine Aid Legislation As A “Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package”.** (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

FEBRUARY 7, 2024

**SENATOR VANCE BLASTS PUSH FOR ‘UKRAINE FIRST’ FOREIGN AID PACKAGE**

(“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “The Establishment, Combined With The Democrats, Are Then Going To Cut Out The Border Piece Of This Package, Which Leaves Ukraine, Taiwan, Israel Funding And Try To Jam It Through”**

**Vance: “The Establishment, Combined With The Democrats, Are Then Going To Cut Out The Border Piece Of This Package, Which Leaves Ukraine, Taiwan, Israel Funding And Try To Jam It Through”.** ““Now, what is coming immediately after that is actually a huge surprise. And this is big news, because this was not known even 12 hours ago, but the establishment, combined with the Democrats, are then going to cut out the border piece of this package, which leaves Ukraine, Taiwan, Israel funding and try to jam it through today.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “This Is All About Giving Away What Little Leverage We Have Over The Democrats, Passing This Ukraine Package And Then Putting Pressure On The House”**

**Vance: “This Is All About Giving Away What Little Leverage We Have Over The Democrats, Passing This Ukraine Package And Then Putting Pressure On The House.”** ““Now, we have to remember that we’ve had no time to review the Ukraine piece of this. You know how I feel about Ukraine. Even some of my friends who are pro Ukraine funding are saying, wait, we have to have time to actually review this. But, Steve, this is all about giving away what little leverage we have over the Democrats, passing this Ukraine package and then putting pressure on the House.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “So It’s A Lose From A Policy Perspective. It’s A Lose From A Political Perspective, And I Have No Idea Why We’re Doing It Except For This: Senate Leadership Is Obsessed... Absolutely A Borderline Fetish With Getting Ukraine Money”**

**Vance: “So It’s A Lose From A Policy Perspective. It’s A Lose From A Political Perspective, And I Have No Idea Why We’re Doing It Except For This: Senate Leadership Is Obsessed... Absolutely A Borderline Fetish With Getting Ukraine Money”.** ““So it’s a lose from a policy perspective. It’s a lose from a political perspective, and I have no idea why we’re doing it except for this: Senate leadership is obsessed, Steve, I mean, absolutely a borderline fetish with getting Ukraine money and they’re willing to give away all of our leverage

to get it. Everybody needs to say this is a no-go. Vote no on this package. It is the single most important thing to kill in the U.S. Senate since I've been here. The worst piece of legislation, I think, in the U.S. Senate since I've been here and we've got to absolutely get it out of here.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “We Went Into This Negotiation Saying There’s A Very Simple Proposition Here: The Democrats Want Ukraine Money, We Don’t Want To Give Them Ukraine Money... In Reality, We Were Doing This Massive Amnesty Package Behind Closed Doors”**

**Vance: “We Went Into This Negotiation Saying There’s A Very Simple Proposition Here: The Democrats Want Ukraine Money, We Don’t Want To Give Them Ukraine Money... In Reality, We Were Doing This Massive Amnesty Package Behind Closed Doors.”** ““What happened in the background, Steve, is that the negotiation happened completely in secret. Of course, we didn’t know any of the details of what was coming out. We were promised it was going to be great. But remember, we went into this negotiation saying there’s a very simple proposition here: the Democrats want Ukraine money, we don’t want to give them Ukraine money. Or even if we do, some of my colleagues do, of course – we want border security more than that. So tell Joe Biden very simply, he doesn’t get another dime for Ukraine unless he shuts down the American border. That was what we thought we were negotiating here. In reality, we were doing this massive amnesty package behind closed doors.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “It Was Always A Question Of How Can You Get Enough On The Border So The Conservatives Would Swallow \$61 Billion For Ukraine”**

**Vance: “It Was Always A Question Of How Can You Get Enough On The Border So The Conservatives Would Swallow \$61 Billion For Ukraine.”** ““And then, of course, like you said, dropped on Sunday evening for a Wednesday vote so that nobody would have enough time to read it and push back against the terrible provisions. Here’s what I’ve heard Steve, and I’ve heard this from both Democrats and Republicans in the United States Senate, that the Republicans were never empowered by our own leadership to really push for concessions. “So James Lankford from Oklahoma is going to get a lot of crap for this. What I’ve heard is actually that he was told that he was not allowed to get major concessions on the border because this was always a fig leaf. It was always a question of how can you get enough on the border so the conservatives would swallow \$61 billion for Ukraine.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “If The Republican Leadership Wants Ukraine Funding As Much As The Democrats, We Don’t Have Any Leverage To Begin With. And That Was The Fundamental Flaw In This Entire Process”**

**Vance: “If The Republican Leadership Wants Ukraine Funding As Much As The Democrats, We Don’t Have Any Leverage To Begin With. And That Was The Fundamental Flaw In This Entire Process”.** ““They may not love it, but they love border security. That was always the trade they were being forced to make. Well as you know, Steve, if you go into a negotiation and you’re already preemptively giving concessions and you’re unwilling to walk away because you’re supposed to give border to get Ukraine funding. Right,



that's what the Democrats are saying. "Well, if the Republican leadership wants Ukraine funding as much as the Democrats, we don't have any leverage to begin with. And that was the fundamental flaw in this entire process, is we had no leverage because our leadership didn't allow us to have leverage." ("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: "What We Should Be Doing Is Going Back To The Drawing Board Saying: This Isn't Good Enough, But Still The Deal Is On The Table. No More Money For Ukraine Unless Biden Shuts Down The Border. The Fact That We're Not Even Doing That, Steve Gives The Whole Game Away"**

**Vance: "What We Should Be Doing Is Going Back To The Drawing Board Saying: This Isn't Good Enough, But Still The Deal Is On The Table. No More Money For Ukraine Unless Biden Shuts Down The Border. The Fact That We're Not Even Doing That, Steve Gives The Whole Game Away."** "Well, if the Republican leadership wants Ukraine funding as much as the Democrats, we don't have any leverage to begin with. And that was the fundamental flaw in this entire process, is we had no leverage because our leadership didn't allow us to have leverage. That's why this whole thing has broken down and that's why they've now immediately pivoted to getting money for Ukraine, which if we cared about the border, Steve, what we should be doing is going back to the drawing board saying: this isn't good enough, but still the deal is on the table. No more money for Ukraine unless Biden shuts down the border. The fact that we're not even doing that, Steve gives the whole game away. It was never about the border. It was always about Ukraine." ("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

***In 2023, Vance Signed Onto A Letter To The Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget Calling For Details On Ukraine Spending***

**In January 2023, Vance Signed Onto A Letter To The Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget Calling For Details On Ukraine Spending.** ([Letter To Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget](#), 1/19/23)

Privileged & Confidential

Congress of the United States  
Washington, DC 20515

January 19, 2023

The Honorable Shalanda Young  
Director  
Office of Management and Budget  
725 Seventeenth Street NW  
Washington, DC 20503

Director Young,

Thank you for your service to the country. The most recent omnibus spending bill (P.L. 117-328) brought the total budget authority provided by Congress to support a range of activities in Ukraine and “in countries impacted by the situation in Ukraine” to \$114 billion. However, this amount does not include reprogrammings, and transfers, for which the administration has asked for additional authorities in each of its four supplemental requests, dating back to March 2, 2022.<sup>1</sup> Taken together, the four Ukraine supplemental spending bills passed since the escalation of the Ukraine/Russia conflict in February of 2022 amount to arguably the fourth-largest discretionary appropriations bill.<sup>2</sup>

Further, multiple DOD Inspectors General advisories have raised questions about DOD’s budget execution practices in regards to these funds. In particular, both the July 8 advisory and the September 19 advisory raise the issue that the DOD’s use of systems unable to interface with its budgetary management software may be a potential source for reporting errors.<sup>3</sup> Additional work by the State Department and USAID Inspectors General is ongoing. Fortunately, Section 1202 of Division M of P.L. 117-328 requires a report to Congress “describing the United States security assistance provided to Ukraine since February 24, 2022...including a comprehensive list of defense articles and services provided to Ukraine and the associated authority and funding used to provide such articles and services.”<sup>4</sup> This report is due thirty days from the effective date of the bill. However, a listing of defense articles and services does not include the full picture of expenditures on areas such as budget support for the Ukrainian government and economic assistance.

For these reasons, we ask that this report be expanded upon by OMB and made public in order to allow Representatives and Senators to make a determination on the wisdom of additional expenditure in this area. In addition to the legally-required reporting described in section 1202, before a vote on any additional Ukraine-related appropriation occurs, we ask that the administration make public a full crosscutting report on U.S. government-wide expenditures for Ukraine and “countries impacted by the situation in Ukraine” since February 24, 2022. The report should include a full accounting of total budget authority in this area by appropriations account after transfers and reprogrammings, as well as obligations, apportionments, and outlays for each account. The report should also include a list of countries the administration considers “impacted by the situation in Ukraine” and an accounting of budgetary resources the administration intends to provide to each of these countries in response to the situation in Ukraine including obligations, apportionments, and outlays.

We appreciate your continued commitment to transparency and to ensuring that the United States Congress has the information it needs to exercise its constitutional responsibilities. We ask for a response by February 7th, 2023.

Sincerely,



JD Vance  
U.S. Senator



Dan Bishop  
Member of Congress

[\(Letter To Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget, 1/19/23\)](#)

***Recently, Vance Stated He Opposed Ukraine Funding In Order To Protect Donald Trump From Potential Future Impeachment***

**According To The Washington Post, Vance Opposes Ukraine Funding In Order To Protect Donald Trump From Potential Future Impeachment.** ““These funds expire on September 30, 2025 — nearly a year into the possible second term of President Trump,” Vance explained in a memo that he says he sent to every Republican in Congress on Monday. Then the warning: “These are the exact same accounts President Trump was impeached for pausing in December 2019.” That’s the argument Vance is making: Democrats are trying to pass a bill that will allow them to impeach Trump again! Republicans must stand in their way! It is a nonsensical argument, rooted in an obvious misrepresentation of Trump’s 2019 impeachment.” (“J.D. Vance’s Sloppy Effort To Turn MAGA World Against Ukraine Funding,” [Washington Post](#), 2/12/24)

## **VANCE’S NOTABLE VULNERABILITIES WITH MODERATES**

### **VANCE HAS TAKEN A POPULIST VIEW ON GLOBAL FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS**

#### ***Vance Supports Trade Policies “Different” From Free Trade***

**Following The 2016 Election, Vance Said, “I Don’t Think We Can Completely Go Against Free Trade, But We’re Going To Do Something Different.”** “Trump's position on the trade issue, that the U.S. needs to be more aggressive in trade negotiations and back away from NAFTA and other agreements, struck a chord with voters who lost jobs, in some cases more than one job, to companies moving overseas, Vance said. ‘I don't think we can completely go against free trade, but we're going to do something different,’ Vance said.” (Alan Johnson, “Voters Went After Change, Author Says,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, 11/13/16)

#### ***Vance Opposed Completely Unwinding Trade Agreements, Noting The “Factories Still Aren’t Coming Back”***

**Vance In 2016: “Free Trade Is Not Perfect But If You Completely Unwind Trade Agreements The Factories Still Aren't Coming Back.”** “Trump's Americans have legitimate grievances over wage stagnation and underemployment but their candidate channels those frustrations in dangerous and unhelpful ways. ‘He takes complex problems and projects them on simple villains,’ says J.D. Vance, the author of the bestseller ‘Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis.’ ‘Free trade is not perfect but if you completely unwind trade agreements the factories still aren't coming back.’” (Michael Cooper, “Trump Can't Fix The Problems Of The Working Class,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 9/9/16)

#### ***Vance Has Criticized The Idea That Bad Trade Deals—including With Countries Like China—Were To Blame For Job Losses***

**In 2017, Vance Expressed Doubts That “Bad Trade Deals” Were To Blame For Disruptions In The Economy.** AXELROD: “I mean, obviously, Donald Trump got elected on large -- in large part, I think. And one of the great motivators was his argument that trade laws had caused all these jobs. And America had been taken advantage of. And he was going to -- and he was going -- and he's acting on that now. We can see him dissolving trade treaties, trying to renegotiate trade treaties. The question is, is he fighting yesterday's war here?” VANCE: “Well, I think he is. And I think he's sort of true about this or he's right about this problem halfway and wrong about it halfway. There definitely was a pretty significant disruption caused by trade. I think you can make a pretty good argument that it was not necessarily bad trade deals as much as just the natural flow of the economy.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

#### ***Vance: “It's Not That We Have This Terrible Trade Deal With China. It's Just That A Lot Of Things***

**That People Used To Buy From The U.S. They Could Buy From China Because It Was Cheaper.”** VANCE: “You know, it's not that we have this terrible trade deal with China. It's just that a lot of things that people used to buy from the U.S. They could buy from China

because it was cheaper. So, that cut some on exports, cut some on the jobs that are driven by those exports.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

**Vance: “We’ve Already Lost That Battle In Some Ways. The Jobs Are Already Gone.”**

VANCE: “But, as we’ve discussed the bigger issue, especially now, again, was certainly a big issue back in the '90s and the '80s, but it's the issue now is that all of the job losses as you look out in the future are coming from technology and automation. Basically, robots are going to replace people. And that raises a really difficult question, right, because you can't turn the clock back on technology and automation. Maybe you could a little bit on trade if we were in the '80s. But, we've already lost that battle in some ways. The jobs are already gone. And we've got to be thinking about how to figure out, maybe prevent or at least prepare for the next generation of labor market shift.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

***Vance Has Suggested That The Republican Party’s Support For Free Trade Is At Odds With Its Working Class Base***

**In 2016, Vance Complained The Republican Party Had Given The White Working Class Nothing But “The Basic Republican Policy Platform Of Tax Cuts, Free Trade, Deregulation, And Paeans To The Noble Businessman And Economic Growth.”** “The two political parties have offered essentially nothing to these people for a few decades. From the Left, they get some smug condescension, an exasperation that the white working class votes against their economic interests because of social issues, a la Thomas Frank (more on that below). Maybe they get a few handouts, but many don’t want handouts to begin with. From the Right, they’ve gotten the basic Republican policy platform of tax cuts, free trade, deregulation, and paeans to the noble businessman and economic growth. Whatever the merits of better tax policy and growth (and I believe there are many), the simple fact is that these policies have done little to address a very real social crisis.” (Rod Dreher, “Trump: Tribune Of Poor White People,” [The American Conservative](#), 7/22/16)

**Vance: “These Policies Are Culturally Tone Deaf: Nobody From Southern Ohio Wants To Hear About The Nobility Of The Factory Owner Who Just Fired Their Brother.”** (Rod Dreher, “Trump: Tribune Of Poor White People,” [The American Conservative](#), 7/22/16)

**VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE ONCE CALLED FOR SLASHING SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE**

***Prior To Running For Office, Vance Wrote That He Would Support Dramatic Cuts To Social Security And Supported A Plan That The AARP Warned Would “End Medicare As We Know It”***

**Vance Wrote in 2010 Blog Post Criticizing Republicans, Democrats For Not Making Cuts To Social Security, Medicare, Calling The GOP “The Party Of The Aging White Person.”** “Ohio GOP Senate candidate J.D. Vance has in the past advocated for major reforms to Social Security and Medicare in order to restore “fiscal sanity” to the United States. [...]In a 2010 blog post, Vance — then writing under the name J.D. Hamel — argued that Social Security and Medicare were among the biggest drivers of large federal budget deficits, but that neither Democrats nor Republicans had the political will to enact deep cuts to either federal entitlement

program. “The political obstacles intimidate more than the practical problems,” Vance wrote in the post on a personal blog site he used while in law school at Yale. “The party of, umm, limited government — the Republican Party — is also the party of the aging white person. The party’s only solid constituency thus depends on the Medicare and Social Security Benefits that are the biggest roadblocks to any kind of real fiscal sanity. The Democrats are similarly hopeless.” The post offers a relatively standard conservative view of the budgetary situation at the time: A decade ago, large budget deficits and a mounting federal debt — both of which had been exacerbated by the Great Recession — served as Republicans’ favorite weapon against President Barack Obama and congressional Democrats, who had enacted an \$800 billion federal stimulus package and the Affordable Care Act.” (Huffpost, [7/13/22](#))

**Vance Wrote Blog Post Under The Title “The Hillbilly Elite.”** (The Hillbilly Elite, [12/11/10](#))



**Vance Praised 2011 Paul Ryan Budget That Would Overhaul Social Security, Medicare.**

“After Republicans swept to the House majority in 2010’s midterm elections, the federal debt and the need for fiscal austerity became the dominating political issue of the time, and elements of both parties came to see entitlement reforms as a way to rein in federal spending. Then-Rep. Paul Ryan (R-Wis.) introduced a nowinfamous budget plan that sought to overhaul Medicare and reform Social Security, a proposal Vance praised in 2011, as The American Independent recently reported.” (Huffpost, [7/13/22](#))

**Vance In 2011 About Paul Ryan Budget: “Streamline The Tax Code, Reform Current Entitlements And Avoid Enacting New Ones.”**

“Paul Ryan’s budget plan could spur an intelligent conversation on spending. But what we’ll probably hear from the left are the same scare tactics and budget cut horror stories. [...] Tomorrow, Rep. Paul Ryan will release his highly anticipated budget plan. Early reports suggest that along with serious changes to Social Security and Medicare, the budget will trim nearly \$4 trillion from the 10year budget deficit. I don’t know how the Left will react, but I’m confident that they’ll overreact. And I’m hoping that when the dust settles, we’re having a more intelligent conversation about spending cuts than we’ve had during my lifetime. The way forward is as obvious as it is politically difficult: streamline the tax code, reform current entitlements and avoid enacting new ones. But the possibility for any meaningful change depends on the Democratic reaction to Ryan’s new budget. I hope that Ryan’s budget starts a needed conversation. But what we’ll probably hear is scare tactics and assurances that the same old Republican brand of politics will hurt the same old Democratic constituencies. And the whole time, I’ll be thinking to myself: if these people gave a

damn about inequality in this country, they'd be leading the charge for budget cuts instead of opposing them." (FrumForum, J.D. Hamel, 4/5/11)

**American Independent: Vance Supported Ryan Budget That Would Have Slashed Establishment Protections, Ended Medicare As We Know It.** "Meanwhile, in 2011 the author and venture capitalist embraced a controversial GOP budget proposal that would have slashed entitlement protections for poorer and older Americans, ending both Medicare and Medicaid as we know them while cutting taxes for himself and other wealthy elites. In his writings, Vance did not openly use terms like "Medicare cuts," but embraced words like "reform" and "trim" in discussing the entitlement programs used by millions. In a column published on April 5, 2011, on the FrumForum, a group blog edited by former George W. Bush speechwriter David Frum that described itself as "dedicated to the modernization and renewal of the Republican Party and conservative movement," Vance, under a previous surname taken from a stepfather, praised a budget proposal about to be released by then House Budget Committee Republican Chair Paul Ryan. Ryan's proposed budget called for trillions of dollars to be cut from entitlement programs over a decade: repeal of the Affordable Care Act, the program commonly known as Obamacare that provides health insurance coverage for millions of Americans; transformation of Medicaid into a program funded through limited lump-sum grants to states, which would then manage it; and conversion of Medicare into a capped voucher program." (The American Independent, 7/7/22)

**Ryan's 2011 Path to Prosperity Plan Would Have Privatized Medicare For Those Under 55.** "Ryan's budget would cut \$6.2 trillion in spending over the next decade and reduces the corporate tax rate to 25 percent. It also converts Medicaid spending into block grants and transforms Medicare into a privatized system for those 55 and younger." (PBS, 4/5/11)

**Ryan's "Path To Prosperity" Plans Would Have Privatized Medicare By Turning It Into A Voucher System, Called For Reforms On Social Security.** "Ryan has long championed the privatization of social insurance programs. His last two budget blueprints put forth in fiscal 2012 and 2013—both called The Path to Prosperity—would turn Medicare into a system of vouchers that individuals could use to buy private insurance. These vouchers would not keep pace with rising health care costs, forcing seniors to bear an increasingly greater burden of their health care costs in years to come. Privatization of government programs seems to be a theme with Ryan. On Social Security, Ryan—a Social Security recipient himself as a young man—helped lay the groundwork for George W. Bush's push to privatize Social Security, as described in a recent New Yorker profile of the congressman. Ryan worked with former Sen. John Sununu (R-NH) to create a plan which was centered on the creation of personal savings accounts. Under the plan, a portion of an individual's payroll tax contribution would be diverted from the OASDI trust fund into an individual account, which would then be invested. Such a diversion of funds would have decreased Social Security's revenue and required a transfer of funds from the rest of the budget to fund benefit obligations, as this Center on Budget and Policy Priorities analysis reported. In other words, the Ryan-Sununu plan to bring long-term solvency to Social Security would have required the federal government to borrow heavily to finance promised benefits. [...] In his 2012 and 2013 budget blueprints, Ryan was vaguer in his approach to Social Security. In both plans, he mistakenly characterizes Social Security as contributing to the rapid growth of spending on entitlement programs. In the 2012 plan, he suggests Social Security changes be fast-tracked through Congress (currently prohibited by law to protect the program)." (EPI, 8/14/12)

**Wall Street Journal: “The Plan Would Essentially End Medicare.”** The plan would essentially end Medicare, which now pays most of the health-care bills for 48 million elderly and disabled Americans, as a program that directly pays those bills. Mr. Ryan and other conservatives say this is necessary because of the program's soaring costs. Medicare cost \$396.5 billion in 2010 and is projected to rise to \$502.8 billion in 2016. At that pace, spending on the program would have doubled between 2002 and 2016. Mr. Ryan's proposal would apply to those currently under the age of 55, and for those Americans would convert Medicare into a "premium support" system. Participants from that group would choose from an array of private insurance plans when they reach 65 and become eligible, and the government would pay about the first \$15,000 in premiums. Those who are poorer or less healthy would receive bigger payments than others.” (Wall Street Journal, 4/4/11)

**20220: Vance Said He Appreciated Sen. Rick Scott’s Efforts To Put Forth A Republican Plan Even If He Didn’t Agree With All Parts Of It Because He Was “Sick” Of Republicans Only Campaigning Against The Biden Agenda Instead Of Being “For Stuff.”** “At a Republican Senate primary debate in Ohio on Monday, several of the candidates applauded Scott for his effort, even as they said they disagreed with parts of his plan. ‘I’m so sick of Republicans who say, ‘Well, we’re just going to push back against the Biden agenda.’ Well, of course we’re going to do that. But what are we gonna actually do for our voters?’ candidate J.D. Vance asked. ‘There are a lot of problems out there. A lot of very serious problems. And we can’t just sort of stick our flag in the mud and say, ‘We’re against, we’re against, we’re against.’ We gotta be for stuff.’” (Associated Press, 3/31/22)

**Vance: “You Know, Rick Scott's Plan For America? I Read It. I Looked At It. I Don't Agree With Everything. In Particular, He's Advocated For Middle Class Tax Increases [...] There Are A Lot Of Good Things In It. And Most Importantly, I Like That Rick Scott Actually Proposed A Set Of Ideas For What To Do.”** “Okay. Yeah. So, you know, Rick Scott's plan for America? I read it. I looked at it. I don't agree with everything. In particular, he's advocated for middle class tax increases. I think that's a joke for the Republican Party. Why would we increase the taxes on the middle class, especially when Apple, Google, Amazon and Facebook pay a lower tax rate than any middle class American in this room or in this country? It's ridiculous. But there are a lot of good things in it. And most importantly, I like that Rick Scott actually proposed a set of ideas for what to do. I'm so sick of Republicans who say, Well, we're just going to push back against the Biden agenda. Well, of course, we're going to do that. But what are we gonna actually do for our voters?” (Ohio Debate Commission GOP Senate Debate, [00:57:18], 3/28/2022)

**Rick Scott Plan Would Sunset All Federal Laws, Including Those Establishing Social Security, Medicare, Forcing Them To Come Up For Renewal.** “But during the seven weeks of turmoil since Scott dropped a provocative conservative policy bomb on an unsuspecting party — a plan that called for tax increases and expiration dates for all federal laws, including those establishing Social Security and Medicare — he has not once expressed regret. Instead, the former hospital chain CEO and two-term governor, the richest man in the Senate, argues that he owes his detractors nothing.” (Washington Post, 4/18/22)



## VANCE IS OPPOSED TO PROVIDING CHILDCARE ASSISTANCE TO LOW INCOME AMERICANS

### *Vance Opposed Biden's Plan To Expand Child Care To Low- And Moderate-Income Families*

**In A 2021 Op-Ed, Vance Called Biden's Plan To Increase Child Care A "Bad Deal For American Parents."** "In his first address to Congress, President Biden proposed spending an extra \$225 billion on child care. That's on top of the \$40 billion the administration is already spending as part of the 'bailout' of child-care providers in Mr. Biden's American Rescue Plan, and the \$10.3 billion the federal government normally spends on child-care subsidies. The new plan, billed as an effort to help low- and moderate-income families, would put America on a path to becoming a society where the state assumes much of the care of young children. Many Republicans have balked at the cost of Mr. Biden's spending blowout, but in this case the substance matters more than the money. A dramatic expansion of child care is a bad deal for American parents." (J.D. Vance and Jenet Erickson, Op-Ed, "Biden's Daycare Plan Is Bad For Families," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 5/3/21)

- **Vance: "More Important, It's A Bad Deal For American Children."** (J.D. Vance and Jenet Erickson, Op-Ed, "Biden's Daycare Plan Is Bad For Families," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 5/3/21)

**Vance Wrote That While High-Quality Care Was Beneficial For Some Children, "Young Children From Average, Healthy Homes Can Be Harmed By Spending Long Hours In Child Care."** "That doesn't mean child care is bad for all kids. Research shows that high-quality care is often beneficial for children from disadvantaged homes. But young children from average, healthy homes can be harmed by spending long hours in child care." (J.D. Vance and Jenet Erickson, Op-Ed, "Biden's Daycare Plan Is Bad For Families," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 5/3/21)

- **Vance: "Moving Millions Of Young Children Out Of Their Homes Into Nonparental Group Care Will Have Unintended Negative Effects On Children's Emotional And Social Well-Being."** (J.D. Vance and Jenet Erickson, Op-Ed, "Biden's Daycare Plan Is Bad For Families," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 5/3/21)
- **Vance: "Public Policy Should Reflect What Most Parents Want Instead Of Doubling Down On The Model Preferred By American Elites."** (J.D. Vance and Jenet Erickson, Op-Ed, "Biden's Daycare Plan Is Bad For Families," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 5/3/21)

**Vance Wrote That He Supported Several Policies Including Sen. Josh Hawley's Refundable "Parent Credit" And Similar Proposals From Sens. Mitt Romney And Marco Rubio.** "Several current policy proposals would do that. Sen. Josh Hawley has proposed a refundable 'parent credit,' paid monthly, that would give parents the flexibility to choose the best path for their families. Parents could use the credit for child care if they wished, though evidence suggests many would use it instead to scale back paid employment outside the home, at least while their children are young. Sens. Mitt Romney and Marco Rubio have offered similarly family-focused proposals in recent months. While these policies must be debated on their merits, they all reflect a shared view: How parents want to raise their own children should drive policy, not the values of an increasingly isolated American ruling class." (J.D. Vance and Jenet Erickson, Op-Ed, "Biden's Daycare Plan Is Bad For Families," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 5/3/21)

***After His Wife Gave Birth To Their First Child, Vance Was Living In Columbus While His Wife Lived In Washington, D.C. With Her Mother***

**In 2017, Vance’s Wife Worked In Washington, D.C. While Vance Worked In Columbus.**

“There was a second reason to move east: Vance’s wife Usha had been offered a yearlong clerkship with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Roberts—one of the most coveted jobs a young lawyer can get. They decided to split their time between Columbus and Washington, D.C., for a year, then settle in Columbus. (Usha, who began work at the Supreme Court in July, declined to be interviewed for this article, citing Supreme Court ethics rules.)” (Suzanne Goldsmith, “Profile: ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author J.D. Vance,” [Columbus Monthly](#), 11/28/17)

**Vance Took A Rental Apartment In Columbus While “Usha Established A Second Home Base In Washington With Her Mother.”**

“Adding to the complexity of their transition, Usha became pregnant last fall. ‘We both really wanted to have a kid, and we were willing to endure whatever sacrifices were necessary,’ Vance says. He took a rental apartment in German Village last January, and Usha established a second home base in Washington with her mother.”

(Suzanne Goldsmith, “Profile: ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author J.D. Vance,” [Columbus Monthly](#), 11/28/17)

***Vance Supports Legislation To Expand Kinship Guardians In Ohio***

**In 2017, Vance Wrote An Op-Ed Noting The Positive Effect Of Kinship Guardians For Child Welfare And The Need For Navigators To Assist These Guardians.**

“Child welfare experts across the country have identified a potentially high-impact way to provide support to kinship guardians: connecting them to information, services and benefits available to caregivers. Professionals who help make these connections are called navigators. Many kinship guardians are abruptly put into a situation where they are raising children without time to prepare. Thus, navigators are critical to ensuring they’re familiar with the resources available to them. Navigators working with kinship guardians focus on connecting families in need to child care, respite care, training related to caring for special needs children, legal services and other resources. Importantly, navigators don’t create new resources or give access to families who aren’t in need. Instead, navigators help communities maximize the resources available to them. Navigators also ensure that publicly funded programs are reaching the families most in need.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Opioid Epidemic Heightens Need To Bolster Kinship Care Support In Ohio,” [The Plain Dealer](#), 11/19/17)

**Vance Wrote That He Supported Ohio Legislation To Expand Support For Kinship Guardians By Making Navigator Programs Mandatory Across The State.**

“Ohio law permits the Department of Job and Family Services (JFS) to establish a statewide navigator program for kinship guardians. Ohio law also permits JFS to provide funding to county children services agencies for navigator programs. However, the availability of these navigators varies by county. Some counties have more support for kinship guardians than others. Thus, many families raise these children without any help. The Ohio House of Representatives is actively considering legislation, House Bill 126, that would expand support for kinship guardians in Ohio by making navigator programs mandatory across the state. Appropriately, the bill’s short title is ‘Require region-based kinship caregiver navigator program.’ Under the plan proposed in the bill, navigator programs would be organized by region, not county, to ensure families in all counties have equal access to the help a navigator provides.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Opioid Epidemic Heightens Need To Bolster Kinship Care Support In Ohio,” [The Plain Dealer](#), 11/19/17)

## **VANCE APPEARS TO OPPOSE STUDENT LOAN FORGIVENESS PROGRAMS**

### ***Vance Criticized Student Loan Debt Forgiveness Proposals***

**In 2019, Vance Characterized Democratic Proposals To Cancel Student Loan Debt As A “Big Handout” To Doctors And Other Highly-Educated Professionals.** VANCE: “Well, at a big level, the Democratic Party increasingly represents professional class elites.” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “And Republicans represent middle and working class wage earners in the middle of the country. Now, I will say, I think Democratic leaders kind of get this. If you look at the big proposals from the 2020 Democratic Presidential candidates -- universal child care, debt free college, even Medicare-for-All, which is framed as this lurch to the left, but is really just a big handout to doctors, physicians, pharmaceutical companies and hospitals.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 7/4/19)

### ***However, Vance Indicated Support For Hillary Clinton’s Free-College Plan***

**In 2016, Vance Said, “Hillary’s Idea For Free College Education Is A Good Impulse - But The Reason A Lot Of Kids Don’t Go Isn’t Because They Can’t Afford It.”** “‘Hillary’s idea for free college education is a good impulse - but the reason a lot of kids don’t go isn’t because they can’t afford it. It’s because they’re so screwed up, so behind the educational curve, that they can’t handle it.’ Yet Vance acknowledges that among his class in particular - proud, independent, forceful - any social programs, any attempt by government to intervene, would be rejected. No matter who wins in November, ‘this is not a one-term presidential problem,’ Vance says. ‘These people are going to struggle and continue to be struggling. It’s a permanent underclass of many ethnicities.’ Avent agrees.” (Maureen Callahan, “The New Permanent Underclass,” *New York Post*, 9/18/16)

## **VANCE IS OPPOSED TO EXPANDING HEALTHCARE ACCESS TO ALL AMERICANS**

### ***Vance Criticized Medicare For All As A “Big Handout” To The Healthcare Sector***

**In 2019, Vance Characterized Medicare-For-All Proposals As A “Big Handout” To Doctors, Pharmaceutical Companies And Hospitals.** VANCE: “Well, at a big level, the Democratic Party increasingly represents professional class elites.” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “And Republicans represent middle and working class wage earners in the middle of the country. Now, I will say, I think Democratic leaders kind of get this. If you look at the big proposals from the 2020 Democratic Presidential candidates -- universal child care, debt free college, even Medicare-for-All, which is framed as this lurch to the left, but is really just a big handout to doctors, physicians, pharmaceutical companies and hospitals.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 7/4/19)

## **VANCE EXPRESSED A SERIES OF CONTROVERSIAL VIEWS DURING THE COVID PANDEMIC**

### ***Vance Criticized Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer For Allowing Abortion Clinics To Stay Open Under Her COVID-19 Lockdown Order***

**In 2020, Vance Criticized Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer For Banning A Host Of Activities Under Her COVID-19 Lockdown Orders, Including Medical Procedures Like**

**Joint Replacements And Heart Surgery, But Allowing Abortion Clinics To Remain Open.**

CARLSON: “J.D. Vance is the author of ‘Hillbilly Elogy.’ He joins us tonight. J.D., thanks so much for coming on. I think you and I agree -- I know that we do because we talk a lot -- that this is a very serious illness that we should be afraid of and that we should take affirmative steps to protect the population from, so I think we can just start there. Are you concerned however in the way that some politicians have interpreted that mandate, that politics are getting involved? A bunch of states have banned procedures like joint replacements, but kept elective abortion legal. What does that tell us?” J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR: “I think it tells us a couple of things, Tucker. First is, it's pretty sad that things that are politically favored like abortion, like the abortion lobby is deemed essential care, but things like heart surgeries, like joint replacements are not deemed essential surgeries. Obviously, that means that a lot of people frankly are suffering and we know they're suffering in a context where most hospitals outside of New York City are not overrun and so you just have a lot of needless human suffering. That's really, really terrible. But the second piece of this is like you said, Tucker, you and I think this is a serious problem, but if you think that it's a serious problem then leaders need to be trusted. They need to have their orders followed and in order for them to be followed, they actually have to be acting in good faith. And so if you look at the list of things you're not allowed to do in Michigan right now, like buy tomato seeds at Home Depot, like go fishing with a motorboat and you compare that to the things that you are allowed to do in Michigan like get an abortion.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 4/17/20)

- **Vance: “If I’m A Person Living In Michigan Right Now, I Wonder If Those Restrictions Are About Public Health Or If They’re About Who Has The Political Line To The Governor? And I Think Unfortunately, For Some Of These Issues, We Know The Answer.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 4/17/20)
- **Vance: “At The End Of The Day, There’s No Rational Public Health Justification For Telling People They Can’t Buy Tomatoes Seeds On The One Hand, But They Can Buy Marijuana On The Other Or They Can Get An Abortion.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 4/17/20)

***Vance Criticized Public Health Experts And Elected Officials For Supporting Black Lives Matter Protests While Condemning Anti-Lockdown Protests***

**In 2020, Elected Officials And Public Health Experts Who Had Criticized Gatherings Protesting COVID-19 Lockdown Orders Endorsed Far Larger Protests Against Police Violence Following The Death Of George Floyd.** “It is frustrating some critics who feel authorities are letting politics sway their recommendations. When far fewer people protested the statewide lockdowns back in April, they were widely condemned by public health experts and elected officials who said the gatherings could spike cases. Now, those same experts argue that protesting police violence is more important than trying to avoid the coronavirus. Medical professionals even gathered Saturday in New York City’s Union Square and elsewhere for their own ‘White Coats for Black Lives’ demonstration. More than 1,200 health professionals, many of them from the University of Washington’s Division of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, signed a letter saying they support protests of police violence — but not protests of stay-at-home orders. ‘We do not condemn these gatherings as risky for covid-19 transmission,’ the letter says. ‘We support them as vital to the national public health and to the threatened health specifically of Black people in the United States... This should not be confused with a permissive stance on

all gatherings, particularly protests against stay-home orders.” (Paige Winfield Cunningham And Paulina Firozi, “The Health 202: Americans Were Told To 'Stay At Home.' Now Some Experts Say Anti-Racism Protests Are Okay,” *Washington Post*, 6/8/20)

**Vance Criticized The Changing Stance On Public Gatherings, Saying “In A Country Of 330 Million People, Many Will Have Their Own Causes For Violating Guidelines. And You Can’t Just Tell Them, ‘Well, YOU Have To Follow The Rules Because Your \*Worthy\* Causes Are Stupid And Bad.’”** J.D. Vance, author of *Hillbilly Elegy*, pointed out the disconnect:... ‘Alternatively, say the protests are OK because your cause is just. But in a country of 330 million people, many will have their own causes for violating guidelines. And you can’t just tell them, ‘well, YOU have to follow the rules because your \*worthy\* causes are stupid and bad.’” (Paige Winfield Cunningham And Paulina Firozi, “The Health 202: Americans Were Told To 'Stay At Home.' Now Some Experts Say Anti-Racism Protests Are Okay,” *Washington Post*, 6/8/20)

**Vance: “I’m Still Amazed At How Quickly The Moral Scolding Ceased As Soon As Elite-Favored Protests Began Taking Place. ... It Has Further Eroded Trust In Our Country’s Experts.”** “But we don’t live in a normal society; we live in a white one. And so it shouldn’t be surprising that some white people have used this moment not to think about how the victims of police brutality can avoid being revictimized by an infectious disease but instead to call hypocrisy on public health organizations and the progressives who support protests against police violence. Whiteness apologist J.D. Vance weighed in: ‘I’m still amazed at how quickly the moral scolding ceased as soon as elite-favored protests began taking place. (I guess I shouldn’t be amazed anymore. I should just expect it.) But it has further eroded trust in our country’s experts.’” (Elie Mystal, “The Bravery of Marching for Black Lives in the Middle of a Pandemic,” *The Nation*, 6/10/20)

## **VANCE SUPPORTS PLACING RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTION ACCESS**

### ***Vance Supported Georgia’s Heartbeat Bill***

**Vance Criticized Stacey Abrams For Opposing Georgia’s Heartbeat Bill.** “But when I think about the modern Democratic Party’s rhetoric on abortion, the thing that worries me most is not what they’ve said about third trimester abortions, it’s what Stacey Abrams said about the Georgia heartbeat bill not long ago, that it was bad for business. And of course, she’s right. Workers with children are more expensive, their healthcare policies cost more, they are less dedicated to their jobs and more dedicated to their families, and I say we want more of those workers and less of Stacey Abrams’ workers.” (J.D. Vance, [Speech To American Conservative Conference](#), 5/9/19)

### ***Vance Opposes Third-Trimester Abortions***

**In 2019, Vance Said Conservatives Were “Rightfully Worried, And Even Appalled” By Many Democrats’ Support For Third-Trimester Abortions.** “We are on the Right rightfully worried, and even appalled, by some of the rhetoric from the Left on abortion these days. Governor Northam of Virginia talking about aborting a child in the third trimester, the fact that every 2020 Democratic presidential candidate has endorsed, in some measure, third trimester abortion.” (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

***Vance Has Stated He Does Not Support Abortion Exceptions In The Case Of Rape***

**Vance Said He Would Support Banning Abortion Even In Cases Of Rape, Incest, Calling Rape “Inconvenient.”** “In a local news interview published Wednesday, author and venture capitalist turned Senate candidate J.D. Vance suggested he would support prohibiting abortion even in cases of rape and incest—and dismissed those catalysts as ‘inconvenient.’” ‘It’s not whether a woman should be forced to bring a child to term; it’s whether a child should be allowed to live, even though the circumstances of that child’s birth are somehow inconvenient or a problem to the society,’ said Vance, who lags behind several Republican candidates in his Ohio primary. ‘The question to me is really about the baby. We want women to have opportunities, we want women to have choices, but, above all, we want women and young boys in the womb to have a right to life.’ (The Daily Beast, 9/23/21)

**2021: Vance Was Interviewed By Spectrum News 1 And Described Pregnancy Due To Rape Or Incest As A Situation Where “The Circumstances The Child's Birth Are Somehow Inconvenient.”** “CURTIS JACKSON: Should a woman be forced to carry a child to term after she has been the victim of incest, or rape? VANCE: Look my view on this has been very clear. And I think the question betrays a certain presumption that's wrong. It's not whether women should be forced to bring a child to term it's whether a child should be allowed to live, even though the circumstances the child's birth are somehow inconvenient, or a problem to the society. The question really, to me is about the baby. We want women to have opportunities. We want women to have choices. But above all, we want women and young boys in the womb to have the right to life. Right now. Our society doesn't afford that. I think it's a tragedy. And I think we can do better.” (Spectrum News 1, 9/22/21)

**Vance Compared Abortion to Slavery.** “JD Vance compared abortion to slavery in an interview last fall, drawing a controversial parallel between America’s original sin and a procedure that until recently was a constitutional right. “There’s something comparable between abortion and slavery, and that while the people who obviously suffer the most are those subjected to it, I think it has this morally distorting effect on the entire society,” Vance, the GOP nominee for an open Ohio Senate seat, said in an interview with the Catholic Current last October. Vance then referenced Abraham Lincoln’s quote “I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master,” before arguing that because of abortion, many Americans have “begun to see children as inconveniences to be discarded, instead of blessings to cherish.” “I really think abortion has really done something very socially destructive to us as people in how we see the most vulnerable and the most dependent among us,” Vance continued. “I think that’s one of the underappreciated facts about abortion. It’s really distorted our entire society.” (Vice, 7/7/22)

**Vance Said “Not Right Now” When Asked About A National Abortion Ban.** “[00:01] INTERVIEWER: And if elected, would you support a federal ban on abortion? [00:06] JD VANCE: I think that-- what I, what I really think on, on the ru-- so first of all the Dobbs decision, everybody knows overruled Roe vs. Wade. I think that was the right decision, kicks it back to legislatures at the federal and the state level. My view on this is let the states try to figure this out for now. Ohio has a heartbeat bill. I think that's a good bill. Florida has gone a slightly different direction. Virginia has gone a slightly different direction. When we're figuring this new legal regime out. I think it makes sense right now to let the state's decide this stuff. And right now, states are moving into pro life direction. I think that's a good thing. [00:35] INTERVIEWER: And it sounds like then that you don't think that the Senate or the federal

government should have a role on abortion. [00:40] JD VANCE: Not right now. Not right now. I think I think right now we need to let the states figure this stuff out. The ruling is new, the laws are new, the legal regime is new. And what the Supreme Court I think really gave us an opportunity to do was to focus on this stuff at the state level. (NBC News, 7/8/22)

***Vance Is Noted As Having Expressed That Divorce Is Too Common And That Women In Violent Marriage Should Stay In Them For The Sake Of Their Children***

**HEADLINE: Vice: “JD Vance Suggests People in ‘Violent’ Marriages Shouldn’t Get Divorced.”** (Vice, 7/25/22)

- **Vice: “Vance Said People Need To Be More Willing To Stay In Unhappy Marriages For The Sake Of Their Kids—And Seemed To Suggest That In Some Cases, ‘Even Violent’ Marriages Should Continue.”** “JD Vance said people need to be more willing to stay in unhappy marriages for the sake of their kids—and seemed to suggest that in some cases, ‘even violent’ marriages should continue. The Ohio Republican Senate nominee, talking to Pacifica Christian High School in Southern California last September, gave an extended answer that claimed that people now ‘shift spouses like they change their underwear,’ and that it had done long-term damage to a generation of children.” (Vice, 7/25/22)

**HEADLINE: CNN: “Ohio GOP Senate Candidate Argues ‘Violent’, ‘Unhappy’ Marriages Shouldn’t End In Divorce.”** (CNN, 7/28/22)

- **Chris Cillizza: “In Comments Unearthed By Vice News That Just Went Public, But Vance Actually Made Last September, He Seemed To Encourage Women In Violent Relationships To Stay In Them.”** (CNN, 7/28/22)
- **Chris Cillizza: “You Heard Him Right. Vance Is Suggesting That People Should Stay In Unhappy Or Even Violent Marriages Because... Uh... People Now ‘Shift Spouses Like They Change Their Underwear.’”** (CNN, 7/28/22)

**HEADLINE: HuffPost: “J.D. Vance: People Should Stay In ‘Violent’ Marriages For The Sake Of The Kids”** (HuffPost, 7/26/22)

- **Huffpost: “Ohio GOP Senate Candidate J.D. Vance Apparently Thinks A Bad Marriage Is Better Than No Marriage.”** “Ohio GOP Senate candidate J.D. Vance apparently thinks a bad marriage is better than no marriage — at least when kids are involved. The ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ author expressed as much while speaking at a southern California high school last September, as seen in a video recently shared by Vice News.” (HuffPost, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: People: “Ohio Senate Candidate J.D. Vance Explains Comments About People Staying in Unhappy, ‘Even Violent’ Marriages.”** (People, 7/26/22)

- **People: “The Republican Author Of Hillbilly Elegy Said Last September That Americans Were Tricked By The Sexual Revolution Into Thinking It’s Okay To ‘Shift Spouses Like They Change Their Underwear.’”** (People, 7/26/22)
- **People: “Vance, Who’s Running For Senate In Ohio, Explained Comments He Made About People Who ‘Shift Spouses Like They Change Their Underwear’ To Leave Unhappy Or ‘Even Violent’ Marriages.”** “Hillbilly Elegy author J.D. Vance,

who's running for Senate in Ohio, explained comments he made about people who 'shift spouses like they change their underwear' to leave unhappy or 'even violent' marriages." (People, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: The Independent: "JD Vance Suggested Women In Violent Relationships Should Not Get Divorced For The Sake Of Children."** (The Independent, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: Vanity Fair: "GOP Senate Candidate J.D. Vance: If People Love Their Kids, They'll Stay in Violent Marriages."** (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)

- **Vanity Fair: "Vance Claimed That Divorce Inflicts Terrible Harm On Children And That It Would Be Better For People In Unhappy Marriages To Stay Together, Even If Said Marriages Are 'Violent.'"** "Speaking to Pacifica Christian High School last September, with the interview published by Vice News on Monday, Vance claimed that divorce inflicts terrible harm on children and that it would be better for people in unhappy marriages to stay together, even if said marriages are 'violent.' Vance told the audience: 'My grandparents had an incredibly chaotic marriage in a lot of ways. But they never got divorced. They were together to the end, till death do us part—that was a really important thing to my grandmother and my grandfather. That was clearly not true by the '70s or '80s. And I think that probably, I was personally, and a lot the kids in my community who grew up in my generation, personally suffered from the fact that a lot of moms and dads saw marriage as a basic contract, like any other business deal.'" (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)
- **Vanity Fair: "It's Extremely Disturbing That This Person Who Wants To Become One Of The Most Powerful People In Ohio Has Also Suggested That It Was A Good Thing That Two Violent People—One Of Whom Apparently Tried To Kill The Other—Stayed Together."** "While Vance writes that his grandparents' marriage improved by the time he was a kid, and that the two were a stable force in his life, it's extremely disturbing that this person who wants to become one of the most powerful people in Ohio has also suggested that it was a good thing that two violent people—one of whom apparently tried to kill the other—stayed together, recommending that others take a page from their playbook." (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)
- **Vanity Fair: "If Vance's Advice For Married Couples Were Taken, It Would No Doubt Hurt Women The Most, As They Are Disproportionately Affected By Domestic Violence."** "While the above anecdote is obviously about a woman inflicting violence on a man, if Vance's advice for married couples were taken, it would no doubt hurt women the most, as they are disproportionately affected by domestic violence. And while it probably won't be news to anyone but Vance, according to the World Health Organization, 'children who grow up in families where there is violence may suffer a range of behavioral and emotional disturbances. These can also be associated with perpetrating or experiencing violence later in life.' WHO also notes that 'intimate partner violence has also been associated with higher rates of infant and child mortality and morbidity.' So yeah, maybe don't listen to this guy about anything." (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: Newsweek: "J.D. Vance Slammed For Suggesting Women Stay In Violent Marriages."** (Newsweek, 7/25/22)



- **Newsweek: “Vance, The Trump-Backed Republican Nominee To Replace Retiring GOP Senator Rob Portman Of Ohio, Is Facing Fierce Backlash Over A Report That He Made Comments Urging Women To Stay In ‘Violent’ Marriages.”** “J.D. Vance, the Trump-backed Republican nominee to replace retiring GOP Senator Rob Portman of Ohio, is facing fierce backlash over a report that he made comments urging women to stay in ‘violent’ marriages, which he has denied. Vance lashed out at people who ‘shift spouses like they change their underwear’ during a talk at Pacifica Christian High School in Newport Beach, California, last September, according to an article published on Monday by Vice News. The Ohio Republican and Hillbilly Elegy author said that ‘one of the great tricks that I think the sexual revolution pulled on the American populace’ was convincing people in ‘unhappy’ or ‘even violent’ marriages that getting divorced would ‘make people happier in the long term,’ according to Vice.” (Newsweek, 7/25/22)

