

Every year, corps members have protected our forests and built and maintained trails so that many of us can enjoy the outdoors.

When the Nation calls, the California Conservation Corps answers far beyond the borders. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina in Louisiana and Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico, the California Conservation Corps answered the call for mutual aid by sending crews to support post-disaster recovery. If there is a flood, if there is a fire, look to the levees, look to the forest, and you will find the California Conservation Corps. It has a rich and well-deserved history.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back in honoring the California Conservation Corps's 50th anniversary.

CONDEMNING ACTORS SEEKING TO DEFRAUD THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AND EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THAT GOVERNMENTWIDE FRAUD AND IMPROPER PAYMENT PREVENTION REFORMS WILL MEANINGFULLY IMPROVE THE FINANCIAL PROSPERITY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THAT FEDERAL PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY SHOULD BE VERIFIED BEFORE PAYMENT

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 1345, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 1335) condemning actors seeking to defraud the United States Government, and expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that governmentwide fraud and improper payment prevention reforms will meaningfully improve the financial prosperity of the United States, and that Federal program eligibility should be verified before payment, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 1345, the resolution is considered read.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 1335

Whereas fraud and improper payments in Federal agency programs is an unsustainable national fiscal emergency;

Whereas the Comptroller General of the United States documented in 2025 that the Federal Government has improperly paid about \$3,000,000,000,000 since 2003 where payments should not have been made or were made incorrectly;

Whereas the measured governmentwide improper payment rate has increased from the prior year, with the Comptroller General of the United States recently reporting that in fiscal year 2025 Federal agencies reported approximately \$186,000,000,000 in estimated improper payments, an increase of about \$24,000,000,000 from fiscal year 2024 documented improper payments;

Whereas the Comptroller General of the United States also estimates that, based on data from 2018 to 2022 the Federal Government loses between \$233,000,000,000 and \$521,000,000,000 annually to fraud across all Federal programs and operations;

Whereas each one of these fraudulently spent tax dollars is taken at the expense of a hard-working American;

Whereas, based on the Comptroller General's estimate of the average annual amount of fraud losses, between \$1,000 to \$3,000 a year represents the average American tax filer's share of the Federal Government's total fraudulent spending;

Whereas fraud and improper payments have long been a concern for Congress, pandemic-era spending programs exposed the vulnerability of Federal agencies to criminals and malicious actors who had not previously targeted United States Government programs;

Whereas, between March 2020 and March 2021, Congress enacted a series of six laws providing over \$4,600,000,000,000 in Federal funds to mitigate the economic and public health impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, with Congress appropriating over \$2,700,000,000,000 for these purposes in the first four months of the pandemic alone;

Whereas the unprecedented expansion of government programs, changes to program eligibility requirements, an influx of government spending, and lack of commensurate and adequate fraud prevention and financial management capabilities, created a perfect scenario for existing program and payment integrity weaknesses to be exploited;

Whereas, in total, while the true extent of pandemic relief fraud may never be known, the Comptroller General of the United States observes that "hundreds of billions of dollars in potentially fraudulent payments were disbursed";

Whereas fraud in Federal programs delays and prevents individuals who legitimately need services, as Congress intended in establishing such programs, from receiving them;

Whereas fraud in Federal programs severely undermines the public's trust in the government causing unquantifiable additional damage to the United States;

Whereas trust has further been eroded as specific fraud schemes have been uncovered through recent congressional, Federal, and local investigations;

Whereas significant fraud risks exist in programs that are federally funded and administered by State, territorial, and local agencies;

Whereas the ongoing investigation by the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform of the House of Representatives of fraud in Minnesota's social services programs has highlighted real examples of fraud schemes that stole billions of dollars from federally funded programs, taking advantage of severely lacking State level program integrity and agency oversight functions;

Whereas the ongoing investigation by the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform of the House of Representatives of fraud in California's federally funded hospice programs, including providers potentially overbilling Medicare and enrolling beneficiaries without their knowledge, raises valid concerns that California lacks sufficient internal controls to detect and prevent fraud and is not conducting proper oversight of these hospice programs;

Whereas the ongoing investigation by the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform of the House of Representatives of fraud in Medicaid personal care services authorized by Home and Community-Based Services (HCBS) waivers, including providers potentially improperly billing Medicaid or billing for services that were never provided, raises valid concerns of significant fraud in HCBS Medicaid waiver programs in Ohio and other States across the country;

