

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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August 25, 2025

Mr. Tom Homan  
Border Czar  
U.S. Department of Homeland Security  
2707 Martin Luther King Jr. Avenue, SE  
Washington, DC 20528

Dear Mr. Homan:

According to published reports, prior to serving as the Trump Administration's "Border Czar," you worked as a paid consultant for GEO Group, a major detention services provider and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) contractor that has already significantly benefited from the Trump Administration's immigration crackdown and the recent massive infusion of tens of billions of dollars into ICE.<sup>1</sup> Recently, media outlets reported that you played a key role in the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) hiring of David Venturella, a former GEO Group executive who now serves as the "No. 2 official overseeing the ICE division that manages contracts for immigrant detention centers."<sup>2</sup> As Border Czar, you are responsible for implementing the Administration's policy of mass roundups and detention—a policy that depends heavily on the operators of private detention facilities, including GEO Group.<sup>3</sup> However, your past work as a paid consultant for GEO Group and your involvement in the hiring of Mr. Venturella raise serious concerns about potential conflicts of interest in this arrangement.

Your February 2025 ethics disclosure states that you worked as a consultant for GEO Group's GEO Care division, which provides rehabilitation and electronic monitoring services, in

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<sup>1</sup> See Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *Trump's Border Czar Earned Consulting Fees from Immigrant Detention Firm*, WASH. POST (May 27, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/05/27/border-czar-ethics-consulting-fees/>; Erkki Forster, *Trump Border Czar's Cash-In With Key ICE Contractor Unmasked*, THE DAILY BEAST (May, 27, 2025), <https://www.thedailybeast.com/trumps-border-czar-tom-homan-profited-from-top-ice-contractor-before-white-house-gig/>; Laura Romero, *Top private prison companies see profits amid administration's immigration crackdown*, ABC NEWS (Aug. 12, 2025), <https://abcnews.go.com/US/top-private-prison-companies-profits-amid-administrations-immigration/story?id=124591009>.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *The Former Private Prison Exec Behind ICE's Immigrant Detention Surge*, WASH. POST (Aug. 1, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/08/01/ice-david-venturella-geo-immigration-detention/>.

<sup>3</sup> See Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *Trump's Border Czar Earned Consulting Fees from Immigrant Detention Firm*, WASH. POST (May 27, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/05/27/border-czar-ethics-consulting-fees/>; Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *The Former Private Prison Exec Behind ICE's Immigrant Detention Surge*, WASH. POST (Aug. 1, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/08/01/ice-david-venturella-geo-immigration-detention/>.

the two years prior to joining DHS.<sup>4</sup> The filing, which was recently published by Bloomberg News but has not been made available for public inspection by the Office of Government Ethics,<sup>5</sup> reveals that you made at least \$5,000—the minimum threshold for disclosure—for your work on behalf of GEO Group.<sup>6</sup> In addition to your work with GEO Group, you also worked as a consultant for USA Up Star LLC, a disaster response company, to advise them on how to explore an expansion into immigration detention,<sup>7</sup> and served as President of Homeland Strategic Consulting LLC, which provides “around-the-clock guidance and subject-matter expertise” to private companies seeking business development and contracting opportunities with state and federal governments—putting you in a position to potentially reward several of your former clients.<sup>8</sup>

The “One Big Beautiful Bill Act,” signed into law in July 2025, allocates a whopping \$170 billion over four years for border and interior immigration enforcement, which is “more than the yearly budget for all local and state law enforcement agencies combined across the entire United States.”<sup>9</sup> In particular, the bill allocates \$75 billion to ICE over four years, \$45 billion of which will be used to build new immigration detention centers, including family detention centers.<sup>10</sup> ICE’s fiscal year 2025 budget, at \$28.7 billion, is triple its fiscal year 2024 budget.<sup>11</sup> As a commentator noted, this massive infusion of cash will create enormous pressure for ICE to rush to spend its full allocation of funds, which will likely result in large amounts of funding flowing to private contractors such as your recent former client, GEO Group.<sup>12</sup>

As Border Czar, you are uniquely positioned to help your former business client reap a huge windfall from the Trump Administration’s spending on immigration enforcement and ICE’s

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<sup>4</sup> According to the *Washington Post*, Mr. Homan’s ethics statement was released by DHS and lists his position as “Border Czar, Department of Homeland Security”—contrary to how he has described his chain of command in media interviews. See Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *Trump’s Border Czar Earned Consulting Fees from Immigrant Detention Firm*, WASH. POST (May 27, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/05/27/border-czar-ethics-consulting-fees/>.