**2021: VIDEO: Vance Condemns Divorce Even In Cases Of Domestic Violence.** Vance: “But if you recognize that moms and dads really are different, that men and women need different things, you recognize we've got a real problem here. And we continue to have a real problem here. But I mean, culturally, something has clearly shifted. I mean, I think it's easy, but also probably true to blame the sexual revolution in the 1960s. My grandparents had an incredibly chaotic marriage in a lot of ways. But they never got divorced, right, they were together to the end till death do us part, that was a really important thing to my grandmother and my grandfather. That was clearly not true by the 70s, or 80s. And I think that probably, you know, I was personally and a lot of the kids in my community grew up in my generation, personally suffered from the fact that a lot of moms and dads saw marriage as a basic contract, right, like any other business deal, once it becomes no longer good for one of the parties, or both of the parties. You just dissolve it and go on to a new business relationship. But that recognition that marriage was sacred, I think was a really powerful thing that held a lot of families together. And when it disappeared, unfortunately, a lot of kids suffered. And this is one of the great tricks that I think the sexual revolution pulled on the American populace, which is this idea that like, Well, okay, these marriages were fundamentally, you know, they were, they were maybe even violent, but certainly they were unhappy. And so getting rid of them, and making it easier for people to shift spouses, like they changed their underwear, that's going to make people happier in the long term. And maybe it worked out for the moms and dads. Though I'm skeptical. But it really didn't work out for the kids of those marriages. And I think that's what all of us should be honest about is we've run this experiment in real time. And what we have is a lot of very, very real family dysfunction that's making our kids unhappy.” (Pacifica Christian High School, Vance Lecture, [00:40:40], 9/3/2021)

**2021: AUDIO: Vance Described Divorce As A “Bad Decision.”** Vance: “So I think in a lot of ways, we have to accept that we're already paying families to do things. It's a question of whether we're paying them to make good decisions, or we're paying them to make bad decisions. And I'd say staying married, having children is much better than getting divorced and sitting at home all day. And that really, to me is the fundamental issue. I actually, I don't think that the goal here is a massive expansion in the amount of money that we're spending on social welfare, we actually spent a ton of money on social welfare, we just spend it on very stupid purposes.” (Michael Knowles Show Vance Interview, [00:12:53], 12/28/2021)

## VANCE HAS EXPRESSED CONTROVERSIAL VIEWS CONCERNING AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

### *Vance Accused Chinese Graduate Students Of “Conspir[ing] To Steal Our Intellectual Property”*

**In 2020, Vance Called For The Governor To “Aggressively Investigate And Prosecute University Professors—And Their Chinese National Graduate Students—Who Conspire To Steal Our Intellectual Property.”** “Meanwhile, we can take direct aim at the institutions that stand at the nexus of elite credentialism and globalism: our prestigious universities. We’ve learned recently how financially dependent Ivy League universities are on donations from overseas oligarchs, and that they’ve apparently hidden that dependence from our own Department of Education. Penalize those donations and the endowments that have grown in their midst, and aggressively investigate and prosecute university professors—and their Chinese national graduate students—who conspire to steal our intellectual property.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

### *Vance Called For Penalizing Universities That Accept Donations From Foreign Counties*

**In 2020, Vance Called For Penalizing Universities That Accept Donations From Foreign Counties.** “Meanwhile, we can take direct aim at the institutions that stand at the nexus of elite credentialism and globalism: our prestigious universities. We’ve learned recently how financially dependent Ivy League universities are on donations from overseas oligarchs, and that they’ve apparently hidden that dependence from our own Department of Education. Penalize those donations and the endowments that have grown in their midst, and aggressively investigate and prosecute university professors—and their Chinese national graduate students—who conspire to steal our intellectual property.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

### *In 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Stating “The Anti-Whiteness Movement, Mainstreamed By American Universities And Corporations, Has Blood On Its Hands”*

**In November 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Stating “The Anti-Whiteness Movement, Mainstreamed By American Universities And Corporations, Has Blood On Its Hands.”** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/6/23)



(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/6/23)

## **VANCE HAS PUSHED PSEUDO-CHRISTIAN VALUES ENCOURAGING THE TRADITIONAL NUCLEAR FAMILY**

### ***Vance Has Called For Policies To Encourage Families To Have More Children***

**In 2019, Vance Said The Conservative Movement Needed To Be “For Families Explicitly.”** “But we're for a lot of people. We're for people like my grandma who raised me, who picked up the slack when no one else in my family could, who couldn't afford her prescription drugs, but made sure that I had a calculator that I needed so that I could do well in math class in high school. We're for American workers who want to build a life in their homes with dignified jobs and raise the families supported by those dignified jobs. And I think, on this topic of family policy, we've got to be for families and we've got to be for families explicitly.” (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

**Vance Said Conservatives Should Support Policies To Encourage Families To Have More Children.** “But at a fundamental level, if we're worried about moms and dads not being as involved at home, if we're worried about rising rates of childhood trauma, if we're worried about the fact that in this country today, for maybe the first extended period in our country's history, we're not even having enough children in this country to replace ourselves. If we're worried about those problems, then we have to be willing to pursue a politics that actually wants to accomplish something besides just making government smaller.” (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

**Vance: “I Would Say That We Should Care About Declining Fertility, Not Just Because It's Bad For Our Economy, But Because We Think Babies Are Good, And We Think Babies Are Good Because We're Not Sociopaths.”** (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

**Vance Said The Conservative Movement Should Champion A “Family Policy That Made It Easier For American Families To Care For Their Children, To Educate Their Children, To Ensure That Their Children Had Access To High Quality Healthcare.”** “And it would build a family policy that made it easier for American families to care for their children, to educate their children, to ensure that their children had access to high quality healthcare, and that recognized, at some fundamental level, that we are all in this together as Americans. And if we want to live in a country that's prosperous, and free, and secure, and safe, and dynamic, we've got to have the next generation of Americans able to live their American dream, whatever form that might take.” (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

**Vance: “We're For American Workers Who Want To Build A Life In Their Homes With Dignified Jobs And Raise The Families Supported By Those Dignified Jobs.”** (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

## VANCE APPEARS TO SUPPORT LAWS REQUIRING BUSINESSES TO CLOSE ON SUNDAYS

### *Vance Seemingly Supports “Blue Laws,” Requiring Businesses To Close On Sundays*

**In 2020, Vance Seemingly Argued In Favor Of State “Blue Laws” – Laws Requiring Businesses To Be Closed On Sunday – Because They Increased Church Attendance.** “Frank Meyer famously tried to square the circle, arguing, in effect, that virtue required a lack of constraint. A man who remains loyal to his wife out of legal pressure is not nearly so virtuous—perhaps not virtuous at all—as the man who remains loyal to his wife purely out of individual moral willpower. Brent Bozell dismantled this argument years ago: we are concerned with people behaving well, and if cultural (and legal) pressures encourage them to do it, that’s just fine. Research by Jonathan Gruber has found that state ‘blue laws’—laws that force businesses to close on Sunday—*increase church attendance*. Aside from spiritual benefits, Robert Putnam has chronicled how church attendance is actually a positive social good for many attendees. While we might praise the meritorious worker who finds his way to church despite working a 12-hour shift on Sunday, the average traditionalist will (correctly) want to make a life of virtue easier, and not harder.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

**Vance: “So Close The Damn Businesses On Sunday. Commercial Freedom Will Suffer. Moral Behavior Will Not, And Our Society Will Be Much The Better For It.”** (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

## VANCE APPEARS TO OPPOSE THE LEGALIZATION OF MARIJUANA

### *Vance Has Criticized Marijuana Legalization*

**In 2019, Vance Criticized Marijuana Legalization, Saying It Had Increased Marijuana Use In The “Lower Class” And Caused “A Host Of Social Problems.”** “And, as Mr. Carlson mentioned, there are marijuana companies pushing for legalization, though we know from the Colorado experience that legalization increases use, and from other studies that use is concentrated among the lower class, causing a host of social problems in the process.” (JD Vance, “The Health Of Nations,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 1/8/19)

### *However, Vance Previously Called On Republicans To “Get Serious” About The Punishment Of Black Fathers For Marijuana Possession*

**In 2014, Vance Indicated Support For Reforming Marijuana Laws Which He Noted Affected Blacks More Than Whites.** “And since we’re living in a world where fatherhood does matter, perhaps it’s time for conservatives to get serious about the fact that black fathers are more likely than white ones to be ripped from their families for marijuana possession.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The Missing Case Against Reparations,” [National Review](#), 5/28/14)

## **VANCE PUSHED TRUMP TO NOMINATE CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE BRETT KAVANAUGH TO THE SUPREME COURT**

### ***Vance Wrote An Op-Ed In The Wall Street Journal Urging Trump To Select Brett Kavanaugh For The Supreme Court***

**In Early July 2018, Vance Wrote An Op-Ed In The Wall Street Journal Urging President Trump To Select Brett Kavanaugh For The Supreme Court Seat Being Vacated By Judge Anthony Kennedy.** “What should President Trump look for in a Supreme Court nominee? Exactly what he did with his selection of Justice Neil Gorsuch and his slate of lower-court nominees. He should ask one question: Who is best at being a judge, as demonstrated by a consistent record of applying textualist and originalist reasoning to significant legal questions? Given the reported options Mr. Trump is now considering, the answer is obvious: Judge Brett Kavanaugh of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “The Case for Brett Kavanaugh,” *Wall Street Journal*, 7/2/18)

**Vance Called Kavanaugh A “Committed Textualist And Originalist.”** “That said, his qualifications stand on their own. First, he has the necessary intellectual commitments. He is a committed textualist and originalist, one whose time on the bench has revealed a unique ability to apply these principles to legal facts. He deeply believes in the constitutional separation of powers as a means for ensuring governmental accountability and protecting individual liberty.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “The Case for Brett Kavanaugh,” *Wall Street Journal*, 7/2/18)

**Vance Praised Kavanaugh’s Record Of “Taking Power Away From Unelected Bureaucrats And Returning It To Elected Officials.”** “From the start of his career, he’s applied the Constitution faithfully, even when that made him a lonely voice. He has done so with particular tenacity on the issue that matters most to the president: taking power away from unelected bureaucrats and returning it to elected officials. Consider his 2008 dissent in *Free Enterprise Fund v. Public Company Accounting Oversight Board*, arguing that an administrative agency violated the separation of powers. In 2010 the Supreme Court agreed with Judge Kavanaugh, in a 5-4 opinion written by Chief Justice John Roberts. Judge Kavanaugh’s PCAOB opinion also served as a foundation for his recent opinions in *PHH v. Consumer Financial Protection Bureau*, in which he made a similar case against Elizabeth Warren’s brainchild, the CFPB.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “The Case for Brett Kavanaugh,” *Wall Street Journal*, 7/2/18)

**Vance Highlighted Kavanaugh’s Rulings In Favor Of The Conservative Viewpoint On A Host Of Issues, Including Abortion, Contraception, The Second Amendment, And Legal Protections For Police Officers.** “His judicial record spans just about every important area of the law, and conservatives should be happy with the results. He sided with the Trump administration in rejecting the American Civil Liberties Union's demand that the government facilitate an immediate abortion for an illegal-alien teenager in federal custody. He rejected the Obama administration's attempt to coerce religious groups to provide contraception to employees. He stood by Scalia's strong originalist interpretation of the Second Amendment and rejected balancing tests designed to undermine the right to keep and bear arms. He upheld labeling requirements on foreign-made products designed to protect American manufacturers and farmers. He has protected police officers acting in good faith against unwarranted damage

verdicts, most recently in a case in which the Supreme Court vindicated his position in a 9-0 opinion by Justice Clarence Thomas.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “The Case for Brett Kavanaugh,” *Wall Street Journal*, 7/2/18)

**Vance Defended Kavanaugh From Criticism From Some Conservatives Regarding His Rulings On Two Cases Involving ObamaCare.** “Fealty to principle sometimes requires setting aside one's own preferences. Judge Kavanaugh has come under fire in some quarters of the right for a handful of opinions-notably two involving challenges against ObamaCare--in which he aimed to rule narrowly and fairly rather than politically. In one, he dissented from an opinion that upheld the individual mandate. He observed that the individual mandate ‘is unprecedented in American history’ and cast doubt on its validity under either the Commerce or Taxing clause. In another, he rejected what the conservative scholar Ed Whelan calls ‘a very adventuresome Origination Clause challenge.’” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “The Case for Brett Kavanaugh,” *Wall Street Journal*, 7/2/18)

**After Kavanaugh’s Nomination Was Announced, Vance Praised Him And Predicted He Would Do “Incredibly Well” In His Confirmation Hearings.** BRUCE: “How do you expect this process to affect him? And what do you expect once he does get on the Supreme Court, which I fully expect? Do you think that he will continue, once he's in this job that he can never lose, do you think his character will continue to shine through in that regard?” J.D. VANCE, STUDENT OF JUDGE KAVANAUGH: “Absolutely. I think the process, I don't expect to really affect him a ton because he's already an incredibly grounded person. He cares about his family. He's got a great relationship with his kids and with his community. He's the sort of person who is going to go to the confirmation process knowing that he has people supporting him and knowing, frankly, that his convictions are true and that his convictions are rooted in this really deep - really intellect of his. So, I think he'll do incredibly well in the confirmation hearings. I think everybody will see what Jen and I have seen up close that he's just this incredibly thoughtful and caring person and that will shine through in the hearings.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 7/10/18)

**Vance: “When He Gets On The Bench, I Think He's Going To Be Really A Shining Star On The Supreme Court.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 7/10/18)

***Vance Signed A Public Letter Praising Brett Kavanaugh’s Nomination To The Supreme Court***

**In July 2018, A Group Of Yale Law School Alumni Wrote A Public Letter Criticizing The School For Issuing A Press Release On Brett Kavanaugh’s Supreme Court Nomination That They Felt Was Too Complimentary Of Kavanaugh.** “In the days since President Trump's nomination of Brett M. Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, Yale Law School - the judge's alma mater - has become a hotbed of debate over the choice. The argument isn't just about Kavanaugh's positions and the impact of his nomination, but also about what the school should be saying about him. Alexandra Brodsky was at a rally in Washington within hours of Trump's announcement, surrounded by pro-choice signs and shouting phrases like ‘Stop Kavanaugh.’ She was still there when she glanced down at her phone to see that her alma mater, Yale Law, had issued a news release acknowledging the nomination. To Brodsky, a 2016

alumna, it was more than an acknowledgment. She read quotations from professors and from the dean, Heather Gerken, and thought the release was far too positive. She felt that the school had ‘praised’ Kavanaugh, a 1990 alumnus, while ignoring his potential impact on the court and American jurisprudence. That's what led Brodsky, along with 20 to 30 other alumni, to draft a letter to Gerken, rebuking the institution for seeming to throw its support to Kavanaugh.” (Teghan Simonton, “Feuding Letters at Yale Law Expose Divisions Over Supreme Court Nomination,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 7/12/18)

**The Letter Criticized Kavanaugh’s Perceived Views On Issues Like Abortion And Gay Rights, And Warned That “People Will Die” If He Was Confirmed.** ““We write today as Yale Law students, alumni, and educators ashamed of our alma mater,’ the letter begins. In 10 paragraphs, the letter condemns the school and lists reasons for concern over Kavanaugh's nomination, referencing controversial cases in his legal career. Among other things, the letter mentions the perceived effect that Kavanaugh's presence on the court would have on constraining abortion rights, and on permitting discrimination against gay people. ‘Perhaps Judge Kavanaugh will be less likely to hire your favorite students,’ the letter says. ‘But people will die if he is confirmed.’ The letter concludes by asking the school to use its ‘authority and platform to expose the stakes of this moment and the threat that Judge Kavanaugh poses.’” (Teghan Simonton, “Feuding Letters at Yale Law Expose Divisions Over Supreme Court Nomination,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 7/12/18)

**Vance Signed A Competing Letter Praising Yale Law School’s Press Release And Declaring “We Are Proud Of Judge Kavanaugh's Nomination, And Believe That His Accomplishments And Qualifications Speak For Themselves.”** “But also on Thursday, another group of students and alumni of Yale Law released a competing letter - defending the school's language in the news release and expressing support for Kavanaugh's nomination. ‘We are proud of Judge Kavanaugh's nomination, and believe that his accomplishments and qualifications speak for themselves,’ it says. ‘We admire the Yale Law faculty who have spoken in support of Judge Kavanaugh's qualifications and commitment to the Constitution.’ This letter goes on to quote the professors and alumni in the original news release, and contains the signatures of more than 100 professors, alumni, and current students at Yale Law. The list of signatories continued to grow on Thursday...Signatories of the pro-Kavanaugh letter include J.D. Vance, a 2013 alumnus and author of the best seller *Hillbilly Elegy*, and Roger Clegg, president of the Center for Equal Opportunity, a conservative think tank.” (Teghan Simonton, “Feuding Letters at Yale Law Expose Divisions Over Supreme Court Nomination,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 7/12/18)

***Vance Said That Kavanaugh’s Views On Constitutional Interpretation Were More Important Than His Views On Specific Policy Issues***

**Vance Said That Kavanaugh’s Views On Specific Public Policy Matters Should Not Matter, Only His Views On The Constitution And How To Properly Interpret It.** VANCE: “Well so just a couple of responses, first on the question of judge Kavanagh’s views which you talked about a little bit earlier, again I’d segment what you think the proper public policy should be from what a constitutional Supreme Court should rule under our system. So I think judge Kavanagh’s views about the Constitution are really what we should we should be talking about, not whether he wants to move us in a given public policy direction. Because I know to judge Kavanagh quite well, and I think his view is that on a lot of these topics the Legislature should

be deciding, the people should be deciding how we move in a policy direction. The court should largely leave the public to make those decisions themselves.” (MSNBC’s “MSNBC Live,” via [youtube](#), 7/11/18)

**Vance: “So I Think Judge Kavanaugh’s Views About The Constitution Are Really What We Should We Should Be Talking About, Not Whether He Wants To Move Us In A Given Public Policy Direction.”** (MSNBC’s “MSNBC Live,” via [youtube](#), 7/11/18)

***Vance Praised Kavanaugh’s Teaching Abilities And Predicted They Would Make Him A Good Supreme Court Justice***

**In 2018, Vance – Who Had Kavanaugh As A Professor At Yale – Praised Kavanaugh’s Teaching Abilities And Predicted That They Would Make Him A Good Supreme Court Justice.** “But J.D. Vance, author of ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ and a former student of Kavanaugh’s at Yale, said good teachers and good judges shared important qualities, including civility and intellectual honesty. ‘He really didn’t like it when you’d try to tear down another argument unfairly,’ said Vance, whose wife, Usha Vance, served as a law clerk to Kavanaugh. ‘He really wanted you to identify the best version of an argument and not assume that your intellectual opponents were all idiots. That goes to how he’ll treat litigants. It goes to how he’ll treat his colleagues on the bench.’” (Adam Liptak, “Kavanaugh’s Law Students Sang His Praises Over the Years,” *The New York Times*, 7/20/18)

***Vance Defended Kavanaugh And His Supporters During The Confirmation Hearings***

**In 2018, The Guardian Reported That Yale Law School Professor Amy Chua Had Advised Female Law Students Seeming To Clerk For Kavanaugh It Was “No Accident” That Many Of His Female Clerks “Looked Like Models” And Advised Them To Dress “Model-Like. For Their Interview”** “A top professor at Yale Law School who strongly endorsed supreme court nominee Brett Kavanaugh as a “mentor to women” privately told a group of law students last year that it was ‘not an accident’ that Kavanaugh’s female law clerks all ‘looked like models’ and would provide advice to students about their physical appearance if they wanted to work for him, the Guardian has learned. Amy Chua, a Yale professor who wrote a bestselling book on parenting called *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, was known for instructing female law students who were preparing for interviews with Kavanaugh on ways they could dress to exude a ‘model-like’ femininity to help them win a post in Kavanaugh’s chambers, according to sources.” (Stephanie Kirchgaessner, “‘No Accident’ Brett Kavanaugh’s Female Law Clerks ‘Looked Like Models’, Yale Professor Told Students,” *The Guardian*, 9/20/18)

**Chua Denied The Allegations, Calling Them “Outrageous.”** “The school has also worked to widen the pool of those who become clerks, and Ms. Chua, who is also the author of the parenting book, ‘*The Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*,’ has been one of the most effective mentors for women and students of color, Ms. Rangappa said. The Guardian, quoting anonymous students, said that Ms. Chua told students it was ‘no accident’ that Judge Kavanaugh’s female clerks ‘looked like models’ and advised female students about their physical appearance, in essence condoning the practice. Ms. Chua, who is not teaching this semester as she recovers from what she said was major surgery, forcefully denied the account in a statement: ‘Everything that is being said about the advice I give to students applying to Brett Kavanaugh --



or any judge -- is outrageous, 100 percent false, and the exact opposite of everything I have stood for and said for the last 15 years.” (David W. Chen, “At Yale, Students Demand a 'Reckoning' Amid Kavanaugh Allegations,” *The New York Times*, 9/27/18)

**Vance Defended Chua On Twitter, Praising Her Effectiveness As A Mentor At Yale.** “Some notable alumni took to Twitter to defend her. J.D. Vance, the author of the best-selling ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’ praised her record as a mentor and said that ‘if you want poor kids and other nontraditional students to succeed at Yale, you should reward her and then clone her.’” (David W. Chen, “At Yale, Students Demand a 'Reckoning' Amid Kavanaugh Allegations,” *The New York Times*, 9/27/18)

**In 2018, Zina Bash – A Former White House Staffer And Kavanaugh Law Clerk – Was Accused Of Flashing A White Power Symbol At Kavanaugh’s Confirmation Hearing.** “A former White House staffer was accused by some on Twitter of making a white supremacist symbol during confirmation hearings for Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh on Tuesday — causing her husband to publicly defend her and point out that she is Jewish, Mexican-American and the descendant of Holocaust survivors. The online furor about Zina Gelman Bash’s alleged hand symbol spread on Twitter Tuesday — despite attempts by supporters and journalists to point out her heritage. Bash, who previously clerked for Kavanaugh, was spotted sitting behind the Supreme Court nominee during the Senate hearing Tuesday making what appeared to be an ‘OK’ sign with her hand, which some say is associated with white power symbols. The Anti-Defamation League has said the ‘OK’ hand gesture is not an actual symbol of white power.” (Mahita Gajanan, “A Kavanaugh Supporter Was Accused of Making a White Power Symbol. She's a Descendant of Holocaust Survivors,” *Time*, 9/4/18)

**Vance Defended Bash On Twitter, Calling Bash A “Friend” And Telling Her Attackers To “Not Let Your Lunacy Shade Into Slander Of Good People.”** “Others defended Bash or said that the whole thing was getting blown out of proportion. Author J.D. Vance said, ‘Zina is a friend of mine, and I’ve never heard her utter a racist remark. She was born in Mexico and is raising a beautiful family in her adopted home. Try not to let your lunacy shade into slander of good people.’” (Aaron Keller, “Husband Defends Lawyer Accused of Making ‘White Power’ Gesture at Kavanaugh Hearing,” [Law & Crime](#), 9/4/18)

### ***Usha Vance Clerked For Kavanaugh***

**Usha Vance Clerked For Kavanaugh When He Was On The U.S. Court Of Appeals.** “Ms. Vance returned to the firm after clerking for Chief Justice John G. Roberts, Jr. of the U.S. Supreme Court. She also clerked for Judge Brett Kavanaugh of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit and Judge Amul Thapar of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Kentucky.” ([Munger Tolles & Olson, LLP](#), Website, Accessed February 2024)

### ***Notably, Vance Has Complained The Conservative Legal Movement Had Betrayed Social Conservatives After A SCOTUS Ruling Against LGBT Workplace Discrimination***

**In 2020, The Supreme Court Ruled That Federal Civil Rights Law Protected Gay And Transgender Workers From Workplace Discrimination.** “The Supreme Court ruled on Monday that a landmark civil rights law protects gay and transgender workers from workplace discrimination, handing the movement for L.G.B.T. equality a long-sought and unexpected

victory. ‘An employer who fires an individual merely for being gay or transgender defies the law,’ Justice Neil M. Gorsuch wrote for the majority in the 6-to-3 ruling. That opinion and two dissents, spanning 168 pages, touched on a host of flash points in the culture wars involving the L.G.B.T. community — bathrooms, locker rooms, sports, pronouns and religious objections to same-sex marriage. The decision, the first major case on transgender rights, came amid widespread demonstrations, some protesting violence aimed at transgender people of color.” (Adam Liptak, “Civil Rights Law Protects Gay and Transgender Workers, Supreme Court Rules,” *The New York Times*, 6/15/20)

**Vance Complained Bitterly On Twitter That “The Conservative Legal Movement Has Accomplished Two Things: Libertarian Political Economy (Enforced By Judges) And Betrayal Of Social Conservatives And Traditionalists.”** “A New York Times bestselling author lashed out at the ‘conservative legal movement’ after the Supreme Court ruled that gay and transgender employees should be protected from job discrimination. J.D. Vance, whose 2016 memoir *Hillbilly Elegy* provided a look at poor and white working-class people in Appalachia, criticized the ruling on Monday. ‘The conservative legal movement has accomplished two things: libertarian political economy (enforced by judges) and betrayal of social conservatives and traditionalists,’ Vance tweeted.” (Spencer Neale, “J.D. Vance Blasts ‘Conservative Legal Movement’ After Supreme Court Rules For Gay And Transgender Rights In Workplace,” *Washington Examiner*, 6/15/20)

**Vance: “The Next (And Perhaps Most Important) Step Is For Social Conservatives To Realize That Donor Economics Is Not Merely Incidental. It Flows From, And Reinforces, Principles That Degrade Family, Community, Industrial Bases, And Nations.”** (Spencer Neale, “J.D. Vance Blasts ‘Conservative Legal Movement’ After Supreme Court Rules For Gay And Transgender Rights In Workplace,” *Washington Examiner*, 6/15/20)

## **VANCE HAS TAKEN A SERIES OF CONTROVERSIAL POSITIONS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS**

***Vance Claimed The Protests Against Police Violence Following The Death Of George Floyd Were Distractions From More Important Economic Issues***

**In 2020, Vance Complained That The Protests Which Erupted Following The Death Of George Floyd Were Distracting From Important Economic Issues And Benefiting Large Corporations Like Amazon.** CARLSON: “JD Vance is the author of ‘Hillbilly Elegy.’ He joins us tonight. JD, I can’t imagine that one in a thousand Americans seeks to divide the population by race. It’s the cruelest and longest lasting sin you could commit, I think in a country and yet clearly there are people who are intentionally trying to do that. Why?” JD VANCE, AUTHOR: “Well, I think that you have to ask yourself who benefits from a lot of this tension and a lot of this division. If you think about a business, black owned or white owned that was destroyed in a riot over the last few weeks, who gets richer from that? We know that Amazon has a little bit more market share. And so Jeff Bezos makes a little bit more money. If you think about what prevents new businesses from coming online and competing with those mega corporations that rule our financial world, well, every time a small business gets denied for a loan, every time a small business goes out of business, that’s obviously good for the folks who run our corporate culture. And at the end of the day, what are we not talking about right now that we should be talking about? We’re not talking about the opioid epidemic, which kills 70,000 people still in this country. We’re not talking about concentrated financial power, which is the biggest problem that white and black middle class Americans face today.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 6/18/20)

**Vance: “At The End Of The Day, What We're Doing Is Creating An Entire Narrative That's Dividing The Country Instead Of Actually Causing Middle And Working Class People To Unify And To Try To Convince Through Political Means Others To Share Power With Them.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 6/18/20)

***Vance Has Been Accused Of Echoing White Supremacists With His Worries About America’s Low Fertility Rate***

**Vance Was Criticized In 2020 After He Tweeted That He Was A “Nationalist Who Worries About America’s Low Fertility.”** “J.D. Vance, the author of the best-selling Rust Belt memoir ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ and the whisperer of the white working-class, is under fire after calling himself a ‘nationalist who worries about America's low fertility.’ Critics view the label as a nod to both white nationalism and the ‘great replacement’ conspiracy theory, the racist fear that falling birthrates among white women will lead to whites being replaced by non-whites. ‘As a parent of young children and a nationalist who worries about America's low fertility I can say with confidence that daylight savings time reduces fertility by at least 10 percent,’ Vance wrote in a Sunday evening tweet. Vance later characterized his tweet as a joke, though he did not clarify its meaning. He also neither explained his use of the word ‘nationalist,’ which over the last few years has been widely associated with white nationalism, nor his curious claims about fertility.” (Roger Sollenberger, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author Faces Backlash Over Remarks Connecting Nationalism To Fertility Rate,” *Salon*, 11/3/20)

**Vance Was Accused Of Echoing The Rhetoric Of White Supremacists, Including The New Zealand Mosque Shooter, Who Have Publicly Bemoaned Declining Fertility Rates Among White Women.** “But Vance has also been widely criticized for the conclusions he draws from his experiences, as well as for ignoring racial undertones in the culture about which he writes. His comments over the weekend drew similar criticism after being seen by many as dogwhistles for white nationalism and misogyny. While some have argued that ‘nationalism’ with no adjectival modifier may apply to anyone who feels positively about their country, Vance, a white man and graduate of Yale law, explicitly connects a worry about fertility rates to his nationalism. People quickly pointed out that Vance's phrasing echoed the ideology of white supremacists, who have worried for years about declining white birth rates in Western countries. For instance, the white supremacist who carried out a mass shooting at a New Zealand mosque in 2018 repeated the phrase ‘it's about the birth rates’ several times in his manifesto.” (Roger Sollenberger, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author Faces Backlash Over Remarks Connecting Nationalism To Fertility Rate,” *Salon*, 11/3/20)

**Vance Maintained That The Tweet Was An Attempt At A Joke And Called His Critics “Mediocrities.”** “Vance's social media persona reflects more of the pugilism of his self-professed hillbilly roots. When he tweeted recently that ‘as a parent of young children and a nationalist who worries about America's low fertility I can say with confidence that daylight savings time reduces fertility by at least 10 percent,’ a Princeton historian compared Vance's language to a 1920 white supremacist book that warned white people were being engulfed by more fertile people of other races, and a Duke gender studies professor deemed the tweet ‘creepy.’ Vance, who said the tweet was an attempt at a joke, replied, ‘Good to know what's en Vogue among our academic mediocrities.’” (Rebecca Keegan, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’: Caught Between Hollywood and a Hard Place,” *Hollywood Reporter*, 11/23/20)

**In 2019, An Op-Ed In The Washington Post Accused Vance Aligning With White Nationalists After He Said In A Speech That “Our People Aren’t Having Enough Children To Replace**

**Themselves. That Should Bother Us.** “As border controls tighten, though, the links between pronatalism and nativism have once again become visible. Inspired by Steve King’s admiring remark about Geert Wilders, Ayla Stewart, creator of a popular white nationalist blog called *Wife with a Purpose*, issued a ‘white baby challenge’ that went viral in alt-right circles; the mother of six asked audience members ‘to have as many white babies as I have contributed.’ Meanwhile, as replacement discourse enters the conservative mainstream, talk of birthrates comes along with it. ‘Our people aren’t having enough children to replace themselves. That should bother us,’ J.D. Vance, author of the best-selling ‘*Hillbilly Elegy*,’ told his audience at the National Conservatism Conference last month; earlier this year, he described himself as ‘appalled’ by Democrats’ permissive attitudes toward abortion. Vance did not spell out exactly who was included in the word ‘our.’ He didn’t need to.” (Marissa Brostoff, Op-Ed, “How White Nationalists Aligned Themselves With The Antiabortion Movement,” [Washington Post](#), 8/27/19)

**The Post Later Attached An Editor’s Note Stating That Vance Had Been Talking About National Birthrates Rather Than Specifically The White Birthrate, And Ultimately Retracted The Op-Ed.** “The Washington Post on Tuesday retracted an op-ed writer’s distorted attempt to link conservative author J.D. Vance to white nationalism. Left-wing writer Marissa Brostoff penned an op-ed for the Post accusing the mainstream pro-life movement of aligning with white nationalists...Vance made clear in his speech that he was talking about national birthrates, not just among white people: ‘There are a lot of ways to measure a healthy society, but the most important way to measure a healthy society is by whether a nation is having enough children to replace itself.’ The post added an editor’s note after a backlash: ‘An earlier version of this story suggested that the author J.D. Vance lamented a falloff in white births; he was actually talking about American births.’” (Peter Hasson, “Washington Post Publishes, Retracts Attempt To Link Conservative Author To White Nationalism,” *Daily Caller*, 8/28/19)

***A Separate Washington Post Op-Ed Attacked Vance For Alleged Comments Supporting Benefits To “Our People”***

**In A 2019 Op-Ed By John Huntington And David Austin Walsh, The Authors Wrote That Vance Called For, At A Conference Of “National Conservatives,” Aggressive Federal Action To Benefit “Our People.”** “This attempt to cement Republicans in power might seem like pure partisanship. But it’s also reflective of a belief that white conservatives alone are entitled to the reins and benefits of governance. At a recent conference of ‘national conservatives,’ there were calls for the aggressive use of federal power to benefit, as author J.D. Vance put it, ‘our people.’” (John S. Huntington and David Austin Walsh, “Why Conservatives Such As Trump Actually Like Government Spending,” [The Washington Post](#), 8/13/19)

**VANCE HAS A TAKEN A SERIES OF OTHER CONTROVERSIAL POSITIONS ON VARIOUS CULTURE WAR TOPICS**

***Vance Criticized Prince Harry And Meghan Markle For “Complaining” Instead Of Having “Gratitude” For Their Privilege***

**In 2021, Vance Blasted Prince Harry And Meghan Markle’s Oprah Interview, Saying It Was “Vile” That People Of “Incredible Privilege” Were Complaining About Being Victimized.** “J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, ‘HILLBILLY ELEGY’: Well, I think what’s going on is, this is fundamentally about power. As you said, in your monologue, Tucker, if you’re a victim, then you are owed things instead of being owed – instead of owing your society things in return.

I find this just really vile because if you think about the purpose of a ruling class, it's fundamentally to govern the country effectively on the one hand and pass on traditions and character and values on the other hand. And you have people who have this incredible privilege. You have two people in this interview, one from the United States and one from the United Kingdom, both of whom have been given an incredible amount by the societies that they live in. Are they grateful for it? Are they appreciative about it? Do they feel any obligation to enhance and build the society they come from? No, they just feel like destroying it rhetorically, in terms of its values. No sense that they owe something to the country and to the people who occupy it, and that's just a terrible attitude to have if you're governing a country." (Fox News', "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 3/9/21)

- **Vance: "Do They Feel Any Obligation To Enhance And Build The Society They Come From? No, They Just Feel Like Destroying It Rhetorically, In Terms Of Its Values."** (Fox News', "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 3/9/21)
- **Vance: "You Think Of How Many Kids Who Were Watching That Interview, And If You Come, Whether From Privilege Or From Tough Circumstances, Think About The Values We Want Children To Have – Resilience, Character, Hard Work, Gratitude – None Of That Was On Display In That Interview."** (Fox News', "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 3/9/21)
- **Vance: "And Unfortunately, It's An Attitude That Is All Too Common Among Our Ruling Class, Which Just Means That Our Kids Instead Of Being Taught Virtue And Character From Our Leaders, Are Just Being Taught How To Complain All The Time."** (Fox News', "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 3/9/21)

***Vance Said Trump's Fight With The NFL Over Kneeling Was A Political Win For Trump***

**In 2017, Vance Said Trump's Fight With The NFL Over Kneeling Was A Political Win For Trump.** CUOMO: "All right, there is little doubt that President Trump is fanning the flames of culture war with what he's doing with the NFL players. In a series of new tweets this morning, he's still ripping the NFL's ratings, the Cowboys show of unity, and then saying progress isn't being made, judging by his tweets, because of the great anger that he's helped to stoke. The controversial is actually working in the president's favor with his base. That's the proposition. Is that true? Let's get 'The Bottom Line' from CNN contributor J.D. Vance. He's the author of 'Hillbilly Elegy.' How do you see it, friend?" J.D. VANCE, CNN CONTRIBUTOR: "Well, look, I'm reminded on something that Steve Bannon said a few weeks ago I think on Charlie Rose where he basically said, look, if the battle is over identity politics at a fundamental level the president wins. And I think that as a political matter -- we can talk about the substance later -- but as a political matter, I do think that this is ultimately working in President Trump's favor. You know, the way I always try to think about this is, you have the -- the really hard core resistance folks on one side and you have the really hard core Trump base on the other side. How does this appear to the folks in the middle, maybe to the folks who feel some cultural affinity for the president or for his voters but are a little on the fence for the president, even if they voted for him. And to a person, everyone that I've spoken to supports the president. And I'm talking about those folks in the middle. So I think this is a big political win for him." (CNN's "New Day," 9/26/17)

## VANCE HAS TIES TO VARIOUS CONTROVERSIAL FIGURES

### *Steve Bannon Once Called For Vance To Become Head Of The Heritage Foundation*

**In 2017, Vance Met With Stephen Bannon, Who Expressed To Others That He Favored Vance Becoming The Head Of The Heritage Foundation.** “J.D. Vance, the best-selling author of ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’ a memoir about his upbringing in Appalachia, was also floated early in the process as a possible highprofile, younger recruit. He has met in recent months with Stephen K. Bannon, Trump’s former chief strategist who has returned to his post running Breitbart News, and Bannon has privately expressed a desire to see an ally installed at Heritage.” (Robert Costa, Ashley Parker, And John Wagner, “Heritage Foundation Considers Top White House Aide, Cubs Co-Owner As Next Leader,” [The Washington Post](#), 10/17/17)

### *Vance Appears To Have Ties To Alex Jones*

**In 2021, Vance Conducted An Interview With Lawyer Robert Barnes.** ([Viva Frei YouTube Channel](#), 4/21/21)

**In 2019, Barnes Defended Alex Jones In Jones’s Lawsuit Filed By The Parents Of Sandy Hook Victims Over Accusations By Jones That The School Shooting Was A Hoax.** “Robert Barnes, a highprofile Los Angeles lawyer who has embraced Alex Jones’ view that the lawsuits against him from Sandy Hook parents are part of a conspiracy to silence Jones and undermine President Donald Trump, has taken command of the Austin broadcaster’s legal defense against those suits in Texas and Connecticut. Barnes sat silent during a Thursday hearing in an Austin courtroom at which state District Judge Scott Jenkins ruled that a four-hour deposition of Jones should proceed next Thursday, and indicated that he would craft an order for a belated production of documents by Jones’ lawyers to the plaintiffs that would not violate the essential journalistic right to protect confidential sources. Barnes, new on the case, doesn’t yet have the legal OK to appear in court in Austin, and Thursday’s arguments were left to Mark Enoch, the Dallas attorney who has been handling the Sandy Hook cases in Texas until now. ... At issue is whether Jones defamed and intentionally inflicted emotional distress on the parents of children who were killed in the 2012 school shooting in Newtown, Conn., with his years of commentary suggesting the event was a hoax designed to drum up opposition to gun rights.” (Jonathan Tilove, “Alex Jones Ratchets Up His Sandy Hook Defense,” [Austin American-Statesman](#), 3/7/19)

## VANCE’S ADDITIONAL PERSONAL AND POLITICAL FOIBLES

### VANCE’S ‘OUR OHIO RENEWAL’ HAS BEEN HEAVILY SCRUTINIZED BY CRITICS

#### *Vance Founded Our Ohio Renewal – A Non-Profit With The Goal Of Combatting The Opioid Epidemic And Improving Opportunity In Ohio*

**In Late 2016, Vance Said He Would Move To Ohio And Start A Non-Profit Called “Our Ohio Renewal.”** “Vance plans to travel around the state to better understand the issues facing poor Ohioans. ‘I’m trying to approach this with humility,’ said Vance, who’s formed a nonprofit called Our Ohio Renewal with Jai Chabria, a former top advisor for Gov. John Kasich. ‘These are problems that people who are pretty smart have been trying to work on for a while. I’m at the

stage of trying to understand what it is they've done, and where they've seen opportunities to make things better.' He said he's not interested in running for public office in Ohio in the near term, but that could be an option many years down the road. 'Never say never,' he said." (Dave Ghose, "J.D. Vance will move to Columbus," *Columbus Monthly*, 1/17)

**Vance Said The Nonprofit Would Focus On Opioids And Other Issues Important To Him.**

JD VANCE: "(Laughter) Well, first of all, I've always wanted to go back to Ohio ever since I left when I was 18 or 19 to join the military. So it's always been this thing in the back of my mind. And the success of the book has given me the flexibility, but also I think the platform to talk about some of the issues that are most important to me. And so what I'm going to do is start a small nonprofit that's going to focus on a couple of issues that are a special concern to me and I think will be pretty familiar to those who've read the book." AILSA CHANG: "I know that opioid addiction is one of the major issues you'll be focusing on, right?" J D VANCE: "Yeah, that's absolutely right. It's actually pretty astonishing, but Ohio apparently led the nation in drug overdose deaths last year. And that's obviously a pretty significant cause for concern. So it's a real significant concern among the demographic I wrote about in the book. It's obviously very personally important to me and it's something my family has struggled with and dealt with. And I felt, you know, frankly a little bit of responsibility now that I've been given this platform by the success of the book to go and try to do at least a little something to help out." (NPR's "Weekend Edition," 12/25/16)

**After Moving To Ohio, Vance Said That The Purpose Of Our Ohio Renewal Would Be To "Combat Ohio's Opioid Epidemic."**

"But there were practical reasons to move: I'm founding an organization to combat Ohio's opioid epidemic. We chose Columbus because I travel a lot, and I need to be centrally located in the state and close to an airport. And the truth is that not every motivation is rational: Part of me loves Ohio simply because it's home." (JD Vance, Op-Ed, "Why I'm Moving Home," *The New York Times*, 3/16/17)

**Vance Said He Wanted To Start A Nonprofit Dedicated To Education Issues.**

"The 32-year-old plans to bring his insights home to Ohio to create an education-oriented, nonprofit organization. 'I'm looking for opportunities to contribute and get some traction on the issues I talk about in the book and the issues I care about,' he said in an interview. 'I went to Ohio State and really love central Ohio.'" (Alan Johnson, "Voters Went After Change, Author Says," *The Columbus Dispatch*, 11/13/16)

**Vance Said He Wanted To Focus On Promoting Vocational Education.**

"Ohio native J.D. Vance had an unexpected hit this year when he captured the election-season zeitgeist with his book *Hillbilly Elegy*. Now *The Washington Post* reports the 32-year-old author is looking to capitalize on his newfound fame and make a difference by returning to Ohio to advocate for changes, including potentially running for political office. 'The book has given me a platform I frankly didn't expect to have,' he told the paper. 'The plan is to go all-in on Ohio. One of the things that concerns me is that so few people who go and get an education elsewhere ... feel any real ... pull for returning home.' Vance, now working for an investment fund in California, said his initial focus will be helping battle the opioid crisis and promoting vocational education. 'At this stage, the thing I want to do the most is to go around the state and learn about what's actually going on,' he said. 'I'm not one of these people who thinks I know all the answers. The first thing I want to get a sense of is what's actually been tried on the ground already.'" (Doug Buchanan, "Morning Roundup: 'Hillbilly Elegy' Author Returning To Help Ohio," *Columbus Business First*, 12/22/16)

**Vance Also Said He Wanted To Target Upward Mobility Opportunities For Families In The Lower End Of The Economy.** “Vance, who has been working with public relations strategist Jai Chabria, who was a longtime adviser to Ohio Gov. John Kasich, is forming a nonprofit called Our Ohio Renewal and will relocate with his wife from San Francisco to either Cincinnati or Columbus, where he earned his undergraduate degree at Ohio State University. He has spoken at Ohio State and Miami University, near Middletown, in recent weeks and has other speaking engagements lined up that he said will help him learn more as he plans an effort that's ‘very, very early’ in development. Among the issues he wants to target are the needs for more upward mobility opportunities for families in the lower end of the economy, what he calls rebuilding ‘the broken pipeline to the middle class,’ and the opioid epidemic that has hit his home state particularly hard.” (Dan Sewell, “Best-Selling Author Returning To Ohio To Try To Help,” *The Associated Press*, 12/24/16)

**In 2017, Vance Said The Nonprofit Would First Focus On “Kinship Care.”** “You recently announced plans to create a nonprofit, Our Ohio Renewal. What will the organization’s mission be, and how do you hope to achieve it? I decided to use the platform the book has given me to create an issues and advocacy organization. The idea for Our Ohio Renewal began with conversations I had with friends who said, “What would it look like if the people you are writing about in the book had their own lobbying firm? What would it look like if there was an organization dedicated to addressing their problems?” The first issue we’re going to tackle is the issue of kinship care in Ohio. Folks who know the opioid crisis know it’s actually made a lot of kids homeless and created a lot of burdens for grandparents and aunts and uncles who find themselves taking care of children they didn’t expect to take care of. These people need financial resources, as well as a legal system that’s more responsive to their concerns.” (Linda Feagler, “Q&A: ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author J.D. Vance,” [Ohio Magazine](#), September 2017)

**Vance Said He Thought “Running A Small Nonprofit To Work On The Opioid Crisis And Bring Interesting New Businesses To The So-Called Rust Belt — All Of These Things Are Valuable, If Not More Valuable, Than Running For Office.”** “To which Vance responds: ‘I’m not going to say that I’m never going to run. I’m certainly interested in public service over the long term. But it sort of bothers me, the presumption at the age of 32, that if someone is saying interesting things, and has interesting insights, why isn’t he running for office.’ He thinks there are other ways to contribute. ‘I think running a small nonprofit to work on the opioid crisis and bring interesting new businesses to the so-called Rust Belt — all of these things are valuable, if not more valuable, than running for office.’” (Karen Heller, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Made J.D. Vance The Voice Of The Rust Belt. But Does He Want That Job?,” [The Washington Post](#), 2/6/17)

**Vance Characterized Our Ohio Renewal’s Goal As Transitioning “From Talking About Problems To Solutions.”** “Mr. Vance said in a recent interview with The Blade that he is organizing a group called Our Ohio Renewal to tackle Ohio problems such as heroin addiction and family breakdown. The goal, he said: ‘to transition from talking about problems to solutions.’ Mr. Vance's memoir about his life in rural Ohio and eastern Kentucky provided insight into wealthy New York businessman Donald Trump's appeal to the struggling white working class. ‘We're still identifying the things that we want to work on,’ Mr. Vance said. ‘We have some money. The book gives me access to a lot of folks who are interested in philanthropy.’” (Tom Troy, “Monday's GOP Lincoln Day Dinner Features Candidates,” *The Blade*, 4/22/17)

**In 2017, Vance Said The Nonprofit “Will Make Some Headway In Addressing The Opioid Crisis Which Affects A Lot Of The Problems I Talk About, Is Driven By A Lot Of The**



**Problems I Talk About.** “The other thing I started is a nonprofit organization called 'Our Ohio Renewal.' You can go and follow it online, [ourohiorenewal.com/]. The basic thesis of that is we've got to solve some of these problems locally, at the state and local level. Hopefully that nonprofit organization will make some headway in addressing the opioid crisis which affects a lot of the problems I talk about, is driven by a lot of the problems I talk about. I think if we don't figure out this particular drug epidemic, then it's going to be really tough to restabilize some of these families and some of these kids.” (“Hillbilly Elegy' Author Outlines Ways To Increase Opportunity,” *Western Free Press*, 7/21/17)

**Our Ohio Renewal Was Also Said To Be “Dedicated To Helping Disadvantaged Youth Through Public-Private Partnerships.”** “Vance, a venture capitalist by profession, earned his bachelor's degree from Ohio State University and his law degree from Yale University. He is the founder of Our Ohio Renewal, a nonprofit organization dedicated to helping disadvantaged youth through public-private partnerships.” (“Author J.D. Vance Urges Bridging Gaps At MTSU Convocation,” *Daily News Journal*, 8/28/17)

**Vance Extolled Our Ohio Renewal’s Mission In A 2017 Profile, Saying He Hoped It Would Be Able To Cut Through Partisanship.** “Vance hopes that his work at Our Ohio Renewal can cut through partisanship. He worried that hiring political strategist Jai Chabria, who was known as Kasich's top adviser for two decades, would color the project in the eyes of the public. ‘My concern with Jai was, 'Oh, Republican, John Kasich adviser, immediately you're tagged as a Republican and half the country hates you.’ But he says that hasn't been his experience. ‘If anything, I feel a little bit more confident that Americans are pretty insightful and pretty nuanced in how they think about these issues,’ he says. Bringing some political balance to the leadership of Our Ohio Renewal is Vance's law school friend Jamil Jivani. A biracial Canadian citizen who grew up in a poor immigrant neighborhood in Toronto and identifies as a progressive, Jivani worked as a community organizer after law school.” (Suzanne Goldsmith, “Profile: 'Hillbilly Elegy' Author J.D. Vance,” *Columbus Monthly*, 11/17)

***In 2019, Vance Maintained That Our Ohio Renewal Was Still Operational – Despite Its Website Being Offline – And Said It Was Sponsoring A Residency For A Researcher In Southern Ohio***