Whereas a March 4, 2026, interim report by the Majority staff of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform of the House

of Representatives found that Minnesota Governor Tim Walz and Minnesota Attorney General Keith Ellison "were aware of widespread fraud in federally funded social services programs for years, possessed the legal and procedural authority to stop payments, but repeatedly failed to act";

Whereas the same March 4, 2026, report found that senior officials in the Governor Walz's office and Attorney General Ellison's office were "aware of credible fraud concerns in Minnesota's social services programs as early as 2019 within the Department of Human Services (DHS) and by April 2020 within the Department of Education (MDE), despite later public statements by Governor Walz suggesting otherwise";

Whereas, based on these investigations, the House of Representatives has observed that State agencies have little incentive to ensure that Federal funds are spent efficiently, or appropriately, and frequently prioritize program access over payment integrity;

Whereas, based on these investigations, the House of Representatives has observed that State agencies overly rely on the self-attested compliance and reimbursement claims of providers and service enrollees, leaving these programs highly susceptible to fraud;

Whereas the Comptroller General of the United States has also documented how mechanisms of misrepresentation by criminals and malicious actors, such as document manipulation, false declarations, and creating fictitious entities, leave Federal programs open to significant fraud risk when they rely on recipient self-attestation to determine award eligibility and payment verification;

Whereas, in response to the rampant fraud identified in several States, the Trump administration established the Task Force to Eliminate Fraud through Executive Order 14395 (91 Fed. Reg. 13485; relating to establishing the Task Force to eliminate fraud), issued on March 16, 2026;

Whereas the Task Force to Eliminate Fraud is empowered to coordinate a national strategy to stop fraud, waste, and abuse, as rooted in a proper focus on fraud prevention rather than recovery, a critical shift in approach identified through the ongoing investigations by the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform of the House of Representatives, subcommittee hearings, and legislation favorably reported to the House of Representatives;

Whereas, in March 2026, Federal prosecutors charged eleven individuals, including two foreign nationals, in a major real estate and loan ringtons preying on elderly victims in California;

Whereas, between March 25, 2026, and April 15, 2026, the Task Force to Eliminate Fraud suspended nearly 450 California-based hospice and home health providers due to suspected fraud, with estimated fraud exceeding \$600,000,000;

Whereas, in April 2026, the Department of Justice secured a guilty plea from a California-based provider who submitted nearly \$270,000,000 in fraudulent Medicaid claims;

Whereas the Task Force to Eliminate Fraud suspended \$1,400,000,000 in home health and hospice funding nationwide, with 90 percent of the suspended providers failing to contact the Federal Government since payments were suspended;

Whereas the White House Task Force to Eliminate Fraud uncovered \$6,300,000,000 in suspected fraudulent government contracts, resulting in an immediate investigation into nearly 400 businesses;

Whereas, on April 17, 2026, the Department of Justice announced that in the first week since its establishment, the National Fraud Enforcement Division exposed over \$340,000,000 in fraudulent schemes;

Whereas the Department of Justice has also discovered that \$250,000,000 meant for a child nutrition program was instead spent on luxury cars and overseas real estate holdings;

Whereas, between April 26, 2026, and May 13, 2026, the Secretary of Education blocked \$60,000,000 in fraudulent student loan applications following the launch of a risk assessment tool to screen Federal student aid applications for fraud;

Whereas conducting award recipient eligibility determinations and payment verification prior to issuing awards and payments is the primary policy reform needed to address the national fiscal emergency related to fraud and improper payments in Federal agency programs; and

Whereas the House of Representatives in response to such emergency has expedited the drafting and consideration of governmentwide fraud prevention and improper payment reforms: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) condemns the fraudulent actions of those seeking to defraud the United States Government;

(2) believes governmentwide fraud and improper payment prevention legislative and policy reforms will meaningfully improve the continued financial prosperity of the United States Government and the American taxpayer; and

(3) believes Federal program eligibility and spending activities should be verified prior to payments being issued.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution shall be debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform or their respective designees.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS) and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WALKINSHAW) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the measure under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, we are facing a national emergency of fraud in Federal programs that is impacting all Americans. We have watched and been very sad to see the deficit that keeps rising in this country, but it also comes from fraud, whereby money that was spent by the Federal Government is given to people who did not earn and are not entitled to those resources.

According to the Government Accountability Office, the GAO, the Federal Government is estimated to lose between \$233 billion and \$521 billion annually to fraud against all Federal programs and operations.

This means that the average American taxpayer spends between \$1,000 and \$3,000 annually just to line the pockets of fraudsters and criminals.