<sup>5</sup> U.S. Off. of Gov’t Ethics, Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure Report (OGE Form 278e): Thomas D. Homan (Feb. 10, 2025), <https://assets.bwbx.io/documents/users/iqjWHBFdfxIU/rvaFrW4votQ/v0>.

<sup>6</sup> Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *Trump’s Border Czar Earned Consulting Fees from Immigrant Detention Firm*, WASH. POST (May 27, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/05/27/border-czar-ethics-consulting-fees/>.

<sup>7</sup> Rachel Adams-Heard, Sophie Alexander & Fola Akinnibi, *Trump’s ICE Camps Turn To Contractors With No Detention Experience*, BLOOMBERG NEWS (Aug. 15, 2025), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2025-08-15/trump-s-ice-camps-turn-to-contractors-with-no-detention-experience>.

<sup>8</sup> Naomi Lachance, *Incoming Trump Border Czar’s Firm Brags About Helping Companies Get Contracts*, ROLLING STONE (Dec. 30, 2024), <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/trump-border-tom-homan-firm-federal-contracts-1235219657>.

<sup>9</sup> Margy O’Herron, *Big Budget Act Creates a ‘Deportation Industrial Complex’ That Will be Hard to Dismantle*, JUST SECURITY (Aug. 6, 2025), <https://www.justsecurity.org/118072/budget-bill-deportation-industrial-complex>.

<sup>10</sup> *What’s in the Big Beautiful Bill? Immigration and Border Security Unpacked*, AM. IMMIGR. COUNCIL (July 14, 2025), <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/fact-sheet/big-beautiful-bill-immigration-border-security>.

<sup>11</sup> Margy O’Herron, *Big Budget Act Creates a ‘Deportation Industrial Complex’ That Will be Hard to Dismantle*, JUST SECURITY (Aug. 6, 2025), <https://www.justsecurity.org/118072/budget-bill-deportation-industrial-complex>.

<sup>12</sup> *What’s in the Big Beautiful Bill? Immigration and Border Security Unpacked*, AM. IMMIGR. COUNCIL (July 14, 2025), <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/fact-sheet/big-beautiful-bill-immigration-border-security>.

massive budget.<sup>13</sup> Since taking office, you have called for expanding ICE's detention capacity to "at least 100,000 beds" in order to accommodate individuals swept up through the Trump Administration's ongoing mass deportation efforts.<sup>14</sup> To implement this expansion, ICE is working closely with private prison companies, including GEO Group.<sup>15</sup> Over the past eight months, DHS has awarded GEO Group multiple new government contracts.<sup>16</sup> These contracts include a 15-year contract valued at \$1 billion to provide support services for the establishment of a federal immigration processing center at GEO Group's Delaney Hall Facility in Newark, New Jersey;<sup>17</sup> a contract for the immediate activation of a federal immigration processing center at GEO Group's North Lake Facility in Baldwin, Michigan;<sup>18</sup> and a \$47 million contract to expand GEO Group's Folkston detention center in southeast Georgia.<sup>19</sup> GEO Group has also said that it expects ICE to issue contracts for its remaining vacant facilities by the end of this year.<sup>20</sup>

GEO Group may also benefit from ICE's plan to sharply increase the number of immigrants it surveils using GPS-enabled ankle monitors.<sup>21</sup> Last month, the agency awarded BI Inc., a GEO Group subsidiary, a one-year extension to its immigrant ankle-monitoring contract.<sup>22</sup> That decision delayed a competitive bidding process that could have dislodged GEO Group's control of the lucrative business.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, public reporting has indicated that ICE's plan to