**In 2019, Vance Maintained That Our Ohio Renewal Was Still Operational – Despite Its Website Being Offline – And Said It Was Sponsoring A Residency For A Researcher In Southern Ohio.** “What about the organization Vance founded to help fight the opioid epidemic? Our Ohio Renewal's website is currently offline (“It's just not my instinct to care about the website,” he explained), but Vance said the group is still focused on its mission of conducting and promoting research into innovative ways of combating the epidemic and its fallout. The group is sponsoring a yearlong residency in southern Ohio for Sally Satel, a psychiatrist and research fellow at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, with the Ironton-Lawrence Community Action Agency, which has service locations along the Ohio River near Portsmouth. Satel is working with the agency's behavioral health team, providing counseling and conducting research.” (Suzanne Goldsmith, “J.D. Vance Moves to Cincinnati,” *Columbus Monthly*, 2/19)

**Our Ohio Renewal’s Website Said The Group Would “Lead On Solutions To Opioid Abuse So We Can Take Our Communities Back.”** “The opioid crisis is harming communities across the country. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reports nearly 2 million Americans were addicted to or abused prescription opiate-based painkillers as of 2013. Ohio

continues to be the face of the nation's opioid abuse problem. According to Ohio's Opiate Action Team, more than 2,400 Ohioans tragically passed from unintentional opiate overdoses in 2014, which marked a 17% increase from a year earlier. Much of this increase in overdoses can be attributed to a major increase in abuse of fentanyl, a more lethal opiate than heroin. More money has been spent on treatment programs and our leaders have begun to take the issue seriously, yet we are losing too many of our friends and family to this epidemic. Our Ohio Renewal will lead on solutions to opioid abuse so we can take our communities back." ([Our Ohio Renewal Website](#), Archived 8/5/18)

**Our Ohio Renewal's Website Said The Group Would "Work With Local Agencies And Institutions To Identify And Scale Workable Solutions To The Problems Of Family Breakdown."** "Research has consistently shown that domestic instability is a core driver of persistent poverty and low upward mobility. Domestic instability also make youth more vulnerable to teen pregnancy, crime, and dropping out of high school. More and more families are at risk of family breakdown because fewer and fewer Americans are getting married and raising children in two-parent households. The National Surveys of Family Growth reveal that among middle class Americans alone, 44% more children were born out of wedlock in 2008 compared to just 13% in 1982. While recognizing that no easy answers exist, Our Ohio Renewal will work with local agencies and institutions to identify and scale workable solutions to the problems of family breakdown." ([Our Ohio Renewal Website](#), Archived 8/3/18)

**Our Ohio Renewal's Website Called For Educational Reform To Prepare "People With And Without College Degrees For Success In The Work Force."** "We need to create more pathways to the middle class. We can start with reforms to our education system. The cost of a college education is increasing today, but a college degree doesn't guarantee the kind of economic success it once did. Still, a college degree is important to economic mobility and to keeping families in the middle class. Research from the Pew Project on Economic Mobility shows that children born to middle class families significantly risk falling out of the middle class if they don't earn a college degree. Education reform must address these changing realities by preparing people with and without college degrees for success in the work force. Vocational education and collaborative efforts between business leaders, communities, and educators can ensure that more people have more avenues to dignified work and the stability it brings. Today, too many high school graduates are faced with a stark choice: go to college and find some way to pay for its rising costs; or, find a service-sector job making barely enough to survive on. We can and must do better." ([Our Ohio Renewal Website](#), Archived 8/3/18)

**In 2018, Vance Said That Our Ohio Renewal Was Sponsoring Sally Satel – An Expert In Addiction Treatment – To Move To Southeastern Ohio For Six Months To A Year To Treat Patients And Conduct Research On Better Treatment Methods.** BV: "How are things going with Our Ohio Renewal (the nonprofit Vance started to work on the drug addiction challenge)?" Vance: "What I'm most excited about is we're sponsoring an expert in addiction treatment who is going to move to southeastern Ohio for between six months and a year. One, she is going to treat a lot of patients. There are not enough doctors to provide treatment. But she is also going to study the issue while she is there, figuring out some better treatment methods that can be used in other places and scaled nationally. Her name is Sally Satel. I'd love for her to come out of this with some insights on how we can treat this problem on a national scale. It's important that we treat people day to day, but that's one person and that's not going to solve the whole problem." (Thom Schuman, "Words Of Wisdom," [BizVoice](#), 09/18)

***Despite Its Stated Goals, Our Ohio Renewal Spent More Than 95 Percent Of Its 2017 Fundraising***

**On Staff Salaries And Overhead, And \$0 On Charitable Activities Or Grants**

According To Our Ohio Renewal’s 2017 Federal Income Tax Return, The Group Raised \$221,135 In Contributions And Grants. ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)

- **96.4 Percent Of Our Ohio Renewal’s Fundraising Was Devoted To Staff Salaries And Overhead.** ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)
- **Our Ohio Renewal Spent \$77,430.96 – 35 Percent Of Its Total Fundraising – On Staff Salaries.** ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)
- **Our Ohio Renewal Spent \$66,084 – 29.8 Percent Of Its Total Fundraising – On Management, Legal, And Accounting Fees.** ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)
- **Our Ohio Renewal Spent \$45,000 – 20.3 Percent Of Its Total Fundraising – On A Survey.** ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)
- **Our Ohio Renewal Spent \$11,031 On Advertising And Promotion.** ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)
- **Our Ohio Renewal Spent \$5,078 On Travel And Conferences.** ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)

**Our Ohio Renewal Spent \$0 On Charitable Grants Or Activities.** ([Our Ohio Renewal 2017 IRS Form 990](#), 5/14/18)

***Our Ohio Renewal Appears To Have Been Largely Defunct Since 2017***

**Our Ohio Renewal Filed Form 990-N Returns For 2018 And 2019.** ([IRS 990 Search](#), Accessed 3/26/21)

***Our Ohio Renewal Has A Sister Organization Which Has Never Raised More Than \$50,000 In A Year***

**The Our Ohio Renewal Foundation Has Filed Form 990-N Returns For 2018 And 2019.** ([IRS 990 Search](#), Accessed 3/26/21)

- **Tax Exempt Organizations With Less Than \$50,000 In Annual Revenues Are Eligible To File A Form 990-N.** (“Small tax-exempt organizations generally are eligible to file Form 990-N to satisfy their annual reporting requirement, if their annual gross receipts are normally \$50,000 or less.” ([IRS Website](#), Accessed 3/26/21))

***Our Ohio Renewal Was Run By Both A Longtime Republican And A Friend Of Vance Who Is Progressive***

**In 2017, Vance Said He Was Concerned With Bringing Jai Chabria Into Our Ohio Revival Because It Would Be “Tagged” As Republican With “Half The Country” Against It.** “Vance hopes that his work at Our Ohio Renewal can cut through partisanship. He worried that hiring political strategist Jai Chabria, who was known as Kasich's top adviser for two decades,

would color the project in the eyes of the public. ‘My concern with Jai was, ‘Oh, Republican, John Kasich adviser, immediately you’re tagged as a Republican and half the country hates you.’ But he says that hasn’t been his experience. ‘If anything, I feel a little bit more confident that Americans are pretty insightful and pretty nuanced in how they think about these issues,’ he says.” (Suzanne Goldsmith, “Profile: ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author J.D. Vance,” *Columbus Monthly*, 11/2017)

**Our Ohio Renewal’s Leadership Also Included Vance’s Law School Friend, Jamil Jivana—Who Shared Vance’s German Village Home And Was A Biracial Canadian Citizen And A Progressive.** “Bringing some political balance to the leadership of Our Ohio Renewal is Vance’s law school friend Jamil Jivani. A biracial Canadian citizen who grew up in a poor immigrant neighborhood in Toronto and identifies as a progressive, Jivani worked as a community organizer after law school. He founded a Toronto organization that teaches young black men strategies for interacting with police. He’s written a book, due out next year, exploring the forces that cause young men to join extremist groups. On leave from a Toronto law school teaching job, Jivani currently shares Vance’s German Village home.” (Suzanne Goldsmith, “Profile: ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author J.D. Vance,” *Columbus Monthly*, 11/2017)

## **VANCE’S TIME WORKING WITH ‘REVOLUTION LLC’ CREATES A SERIES OF NOTABLE VULNERABILITIES WITH AMERICA-FIRST CONSERVATIVES**

### ***Vance Worked At Revolution LLC, A Firm Founded By Steve Case, The Founder Of AOL***

**Vance Worked For Revolution LLC, A Firm Founded By Steve Case, The Co-Founder Of America Online.** “Columbus needs to be more eager to tout itself as a business destination, even if that feels weird for humble Midwesterners. That’s according to organizers of Rise of the Rest, an initiative that visited Columbus on Friday to listen to business pitches and encourage investment in companies that aren’t on the East or West coasts. ‘(Columbus is) clearly on the rise, clearly collaborative and recognizing that startups play a crucial role in job creation and economic growth,’ said Steve Case, the co-founder of America Online who now leads Revolution LLC, the investment firm that sponsors Rise of the Rest. ... He was joined by J.D. Vance, the venture capitalist and ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ author who now lives in Columbus and is working with Revolution, among other ventures. ‘Some folks (in Columbus) are admirably humble, but sometimes you’ve got to be willing to tell your story,’ Vance said. Case and Vance went through a packed schedule on Friday, meeting with local leaders, taking tours of offices that help start-up businesses, and listening to pitches from relatively new companies.” (Dan Gearino, “Rise Of The Rest,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, 10/14/17)

**Case Hired Vance As A Partner In April 2017 After Reading His Book And Was Impressed That Vance Wanted To Move Back To Ohio.** “America Online co-founder Steve Case’s main criticism of the best-selling memoir ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ led him to hire its author, J.D. Vance, to his venture capital firm Revolution LLC. Vance’s harrowing account of his upbringing in poverty in Middletown ends with a cultural critique of the working poor - but Case was among those noting the book poses no solution. ‘It kind of left me hanging,’ Case said in a panel discussion that included Vance during Friday’s Columbus stop on their Rise of the Rest bus tour of middle-America cities often neglected by VC. (See related stories on the tour and

pitch competition.) So they talked, and Case was impressed that Vance planned to move back to Ohio from Silicon Valley and start a nonprofit dedicated to the opioid crisis. He chose Columbus to be close to policymakers. ‘He wanted to roll up his sleeves and be part of the solution,’ Case said. Vance joined Revolution as a partner in April, largely devoted to Rise of the Rest. He also remains a partner at San Francisco-based Mithril Capital Management.” (Carrie Ghose, “AOL Co-Founder Steve Case Says J.D. Vance Memoir ‘Left Me Hanging’ - Here’s What Happened Next,” *Columbus Business First*, 10/16/17)

### ***Steve Case Was A Vocal Supporter Of Hillary Clinton’s 2016 Campaign***

#### **Shortly Before Hiring Vance, Case Endorsed Hillary Clinton In A *Washington Post* Op-Ed.**

“So my inclination is to continue to stay out of politics and continue to quietly build working relationships with both Republicans and Democrats. I’d prefer to be positioned as a builder of bridges and consensus. But I’ve decided to make an exception this election. I have concluded that I cannot sit on the sidelines this year. At this pivotal time, the choice is too important. I’ve decided to back Hillary Clinton for president for four reasons.” (Steve Case, Op-Ed, “Why I’m Voting For Hillary Clinton,” [The Washington Post](#), 9/28/16)

**Case Said Trump’s Campaign Was “Backward-Looking On The Economy And Oddly Absent Of Ideas To Spur Creation Of The Jobs Of The Future.”** “First, I think she’d be better for our economy, especially with respect to innovative technology and start-ups. Donald Trump knows business, but his campaign has been backward-looking on the economy and oddly absent of ideas to spur creation of the jobs of the future. Clinton understands what we need to help start businesses and will invest in education, advanced manufacturing and basic research. She’s not promising a return to a bygone era — she’s focused on making our economy strong for our children and their children. These forward-leaning policies are essential to ensure continued U.S. economic leadership.” (Steve Case, Op-Ed, “Why I’m Voting For Hillary Clinton,” [The Washington Post](#), 9/28/16)

### ***Revolution Backed A Company Invested In By Former Democratic Presidential Candidate John Delaney***

#### **In 2020, Revolution Invested In A Blank-Check Company Backed By Former Democrat**

**Congressman And Presidential Candidate John Delaney (D-MD)** “A blank-check company backed by Revolution LLC CEO Steve Case and a former presidential candidate is aiming to raise up to \$287.5 million in a public offering to invest in an innovative technology company, according to a new Securities and Exchange Commission filing. The offering includes \$250 million in shares and another \$37.5 million if underwriters exercise their ability to purchase additional equity in the company, which would become a publicly traded entity with no products or services but would use that cash to purchase or merge with a private company - in effect taking the other company public and bypassing the traditional IPO process. The blank-check company, also sometimes referred to as a special purpose acquisition company, or SPAC, is called Revolution Acceleration Acquisition Corp. and will be listed on the Nasdaq under the ticker symbol ‘RAACU.’ Case, an AOL co-founder, is listed as one of the founders and a director in the company. Case and company CEO John Delaney, the former Maryland congressman, hold stakes in RAAC Management LLC, a partnership between entities set up by Delaney and Case that owns about 8.1 million shares of the blank-check company - which would

be about 24.3% after the public offering, according to the SEC filing. The filings lean heavily on Case and Revolution's reach and experience in the venture capital and growth equity arenas, suggesting a significant involvement in the company. They also highlight the success of Revolution Growth, which raises large growth rounds for private companies. Case founded Revolution Growth in 2011 alongside Ted Leonsis, now the controlling shareholder of Monumental Sports & Entertainment.” (Andy Medici, “Revolution's Steve Case Backs New Blank-Check Company Led By Former Md. Congressman,” *Washington Business Journal*, 11/23/20)

***Vance Was A Co-Worker Of Ron Klain, President Joe Biden’s Chief Of Staff***

**Ron Klain, President Joe Biden’s Chief Of Staff, Worked At Revolution LLC As General Counsel And Executive Vice President, With Departures To Serve As Biden’s Vice Presidential Chief Of Staff in 2008 And As Obama’s Ebola Czar In 2014.** “Ron Klain has been asked by President-elect Biden to return to public service in a critically important role at a critically important time in our nation’s history. Ron has been one of Joe Biden’s most trusted advisors for more than three decades, and brings enormous experience and wisdom to the role. Ron has been instrumental in building Revolution into a major venture capital investment firm. He has served as General Counsel and Executive Vice President since the firm launched in 2005, with notable departures to serve our country as Vice President Biden’s Chief of Staff in 2008 and President Obama’s Ebola Czar in 2014. We applaud Ron’s decision to return again to public service, and wish him all the best as he takes on this task. We are sorry to lose him, but we’re more optimistic about getting through the pandemic and building back better knowing Ron will bring his many talents to bear to support the President and serve the nation.” (Steve Case, “The Appointment Of Ron Klain As White House Chief Of Staff,” Revolution LLC, 11/11/20)

**Klain Helped Found Revolution In 2005.** “Ron Klain, a longtime Democratic operative and co-founder of D.C. venture capital firm Revolution LLC, was named President-elect Joe Biden's chief of staff Wednesday evening. Klain has long worked with Biden before, serving as his chief of staff from 2009 to 2011 when he was vice president. He was also chief counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee in the late 1980s and early '90s when Biden, then a senator representing Delaware, chaired the body. Klain most recently served as an adviser to Biden's presidential campaign and he was an adviser on Biden's previous bids for the White House. ... Klain, a lawyer by training, helped found Revolution in 2005 and has served as executive vice president and general counsel. According to The New York Times, his agreement with Steve Case, the chairman and CEO of Revolution and a co-founder of AOL, allowed Klain to take unpaid leave in the fall every four years to participate in political campaigns.” (Drew Hansen, “Ron Klain, A Co-Founder Of Steve Case's Revolution, Named Joe Biden's Chief Of Staff,” *Washington Business Journal*, 11/12/20)

***Shortly After Vance Was Hired By Revolution, Case Came Out Against President Trump’s Immigration Policies***

**In April 2017, Case Took Aim At President Trump’s Immigration Policies.** “To say Steve Case is well versed in launching a company is an understatement. The co-founder and former CEO of New York-based America Online is currently at the helm of Revolution LLC, an investment firm he co-founded, partnering with fellow entrepreneurs to build what he calls ‘built-to-last’ businesses. Today, Case is grabbing headlines for a different reason - taking aim at President Donald Trump's policies. The AOL visionary told WTop.com that ‘if we continue to push immigrants away - graduating top-notch innovators from our universities, but then forcing

them to leave to create companies and jobs elsewhere - we'll lose our entrepreneurial edge.”  
(Anthony Noto, “AOL Co-Founder Steve Case Takes Aim At Trump's Immigration Policies,” *New York Business Journal*, 4/24/17)

**In July 2017, Case Criticized A Trump Administration Decision To Eliminate A Rule Letting Foreign Entrepreneurs Come To The United States To Start Companies, Calling It A “Big Mistake.”** “The Trump administration said it would delay, and probably eliminate down the line, a federal rule that would have let foreign entrepreneurs come to the United States to start companies. The decision, announced by the federal government on Monday ahead of its official publication on Tuesday, was quickly slammed by business leaders and organizations, especially from the technology sector, which has benefited heavily from start-ups founded by immigrants. ... Steve Case, an investor who was a founder of AOL, blasted the decision on Twitter. ‘Big mistake,’ he wrote. ‘Immigrant entrepreneurs are job makers, not job takers.’” (Nick Wingfield, “In Blow To Tech Industry, Trump Shelves Start-Up Immigrant Rule,” *The New York Times*, 7/10/17)

### ***While Vance Was Employed By Revolution, Case Met With Trump***

**In 2017, Case Was Part Of A Group Of CEOs Who Met With Trump To Discuss Emerging Technologies.** “President Donald Trump will meet with two dozen executives from technology companies and venture capital firms on Thursday for advice on how the government can promote emerging technologies such as drones and the Internet of things. Executives including outgoing General Electric Co. chief executive Jeff Immelt, AT&T CEO Randall Stephenson, Sprint Corp CEO Marcelo Claure, and venture capitalist Steve Case, the billionaire co-founder of AOL Inc., have been asked for suggestions on how the administration should spur private innovation and set appropriate guidelines for new technologies. ... Case, who now runs the investment firm Revolution LLC, used his company website to defend his decision to engage with Trump. ‘I know some people will question my decision to attend the gathering of investors at the White House, but I have long advocated for leaders of any kind to engage if given the opportunity,’ Case wrote Wednesday, highlighting his concerns with Trump's policies on immigration and climate change. ‘I would argue that there is perhaps no more important time to take a seat at the table.’” (Toluse Olorunnipa, “Trump To Meet With Tech Executives On Drones, Internet Of Things,” *Bloomberg*, 6/22/17)

### ***Revolution Backed DraftKings Which Operates Sports Gambling***

**In 2018, DraftKings, Which Received Funding From Revolution Growth, Announced It Would Enter The Sports Betting Market.** “Sports, gambling and entertainment businesses across Greater Washington on Monday applauded the Supreme Court's decision to repeal a federal ban on sports betting, saying the ruling could significantly boost revenue, increase interest in sports and bring regulation to an industry that generates billions of dollars already, often illegally. ... Some companies, like fantasy sports platform DraftKings Inc., are already capitalizing on the ruling. DraftKings, partially funded by D.C.-based venture capital firm Revolution Growth, announced Monday the company will enter the sports betting market and is now working with regulatory officials to apply for operating licenses in those states that have already passed legislation.” (Katie Arcieri, “Legal Sports Betting Is Coming And D.C.'S Top Investors Are All In,” *Washington Business Journal*, 5/14/18)

**In 2020, Revolution Organized A Panel With DraftKings Executives To Discuss Betting During The Pandemic.** “The newly-public betting website DraftKings Inc. is delving deeper into e-sports and other nontraditional sporting activities as the coronavirus-driven drought of live

football and baseball events is putting financial pressure on its core betting business. The Boston-based online gambling operator (Nasdaq: DKNG) recently acquired the rights to livestream all the matches of Bundesliga - Germany's top soccer league - inside its sports betting app, SportTechie reported. The move is meant to broaden the offering of sports content that customers can engage with, at a time the National Football League and other national sports leagues are on shutdown. On Friday, Robins and Leonsis participated in a panel organized by Revolution, AOL co-founder Steve Case's investment firm in Washington, to discuss the reopening of sports in a world of social distancing. There, Robins said that there's a lot of opportunity to integrate the streaming, or the viewing experience, with the fantasy and gaming experience. 'The important thing is that people are able to watch the games ... We have streaming integrated for ping pong, for table tennis. Those are not things people can turn on the TV or easily find in other places to watch right now,' Robins said. 'Part of the fun of betting is to be able to actually watch the action in full.' Ted Leonsis, co-founder and partner at Revolution Growth, an investor in DraftKings, said during the panel that the rollout of 5G will be critical to people who want to do sports live betting." (Lucia Maffei, "With No Pro Sports, Draftkings Bets On Fantasy, Esports And Ping Pong," *Boston Business Journal*, 5/26/20)

### ***Steve Case Sold His Virginia Home To Saudi Arabia For \$43 Million***

**In 2018, Steve Case Sold His McLean, Virginia Home To The Kingdom Of Saudi Arabia For \$43 Million.** "It's been a big week on Chain Bridge Road. Steve and Jean Case's McLean estate has sold for a record-setting \$43 million, about a year after the property hit the market for \$49.5 million — which, at the time, was the highest list price the region had ever seen. Now, it grabs the title as the most expensive Greater Washington property to sell, at least since 2007 and most likely ever. The Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the buyer, according to public records." (Sara Gilgore, "Steve Case's Mclean Estate Sells For \$43M — A New Record," [\*Washington Business Journal\*](#), 6/7/18)

### ***Case Was Part Of A Global Advisory Board For A Tourism Destination In Saudi Arabia But Backed Out After The Killing Of Jamal Khashoggi***

**In September 2018, Case Was Announced As An Advisory Board Member For The Red Sea Project, An Ultra-Luxury Tourism Destination That Is Part Of Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 And Owned By Saudi Arabia's Public Investment Fund.** "The Red Sea Project is part of an ambitious plan to create an ultra-luxury tourism destination for nature, adventure, wellness, and culture, as part of Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030. (Supplied) The Red Sea Development Company, owned by Saudi Arabia's Public Investment Fund, has announced the formation of its 'global advisory board' made of 12 international experts in business, tourism, sustainability and environment. The advisory board will help set the agenda and plan for Saudi Arabia's Red Sea Project, a vast tourist development aimed at opening the economy, off the kingdom's western coast. The Red Sea Project is part of an ambitious plan to create an ultra-luxury tourism destination for nature, adventure, wellness, and culture, as part of Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030. ... The members of the Advisory Board are: ... -Steve Case, Chairman and CEO, Revolution – As the CEO of Revolution, an investment firm dedicated to building 'built to last' businesses, Case has established a legacy for creating some of the strongest businesses in history. He revolutionized the Internet through AOL, and negotiated the largest merger in business history. Case will work with The Red Sea Project's executive team to bring transformative business



management to the project.” (“Saudi Arabia's Red Sea Development Co Announces Creation Of Global Advisory Board,” *Alarabiya*, 9/17/18)

- **Other Advisors To The Project Included Richard Branson And Philippe Cousteau, Jr.** “Saudi Arabia has tapped global business and conservation leaders to advise the country on its improbable but ambitious plans to develop a luxury tourism destination in one of the world's few remaining undiscovered and untouched marine wonderlands. The Red Sea Project last week announced it had enlisted the experts to help with plans to develop resorts and residences on 50 pristine islands in the Red Sea. Richard Branson, who last year announced he would become the first private investor in the project, tops the list, which also includes Philippe Cousteau Jr., grandson of Jacques Cousteau and founder and president of EarthEcho International; Steve Case, who founded America Online; Sven-Olof Lindblad, CEO of Lindblad Expeditions; Frits van Paasschen, former CEO of Starwood Hotels & Resorts; and Six Senses founder Sonu Shivdasani.” (Jeri Clausing, “Saudi Arabia Assembles Advisers For Red Sea Tourism Project,” [Travel Weekly](#), 9/24/18)
- **The Red Sea Development Company Is A Wholly Owned Entity Incorporated In 2018 By The Public Investment Fund Of Saudi Arabia.** “The Red Sea Development Co., a wholly owned entity incorporated earlier this year by the Public Investment Fund of Saudi Arabia, said the advisory board will help set the Red Sea Project's agenda ‘to develop and implement a new international standard in environmental protection and restoration, sustainable development, innovation and luxury tourism.’” (Jeri Clausing, “Saudi Arabia Assembles Advisers For Red Sea Tourism Project,” [Travel Weekly](#), 9/24/18)

**In October 2018, Case Distanced Himself From Saudi Arabia Over The Killing Of Saudi Dissident Jamal Khashoggi.** “Western business leaders, including Virgin Group founder Richard Branson and tech investor Steve Case, on Thursday distanced themselves from Saudi Arabia over the disappearance and alleged killing of Saudi dissident and Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi. Their statements are a setback for Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, who has portrayed himself as a reformer intent on modernizing Saudi society and opening it to more foreign investment. The Turkish government has told U.S. officials it has audio and video recordings proving Khashoggi was killed inside the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul this month.” (Jeanne Whalen, “Virgin’s Richard Branson, Tech Investor Steve Case Distance Themselves From Saudi Arabia Over Alleged Khashoggi Killing,” [The Washington Post](#), 10/11/18)

**Case Said He Was Putting On Hold Plans To Attend A Conference In Riyadh That Month And Participate In The Saudi Tourism Project.** “Case said he was putting on hold plans to attend a big investment conference in Riyadh later this month, and to participate in a Saudi tourism project.” (Jeanne Whalen, “Virgin’s Richard Branson, Tech Investor Steve Case Distance Themselves From Saudi Arabia Over Alleged Khashoggi Killing,” [The Washington Post](#), 10/11/18)

## **VANCE WAS ALSO INVOLVED WITH STEVE CASE’S ‘RISE OF THE REST’ FUND – ANOTHER CONTROVERSIAL ROLE**

### ***Vance Was Part Of Steve Case’s Rise Of The Rest – An Initiative Backed By Wealthy Tech Investors***

**In 2017, Vance Was Part Of Steve Case’s Rise Of The Rest, An Initiative Aimed At Finding Startups In The Midwest.** “Columbus needs to be more eager to tout itself as a business

destination, even if that feels weird for humble Midwesterners. That's according to organizers of Rise of the Rest, an initiative that visited Columbus on Friday to listen to business pitches and encourage investment in companies that aren't on the East or West coasts. '(Columbus is) clearly on the rise, clearly collaborative and recognizing that start-ups play a crucial role in job creation and economic growth,' said Steve Case, the co-founder of America Online who now leads Revolution LLC, the investment firm that sponsors Rise of the Rest. ... He was joined by J.D. Vance, the venture capitalist and 'Hillbilly Elegy' author who now lives in Columbus and is working with Revolution, among other ventures. 'Some folks (in Columbus) are admirably humble, but sometimes you've got to be willing to tell your story,' Vance said. Case and Vance went through a packed schedule on Friday, meeting with local leaders, taking tours of offices that help start-up businesses, and listening to pitches from relatively new companies.' (Dan Gearino, "Rise Of The Rest," *The Columbus Dispatch*, 10/14/17)

**The Columbus Stop Was Part Of A Tour That Included Green Bay And Indianapolis.** "The Columbus stop was the fourth day of a five-day bus tour, wedged between Indianapolis on Thursday and Green Bay, Wisconsin, on Tuesday. Rise of Rest has made similar stops in more than 20 other cities over the past three years." (Dan Gearino, "Rise Of The Rest," *The Columbus Dispatch*, 10/14/17)

**Vance Said He Joined The Rise Of The Rest Fund To Help Bring Opportunity To Parts Of The Country That Have Not Seen Investment From Venture Capital Funds.** STEVE CASE: "It's not about a feeling about being left behind, they have been left behind. We have to kind of level the playing field so everybody everywhere really does feel like they have a shot at the American Dream. Right now, they don't. SHARYN ALFONSI (voiceover): "J.D. Vance agrees. It's the reason he became Case's partner in the Rise of the Rest fund. Vance, wrote the New York Times' best-seller 'Hillbilly Elegy.' ... Vance's book details his upbringing in Appalachia, surrounded by heartbreaking poverty, drug addiction and instability. After a stint in the Marines, then earning degrees from Ohio State and Yale Law School, Vance began a career as a high tech investor in Silicon Valley." J.D. VANCE: "I definitely get a little bit skeptical when somebody's development a new app for parking, and they tell me they're changing the world. So, I do think sometimes folks in San Francisco can drink a little bit too much of their own Kool-Aid." (CBS' "60 Minutes," 3/17/19)

**Investors In Rise Of The Rest Included Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos, Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz, And Alphabet Chairman Eric Schmidt.** "Some of the world's most influential business leaders want to repair the deep divisions in America by investing in entrepreneurship outside of traditional tech hubs like Silicon Valley and Seattle. That's the goal of Rise of the Rest, an organization created by AOL co-founder Steve Case and J.D. Vance, author of 'Hillbilly Elegy,' to 'revolutionize' the U.S. economy. The two connected because Case read Vance's chronicle of Rust Belt decline as a problem that needed solving. That's according to an account from The New York Times that details how the unlikely duo formed the Rise of the Rest Tour, traveling across the country to make small investments in startups. Now, they're taking the project to the next level with a little help from Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos, Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz, Alphabet Chairman Eric Schmidt and others." (Monica Nickelsburg, "Bezos And Other Tech Luminaries Back \$150M 'Rise Of The Rest' Fund To Boost Startups Between Coasts," [Geekwire](#), 12/5/17)

**The Fund's Investors Also Included Members Of The Koch, Pritzker, And Walton Families.** "Much of Revolution's recent high-profile efforts have focused on its Rise of the Rest endeavors, including its \$150 million seed fund. That fund contains a slew of big-name

investors, including Amazon.com Inc. (NASDAQ: AMZN) CEO Jeff Bezos, The Carlyle Group (NASDAQ: CG) co-founder David Rubenstein, former Google (NASDAQ: GOOGL) executive chairman Eric Schmidt, former Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz and members of the Koch, Pritzker and Walton families.” (Andy Medici, “Revolution Ventures Is Raising A New Fund,” *Washington Business Journal*, 11/8/18)

**Vance Headed The Fund As Managing Partner.** “Steve Case's Rise of the Rest seed fund has raised \$150 million from a cavalcade of high-profile investors. Investors in the new fund, named after Case's yearslong effort to draw more attention to nontraditional areas outside of Silicon Valley and New York, include Amazon chief and Washington Post owner Jeff Bezos, The Carlyle Group co-founder David Rubenstein, Google CEO Eric Schmidt, Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz and members of the Koch, Pritzker and Walton families, according to a release. ‘We're pleased so many of America's most iconic investors, executives and founders have joined with us to invest in Rise of the Rest cities,’ Steve Case said in the release. ‘Their support validates our hypothesis that there are great startup investment opportunities all across the country, and that by leveling the playing field we can help more entrepreneurs in more places build companies that can improve our lives, and create jobs that can help lift up our communities.’ Hillbilly Elegy author and Revolution partner J.D. Vance will head the fund as managing partner, according to Revolution, leading a team composed of Revolution Partner David Hall and director of investments for Rise of the Rest Anna Mason.” (Andy Medici, “Steve Case's New Rise Of The Rest Fund Raises \$150M From Big-Name Investors,” *Washington Business Journal*, 12/5/17)

### ***Rise Of The Rest Invested In A Startup Founded By A Former Obama Official***

**In 2020, Rise Of The Rest Invested In WireWheel, An Arlington, Virginia Startup Founded By Former Obama Administration Official Justin Antonipillai.** “A data privacy management startup led by former Obama administration official Justin Antonipillai has raised \$10.6 million in new funding, according to a new Securities and Exchange Commission filing. It brings the Arlington startup WireWheel Inc.'s total funding to more than \$23 million, according to data from PitchBook. The company, founded in 2016, announced a \$10 million funding round in October 2018, with investors such as Chevy Chase venture powerhouse New Enterprise Associates Inc., Arlington Sands Capital, Revolution's Rise of the Rest Fund and Grotech Ventures. Chicago-based PSP Growth also participated. Dayna Grayson, venture partner at NEA and now co-founder of newly formed Construct Capital, has a seat on the board.” (Andy Medici, “Arlington Startup Led By Former Obama Official Raises Millions,” *Washington Business Journal*, 2/20/20)

### ***Rise Of The Rest Invested In Gig Wage, A Company That Assists With Moving Money Within The Gig Economy***

**In 2020, Rise Of The Rest Invested In Gig Wage, A Company That Assists With Moving Money Within The Gig Economy.** “Gig Wage is getting some new financial backing. The Dallas firm, a fintech payroll platform provider for the gig economy, has landed an "A" round of \$7.5 million, the company announced Tuesday. The effort was led by Green Dot Corp., the California company that provides prepaid debit cards and banking services. That brings its overall fund-raising efforts to about \$11 million, a spokesperson said. The funds will help with its growth in areas that include sales and marketing, along with business and partnership development. Also, it will help with ongoing product innovation, including engineers. The

company is seeing about 30 percent month-over-month growth in ‘all facets of its business,’ according to the statement. Gig Wage builds products that assist with moving money inside the gig economy. It's taking on the challenges around handling contractor payroll, payments and compliance. With the deal, Green Dot will serve as an infrastructure bank partner, enabling Gig Wage to add banking options to its instant payments platform for workers. The pandemic has accelerated the growth of the gig economy - think players such as Doordash and Postmates - by illuminating the need for modern touchless payment technology and branchless banking, according to the statement. Many essential workers are 1099 contractors and a part of the under-banked community. ... Other investors in the A round include Continental Investors, Techstars, Rise of the Rest and others.” (Brian Womack, “Dallas-Based Gig Wage Gets \$7.5M In Funding Round Led By California Firm,” *Dallas Business Journal*, 10/27/20)

### ***Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In Various Companies Across The Country***

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In Stord Inc., An Atlanta-Based Software-Enabled Warehousing Company.** “Stord Inc., a software-enabled network of warehouses & distribution centers, announced today the completion of a \$2.4M seed round of funding. The funding will be used to further enhance Stord's software, expand their team, and continue the expansion of their growing customer base. Susa Ventures and Dynamo co-led the round with participation from various funds such as Revolution's Rise of the Rest Seed Fund and the Engage Fund, an Atlanta-based fund comprised of 11 of the nation's largest corporations. The company has previously raised \$230k and completed the Dynamo Accelerator program in 2016.” (Stord Inc., “Stord Raises \$2.4 Million In Seed Funding To Grow Category Leading Warehousing & Distribution Platform,” Press Release, 4/23/18)

**Vance: “Stord Saw The Unique Opportunity To Take A Massive, Fragmented Industry Like Warehousing And Distribution And Win By Owning The Customer Relationship And The Software Rather Than Owning The Physical Asset Itself. It Is Another Great Example Of Founders Solving Big Problems In Cities Beyond The Coastal Tech Hubs.”** (Stord Inc., “Stord Raises \$2.4 Million In Seed Funding To Grow Category Leading Warehousing & Distribution Platform,” Press Release, 4/23/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In DemandJump, An Indianapolis-Based Marketing Software Company, With Vance Calling It “A Great Example Of The Innovative Companies That Are Starting And Scaling In Cities Beyond The Coastal Tech Hubs.”** “DemandJump, the leading marketing Customer Acquisition Platform, announces today the completion of a \$6 million Series A financing round. Strategic investors include Revolution’s Rise of the Rest Seed Fund, Flyover Capital, Cultivation Capital, 4G Ventures, Bob Davoli and Hyde Park Venture Partners. The funding will be invested into sales, marketing and product innovation expansion. ‘We are excited to have oversubscribed our Series A round and look forward to expanding our go to market team. We have added some incredible brand names over the last year, across verticals,’ said Christopher Day, CEO and co-founder of DemandJump. ‘We are proud that our customers typically experience an average increase of 200-500% ROI by leveraging insights and recommendations surfaced by our platform.’ ‘We first met DemandJump in Indianapolis during our Rise of the Rest bus tour last year and were impressed with their ability to transform marketing into a revenue center for brands across multiple verticals,’ said J.D. Vance, managing partner of Revolution’s Rise of the Rest Seed Fund. ‘It is a great example of the innovative companies that are starting and scaling in cities beyond the coastal tech hubs.’”

(DemandJump, "DemandJump Secures \$6M Series A to Fuel Customer Acquisition Platform," Press Release, 4/12/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In Cotopaxi, A Utah-Based Outdoor Gear Company.** "In a confluence of efforts centered on social consciousness, Utah gear company Cotopaxi is among the first companies to receive funding from Rise of the Rest. Rise of the Rest is an investment effort - launched by billionaire AOL founder Steve Case and 'Hillbilly Elegy' author J.D. Vance - aimed at discovering and supporting innovation companies outside Silicon Valley and East Coast tech epicenters. The fiscal infusion, announced Friday, will help Cotopaxi expand its branded brick-and-mortar stores in select U.S. cities, with a Utah store slated to open in Murray's Fashion Place mall, adding to the company's original, and only, retail space in downtown's City Creek Center." (Art Raymond, "Utah's Cotopaxi Among First Funded By AOL Founder," *Deseret Morning News*, 2/17/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In Catalytes, A Baltimore-Based Software Company.** "The Rise of the Rest seed funds first round of startup investments cover eight states that are usually overlooked by tech investors, including Kentucky, South Carolina and Ohio. The \$150 million fund was launched in December by Steve Case and J.D. Vance, with backing from many of Americas most influential businesspeople, to support tech ecosystems outside of Silicon Valley, New York City and other major hubs. The Rise of the Rest seed fund is part of Revolution, the investment firm also launched by Case, a co-founder and former chief executive officer of AOL. Its first investments are listed below...Catalytes (Baltimore, Maryland) algorithms identify job candidates who show promise for software engineering positions, but might be overlooked by traditional HR practices. It was created to keep companies from having to outsource tech jobs overseas while also creating more diverse workforces. Revolution participated in Catalytes \$27 million Series A." ("The Rise Of The Rest Seed Fund Announces Its First Group Of Investments," *Financial Services Monitor Worldwide*, 2/16/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In ENGAGE Talents, A Charleston-Based Software Company.** "The Rise of the Rest seed funds first round of startup investments cover eight states that are usually overlooked by tech investors, including Kentucky, South Carolina and Ohio. The \$150 million fund was launched in December by Steve Case and J.D. Vance, with backing from many of Americas most influential businesspeople, to support tech ecosystems outside of Silicon Valley, New York City and other major hubs. The Rise of the Rest seed fund is part of Revolution, the investment firm also launched by Case, a co-founder and former chief executive officer of AOL. Its first investments are listed below...ENGAGE Talents (Charleston, South Carolina) software helps companies attract and recruit passive talent, or valuable candidates who arent actively planning to leave their current jobs, but can be persuaded to take a new position with the right incentives." ("The Rise Of The Rest Seed Fund Announces Its First Group Of Investments," *Financial Services Monitor Worldwide*, 2/16/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In Losant, A Cincinnati-Based "Internet Of Things" Software Company.** "The Rise of the Rest seed funds first round of startup investments cover eight states that are usually overlooked by tech investors, including Kentucky, South Carolina and Ohio. The \$150 million fund was launched in December by Steve Case and J.D. Vance, with backing from many of Americas most influential businesspeople, to support tech ecosystems outside of Silicon Valley, New York City and other major hubs. The Rise of the Rest seed fund is part of Revolution, the investment firm also launched by Case, a co-founder and former chief executive officer of AOL. Its first investments

are listed below...Losant (Cincinnati, Ohio) is an enterprise Internet of Things platform that allows companies to manage devices and end-user apps and analyze data in real-time to make sure everything is working directly.” (“The Rise Of The Rest Seed Fund Announces Its First Group Of Investments,” *Financial Services Monitor Worldwide*, 2/16/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In SafeChain Inc., A Columbus-Based Blockchain Startup.** “The Rise of the Rest seed funds first round of startup investments cover eight states that are usually overlooked by tech investors, including Kentucky, South Carolina and Ohio. The \$150 million fund was launched in December by Steve Case and J.D. Vance, with backing from many of Americas most influential businesspeople, to support tech ecosystems outside of Silicon Valley, New York City and other major hubs. The Rise of the Rest seed fund is part of Revolution, the investment firm also launched by Case, a co-founder and former chief executive officer of AOL. Its first investments are listed below...SafeChain Inc. (Columbus, Ohio) is a blockchain startup focused on the real estate industry. Its SafeWire software is designed to verify bank accounts and keep wire transfers safe while reducing the amount of time it takes to close a property sale.” (“The Rise Of The Rest Seed Fund Announces Its First Group Of Investments,” *Financial Services Monitor Worldwide*, 2/16/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In SEEVA, A Seattle-Based Automotive Hardware And Software Company.** “The Rise of the Rest seed funds first round of startup investments cover eight states that are usually overlooked by tech investors, including Kentucky, South Carolina and Ohio. The \$150 million fund was launched in December by Steve Case and J.D. Vance, with backing from many of Americas most influential businesspeople, to support tech ecosystems outside of Silicon Valley, New York City and other major hubs. The Rise of the Rest seed fund is part of Revolution, the investment firm also launched by Case, a co-founder and former chief executive officer of AOL. Its first investments are listed below...SEEVA (Seattle, Washington) builds software and hardware systems that help cars operate safely in poor weather conditions, including snowstorms and heavy rain, by automatically clearing debris from windshields, cameras and other equipment. Rest of the Rises investment was part of a \$2 million round Seeva raised to target the autonomous vehicle market.” (“The Rise Of The Rest Seed Fund Announces Its First Group Of Investments,” *Financial Services Monitor Worldwide*, 2/16/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In ZenBusiness, An Austin-Based Online Business Services Company.** “The Rise of the Rest seed funds first round of startup investments cover eight states that are usually overlooked by tech investors, including Kentucky, South Carolina and Ohio. The \$150 million fund was launched in December by Steve Case and J.D. Vance, with backing from many of Americas most influential businesspeople, to support tech ecosystems outside of Silicon Valley, New York City and other major hubs. The Rise of the Rest seed fund is part of Revolution, the investment firm also launched by Case, a co-founder and former chief executive officer of AOL. Its first investments are listed below...ZenBusiness (Austin, Texas) is an online service that lets business owners create an LLC or corporation for free.” (“The Rise Of The Rest Seed Fund Announces Its First Group Of Investments,” *Financial Services Monitor Worldwide*, 2/16/18)

**In 2018, Vance And Rise Of The Rest Invested In Zylo, An Indianapolis-Based Software Company.** “The Rise of the Rest seed funds first round of startup investments cover eight states that are usually overlooked by tech investors, including Kentucky, South Carolina and Ohio. The \$150 million fund was launched in December by Steve Case and J.D. Vance, with backing from many of Americas most influential businesspeople, to support tech ecosystems outside of Silicon

Valley, New York City and other major hubs. The Rise of the Rest seed fund is part of Revolution, the investment firm also launched by Case, a co-founder and former chief executive officer of AOL. Its first investments are listed below...Zylo (Indianapolis, Indiana) is a SaaS optimization platform that lets companies manage all the software-as-a-service subscriptions used.” (“The Rise Of The Rest Seed Fund Announces Its First Group Of Investments,” *Financial Services Monitor Worldwide*, 2/16/18)

## **VANCE APPEARS TO HAVE ENJOYED A LUXURIOUS LIFESTYLE SINCE BECOMING A PUBLISHED AUTHOR SEVERAL YEARS AGO**

### ***Since Publishing His Book, Vance Has Enjoyed Luxury Accommodations***

**In 2017, During A Speech He Gave At The New York City University Club, Vance Ate A \$46 Steak, Drank A \$19 Martini, And Stayed In A \$700 Hotel Room.** “Here is J.D. Vance, a long way from Middletown, Ohio, arriving at the gilded Fifth Avenue temple of the University Club, a massive pile of excess born of robber-baron lucre and standing in the shadow of its glass-and-steel successor, Trump Tower. Vance has no tie. The club requires that he wear one. He is offered a scrawny, wrinkled navy number, possibly a Brooks Brothers reject, that looks as though it has collected lint through several society seasons. That Vance is the night’s honored speaker, at a benefit for socioeconomically disadvantaged students, which he himself was not a decade ago, makes no difference. Rules are rules. ... On this night, a long way from his family’s origins in a Kentucky holler, Vance will feast on a \$46 steak, drain a \$19 martini, slumber in a \$700 hotel room and shake his head at the absurdity of it all.” (Karen Heller, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Made J.D. Vance The Voice Of The Rust Belt. But Does He Want That Job?” [The Washington Post](#), 2/6/17)

### ***Vance Admits To Being A Member Of The Elite***

**In 2018, Vance Said It Was “Objectively True” That He Is A “Member Of The Elite.”** “I point out that based on his Ivy League résumé, profession and accomplished spouse — he met his wife Usha at Yale and she is currently clerking for the chief justice of the US Supreme Court — he has become a card-carrying member of the very elite he scorns. Vance laughs. ‘I react viscerally to this idea that I am a member of the elite, even though it’s objectively true.’” (Shawn Donnan, “Hillbilly Elegist JD Vance: ‘The People Calling The Shots Really Screwed Up’,” [Financial Times](#), 2/2/18)

### ***Hypocritically, Vance Has Utilized Class-Based Politics***

**In 2019, Vance Criticized The Democratic Party For Abandoning Class Politics In Favor Of Identity Politics, Saying It Hindered The “National Solidarity That You Need To Actually Solve Some Of These Bigger Problems.”** CARLSON: “So you've said -- I've heard you say before that maybe the saddest change in the Democratic Party was this abandonment of class politics, to put it bluntly, in favor of identity politics?” VANCE: “Yes, that's exactly right. And if you get the study that you just cited, one of the craziest parts about it is that it doesn't -- talking about white privilege doesn't increase sympathy for poor black people. It just decreases sympathy for poor white.” CARLSON: “I know, exactly.” VANCE: “It has this incredibly divisive effect on our politics. It frankly destroys some of the solidarity, the national solidarity that you need to actually solve some of these bigger problems and it doesn't even help the people that it purports to help. This rhetoric is like pure division, no solution, and everybody loses.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 5/14/19)

**Vance Argued That Problems Faced By Black People – Like Difficulty Accessing Credit – Were The Fault Of “Financial Elites” Rather Than “The Poor White Person.”** CARLSON: “I would argue that not everybody loses. It actually exculpates, it lets off the hook on ruling class. So they've failed a huge chunk of their fellow Americans. They're in charge and the middle class is dying, but they don't have feel guilty about it because the middle class deserves it.” VANCE: “Yes, yes. So I find it's helpful to actually think about the real problems and who benefits from those problems and who might benefit from a solution. So very real problem in America right now is that if you're a black business owner to focus on problems of black Americans, it's really hard to get access to capital to grow your business. Right? So whose fault is that? Is it the fault of the poor white person? Or is it the fault of our financial elites?” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 5/14/19)

- **Vance: “So Notice The Distraction, This White Privilege Discourse Infects In Our Politics, It Takes The Focus Away From The People Who Might Actually Solve The Problem. It Puts The Focus On People Who Are Also Suffering From A Very Similar Problem, And At The End Of The Day, Nobody Benefits.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 5/14/19)

## **VULNERABILITIES STEMMING FROM HILLBILLY ELEGY**

### ***Vance’s Hillbilly Elegy Received Steady Criticism***

#### **Vance Has Received Criticism For “Victim-Blaming” In *Hillbilly Elegy***

**Vance’s *Hillbilly Elegy* Has Been Accused Of “Victim-Blaming,” Including By Former Gov. Ted Strickland (D-OH), Who Was Born Poor And Is Appalachian.** “For all the popularity of Vance and his book, he has many critics. He has been accused of victim-blaming, drawing overly broad conclusions from his own life, ignoring the role of corporations in creating the twin miseries of joblessness and opiate addiction and downplaying the role of government (for instance, the Marines and a public university) in his own success. Former Ohio Gov. Ted Strickland, himself born poor and Appalachian, found ‘*Hillbilly Elegy*’ harsh and judgmental. ‘I would like for us to talk about the circumstances that a lot of people are facing through no fault of their own,’ he says. ‘I’m not into blaming the victim. A lot of people are caught up in dysfunctional behaviors for very complex reasons other than their unwillingness to work hard or their lack of will or their character defects.’” (Suzanne Goldsmith, “Profile: ‘*Hillbilly Elegy*’ Author J.D. Vance,” *Columbus Monthly*, 11/2017)

#### **A Middletown Native Criticized Vance’s Depiction Of The City In *Hillbilly Elegy***

**In A 2017 Column In The *Kearny Hub*, Middletown Native Mary Jane Skala Criticized Vance’s Depiction Of The City, Noting That It Was Not The Middletown She Knew.** “Not everyone in Middletown, Ohio, is as crude and rough as the family dissected in J.D. Vance's childhood memoir, ‘*Hillbilly Elegy*.’ I know. My parents were born and raised there. ‘*Hillbilly Elegy*’ is Vance's story of growing up in Middletown, a city the size of Grand Island in southwestern Ohio. Vance writes of relatives who spat and fought, who discarded spouses like dirty Kleenex and imbibed liquor and drugs. Just like Nebraskans reacted to the 2014 film ‘*Nebraska*,’ I recoiled when I read Vance's book. The Middletown I know is not the Middletown Vance writes about. Vance zeroes in on a group — the Appalachian poor — who have escaped the media's radar. Perhaps that's why the book still reigns atop the New York Times' nonfiction best-seller list. Its sole bright spot is its conclusion: ‘The most important lesson is not that society



failed to provide me with opportunities. The real problem for many of these kids is what happens (or doesn't happen) at home.” (Mary Jane Skala, Op-Ed, “Far Prouder ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’” *Kearney Hub*, 3/16/17)

**Skala: “As I Read, I Grew Impatient With Vance's Repeated Assertions That Every Middletown Family Is A Crippled Mess. ... So Much For The Generalizations In ‘Hillbilly Elegy.’”** “As I read, I grew impatient with Vance's repeated assertions that every Middletown family is a crippled mess. My grandparents didn't fight. They focused on opportunity. Eight of their nine children put themselves through college. One earned a doctorate. Uncle Paul became editor of the Middletown Journal. My father became news director at WGAR Radio in Cleveland. My mother's Middletown family was just as determined. My grandfather was raised by his widowed mother. My mother was the valedictorian of her class and first in her family to graduate from college. So much for the generalizations in ‘Hillbilly Elegy.’” (Mary Jane Skala, Op-Ed, “Far Prouder ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’” *Kearney Hub*, 3/16/17)

**Skala: “Readers Of ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Must Not Assume That Every Middletonian Is A Cheating, Drunken, Unemployed Louse.”** “Yes, Middletown withered in recent years with the demise of AK Steel, but readers of ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ must not assume that every Middletonian is a cheating, drunken, unemployed louse. All of us, Pearl and Joseph's descendants, have returned to rural Kentucky, prowled around the remains of the old homestead and explored the family graveyard. We know where we came from. We also know who we came from. Our laughter, camaraderie, moral values and the iron-tight affection for one another is irreplaceable. It all started in Middletown.” (Mary Jane Skala, Op-Ed, “Far Prouder ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’” *Kearney Hub*, 3/16/17)

**Vance’s 2017 Centre College Commencement Address Received Criticism As “Unapologetically Dismissive Of The Student Population”**

**In Advance Of Vance’s 2017 Centre College Commencement Address, Recent Centre College Graduate Audrey Ash Criticized His Approach To Understanding Poverty As “Ineffective And Incomplete.”** “Centre College's 2017 commencement speaker, meant to inspire the graduating class while endowing wisdom and receiving an honorary degree for the appearance, is excitingly controversial. Already inspiring many hateful Facebook posts and sparking a campus-wide discussion led by professors for an ‘informed and thoughtful reception’ of the address, J.D. Vance received more free marketing on Centre's campus since April 10. ... His approach to understanding Appalachian poverty is both ineffective and incomplete, for while some Appalachians may not trust outsiders, and may not know how to eat at a dinner party, there is a systematic, structural history that has perpetuated poverty. His analysis inadequately addresses tax policies, unemployment, underemployment, lack of healthcare, and several other causes of poverty consistent throughout the region. Due to his incomplete analysis, his implicit solution of overcoming laziness in Appalachian and ‘getting out’ is futile. Vance addresses ‘learned helplessness’ as if it is voluntary, and not a learned trait from years of systematic poverty. The most harmful elements of Vance's work are not the half-baked analysis or stereotypes. I receive comments like ‘Oh really, you don't act like that,’ or ‘Where's your accent?’ Although offended, I rarely face discrimination associated with those stereotypes.” (Audrey Ash, Op-Ed, “Centre College Insensitive To Appalachia With Vance's Commencement Address,” *The Courier-Journal*, 5/21/17)

**Ash: “The True Insidiousness Of Vance's Narrative Is Found In His Strong Emphasis On Leaving. ... But Leaving Is Not A Solution, Nor Is It A Helpful Narrative.”** “The true insidiousness of Vance's narrative is found in his strong emphasis on leaving. While Vance never explicitly mentions that success involves moving away, his implicit explanation of his own success is founded in this. His grandparents left Kentucky in hopes of a better life. His mother repeatedly searches for hope of defeating addiction by moving away from her Middletown, Ohio, home. Vance, who is third-generation from Jackson, Kentucky, is finally a vision of success, but only because of his odyssey from Jackson and Middletown, his stint in the military, his marriage to an outsider, and ultimately, his move to Cincinnati. This narrative is repeated in others in his life. Yet with this push for relocation, he fails to mention the associated difficulties—when poverty is a family tradition, families typically do not have the means to migrate. But leaving is not a solution, nor is it a helpful narrative.” (Audrey Ash, Op-Ed, “Centre College Insensitive To Appalachia With Vance's Commencement Address,” *The Courier-Journal*, 5/21/17)

**Ash: “Vance's Placement Into Centre Alumni Was Unapologetically Dismissive Of The Student Population And Appalachian Community On Campus.”** “Vance's placement into Centre alumni was unapologetically dismissive of the student population and Appalachian community on campus. The insensitivity in choosing J. D. Vance lies in the school's insensitivity to the region of Appalachia, placing on a pedestal the champion for hard earned success and passive avoidance of structural problems that will persist without political action.” (Audrey Ash, Op-Ed, “Centre College Insensitive To Appalachia With Vance's Commencement Address,” *The Courier-Journal*, 5/21/17)

### **Vance Was Protested While Speaking At A 2018 Appalachian Studies Conference**

**In 2018, Vance Was Protested While Speaking At The Appalachian Studies Association Conference.** “The author of *Hillbilly Elegy*, the New York Times bestseller about growing up in Appalachia, was disrupted in an appearance at an Appalachian Studies Association (ASA) conference. ‘This session took place during the final day of the 2018 Appalachian Studies Association conference,’ according to a statement issued by the Young Appalachian Leaders and Learners (Y'ALL). ‘Protests against Vance's presence began as the convener of the roundtable was introducing Vance, encouraging the audience to save questions about *Hillbilly Elegy* for after the session, attempting to keep the roundtable focused on the subject of opioids.’ ‘Members of the audience began to speak out against Vance being given a platform to speak at the conference, and the convener responded by declaring that, as academics, we should all be willing to listen and critically engage in discussion with anyone regardless of their beliefs. As Vance began to deliver his speech, a number of audience members stood up, turned their chairs around, and protested in silence with their backs turned to Vance until he concluded his remarks.’” (Accuracy In Academia, “J. D. Vance Dissed At Appalachian Studies Association,” Press Release, 4/25/18)

### **Historian Elizabeth Catte Criticized *Hillbilly Elegy* For Its Depiction Of Life In The Region**

**In 2018, Historian Elizabeth Catte Criticized Vance And *Hillbilly Elegy* For Perpetuating Harmful Misconceptions About The Region.** “Catte spent much of her hour Tuesday deriding ‘*Hillbilly Elegy*,’ the popular book by venture capitalist and Yale graduate J.D. Vance about poverty and powerlessness in Appalachia, and which Catte says has helped to revive outdated theories about a culture of poverty. ‘It’s no secret that I abhor J.D. Vance,’ she said. Vance’s book at one point reads, ‘these problems were not created by governments or corporations or anyone else, only we can fix them.’ Catte focused her objections to the book on its frequent use

of the word ‘we,’ which Vance uses to speak as an Appalachian writing about Appalachian culture. But in a region of roughly 25 million people, Catte says, ‘No one person can claim to speak for it.’” (Waylon Cunningham, “Appalachia Historian Challenges 'Hillbilly Elegy' At Blount County Library,” *The Daily Times*, 9/6/18)

- **Catte: “It’s No Secret That I Abhor J.D. Vance.”** (Waylon Cunningham, “Appalachia Historian Challenges 'Hillbilly Elegy' At Blount County Library,” *The Daily Times*, 9/6/18)

### **A Collection Of Essays Criticizing *Hillbilly Elegy* Was Published In 2019**

**In 2019, “Appalachia Reckoning: A Region Responds To ‘Hillbilly Elegy’” – A Collection Of Essays Responding To Vance’s Book – Was Published.** “J.D. Vance's ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’ the surprise best seller published in 2016, is a frisky memoir with a bit of conservative moralizing dangling off, like the price tag on Minnie Pearl's hat. Nearly everyone likes the memoir sections. (His portrait of his grandmother, a "pistol-packing lunatic," is indelible.) The moralizing has been divisive. A new anthology, ‘Appalachian Reckoning: A Region Responds to 'Hillbilly Elegy,'’ edited by Anthony Harkins and Meredith McCarroll, presents the most sustained pushback to Vance's book (soon to be a Ron Howard movie) thus far. It's a volley of intellectual buckshot from high up alongside the hollow.” (Dwight Garner, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Had Strong Opinions About Appalachians. Now, Appalachians Return the Favor.,” *The New York Times*, 2/25/19)

**One Writer Criticized Vance For Purporting To Speak For Appalachian Culture.** “To hear the writers in "Appalachian Reckoning" tell it, the problems with ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ start with its subtitle: ‘A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis.’ Those last three words are a lot to swallow. They illustrate Vance's habit of pivoting from personal experience into the broadest of generalizations. His is a book in which the words ‘I’ and ‘we’ are slippery indeed. As Dwight B. Billings, a professor emeritus of sociology and Appalachian studies at the University of Kentucky, puts it in this new anthology, ‘It is one thing to write a personal memoir extolling the wisdom of one's personal choices but quite something else - something extraordinarily audacious - to presume to write the 'memoir' of a culture.’” (Dwight Garner, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Had Strong Opinions About Appalachians. Now, Appalachians Return the Favor.,” *The New York Times*, 2/25/19)

**Another Writer Compared Vance Unfavorably To Barack Obama And Sonia Sotomayor, Noting That Obama And Sotomayor Had Managed To Tell Their Own Stories Of Rising From Adversity Without Disparaging Others Who Were Not Able To Do So.** “In her perceptive essay, Lisa R. Pruitt, a law professor at the University of California, Davis, boils down Vance's advice this way: ‘Hillbillies' just need to pull themselves together, keep their families intact, go to church, work a little harder and stop blaming the government for their woes.’ Pruitt compares Vance's memoir to those by Barack Obama and Justice Sonia Sotomayor. What if Obama, she asks, had condemned ‘those he worked among as a community organizer in Chicago, even while basking in his own success as the obvious fruits of his own labor.’ She continues, ‘Or imagine Sonia Sotomayor, in her best-selling memoir 'My Beloved World,' taking complete credit for her class migration from the Bronx's Puerto Rican American community to a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court, all while saying the Latinx youth and young adults left behind simply lacked the grit and discipline to achieve similarly lofty goals.’” (Dwight Garner, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Had Strong Opinions About Appalachians. Now, Appalachians Return the Favor.,” *The New York Times*, 2/25/19)

## VANCE'S TIES TO CIRCUIT THERAPEUTICS COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES

### *Vance Worked For A Biotechnology Company That Received Federal Contracts*

#### **Vance Ran Circuit Therapeutics, A Neuroscience-Focused Biotechnology Company.**

“Vance escaped those problems, earning degrees from Ohio State and Yale Law School, then went on to run a neuroscience-focused biotechnology company, Circuit Therapeutics, before becoming a principal at Mithril Capital, a Silicon Valley investment firm.” (Tim Feran, “‘Hillbilly’ Author JD Vance Aims To Invest Time, Venture Capital In Home State Of Ohio,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 4/9/17)

**In 2015, Circuit Therapeutics Won A \$1.4 Million Federal Contract From The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) For Research On Electrical Prescriptions Under The ElectRx Program.** “Circuit Therapeutics Inc., Menlo Park, California, won a federal contract valued at up to \$1,440,126 from the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, Arlington, Virginia, for an innovative research effort on electrical prescriptions under the ElectRx program. The contract involves the creation of closed-loop neuromodulation systems that utilize innate neurophysiological circuits to achieve therapeutic benefits. To achieve this goal, ElectRx will simultaneously drive biological understanding and technology development. Specifically, ElectRx is looking to develop and leverage fundamental understanding of the anatomy and physiology of neural circuits in the spinal cord or peripheral nerves that mediate health status. This knowledge will be leveraged to design and demonstrate feedbackcontrolled neuromodulation systems for the direct regulation of immune system functions and CNS disorders. In parallel, technology development focused on next-generation minimally-invasive neural interfaces and biosensors will enable interaction with the neurophysiology of interest at unmatched spatiotemporal resolution, precision, and specificity. These neuromodulation treatments will be tuned automatically and continuously to the unique physiology of each individual and will produce no off-target effects.” (Circuit Therapeutics, “\$1.44 Million Federal Contract Awarded To Circuit Therapeutics,” Press Release, 10/10/15)

**In 2015, Circuit Therapeutics Won A \$2.7 Million Contract From DARPA To Pursue Optogenetic Therapies.** “Circuit Therapeutics today announced that it has been awarded a 2.7 million dollar contract from the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) to pursue optogenetic therapies for peripheral nervous system indications. The award, part of DARPA’s Electrical Prescriptions (ElectRX) program, will enable Circuit to pursue research and development projects related to its treatment for neuropathic pain.” (Circuit Therapeutics, “Circuit Therapeutics Receives Significant Contract From DARPA,” Press Release, 12/10/15)

## VANCE'S TIES TO INNOVATE OHIO COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES

### *Vance Served On The Advisory Board Of InnovateOhio*

**Vance Served On The Advisory Board Of InnovateOhio – Lieutenant Governor Jon Husted’s State Government Innovation Initiative.** “Some of Ohio’s most prominent names in business, tech and venture capital will advise Lt. Gov. Jon Husted’s new state government innovation initiative. Husted’s office on Monday launched the website for InnovateOhio, the

expansive but poorly understood new government department which Gov. Mike DeWine tapped Husted to run shortly after taking office in January. Prominently featured on the new site is a video in which Husted describes his vision for InnovateOhio, which aims to use technology to improve Ohioans' lives and streamline government operations. Along with the website launch, a list of InnovateOhio advisory board members also was unveiled. The 14-member board will be chaired by Falon Donohue, CEO of VentureOhio, a Columbus trade association for venture investors, tech firms and universities. The board's members also include:...J.D. Vance, a venture capitalist whose bestselling memoir, 'Hillbilly Elogy,' helped him get his foot in the door with state politics" (Andrew J. Tobias, "Ohio Leaders In Business, Tech, And Venture Capital Will Advise New State Innovation Effort," *Plain Dealer*, 4/23/19)

## VANCE'S TIES TO LED COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES

### *Vance Invested In An LED Greenhouse Project*

**In 2020, A \$100 Million Greenhouse Tomato-And-Cucumber Project With The World's Largest LED Installation For A Single Building Was Set To Debut In Morehead, Kentucky With Funding From Vance.** "In addition to Gotham Greens, the Washington-Baltimore area will become home to an outpost of Bowery Farming in November. In the second half of 2020, a \$100 million greenhouse tomato-andcucumber project with the world's largest LED installation for a single building will debut in Morehead, Ky., funded in part by 'Hillbilly Elogy' writer J.D. Vance." (Laura Reiley, "Indoor Farming Looks Like It Could Be The Answer To Feeding A Hot And Hungry Planet. It's Not That Easy.," [The Washington Post](#), 11/19/19)

## VANCE'S TIES TO MITHRIL CAPITAL COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES

### *After Law School, Vance Worked At A Law Firm And Then Became An Executive At A Biotech Company. From There, He Left To Join Mithril Capital, An Investment Firm*

**After Law School, Vance Worked At A Law Firm And Then Became An Executive At A Biotech Company. From There, He Left To Join Mithril Capital, An Investment Firm.** (Alexandra Wolfe, "J.D. Vance And The Anger Of The White Working Class," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 7/29/16)

**In 2017, Vance Announced He Was Heading To Revolution LLC But Would Continue Doing Work For Mithril Capital.** "Mr. Vance most recently has been a part of Mithril Capital, the venture vehicle for noted Silicon Valley investor Peter Thiel, and he said he would continue to do some work for Mithril. At Revolution, he said he isn't focused on specific industry sectors or geographies other than the '47 states' that receive 20% of the nation's venture commitments." (Dennis K. Berman, "'Hillbilly Elogy' Author J.D. Vance Moves To Ohio To Find Venture-Capital Deals," [The Wall Street Journal](#), 3/22/17)

**As Of November 2017, Vance Was Still Associated With Mithril.** "Vance is still associated with Thiel and Mithril but has taken a job as an investment partner in Revolution LLC, where he's working with AOL founder Steve Case on the Rise of the Rest initiative. The project aims to bring venture capital to the Midwest. And, with the help of Chabria and Jivani, he's also established Our Ohio Renewal." (Suzanne Goldsmith, "Profile: 'Hillbilly Elogy' Author J.D. Vance," *Columbus Monthly*, November 2017)

**Vance Became A Partner At Mithril In 2016 After Leading Operations At A Biotech Startup.** “Meanwhile, he still represents San Francisco-based Mithril Capital Management, which he joined as partner a year ago after leading operations at a biotech startup. The two jobs don't overlap, he said, because Rise of the Rest is focused on very early seed investments, while Mithril invests in growth-stage companies.” (Carrie Ghose, “J.D. Vance Bringing Interest Of Coastal VC Funds To Central Ohio - But Not Only Central Ohio,” *Columbus Business First*, 4/12/17)

***The FBI Probed Mithril Capital, Vance's Former Employer, Over Possible Financial Misconduct***

**In 2019, The FBI And Federal Investigators Began Probing The Conduct Of Mithril Capital Over Concerns Of Possible Financial Misconduct.** “Federal investigators are probing the conduct and practices of Mithril Capital, a venture capital firm co-founded by Peter Thiel, Recode has learned. US officials — including the FBI — have in recent months questioned some people close to Mithril regarding concerns of possible financial misconduct at the firm, according to people familiar with the matter who insisted on anonymity given its sensitivity. Mithril confirmed in a statement that its lawyers are in touch with government authorities. Mithril's leader, Ajay Royan, has worked with Thiel for almost two decades and has used that relationship to raise over \$1 billion. But in recent years, Royan has frustrated some of his investors by sitting on some of their money rather than investing it in startups — while almost certainly raking in millions of dollars in fees for himself.” (Theodore Schleifer, “The FBI Is Investigating A Venture Capital Fund Started By Peter Thiel For Financial Misconduct,” [Recode](#), 9/12/19)

**The Federal Probe Took Place During A Time Of Internal Tension And Employee Departures At The Company.** “This federal probe is just the latest — but most significant — problem for the firm, which has increasingly struggled with internal tensions, declining morale, and employee departures. Not all federal investigations, of course, end with an indictment, and Mithril could eventually be cleared of wrongdoing.” (Theodore Schleifer, “The FBI Is Investigating A Venture Capital Fund Started By Peter Thiel For Financial Misconduct,” [Recode](#), 9/12/19)

**VANCE'S TIES TO NARYA CAPITAL COULD CREATE VULNERABILITIES**

***In 2020, Vance Started An Ohio-Based Venture Capital Fund – Narya Capital – With Backers Including Peter Thiel, Marc Andreessen And Eric Schmidt***

**In 2020, Vance Started An Ohio-Based Venture Capital Fund – Narya Capital – With Backers Including Peter Thiel, Marc Andreessen And Eric Schmidt.** “With backing from Peter Thiel, Eric Schmidt, Marc Andreessen and other Silicon Valley kings, bestselling author J.D. Vance is spinning up a new Ohio-based venture capital firm. Vance's Narya Capital has raised \$93 million from investors for its first fund, with plans to raise as much as \$125 million total, according to a regulatory filing. The firm will invest in young start-ups in the fields of science and advanced technology with a typical check size between \$5 million and \$10 million, said a person familiar with the plans. It will eschew consumer-focused businesses, the person said, asking not to be identified because the matter is private.” (Lizette Chapman, “'Hillbilly Elegy' Author Starts Fund,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1/14/20)

- **“Narya Has Raised \$93 Million With A Goal Of Raising \$125 Million, According To A Federal Election Commission Filing.”** (Andrew J Tobias, “J.D. Vance Starts New Ohio Investment Fund,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 1/18/20)

### ***One Of The Founding Partners Of Narya Was Falon Donohue, The Former CEO Of VentureOhio***

**One Of The Founding Partners Of Narya Was Falon Donohue, The Former CEO Of VentureOhio.** “Falon Donohue's post-VentureOhio venture is a startup venture capital firm that's already one of the largest in the state. Donohue is a partner with Narya Capital, according to its website. She stepped down at year's end from the statewide VC trade group, as I reported Wednesday, but said for regulatory reasons she can't comment on Narya. The Cincinnati firm co-founded by author J.D. Vance and VC veteran Colin Greenspon has raised \$93 million toward a targeted \$125 million fund, according to a regulatory filing late Wednesday.” (Carrie Ghose, “Falon Donohue's New Enterprise Is A \$93M Thiel-Backed VC Fund With J.D. Vance,” *Columbus Business First*, 1/9/20)

### ***Narya Capital Invested In AcreTrader***

**In March 2021, Narya Capital Invested In AcreTrader, A Farmland Investing Platform.** “AcreTrader issued the following news release: - Company continues to scale as farmland proves to be a growing and resilient asset class AcreTrader, the farmland investing platform that removes barriers to farmland investing and ownership, today announced it has raised a \$12 million Series A funding round, led by Jump Capital. Narya Capital, Revolution's Rise of the Rest Seed Fund, and existing investors RZC Investments and Revel Partners also participated in the round, bringing the total amount of funds raised by AcreTrader to \$18 million. The funds will be used to improve overall access, liquidity, and transparency to farmland transactions across the nation through improved online tools, data science, marketing, and expansion of AcreTrader's team of agriculture, finance, and technology experts.” (Acretrader, “AcreTrader Raises \$12M Series A Funding To Modernize Farmland Transactions,” Press Release, 3/11/21)

**AcreTrader Is Located In Fayetteville, Arkansas.** “Fayetteville brokerage AcreTrader, the online farmland investing platform, said Thursday (March 11) it had raised \$12 million in Series A funding. Jump Capital, a venture capital firm in Chicago, led the round.” (Paul Gatling, “Fayetteville Startup AcreTrader Secures \$12 Million In Series A Funding,” *Talk Business & Politics*, 3/11/21)

### ***Vance And Narya Are Investors In Appharvest - A Startup Growing Produce In Greenhouses In Appalachia***

**Vance Is An Early Investor In AppHarvest.** “AppHarvest hadn't grown a single piece of produce when it announced it would be going public through a SPAC reverse merger that values the startup greenhouse at more than \$1 billion and has it on track to raise \$460 million when it starts trading next week. Those are pretty tatty numbers for a 60-acre indoor farm that started shipping its first harvest just last week, with batches of organic tomatoes on the vine headed to early investors that include Martha Stewart and bestselling author J.D. Vance, as well as the brand's first retailers, including Walmart, Kroger, Meijer and Publix.” (Chloe Sorvino, “Money Is Pouring Into Greenhouse Tech. Its First Business To Go Public Is Far From Ripe,” *Forbes*, 1/29/21)

**AppHarvest Is A Morehead, Kentucky-Based Indoor Farming Company.** “AppHarvest — an indoor farming company backed by Martha Stewart — thinks the agriculture sector is ripe for

disruption. And now, its tomatoes are ripe for eating. The Morehead, Kentucky-based company said Tuesday it has begun shipping beefsteak tomatoes to Kroger, Walmart, Publix and other grocers. Eventually, AppHarvest plans to ship 45 million pounds of tomatoes each year from its 60-acre indoor farm in Morehead.” (Dee-Ann Durbin, “High-Tech Indoor Farmer AppHarvest Starts Shipping Tomatoes,” *The Associated Press*, 1/19/21)

**“AppHarvest Has An All-Star Group Of Backers, Including Rupert Murdoch's Son James, Legendary Investor Jeff Ubben, AOL Founder Steve Case, Martha Stewart And Best-Selling Author J.D. Vance.”** (“SPACs Sound Arcane, But Upend IPO Market,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, 1/22/21)

**Vance And Narya Led AppHarvest’s \$28 Million Series C Funding Round.** “Narya Capital, a venture capital firm founded by author JD Vance, has led a \$28 million Series C for AppHarvest, a controlled environment agriculture-focused start-up beginning to consider international expansion. Narya was joined in the Series C by other investors that included S2G Ventures , tech-focused venture firm Breyer Capital and Lupa Systems, a private holding company established last year by former Fox News executive James Murdoch.” (Chris Janiec, “Thiel-Backed Narya Leads \$28m Series C As AppHarvest Eyes New Markets,” *Agri Investor*, 8/20/20)

**Vance Also Invested In AppHarvest At Previous Venture Capital Fund – Rise Of The Rest.** “It's been about two years since AppHarvest, the company aiming to make Eastern Kentucky the "high-tech agriculture capital of the country," planned to begin construction of a two-million square foot greenhouse in Pikeville. After numerous delays and the company's decision to move its greenhouse to Morehead in January, AppHarvest announced this week that it has secured enough funding to begin construction. An \$82 million cash investment from Equilibrium Capital has put the company on a path to finally getting its greenhouse off the ground. Construction should begin this summer, officials said, and AppHarvest hopes to be fully operational in the latter-half of 2020...Along with Equilibrium, the company also received a second investment from the Rise of the Rest Seed Fund, which is led by AOL co-founder Steve Case and ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ author J.D. Vance.” (Will Wright, “With \$82 Million Investment, AppHarvest Finally Ready To Build Its 60-Acre Greenhouse,” *Lexington Herald Ledger*, 5/24/19)

**“Vance Said The Firm Has Put ‘A Substantial Amount Of Time And Investment’ Into Its Relationship With AppHarvest.”** (Will Wright, “AppHarvest Launches High-Tech Agriculture Class In Pike County. Still No Word On Jobs.,” *Lexington Herald Leader*, 9/17/18)

**Following Tweets That Some Claimed Were A Defense Of Tucker Carlson And White Supremacy, Vance Resigned From The AppHarvest Board, A Move Vance Said Came Well Before His Tweets.** “Vance has been active on Twitter, criticizing ‘the ruling class,’ immigration policy and Big Tech censorship. He stirred up Twitter last week with a defense of Fox News’ Tucker Carlson, accused of using white supremacist rhetoric about immigrants. ‘Tucker Carlson is the only powerful figure who consistently challenges elite dogma — on both cultural and economic questions. That is why they try to destroy him,’ Vance wrote. This week he resigned from the board of a Kentucky company, AppHarvest, that uses green technology to produce food in Appalachia, but on Friday he denied it was because of fallout from the controversial tweets. He said his decision predated them.” (Dan Sewell, “‘Hillbilly’ To Capitol Hill? Author Eyes Senate Bid In Ohio,” *The Associated Press*, 4/16/21)



***Narya Capital Invested In Kriya Therapeutics, A Company Located In The Bay Area Of California And The Research Triangle Park In North Carolina***

**In May 2020, Narya Capital Invested In The Series A Of Kriya Therapeutics, A Company Located In The Bay Area Of California And The Research Triangle Park In North Carolina.** “Kriya Therapeutics issued the following news release: - Kriya is focused on rationally designed gene therapies for severe chronic conditions affecting millions of patients - Financing proceeds to support the development of Kriya's pipeline, internal discovery engine, and proprietary GMP manufacturing infrastructure - Partnerships in place with leading academic and research institutions, including Universitat Autnoma de Barcelona (UAB) and the U.S. National Institutes of Health (NIH) Kriya Therapeutics announced today that it has raised \$80.5 million in a Series A financing to fund the development of transformative gene therapies for highly prevalent serious diseases. Kriya was formed in the fourth quarter of 2019 and has an industry-leading gene therapy team that includes former senior leadership from Spark Therapeutics, AveXis, Sangamo Therapeutics, and other gene therapy companies. Kriya's pipeline today includes multiple AAV-based gene therapies for the treatment of type 1 and type 2 diabetes, severe obesity, and other indications. The company is located in the Bay Area, California and Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, and is building a platform infrastructure in partnership with leading academic institutions and industry pioneers. Series A investors include QVT, Dexcel Pharma, Foresite Capital, Bluebird Ventures (associated with Sutter Hill Ventures), Narya Capital, Amplo, Paul Manning, and Asia Alpha. This Series A round follows an initial seed financing completed by the company in the fourth quarter of 2019 led by Transhuman Capital, who also participated in the Series A round.” (Kriya Therapeutics, “Kriya Therapeutics Announces \$80 Million Series A Financing To Advance Gene Therapies For Highly Prevalent Serious Diseases,” Press Release, 5/12/20)

***Parler Attempted To Raise Capital From Narya Capital***

**Parler Attempted To Raise Capital From Narya Capital.** “With Parler’s management in flux, it’s unclear when the app will come back online. With Matze gone, Mercer — who maintains majority control — has reportedly designated responsibilities to Matthew Richardson, a British lawyer, and Mark Meckler, a former tea party activist. Mercer, Richardson, and Meckler did not respond to requests for comment. The company also recently attempted to raise funding, including from Narya Capital, the venture capital firm of J.D. Vance, the author of the popular memoir *Hillbilly Elegy*.” (Ryan Mac and Rosie Gray, “Parler Wanted Donald Trump On Its Site. Trump’s Company Wanted A Stake.” [BuzzFeed](#), 2/5/21)

**“Two Sources Told BuzzFeed News That Vance Has Also Advised Mercer On Matters Regarding Parler.”** (Ryan Mac and Rosie Gray, “Parler Wanted Donald Trump On Its Site. Trump’s Company Wanted A Stake.” [BuzzFeed](#), 2/5/21)

## APPENDIX A: ISSUES OF NOTE (BY SUBJECT AREA)

*Below is a non-comprehensive reference section pertaining to JD Vance's issues and policy positions of note. Any actionable material from this section has been incorporated into the prior narrative sections.*

### FISCAL AND ECONOMIC

#### *Overall – Commentary And Philosophy*

##### Democrat Policies

**In 2016, Vance Said White Working-Class Voters Could “Benefit” From Some Democrat Economic Policies Versus Those From Republicans.** “While Vance conceded that white working-class voters could 'benefit' from some Democratic economic policies versus those from their Republican counterparts, there's a reason why so many in that voting bloc are hesitant to switch to the Democratic ticket.' Even though they recognize that they need some help, they're very proud in some ways and they're not going to be as attracted to a political candidate or a political party that's fundamentally offering them free money or handouts in some way or another,' he said.” (Rahel Gebreyes, “Author J.D. Vance Explains Why Rural, White Communities Support Trump,” *The Huffington Post*, 8/16/16)

##### Trump’s “Core Domestic Policy Priorities”

**In 2017, Vance Reflected On Trump’s “Core Domestic Policy Priorities,” Claiming It Was “Not Looking Especially Good Right Now.”** LEMON: “J.D., is he right? Because our new poll shows 52 percent of Americans see the president's approach to the presidency as an unnecessary risk. Forty-seven percent say it's a necessary shakeup. What do you think?” VANCE: “Well, he is fundamentally arguing that he is being unconventional. And obviously it sounds like a fair number of voters actually agree with that. The thing about those risks is it really matters what consequence they eventually have. And I think that we're at this stage right now where Trump can argue persuasively that he has been an unconventional president. But that has to lead somewhere. If it leads to a tax reform proposal that fundamentally hurts his own voters, if it leads to health care reform proposal that starts to hurt his own voters or hurt the country, then that's not going to mean anything that he is unconventional. You can be unconventionally right or unconventionally wrong. And I think it's way too early to tell. But you know, fundamentally, the conversation has to turn to is Donald Trump making the lives of majority Americans better? Or is he enabling them to make their own lives better? And right now, it's too early to say. But the core domestic policy priorities, the core domestic policy proposals that he's put out there, even though they are obviously not very detailed, to the degree that there are details, it's not looking especially good right now.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 4/26/17)

**Vance: “I Just Don’t See The Evidence That We’re Being Serious About The Policies That Are Necessary To Move The Country Forward Yet.”** VANCE: “And I say that of course as a conservative who really wants this president to succeed in certain ways. But I just don't see the evidence that we're being serious about the policies that are necessary to move the country forward yet.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 4/26/17)

### Trump Credit

**In 2017, Vance Said There Was Reason To Question Whether The Economic Boom Was Due To Trump Or The Obama Administration.** J.D. VANCE, CONTRIBUTOR, CNN:

“Well, obviously the economic numbers are pretty good and we can did he bail all night whether those numbers are because of him or because of the policies of the past administration. So, at least in some ways you're starting to see things like wage growth, you're starting to see some job growth in the country. And whether, again, the president deserves some credit for it, he's definitely going to get a fair amount of credit for it especially from the folks who voted and put him into office. I think the most interesting thing to watch politically over the next few months is whether if republicans fail to make big results on tax reform, whether the party starts to turn against the congressional leadership. Because the temptation for the president at that point is not going to be able to throw up his hands and say, well, I'm sorry, we haven't gotten anything done. It's going to be to point fingers and I think the person who is going to point fingers at most directly is Mitch McConnell and Paul Ryan. So I think there's a really interesting question over the next few months whether the republican party civil war which has really been bubbling below the surface for the past year breaks open or whether ultimately they're able to get a legislative program done. And people are circulating the wagons and celebrating regardless of whether the ultimate policy is super affected down the road. It at least gives the president a win. So that's what I'm looking at.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 11/15/17)

**In 2017, Vance Said That Despite The Good Jobs Numbers During The Trump Administration, “That Doesn't Necessarily Mean It's Broadly Distributed Across All Geographies Of The Country.”** BLITZER: “You're surprised -- I'm surprised, you're surprised, only 32 percent approve, at a time when pretty robust job numbers are out there.” J.D. VANCE, CNN CONTRIBUTOR: “Yes, well, it's definitely, you know, you see jobs numbers like this and you'd expect the approval rating to be higher. I think that part of that is obviously the fact that the president likes to mix it up with the media and he mixes it up enough and people start to get exhausted and that probably drives down the approval rating a little bit. But I also think what Steve said is really important, which is that part of what's driving people's sense of how well they're doing is not the top line job numbers, but whether there are jobs in their communities and real growth in their communities. And we saw this during the Obama administration. I think we've seen this during the first year of the Trump administration, that though we're seeing some job growth and the economy's starting to pick back up, that that doesn't necessarily mean it's broadly distributed across all geographies of the country. And that's, in fact, one of the things that we're trying to work on is make sure that if you're living in southwestern Ohio, if you're living in Indianapolis, you have access to that high growth economy that we're seeing reflected in some of those good job numbers.” (CNN’s “Wolf,” 12/8/17)

### Milton Friedman Policies

**In 2016, Vance Wrote That The GOP Had Pushed For Policies Backed By Thinkers Like Milton Friedman Including Tax Cuts, Regulatory Reform, And Open Trade But That The “Evidence Slowly Accumulated That They Failed To Address A Very Real Social Crisis Among The Republican Base.”** “At least since the late 1970s, a relatively consistent domestic

policy agenda has guided the Republican Party. GOP leaders, drawing on thinkers such as the brilliant economist Milton Friedman, pushed a combination of tax cuts, regulatory reform and open trade. Sometimes, as in President Reagan's time, these policies proved popular. And other times, as during President George W. Bush's time, they didn't. Yet the party marched on, with little revision to the core ideas that informed Reagan's presidency. As late as summer 2015, putative Republican presidential front-runners announced their candidacies in speeches that promised the same basic agenda. Whatever you might think of these policies, evidence slowly accumulated that they failed to address a very real social crisis among the Republican base. The factories that formed the base of the blue-collar economy shed jobs or ceased operating altogether. Median wages stagnated, and white working-class voters began telling pollsters that they believed their children's future would be worse than their own. Divorce rates crept steadily upward, and a frightening drug epidemic took hold. Last year, in the medium-sized Ohio county where I was born, deaths from drug overdoses outnumbered deaths from natural causes." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "Hey Democrats, Do More Than Talk," [USA Today](#), 7/28/16)

**In 2020, Vance Called Economist Milton Friedman's Argument For Free Trade "Nonsense" And Said That Free Trade Had Resulted In "Millions Of Men In The South And Midwest" With "Pill Bottles And iPhones" Instead Of Jobs.** "Almost certainly the most influential right-of-center thinker of the last fifty years was Milton Friedman, a brilliant monetary economist and quick-witted debater. Friedman's ideas have influenced at least two generations of conservatives (including yours truly), but he missed a lot. His view that commercial freedom would reduce 'the area over which political power is exercised' motivated a lot of U.S. policymakers in their approach to China and has proven tremendously short-sighted. China is perhaps the most hypercapitalist regime in the world, but it has used its economic power to become even more politically authoritarian. His views on trade similarly encouraged policy makers to ignore the costs of opening our markets to cheap consumer goods. 'Can you think of a better deal,' Friedman wrote in 1970, to those then concerned about Japan, 'than our getting fine textiles, shiny cars, and sophisticated T.V. sets for a bale of green printed paper?' Well, a conservative in 2020 might reply to this nonsense that a better deal might include millions of men in the South and Midwest with jobs instead of pill bottles and iPhones. How about communities with more steady father figures than opioids?" (JD Vance, "End the Globalization Gravy Train," *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

### **The American "Nuclear Family" Over Free Market Principles**

**In 2019, Vance Argued That Conservatives Should Prioritize The Interests Of The American "Nuclear Family" Over Protecting And Maintaining Free Markets.** CARLSON: "Well, for decades, the Republican Party has been proud to call itself the party of free markets, and good for them. There's nothing wrong with markets, of course. We're for them. But there is something much more important than any economic system, and that is the health of people. When corporate interests, and the interests of American families conflict, you've got to side with American families. It seems like an obvious one. We made it last week. We'll continue to make it. One person who's been saying this for a long time is J. D. Vance. He's the Author of *Hillbilly Elegy*, and he joins us tonight. J. D. Vance, thanks very much for coming on." J. D. VANCE, HILLBILLY ELEGY AUTHOR, VENTURE CAPITALIST: "Yes." CARLSON: "So, the point

is not to make some kind of argument against market capitalism or any country - company, in particular. The - the point is only—” VANCE: “Yes.” CARLSON: “--that maybe Conservatives, as they think about what's important, ought to put individual Americans, particularly the family unit, the nuclear family, above all other considerations. Do you think that that's a crazy way to see the world?” VANCE: “No, I don't at all. The way that I would frame it, Tucker, is we treat market capitalism as an end or we treat market capitalism as a tool, a tool to create prosperity—” CARLSON: “Exactly.” VANCE: “--a tool to create a lot of wealth, a tool to create a healthy society. And I think what a lot of folks in the past 10, 15, 20 years on the Right have forgotten is that it is a powerful tool, but it is not the end. It is not, as I said in a piece, a platonic deity that enforces healthy families that enforces a prosperous society.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**Vance Pointed To The Opioid Epidemic As An Example Of Why More Government Intervention In The Economy Is Needed.** “To keep the focus on the opioid epidemic, the Los Angeles Times’ reporting on the role of the pharmaceutical industry is both excellent and disturbing. It chronicles the ways in which some companies gamed our regulatory system to obtain approval and patent protection for highly addictive drugs. Those companies then knowingly lied about the safety of those drugs to doctors and patients. Some commentators have framed their problem with Mr. Carlson’s argument as promoting “government intervention” when that same intervention is the problem. But if you want to protect a community from drugs that can take hold of a person’s mind and destroy whole neighborhoods soon thereafter, you need some government intervention. This raises a fundamental question with which so many of Mr. Carlson’s critics refuse to even engage: What happens when the companies that drive the market economy — and all of its benefits — don’t care about the American nation’s social fabric? What happens when, as in the case of a few massive narcotics sellers, they profit by destroying that fabric?” (JD Vance, “The Health Of Nations,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 1/8/19)

- **Vance: “Sometimes The Corporate Interests Who Are Responding To Market Incentives, Who Are Acting Just As You Might Expect A Company To Act, Is Actively Going To Harm The American Social Fabric.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)
- **Vance: “The Market Is Not A Platonic Deity, Floating In The Sky And Imposing Goodnes And Prosperity From On High. It Is The Creation Of Our Choices, Our Laws, And Our Democratic Process.”** (JD Vance, “The Health Of Nations,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 1/8/19)
- **Vance: “If A Company Is Pushing Opioids Into A Community In A Way That's Destroying Families, Whose Side Are We Going To Take? Are We Going To Take The Side Of The Corporate Interest Or Are We Going To Take The Side Of American Families?”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**Vance Complained That Conservatives Had “Lost A Little Bit Of Our Muscle Memory, A Little Bit Of A Recognition That Libertarianism And Conservatism Aren't The Same Thing.”** VANCE: “Well, I think there are a couple things going on. I mean, first, so many of the battles in the 1980s and the 1990s were about the Republicans being the party of markets and

Democrats being the party--” CARLSON: “Right.” VANCE: “--against markets. And I think what happened is that we lost a little bit of our muscle memory, a little bit of a recognition that libertarianism and conservatism aren't the same thing, and that sometimes—” CARLSON: “That's right.” VANCE: --the interests of families do conflict with some of these corporate interests. I - I really don't think there's anything bizarre or anti- conservative about this.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

- **Vance: “Do We Remember Who We're Fighting For? Are We For Healthy Communities, Healthy Families Or Are We Just Going To Constantly Defer To Corporate Interests Every Time Those Two - Those Two Sides Collide?”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**Vance Warned That Failure To Stand Up To “Corporate World” Could Result Of Damaging Ideologies, As Had Happened In The Past With The Rise Of Communism And Fascism.** CARLSON: “I'm worried that if we don't articulate this, really clearly, and act on it that the reaction against our current form of capitalism will be so intensive, we're going to wind up with something really destructive, socialism, or some awful economic system. Do you share that worry?” VANCE: “I definitely share that worry. And, Tucker, if you look through history, if you look at the Bolshevik Revolution in the early 20th Century--” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “--if you look at what was going on in the world as the American or, excuse me, the world economy transferred from an agrarian society to the industrial economy, there was a lot of war. There was fascism. There was Nazism.” CARLSON: “Right.” VANCE: “There was communism. And the United States avoided it because people like Teddy Roosevelt actually stood up for American workers, and said, ‘I'm not always going to defer to the interests of the corporate world.’ I think what's going on right now in our economy is actually a similar level of transformation. We're seeing a lot of people move—” CARLSON: “I agree.” VANCE: “--from an industrial-based economy to an informationbased economy. And the question is what do we do to protect the promise of the free market to ensure that it continues to be a tool to create prosperity, so that we can have a healthy community, have a healthy society, or do we continue to ignore the fact that a lot of people in America are hurting right now?” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

- **Vance: “And When People Hurt, They Eventually Go To The Ballot Box, And Eventually, Sometimes, People Do Things Even Worse Than Voting For Politicians And Policies That You Don't Like. That's The Lesson Of History.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)
- **Vance: “And The Question Is Do We Heed The Lesson Of History? Do We Build A Modern Conservative Coalition That Supports Working And Middle-Class Families? It's Really, To Me, The Only Way Out Of This.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/9/19)

**According To *Washington Post* Columnist Henry Olsen, Vance Spoke At A Conservative Conference And “Sought To Distance The New Conservatism From The Old Movement’s Dependence Upon Libertarian-Infused Thinking For Its Domestic Policies.”** “President Trump’s election shook conservatism to its core. Rejected by the voters of a party they had

considered their natural home, movement conservatives are now engaged in a long overdue conversation about principles and political strategy. A recent conference offered much solid advice about both what should and should not be done. The event was billed as the start of a new American ‘national conservatism.’ This title clearly tries to align the new thinking with the burgeoning sense of nationalism one sees throughout the world, but much depends on what the words mean. What constitutes the American nation? What should this conservatism seek to conserve? The speakers differed a lot on how to answer the second question. Some speakers, such as the Hudson Institute’s Chris DeMuth and the Faith and Reason Institute’s Mary Eberstadt, sought to reintegrate priorities of the old conservatism — deregulation and social conservatism — into the new. Others, such as ‘Hillbilly Elogy’ author J.D. Vance, sought to distance the new conservatism from the old movement’s dependence upon libertarian-infused thinking for its domestic policies.” (Henry Olsen, Op-Ed, “Conservatives Are Still Grappling With The Trump Era. And Many Haven’t Yet Learned Their Lesson.,” [The Washington Post](#), 7/22/19)

## ***Taxes***

### **Capital Gains Tax Rate**

**In 2017, Vance Said He Supported Senator Mike Lee’s Proposal To Increase The Capital Gains Tax Rate To That Of Ordinary Income.** VANCE: “This is one area where I actually think conservative Senator Mike Lee from Utah has had some really really interesting ideas. One of tax reform proposals Senator Lee has advocated for is actually setting the capital taxation rate at the same rate as they ordinary income rate. Because that’s what is really driving this difference, right. It’s not ordinary income earners. It’s not salaried professionals.” ([Brookings Institution YouTube Channel](#), 9/6/17, 1:45:27-1:45:45)

**In 2017, Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) Wrote That A Capital Gains Tax Rate That Was Lower Than The Labor Income Rate Gave Preferential Treatment To Wealthier Americans.** “Problem number two is that the federal government, as usual, has not kept up with the change, and indeed, has only exacerbated the problem. For instance, Washington still taxes investment income at much lower rates than labor income on the outdated logic that Americans’ dividends and capital gains will be reinvested in the national economy. But what in 1981 may have incentivized a virtuous economic cycle in 2017 may just be giving preferential treatment to rich Americans for creating jobs in other countries.” (Sen. Mike Lee, Op-Ed, “How Congress And Trump Can Reform Taxes To Put America First,” [The Federalist](#), 1/23/17)

**Lee Proposed Raising The Tax Rates On Capital Gains And Dividends.** “It would also, of course, reduce federal revenue. But lost revenue could be recouped, at least in part, by raising the tax rates on capital gains and dividends. That’s step two. Taken together, these two changes would transfer the workers’ share of the corporate tax onto American investors, who, again, are the natural and disproportionate beneficiaries of globalization relative to American workers.” (Sen. Mike Lee, Op-Ed, “How Congress And Trump Can Reform Taxes To Put America First,” [The Federalist](#), 1/23/17)

### **Overseas Production**

**In 2020, Vance Called For Taxing Firms That Produce Goods Overseas And Using The Proceeds To Subsidize Firms That Bring Their Manufacturing Back To The United States.** “Most of the interesting ideas on the Right—from Patrick Deneen’s critique of liberalism to

Peter Thiel’s long efforts against globalization—unsurprisingly come from thinkers not subject to the financial pressures of Conservatism, Inc. Though it’s still early, an anti-globalization agenda has begun to take shape. We should tax the labor arbitrage so many ‘U.S. firms’ depend on, while subsidizing—as Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has proposed—firms to move some of their manufacturing capacity back to the United States.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

### **Miscellaneous Increases**

#### **In 2021, Vance Said He Supports Higher Taxes For People Who Do Not Have Children.**

VANCE: “I will go back to something I said earlier. We need to reward the things that we think are good and punish the things that we think are bad. So you talk about tax policy. Let’s tax the things that are bad and not tax the things that are good. If you are making \$100,000, \$400,000 a year and you’ve got three kids you should pay a different lower tax rate than if you are making the same amount of money and you don’t have any kids.” ([Charlie Kirk YouTube Channel](#), 3/22/21, 40:28-21:00)

### ***Tax Cuts***

#### **2017 Tax Bill**

#### **In 2018, Vance Criticized Republicans For Living In The 1980s With The Party’s Tax And Health Care Reform Policies.**

“Vance is more scathing still when he discusses a broader Republican party that he sees as intellectually ossified. It cleared the way for Trump, he argues, by blindly pushing an agenda of Reaganesque trickle-down economics and engaging in misplaced military adventures in the years before the real estate developer’s brash arrival. ‘I wasn’t as critical of my party in 2016 as I was the person,’ he says. ‘But when I look at tax reform, when I look at healthcare reform, I see Trump as the least worrisome part of the Republican party’s problem, which is that we are basically living in the 1980s. We are constantly trying to resurrect domestic policies from the 1980s.’” (Shawn Donnan, “Hillbilly Elegist JD Vance: ‘The People Calling The Shots Really Screwed Up’,” [Financial Times](#), 2/2/18)

#### **Vance Criticized Republicans For Cutting Taxes For The Wealthy And Cutting The Social Safety Net.**

“Such as? ‘Let’s cut taxes for the wealthy! Let’s cut the social safety net! . . . The fundamental thesis that underlined basic Republican policies in the early 1980s, which is right, is that you had an economy which was simultaneously stagnating and experiencing high inflation. I don’t think the primary problem facing the American economy right now is that. It is that the opportunities that are out there require an adjustment in skills, an adjustment in training . . . And if that’s the problem, I don’t necessarily see how unleashing tax cuts for the wealthy . . .’ Vance trails off as our food arrives. The tacos are small enough that I immediately order another.” (Shawn Donnan, “Hillbilly Elegist JD Vance: ‘The People Calling The Shots Really Screwed Up’,” [Financial Times](#), 2/2/18)

#### **In 2019, Vance Criticized The 2017 Tax Reform Law As “Ok, It Wasn’t Terrible, But It Wasn’t Great.”**

VANCE: “When I think about the tax cut legislation which was ok, it wasn’t terrible, but it wasn’t great. If I think about the health care legislation which I think was genuinely a moral and political disaster and I am glad that it never passed.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 10:52-11:06)



### **Bush-Era Tax Cuts**

**In 2016, Vance Criticized The Bush Tax Cuts For Not Creating Jobs.** “What unites Trump’s voters is a sense of alienation from the wealthy and powerful. People with Ivy League degrees lord over our business and political institutions, yet zero graduates of my high school class attended an Ivy League undergraduate college. People in my hometown voted for President Reagan because he promised that tax cuts would bring higher wages and new jobs. It seemed he was right, so we voted for the next Republican promising tax cuts and job creation, George W. Bush. He wasn’t right.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump Fans Feel Betrayed By G.W. Bush,” *Tulare Advance-Register*, 2/18/16)

**Vance Has Criticized The Republican Party For Pushing Tax Cuts, Deregulation, And Free Trade For Not Addressing A “Very Real Social Crisis That’s Going On In The White Working Class.”** VANCE: “The other side, I think, is that for many years, the Republican elites, the part of the party that really drives policy has pushed a combination of tax cuts, deregulation, free trade, those policies, whatever their merit as matters of good government, have not addressed, I think, a very real social crisis that’s going on in the white working class.” (MSNBC’s “All In With Chris Hayes,” 8/2/16)

### **Supply-Side Tax Cuts**

**Vance Claimed He Was Disinvited From Joining Jeb Bush’s Campaign Due To His Opposition To Supply-Side Tax Cuts.** “In hindsight, the group contained all kinds of ideological fissures that would prevent it from exercising greater influence on national politics—most notably on immigration, with hardliners and doves about equally represented. Though intellectually enriching, it was also a bit awkward: I had, just weeks earlier, been invited to join Jeb Bush’s then-promising presidential campaign on one day, and then uninvited the very next. The problem? I had written in 2012 that an obsession with supply-side tax cuts was equal measures politically stupid and morally unjust, and someone on the campaign had uncovered my transgression.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

### ***Federal Funding***

#### **Overall**

**In 2024, Vance Voted Nay On HR 2872, Which Appropriated Funds For FY 2024 Which Prevented A Government Shutdown.** ([HR 2872](#), Passed (77 - 18), United States Senate, 1/18/24, Vance Voted Nay)

- NOTE: “This act provides continuing FY2024 appropriations for federal agencies. The act also extends several expiring programs and authorities, including several public health programs.” ([HR 2872](#))
- NOTE: “The CR provides funding through March 1, 2024.” ([HR 2872](#))
- NOTE: “For most other federal agencies and programs, the CR provides funding through March 8, 2024.” ([HR 2872](#))

**In 2023, Vance Voted Nay On HR 3746, The Fiscal Responsibility Act Of 2023.** ([HR 3746](#), Passed (63 - 36), United States Senate, 6/1/23, Vance Voted Nay)

## Privileged & Confidential

- NOTE: “This act increases the federal debt limit, establishes new discretionary spending limits, rescinds unobligated funds, expands work requirements for federal programs, and modifies other requirements related to the federal budget process.” ([HR 3746](#))

**In 2023, Vance Voted Nay On HR 5860, FY 2024 Continuing Appropriations Act Which Prevented A Government Shutdown.** ([HR 5860](#), Passed (88 - 9), United States Senate, 9/30/23, Vance Voted Nay)

- NOTE: “It is known as a continuing resolution (CR) and prevents a government shutdown that would otherwise occur if the FY2024 appropriations bills have not been enacted when FY2024 begins on October 1, 2023.” ([HR 5860](#))

**In 2023, Vance Voted Nay On HR 6363, FY 2024 Continuing Appropriations Act Which Prevented A Government Shutdown.** ([HR 6363](#), Passed (87 - 11), United States Senate, 11/15/23, Vance Voted Nay)

- NOTE: “This act provides continuing FY2024 appropriations for federal agencies. The act also extends several expiring programs and authorities, including programs authorized by the 2018 farm bill and several public health programs” ([HR 6363](#))
- NOTE: “The CR provides funding through January 19, 2024” ([HR 6363](#))
- NOTE: “For most other federal agencies and programs, the CR provides funding through February 2, 2024” ([HR 6363](#))

### National Defense Funding

**In 2024, Vance Voted Nay On HR 815, The National Security Act Of 2024.** ([HR 815](#), Passed (70 - 29), United States Senate, 2/13/24, Vance Voted Nay)

- NOTE: “This bill expands eligibility for Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) reimbursement of emergency treatment for veterans who are treated in a non-VA facility. Specifically, the bill waives the requirement that a veteran must have received VA care within the 24-month period preceding the furnishing of emergency treatment if the veteran receives such emergency treatment within the 60-day period following their enrollment in the VA health care system.” ([HR 815](#))
- NOTE: “the bill extends through December 28, 2031.” ([HR 815](#))

**In 2023, Vance Voted Nay On S 2226, The FY 2024 NDAA.** ([HR 3746](#), Passed (86 - 11), United States Senate, 7/27/23, Vance Voted Nay)

- NOTE: “This bill authorizes FY2024 appropriations and sets forth policies for Department of Defense (DOD) programs and activities, military construction, the national security programs of the Department of Energy (DOE), and the Maritime Administration, as well as the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). It also authorizes appropriations for the Defense Nuclear Safety Board and the Naval Petroleum Reserves, and sets policy for several other agencies, including the

Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The bill authorizes appropriations, but it does not provide budget authority, which is provided by appropriations legislation.” ([S 2226](#))

**In 2023, Vance Voted Nay On HR 2670, The FY 2024 NDAA.** ([HR 2670](#), Passed (87 - 13), United States Senate, 12/13/23, Vance Voted Nay)

- NOTE: “This bill authorizes FY2024 appropriations and sets forth policies for Department of Defense (DOD) programs and activities, military construction, the national security programs of the Department of Energy (DOE), and the Maritime Administration. It also authorizes appropriations for the Defense Nuclear Safety Board and the Naval Petroleum Reserves. The bill authorizes appropriations but it does not provide budget authority, which is provided by appropriations legislation.” ([HR 2670](#))
- NOTE: “Sec. 574 extends the Troop-to-Teachers program through July 1, 2027.” ([HR 2670](#))

### Budget Cuts

**In 2017, Vance Criticized GOP-Led Budget Cuts, Claiming The Political Calculus “Hasn't Actually Been Especially Thoughtful” And Were Evidence That Trump And Congress Had Not Focused On “Core Constituencies.”** CABRERA: “So it's not just the health care issue.