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<sup>13</sup> *ACLU FOIA Documents Revealing ICE Capacity, Contracts with GEO Group, Inc.*, ACLU (May 8, 2025), <https://www.aclu.org/documents/aclu-foia-documents-revealing-ice-capacity-contracts-with-geo-group-inc-2>

<sup>14</sup> Marianne LeVine, Douglas MacMillan & Silvia Foster-Frau, *Private Prison Firms Prepare to Reopen Closed Facilities to Hold Immigrants*, WASH. POST (Feb. 28, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/2025/02/28/ice-detention-private-prison-newark/>; Alexandra Berzon, Allison McCann & Hamed Aleaziz, *Private Prisons are Ramping Up Detention of Immigrants and Cashing In*, N.Y. TIMES (Mar. 7, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/03/07/us/politics/private-prisons-immigrants-detention-trump.html>; Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *Trump's Border Czar Earned Consulting Fees from Immigrant Detention Firm*, WASH. POST (May 27, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/05/27/border-czar-ethics-consulting-fees/>.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*

<sup>16</sup> Advanced Search, USA SPENDING, <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=bf9877fcabde7964da0935810bc37c8c> (last accessed May 28, 2025).

<sup>17</sup> Amanda Hernandez, *For-profit Immigration Detention Expands as Trump Accelerates His Deportation Plans*, SOURCE NEW MEXICO (Apr. 11, 2025), <https://sourcenm.com/2025/04/11/for-profit-immigration-detention-expands-as-trump-accelerates-his-deportation-plans/>.

<sup>18</sup> Press Release, GEO Group, *The GEO Group Reports First Quarter 2025 Results* (May 7, 2025), <https://investors.geogroup.com/news-releases/news-release-details/geo-group-reports-first-quarter-2025-results>.

<sup>19</sup> Douglas MacMillan, *ICE Approves Georgia Immigrant Detention Center Following DOGE Review*, WASH. POST (June 6, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/06/06/ice-doge-georgia-detention/>.

<sup>20</sup> Marianne LeVine, Douglas MacMillan & Silvia Foster-Frau, *Private Prison Firms Prepare to Reopen Closed Facilities to Hold Immigrants*, WASH. POST (Feb. 28, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/2025/02/28/ice-detention-private-prison-newark/>.

<sup>21</sup> Douglas MacMillan & Silvia Foster-Frau, *ICE Moves to Shackle Some 180,000 Immigrants with GPS Ankle Monitors*, WASH. POST (July 24, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/2025/07/24/ice-check-in-ankle-monitor-immigrants/>.

<sup>22</sup> Douglas MacMillan & Aaron Schaffer, *The Former Private Prison Exec Behind ICE's Immigrant Detention Surge*, WASH. POST (Aug. 1, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2025/08/01/ice-david-venturella-geo-immigration-detention>.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*

increase the number of immigrants wearing GPS ankle monitors could generate hundreds of millions of dollars in added annual revenue for GEO Group.<sup>24</sup>

The increasing reliance on GEO Group by ICE is particularly troubling given the well-documented history of abuse, mismanagement, and neglect within the company's facilities. Over the years, there have been reports of GEO Group facilities refusing or failing to provide essential medical care,<sup>25</sup> as well as the presence of dangerous and unsanitary conditions and "abysmal" food within detention centers.<sup>26</sup> Earlier this year, four inmates at the GEO Group-run Delaney Hall facility in Newark, New Jersey, successfully escaped from ICE custody after they broke through the facility's internal and external walls.<sup>27</sup> According to immigration groups, the escape occurred following a riot at the detention facility over the food situation and other intolerable conditions.<sup>28</sup> Similar conditions have also been reported at GEO Group's Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma, Washington. According to human rights groups, guards at the Tacoma facility "have been so overworked that they have delivered food close to midnight and have failed to provide yard time or disburse funds sent by their families to buy food, hygiene products and make phone calls."<sup>29</sup> They also reported that detainees were being placed in solitary confinement if they complained about conditions at the facility.<sup>30</sup>