President Trump's budget proposes massive cuts to food stamps. J.D. of the top ten states with the largest percentage of people on food stamps, seven of them voted for Trump. What is the Trump administration putting on (INAUDIBLE) on his proposed budget?” VANCE: “Well, my guess is that the political calculus hasn't actually been especially thoughtful (ph). My guess here is that what's effectively happened is that the Trump administration has outsourced domestic policy to Congress and hasn't really focused on some of its core constituencies and hasn't really thought very seriously about the fact that a lot of what's being proposed is, one, very contrary to what Donald Trump promised during the campaign, and more importantly, is actually contrary to what a lot of his core voters want in this very moment. And republicans have to deal with that real contradiction that exists in their constituency. You have very ideological folks who maybe are excited about tackling some of these government programs. And you have the base of working in middle class Republican voters who actually like some of these programs, or even if they don't like them, they don't want them completely taken away. So, that calculus needs to be made within the White House. And if it is not, I do think the Republicans across the board are going to pay a pretty heavy political price.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 5/28/17)

**In 2017, Vance Said That A “Fundamental Problem That Conservatives Have To Accept Is That Sometimes You Have To Spend Money To Solve Social Problems.”** VANCE: “The

fundamental hill we have to get over, the fundamental problem that conservatives have to accept is that sometimes you have to spend money to solve social problems. Not always. Does that mean that government is always the answer? Certainly, it doesn't.” ([Brookings Institution YouTube Channel](#), 9/6/17, 1:36:30-1:37:05)

**Vance: “I Think The Sort Of Baseline Constant Refusal To Accept That Sometimes You Have To Spend Money Is At The Core Of Our Real Problem. And If We Can Get Past That, I Actually Think There Might Be Some Good Ideas Coming Out And Hopefully I Can Be A Part Of That.”** ([Brookings Institution YouTube Channel](#), 9/6/17, 1:36:30-1:37:05)

### **2011 Ryan Budget**

**In April 2011, Vance Criticized The Anticipated Anger At The Ryan Budget Plan, Which Trimmed Nearly \$4 Trillion From The 10-Year Budget.** “Paul Ryan’s budget plan could spur an intelligent conversation on spending. But what we’ll probably hear from the left are the same scare tactics and budget cut horror stories. Tomorrow, Rep. Paul Ryan will release his highly anticipated budget plan. Early reports suggest that along with serious changes to Social Security and Medicare, the budget will trim nearly \$4 trillion from the 10-year budget deficit. I don’t know how the Left will react, but I’m confident that they’ll overreact. And I’m hoping that when the dust settles, we’re having a more intelligent conversation about spending cuts than we’ve had during my lifetime.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

**Vance Wrote That Budget Cuts Were Coming Due To The Welfare System Depending On A Rapidly Growing Population.** “Of all the things I can’t stand about politics, the tendency to emotionalize a difficult topic is probably the worst. Budget cuts hurt—just ask our friends in the United Kingdom. But budget cuts are coming, because our entire welfare system depends on a false premise: a rapidly growing population. It’s a pretty simple concept: the taxes from young workers support the benefits of elderly dependents, so the system works fine so long as the young significantly outnumber the old. Our system is stressed because the number of retirees is growing at a faster pace than the number of workers. And America is actually relatively lucky; most countries in Western Europe face a far more serious population problem than we do.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

- **Vance: “Without Serious Budget Cuts, America Will Transfer Trillions Of Dollars From The Yet To Be Born To The Living. Every Dollar Spent Is A Dollar That Must Be Taxed, And The Left Seems Oblivious To The Fact That The Tax Burden Of Today’s Profligacy Will Fall Hardest On Future Citizens. How’s That For Wealth Redistribution?”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

**Although Vance Wrote Was, “Not One Of Those Conservatives Who Shudders At Any Mention Of Tax Increases,” He Opposed Tax Increases To Fill The Budget Gap.** “The other answer, of course, is to raise taxes on people now. That’s not a great idea, as economists from across the political spectrum argue that raising taxes in the midst of a recession is bad for growth, and growth is the one thing that can close the budget gap faster than entitlement reform. More importantly, increased revenue will only take us so far—with a projected deficit of well over \$1 trillion next year, a return to pre-Bush era tax rates would fill, at best, about 10 percent of our current fiscal hole. I am not one of those conservatives who shudders at any mention of tax increases, but like every thoughtful American, I realize that soaking the rich is a painfully inadequate solution.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

- **Vance: “The Way Forward Is As Obvious As It Is Politically Difficult: Streamline The Tax Code, Reform Current Entitlements And Avoid Enacting New Ones.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)
- **Vance Said If Democrats “Gave A Damn About Inequality In This Country, They’d Be Leading The Charge For Budget Cuts Instead Of Opposing Them.”** “And the whole time, I’ll be thinking to myself: if these people gave a damn about inequality in this country, they’d be leading the charge for budget cuts instead of opposing them.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “What’s At Stake In Ryan’s Budget,” [FrumForum](#), 4/5/11)

## *Subsidies*

**In A 2011 Op-Ed On Ethanol Subsidies, Vance Wrote That “Tom Coburn Was The Fiscal Conservative While Grover Norquist Was A Fiscal Phony.”** “During the debate over ending ethanol subsidies, Tom Coburn was the fiscal conservative while Grover Norquist was a fiscal phony.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

**Vance Criticized Norquist For Opposing Ending Ethanol Subsidies.** “The media largely framed the debate over ethanol subsidies between Senator Tom Coburn and Americans for Tax Reform president Grover Norquist as a contrast between two approaches to deficit reduction: Coburn’s pragmatic willingness to raise more revenue on the one hand, and Norquist’s ideologically-rigid opposition to tax increases on the other. That’s one way to look at it. But there’s a better way to look at it: Tom Coburn is the ideologically-consistent conservative, and Grover Norquist is a fiscal phony. It’s worth remembering exactly what ethanol subsidies are. As ‘tax expenditures’ they redirect money from the US Treasury to a particular group -- in this case corn farmers -- to provide financial incentives for that group to engage in a certain behavior.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

**Vance: “As Grover Norquist Is Undoubtedly Aware, Taxpayer Dollars Don’t Grow On Trees. The Money That Pays For Ethanol Subsidies Is Confiscated From The American Public At Large. So While The Farm Lobby Benefits From The Expenditures, The Rest Of Us In The Form Of Higher Taxes Or Increased Deficit Spending.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

**Vance: “To Call The End Of These Subsidies -- A Government Transfer Program -- A Tax Increase Is Possibly The Most Un-Conservative Argument That I Have Ever Heard.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Norquist Loses In Ethanol Subsidy Fight,” [FrumForum](#), 6/17/11)

## *Labor*

### Right-To-Work Laws

**In 2020, Vance Said “I Am Not A Big Fan Of Right-To-Work Laws.”** VANCE: “The primary driver of the decline of private sector union is not Right-To-Work laws, I am not a big fan of Right-To-Work laws.” ([Ohio State Center For Ethics And Human Values YouTube Channel](#), 2/10/20, 26:26-26:33)

### Unions

**In 2020, Vance Criticized Republican Donors For Pushing Republicans To Denounce Unions Despite Their Beneficial Effects.** “Take another example: we have known for some time that members of unions are less likely to drink and more likely to maintain their familial commitments. We have also learned that these benefits appear independent of the (obviously important) wage benefits of union membership. Social capital, and the mediating institutions that cultivate it, really are useful. But in virtually every major campaign of recent decades, the donors have demanded the denouncement of unions and their pernicious commercial effects. And so denounce them we have.” (JD Vance, “End the Globalization Gravy Train,” *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

**In 2020, Vance Attached His Name To A Report From American Compass Warning That Conservatives Had Become “Overly Solicitous Of Business” And Calling For Reforms To**

**Strengthen Labor Unions.** “AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES rightly place economic freedom and limited government among our dearest values. The defense of markets, though, has at times made us overly solicitous of businesses. As we advocate for owners and managers in their pursuit of profit, and celebrate the enormous benefits their efforts can generate for us all, we must accord the same respect to the concerns of workers and ensure that they, too, have a seat at the table. In a well-functioning and competitive market, participants meet as equals able to advance their interests through mutually beneficial relationships. Institutions of organized labor have traditionally been the mechanism by which workers take collective action and gain representation and bargaining power in the private sector. Strong worker representation can make America stronger. Unfortunately, our nation’s Great Depression–era labor laws no longer provide an effective framework, many unions have become unresponsive to workers’ needs and some outright corrupt, and membership has fallen to just 6% of the private-sector workforce. Rather than cheer the demise of a once-valuable institution, conservatives should seek reform and reinvigoration of the laws that govern organizing and collective bargaining...” (“A Seat At The Table,” [American Compass](#), 9/20)

**Vance And Other Signers Of The Report Called For Conservatives To Consider Allowing Sectoral Bargaining, Works Councils, And Requiring Seats For Labor Representatives On Corporate Boards.** “The standard partisan arguments over labor have tended to accept our nation’s current legal framework as the only one, and thus to present its expansion or contraction as the only options. Entirely different arrangements deserve consideration. In parts of Europe, for instance, ‘right-to-work’ is the norm, but so is sectoral bargaining. On the one hand, labor and management in Germany often partner on ‘works councils,’ which are illegal in the United States and opposed by American labor unions. On the other hand, such ‘codetermination’ can also extend to labor holding seats on corporate boards, which American unions support but shareholders resist. In some places, unions manage functions like unemployment insurance and job training that we take for granted as government responsibilities. In Canada, collective bargaining offers the parties autonomy to depart from government mandates in regulating their own workplaces. Conservatives should be willing to consider all these approaches, and others besides.” (“A Seat At The Table,” [American Compass](#), 9/20)

**Under Sectoral Bargaining, Collective Bargaining Contracts And Wage Rules Are Negotiated That Apply To All Workers In A Particular Occupation, Industry Or Region, Rather Than At A Single Employer.** “Sectoral bargaining—also known as multiemployer, industrywide, or broadbased bargaining—is a form of collective bargaining that provides contract coverage and sets compensation floors for most workers in a particular occupation, industry, or region. While broadbased bargaining can—and sometimes does—occur in the United States, current labor laws emphasize enterprise-based bargaining, in which unions negotiate with individual employers on behalf of a group of workers at a particular worksite. For example, a union might negotiate with a supermarket chain on behalf of workers at a particular store or with a building service company on behalf of janitors in a specific building. With sectoral bargaining, collectively bargained standards extend to every grocery store worker or janitor in the region.” (David Madland and Malkie Wall, “What Is Sectoral Bargaining?,” *Center for American Progress*, 3/2/20)

**Works Councils – Common In European Factories – Allow Workers To Elect Representatives To Work With Management To Establish Employment Policies Like Work Hours And Disciplinary Rules.** “A works council is a committee, common at German factories, in which white-collar and blue-collar workers elect representatives who establish policies on issues like work hours, vacations and standards for firing workers.” (Steven Greenhouse, “Labor Regroups In South After VW Vote,” *The New York Times*, 2/16/14)

### *Miscellaneous*

#### Commentary On Corporations

**In 2019, Vance Defended Tucker Carlson After Carlson Argued Against A Conservatism That “Consistently Prizes Commercial Interests Above Those Of Everyone Else.”** “Tucker Carlson’s monologue heard round the world is interesting on its own terms. In it, he argues against a conservatism that consistently prizes commercial interests above those of everyone else. I encourage you to watch or read it in full. Yet the response on the right is as interesting as Carlson’s monologue itself, for it reveals a discomfort among some conservatives for balancing the tensions that exist in our coalition and in our ideology. There is, by many on the right, an effort to sing the praises of market capitalism without acknowledging the tensions between our pro-market principles and everything else.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The Health Of Nations,” [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

**Vance Also Criticized Ben Shapiro For Defending “Supply And Demand Economics.”** “I respect Ben Shapiro a great deal, but I found this paragraph in his response to Carlson curious: Supply and demand economics has powered most of the world’s human beings out of extreme poverty, and led to the richest society in human history. It has allowed us to live longer, in bigger houses, in more comfort. It has meant fewer dead children and more living parents. If we’ve blown that advantage, that’s our own fault. Traditional conservatives recognized that the role of economics is to provide prosperity — to raise the GDP. The role of a social fabric and a value system is to provide meaning.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The Health Of Nations,” [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

**Vance Pointed To The Pharmaceutical Industry And The Explosion Of Opioids And Said That In Some Cases “You Need Some Government Intervention.”** “Some economic libertarians might say that these problems are the consequence of bad individual choices, and I wouldn’t entirely disagree. I grew up in a family plagued by addiction, and I saw some bad choices. Yet bad choices simply aren’t enough to explain the crisis — people have always made bad choices, and the familial, neighborhood, and economic contexts in which they live can exacerbate or improve them. Others might admit that it’s not all bad choices, that bad policy plays a role, but oddly the bad policy they point to is almost always the negative incentives of the welfare state. Again, they have a point — our welfare state is far from perfect, especially when it comes to encouraging work and family formation — but there are many other policies at play here. To keep the focus on the opioid epidemic, the Los Angeles Times’ reporting on the role of the pharmaceutical industry is both excellent and disturbing. It chronicles the ways in which some companies gamed our regulatory system to obtain approval and patent protection for highly addictive drugs. Those companies then knowingly lied about the safety of those drugs to doctors and patients. Some commentators have framed their problem with Tucker’s argument

as promoting “government intervention’ when that same intervention is the problem. But if you want to protect a community from drugs that can take hold of a person’s mind and destroy whole neighborhoods soon thereafter, you need some government intervention.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The Health Of Nations,” [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

**Vance Wrote That Corporate Interests Do Not Always Align With Civil Society’s Interests.** “Of course, the recognition that corporate interests might not always align with civil society’s interests comes from the patron saint of capitalism, Adam Smith. We simply must develop the intellectual ability to understand the way in which law and policy drive outcomes in our society besides creating bad incentives for poor people. Sometimes they create bad incentives for the rich. Sometimes they allow the incentives that already exist to run roughshod over our communities and families. The market, as Smith understood, is merely a tool — a powerful tool, yes. But if we care about the flourishing of our society, and if we value ends besides a larger GDP, then we have to do the difficult work of balancing the competing demands of our values. Instead, many of our intellectuals simply pretend there is no competition — that what is good for markets is good for the rest of our nation. This is a recipe for boring thinking and bad policy.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The Health Of Nations,” [National Review](#), 1/7/19)

**In 2018, Vance Criticized Local Governments For Seeking To “Effectively Bribe” Companies Like Amazon To Relocate There.** “One of the things I have not been excited about is the desire from a lot of folks to effectively bribe companies to relocate to their areas as opposed to creating something of real value that is home grown. In Columbus, Ohio (like Indianapolis), for example, they’re one of the finalists for Amazon HQ2. ‘I understand 100% why the individual business and civic leaders want to get Amazon in their city, but at the same time it would be great if they spent as many resources trying to foster and create the next Amazon. Columbus is doing a lot of great things to attract and retain and build up the entrepreneurial ecosystem. I’d love to see more of that and a little less of spending money to convince Amazon to relocate.” (Thom Schuman, “Words Of Wisdom,” [BizVoice](#), 09/18)

**AppHarvest – A Company In Which Vance Invested – Accepted \$2.5 Million In Tax Incentives From The State Of Kentucky In 2017.** “AppHarvest, financed in part by an investment group co-managed by ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ author J.D. Vance, has experienced significant delays since it was first approved for state tax incentives totaling \$2.5 million in February 2017. Company officials said at the time that construction of a 2 million square-foot greenhouse in Pikeville would begin in June of that year. ‘It’s very difficult, it’s very difficult, but we’re charging every day,’ Jonathan Webb, founder and chief executive officer at AppHarvest, told a crowded gymnasium Monday at Shelby Valley.” (Will Wright, “AppHarvest Launches High-Tech Agriculture Class In Pike County. Still No Word On Jobs.,” [Lexington Herald Leader](#), 9/17/18)

### **Big Tech**

**In 2021, Vance Tweeted That Establishment Republicans’ “Apologies For Our Oligarchy” Should Include A Disclaimer That “Big Tech Pays My Salary” Despite Vance’s Salary At Narya Being Partially Paid For By Two Directors At Facebook And The Former CEO Of Google.** “Delicate dance: Vance made his name as an author, but he’s made his career as a venture capitalist, backed by many of the coastal billionaires he now plans to rhetorically run



against. Earlier this week Vance tweeted: ‘Establishment Republican apologies for our oligarchy should always come with the following disclaimer: ‘Big Tech pays my salary.’ Yet Vance’s salary, as a partner with Narya, has literally been paid, at least in part, by two directors at Facebook and the former CEO of Google.’ (Dan Primack, “J.D. Vance Tells Associates He Plans To Run For Senate In Ohio,” [Axios](#), 4/15/21)

**In 2021, Vance Accused The Left And Democrats Of Accommodating Big Tech Monopolies And Other Corporations Because “They Recognize That Corporate Power Is Being Used Against Their Enemies, In This Case President Donald Trump And His Voters.”**

INGRAHAM: “Rush Limbaugh reshaped the public square by forging a path for conservative media. But now that square is being increasingly squeezed by tech oligarchs. You’d think the classical left would be upset about corporate monopolies, they used to be, but they aren’t. So why is that? Of course, while former President Trump is banned from platforms like Facebook and Twitter, big tech hasn’t lifted a finger to prevent the CCP from spreading anti-American lies. Someone who has thought a lot about this is J.D. Vance, author of ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’ and he joins me now. J.D., why do you think the modern left is suddenly OK with the concentration of power in a few corporate entities? J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, ‘HILLBILLY ELEGY’: “I think unfortunately it’s just very cynical. They realize that the big tech oligarchs are actually on their side, and where they used to complain about corporate power, now they recognize that corporate power is being used against their enemies, in this case President Donald Trump and his voters. And so I think they’re more than willing to cozy up to those people if it gives them more power, which it does in this case, because those companies really control the public square in this country.” (Fox News’ “Ingraham Angle,” 2/17/21)

**Vance: “They’re More Than Willing To Cozy Up To Those People If It Gives Them More Power, Which It Does In This Case, Because Those Companies Really Control The Public Square In This Country.”** (Fox News’ “Ingraham Angle,” 2/17/21)

**Vance Called For Conservatives To Break With Corporations, Saying “We Have To Recognize That They’re Not Our Friends Anymore.”** “VANCE: “I think at a fundamental level what’s going on right now is that big corporations in America are increasingly more invested in the Chinese government than they are in their own country. And what that means for us as conservatives is we’ve actually got to do something about this. I think we’ve gotten so used to big business, to corporations being on the side of the right, because of China, because of the woke left, they’re increasingly on the side of the left. And we have to do something about it. We have to recognize that they’re not our friends anymore, and that should inform the way that we think about public policy. It’s a really big departure, but I think it’s an important thing for us to recognize so we can move forward and actually solve these problems and make it possible for people to express themselves and be conservatives without fear of getting fired or censored.” (Fox News’ “Ingraham Angle,” 2/17/21)

**IRS**

**In November 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Accusing The Biden Administration And The IRS For “Harassing Conservative Groups” And Weaponizing The Government.** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/16/23)

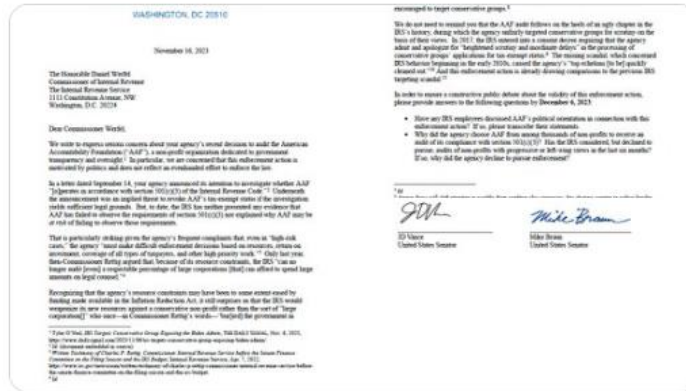
Privileged & Confidential



J.D. Vance  
@JDVance1

The IRS is once again harassing conservative groups. It should be no surprise to see Joe Biden borrowing directly from the Obama playbook.

I won't stand for it - @SenatorBraun and I are demanding answers on this clear weaponization of our government.



10:16 AM · Nov 16, 2023 · 37.5K Views

(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/16/23)

## HEALTHCARE

### Obamacare

**In 2017, Vance Criticized Republican Efforts To Repeal And Replace Obamacare Under President Trump, Claiming He Doesn't "Love The Plan At All."** LEMON: "The majority of the people who are on Obamacare are from red districts and many of them were supporters. So, you say that this new replacement plan is risky for them. You don't like this plan." VANCE: "No, I don't love the plan at all, in fact. We have to keep in mind, right, that there's both a short-term political answer to this question and I think a long-term political and more substantive question about who is helped and who is hurt by this repeal and replace plan. I mean, I think that folks may, and when I say congressmen and congresswomen may actually benefit from the repeal. Because that means they keep the campaign promise, right. These folks have running on repealing and replacing Obamacare for eight years now. So they may get a shortterm jolt when they actually do it. The problem is that a lot of the benefits that exist in Obamacare just generally speaking people having health insurance, that's popular. And if you actually move forward with this particular repeal and replace package, it clearly is going to leave a few Americans uninsured and it's probably going to continue to raise premiums for a lot of the folks who have coverage right now." (CNN's "CNN Tonight," 3/7/17)

**Vance: "So, I Think That Over The Long-Term When People See The Consequences Of This Particular Replacement Provision, It's Not Going To -- It's Not Going To End Well For The Republicans Who Vote For It."** (CNN's "CNN Tonight," 3/7/17)

**Vance Warned That The People Who Would "Lose Out Most" In The GOP-Led ObamaCare Replacement Bill Are The Ones Who Voted For Donald Trump.** VANCE: "So we don't have the CBO projection of this most recent bill but we do have a CBO projection for

the bill on which the most recent bill was modeled. And if you look at that projection the evidence suggest that the people who will lose out most in that American Health Care Act are a lot of the folks who voted for Donald Trump, working class and lower middle class voters, older voters. ... But if you think of the political problem, you know, folks have always asked, what is it that's going to drive Donald Trump voters away from them while loosing their health care may actually be the answer to that question. And unfortunately the Republicans, who I think have been very smart, and frankly correct in the fact that Obamacare hasn't solved a lot of the core problems of the American health care market, now own the problem. They're going to learn very quickly unless they craft a better bill that it's not just enough to critique the bill that has failed in the past, you have to actually offer a better alternative, and we're going to see if the Senate is able to actually put forward the alternative.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 5/4/17)

**Vance: “Those Folks, They Very Well See Their Deductibles Go Up, Their Premiums Go Up. ... There's Obviously A Significant Issue Of Folks Potentially Losing Access To Their Health Care.”** VANCE: “Those folks, they very well see their deductibles go up, their premiums go up. And as we've been talking about, this is not just a policy problem, there's obviously a significant issue of folks potentially loosing access to their health care.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 5/4/17)

**Vance Claimed “Folks Back Home” Were Worried About The GOP-Led ObamaCare Reforms And “About Losing The Medicaid Expansion And Most Worried About Losing Their Health Care.”** CABRERA: “Here are the numbers, 1.3 million Kentuckians are on Medicaid today. About a third are covered by that Medicaid expansion under Obamacare. This is Trump country. How worried are these folks about the GOP health care plan? VANCE: “Well, I think they are especially worried, and what's so interesting is when you talk to folks back home, even though Russia and Comey and all of these scandals dominate the news, they dominate twitter, they dominate a lot of what journalists are talking about, the things I hear most commonly from folks back home, those who voted for Hillary Clinton and those who voted for Donald Trump, is that they're most worried about losing the Medicaid expansion and most worried about losing their health care. But it is interesting actually to sort of step outside of my own twitter bubble when people were so obsessed with what's going on with the Russiagate, so called, and actually talked to people and realized that the thing that may be most politically damaging for the president right now is if the AHCA passes in its present form. That's the thing that I think is most politically destructive for him potentially if it ends up passing a month (INAUDIBLE) voters.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 5/28/17)

**Vance Warned That The Bill Suffered From “Core Deficiencies,” Claiming “Millions Of People” Were “Losing Health Coverage Either Through Medicaid Or Through Another Mechanism.”** VANCE: “I think it definitely could have an impact on mid-terms. Of course, what we have to remember is that this is just a bill that hasn't yet actually passed and there's a question about whether you can address some of the core deficiencies in the bill. I think you could, it would require pretty significant amendments, but I do think you could fix the bill. And of course if you fix the bill in such a way that millions of people aren't losing health coverage either through Medicaid or through another mechanism, then I think it is not going to be quite as politically destructive.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 5/28/17)

**Vance Urged Sen. Rob Portman To Vote Against The House-Passed Bill To Repeal And Replace ObamaCare Due To Its Medicaid Cuts And Tax Cuts.** “Virtually as he spoke,

Senate Republicans in Washington released their plan to repeal and replace Obamacare. Here's an edited version of the conversation with Vance: Q: You said Medicaid cuts under consideration in the American Health Care Act could be disastrous for Ohio. How should Republican Ohio Sen. Rob Portman vote? A: With the caveat I haven't seen the Senate version of the bill, if it's exactly like the House version, I would say he should vote against it. Two big issues I saw with the AHCA bill as it was structured in the House were, first, that it cuts Medicaid without any alternatives, and, second, it seems to prioritize tax cuts, which may be good or bad, but which don't seem to be the province of a health-care bill." (Steven Litt, "'Hillbilly Elegy' Author Questions Health Bill's Focus," *Plain Dealer*, 6/23/17)

**Vance: "I Don't Understand Why That Is Such A Focus Of The House Bill. ... Don't Have A Health Bill And Use It To Cut Taxes."** "Q: Why does the AHCA make such an emphasis on cutting taxes? A: I don't understand why that is such a focus of the House bill. If you want to cut taxes, have a tax reform bill. Don't have a health bill and use it to cut taxes." (Steven Litt, "'Hillbilly Elegy' Author Questions Health Bill's Focus," *Plain Dealer*, 6/23/17)

**The AHCA Eliminated Taxes On Health Insurance Companies, Pharmaceutical Companies, And Medical Device Manufacturers, As Well As Taxes Applied To Capital Gains, Dividend, Interest, And Wage Income For Higher-Income Earners.** "And we're not talking about a small amount of money. It works out to approximately \$5,000 worth of tax cuts per household. Except most households aren't going to see their taxes cut at all because of which taxes the AHCA cuts. It eliminates a 3.8 percent tax that applied to capital gains, dividend, and interest income for families with \$250,000 or more in income (\$125,000 for singles). It eliminates a 0.9 percent tax on wage income in excess of \$250,000 a year (\$200,000 for unmarried people). It eliminates taxes on health insurance companies, pharmaceutical companies, and medical device manufacturers." (Matthew Yglesias, "Republicans' Health Bill Takes \$600 Billion Out Of Health Care To Cut Taxes For The Rich," [Vox](#), 5/4/17)

**Vance Lamented The Lack Of A Plan To Replace ObamaCare, Saying "There Has Never Been A Shared Republican Vision For What The Replacement Is Going To Look Like."** J.D. VANCE: "Well, I think one of the things it taught us is that there has never been a shared republican vision for what the replacement is going to look like. It's not just enough to say we're going to undo Obamacare. You also have to replace it with something. And the worry that I have as a republican is that this same issue is going to crop up in tax reform, it's going to pop up in a number of other substantive areas of policy where it's not just enough to say you're against something. You also have to be for something and to be for something, you really need presidential leadership. You really need the Congress to actually have a shared vision of what's happening. And what this particular battle teaches us is that there isn't a great amount of disagreement within the republican tent about what actually needs to happen." (CNN's "CNN Tonight," 7/18/17)

**In A 2017 *New York Times* Op-Ed, Vance Lamented Republican Repeal Efforts For Leaving A Situation Where "Millions Will Be Unable To Pay For Basic Health Care."** "These sentiments conflict with recent iterations of Republican health care reform. The 'full repeal' bill is nothing of the sort -- it preserves the regulatory structure of Obamacare, but withdraws its supports for the poor. The House version of replacement would transfer many from Medicaid to the private market, but it doesn't ensure that those transferred can meaningfully purchase care in that market. The Senate bill offers a bit more to the needy, but still leaves many unable to pay for basic services. In the rosier projections of each version, millions will be

unable to pay for basic health care.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

**Vance: “This Wasn’t Acceptable To Reagan In 1961, And It Shouldn’t Be Acceptable To His Political Heirs.”** (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

**Vance Said Republicans Would Likely Find Themselves “Mired In Internal Contradictions” Like Arguing That “A Bill That Cuts Subsidies For The Poor Somehow Makes Care More Accessible.”** “But if Republicans fail to accept some baseline provision of care, we’ll find ourselves mired in internal contradictions -- arguing, for instance, that a bill that cuts subsidies for the poor somehow makes care more accessible.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

**Vance: “We’ll Rail Against The Way The Government Has Destroyed Our Health Care Market In One Breath And Resist The Support Offered To The Poor And Middle Class To Navigate This Brokenness With The Other. This Is Not Conservative; It Is Incoherence Masquerading As Ideological Purity.”** (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “A G.O.P. Fix For Health Care,” *The New York Times*, 7/21/17)

**In 2019, Vance Called The ObamaCare Replacement Bill A “A Moral And Political Disaster” And Said he Was “Glad That It Never Passed.”** VANCE: “When I think about the tax cut legislation which was ok, it wasn’t terrible, but it wasn’t great. If I think about the health care legislation which I think was genuinely a moral and political disaster and I am glad that it never passed.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 10:52-11:06)

**In 2020, Vance Criticized Republican Efforts To Eliminate ObamaCare, Calling It A “Small Government, Everyone-Is-On-Their-Own Approach To The Welfare State.”**

MARA LIASSON: “But despite those Republican tensions, J.D. Vance says, it will be hard for the president and his party to continue to argue that popular programs like Obamacare should be eliminated lock, stock and barrel.” JD VANCE: “I think the appetite for small government, everyone-is-on-their-own approach to the welfare state - frankly, it was always pretty small, and it's going to be even smaller, I think, over the next couple of years.” (NPR’s “Morning Edition,” 4/21/20)

**In 2018, Vance Blamed Republican Efforts To Repeal ObamaCare For Republican Losses In The 2018 Midterm Elections.** VANCE: “So, one of the takeaways is that Republicans are continuing to become the middle and working class party, and Democrats are more and more popular among wealthy Suburbanites. The second takeaway is that the single most unpopular piece of Republican legislation in the past couple of years wasn't Donald Trump's brainchild, and if you trust the media reports, Donald Trump wasn't even a huge fan of it, and that was the healthcare bill that came out of the House Republican leadership. And in - in poll after poll and person after person that I've talked to, you know, I'm good friends with Mike DeWine who luckily eked out a win in the Ohio Governor's race, the - the consistent theme is that that Republican healthcare bill actually put a little bit of a millstone around Republicans running in the industrial Midwest. It was not a popular piece of legislation. And, in some ways, I think it's almost better that it didn't pass and that it didn't go into effect causing even more damage down the road.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 11/23/18)

## ***COVID-19***

**In 2023, Vance Voted Yea On HJR 7, Which Ended The Covid-19 Pandemic National Emergency Declaration.** ([HJR 7](#), Passed (68 - 23), United States Senate, 3/29/23, Vance Voted Yea)

- NOTE: “This joint resolution terminates the national emergency concerning COVID-19 declared by the President on March 13, 2020.” ([HJR 7](#))

**In 2023, Vance Voted Nay On HR 3935, Which Removed Mask Mandates For The FAA And Increased The Airline Pilot Retirement Age.** ([HR 3935](#), Passed (77 - 19), United States Senate, 9/26/23, Vance Voted Nay)

- NOTE: “This bill reauthorizes the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) through FY2028, including activities and programs related to airport planning and development, facilities and equipment, and operations. The National Transportation Safety Board is also reauthorized through FY2028.” ([HR 3935](#))
- NOTE: “prohibits the FAA from requiring mask wearing or COVID-19 vaccines for passengers, air carrier employees, or FAA employees” ([HR 3935](#))
- NOTE: “raises the commercial airline pilot retirement age to 67 (currently 65)” ([HR 3935](#))

## **ENVIRONMENT**

### ***Climate Change – Commentary***

**In 2020, Vance Said We “Have A Climate Problem In Our Society, One Largely Caused Now By Unrestrained Emissions In China.”** VANCE: “Think about energy. We have of course have a climate problem in our society, one largely caused now by unrestrained emissions in China. Part of the reason we have that problem is because we are not generating energy much cleaner than we used to 30 or 40 years. In fact the biggest improvement in emissions is solar energy which can provide a substantial amount of our power but can’t provide anything like 50 percent of our power, definitely not 100 percent of our power.” ([Ohio State Center For Ethics And Human Values YouTube Channel](#), 2/10/20, 19:20-20:00)

**In 2017, Vance Claimed “Folks Who Are Involved In The Coal Industry” Were “Very Realistic” That “A Lot Of Those Jobs Are Not Coming Back.”** VANCE: “What I find so amazing about this conversation is that when you talk to folks who are involved in the coal industry, folks who live in these areas, they’re very realistic about the fact that a lot of those jobs are not coming back. And I think that what that shows is that we really have to be asking ourselves, what’s the next generation of American jobs? What are people going to be doing 10, 20, 30 years down the road. And it’s so interesting to me how much of the national conversation is driven by, can we bring coal miners back to work?” BERMAN: “Yes.” VANCE: “And when you talk to folks on the ground, they’re actually a lot more realistic about what the economy is going to be looking like in a decade or two.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 6/2/17)

**In 2020, Vance Said Natural Gas Was “An Improvement Over Dirtier Forms Of Power But Isn’t Exactly The Sort Of Thing That Is Going To Take Us To A Clean Energy**

**Future.”** VANCE: “And through our increasing reliance on natural gas which of course is an improvement over dirtier forms of power but isn’t exactly the sort of thing that is going to take us to a clean energy future.” ([Ohio State Center For Ethics And Human Values YouTube Channel](#), 2/10/20, 19:20-20:00)

**In 2017, Vance Claimed It’s “Really Tough To Argue” The Trump Administration’s Withdrawal From The Paris Climate Agreement Would “Bring A Lot Of People Back To Work.”** HARLOW: “J.D., the president promised coal miners, you’re going to go back to work. You’re born in Kentucky, you grew up in Ohio, you know these towns, you know these people. We’ve seen it on the ground. Are these people en mass going to go back to work because the president pulled out of the Paris climate agreement?” VANCE: “Well, no, because the Paris climate agreement, of course, was nonbinding. And so a lot of the commitments that the United States made, even if you think that the United States shouldn’t have made those commitments, they were effectively voluntary, and so it’s really tough to argue that pulling out of that accord is going to bring a lot of people back to work.” (CNN’s “CNN Newsroom,” 6/2/17)

**Vance: “People Are Going To Be Looking Around And Saying, Is My Life Actually Getting Better? Are These Things Actually Improving? And Unfortunately, I Don’t Think Pulling Out Of The Paris Accord Does Much Good.”** VANCE: “Well, Chris, you made a really important point, which is that a majority of the public does support the deal, but the strength of that support is actually pretty weak, so it’s not a high priority issue, and consequently, I think the politics are pretty ambivalent here for the president. But, the most important is, actually, the one that you made just there, is you got to actually bring jobs back to these communities and that implicates productivity. That implicates our education system. It, frankly, implicates issues that are much more difficult and much more complex than just pulling out of the Paris Climate Accords. And so, I think while the president may get a short-term, very minor political advantage with his core base of supporters, at a fundamental level over the long term, people are going to be looking around and saying, is my life actually getting better? Are these things actually improving? And unfortunately, I don’t think pulling out of the Paris Accord does much good. And I don’t think that much of what we’ve seen so far in the first 120 days does much good. This is a really long term question that the president has to answer better.” (CNN’s “New Day,” 6/2/17)

## EDUCATION

### *School Choice*

#### Vouchers

**In 2014, Vance Wrote That Vouchers Might Be Useful For Younger Children And Less Helpful For High-School Aged Children.** “Conservatives have supported vouchers for all the right reasons: Vouchers give kids the opportunity to escape a failing school, they give parents a choice, and they force educators to compete. Yet it needs to be said that vouchers grow less effective as children age. Skills beget skills, and knowledge begets knowledge: Heckman’s research shows that a good preschool produces significantly better results for children than does a good high school. The most effective voucher programs will target our youngest kids, not those nearing adulthood.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “The College Trap,” [National Review](#), 1/9/14)

**In 2021, Ohio Republicans Introduced Legislation To Make All Ohio K-12 Students Eligible For Vouchers.** “Any Ohio kid would be eligible for a voucher to cover part of the cost of their private school tuition if a bill introduced by House Republicans becomes law. ‘The intent of this bill is if you think it’s a better option to look at alternative education for your children, you would have state funding available to pursue that goal,’ bill sponsor Rep. Riordan McClain, R-Upper Sandusky, said. It’s called the backpack method of school funding because the money follows the student wherever he or she goes. And Ohio would be just the second state to adopt a universal voucher program if House Bill 290 became law. West Virginia passed a similar program in March. It’s scheduled to start in the fall of 2022 and has the potential to apply to children who currently attend private schools later down the road.” (Anna Staver, “Ohio Republicans Want To Make Every K-12 Student Eligible For A School Voucher,” [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 5/6/21)

**In 2016, Vance Praised Charter Schools And Vouchers.** “This would require a conservative agenda that appealed to black Americans. Recent Pew polls suggest that black Americans care especially about residential segregation and access to good schools. Conservatives have potential answers for each of these problems. Urban ghettos, created by racist housing policy and sustained by bizarre administration of federal housing programs, constitute one of the few entrenched problems amenable to policy interventions. The administration of the federal Section 8 program, for instance, often ignores the importance of eradicating government-created concentrated poverty. Conservative ideas on vouchers and charter schools have delivered better, if still imperfect, schools — often with active participation from local (and progressive) school leaders.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Two Underclasses,” [National Review](#), 8/29/16)

## **IMMIGRATION, PUBLIC SAFETY, CRIMINAL JUSTICE**

### ***Immigration***

#### **Border Wall**

**In 2016, Vance Said Problems In His Community Were “Not Going To Be Solved By A Mexican Border Wall Or Better Trade Deals With China.”** “Do you think Trump offers something that’s valuable to these voters because he speaks their language? My view is that Trump is projecting a very complex problem on a simple villain. Without some recognition that some of these problems in our community are not the fault of other people - they’re not going to be solved by a Mexican border wall or better trade deals with China - without some recognition along those lines, I don’t believe these problems are ever truly going to get better.” (Michael Lindenberger, “A Proverbial Middle Finger,” [Dallas Morning News](#), 9/25/16)

- **Vance In 2016: “I Don’t Think If You Build A Great Mexican Wall, All Of A Sudden All Of These Steel Mill Jobs Are Going To Come Back To Southern Ohio.”** ([Yahoo YouTube Channel](#), 9/15/16, 9:00-9:10)

#### **Border Crisis – Notable Comments**

**In March 2021, Vance Wrote That The “Masters Of The Universe” And The Need For “Cheap Foreign Labor” Resulted In The Border Crisis.** “I’ve thought of this moment frequently, as our southern border has exploded into crisis. We’re a year into the COVID-19 pandemic, with tens of millions of people unemployed. Countless businesses have been



destroyed. Despite the enormous challenges facing America's working class, those same masters of the universe and the politicians they fund are still looking for the same thing: cheap foreign labor. No one seems to care that many migrants test positive for COVID every day and will directly compete with our struggling service sector workers.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

**Vance Said Illegal Immigration Is “About Money” And Cheap Labor For Business Leaders.** “The answer is what I saw at that dinner: It's about money. Nearly every major business and financial leader in this country is a supporter of the Democratic Party. They love illegal immigration for the simple reason that their livelihoods are subsidized by illegal immigration—while illegal aliens themselves are subsidized by the taxpayer. It's a redistribution scheme from the poor to the rich.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

- **Vance: “More Immigration Means Lower Wages For Their Workers And Easier Access To Servants For Their Decadent Personal Lives.”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

**Vance Said “We Should Take A Page From President Trump's Playbook And Call This What It Is” Despite Accusations From Some That It Is Racist To Criticize Biden’s Immigration Policies.** “We should take a page from President Trump's playbook and call this what it is. Whenever I criticize the Biden administration's immigration policies, someone tells me I'm ‘racist.’ Many Republicans naturally grow defensive—no one wants to be tagged as a racist, especially in today's environment when an accusation like that can end your career or ruin your life.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

- **Vance: “What's So Disgusting About The Charge Of Racism Is That It Takes Something Good About The American People—Their Compassion For Their Fellow Citizens—And Warps It In Service Of Our Corporate Overlords.”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)
- **Vance: “Who Cares About American Solidarity If Your Hotel Chain Share Price Goes Up A Few Pennies, Right?”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)
- **Vance: “It's Not Racist To Refuse To Do The Bidding Of America's Corporate Oligarchy, And It's Not Compassionate To Create A Crisis On Both Sides Of Our Southern Border.”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “True ‘Compassion’ Requires Secure Borders And Stopping Illegal Immigration,” [Newsweek](#), 3/18/21)

**In 2019, Vance Agreed With Fox News’ Tucker Carlson That The “Ruling Class” Had Made The Immigration Debate About Race To Convince Black Voters To Support Liberal Immigration Policies Against Their Economic Interests.** CARLSON: “So if you're, you know, a working class black person, immigration doesn't help you in any sense, it helps rich people. But a ruling class makes the conversation about race, so all of a sudden, you feel like you've got to be in favor of this because there's some sort of solidarity, which is false.” VANCE: “Yes. One of the pretty consistent findings is that the biggest problem with low-wage, low-skilled immigration is that it has a competitive effect for black Americans on the lower end of the income scale.” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “That's the group of people that low-wage and

low-skilled immigration is worse for. Again, it's good for people who are employing the low-skilled workers. And so if you again distract from the people who are benefiting from the problem, and you put the onus on a group of people who are also suffering from low-wage, low-skill competition, then you manage to build up the elites. And of course, you don't actually solve any of the real problems.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 5/14/19)

**Vance: “If You Again Distract From The People Who Are Benefiting From The Problem, And You Put The Onus On A Group Of People Who Are Also Suffering From Low-Wage, Low-Skill Competition, Then You Manage To Build Up The Elites.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 5/14/19)

### **Travel Ban**

**Vance Opposed Trump’s So-Called “Muslim Ban” And Blamed Trump For Putting The Idea In Voters’ Heads.** VANCE: “But when we start, talking having conversations for example about a Muslim ban which thankfully President Trump retracted later on in the campaign. But as soon as he talked about a Muslim ban, all of a sudden a lot of voters supported the idea of a Muslim ban.” ([UChicago Institute Of Politics YouTube Channel](#), 2/3/17, 1:09:15-1:09:30)

### **Texas Border Actions**

**In January 2024, Vance Posted To Twitter Expressing His Support For Texas Taking Legislative Action To Prevent Illegal Immigration Into Their State.** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 1/4/24)

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J.D. Vance  
@JDVance1



Kudos to Greg Abbott for doing something about this.

Biden refuses to use his government's power to enforce the border. He instead uses it to sue Texas for trying to enforce the border. The height of insanity.

**Greg Abbott** @GregAbbott\_TX · Jan 3

Biden sued me today because I signed a law making it illegal for an illegal immigrant to enter or attempt to enter Texas directly from a foreign nation.

I like my chances.

...  
[Show more](#)

[Case 1:24-cv-00008](#) [Document 1](#) [Filed 01/03/24](#) [Page 1 of 18](#)

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS  
AUSTIN DIVISION**

<p>UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, <i>Plaintiff,</i></p> <p>v.</p> <p>THE STATE OF TEXAS; GREG ABBOTT, in his official capacity as Governor of Texas; TEXAS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY; STEVEN C. MCCRAW, in his of- ficial capacity as Director of Texas Depart- ment of Public Safety,</p> <p><i>Defendants.</i></p>	<p>Case No. 1:24-cv-00008</p>
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**COMPLAINT**

(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 1/4/24)

***D.C. Criminal Code***

**In 2023, Vance Voted Yea On HJR 26, Which Disapproved Of DC’s Revision Of Its Criminal Code.** ([HJR 26](#), Passed (81 - 14), United States Senate, 3/8/23, Vance Voted Yea)

- NOTE: “This joint resolution nullifies the Revised Criminal Code Act of 2022, enacted by the council of the District of Columbia (DC). The act makes a variety of changes to DC criminal laws, including by providing statutory definitions for various elements of criminal offenses, modifying sentencing guidelines and penalties, and expanding the right to a jury trial for certain misdemeanor crimes.” ([HJR 26](#))

*Miscellaneous – Crime*

**Climate Change Protestors**

**In November 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Calling For The Imprisonment And “No More Tolerance For The Arsonists Of Civilization”.** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/6/23)



(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/6/23)

**FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE**

*Overall*

**Non-Interventionist Foreign Policy**

**In 2019, Vance Called For The Conservative Movement To Push “A Foreign Policy That Was Built Around Fiercely Securing And Defending America's National Interests, But Not Sacrificing So Many Of The People That I Served With To Imperial Hubris.”** “Now, I won't sit up here and preach at you a conservative platform for the next 21st century. I will not tell you precisely what that conservative politics looks like for two reasons. The first is that it's pretty late, and I imagine you've had a fair amount to drink, and I don't want to keep you too long. But the second is that we still need to figure out a lot of the details for how this vision of conservative politics, a pro-family, pro-worker, pro-American nation, conservatism actually looks in practice. There's a lot of work to be done. I think in broad strokes, there are a few things that that conservatism will possess...It would build a foreign policy that was built around fiercely securing and defending America's national interests, but not sacrificing so many of the people that I served with to imperial hubris.” (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

**In 2017, Vance Faulted “Elites Of Both Parties” For Going “Off On Various Military Misadventures” In The Name Of “Humanitarian Goals.”** AXELROD: “But, the second question is, what is the consequence of that in terms of terrorism and other problems that are unavoidable in a world this small.” VANCE: “Right. Yes, well, I'm very mindful of the fact that there obviously is a tradeoff between humanitarian interest and national interest sometimes. And I do worry that folks on both the left and the right have been a little bit too high-minded about American foreign policy. And so, there's been this backlash, right? There's this sense that we have to retrench a little bit because the elites of both parties have sort of gone off on various military misadventures, in the name of very -- various humanitarian goals.” AXELROD: “And the hubris (ph) that said we can impose democracy --” VANCE: “Exactly.” AXELROD: “-- in places that didn't have the civic --” VANCE: “Absolutely.” AXELROD: “-- sort of institutions to support it, and where tribalism is a much more potent force.” VANCE: “Right. And so, I sort of get the reaction against that in a certain way, right? I understand this impulse, and for a very long time, I was, you know, what are my culture. I'm curious for this very reason that he was willing to criticize some of these sacred cows --” AXELROD: “Yes.” VANCE: “-- in the foreign policy consensus.” (CNN's “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

### *Ukraine-Russia Conflict*

#### Overall – Opposition To U.S. Resources

**According To The Associated Press, Vance Expressed His Opposition To Ukraine Funding By Stating “The Problem In Ukraine ... Is That There’s No Clear End Point”.** “Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, U.S. Vice President Kamala Harris and others have advocated passage of the \$60 billion in aid at the Munich Security Conference, which coincided with Ukraine withdrawing troops from the eastern city of Avdiivka after months of intense combat. But Sen. JD Vance, an Ohio Republican and ally of Donald Trump, said “the problem in Ukraine ... is that there’s no clear end point” and that the U.S. doesn’t make enough weapons to support wars in eastern Europe, the Middle East and “potentially a contingency in East Asia.”” (“Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference,” [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

**Vance Claimed Ukraine Funding Will “Not Going To Fundamentally Change The Reality On The Battlefield”.** “If the package goes through, “that is not going to fundamentally change the reality on the battlefield,” Vance argued, pointing to limited American manufacturing capacity. “Can we send the level of weaponry we’ve sent for the last 18 months?” he asked. “We simply cannot. No matter how many checks the U.S. Congress writes, we are limited there.”” (“Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference,” [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

- **Vance: “Can We Send The Level Of Weaponry We’ve Sent For The Last 18 Months... We Simply Cannot. No Matter How Many Checks The U.S. Congress Writes, We Are Limited There.”** (“Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference,” [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

**Vance Supports “Negotiated Peace” Between Russia And Ukraine.** ““I think what’s reasonable to accomplish is some negotiated peace,” he said, arguing that Russia, Ukraine, Europe and the U.S. all have an incentive to come to the table now and that the two-year-old war

will at some point end in a negotiated peace. Ricarda Lang, a co-leader of one of Germany's governing parties, the Greens, responded that Russian President Vladimir Putin has shown repeatedly "that he has no interest in peace at the moment." ("Republican Opponent Of US Aid To Ukraine Brings His Case To An International Conference," [Associated Press](#), 2/18/24)

**Vance Published A Press Release Describing Ukraine Aid Legislation As A "Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package".** ("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

FEBRUARY 7, 2024

## SENATOR VANCE BLASTS PUSH FOR 'UKRAINE FIRST' FOREIGN AID PACKAGE

("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

- **Vance: "The Establishment, Combined With The Democrats, Are Then Going To Cut Out The Border Piece Of This Package ... It Was Never About The Border. It Was Always About Ukraine."** ("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: "The Establishment, Combined With The Democrats, Are Then Going To Cut Out The Border Piece Of This Package, Which Leaves Ukraine, Taiwan, Israel Funding And Try To Jam It Through".** "Now, what is coming immediately after that is actually a huge surprise. And this is big news, because this was not known even 12 hours ago, but the establishment, combined with the Democrats, are then going to cut out the border piece of this package, which leaves Ukraine, Taiwan, Israel funding and try to jam it through today." ("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: "This Is All About Giving Away What Little Leverage We Have Over The Democrats, Passing This Ukraine Package And Then Putting Pressure On The House."** "Now, we have to remember that we've had no time to review the Ukraine piece of this. You know how I feel about Ukraine. Even some of my friends who are pro Ukraine funding are saying, wait, we have to have time to actually review this. But, Steve, this is all about giving away what little leverage we have over the Democrats, passing this Ukraine package and then putting pressure on the House." ("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: "So It's A Lose From A Policy Perspective. It's A Lose From A Political Perspective, And I Have No Idea Why We're Doing It Except For This: Senate Leadership Is Obsessed... Absolutely A Borderline Fetish With Getting Ukraine Money".** "So it's a lose from a policy perspective. It's a lose from a political perspective, and I have no idea why we're doing it except for this: Senate leadership is obsessed, Steve, I mean, absolutely a borderline fetish with getting Ukraine money and they're willing to give away all of our leverage to get it. Everybody needs to say this is a no-go. Vote no on this package. It is the single most important thing to kill in the U.S. Senate since I've been here. The worst piece of legislation, I

think, in the U.S. Senate since I've been here and we've got to absolutely get it out of here.””  
 (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “We Went Into This Negotiation Saying There’s A Very Simple Proposition Here: The Democrats Want Ukraine Money, We Don’t Want To Give Them Ukraine Money... In Reality, We Were Doing This Massive Amnesty Package Behind Closed Doors.”** ““What happened in the background, Steve, is that the negotiation happened completely in secret. Of course, we didn’t know any of the details of what was coming out. We were promised it was going to be great. But remember, we went into this negotiation saying there’s a very simple proposition here: the Democrats want Ukraine money, we don’t want to give them Ukraine money. Or even if we do, some of my colleagues do, of course – we want border security more than that. So tell Joe Biden very simply, he doesn’t get another dime for Ukraine unless he shuts down the American border. That was what we thought we were negotiating here. In reality, we were doing this massive amnesty package behind closed doors.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “It Was Always A Question Of How Can You Get Enough On The Border So The Conservatives Would Swallow \$61 Billion For Ukraine.”** ““And then, of course, like you said, dropped on Sunday evening for a Wednesday vote so that nobody would have enough time to read it and push back against the terrible provisions. Here’s what I’ve heard Steve, and I’ve heard this from both Democrats and Republicans in the United States Senate, that the Republicans were never empowered by our own leadership to really push for concessions. “So James Lankford from Oklahoma is going to get a lot of crap for this. What I’ve heard is actually that he was told that he was not allowed to get major concessions on the border because this was always a fig leaf. It was always a question of how can you get enough on the border so the conservatives would swallow \$61 billion for Ukraine.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “If The Republican Leadership Wants Ukraine Funding As Much As The Democrats, We Don’t Have Any Leverage To Begin With. And That Was The Fundamental Flaw In This Entire Process”.** ““They may not love it, but they love border security. That was always the trade they were being forced to make. Well as you know, Steve, if you go into a negotiation and you’re already preemptively giving concessions and you’re unwilling to walk away because you’re supposed to give border to get Ukraine funding. Right, that’s what the Democrats are saying. “Well, if the Republican leadership wants Ukraine funding as much as the Democrats, we don’t have any leverage to begin with. And that was the fundamental flaw in this entire process, is we had no leverage because our leadership didn’t allow us to have leverage.” (“Senator Vance Blasts Push For ‘Ukraine First’ Foreign Aid Package,” [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**Vance: “What We Should Be Doing Is Going Back To The Drawing Board Saying: This Isn’t Good Enough, But Still The Deal Is On The Table. No More Money For Ukraine Unless Biden Shuts Down The Border. The Fact That We’re Not Even Doing That, Steve Gives The Whole Game Away.”** ““Well, if the Republican leadership wants Ukraine funding as much as the Democrats, we don’t have any leverage to begin with. And that was the fundamental flaw in this entire process, is we had no leverage because our leadership didn’t allow us to have

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leverage. That's why this whole thing has broken down and that's why they've now immediately pivoted to getting money for Ukraine, which if we cared about the border, Steve, what we should be doing is going back to the drawing board saying: this isn't good enough, but still the deal is on the table. No more money for Ukraine unless Biden shuts down the border. The fact that we're not even doing that, Steve gives the whole game away. It was never about the border. It was always about Ukraine.'"' ("Senator Vance Blasts Push For 'Ukraine First' Foreign Aid Package," [Vance Senate](#), 2/7/24)

**In January 2023, Vance Signed Onto A Letter To The Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget Calling For Details On Ukraine Spending.** ([Letter To Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget](#), 1/19/23)

Congress of the United States  
Washington, DC 20515

January 19, 2023

The Honorable Shalanda Young  
Director  
Office of Management and Budget  
725 Seventeenth Street NW  
Washington, DC 20503

Director Young,

Thank you for your service to the country. The most recent omnibus spending bill (P.L. 117-328) brought the total budget authority provided by Congress to support a range of activities in Ukraine and "in countries impacted by the situation in Ukraine" to \$114 billion. However, this amount does not include reprogrammings, and transfers, for which the administration has asked for additional authorities in each of its four supplemental requests, dating back to March 2, 2022.<sup>1</sup> Taken together, the four Ukraine supplemental spending bills passed since the escalation of the Ukraine/Russia conflict in February of 2022 amount to arguably the fourth-largest discretionary appropriations bill.<sup>2</sup>

Further, multiple DOD Inspectors General advisories have raised questions about DOD's budget execution practices in regards to these funds. In particular, both the July 8 advisory and the September 19 advisory raise the issue that the DOD's use of systems unable to interface with its budgetary management software may be a potential source for reporting errors.<sup>3</sup> Additional work by the State Department and USAID Inspectors General is ongoing. Fortunately, Section 1202 of Division M of P.L. 117-328 requires a report to Congress "describing the United States security assistance provided to Ukraine since February 24, 2022...including a comprehensive list of defense articles and services provided to Ukraine and the associated authority and funding used to provide such articles and services."<sup>4</sup> This report is due thirty days from the effective date of the bill. However, a listing of defense articles and services does not include the full picture of expenditures on areas such as budget support for the Ukrainian government and economic assistance.



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For these reasons, we ask that this report be expanded upon by OMB and made public in order to allow Representatives and Senators to make a determination on the wisdom of additional expenditure in this area. In addition to the legally-required reporting described in section 1202, before a vote on any additional Ukraine-related appropriation occurs, we ask that the administration make public a full crosscutting report on U.S. government-wide expenditures for Ukraine and “countries impacted by the situation in Ukraine” since February 24, 2022. The report should include a full accounting of total budget authority in this area by appropriations account after transfers and reprogrammings, as well as obligations, apportionments, and outlays for each account. The report should also include a list of countries the administration considers “impacted by the situation in Ukraine” and an accounting of budgetary resources the administration intends to provide to each of these countries in response to the situation in Ukraine including obligations, apportionments, and outlays.

We appreciate your continued commitment to transparency and to ensuring that the United States Congress has the information it needs to exercise its constitutional responsibilities. We ask for a response by February 7th, 2023.

Sincerely,



JD Vance  
U.S. Senator



Dan Bishop  
Member of Congress

[\(Letter To Director Of The Office Of Management And Budget, 1/19/23\)](#)

**In September 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Describing Senate Ukraine Funding Legislation As A “Messaging Stunt”.** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 9/29/23)



J.D. Vance ✓  
@JDVance1

...

The Senate’s Ukraine funding deal is dead in the House. Passing it is a messaging stunt.



Kevin McCarthy ✓ @SpeakerMcCarthy · Sep 29, 2023

After meeting with House Republicans this evening, it’s clear the misguided Senate bill has no path forward and is dead on arrival.

The House will continue to work around the clock to keep government open and prioritize the needs of the American people.

11:36 PM · Sep 29, 2023 · 57.4K Views

(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 9/29/23)

**Zelensky**

**In February 2024, Vance ‘Retweeted’ A Tweet Expressing Opposition To Describing Zelensky As A “Hero”.** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 2/20/24)



(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 2/20/24)

### **Impeachment**

**According To The Washington Post, Vance Opposes Ukraine Funding In Order To Protect Donald Trump From Potential Future Impeachment.** ““These funds expire on September 30, 2025 — nearly a year into the possible second term of President Trump,” Vance explained in a memo that he says he sent to every Republican in Congress on Monday. Then the warning: “These are the exact same accounts President Trump was impeached for pausing in December 2019.” That’s the argument Vance is making: Democrats are trying to pass a bill that will allow them to impeach Trump again! Republicans must stand in their way! It is a nonsensical argument, rooted in an obvious misrepresentation of Trump’s 2019 impeachment.” (“J.D. Vance’s Sloppy Effort To Turn MAGA World Against Ukraine Funding,” [Washington Post](#), 2/12/24)

**In February 2024, Vance Posted Describing Ukraine Aid As An “Impeachment Time Bomb”.** ([Twitter](#), Posted 2/12/24)



**The Ukraine Supplemental Includes a Hidden Impeachment Clause Against President Trump**

**Background:** President Trump was wrongfully impeached by the partisan Pelosi-led House of Representatives on December 18, 2019.<sup>1</sup> At the core of the impeachment was a pause on funds appropriated to Ukraine: "...\$391 million in security assistance; \$250 million through the Department of Defense's (DOD) Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative and \$141 million through the State Department's Foreign Military Financing program."<sup>2</sup>

The false argument put forward by Democrats was/is as follows: as President Trump had allegedly paused these funds because he wished to see the corrupt nexus between the Biden family and Ukraine investigated, President Trump had abused his power, with the aim of interfering with the U.S. presidential election. Page 425 of the Committee Report on the first impeachment states: "The President froze military assistance to Ukraine against U.S. national security interests and over the objections of career experts."<sup>3</sup> The impeachment inquiry report states, "The President did so despite the longstanding bipartisan support of Congress, uniform support across federal departments and agencies for the provision to Ukraine of the military assistance, and his obligations under the Impoundment Control Act."<sup>4</sup>

**The Supplemental Impeachment Time Bomb:** President Trump has said, in regard to the war in Ukraine, "We got to get that war settled and I'll get it settled."<sup>5</sup> He has stated that he would resolve the war in 24 hours.<sup>6</sup>

The bill includes \$1.6 billion for foreign military financing in Ukraine, and \$13.7 billion for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative. These funds expire on September 30, 2025—nearly a year into the possible second term of President Trump. These are the exact same accounts President Trump was impeached for pausing in December 2019. Every single House Republican voted against this impeachment resolution.<sup>7</sup>

If President Trump were to withdraw from or pause financial support for the war in Ukraine in order to bring the conflict to a peaceful conclusion, "over the objections of career experts," it would amount to the same fake violation of budget law from the first impeachment, under markedly similar facts and circumstances.

Partisan Democrats would seize on the opportunity to impeach him once again. The Washington Post has reported that tying President Trump's hands on foreign policy is very much top of mind for Biden administration officials, who are openly boasting about their plans.<sup>8</sup> The background quote is damning:

Not incidentally, a U.S. official said, the hope is that the long-term promise — again assuming congressional buy-in — will also "future-proof" aid for Ukraine against the possibility that former president Donald Trump wins his reelection bid.<sup>9</sup>

**Conclusion:** The supplemental represents an attempt by the foreign policy blob/deep state to stop President Trump from pursuing his desired policy, and if he does so anyways, to provide grounds to impeach him and undermine his administration. All Republicans should oppose its passage.

<sup>1</sup> The New York Times, "Trump Impeached for Abuse of Power and Obstruction of Congress", Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/18/us/politics/trump-impeached.html>

<sup>2</sup> Report of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Pursuant to H. Res. 660 in Consultation with the House Committee on Oversight and Reform and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Available at: [https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GOVPUB-Y4\\_INR\\_18-PURL-gpo129303/pdf/GOVPUB-Y4\\_INR\\_18-PURL-gpo129303.pdf](https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GOVPUB-Y4_INR_18-PURL-gpo129303/pdf/GOVPUB-Y4_INR_18-PURL-gpo129303.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives to Accompany H. Res. 755, Available at: <https://docs.house.gov/bills116/20191216/CRPT-116/rpt346.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Report of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Pursuant to H. Res. 660 in Consultation with the House Committee on Oversight and Reform and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Available at: <https://www.jussecurly.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/impeachment-report-majority-schiff-intelligence-december-3-2019.pdf> (emphasis added)

<sup>5</sup> Bloomberg News, "Trump Says War in Ukraine Must End Even as US Aid Advances," Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-02-10/trump-says-ukraine-war-must-end-as-senate-advances-aid-package?embedded-checkout=true>

<sup>6</sup> NBC News, "Zelensky Invites Trump to Ukraine, says he needs just 24 minutes to explain to him why he 'can't bring peace'," Available at: <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/zelensky-invites-trump-ukraine-says-just-needs-24-minutes-explain-can-t-rcna123713>

<sup>7</sup> Roll Call 696, H. Res. 755, available at: <https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2019696>

<sup>8</sup> The Washington Post "U.S. war plans for Ukraine don't foresee retaking lost territory", Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/01/26/ukraine-war-plan-biden-defense/>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

(Memo 1, Memo 2, Accessed 2/22/24)

***Trump - Soleimani***

**In 2020, Vance Criticized President Trump's Airstrike Killing Iranian General Qasem Soleimani, Worrying It Would Continue To Bog Down America In The Middle East To The Advantage Of China.** VANCE: "One person who is paying close attention to this, one of the few who cares is J.D. Vance, the author of course of 'Hillbilly Elegy.' We're happy to have him on our show tonight. J.D., thanks so much for coming on. I don't think anybody mourns the death of Soleimani, in this country anyway, but I wonder what the Chinese think as they watch this?" J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR: "Well, I think one thing they're thinking is that, just as the past two American presidencies have been bogged down in the Middle East in various ways, this conflict risks escalating in a way that makes America focus on the Middle East for yet another few years, maybe another 10 years, even as the Chinese grow and military might in economic power. And we know, of course, that they're planting various infrastructure and economic institutions all over Africa, all over Asia, that their entire economy is growing and flourishing. And yet, again, we risk focusing on this small region of the world that is obviously important, but not nearly as important as our biggest geopolitical rival continuing to gain strength and power." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 1/3/20)

- **Vance: "This Conflict Risks Escalating In A Way That Makes America Focus On The Middle East For Yet Another Few Years, Maybe Another 10 Years, Even As The Chinese Grow And Military Might In Economic Power."** (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 1/3/20)

**Vance Suggested That The Country Had Been Entangled In Wars In The Middle East So “Financial Elites” Could Profit From The Rise Of China.** CARLSON: “I mean, just a macro question to end on, why is it so hard for our elites to police themselves? If someone is consistently wrong about the big things, why is he still in the same job? If we allowed our heart surgeons to keep working with that kind of track record, no one would survive surgery. So why do we allow our policymakers to be wrong time and again?” VANCE: “Well, Tucker, I’ll give you a cynical answer, and then a less cynical answer. I mean, the less cynical answer is basically that a lot of people just aren’t very good and very smart at what they do. And honestly, I actually hope that’s the answer, because the more cynical answer is that as our country has successfully bungled, or sorry successively, bungled Middle Eastern wars and allowed China to rise, there is of course a group of people who’ve gotten very wealthy off of China’s growing power, and that’s the financial elites who actually run the country, who donate to the think tanks, of course, that produce the policy papers that so many of our politicians rely on. And so I do think that one way of recognizing that there’s been a massive failure here is that the people who have not been in service of the American national interests are still collecting a paycheck, and the people who have gotten it right are still largely on the fringes.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/3/20)

**Vance: “And I Think That’s Fundamentally A Story Of Incentives And A Story Of Who Donors Are Benefiting From And Who Donors Are Paying To Effectively Issue What Is Propaganda.”** (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 1/3/20)

### *Iraq*

**In 2023, Vance Voted Yea On S 316, Which Repealed Military Force Authorization Against Iraq.** ([S 316](#), Passed (66 - 30), United States Senate, 3/29/23, Vance Voted Yea)

- NOTE: “This bill repeals specified authorizations for the use of military force against Iraq.” ([S 316](#))

**In 2016, Vance Criticized The Iraq War And The Consequences To Veterans Of The War.** “To Mamaw, the president was the living embodiment of privilege, and he had cashed in when it mattered most: by joining the Texas Air National Guard while his less fortunate peers lost their lives in the jungles of Vietnam. Though I never acquired Mamaw’s disdain for the president, I eventually learned that her wariness about the war was justified. Thirteen years later, the war’s costs are obvious, especially to military families. Though I avoided significant combat, many did not. One good friend suffered horrible burns when his vehicle rolled over a roadside bomb. Another came home traumatized; his alcoholism eventually landed him in prison.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump’s Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Said He Was Proud Of His Service But The Middle East Was “Humiliatingly Worse Off Than The Way We Found It.”** “I am proud of my service and proud of those who served alongside me. But war is about more than service and sacrifice -- it’s about winning. Sixty years ago, Americans looked to Europe and Asia and saw continents liberated and despots defeated. With the Islamic State on the rampage, Americans today look to a Middle East that is humiliatingly worse off than the way we found it.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump’s Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Criticized Republicans For Running Candidates In 2008 And 2012 Who “Refused To Rethink The Bush Foreign Policy That Led To Iraq.”** “Yet while the Democrats elected

an anti-Iraq war candidate in 2008, the Republicans never addressed the anger of their own voters. At best, they criticized the mismanagement of the war or hauled V.A. officials into Congress for hearings. But in 2008 and 2012, the party ran candidates who refused to rethink the Bush foreign policy that led to Iraq.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Said Jeb Bush’s Advisers Were From “The Same Pool Of Discredited Thinkers Who Planned And Executed The War.”** “In early 2015, the party appeared ready to coronate Jeb Bush, the brother of the man who started the Iraq war. Jeb drew his advisers from the same pool of discredited thinkers who planned and executed the war. Meanwhile, his chief adversaries rushed to praise George W. Bush's national security record.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance: “Mr. Trump Is Unfit For Our Nation's Highest Office. But To Those Humiliated By Defeat, He Promises We'll Win Again.”** (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**Vance Said When Bush Was In Office, “He Sent Their Children On A Bloody Misadventure.”** “Anger about the wars isn't the only reason voters support Mr. Trump. But his willingness to say what other G.O.P. candidates won't reflects what people like most about him: his complete break with the party elite. Because the last time Republican voters put a member of that elite in the White House, he sent their children on a bloody misadventure. Until others recognize that failure, expect many to support the one major candidate who does.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump's Antiwar Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 4/4/16)

**In 2010, Vance Wrote That He “Supported The Iraq Invasion On The Merits.”** “The New York Times points out that psychological necessity may force the gung-ho attitude displayed by the helicopter crews, and I can only lamely add that soldiers are people, too. We can legislate laws of war and refine rules of engagement, but war will always be a grisly business. I’m not a peacenik, and I supported the Iraq invasion on the merits, but it’s folly to send troops to do the toughest job and then be shocked by the attitude that some show while doing it.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Wikileaks Shows True Nature Of War,” [FrumForum](#), 4/12/10)

**Vance Said Of “All Of President Bush’s Mistakes, His Failure To Emotionally Prepare The American People For War Is Perhaps The Most Severe.”** “The second is that of all of President Bush’s mistakes, his failure to emotionally prepare the American people for war is perhaps the most severe. We ought to demand the best of our troops, and do whatever necessary to rectify mistakes, but the American people are too often confused or shocked when things like this happen. Maybe we wouldn’t be if we understood the monumental difficulty of our task.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Wikileaks Shows True Nature Of War,” [FrumForum](#), 4/12/10)

**In 2005, Vance, Then Going By Hamel, Reported That The Iraqi Security Forces Were Part Of A “Successful Evolution” Toward U.S. Policy Of Slowly Relinquishing Control Of Iraq To Its Own People.** “‘As the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down.’ Those are the words of President George W. Bush, stating the U.S. policy of slowly relinquishing control of Iraq to its own people. At the heart of this policy is the successful evolution of the Iraqi Security Forces, who, despite bombs and death threats, continue to learn the ropes of combat patrols and provincial security. But to be successful, the Iraqis need bases of operations, and that's where the Engineer Support Battalion Marines at Al Asad, Iraq, serve as important a role as any in Operation Iraqi Freedom. The Marines are busy every day in the hot Iraqi sun building a fully

functional, self-sustaining ISF base. It is one of many sites Iraqis will use to assume responsibility for the security of their nation.” (Cpl. James D. Hamel, “Al Asad Detachment Helps Build New Iraq,” US Department Of Defense Information, 9/13/05)

**In 2005, Vance Wrote About The Marines Assistance In The “Successful Iraqi Election.”**

“As Iraqis took to the polls for the third time this year, Marines from the 2nd Marine Aircraft Wing and other units stationed in Iraq, supported Operation Liberty Express, filling vital roles in the security, transportation and livelihood of Iraqi poll workers. At Camp Liberty, Iraq, a makeshift city that housed nearly 700 election workers and officials, Marines provided security and comfortable living conditions for the poll workers, while others at Al Asad, Iraq, ensured their safe transportation, by air and ground, to polling sites around the country. ‘Our basic goal was to provide a secure environment with basic life amenities for the poll workers and (Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq) poll captains,’ said Gunnery Sgt. Stephen Ahern, a Castle Rock, Colo., native and staff noncommissioned officer-in-charge of the security element at Camp Liberty. The security detachment included Marines from every conceivable job specialty and background. After brief refresher courses in basic security tactics, the Marines took to their duties with enthusiasm and skill, Ahern said.” (Cpl. James D. Hamel, “Operation Liberty Express Ensures Successful Iraqi Election,” Defense Department Documents And Publications, 12/20/05)

**In 2017, Vance Said He Embraced The “Very Old-Fashioned View” On Iraq—“Which Can Be Simply Stated As You Break It, You Buy It”—While Criticizing A “Sort Of Never-Ending Commitment To The Country.”**

VANCE: “My worry is that we're going in too far in the other direction, right? I mean, I have a very old-fashioned view, especially with regards to Iraq, which can be simply stated as you break it, you buy it. And I don't think that we can have this sort of never-ending commitment to the country of Iraq. But I think about, you know, these military interpreters. I actually talked to a general a few days ago, his interpreter was trapped in an airport after this refugee order came down. And I just think about what we really owe to these people, especially the people who helped us out.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

**Vance Expressed Concern That The U.S. Had “Gone Again Too Far In The Other Direction” And Urged Us To “Find Some Sort Of Happy Median.”**

VANCE: “And I worry that we've gone again too far in the other direction. And so, like with everything, I always hope that we can find some sort of happy median, where maybe we can balance these interests a little bit better than we have in the past. But we're not, you know, putting a hard ban on people in a way that affects people who've been very good to us. But, it's in some ways, I think, a natural outgrowth of a pretty dark period in the American foreign policy.” (CNN’s “Axe Files,” 2/9/17)

***Israel***

**In 2023, Vance Voted Yea On SR 417, Which Supports Israel In A Stand Against Terrorism.** ([SR 417](#), Passed (97 - 0), United States Senate, 10/19/23, Vance Voted Yea)

- NOTE: “This resolution states that the Senate stands with Israel as it defends itself, reaffirms Israel's right to self-defense, and calls on all countries to unequivocally condemn Hamas' war on Israel. The resolution also reaffirms the United States' commitment to Israel's security, supports emergency resupply and certain other types of assistance to Israel, and calls on the United States to lead an international effort to deprive Hamas of Iranian and other sources of funding and lethal assistance.

Furthermore, the resolution states that nothing in it may be construed as a declaration of war or an authorization for the use of military force.” ([SR 417](#))

### *China*

#### **Controversial Commentary**

**Vance Said That China Had An Advantage Over The United States Because Chinese Nationals Were More Patriotic.** CARLSON: “Right. And they know that we're so self-hating that they can control us. They can bully us into submission, but the Chinese don't hate themselves, do they?” VANCE: “No, they don't Tucker. And that's one of the craziest things about China is whether it's Chinese nationals who are living overseas in America or Western Europe, whether it's folks who maybe go on a student visa, and then come back; what's pretty clear, is that China is very good at ensuring that its own citizens actually love the country. And I don't think there's a whole lot that's especially lovable about the Chinese nation these days. But they're very good at making their own citizens patriotic. And unfortunately, we have a country that has a lot to be -- you know, we have a lot to be proud of in America.” CARLSON: “Yes.” VANCE: “But unfortunately, a lot of folks don't think that this country is something to be proud of. When you have -- when you're in a global geopolitical struggle, where one nation is afraid of its own shadow, and the other nation is proud of itself, it's not too difficult to imagine which nation is going to win.” (Fox News’ “Tucker Carlson Tonight,” 10/7/19)

### *Ireland*

**In November 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Appearing To Express His Support For Threatening “Economic Sanctions” On Ireland Because An “Ireland Senator Wants To Criminalize Speech That Causes Too Much ‘Discomfort’ For People.”** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/27/23)



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(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/27/23)

## SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES

### *Abortion*

#### Heartbeat Bill

**Vance Criticized Stacey Abrams For Opposing Georgia's Heartbeat Bill.** "But when I think about the modern Democratic Party's rhetoric on abortion, the thing that worries me most is not what they've said about third trimester abortions, it's what Stacey Abrams said about the Georgia heartbeat bill not long ago, that it was bad for business. And of course, she's right. Workers with children are more expensive, their healthcare policies cost more, they are less dedicated to their jobs and more dedicated to their families, and I say we want more of those workers and less of Stacey Abrams' workers." (J.D. Vance, [Speech To American Conservative Conference](#), 5/9/19)

#### Third-Trimester Abortions

**In 2019, Vance Said Conservatives Were "Rightfully Worried, And Even Appalled" By Many Democrats' Support For Third-Trimester Abortions.** "We are on the Right rightfully worried, and even appalled, by some of the rhetoric from the Left on abortion these days. Governor Northam of Virginia talking about aborting a child in the third trimester, the fact that every 2020 Democratic presidential candidate has endorsed, in some measure, third trimester abortion." (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

### Abortion Exceptions

**Vance Said He Would Support Banning Abortion Even In Cases Of Rape, Incest, Calling Rape “Inconvenient.”** “In a local news interview published Wednesday, author and venture capitalist turned Senate candidate J.D. Vance suggested he would support prohibiting abortion even in cases of rape and incest—and dismissed those catalysts as ‘inconvenient.’” ‘It’s not whether a woman should be forced to bring a child to term; it’s whether a child should be allowed to live, even though the circumstances of that child’s birth are somehow inconvenient or a problem to the society,’ said Vance, who lags behind several Republican candidates in his Ohio primary. ‘The question to me is really about the baby. We want women to have opportunities, we want women to have choices, but, above all, we want women and young boys in the womb to have a right to life.’ (The Daily Beast, 9/23/21)

**2021: Vance Was Interviewed By Spectrum News 1 And Described Pregnancy Due To Rape Or Incest As A Situation Where “The Circumstances The Child's Birth Are Somehow Inconvenient.”** “CURTIS JACKSON: Should a woman be forced to carry a child to term after she has been the victim of incest, or rape? VANCE: Look my view on this has been very clear. And I think the question betrays a certain presumption that's wrong. It's not whether women should be forced to bring a child to term it's whether a child should be allowed to live, even though the circumstances the child's birth are somehow inconvenient, or a problem to the society. The question really, to me is about the baby. We want women to have opportunities. We want women to have choices. But above all, we want women and young boys in the womb to have the right to life. Right now. Our society doesn't afford that. I think it's a tragedy. And I think we can do better.” (Spectrum News 1, 9/22/21)

**Vance Compared Abortion to Slavery.** “JD Vance compared abortion to slavery in an interview last fall, drawing a controversial parallel between America’s original sin and a procedure that until recently was a constitutional right. “There’s something comparable between abortion and slavery, and that while the people who obviously suffer the most are those subjected to it, I think it has this morally distorting effect on the entire society,” Vance, the GOP nominee for an open Ohio Senate seat, said in an interview with the Catholic Current last October. Vance then referenced Abraham Lincoln’s quote “I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master,” before arguing that because of abortion, many Americans have “begun to see children as inconveniences to be discarded, instead of blessings to cherish.” “I really think abortion has really done something very socially destructive to us as people in how we see the most vulnerable and the most dependent among us,” Vance continued. “I think that’s one of the underappreciated facts about abortion. It’s really distorted our entire society.” (Vice, 7/7/22)

**Vance Said “Not Right Now” When Asked About A National Abortion Ban.** “[00:01] INTERVIEWER: And if elected, would you support a federal ban on abortion? [00:06] JD VANCE: I think that-- what I, what I really think on, on the ru-- so first of all the Dobbs decision, everybody knows overruled Roe vs. Wade. I think that was the right decision, kicks it back to legislatures at the federal and the state level. My view on this is let the states try to figure this out for now. Ohio has a heartbeat bill. I think that's a good bill. Florida has gone a slightly different direction. Virginia has gone a slightly different direction. When we're figuring this new legal regime out. I think it makes sense right now to let the state's decide this stuff. And right now, states are moving into pro life direction. I think that's a good thing. [00:35] INTERVIEWER: And it sounds like then that you don't think that the Senate or the federal

government should have a role on abortion. [00:40] JD VANCE: Not right now. Not right now. I think I think right now we need to let the states figure this stuff out. The ruling is new, the laws are new, the legal regime is new. And what the Supreme Court I think really gave us an opportunity to do was to focus on this stuff at the state level. (NBC News, 7/8/22)

### Women In Violent Marriages

**HEADLINE: Vice: “JD Vance Suggests People in ‘Violent’ Marriages Shouldn’t Get Divorced.”** (Vice, 7/25/22)

- **Vice: “Vance Said People Need To Be More Willing To Stay In Unhappy Marriages For The Sake Of Their Kids—And Seemed To Suggest That In Some Cases, ‘Even Violent’ Marriages Should Continue.”** “JD Vance said people need to be more willing to stay in unhappy marriages for the sake of their kids—and seemed to suggest that in some cases, ‘even violent’ marriages should continue. The Ohio Republican Senate nominee, talking to Pacifica Christian High School in Southern California last September, gave an extended answer that claimed that people now ‘shift spouses like they change their underwear,’ and that it had done long-term damage to a generation of children.” (Vice, 7/25/22)

**HEADLINE: CNN: “Ohio GOP Senate Candidate Argues ‘Violent’, ‘Unhappy’ Marriages Shouldn’t End In Divorce.”** (CNN, 7/28/22)

- **Chris Cillizza: “In Comments Unearthed By Vice News That Just Went Public, But Vance Actually Made Last September, He Seemed To Encourage Women In Violent Relationships To Stay In Them.”** (CNN, 7/28/22)
- **Chris Cillizza: “You Heard Him Right. Vance Is Suggesting That People Should Stay In Unhappy Or Even Violent Marriages Because... Uh... People Now ‘Shift Spouses Like They Change Their Underwear.’”** (CNN, 7/28/22)

**HEADLINE: HuffPost: “J.D. Vance: People Should Stay In ‘Violent’ Marriages For The Sake Of The Kids”** (HuffPost, 7/26/22)

- **Huffpost: “Ohio GOP Senate Candidate J.D. Vance Apparently Thinks A Bad Marriage Is Better Than No Marriage.”** “Ohio GOP Senate candidate J.D. Vance apparently thinks a bad marriage is better than no marriage — at least when kids are involved. The ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ author expressed as much while speaking at a southern California high school last September, as seen in a video recently shared by Vice News.” (HuffPost, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: People: “Ohio Senate Candidate J.D. Vance Explains Comments About People Staying in Unhappy, ‘Even Violent’ Marriages.”** (People, 7/26/22)

- **People: “The Republican Author Of Hillbilly Elegy Said Last September That Americans Were Tricked By The Sexual Revolution Into Thinking It’s Okay To ‘Shift Spouses Like They Change Their Underwear.’”** (People, 7/26/22)
- **People: “Vance, Who’s Running For Senate In Ohio, Explained Comments He Made About People Who ‘Shift Spouses Like They Change Their Underwear’ To Leave Unhappy Or ‘Even Violent’ Marriages.”** “Hillbilly Elegy author J.D. Vance, who’s running for Senate in Ohio, explained comments he made about people who ‘shift

spouses like they change their underwear’ to leave unhappy or ‘even violent’ marriages.” (People, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: The Independent: “JD Vance Suggested Women In Violent Relationships Should Not Get Divorced For The Sake Of Children.”** (The Independent, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: Vanity Fair: “GOP Senate Candidate J.D. Vance: If People Love Their Kids, They’ll Stay in Violent Marriages.”** (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)

- **Vanity Fair: “Vance Claimed That Divorce Inflicts Terrible Harm On Children And That It Would Be Better For People In Unhappy Marriages To Stay Together, Even If Said Marriages Are ‘Violent.’”** “Speaking to Pacifica Christian High School last September, with the interview published by Vice News on Monday, Vance claimed that divorce inflicts terrible harm on children and that it would be better for people in unhappy marriages to stay together, even if said marriages are ‘violent.’ Vance told the audience: ‘My grandparents had an incredibly chaotic marriage in a lot of ways. But they never got divorced. They were together to the end, till death do us part—that was a really important thing to my grandmother and my grandfather. That was clearly not true by the ’70s or ’80s. And I think that probably, I was personally, and a lot the kids in my community who grew up in my generation, personally suffered from the fact that a lot of moms and dads saw marriage as a basic contract, like any other business deal.” (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)
- **Vanity Fair: “It’s Extremely Disturbing That This Person Who Wants To Become One Of The Most Powerful People In Ohio Has Also Suggested That It Was A Good Thing That Two Violent People—One Of Whom Apparently Tried To Kill The Other—Stayed Together.”** “While Vance writes that his grandparents’ marriage improved by the time he was a kid, and that the two were a stable force in his life, it’s extremely disturbing that this person who wants to become one of the most powerful people in Ohio has also suggested that it was a good thing that two violent people—one of whom apparently tried to kill the other—stayed together, recommending that others take a page from their playbook.” (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)
- **Vanity Fair: “If Vance’s Advice For Married Couples Were Taken, It Would No Doubt Hurt Women The Most, As They Are Disproportionately Affected By Domestic Violence.”** “While the above anecdote is obviously about a woman inflicting violence on a man, if Vance’s advice for married couples were taken, it would no doubt hurt women the most, as they are disproportionately affected by domestic violence. And while it probably won’t be news to anyone but Vance, according to the World Health Organization, ‘children who grow up in families where there is violence may suffer a range of behavioral and emotional disturbances. These can also be associated with perpetrating or experiencing violence later in life.’ WHO also notes that ‘intimate partner violence has also been associated with higher rates of infant and child mortality and morbidity.’ So yeah, maybe don’t listen to this guy about anything.” (Vanity Fair, 7/26/22)

**HEADLINE: Newsweek: “J.D. Vance Slammed For Suggesting Women Stay In Violent Marriages.”** (Newsweek, 7/25/22)

- **Newsweek: “Vance, The Trump-Backed Republican Nominee To Replace Retiring GOP Senator Rob Portman Of Ohio, Is Facing Fierce Backlash Over A Report That**

**He Made Comments Urging Women To Stay In ‘Violent’ Marriages.”** “J.D. Vance, the Trump-backed Republican nominee to replace retiring GOP Senator Rob Portman of Ohio, is facing fierce backlash over a report that he made comments urging women to stay in ‘violent’ marriages, which he has denied. Vance lashed out at people who ‘shift spouses like they change their underwear’ during a talk at Pacifica Christian High School in Newport Beach, California, last September, according to an article published on Monday by Vice News. The Ohio Republican and Hillbilly Elegy author said that ‘one of the great tricks that I think the sexual revolution pulled on the American populace’ was convincing people in ‘unhappy’ or ‘even violent’ marriages that getting divorced would ‘make people happier in the long term,’ according to Vice.” (Newsweek, 7/25/22)

**2021: VIDEO: Vance Condemns Divorce Even In Cases Of Domestic Violence.** Vance: “But if you recognize that moms and dads really are different, that men and women need different things, you recognize we've got a real problem here. And we continue to have a real problem here. But I mean, culturally, something has clearly shifted. I mean, I think it's easy, but also probably true to blame the sexual revolution in the 1960s. My grandparents had an incredibly chaotic marriage in a lot of ways. But they never got divorced, right, they were together to the end till death do us part, that was a really important thing to my grandmother and my grandfather. That was clearly not true by the 70s, or 80s. And I think that probably, you know, I was personally and a lot of the kids in my community grew up in my generation, personally suffered from the fact that a lot of moms and dads saw marriage as a basic contract, right, like any other business deal, once it becomes no longer good for one of the parties, or both of the parties. You just dissolve it and go on to a new business relationship. But that recognition that marriage was sacred, I think was a really powerful thing that held a lot of families together. And when it disappeared, unfortunately, a lot of kids suffered. And this is one of the great tricks that I think the sexual revolution pulled on the American populace, which is this idea that like, Well, okay, these marriages were fundamentally, you know, they were, they were maybe even violent, but certainly they were unhappy. And so getting rid of them, and making it easier for people to shift spouses, like they changed their underwear, that's going to make people happier in the long term. And maybe it worked out for the moms and dads. Though I'm skeptical. But it really didn't work out for the kids of those marriages. And I think that's what all of us should be honest about is we've run this experiment in real time. And what we have is a lot of very, very real family dysfunction that's making our kids unhappy.” (Pacifica Christian High School, Vance Lecture, [00:40:40], 9/3/2021)

**2021: AUDIO: Vance Described Divorce As A “Bad Decision.”** Vance: “So I think in a lot of ways, we have to accept that we're already paying families to do things. It's a question of whether we're paying them to make good decisions, or we're paying them to make bad decisions. And I'd say staying married, having children is much better than getting divorced and sitting at home all day. And that really, to me is the fundamental issue. I actually, I don't think that the goal here is a massive expansion in the amount of money that we're spending on social welfare, we actually spent a ton of money on social welfare, we just spend it on very stupid purposes.” (Michael Knowles Show Vance Interview, [00:12:53], 12/28/2021)

## *Race*

### Controversial Rhetoric

**In November 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Stating “The Anti-Whiteness Movement, Mainstreamed By American Universities And Corporations, Has Blood On Its Hands.”**

(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/6/23)



(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 11/6/23)

## *Religion*

### Evolution

**In A 2011 Op-Ed, Vance Attacked Rick Perry And Michelle Bachmann’s Conservatism For Opposing “Science.”** “Perry and Bachmann’s conservatism is defined by what it opposes: science, liberalism, and gays. Others insist that their conservatism is reflexively anti-government, but each supports the Federal Marriage Amendment, a proposal that would annul the marriages of gay couples—ripping apart new families, many of which count young children as members.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)

- **Vance: “Their Assertions That Evolution Is ‘Just A Theory’ Miss The Mark, And Discourage Otherwise Sympathetic Voters From Joining The Conservative Cause.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)
- **Vance: “I Don’t Buy That I’m A Moderate Because I Believe What Scientists Say About Evolution.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)

### Federal Marriage Amendment

**In A 2011 Op-Ed, Vance Criticized Rick Perry And Michelle Bachmann For Supporting The Federal Marriage Amendment, A Proposal Vance Said Would Result In The Annulment Of Gay Marriages And Would Rip “Apart New Families, Many Of Which Count Young Children As Members.”** “Others insist that their conservatism is reflexively anti-government, but each supports the Federal Marriage Amendment, a proposal that would annul the marriages of gay couples—ripping apart new families, many of which count young children as members.” (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)

- **Vance: “I Don’t Buy That I’m A Moderate Because I Think That Families—All Of Them, Even The Ones Headed By Gay People—Are Vital To The Survival Of The Republic.”** (JD Hamel, Op-Ed, “Huntsman: The Truer Conservative,” [FrumForum](#), 9/7/11)

## POLITICAL

### *Trump*

#### The 2016 Election

**As Early As August 2016, Vance Said He Planned To Vote For Third Party Candidate Evan McMullin Because He Couldn't "Stomach Trump."** GROSS: "...What are you going to do this election, if you don't mind saying?" VANCE: "My current plan is to vote either third party or, as I joked to my wife, I might write in my dog because that's about as good as it seems. But, you know, I think there's a chance, if I feel like Trump has a really good chance of winning, that I might have to hold my nose and vote for Hillary Clinton. But at the end of the day, I just feel like she is so culturally disconnected from the people that I grew up around that it would be very, very hard for me to cast my ballot for her. So ultimately I think I'll probably vote third party. I might vote for this new guy who I really like, Evan McMullin, who I actually met the other day. But I think that I'm going to vote third party because I can't stomach Trump. I think that he's noxious and is leading the white working class to a very dark place. And ultimately I just don't share Hillary Clinton's politics." (NPR's ["Fresh Air,"](#) 8/17/16)

- **Vance: "I Think That He's Noxious And Is Leading The White Working Class To A Very Dark Place."** (NPR's ["Fresh Air,"](#) 8/17/16)

**Vance In 2016: "I Didn't Vote For Trump Or Hillary Where I Was Almost Saying Look, I Told You So, Hillary Is Going To Win, We Shouldn't Have Nominated Trump In The First Place..."** VANCE: "Yes. And I guess I felt pretty much the same way. There was a certain amount of confidence. There was almost an arrogance that I had. So I didn't vote for Trump or Hillary where I was almost saying look, I told you so, Hillary is going to win, we shouldn't have nominated Trump in the first place, it just shows that in some ways I was in my own bubble and I'm guilty of some of the same things that I criticize the elite of being guilty of." (CNN's "CNN Tonight," 11/9/16)

**Vance Said He Voted For Evan McMullin And Said, "My Fear With Trump Was Always That He Didn't Have Great Solutions."** "Vance voted for independent Evan McMullin, not Trump, last month. 'I always understood why he was so appealing to so many folks back home,' he said of the president-elect. 'It's not surprising they voted for him. ... My fear with Trump was always that he didn't have great solutions.'" (James Hohmann, "The Daily 202: Why The Author Of 'Hillbilly Elegy' Is Moving Home To Ohio," [The Washington Post](#), 12/21/16)

- **Vance: "I Am Pessimistic That You Can Flip The Trade Switch And Make All These Steel Jobs Come Back To Middletown."** (James Hohmann, "The Daily 202: Why The Author Of 'Hillbilly Elegy' Is Moving Home To Ohio," [The Washington Post](#), 12/21/16)