In light of these grave concerns and your past work for GEO Group, you may have an actual conflict of interest—and certainly the appearance of one—if you are participating in or influencing agency decisions or actions that could affect the spending of hundreds of millions or even billions of dollars with your former client. Accordingly, please confirm that you have recused yourself from all matters that could directly or indirectly benefit GEO Group, including through the award, writing, and execution of federal contracts.

Furthermore, as the House Judiciary Committee has broad jurisdiction over immigration issues and DHS, we request that you provide the following to the Committee no later than 5:00 p.m., September 8, 2025:

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<sup>24</sup> *Id.*

<sup>25</sup> Vanessa Stine & Sarah Paoletti, *Why We Filed a Federal Complaint Over Unnecessary and Cruel Immigration Detention at Moshannon Valley*, ACLU (July 23, 2024), <https://www.aclupa.org/en/news/why-we-filed-federal-complaint-over-unnecessary-and-cruel-immigration-detention-moshannon>.

<sup>26</sup> McKenzie Funk, *An ICE Contractor Is Worth Billions. It's Still Fighting to Pay Detainees as Little as \$1 a Day to Work*, PROPUBLICA (Mar. 19, 2025), <https://www.propublica.org/article/geo-group-ice-detainees-wage>.

<sup>27</sup> Mike Catalini, *4 Detainees Have Escaped from an Immigration Detention Center in Newark, New Jersey, DHS Says*, Assoc. Press (June 13, 2025), <https://apnews.com/article/immigration-detention-center-newark-new-jersey-delaney-hall-cf1e9043626136c46b5b67aeda2e9183>.

<sup>28</sup> Ricardo Kaulesar & Hannan Adely, *Newark Detention Center Unrest by Detainees Over Inadequate Food, Say Advocates*, NORTHJERSEY.COM (June 13, 2025), <https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/2025/06/13/newark-delaney-hall-disturbance-over-insufficient-food-conditions/84149361007/>.


<sup>29</sup> Miriam Jordan & Jazmine Ulloa, *Concerns Grow Over Dire Conditions in Immigration Detention*, N.Y. TIMES (June 28, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/06/28/us/immigrant-detention-conditions.html>.

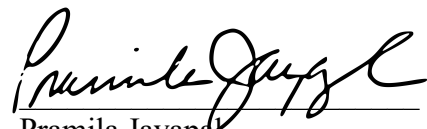
<sup>30</sup> *Id.*

1. An itemized list of all Homeland Strategic Consulting LLC's clients from January 21, 2021, to January 19, 2025, including a description of the services rendered and the amount they paid for these services;
2. A full accounting of all financial benefits you have received from GEO Group, directly or indirectly, from January 21, 2021, to present;
3. Copies of all communications between you or your staff and the employees of any former consulting clients described in Item No. 2 above, from January 20, 2025, to the present;
4. All consultation records, waivers, ethics authorizations, or other agreements pertaining to your participation in matters involving the GEO Group or any other former client for whom you provided consulting services;
5. Copies of all communications between you or your staff and David Venturella; and
6. A copy of any communications, including emails, you have sent or received since January 20, 2025, discussing or referencing GEO Group's operations and/or federal contracts.

We look forward to your prompt compliance to these important oversight requests.

Sincerely,

  
Jamie Raskin  
Ranking Member

  
Pramila Jayapal  
Ranking Member  
Subcommittee on Immigration Integrity,  
Security, and Enforcement

  
Jasmine Crockett  
Ranking Member  
Subcommittee on Oversight

cc: The Honorable Jim Jordan, Chairman

The Honorable Mike McClintock, Chairman  
Subcommittee on Immigration Integrity, Security, and Enforcement

The Honorable Jeff Van Drew, Chairman  
Subcommittee on Oversight