**In 2017, Vance Defended People Who Had Voted For Trump Despite His Incendiary Rhetoric, Saying A Vote Against Trump Was A Vote For Hillary Clinton.** VANCE: "Yeah, I agree. The point about risk tolerance for some of the things that Trump said, I think, is a very important one. It's something I've tried to talk about with my family a lot, that if we maybe looked a little bit different, if our names were a little bit different, then maybe we wouldn't be so tolerant of some of the things he said. We wouldn't be so willing to cast it aside and say that's not really what he means or that's not really what he thinks. The complicating factor, of course, is that people weren't voting a binary yes or no Trump. They were necessarily voting, if not for Trump, then for Hillary Clinton. The framing I have always had to this is that there's both a

substance and a process element to Trump. There's the things that he says, the policies, such as they are, that he hopes to enact. That's the substantive part of Trump, but then there's the process part of Trump, which is a criticism of the elites, a criticism of the way we engage in political discourse, a criticism, specifically, of the Clintons and especially Hillary Clinton. And my sense is that the process side of Trump was very appealing to a lot of people even as the substantive side of him was at least a little bit disconcerting, even to a lot of his voters." (Ezra Klein, "A Conversation With J.D. Vance, The Reluctant Interpreter Of Trumpism," [Vox](#), 2/2/17)

**In 2018, While Vance Was Considering Running For Senate, Another Candidate Said He Had "Effectively Voted For Hillary Clinton" In The 2016 Election.** "Vance and McConnell have spoken more than once as party leaders apparently continue to shop for a candidate beyond wealthy Cleveland-area investment banker Mike Gibbons, who also is a political novice. Gibbons last week signaled a willingness to invest \$5 million of his own money, and potentially more, in the race. Gibbons' campaign spanked Vance on Wednesday for his failure to vote for Trump. Vance cast his ballot for Evan McMullin, an independent supported by conservatives opposed to Trump. 'Mike Gibbons was a co-chair for President Trump in Ohio and never wavered in his support for the president. J.D. Vance effectively voted for Hillary Clinton when he voted against President Trump. There's only one candidate in the race who would support the president, Mike Gibbons,' said Mike Biundo, a Gibbons campaign consultant." (Jessica Wehrman And Randy Ludlow, "Renacci Shifts Gears; Sources Say He's Pulling Out Of Governor's Race To Run For U.S. Senate," *The Repository*, 1/17/18)

**In 2016, Vance Said Cynicism And Frustration In The Country "Needs To Find A Better Outlet Than Donald Trump" And Said Trump Was Not "Going To Make The Problem Better."** VANCE: "I think that it's more about the white working-class folks who aren't necessarily economically destitute but in some ways feel very culturally isolated and very pessimistic about the future. That's one of the biggest predictors of whether someone will support Donald Trump – it may be the biggest predictor – is the belief that America is headed in the wrong direction, the belief that your kids are not going to have a better life than you did. And that cynicism really breeds frustration at political elites, but, frankly, that frustration needs to find a better outlet than Donald Trump. And that's why I've made some of the analogies that I have because I don't think that he's going to make the problem better. I think, like you said, he is in some ways a pain reliever. He's someone who makes people feel a little bit better about their problems. But whether he's elected president or not, those problems are still going to be there, and we've got to recognize that." (NPR's "[Fresh Air](#)," 8/17/16)

**Vance Said Trump Diagnosed Problems In A Successful And Passionate Way, "But I Don't See Him As Offering Many Solutions."** "VANCE: "Well, I think one thing they should be doing is thinking seriously about what's wrong in their communities and going, both in personal ways, but also in the political leaders that they choose, really holding their feet to the fire and asking that they do things that will actually address their problems. I think, frankly, that's a big problem with Trump is that he diagnoses the problems in a very successful and very passionate way, but I don't see him as offering many solutions." (ABC's "This Week," 8/14/16)

**Vance Claimed Trump Offered "A Slogan About Greatness With Little Substance To Support It."** "It is a far cry from the patriotism of my youth. Our faith in our country fell so far, so fast, that many support a man whose very slogan — 'Make America Great Again' — implicitly argues that a central tenet of my childhood was false. Our mistrust of those in power has swelled to the point that many will support Donald Trump, who offers a slogan about



greatness with little substance to support it.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “How The White Working Class Lost Its Patriotism,” [The Washington Post](#), 7/25/16)

**Vance, On Trump In January 2017: “As For The Question About Whether He’ll Be Ultimately Effective, My Guess Is That He Probably Won’t Be. But We’ll See.”** “Q: Do you think people you wrote about who voted for Trump are going to have a voice? Or do you think they’re going to get played? Vance: Definitely, folks feel like they have a voice now. Whether he does good things or not is going to be determined over the next few years. I think it’s too early to say whether they got played. I tend to think even if he’s not a successful president, I wouldn’t say they got played, because I don’t think that gives enough credit to, frankly, how smart people are when they’re weighing their vote and what to do with it. As for the question about whether he’ll be ultimately effective, my guess is that he probably won’t be. But we’ll see. I’m hoping that he is.” (“Trump And The ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Effect,” *Journal And Courier*, 1/30/17)

**In 2016, Vance Said Of Trump: “Half Of The Things That He Says Don’t Make Any Sense Or A Quarter Of The Things That He Says Are Offensive.”** VANCE: “I certainly understand why a lot of folks are surprised. I think a big part of it is just the way that Donald Trump conducts himself. A lot of people feel that you can’t trust anything Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama say, not because they necessarily lied a lot but because they sound so filtered and they sound so rehearsed. Donald Trump, if nothing else, is relatable to the average working-class American because he speaks off the cuff. He’s clearly unfiltered and unrehearsed. And there is something relatable about that, even if, you know, half of the things that he says don’t make any sense or a quarter of the things that he says are offensive. There’s something to be said about relatability. And it’s not, you know – there’s been a lot written about how elite political conversation is not emotionally relatable to big chunks of the country. I think that in a lot of ways, Trump is just the first person to tap into that sense of disconnect in the way that he conducts himself with politics.” (NPR’s [“Fresh Air,”](#) 8/17/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said Trump’s Policy Proposals, “Such As They Are, Range From Immoral To Absurd.”** “Though Trump held his fire in the debate, he lit into W. on social media and in interviews. Other candidates defended the former president. They, too, failed to understand Trump’s appeal, how something so offensive to their political palate could be cathartic for millions of their own voters. I quickly realized that Trump’s actual policy proposals, such as they are, range from immoral to absurd. But as a Marine veteran who grew up in a struggling Rust Belt town, I understand why many adore him. He tells America’s rich and powerful precisely what we wish we could tell them ourselves: that many of the things they view as accomplishments suck for people like us.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Trump Fans Feel Betrayed By G.W. Bush,” *Tulare Advance-Register*, 2/18/16)

**In A 2016 Op-Ed, Vance Wrote That “Trump’s Policies, Such As They Are, Offer Little Substance To Those Suffering From Addiction, Joblessness, And Downward Mobility.”** “The institutional offshoots of this peculiar moment have monopolized the conversation. Donald Trump is the voice of poor white America. The Black Lives Matter movement is the voice of dispossessed blacks and their sympathizers. Yet if these voices have monopolized the conversation, they certainly haven’t monopolized the good ideas. Trump’s policies, such as they are, offer little substance to those suffering from addiction, joblessness, and downward mobility.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Two Underclasses,” [National Review](#), 8/29/16)

**In 2016, Vance Claimed He Had Texted His Book Editor That Trump Winning The Election Would Be “Terrible For The Country, But Good For Book Sales.”** “During his 2016 book tour, Vance was not shy about his disdain for Trump. When NPR’s Terry Gross asked how he planned to vote that November, he said, ‘I think that I’m going to vote third party because I can’t stomach Trump. I think that he’s noxious and is leading the white working class to a very dark place.’ In the course of a conversation with Vox’s Ezra Klein, he readily agreed that Trump’s rhetoric was racially incendiary. And appearing on the podcast I hosted at the time, Need to Know, Vance said that as the election year progressed, he became more and more convinced that Trump could win. He had texted his book agent, he told Jay Nordlinger and me, saying that, ‘If Trump wins it would be terrible for the country, but good for book sales.’” (Mona Charen, “J.D. Vance Joins The Jackals,” [The Bulwark](#), 3/17/21)

**In 2016, Vance Said “What Trump Offers Is An Easy Escape From The Pain” And That “Trump’s Promises Are The Needle In America’s Collective Vein.”** “What Trump offers is an easy escape from the pain. To every complex problem, he promises a simple solution. He can bring jobs back simply by punishing offshoring companies into submission. As he told a New Hampshire crowd-folks all too familiar with the opioid scourge-he can cure the addiction epidemic by building a Mexican wall and keeping the cartels out. He will spare the United States from humiliation and military defeat with indiscriminate bombing. It doesn't matter that no credible military leader has endorsed his plan. He never offers details for how these plans will work, because he can't. Trump's promises are the needle in America's collective vein.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Opioid Of The Masses,” [The Atlantic](#), 7/4/16)

**Vance Wrote That After Trump Lost “Perhaps The Nation Will Trade The Quick High Of ‘Make America Great Again’ For Real Medicine.”** “I’m not sure when or how that realization arrives: maybe in a few months, when Trump loses the election; maybe in a few years, when his supporters realize that even with a President Trump, their homes and families are still domestic war zones, their newspapers' obituaries continue to fill with the names of people who died too soon, and their faith in the American Dream continues to falter. But it will come, and when it does, I hope Americans cast their gaze to those with the most power to address so many of these problems: each other. And then, perhaps the nation will trade the quick high of ‘Make America Great Again’ for real medicine.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Opioid Of The Masses,” [The Atlantic](#), 7/4/16)

**Vance: “I Think In Many Ways What Trump Is Is Just Another Opioid. He Is Something That Is Gong To Take The Pain Away, He Is Going To Make People Feel Better For A Little While.”** (MSNBC’s “[Morning Joe](#),” 7/1/16)

**Vance: “But At The End Of The Day, The Problems Are Still Going To Still Be There And Donald Trump Isn’t Going To Make Them Any Better.”** (MSNBC’s “[Morning Joe](#),” 7/1/16)

**In 2016, Vance Called Trump “Dangerous.”** “It's like you guys have no idea the groundswell of support this guy has and it makes me very sad for my country, because as someone who thinks that Donald Trump is frankly dangerous, I don't want the lesson that everyone should learn from 2016 to not take. We may just be in a worse situation four years down the road or eight years down the road unless there is some recognition of what's going on on the other side of the country.” (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” [Slate](#), 8/25/16)

**During A 2016 Interview, Vance Said Trump’s Campaign Rhetoric Was “Dangerous.”**  
INTERVIEWER: “JD, is that a dangerous movement because though it separates us into classes

rather than talking about how growth can lift everyone up? “VANCE: “I definitely think it’s dangerous in a lot of ways. One it segregates us into classes.” ([The Wall Street Journal](#), 8/31/16)

**Vance: “So I Do Think There Is A Danger In The Way That Trump Talks About Politics And Ultimately, I Think Fundamentally He Is Not The Right Guy For That Reason.”** ([The Wall Street Journal](#), 8/31/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said, “People Are Not That Strongly Attached To Trump” And Said Trump Would Get “Crushed” In The General Election.** “Thrush: Is there any such thing as Trumpism after Trump? Vance: People are not that strongly attached to Trump; he is a vehicle to attach that anger to, but they don't especially love him. He'll say something ridiculous or offensive, and they'll be like, ‘Well, I mostly agree with him.’ But it's not a deep thing. What happens to Trumpism after Trump depends on how the Republican Party answers after Trump gets crushed. If it's going to answer that the party wasn't sufficiently ideological-or what you need is a true-blue rehash of Reagan's '80 campaign-Trump's voters are going to be pissed and find someone to project that anger onto. And then it just keeps going.” (Glenn Thrush, “What's Going On With America's White People?” *Politico*, 9/12/16)

**Vance In 2016: “I’ll Probably Vote Third-Party ... But I’m Definitely Not Voting For Trump. He Exacerbates The Very Worst Tendencies Of People In The Area Where I Grew Up.”** “‘I’ll probably vote third-party,’ said Vance. ‘But I’m definitely not voting for Trump. He exacerbates the very worst tendencies of people in the area where I grew up.’” (Brent Larkin, “Suburban Columbus Women Hold Key For Clinton In Ohio,” *Plain Dealer*, 9/25/16)

**In 2016, Vance Wrote That He “Loathed” Trump’s “Obvious Personal Character Flaws.”** “As the son of a white, working-class family, I saw the Donald Trump phenomenon coming sooner than most. He had captured a zeitgeist in my community, not because they loved Trump but because they mistrusted the institutions that his opponents - Republican and Democratic - represented. There was something sympathetic about the affinity so many felt for Trump, even though I loathed the man's obvious personal character flaws. He was, as American film-maker and labour activist Michael Moore recently argued, a ‘Molotov cocktail’ to throw into the inner workings of the elite universe. The system had failed so many in my home town, and Trump was the vehicle with which they would blow it up.” (JD Vance, Op-Ed, “JD Vance: The Coasts And The Flyover Country’ - The Great US Divide,” *London Evening Standard*, 10/28/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said He Had Fought Trump “Pretty Robustly.”** J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, NEW YORK TIMES: “Well, I think it depends in large part on how Trump himself reacts to defeat. If he reacts to a loss graciously like we all expect him to, just kidding, then he may actually do a good service to the country and allow some healing to take place and hopefully some constructive government down the road. But if Trump decides to go to war against the Bret Stephens of the Republican party, those who have fought him, folks like me who fought him pretty robustly, then I think there's a chance that we're going to have a long-term civil war in the Republican party where we have to figure out what we really believe.” (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

**Vance: “And My View Is That Folks Like Me Would Be Smart To Repudiate The Intellectual Leaders Of Trump But To Recognize That The Voters Of Trump Actually Have A Lot To Be Concerned About And That's Why He's Our Candidate.”** (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said If Hillary Clinton Won, It Would Have To Come With The Recognition She Won “Because The Other Party's Candidate Was So Bad.”** VANCE: “Yes. But to Bret's point, the '90s were very good on the surface but there were already very serious planted seeds that caused a lot of problems over the next couple of decades. And I think that what either for Hillary Clinton to govern effectively or for Trump if he wins to govern effectively, they need to start with a massive dose of humility. The recognition that if they won, they won because the other party's candidate was so bad. And with that humility, hopefully, will come some measure of constructive government. Because without it, I agree with Bret that we're not going to have a very effective policy or politics in the next few years.” (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said, “We Have To Reject The Rhetoric Of Trump.”** VANCE: “So it definitely is harder to deal with these cultural issues and you look at all the metrics that are going on, the white working class especially from the opioid epidemic to family breakdown, all of these metrics are moving in the wrong direction. So there needs to be a recognition in our culture, in our policy. And I think that what's important about this is that politics can be upstream from culture. The discourse that we have as a political group definitely affects the way that our culture changes and the way that my white working class culture responds to some of these changes. So to Bret's point, I think we have to reject the rhetoric of Trump but we also have to recognize that there's really complex factors that are hitting Trump's voters have to be dealt with and have to be dealt with wisely.” (CNN’s “Fareed Zakaria GPS,” 11/6/16)

**In 2016 After Trump’s Election, Vance Said, “I Continue To Worry That Trump Didn’t Fully Appreciate The Complexity Of What’s Going On” And Was Worried “About Whether He’s Going To Make The Problems A Whole Lot Better.”** “Still, the 32-year-old remains somewhat nervous about the policies that Trump espoused on the campaign trail, though his fingers are crossed. ‘Solutions are complex,’ he noted, ‘and I continue to worry that Trump didn’t fully appreciate the complexity of what’s going on. Consequently, I worry about whether he’s going to make the problems a whole lot better. ... But I am a Republican, and we really should give the guy a chance to govern and hope he’s successful.’” (James Hohmann, “The Daily 202: Why The Author Of ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Is Moving Home To Ohio,” [The Washington Post](#), 12/21/16)

**In February 2017, Vance Said Trump “Ran An Angry, Very Adversarial Campaign” That Vance Added Was “Pretty Cynical.”** “For the record, Vance is not a Trump fan. Trump, he says, ‘ran an angry, very adversarial campaign that in tone matched the frustrations of the people I wrote about. He certainly ran a pretty cynical campaign, and got a lot of votes from people who are feeling cynical about the future.’ Vance voted for independent candidate Evan McMullin.” (Karen Heller, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Made J.D. Vance The Voice Of The Rust Belt. But Does He Want That Job?,” [The Washington Post](#), 2/6/17)

**In 2017, Vance Criticized Trump For Changing The Focus Of The White Working Class To Pointing The “Finger At Mexican Immigrants, Or Chinese Trade.”** J.D. VANCE: “I think that this election is really having a negative effect especially on the white working class, right. Because I think a lot of these grievances are legitimate, but what it is doing is it’s giving people an excuse to point the finger at someone else. Point the finger at Mexican immigrants, or Chinese trade, or the Democratic elites or whatever else. And sometimes these villains are legitimate. I think it’s totally fair to say that the policy elites of the Democratic Party haven’t been totally concerned about the white working class. But at the same time, fundamentally what’s going on and what Donald Trump has done is change the focus of the white working class

from a sort of engaged and constructive politics to a politics of pointing the finger.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 8/30/17)

**In An October 2016 Appearance On “The Charlie Rose Show,” Vance Declared He Was “A Never Trump Guy” And “Never Liked Him.”** J.D. VANCE: “Yeah, exactly. And, you know, that feeling unfortunately if you think about the political dialogue that we’re already starting to have, you know, both on the left and the right, there’s a movement to sort of gloat over the fact that the elites were right about Donald Trump, right. I’m a never Trump guy. I never liked him.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

**Vance Claimed There Was A “Willingness From People Who Think A Lot Like I Do” To Say Trump Was “Going To Be A Terrible Candidate” And “That You Were An Idiot If You Voted For Him.”** VANCE: “And I – but I noticed this willingness from people who think a lot like I do that, look, we told you so. To all these white working class voters, we told you so. We told you that Trump was going to be a terrible candidate. We told you that you were an idiot if you voted for him. The problem is if you take that attitude as sort of gloating over Trump’s defeat. Then you’re playing into the very thing that gave rise to Trump in the first place, which is a feeling that the elites think that they are smarter than you and just think you’re a bunch of idiots.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

**Vance Said Trump Was Not The Best Candidate For White-Working Class Voters.** J.D. VANCE: “Absolutely. You think about the slogan, Make America Great Again. The implication is that America isn’t great right now, and if you’re very unhappy about your life that’s going to resonate.” CHARLIE ROSE: “Do you think this is a large number of people? Do you think this is enough people to elect Donald Trump?” J.D. VANCE: “No, I don’t think it’s a large enough people to elect Donald Trump. Obviously, the demographics of the country have changed a lot, and the white working class community is still a pretty significant part of the electorate, but it’s not merely enough to let Donald Trump alone. So, my fear is – you know, I think Donald Trump is not the right candidate for this group of voters.” CHARLIE ROSE: “Who would have been?” J.D. VANCE: “Well, I don’t know that there was a single candidate who really appealed to these voters in a way that, one, inspired them, and two, actually had a set of policies that would have been good for them, either on the Democratic side or on the Republican side. Part of the problem with this election is in fact that I think that the problems that are unique to some of these working class communities don’t get a lot of attention, and maybe, you know, hopefully the book will raise people’s awareness a little bit.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said He Would “Certainly Not Vote For Trump” And Said Voting For Him Was “Unacceptable.”** “Who will you choose? I will certainly not vote for Trump. I can understand why it is popular, but I find it unacceptable.” (Hubert Wetzels, “Hillbillies,” [Süddeutsche Zeitung](#), 10/21/16)

- *NOTE: This interview was translated from the original German to English using Google Translate.*

**In 2016, Vance Indicated He Believed One Of Trump’s Sexual-Assault Accusers Over Trump And Mocked Trump For Not Telling The Truth.** JESSICA LEEDS, SAYS TRUMP GROPED HER: “These are not memories that you want to go over. It has been somewhat unnerving since Friday to be rehashing it so many times. You suppress it. It’s not part of your active thinking every day. But you don’t forget. Somehow or other, the armrest in the seat

disappeared. And it was a real shock when, all of a sudden, his hands were all over me. He was like an octopus. It was like he had six arms. He was all over the place. When he started putting his hand on my skirt, and that was it. That was it. I was out of there. I wish the stewardess would come and rescue me. And then I decided, I got up. I got my purse. And I said, I'm going back to my seat in coach." MATTHEWS: "What do you think of this? This is something, it's sort of interesting evocative of the time because of the time because we used to say stewardess first of all. That was a flight attendant. It just gives us a sense of history. But this woman is not a showoff. She's just telling what happened so we can know it." J.D. VANCE, AUTHOR, "HILLYBILLY ELEGY": "Yes, yes. And it's sort of - - it makes me think that at fundamental, this is sort of he said/she said, right? And at the end of the day, do you believe Donald Trump who always tells the truth? Just kidding, or do you believe that woman on the tape? And I -" (MSNBC's "Hardball," 10/12/16)

**"In October 2016, For Example, Vance Tweeted: 'What Percentage Of The American Population Has @realDonaldTrump Sexually Assaulted?'"** (Jessica Wehrman, "Author's Candidacy Tainted, Other Republicans Say," *The Columbus Dispatch*, 1/12/18)

**In 2016, Vance Said People Who "Might Be Described As If Not As Racist At Least As Expressing Some Sort Of Racial Resentment" Were Supporting Trump.** VANCE: "Well, I think it's important to note that definitely some of it is about race. I don't think you can be honest and deny that some of it is. But I don't think most of it's about race. And so there's this interesting question about when you poll people and they express higher levels of racial animosity or a variety of views that might be described as if not as racist at least as expressing some sort of racial resentment, what I see in those polls is frankly that they're following Donald Trump, not that Donald Trump is following them." (MSNBC's "All In With Chris Hayes," 8/3/16)

**Vance Said It Was "Not Just That He's Found A Way Into These Voters' Hearts And Into Their Political Preferences, He's Actually I Think Leading People In A Certain Way, And He's Leading Our Political Discourse To A Very Negative Place."** VANCE: "I think this is a really important, and frankly a very unfortunate part of the Donald Trump phenomenon. It's not just that he's found a way into these voters' hearts and into their political preferences, he's actually I think leading people in a certain way, and he's leading our political discourse to a very negative place." (MSNBC's "All In With Chris Hayes," 8/3/16)

**Vance In 2016: "People Listen To What Their Political Leaders Are Telling Them, And My View Is Both That Trump Is Tapping Into Some Racially Ugly Attitudes, But Also That He Is Leading People To Racially Ugly Attitudes."** (Isaac Chotiner, "A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.," *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance: "I Don't Think That 60-70 Percent Of Working-Class White Voters Would Have Supported A Muslim Ban Before Donald Trump Said Something About A Muslim Ban."** (Isaac Chotiner, "A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.," *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance: "There Is An Element Here Where I Think It's Not Just That Trump Is Exploiting Something But He's Also Leading The White Working Class To A Very Dark Place."** (Isaac Chotiner, "A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.," *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said, "There Are People Who Are Drawn To Trump Because He Says Racially Insensitive Things."** "OK, but could the Trump package work with these voters if he weren't so racist? I see what you're saying. There are people who are drawn to Trump because he

says racially insensitive things.” (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elogy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance Said “50-60 Percent Of Donald Trump Supporters Don't Have Attitudes That Are Actively Racist But Also Don't Have Attitudes That Completely Conform With Modern Notions Of Equality.”** “I think that's probably true and that's why I hope that he is soundly defeated. I worry that this situation is only going to get worse before it gets better. The way I feel about this is that probably 50-60 percent of Donald Trump supporters don't have attitudes that are actively racist but also don't have attitudes that completely conform with modern notions of equality. I think those people can be won or lost to the cause of more social integration and more social involvement. It just depends a lot on the political media conversation. I really feel that that conversation is failing that very large group of voters.” (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elogy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said There Was A “Significant Chunk” Of Trump Voters “Who Are Not Racists.”** VANCE: “Well, I think the press has to be nuanced in how it recognizes that there are some parts that are racial to Donald Trump's appeal, but there are some significant chunk of his voters and his supporters who are not racists, who are just hurting in a lot of different ways, some economic, some social, some, like I said, seeing heroin overdoses in the newspaper. And frankly, at the end of the day, I think Trump is probably going to lose this election, and the biggest question is, what happens four or eight years from now what kind of conversation are we having? And if the media wants to do right by the country, I think it should recognize that there are legitimate hurts in these communities because if it keeps on talking about race, as if it's a reductionist issue, as if it's the only explanation for Donald Trump's appeal, then it's going to push a lot of good people away from the national conversation and on to places like the worst parts of the Internet.” (CNN's “Reliable Sources,” 8/28/16)

**In 2016, When Asked About Hillary Clinton’s “Basket Of Deplorables” Statement, Vance Said There Was An Element Of Truth In The Statement And Declared That “There Is Definitely An Element Of Donald Trump’s Support That Has Its Basis In Racism Or Xenophobia.”** JUDY WOODRUFF: “We have been paying attention to something Hillary Clinton said in describing Donald Trump’s followers. She called them a basket of deplorables. Is there something to what she said, or is she completely off-base?” J.D. VANCE: “Well, I think it’s probably both. There are definitely – there is definitely an element of Donald Trump’s support that has its basis in racism or xenophobia. But a lot of these folks are just really hardworking people who are struggling in really important ways. And the way that I think about is that folks can be led by political leaders in one direction or another. They can be pushed or pulled. And when Hillary Clinton says something like that, it strikes me that she’s pushing people away from what she wants them to get out of her message.” (PBS’s “NewsHour,” 9/27/16)

**Vance: “A Lot Of People Think Trump Is Just The First To Appeal To The Racism And Xenophobia That Were Already There, But I Think He’s Making The Problem Worse.”** “Finally, what did watching Donald Trump’s speech last night make you think about this fall campaign, and the future of the country? Well, I think the speech itself was a perfect microcosm of why I love and am terrified of Donald Trump. On the one hand, he criticized the elites and actually acknowledge the hurt of so many working class voters. After so many years of Republican politicians refusing to even talk about factory closures, Trump’s message is an oasis in the desert. But of course he spent way too much time appealing to people’s fears, and he

offered zero substance for how to improve their lives. It was Trump at his best and worst. My biggest fear with Trump is that, because of the failures of the Republican and Democratic elites, the bar for the white working class is too low. They're willing to listen to Trump about rapist immigrants and banning all Muslims because other parts of his message are clearly legitimate. A lot of people think Trump is just the first to appeal to the racism and xenophobia that were already there, but I think he's making the problem worse." (Rod Dreher, "Trump: Tribune Of Poor White People," *The American Conservative*, 7/22/16)

**Vance In 2016: "Racism Is Definitely A Part Of The Trump Phenomenon. And I Think To His Great Discredit, Trump Has Not Disavowed The David Dukes Of The World As Strongly As He Should."** (Marilou Johaneck, *The Blade*, 9/10/16)

**Vance Said He Opposed Trump Since Trump Was Encouraging His Base To Think Of Their Fellow Citizens "As Scapegoats For All Of Their Problems. He's Taking That Significant Portion Of The White Working Class Poor, Who Are Not Explicitly Racist, And Pulling Them In A More Racist Direction."** "Mr. Vance, a Republican, says one reason he is so against Donald Trump is because he's encouraging his base -- the people and community known by the author -- to think of their fellow citizens 'as scapegoats for all of their problems. He's taking that significant portion of the white working class poor, who are not explicitly racist, and pulling them in a more racist direction.'" (Marilou Johaneck, *The Blade*, 9/10/16)

**Vance: "The Trump People Are Certainly More Racist Than The Average White Professional, But It Doesn't Strike Me That This Is The 1950s."** "Vance: I certainly think a lot of liberals are able to see what these people are going through, but there is this weird obsession-a preoccupation-with the belief that the Trump movement is all about racism. The Trump people are certainly more racist than the average white professional, but it doesn't strike me that this is the 1950s. There is a certain amount of racial resentment, but it's paired with economic insecurity, and a willingness to believe Trump and a lot of the things that he says, despite evidence that a lot of it isn't true. I really worry if this becomes a selffulfilling prophecy. If he's couching what he's talking about in a racial resentment, and progressive elites are saying, 'All these people are racist and xenophobic,' people's attitudes are going to change and they are going to become more racist over time. That's probably happening here. I actually think that Donald Trump is changing the way people think about other groups of people in a very negative way." (Glenn Thrush, "What's Going On With America's White People?" *Politico*, 9/12/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said, "If You Think Of The Republican Party Rhetoric, It Is Almost Designed To Turn Off Black Voters."** J.D. VANCE: I think it's a winning coalition. I think it's possible, but I just don't think that many people have actually tried, right? I mean, if you think of the Republican Party rhetoric, it is almost designed to turn off black voters." (PBS's "The Charlie Rose Show," 10/18/16)

**In 2016, Vance Said If Trump Won, "We Could Have An Even Angrier White Working Class That Hates The Elites Or The Mexicans Or The Chinese, Or Whoever Trump Is Targeting, Even More."** "Suppose Trump wins after all. Then what about four years from now? He won't have changed or improved anything. Doesn't the frustration just grow? Clear. Problems will get bigger no matter who is president. The question is, what do you do with people's anger and frustration? I'm afraid Trump would do what he has done so far, which is to simply direct the frustration and anger onto other people and groups. So after four years of Trump we could have



an even angrier white working class that hates the elites or the Mexicans or the Chinese, or whoever Trump is targeting, even more.” (Hubert Wetzel, “Hillbillies,” [Süddeutsche Zeitung](#), 10/21/16)

- *NOTE: This interview was translated from the original German to English using Google Translate.*

**In 2016, Vance Said Trump “Doesn't Speak To Issues Of Special Concern Of Minority Voters Or Black Voters, It's That He Seems To Like Actively Antagonizing A Lot Of The Black Voters.”** J.D. VANCE, ‘HILLBILLY ELEGY’ AUTHOR: “Yes, well, I think that's absolutely right, and it's not just that Donald Trump doesn't speak to issues of special concern of minority voters or black voters, it's that he seems to like actively antagonizing a lot of the black voters.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 10/24/16)

**Vance Said It Had Been The “Republican Party Strategy For 30 Years” And Trump “Seems To Be Taking That Strategy Just To The Next Level.”** VANCE: “Unfortunately, that's been the Republican Party strategy for 30 years. I say that as a republican who wants the party to get more black voters. And Trump seems to be taking that strategy just to the next level. It shows in the polls, right, he's not going to do especially well on Election Day.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 10/24/16)

**Vance Said Trump “Could Have Had A Chance With African-American Voters, But He Never Really Tried.”** LEMON: “Do you (AUDIO GAP) that Trump ever had any chance (AUDIO GAP) voters, and did he blow it?” VANCE: “Well, I definitely think that he could have had a chance with African-American voters, but he never really tried. You know, and other commentators have talked about President Obama and whether House republicans have obstructed. But at the end of the day a lot of the problems that exist in the black community, the black/white wealth gap, the income gap and so forth, these problems are really long term. They didn't come about during the Obama administration or the Bush administration. And so, it's not like Donald Trump entered a vacuum where these problems were all of a sudden new. He entered a problem where republican politics maybe could have made a difference. But he chose not to focus on those issues. And I really it's his fault and it's going to hurt us on Election Day.” (CNN's “CNN Tonight,” 10/24/16)

**In October 2016, Vance Said He Found Trump “Reprehensible” Because He Makes “People I Care About Afraid,” Such As Immigrants And Muslims.** “That same month, he also said: ‘Trump makes people I care about afraid. Immigrants, Muslims, etc. Because of this I find him reprehensible.’” (Jessica Wehrman, “Author's Candidacy Tainted, Other Republicans Say,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, 1/12/18)

**In 2016 After The Election, Vance Said There Was A “Racist Part Of Trump.”** J.D. VANCE: “Well, if you look at the data, I definitely think there's a small element of it, but I really don't think that's what's driving most of these voters. If you think about their lives, you think about, you know a lot of folks have said they're not necessarily racist, but they're countenancing racism. But if you think about the opioid crisis, if you think about jobs crisis, if you think about the number of-- of intersecting problems that are going on in these communities, it's not so much that-- much that they're countenancing racism, as if they're saying, well, we don't like that racist part of Trump, but at least he's offering us something different.” (NBC's “Today Show,” 11/13/16)

**Vance In January 2017: “The Message Of Trump’s Campaign Was Obviously Not Super-Appealing To Latino Americans, Black Americans And So Forth. That Really Bothered Me.”** “Q: You’re a Republican, but you didn’t vote for Trump. Why not? (Vance instead voted for Evan McMullin, an independent candidate supported by anti-Trump conservatives.) A: A couple of reasons. He used rhetoric that’s not in the best interest of the party or country. I happen to think that conservatism, when properly applied to the 21st Century, could actually help everybody. And the message of Trump’s campaign was obviously not super-appealing to Latino Americans, black Americans and so forth. That really bothered me. In some ways even more importantly than that, while I think Trump had clearly diagnosed very real problems, I didn’t see any real evidence that he had much in the way of positive solutions that would address a lot of these concerns. . . . I’m sort of taking a wait-and-see approach, but if he doesn’t [provide solutions], that’s going to leave people in an even worse position than they were four years ago.” (Henry J. Gomez, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author Returns To Ohio To Help Working-Class Pundit,” *Plain Dealer*, 1/1/17)

**In Early 2018, Vance Was Still A Critic Of Trump’s “Dog-Whistle” Politics Related To Race And Immigration And Was Skeptical Of Trump’s Long-Term Strategy.** “The truth is that his politics are complicated. A year into Trump’s presidency, Vance still has an ambivalent view of the man, melding awe and discomfort. ‘He is one of the few political leaders in America that recognises the frustration that exists in large parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania, eastern Kentucky and so forth,’ Vance says. He has been and remains critical of Trump’s dog-whistle politics related to race and immigration. And he is sceptical about the president’s long-term strategy. ‘The part that is forward-looking and answers the question ‘What do we do now?’ — it’s just not there yet.’” (Shawn Donnan, “Hillbilly Elegist JD Vance: ‘The People Calling The Shots Really Screwed Up’,” *Financial Times*, 2/2/18)

**In 2017, Vance Criticized The Idea That Voter Fraud Impacted The 2016 Election “In Any Significant Way,” Claiming He Just Does Not “See The Evidence.”** CAMEROTA: “I didn’t know we were going to go so far down this rabbit hole but it has been really interesting to hear both of you. J.D., what did you hear in President Obama’s final press conference yesterday?” J.D. VANCE: “Well, I mean, one, it was obviously a criticism of the idea that voter fraud affected the election in any significant way, and I think that’s right. I think Sen. Santorum is right that there are occasional cases of voter fraud but the idea that it really affects the outcomes in our election, I just don’t see the evidence.” (CNN’s “New Day,” 1/19/17)

### Trump Presidency

**In 2017, Vance Criticized Trump For Saying “Half-Truths Or Lies” So Frequently “That You Stop Actually Taking The President Literally.”** LEMON: “He said Barack Obama faked his birth certificate because he was born in Africa. That’s false. We know that. He said thousands of New Jersey Muslims were on TV celebrating 9/11, false. Ted Cruz’s father had something to do with Lee Harvey Oswald, false. Let’s not forget the inaugural crowd size, three to five million illegal voters, and the list goes on and on. There are some Americans who simply cannot trust President Trump because he is a serial liar. Do you think this time that should be different given how severe this charge is?” VANCE: “Well, I don’t know if it’s different or not. It’s certainly a pretty severe charge but I think you get to a point with President Trump where to take a phrase that Salena coined, you start to take him not literally anymore. And that’s something obviously Devin Nunes say today during a press conference, which is a pretty striking admission from a republican leader of Congress to say that these half-truths or lies get to such a point and they’re

uttered so frequently that you stop actually taking the president literally. That's a pretty striking thing for a guy like Devin to say." (CNN's "CNN Tonight," 3/7/17)

**Following The Charlottesville Protests, Vance Said Trump "Really Missed An Opportunity To Name This Phenomenon And Gives People A Sense Where It Comes From And Show The Moral Leadership People Want From A President."**

BLITZER: "What actually -- get your reaction to the way President Trump has handled this since Saturday. The initial statement didn't specifically name the KKK, anti-Semites, didn't mention the white supremacists, none of that by name. He did yesterday. What do you think are the way he's handled this?" VANCE: "I think the president really missed an opportunity to name this phenomenon and gives people a sense where it comes from and show the moral leadership people want from a president. The thing that's important for folks from my political side, the conservative side of the aisle, have to keep in mind that a lot of the people who feel physically threatened by white supremacists, not people angry by it, the people who see it get upset by it, that's all of us. The people who feel physically threatened by it are, by and large, not those who voted for Donald Trump. When they look to that movement, I think the president needs to show leadership saying you may not have voted for me but I'm coming out to deplore and criticize that particular movement as strongly as I would if it was on the other side of the political spectrum. Many a lot felt the president could have spoken to that. Unfortunately, by not naming it what it was, white supremacism, he missed an opportunity." (CNN, 8/15/17)

**Vance: "I Think The President Missed An Opportunity Over The Weekend. Hopefully, An Opportunity He Will Take Advantage Of Today To Name This Enemy To Describe It And Then Tell The Country What We Need To Do To Defeat It."**

JEFF GLOR: "J.D., from-- from your vantage point right now, what should the President be doing?" J.D. VANCE: "Well, I think it is really important for the President to name this particular phenomenon. If you think about all of the controversy about whether Barack Obama said radical Islamic terrorism, there is a real human need for people to have their enemies named and described by their political leaders. And I think the President missed an opportunity over the weekend. Hopefully, an opportunity he will take advantage of today to name this enemy to describe it and then tell the country what we need to do to defeat it." (CBS's "This Morning," 8/14/17)

**Vance Said Trump Was "Ambivalent Or Too Cautious About Coming Out And Criticizing" Racism And Nazism.**

VANCE: "Yes, absolutely. If I was President Trump in this situation, I'd spike the football. This is one of the things that really unites the entire country. Racism is bad. Nazism is bad. We fought a war to defeat Nazism. And the president should not just be -- there's a sense in which he's ambivalent or too cautious about coming out and criticizing this stuff." (CNN, 8/15/17)

**Vance Said Trump Failing To Unite The Country Following Charlottesville Was A "Missed Opportunity."**

VANCE: "Well, I think it is his charge and I do think that he can do that. Obviously, it's question of whether he chooses to. What really bothers me about last weekend is that if you think about how divided this country is along virtually every dimension, the one thing or one of the few things that really unites us is the idea that Nazis are bad. I mean, we are the country whose grandparents defeated the Nazis. And so, the fact this provides an opportunity for the president to go and say this is the thing that should really unite us together, and it was a missed opportunity. He chose not to name that enemy. He chose not to make it about

what unifies us as a country. I do think it's a missed opportunity and it will continue to be a missed opportunity.” (CNN’s “New Day,” 8/15/17)

**In 2017, Vance Said, “I Think You Hear From A Lot Of Different People If You’re On The Ground In These Areas Talking To People Is A Broad Recognition That Things Aren’t Going Fantastically Well Right Now” Regarding Trump’s Legislative Priorities. J.D.**

VANCE, CNN CONTRIBUTOR: “Well, I think it’s a little of both, like some of the folks you talk to said he has a long leash, right? Folks aren’t going to abandon him in six months. They’re going to give him a little time to accomplish his agenda. But what you hear, I think you hear from a lot of different people if you’re on the ground in these areas talking to people is a broad recognition that things aren’t going fantastically well right now. And whether going well comes in the form of a big legislative win, whether it means another big victory that Trump can sort of pin his hat on, there is a recognition that folks think that the president could do a little better. And if that persists over the next couple of years, and I do think he will lose not all of his base, but he’ll lose some people. And in a state like Michigan, where he won by 11,000 votes, losing some could be the difference between re-election and not.” (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

**Vance: “Even Though You See Unemployment Numbers Doing Reasonably Well, What’s Happening In Places Like The Industrial Midwest, In Michigan And Ohio, Is That The Economic Recovery Still Hasn’t Fully Set In.”** VANCE: “Well, there are a couple of things. The first is that even if the economy is going broadly well, obviously that economy doing well doesn’t reach across all sectors of the country. And so, even though you see unemployment numbers doing reasonably well, what’s happening in places like the industrial Midwest, in Michigan and Ohio, is that the economic recovery still hasn’t fully set in.” (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

**Vance: “A Bigger Problem, I Think, Is The Feeling That The Big Pushes That The President Has Really Made On Health Care, On Some Of These Other Issues, Haven’t Really Materialized.”** (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

**Vance Noted There Was A “Sense That The President Just Isn’t Able To Deliver.”**

VANCE: “And so, when people see the president really going after a major health care reform effort, and then failing, and when people are still obviously frustrated about the way the health care system is working right now, that leads to this sense that the president just isn’t able to deliver.” (CNN’s “Erin Burnett Outfront,” 8/4/17)

### **The 2020 Election**

**In November 2020, Vance Said He Did Not See The People Protesting Biden’s Win Would Become “Violent Or Chaotic.”** VANCE: “We’re three weeks after the election and there are these legal challenges working their way through the courts. And people are just preoccupied that Trump needs to accept the legitimacy of the election. I think that hypocrisy, the fact that nobody accepted his election and we’re supposed to accept the election so quickly after its done causes some real frustration. I don’t think – you look at the last three weeks, you have had a lot of court filings, you’ve had a lot of peaceful protests, had a lot of people complaining on social media, but really I don’t see any reason to think that this is going to become violent or chaotic.” ([The Megyn Kelly Show YouTube Channel](#), 11/28/20, 4:35-5:50)

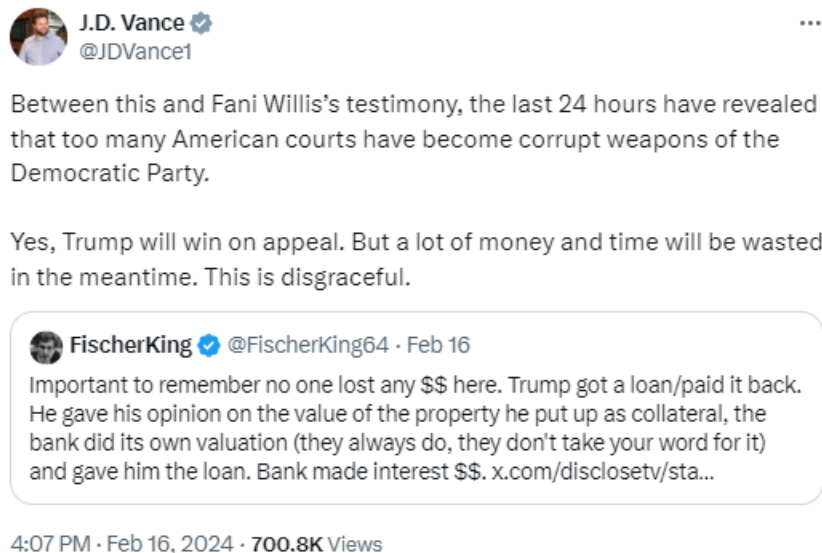
**Vance: “Frankly, I Don’t Think These Are The Sorts Of People Who Are Going To Go Burn Up Stores And Set Cars On Fire And Make Life A Living Hell For Everybody.”**

VANCE: “People certainly feel that they need to fight and they need to see this through to the end. I think they are supportive of the President continuing the litigation. But frankly, I don’t think these are the sorts of people who are going to go burn up stores and set cars on fire and make life a living hell for everybody.” ([The Megyn Kelly Show YouTube Channel](#), 11/28/20, 4:35-5:50)

**Vance: “I Think When Biden Is Inaugurated People Will More Or Less Accept It And It Will Be On To The Next Fight.”** ([The Megyn Kelly Show YouTube Channel](#), 11/28/20, 4:35-5:50)

### **Recent Prosecutions (2024)**

**In February 2024, Vance Posted To Twitter Stating “Between This And Fani Willis’s Testimony, The Last 24 Hours Have Revealed That Too Many American Courts Have Become Corrupt Weapons Of The Democratic Party... This Is Disgraceful.”** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 2/16/24)



(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 2/16/24)

### ***Republican Politicians – Notable Affiliations***

#### **Mike DeWine**

**In December 2023, Vance Posted To Twitter Expressing His Support For Mike DeWine.** (Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 12/28/23)



J.D. Vance ✓  
@JDVance1



I believe Governor Dewine is a good man. I hope he does the right thing and signs this important legislation.



Laura Bischoff @lbischoff · Dec 28, 2023

Mike DeWine will hold a press conference 10:30am Friday to announce his action on HB68.  
[dispatch.com/story/news/pol...](https://www.dispatch.com/story/news/politics/2023/12/28/mike-dewine-press-conference-hb68/)

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(Vance Profile, [Twitter](#), 12/28/23)

### *Liberal Politicians – Notable Affiliations*

#### Hillary Clinton

**In 2016, Vance Wrote That The Democratic National Convention Was “A Celebration Of America’s Promise” And Said The “Cynical Flavor Of Last Week’s Republican Convention In Cleveland Bore Little Resemblance.”** “This week, the Democrats have gathered in Philadelphia, and though much drama undoubtedly remains, their convention has already struck an upbeat tone. Hillary Clinton earned the endorsement of her chief rival, something Trump failed to do. And in some ways, the Democratic convention itself has been a celebration of America’s promise: The first lady, in an implicit shot at Trump, argued eloquently that America is already great; Sen. Cory Booker of New Jersey, striking high notes of optimism, promised the delegates that ‘we will rise’; and former president Bill Clinton offered a folksy, loving tribute to his wife. The cynical flavor of last week’s Republican convention in Cleveland bore little resemblance.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Hey Democrats, Do More Than Talk,” [USA Today](#), 7/28/16)

**In 2016, Vance Joked That He “Might Write In My Dog” And Said There Was A Chance He Would “Hold My Nose” And Vote For Hillary Clinton If Trump Had A Chance To Win.** GROSS: “...What are you going to do this election, if you don’t mind saying?” VANCE: “My current plan is to vote either third party or, as I joked to my wife, I might write in my dog because that’s about as good as it seems. But, you know, I think there’s a chance, if I feel like Trump has a really good chance of winning, that I might have to hold my nose and vote for Hillary Clinton. But at the end of the day, I just feel like she is so culturally disconnected from the people that I grew up around that it would be very, very hard for me to cast my ballot for her.” (NPR’s [Fresh Air](#),” 8/17/16)

**In The Same Interview, Vance Said He Planned To Vote For Third Party Candidate Evan McMullin, Someone “I Really Like,” Since He Couldn’t “Stomach Trump.”** GROSS: “...What are you going to do this election, if you don’t mind saying?” VANCE: “My current plan is to vote either third party or, as I joked to my wife, I might write in my dog because that’s about as good as it seems. But, you know, I think there’s a chance, if I feel like Trump has a really good chance of winning, that I might have to hold my nose and vote for Hillary Clinton. But at the end of the day, I just feel like she is so culturally disconnected from the people that I grew up around that it would be very, very hard for me to cast my ballot for her. So ultimately I think I’ll probably vote third party. I might vote for this new guy who I really like, Evan

McMullin, who I actually met the other day. But I think that I'm going to vote third party because I can't stomach Trump. I think that he's noxious and is leading the white working class to a very dark place. And ultimately I just don't share Hillary Clinton's politics." (NPR's "[Fresh Air](#)," 8/17/16)

**In 2017, Vance Praised President Bill Clinton, Recalling How He—As A Young Man— "Admired President Clinton In A Way That Happens When Someone Like You Really Makes It."** "I wasn't sophisticated enough to have an opinion on that topic, though I watched the impeachment proceedings like an interested spectator at a sporting event. My politics had started to drift to the right of my family, many of them classic blue dog Democrats. Still, I admired President Clinton in a way that happens when someone like you really makes it. ... Yet it was that very relatability that made Mr. Clinton's personal failings frightening. The data shows that working-class families like mine face much higher rates of marital strife and domestic instability. Demons like Mr. Clinton's had haunted my home and family for generations, and at an age when I first began to develop strong feelings about my future, I knew that I wanted to outrun them. I cared little for Mr. Clinton's elite education, his economic success or even his ascendancy to the most powerful office in the world. I cared that he had managed to build the domestic tranquillity that he lacked as a child. But here, in one sex scandal, he had blown it all up. If a man of his abilities had done this, then what hope was there for me?" (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "Barack Obama And Me," *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**Vance: "As My Grandmother Told Me, Presidents Were Almost Always Rich People, But Bill Clinton Was One Of Us."** "He was a poor boy with a vaguely Southern accent, raised by a single mother with a heavy dose of loving grandparents. As my grandmother told me, presidents were almost always rich people, but Bill Clinton was one of us." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "Barack Obama And Me," *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

### Barack Obama

**In 2017—While Obama Was Still President—Vance Said He Had "Personal Admiration For The President."** CAMEROTA: "But, J.D., it's always interesting to talk to you because of your book, 'Hillbilly Elegy,' where your family sort of personifies the working class in the Rust Belt that turned away from Democrats in this election and voted for Donald Trump. So, what do you think all of your folks are feeling at the end of President Obama's eight years? VANCE: "Well, I think a lot of them share my personal admiration for the president, and a lot of folks are looking to turn the page politically. I think one of the failures of the Obama years is the failure to recognize I think both from Democrats and Republicans this sense of real existential crisis that a lot of Americans feel. And if you think of the last 15 or so years of politics this way that we sort of have these big swing elections from one party to the other and I think we are in the middle of that, we're in the middle of a very long political moment where folks are very, very unhappy with how things are going and are constantly looking to turn the page. And I think that is one of the legacies of the president is that he lived in this moment where there was this constant swing first to him and to his party, but now away from him and away from his party." (CNN's "New Day," 1/10/17)

**In A 2017 *New York Times* Op-Ed, Vance Called President Obama "An Admirable Man," Calling It "One Of The Great Failures Of Recent Political History" That The GOP Was Not Able To Overcome Their "Legitimate Political Disagreements" With Him.** "It is one of the great failures of recent political history that the Republican Party was too often unable to

disconnect legitimate political disagreements from the fact that the president himself is an admirable man. Part of this opposition comes from this uniquely polarized moment in our politics, part of it comes from Mr. Obama's leadership style -- more disconnected and cerebral than personal and emotive -- and part of it (though a smaller amount than many on the left suppose) comes from the color of his skin.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

- ***The New York Times* Op-Ed Headline: “Barack Obama And Me”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**While Expressing His Past Differences With Obama, Vance Noted That Obama’s “Example Offered Something No Other Public Figure Could: Hope.”** “I suspected that there were skeletons lurking in his closet, too. Surely this was a man with a secret sex addiction, or at least an alcohol problem. I secretly guessed that before the end of his term, some major personal scandal would reveal his family life to be a sham. I disagreed with many of his positions, so perhaps a dark part of me wanted such a scandal to come out. But it never came. He and his wife treated each other with clear love and respect, and he adored and cared for his children. Whatever scars his childhood left, he refused to let those scars control him. The president's example offered something no other public figure could: hope. I wanted so desperately to have what he had -- a happy marriage and beautiful, thriving children. But I thought that those things belonged to people unlike me, to those who came from money and intact nuclear families. For the rest of us, past was destiny. Yet here was the president of the United States, a man whose history looked something like mine but whose future contained something I wanted. His life stood in stark contrast to my greatest fear.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**Vance: “For At A Pivotal Time In My Life, Barack Obama Gave Me Hope That A Boy Who Grew Up Like Me Could Still Achieve The Most Important Of My Dreams. For That, I’ll Miss Him, And The Example He Set.”** “On Jan. 20, the political side of my brain will breathe a sigh of relief at Mr. Obama's departure. I will hope for better policy from the new administration, a health reform package closer to my ideological preferences, and a new approach to foreign policy. But the child who so desperately wanted an American dream, with a happy family at its core will feel something different. For at a pivotal time in my life, Barack Obama gave me hope that a boy who grew up like me could still achieve the most important of my dreams. For that, I'll miss him, and the example he set.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Barack Obama And Me,” *The New York Times*, 1/2/17)

**Vance: “I Continue To Think The Racial Explanation Of The Reaction To Obama Doesn't Quite Capture How Much Everything About Him Is Both Envable But Also Dislikable. Because We Dislike The Things That We Envy.”** “Vance plays down this explanation, but I bring up a line in his book that seems to hint at a racially toned resentment. ‘Obama,’ he writes, ‘strikes at the heart of our deepest insecurities’. ‘I think that Obama is everything that the American meritocracy values at a time when a lot of us feel like the American meritocracy doesn't value very much about us at all,’ he explains. ‘It is just sort of like everything about him. He's like the American ideal at the very moment that we feel like we're the opposite of the American ideal.’ He adds: ‘The natural question that comes - especially in the modern political context as part of that - is the fact he has black skin. I think for some people that's definitely part of it. But I continue to think the racial explanation of the reaction to Obama doesn't quite capture how much everything about him is both enviable but also dislikable. Because we dislike the



things that we envy.” (Paul Lewis, “Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: ‘We Dislike The Things We Envy,’” *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

**In 2016, Vance Called Obama’s “Guns And Religion” Comment “Well-Intentioned” But “Layered With A Certain Amount Of Condescension.”** J.D. VANCE: “Yeah. So I think there is precious little dialogue between these two big cultural segments of America. Sort of middle America, fly over country, whatever you want to call it. You know, Donald Trump has become their sort of representative and they’re very proud.” ROSE: “And the trouble in Pennsylvania...” VANCE: “Exactly.” ROSE: “... in 2008.” VANCE: “Sure, for saying that folks cling to their guns and religion, right?” ROSE: “Yes.” VANCE: “Which I think was a well-intentioned comments, right? He mentioned that folks were struggling economically and that was his explanation. But it was sort of layered with a certain amount of condescension. You don’t – you know, adults that you respect don’t clings to things, you might have said a much different way and I don’t think the comment would have had nearly the effect that it did if he’d said it in a much more compassionate way.” (PBS’s “The Charlie Rose Show,” 10/18/16)

**In 2017, Vance Disputed Claims That White Working-Class Voters Supported Trump Because Of A Racially-Motivated Backlash Against Barack Obama.** “Trump’s election was seen, at least in part, as a backlash from white, working-class voters frustrated at their relative decline in status in America – symbolized, of course, by its first black president. Vance plays down this explanation, but I bring up a line in his book that seems to hint at a racially toned resentment. ‘Obama,’ he writes, ‘strikes at the heart of our deepest insecurities.’ ‘I think that Obama is everything that the American meritocracy values at a time when a lot of us feel like the American meritocracy doesn’t value very much about us at all,’ he explains. ‘It is just sort of like everything about him. He’s like the American ideal at the very moment that we feel like we’re the opposite of the American ideal.’ He adds: ‘The natural question that comes – especially in the modern political context as part of that – is the fact he has black skin. I think for some people that’s definitely part of it. But I continue to think the racial explanation of the reaction to Obama doesn’t quite capture how much everything about him is both enviable but also dislikable. Because we dislike the things that we envy.’” (Paul Lewis, “Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: ‘We Dislike The Things We Envy,’” *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

**Vance Said That Trump Was More Relatable Than Obama, Because Obama “Talks In A Way That A Professor Talks” While “Trump Talks Like A Guy At A Bar In West Virginia.”** “There is an arrogance to Obama’s demeanour, he adds, that makes him especially difficult to relate to. ‘He talks in a way that a professor talks, he talks in a way that you sort of aspire to talk if you’re a young law student. Trump talks like a guy at a bar in West Virginia. Trump talks like my dad sitting around the dinner table.’” (Paul Lewis, “Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: ‘We Dislike The Things We Envy,’” *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

### **Democratic-Socialist Bernie Sanders**

**In 2019, Vance Said His Three Favorite Democrats In Order In Terms Of Policy Outcomes Were Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, And Tulsi Gabbard.** VANCE: “So I did this event at the Yale Federalist Society recently where they asked me for my three favorite Democrats purely in terms of policy outcomes. And I said in order, Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Tulsi Gabbard.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 26:24-26:48)

**Vance: “And The Reason Is That, One, I Think Those Are The Three Candidates Who Are The Least Crazy On The Cultural Issues In The Democratic Party And Two, I Think Those Are The Candidates Least Likely To Start A Stupid War In The Democratic Party.”** ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 26:24-26:48)

**Vance Said That Three Years Before His 2019 Comments, He Said If Sanders Ran Against Trump In 2020, Sanders Would Win.** VANCE: “I think I said this publicly three years ago that I thought Trump would run against Bernie in 2020 and I thought if he did, Bernie would win. I think that’s a real possibility.” ([The American Conservative YouTube Channel](#), 6/5/19, 31:25-31:35)

**In 2017, Vance Claimed That Trump Was Part Of A Political Realignment, Predicting That “In 20 Years” Trump And Sen. Bernie Sanders Would Be In The Same Party, While Paul Ryan And Hillary Clinton Would Be In A Different Party.** “This writer pressed Vance on how to gauge the Trumpian upheaval that has gripped the capitol and filled airports and public squares with protesters this past week. Vance described an ongoing conversation with Michael Lind, cofounder of the New America Foundation, and a contributor to Politico. ‘He argued something that earned a lot of scorn and a lot of derision, but he said basically what we’re witnessing is a political realignment, which we haven’t seen since the 1930s,’ Vance explained. Then came this jawdropper: ‘In 20 years, Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders will be in the same party. And in 20 years, Hillary Clinton and Paul Ryan will be in the same party. I think that is very, very interesting and that shift will be a big part of where we go over the next 20 or 30 years.’ During the Indiana presidential primary, Hoosiers witnessed both Trump and Sanders insisting that the economic and political systems were ‘rigged.’ Both used the Carrier and United Technology job flight to Mexico as evidence. But on the ideological spectrum, they were approaching the vortex seemingly 180 degrees apart.” (Brian Howey, “Trump Ushers In A Political Realignment,” *Journal Review*, 2/4/17)

### **Joe Biden**

**In 2016, Vance Said Biden “Could Have Done A Lot Better” Than Hillary Clinton.** LEMON: “And I misspoke. That was July. That wasn't today. So what's the issue there and would Biden have done a better you think?” VANCE: “I think Biden could have done a lot better because he at least recognized that there's a lot of pain in these communities and what the vice president said there is very true, that a lot of voters feels so ignored that there was a relatively low bar. All they wanted was somebody who recognized that they were struggling and who really sold a political agenda, a political narrative that was tailored to them. Trump was the only guy that did that this election cycle.” (CNN’s “CNN Tonight,” 11/9/16)

### ***GOP Donors – Commentary***

**In 2020, Vance Complained That The Republican Party Was “In The Pocket Of Major Corporate Interests.”** “VANCE: Well, if you step back a little bit from our current debates, one of the things that’s pretty obvious is that the Republican Party has been for far too long in the pocket of major corporate interests. That’s true in the think tank world in D.C., it’s true for a lot of major Republican politicians. And I think the Republicans have just so forgotten that there are real economic, real social challenges in this country that needs to be solved, that they’re comfortable with just doing whatever the mainstream media says that they should be doing, instead of actually fighting back in a real and substantive way. Really, the story of the past 30 or

40 years of American politics, unfortunately, is that in their own different ways, the left and the right have both found themselves effectively preaching that they're standing up for the middle class, when in reality, they're just standing up for corporate interests. And so unfortunately, I think the answer to your question is Republicans have just gotten used to not solving real problems, to not legislating, to not doing the things that they're supposed to be doing as political leaders. And this is almost the most important point here, Tucker, if you look at the average American, black, white, brown, whatever, they're very sensible. They want common sense solutions. They recognize that something is pretty broken about our current system. It's fundamentally a problem of leadership that we're not talking about the biggest issues that confront us as a country. And so, you know, unfortunately, that falls on Republicans just as much as it does with Democrats." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 6/18/20)

**In 2020, Vance Claimed Pressure From Donors Prevented Many Conservatives From Supporting Economically Populist Policies.** "The specter of 'the donors' hangs over many private conversations among conservative intellectuals these days. The donors who provide an overwhelming share of the capital to conservative campaigns and institutions have quite literally gotten rich off of the "Washington consensus" of neoliberalism and globalization. Accordingly, there are things you're not allowed to say— about tax rates, the social value of financial engineering, and the size of government, especially—and things you must say—also about tax rates, the social value of financial engineering, and the size of government. Any departures from orthodoxy must be qualified—'this doesn't mean we're for big government'—if the check writers might see or hear." (JD Vance, "End the Globalization Gravy Train," *The American Mind*, 4/21/20)

**In 2019, Vance Said That Republican Party Leaders Had Not Recognized That They Were Now The Party Of Blue Collar Workers Rather Than The "Elites."** VANCE: "Well, at a big level, the Democratic Party increasingly represents professional class elites." CARLSON: "Yes." VANCE: "And Republicans represent middle and working class wage earners in the middle of the country. Now, I will say, I think Democratic leaders kind of get this. If you look at the big proposals from the 2020 Democratic Presidential candidates – universal child care, debt free college, even Medicare-for-All, which is framed as this lurch to the left, but is really just a big handout to doctors, physicians, pharmaceutical companies and hospitals. They sort of get they are the party of the professional class and a lot of their policies are geared towards making life easier for professional class Americans. The problem I have is that my party, the Republican Party hasn't quite figured out that we basically inherited a big chunk of the old FDR coalition. The middle of the country, working in middle class, blue collar folks sort of people who work, pay their taxes, send their kids to military. That's increasingly the base of the Republican Party, but the Republican donor elites are actually not aligned with those folks in a lot of ways and so there is this really big mismatch, big picture within the Republican Party." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 7/4/19)

**Vance Questioned Whether The Republican Party Had Done "Anything" For Its Base Of Blue Collar Workers In The Last 20 Years.** VANCE: "Now, look at who Republican voters increasingly are. They are people who disproportionately serve in the military, but Republican foreign policy has been a disaster for a lot of veterans. They are disproportionately folks who want to have more children. They are people who want to have more single earner families. They are people who don't necessarily want to go to college but they want to work in an economy where if you play by the rules, you can you actually support a family on one income." CARLSON: "Yes." VANCE: "Have Republicans done anything for those people really in the

last 15 or 20 years? I think can you point to some policies of the Trump administration. Certainly, instinctively, I think the President gets who his voters are and what he has to do to service those folks. But at the end of the day, the broad elite of the party, the folks who really call the shots, the think tank intellectuals, the people who write the policy, I just don't think they realize who their own voters are." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 7/4/19)

- **Vance: "I Just Don't Think They Realize Who Their Own Voters Are. Now, The Slightly More Worrying Implication Is That Maybe Some Of Them Do Realize Who Their Voters Are, They Just Don't Actually Like Those Voters Much."** (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 7/4/19)
- **Vance: "The People Who Spend Their Time In D.C. Who Work On Republican Campaigns, Who Work At Conservative Think Tanks, Now This Isn't True Of Everybody, But A Lot Of Them Actually Don't Like The People Who Are Voting For Republican Candidates These Days."** (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 7/4/19)

**In 2018, Vance Criticized "Republican Elites" For Seeking To Make The Party More Moderate On Social Issues When The Republican Base Was Growing More Socially Conservative.** VANCE: "You've got more and more working-class voters voting for Republicans, like I said, more and more wealthy Suburbanites voting for Democrats. And – and to me, what – what's ultimately causing that is that those voters are incredibly socially progressive, meaning those wealthy Suburbanites are socially progressive. And what you hear consistently from Republican elites is that we need to moderate on the social issues and – and chart a really libertarian course on the economic issues. And if you actually listen to Republican voters, what they're saying is something like the opposite. They're socially conservative." (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 11/23/18)

- **Vance: "They Like The President's Views On Immigration, They Like The President's Views On Abortion. What They Want Us To Do Is Stop Hemorrhaging Jobs To Folks Overseas. They Want Us To Win Trade Wars Against Mexico And, Especially, The Chinese."** (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 11/23/18)

**Vance: "And That Agenda Is Ultimately, I Think, Where Republican Success In The Future Lies...Republican Elites Have To Accept That Fact. And – And I Think, You Know, We Should Be Proud Of The Coalition That We Have And Try To Build On It As Opposed To Being Ashamed Of That Fact."** (Fox News' "Tucker Carlson Tonight," 11/23/18)

**In 2016, Vance Complained That The Republican Party Had Given The White Working Class Nothing But "The Basic Republican Policy Platform Of Tax Cuts, Free Trade, Deregulation, And Paeans To The Noble Businessman And Economic Growth."** "The two political parties have offered essentially nothing to these people for a few decades. From the Left, they get some smug condescension, an exasperation that the white working class votes against their economic interests because of social issues, a la Thomas Frank (more on that below). Maybe they get a few handouts, but many don't want handouts to begin with. From the Right, they've gotten the basic Republican policy platform of tax cuts, free trade, deregulation, and paeans to the noble businessman and economic growth. Whatever the merits of better tax policy and growth (and I believe there are many), the simple fact is that these policies have done little to address a very real social crisis." (Rod Dreher, "Trump: Tribune Of Poor White People," [The American Conservative](#), 7/22/16)

- **Vance: “These Policies Are Culturally Tone Deaf: Nobody From Southern Ohio Wants To Hear About The Nobility Of The Factory Owner Who Just Fired Their Brother.”** (Rod Dreher, “Trump: Tribune Of Poor White People,” [The American Conservative](#), 7/22/16)

### *Libertarians – Commentary*

**In 2019, Vance Wrote An Op-Ed For *First Things* Titled “Beyond Libertarianism.”** (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Beyond Libertarianism,” [First Things](#), July 2019)

**In 2019, Vance Complained That Conservatives Had “Outsourced” Domestic Policy To Libertarians, And Should Be More Willing To Use Government Power To Intervene In The Economy.** “The Vermont Democrat doesn’t talk like that anymore. But many of the other arguments on offer at the National Conservatism Conference wouldn’t sound out of place at a Bernie 2020 rally — warnings about the dangers of military adventurism, the crushing weight of student debt, and the corrosive effects of corporate greed. J.D. Vance, the author of ‘Hillbilly Elegy,’ lamented that conservatives had ‘outsourced’ their domestic policy to libertarians — too readily embracing the idea that we should accept whatever outcomes the market produces. Conservatives, he suggested, shouldn’t put up with outcomes that pull families apart and harm children. And they should ‘be willing to use politics and political power’ to get better results — shedding their traditional aversion to government intervention in the economy.” (David Scharfenberg, “The Conservative Spring,” *Boston Globe*, 9/8/19)

- **Vance: “What I Worry About Is That We Have Outsourced, In The Conservative Movement, Our Economic And Our Domestic Policy Thinking To The Libertarians.”** (JD Vance, Speech to National Conservatism Conference, 7/1/19)

### *Conservative Media – Commentary*

**In 2016, Vance Questioned Whether The Right Would “Get Less Racialized And More Populist And Appealing? Or Will It Become More Like Breitbart?”** “‘How it all plays out depends on political leadership,’ Vance said. ‘Will it get less racialized and more populist and appealing? Or will it become more like Breitbart? It all depends on how leaders adapt, and what’s ahead is really murky.’” (Karen Tumulty and Robert Costa, “Win Or Lose, Trumpism May Be Here To Stay In The GOP,” [The Washington Post](#), 8/19/16)

**Vance Criticized *Breitbart* For Publishing Stories That Barack Obama Is A Foreign Terrorist.** VANCE: “I think we also have to be a little introspective about the fact that that's not all that's going on. When people read Breitbart every single day and convince themselves that Barack Obama is a foreign terrorist, that is not a problem of government. That is a problem of community failure and we have to recognize that.” (Isaac Chotiner, “A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.,” *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance Also Said That “Institutions Of Conservative Media Have Existed For A Long Time But They Haven't Taken Quite The Conspiratorial Tone That They Have Over The Past Four Or Five Or Maybe 10 Years.”** “But the opinion you just described is essentially bigotry, and bigotry existed well before Breitbart. The institutions of conservative media have existed for a long time but they haven't taken quite the conspiratorial tone that they have over the past four or five or maybe 10 years. This willingness, for example, to believe that 9/11 is an inside job, to even give credibility to somebody like Alex Jones, to believe that Barack is a foreign alien-I don't think that has as much to do with racism, especially the 9/11 inside-job talk, as it does with

a fundamental mistrust of institutions that people used to believe in. Is there a racial element to it? Absolutely, but there's something about, Why don't people believe what the media tells them anymore?" (Isaac Chotiner, "A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.," *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance Said If Trump Inevitably Lost, "The Worst Impulses Of The Conservative Media Will Gain Even More Power And The White Working Class Will Become More Racially Resentful."** "Option two is that after Trump loses, Breitbart and the worst impulses of the conservative media will gain even more power and the white working class will become more racially resentful. I think it leads us to a permanently angry white underclass and I obviously don't want that to happen." (Isaac Chotiner, "A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.," *Slate*, 8/25/16)

**Vance Said The Failure Of The Left To Stop Criticizing The White-Working Class As Racist Would "Push Them Toward The Breitbarts Of The World."** "I think that the left has a role to play here because I think if you look at these communities and you say, the only thing that's going on here is that they're racially resentful and they're finally getting the candidate who reflects their racism, I think you're going to push people further away. I think you're going to take the people in my community who don't have a racist bone in their body and you're going to continue to push them toward the Breitbarts of the world. Yes, there is some racial anxiety, yes there is some explicit racism, but there's also some very real cultural and social isolation going on. Those people we can appeal to, those people we can bring back into the fold. That's going to produce a much better political conversation than the one we're having now." (Isaac Chotiner, "A Conversation With Hillbilly Elegy Author J.D. Vance.," *Slate*, 8/25/16)

### ***Campaign Notes - 2018 Campaign***

**In A 2017 Interview, Vance Demurred When Asked About Parallels Between His Early Strides And Those Of President Obama—including An Ivy League Law Degree And A Memoir—Claiming It Was "Hard For [Him] To Imagine" Running For Office.** "They also happen to be strikingly similar steps taken by Obama during his earliest strides into politics. He, too, followed an Ivy League law degree with a foray into nonprofit work – in his case, in Chicago – and a memoir. *Dreams of My Father* that wrestled with similar themes of family and racial identity and was published shortly before Obama ran for Illinois state senate in 1996. When I point out the parallels, Vance shakes his head and demurs. 'I definitely don't see myself as doing that,' he says. 'It is in some ways hard for me to imagine myself running for office, because the book was so raw. There are a lot of F-words in it.'" (Paul Lewis, "Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: 'We Dislike The Things We Envy'," *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

**"But A Few Moments Later, He Adds: 'You Know, You Mention A Parallel To President Obama. Maybe He Didn't Think That Either, Right? Maybe Opportunities Just Presented Themselves And He Went Forward With Them?'"** (Paul Lewis, "Hillbilly Elegy Author JD Vance On Barack Obama: 'We Dislike The Things We Envy'," *The Guardian*, 1/25/17)

**In 2017, Vance Said That He Was Interested In Public Service, But Said "I Haven't Done Anything To Enable Me To Run For Office."** "Last year, Vance attended about a dozen Lincoln Day dinners across the state, said Jai Chabria, a public relations strategist and former top adviser to Gov. John Kasich. Chabria formed Our Ohio Renewal with Vance. Vance said that he's never hidden that he is interested in public service. But he said, 'I haven't done anything to enable me to run for office.'" (Mark Ferenchik, "Well-Traveled Author Finds Home In City," *Columbus Dispatch*, 7/31/17)

**In September 2017, Vance Decided Against Running For Senate.** “J.D. Vance, author of the bestselling memoir *Hillbilly Elogy*, strongly considered seeking the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate in Ohio next year, but has decided against a run, he said Thursday. Vance, whose book describes his drugaddicted mother and absentee father in unsparing detail, concluded a run for office would put too much strain on his young family. His wife, Usha, a clerk to U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts, recently gave birth to their first child.” (Molly Ball, “Hillbilly Elogy Writer Won’t Seek Office,” *The Atlantic*, 9/14/17)

**Vance: “I Felt Like I Had To Take A Serious Look At It Because I Care About The Direction Of The Party, And People I Respect Encouraged Me To Run ... But It Would Have Been An Objectively Bad Call For My Family.”** “‘I felt like I had to take a serious look at it because I care about the direction of the party, and people I respect encouraged me to run,’ Vance told me. ‘But it would have been an objectively bad call for my family.’” (Molly Ball, “Hillbilly Elogy Writer Won’t Seek Office,” *The Atlantic*, 9/14/17)

**“Vance Commissioned A Poll That Tested His Viability In The Republican Primaries For Both Governor And Senate.”** (Molly Ball, “Hillbilly Elogy Writer Won’t Seek Office,” *The Atlantic*, 9/14/17)

**“He Was Particularly Concerned That His Opposition To Trump Would Turn Off Base GOP Voters.”** (Molly Ball, “Hillbilly Elogy Writer Won’t Seek Office,” *The Atlantic*, 9/14/17)

**In January 2018, Ohio Treasurer Josh Mandel Abruptly Dropped Out Of The 2018 Ohio Senate Race, Citing Unspecified Health Issues With His Wife.** “Republican Ohio Treasurer Josh Mandel announced Friday his withdrawal from the race for U.S. Senate. Mandel, largely considered the Republican front-runner, cited an unspecified health issue with his wife, Ilana, as the primary reason. ‘After recent discussions with our family and healthcare professionals, it has become clear to us that it’s no longer possible for me to be away from home and on the campaign trail for the time needed to run a US Senate race,’ Mandel said in a written statement. ‘Therefore, I’m writing today to let you know that I am ending my campaign for US Senate in order to be there for my wife and our three children.’” (Seth A. Richardson, “Mandel Drops Out Of Senate Race Ohio Politics,” *Plain Dealer*, 1/6/18)

**Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell Urged Vance To Run For Senate After Mandel Dropped Out.** “Top Senate Republicans have quietly reached out to J.D. Vance – the star author of ‘Hillbilly Elogy’ – about running for Senate in Ohio after the abrupt withdrawal of GOP candidate Josh Mandel last week. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) has spoken with Vance about a potential bid, according to three sources familiar with the discussions. Mandel announced on Friday that he would exit from the Ohio Senate race – one of the more high-profile battles in the 2018 midterm elections – due to his wife’s health issues. McConnell has told associates that he would prioritize the race if Vance jumps in.” (Kevin Robillard, “Hillbilly Elogy’ Author Vance Urged To Run For Senate,” *Politico*, 1/9/18)

**A Vance Ally Said Vance Was Seriously Considering Running For Senate, “Many Ohio Leaders And People” Wanted Vance To Run “Because They Know He Has The Best Message Against Sherrod Brown In November.”** “Gibbons, a Cleveland investment banker, may face a GOP challenge from U.S. Rep. Jim Renacci, R-Wadsworth, who is currently running for governor, and J.D. Vance, the bestselling author of ‘Hillbilly Elogy.’ Jai Chabria, a former aide to Ohio Gov. John Kasich and close ally of Vance, said Vance is seriously considering running for the GOP nomination in the U.S. Senate race. ‘It has been amazing how many Ohio

leaders and people who have an interest in the Senate race want J.D. to run because they know he has the best message against Sherrod Brown in November,' Chabria said." (Lynn Hulsey, "Republican Hopes Cash Delivers Message," *Dayton Daily News*, 1/11/18)

**Republican Strategists Questioned Vance's Chances In A Primary, Pointing To Questions About His Residency, His Past Comments About Donald Trump, And His Policy Positions.**

"But Washingtonbased Republicans said the combined issues might haunt Vance. Barry Bennett, a GOP political consultant, said, 'Washington seems to be absolutely his primary residence. I don't know what address he claims in Ohio, but he's not living there.' If Vance decides to get in the Senate competition, he would battle businessman Mike Gibbons and U.S. Rep. Jim Renacci, R-Wadsworth, for the GOP nomination. The Republican nomination became up for grabs last week when state Treasurer Josh Mandel bowed out because of health problems involving his wife. 'Not living in Ohio is the first violation,' said one Republican strategist. 'But he also has attacked the president, taken the wrong position on guns and works at a hedge fund. It makes him sound more like Evan Bayh than someone Ohio Republicans are looking for.'" (Jessica Wehrman, "Author's Candidacy Tainted, Other Republicans Say," *Columbus Dispatch*, 1/12/18)

**"Not Living In Ohio Is The First Violation,' Said One Republican Strategist. 'But He Also Has Attacked The President, Taken The Wrong Position On Guns And Works At A Hedge Fund. It Makes Him Sound More Like Evan Bayh Than Someone Ohio Republicans Are Looking For.'" (Jessica Wehrman, "Author's Candidacy Tainted, Other Republicans Say," *Columbus Dispatch*, 1/12/18)**

**In January 2018, Vance Declined Overtures From Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell To Run For Senate, Saying It Was "Not A Good Time."** "'Hillbilly Elegy' author J.D. Vance will not challenge U.S. Rep. Jim Renacci in the Republican race for U.S. Senate. Vance, 33, of Columbus, was being courted by Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell to run in the Republican primary, but ultimately decided against a bid. Renacci, who jumped into the race after a meeting at the White House, was endorsed Friday by the Ohio Republican Congressional Delegation. Ultimately, President Donald Trump's pick won out over McConnell's. 'Thanks to everyone who encouraged me to run, but it's just not a good time,' Vance wrote on Twitter." (Jessie Balmert, "Author Vance Won't Run For U.S. Senate," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 1/20/18)

**"J.D. Vance Said In A Tweet Friday He's Busy With Investment Work, A Nonprofit He Started To Help Address Ohio's Opioid Crisis, And A Young Family. So, He Wrote, "Count Me Out Of Politics For Now."** ("Hillbilly Elegy' Author Decides Against Senate Run In Ohio," *The Associated Press*, 1/19/18)

**Vance: "I Thought Seriously About Running In August 2017, But Decided That The Time Was Awful For My Young Family. Some Things Have Changed Since Then, But Not Enough To Make Running A Good Idea."** (Randy Ludlow, "'Not A Good Time' To Run, Author Says," *Columbus Dispatch*, 1/20/18)



## PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL

### *Legal Career Notes*

#### Bar Records

**In 2013, Vance Was Admitted To The Kentucky Bar Association.** ([Kentucky Bar Association Website](#), Accessed 5/5/21)

**Vance Is An Active Member.** ([Kentucky Bar Association Website](#), Accessed 5/5/21)

**Vance Has No Record Of Public Discipline.** ([Kentucky Bar Association Website](#), Accessed 5/5/21)

#### Clerk Tenure

**After Law School, Vance Clerked In Northern Kentucky.** “I did decide that I wanted to clerk. But instead of walking into the process blindly, I came to know what I wanted out of the experience—to work for someone I respected, to learn as much as I could, and to be close to Usha. So Usha and I decided to go through the clerkship process together. We landed in northern Kentucky, not far from where I grew up. It was the best possible situation. We liked our judicial bosses so much that we asked them to officiate our wedding.” (J.D. Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy*, p. 219-220)

**In The Acknowledgments Of *Hillbilly Elegy*, Vance Thanks Judge David Bunning.** “I’ve been fortunate, too, to have mentors and friends of incredible ability, each of whom ensured that I had access to opportunities I simply didn’t deserve. They include: Ron Selby, Mike Stratton, Shannon Arledge, Shawn Haney, Brad Nelson, David Frum, Matt Johnson, Judge David Bunning, Reihan Salam, Ajay Royan, Fred Moll, and Peter Thiel. Many of these folks read versions of the manuscript and provided critical feedback.” (J.D. Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy*, p. 267)

**Bunning Has “Shown A Willingness To Make Decisions That Put Him At Odds With Conservatives.”** “Judge Bunning has shown a willingness to make decisions that put him at odds with conservatives and he is no stranger to fierce controversies — none fiercer than the case of Kim Davis, the Rowan County clerk who says her religious beliefs prohibit her from sanctioning same-sex marriage. When Ms. Davis stopped issuing marriage licenses after the Supreme Court ruling in June that legalized same-sex marriage, Judge Bunning ordered her to resume, and she refused.” (Richard Pérez-Peña, “Judge Who Jailed Kentucky Clerk Is No Stranger To Controversy,” [The New York Times](#), 9/3/15)

**In 2003, Bunning Ordered A Rural School System To Allow The Gay-Straight Alliance To Meet On School Grounds And Oversaw The Legal Settlement That Included Anti-Harassment Sessions For The System’s Students.** “Long before he ordered a county clerk to jail on Thursday for refusing to issue same-sex marriage licenses, David L. Bunning first drew attention as a federal judge for a ruling on gay rights. In 2003, he ordered the school system of rural Boyd County, Ky., to allow a student group, the GayStraight Alliance, to meet on school grounds. He later oversaw a legal settlement that included anti-harassment sessions for the system’s students.” (Richard Pérez-Peña, “Judge Who Jailed Kentucky Clerk Is No Stranger To Controversy,” [The New York Times](#), 9/3/15)

**“In 2007, Sitting Temporarily On The Sixth Circuit Court Of Appeals, He Was Part Of A Three-Judge Panel That Unanimously Struck Down A Michigan Law Banning The Procedure That Abortion Opponents Call Partial-Birth Abortion.”** (Richard Pérez-Peña, “Judge Who Jailed Kentucky Clerk Is No Stranger To Controversy,” [The New York Times](#), 9/3/15)

**In 2015, Judge Bunning Ordered Kim Davis, The Rowan County Clerk Who Stopped Issuing SameSex Marriage Licenses Over Her Religious Beliefs, To Resume Issuing The Licenses.** “Judge Bunning has shown a willingness to make decisions that put him at odds with conservatives and he is no stranger to fierce controversies — none fiercer than the case of Kim Davis, the Rowan County clerk who says her religious beliefs prohibit her from sanctioning same-sex marriage. When Ms. Davis stopped issuing marriage licenses after the Supreme Court ruling in June that legalized same-sex marriage, Judge Bunning ordered her to resume, and she refused.” (Richard Pérez-Peña, “Judge Who Jailed Kentucky Clerk Is No Stranger To Controversy,” [The New York Times](#), 9/3/15)

**In September 2015, Bunning Found Davis In Contempt For Defying The Court And Ordered Her Held In Jail.** “On Thursday, Judge Bunning found Ms. Davis in contempt for defying the federal court and ordered her held in jail. ‘Her good faith belief is simply not a viable defense,’ the judge, wearing a bow tie, said from the bench. He noted that, ‘I myself have genuinely held religious beliefs,’ but added that he took an oath of office to uphold the law.” (Richard Pérez-Peña, “Judge Who Jailed Kentucky Clerk Is No Stranger To Controversy,” [The New York Times](#), 9/3/15)

### **Sidley Austin**

**Vance Worked At Sidley Austin In Washington, D.C.** VANCE: “No, I didn’t. I actually, I did spend a little bit of time at Sidley Austin in D.C., though.” ([Hugh Hewitt Show](#), 8/8/16)

**In 2014, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of Purdue Pharma For \$40,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 4/27/21)

**In 2015, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of Purdue Pharma For \$160,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 4/27/21)

**In 2020, Purdue Pharma, The Maker Of OxyContin, Agreed To Plead Guilty To Criminal Charges Related To The Marketing Of The Painkiller And Face Penalties Of \$8.3 Billion.** “Purdue Pharma, the maker of OxyContin, has agreed to plead guilty to criminal charges related to its marketing of the addictive painkiller, and faces penalties of roughly \$8.3 billion, the Justice Department announced on Wednesday. The settlement could pave the way for a resolution of thousands of lawsuits brought against the company for its role in a public health crisis that has killed more than 450,000 Americans since 1999. The company’s owners, members of the wealthy Sackler family, have agreed to pay \$225 million in civil penalties. Prosecutors said the agreement did not preclude the filing of criminal charges against Purdue executives or individual Sacklers.” (Jan Hoffman and Katie Benner, “Purdue Pharma Pleads Guilty To Criminal Charges For Opioid Sales,” [The New York Times](#), 10/21/20)

**In A 2017 Op-Ed, Vance Targeted OxyContin.** “Partially because of the high costs of those clinical trials, and partially because of the larger dynamics of the American health-care market, the development costs of new pharmaceuticals are extremely high. By some estimates, the cost of developing a new drug reaches as high as \$2 billion. Yet the benefits of owning a popular drug are astronomical: Last year, the highest-selling drug in the United States netted more than

\$10 billion in revenues. This creates a conundrum for drug developers: how to maximize blockbuster new therapies without paying the skyhigh costs of drug development. In practice, this has created a remarkable incentive for big drug companies to repackage already tested and marketed therapies. And there are a variety of strategies pharmaceutical companies employ: They can seek extended patent protection for their blockbuster drugs, apply old drugs to new disease indications, or develop new formulations or delivery mechanisms. This latter strategy led directly to the nation's most famous prescription opioid: OxyContin." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers," [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

**Vance Noted That Purdue Pharmaceuticals' Claims About OxyContin Were "Bogus" And Was The Subject Of Lawsuits Across The Country.** "OxyContin, or 'Oxy' as it's often known, was sold by Purdue Pharmaceuticals and promised 'smooth and sustained pain control all day and night.' Its active ingredient is an old, cheap narcotic. Though Purdue had developed a technique to delay the full release of the drug's payload, its claims about all day relief were bogus — so bogus, in fact, that Purdue was fined about \$600 million in 2006 and is now a defendant in lawsuits all over the country." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers," [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

**Vance Noted That Then-Attorney General Mike DeWine Sued Purdue And Other Companies And "Correctly" Argued The Companies "Misled Doctors And Their Patients About The Potential For Opioid Abuse."** "Indeed, Ohio Attorney General Mike DeWine recently initiated one such lawsuit against Purdue and other pharmaceutical companies. In the suit, DeWine correctly argues that drugmakers misled doctors and their patients about the potential for opioid abuse." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers," [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

**Vance Wrote That Purdue Acted "Unethically."** "Why was Purdue ever legally permitted to market these drugs as nonaddictive, all-day pain relievers? Purdue certainly acted unethically, and may have even acted illegally, but our legal system places one significant barrier between companies like Purdue and the American consumer: the FDA." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers," [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

**Vance Also Wrote That The Problems With OxyContin Were Evident "Almost Immediately."** "With Oxy, evidence of its potential problems arose almost immediately. A single dose, for instance, promised to relieve pain for 12 hours. But about half of the enrollees in OxyContin's first clinical trial required additional medication before their 12 hours elapsed, according to one report. And despite the potential for addiction that any narcotic opioid possesses, Purdue never tested the drug as a six- or eight-hour pain reliever before selling it. The FDA never required that testing, and the rest is history: OxyContin became one of the most successful pharmaceutical products in the country, a number of other prescription opioids followed it onto the market, and America's consumption of opioid pain medications skyrocketed." (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, "FDA Overlooked Danger Of Painkillers," [The Columbus Dispatch](#), 10/11/17)

**In 2014, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of The Alibaba Group For \$50,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 4/27/21)

**In 2015, Sidley Austin LLP Lobbied On Behalf Of The Alibaba Group For \$10,000.** ([Center For Responsive Politics Website](#), Accessed 4/27/21)

**In 2020, Alibaba, A Chinese Company Which Operates E-Commerce Platforms, Was Named By Secretary Of State Mike Pompeo As A Company Pompeo Urged American Companies To Remove From Their Digital Networks.** “Alibaba hasn't yet been threatened with the same kinds of sanctions that US President Donald Trump has proposed or levied against other Chinese tech firms. And Trump has even spoken fondly of company founder Jack Ma, calling him a ‘friend of mine’ earlier this year after the Chinese billionaire said he would donate supplies for fighting the coronavirus pandemic. But the company is on the minds of US officials. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo name-checked Alibaba last week when he urged American companies to remove ‘untrusted’ Chinese-owned technology from their digital networks. ... Alibaba, which did not respond to requests for comment for this story, operates widely popular e-commerce platforms, mostly available in China and other Southeast Asian markets. It also started Alipay, one of the most dominant payment apps in China alongside Tencent's WeChat Pay.” (Sherisse Pham, “After Tiktok And Wechat, Alibaba Could Be The Next Target In Trump's Tech War,” [CNN Business](#), 8/13/20)

**In 2015, Sidley Austin LLP Represented Kaisa Group Holdings, A Chinese Real Estate Firm That Was Probed Over Alleged Links To A Former State Official Involved In A Graft Investigation.** “The Shenzhen government is holding talks with several property developers to orchestrate investments in troubled real estate firm Kaisa Group Holdings Ltd. (01638.HK), Bloomberg News reported, citing unnamed sources. Kaisa is under probe over alleged links to Jiang Zunyu, the former security chief of the southern Chinese city who was taken into custody in a graft investigation. The company failed to make a US\$23 million coupon payment, due Jan. 8, on its US\$500 million of 2020 dollar bonds, putting it at risk of becoming the first mainland developer to default on US currency debt. ... Moelis & Co. is in talks with several Kaisa noteholders, while law firm Kirkland & Ellis LLP is representing holders of its convertible debentures. Kaisa has hired Sidley Austin LLP to advise on debt restructuring.” (“Shenzhen Govt Holds Talks With Potential Kaisa Investors,” [EJ Insight](#), 1/23/15)

**In 2015, Rick Boucher, A Partner At Sidley Austin, Testified Before Congress In Favor Of Net Neutrality.** “Statement of Rick Boucher Partner Sidley Austin, LLP Committee on House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Communications and Technology February 25, 2015 Chairman Walden, Ranking Member Eshoo, other distinguished members of the subcommittee. I very much appreciate the committee's invitation to return to these familiar surroundings and share with you my thoughts on the best way to preserve network neutrality. From the time of our first debates on this issue a decade ago, I have been an outspoken advocate and strong supporter of net neutrality principles and worked with Senator Markey, Congresswoman Eshoo and others to enshrine those principles in statute. I believed then, as I believe now, that ensuring an open network is essential to maintaining the Internet as a vibrant medium of commerce and free expression, of education and healthcare delivery. The Internet is the most versatile and efficient communications medium yet devised, and it opens the door for instant information and entertainment availability. To keep it that way, I'm here today to urge the committee to develop a narrow bipartisan legislative measure that gives statutory permanence and an assured legal foundation to network neutrality.” (Rick Boucher, Congressional Testimony, House Energy And Commerce Committee, 2/25/15)

**In 2015, Sidley Austin Filed An Amicus Brief With The Supreme Court On Behalf Of Former Military Officials Saying The Patchwork Of Marriage Laws Around The Country Hurt Military Families And Threatened National Security.** “The most influential friend-of-the-court brief in living memory was filed by a group of retired military officers in a 2003 affirmative action case. When the case was argued, the justices echoed the brief’s argument that military preparedness would be threatened if service academies could not ensure a diverse officer corps. Justice Sandra Day O’Connor’s majority opinion, allowing race-conscious admissions at public universities, quoted at length from the brief. The law firm that filed the brief, now called Sidley Austin, has filed a new one by former military officials in the same-sex marriage cases to be heard next week. Their message this time is that the patchwork of marriage laws around the country hurts military families and threatens national security.” (Adam Liptak, “In Brief To Justices, Former Military Officials Support Same-Sex Marriage,” [The New York Times](#), 4/20/15)

### ***Notable Residency History***

#### **Vance Was Only A Part-Time Resident Of Ohio Through 2017**

**Prior To Moving Back To Ohio, Vance Lived In San Francisco – The “Antithesis Of His Home Town Of Middletown.”** “Vance lives in San Francisco — the antithesis of his home town of Middletown — where he works as a principal in an investment group co-founded by Peter Thiel, one of the few Silicon Valley poo-bahs to support Trump. But he and his wife, Usha, are moving to Columbus, most likely by the end of the month. There, he plans to run a small nonprofit organization ‘to work on battling the opioid crisis and bringing durable capital to the region,’ he says. ‘I never wanted to be a public intellectual or a talking head. I actually care about solving some of these things.’” (Karen Heller, “‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Made J.D. Vance The Voice Of The Rust Belt. But Does He Want That Job?,” *The Washington Post*, 2/6/17)

**In 2016, Vance Wrote About His Weekend In San Francisco And His And His Friends’ “Tasty Brunches, Day Trips To Wine Country, Art-Gallery Tours,” Calling It A “Perfectly Normal Day, By San Francisco Standards.”** “A few Saturdays ago, my wife and I spent the morning volunteering at a community garden in our San Francisco neighborhood. After a few hours of casual labor, we and the other volunteers dispersed to our respective destinations: tasty brunches, day trips to wine country, artgallery tours. It was a perfectly normal day, by San Francisco standards.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Opioid Of The Masses,” *The Atlantic*, 7/4/16)

**A 2017 Interview Described Vance’s Home At The Time As San Francisco.** “Now, though, speaking from his present home in San Francisco, Vance has a message for Red America: as depressing as the postelection liberal meltdown has been, don’t write off the Blues and their fears. ‘If it’s hard for Blue America to see Red America as anything other than a bunch of dumb, racist rednecks, it’s hard for Red America to recognize that many minorities are legitimately worried about what a Trump presidency means for their family,’ he says. ‘You can believe that many of the election protesters are hysterical and irrational while also accepting that many of your fellow citizens have legitimate concerns with a Trump presidency.’” (Rod Dreher, “Hillbilly Energy: J.D. Vance And The Forces That Elected Trump,” *The American Conservative*, 1/1/17)

**In January 2017, Vance Announced His Intention To Relocate From San Francisco To Columbus, Choosing The Capital City Over Cincinnati.** “Columbus has won the J.D. Vance sweepstakes. The ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ author announced on Tuesday he will relocate from San Francisco to Columbus, choosing the Ohio capital over Cincinnati as his new home base for

building upon the success of his bestselling memoir about growing up poor in Ohio. The announcement came about a month after Vance, 31, revealed his plans to return to Ohio, where he hopes to search for solutions to some of the problems he wrote about in his book, including family trauma, the opioid epidemic and a broken educational pipeline to gainful employment. Vance succeeded despite coming from a community that struggled with those obstacles, graduating from Yale Law School and becoming a principal at the Silicon Valley venture capital firm Mithril Capital Management, an improbable journey for a poor kid from the decaying industrial city of Middletown between Dayton and Cincinnati.” (Dave Ghose, “J.D. Vance Will Move To Columbus,” *Columbus Monthly*, 1/2017)

**In January 2017, Vance Began Renting An Apartment In Columbus’s German Village While Usha Vance “Established A Second Home Base In Washington.”** “Adding to the complexity of their transition, Usha became pregnant last fall. ‘We both really wanted to have a kid, and we were willing to endure whatever sacrifices were necessary,’ Vance says. He took a rental apartment in German Village last January, and Usha established a second home base in Washington with her mother.” (Suzanne Goldsmith, “Profile: ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Author J.D. Vance,” *Columbus Monthly*, November 2017)

**Vance In 2017: “I’ve Long Worried Whether I’ve Become A Part Of This Problem. For Two Years, I’d Lived In Silicon Valley, Surrounded By Other Highly Educated Transplants With Seemingly Perfect Lives.”** “And when we’re surrounded by polarized, ideologically homogeneous crowds, whether online or off, it becomes easier to believe bizarre things about them. This problem runs in both directions: I’ve heard ugly words uttered about ‘flyover country’ and some of its inhabitants from well-educated, generally well-meaning people. I’ve long worried whether I’ve become a part of this problem. For two years, I’d lived in Silicon Valley, surrounded by other highly educated transplants with seemingly perfect lives. It’s jarring to live in a world where every person feels his life will only get better when you came from a world where many rightfully believe that things have become worse. And I’ve suspected that this optimism blinds many in Silicon Valley to the real struggles in other parts of the country. So I decided to move home, to Ohio. It wasn’t an easy choice. I scaled back my commitments to a job I love because of the relocation. My wife and I worry about the quality of local public schools, and whether she (a San Diego native) could stand the unpredictable weather.” (J.D. Vance, Op-Ed, “Why I’m Moving Home,” *The New York Times*, 3/16/17)

**In September 2017, *The Washington Post* Described Vance As “A Venture Capitalist Living In Washington.”** “Another large crowd at the Main Stage greeted J.D. Vance, author of “Hillbilly Elegy,” last year’s breakout memoir of a rough and ragged rural Ohio upbringing. Also interviewed by Rubenstein, Vance was funny and self-deprecating though somewhat circumspect when it came to exploring what writing the book had meant to him and what plans he might have in its wake. Now a venture capitalist living in Washington, he was asked by Rubenstein if he would consider a run for public office.” (Joe Heim, “At National Book Festival, Divergent American Stories,” [The Washington Post](#), 9/2/17)

**In October 2017, Vance Was Splitting His Residence Between Columbus And Silicon Valley.** “Vance, who splits his residence between Columbus and Silicon Valley, said Central Ohio exemplifies Case’s thesis about middle-market cities.” (Carrie Ghose, “Steve Case, J.D. Vance Stop In Columbus During Venture Capital Bus Tour,” *Columbus Business First*, 10/13/17)

**Vance Was Also “Shuttling Between Washington And A Home In Columbus, Ohio” As His Wife Was A Clerk To U.S. Chief Justice John Roberts.** “Vance, a Republican who works at a venture capital firm, vowed to keep the talk ‘strictly nonpartisan and viewpoint-neutral, which is hard to do these days,’ he said to laughter from the audience. But his book has folks asking if he intends to enter politics. ‘I don't think so, at least not anytime soon,’ said Vance, whose wife, Usha, is a clerk to U.S. Chief Justice John Roberts, which has him shuttling between Washington and a home in Columbus, Ohio. ‘The honest answer is, you never say never.’” (Michael Paul William, “The American Dream Seems To Be Eroding, Author Says,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 10/17/17)

**Vance Was Characterized As A “Part-Time Columbus Resident.”** “Columbus' entrepreneurial community is ‘at least starting the discussion,’ America Online co-founder Steve Case said in last week's Columbus stop of his Rise of the Rest bus tour. He and partner J.D. Vance, author and part-time Columbus resident, heard from a panel of groups working to attract veterans, minorities and low-income workers to the industry.” (Carrie Ghose, “Want To Increase Diversity In Tech? Reach Out And Invite More People In,” *Columbus Business First*, 10/17/17)

**“Though Cincinnati Is Closer To His Hometown, Vance Chose Columbus For Its More Convenient Airport, Central Location And Availability Of Promising Job Opportunities For His Wife, Usha, A Lawyer And Fellow Yale Law School Graduate.”** (Dave Ghose, “J.D. Vance Will Move To Columbus,” *Columbus Monthly*, 1/2017)