While vulnerable Americans are robbed of benefits, these programs are designed to provide things that we have authorized them for, and they are being stolen. They are being taken advantage of.

It is time that Congress makes sure that the American public understands the true extent of the problem so that Congress can be empowered to enact bold legislation to address fraud in programs.

Mr. Speaker, our chairman, JAMES COMER, chairman of the Oversight and Government Reform Committee, listed it as one of the priorities not just for this Congress but for the American people to know that Congress is doing their job. They are doing their job to not only approach and attack this problem, but they are going to make sure that the American people have a clear viewpoint of where this happened, why it is happening, and what Congress intends to do about it.

As a result of my serving as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Operations, I have held six hearings where we investigated and looked at not only how and why this happened, but the real question is: What is Congress doing in the Federal Government to make sure that they stop this issue by addressing it?

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a link to a report that was issued by the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, which is titled: "The Cost of Doing Nothing: How Tim Walz and Keith Ellison Fueled Minnesota's Fraud Explosion." <https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2026/06/MN-Fraud-Final-Staff-Report.pdf>

Mr. Speaker, the cost of doing nothing means that we allow it to continue. That is why we are on the floor today, to give the American people a clear answer of not only what happened and how it happened, but also who is responsible for these actions.

□ 0920

I would assume, based upon what I have seen over the last few weeks, that our friends who are Democrats will come to this floor and vote "no." They want to act like they deny what is happening. Yet, during every single one of these hearings, our friends showed up and were very critical and really asked thoughtful questions. They asked questions of how and why and what we are going to do. Today is an opportunity where we will lay out that story for the American people and say this is a national disgrace.

What we are bringing with H. Res. 1335 today will make clear to the American people, from the United States Congress, what we would like to have every single Member understand and vote for because it impacts every single congressional district.

As the father of a disabled young man, a Down syndrome young man, I will tell you that the benefits that my son or others who are disabled count on

the Federal Government to be able to properly provide to them, as provided by law, the things that they are entitled to, many other people not only come and make claims that are not true but devise a process by which to take money away from those who it was designed to help.

In every State across the country, fraud in Federal programs has run rampant. That is why you have seen, based upon not just us ringing the bell to let people know, but really the media also speaking up about this national disgrace. It has allowed Governors and people who run local agencies to relook at who they are and what their agencies are doing. It has caused, all across this country, people to go look for these types of circumstances to make sure it is not in their backyard. That is also why we are here today. We will provide a flashlight, a guiding light, to show people what has happened, how it happened, and what we need to do about it.

The Oversight Committee has taken decisive action in this investigation. They have taken time to understand the fraud. They have taken time to make sure they have looked at those actors behind this, what were the reasons why this happened, and who is responsible. It will provide a guiding light for States and counties and cities all across this country to make sure that it is not a disgrace that is being placed upon them.

These programs needed to be highlighted. They needed the review. They needed the light of day. They needed to know the story. That is exactly what this report is.

This report is factually based with data, information, and things that every Member should be willing to support. This is a resolution. It is not changing the law. It is saying we are going to say to the American people: On our watch, these things happened.

I think that it is important to note that there will be things that are uncomfortable. There are things that are uncomfortable that happened.

I don't want to sit here today and just point a finger at any particular person, but you go where the story goes.

The Oversight Committee's investigation into Minnesota social services programs uncovered \$9 billion that was potentially stolen by fraudsters. This was very interesting, Mr. Speaker, because it was a systematic understanding of how people went about this, how people turned a blind eye to not only the things that were happening but perhaps even abetted and helped these people to sustain this fraud ring that went on against their own people.

The facts of the case are, the media has showed up, investigators have showed up, and so did our investigators. We had investigators go to places who were receiving millions and millions of dollars which was done across a wide range of things. In Minnesota, it

was \$9 billion. The money that was stolen by these criminals was taxpayer money. They were taxpayer dollars that were placed there for the benefit of the people in Minnesota. I think that we should have an outrage by the people and those Members of Congress from Minnesota. They should show up here and say: Thank you for helping us. We are not going to go to fight anymore. We are going to go to fix.

That is what this does. This gives a roadmap to not just Members of Congress and not just the media. The American people will get the story, see how it happened and who turned a blind eye to doing their job.

The money that was stolen by these criminals were taxpayer dollars intended to feed children, educate children, take care of those who may have a disability, help low-income seniors, help veterans, and help people who look to the Federal Government.

Our votes here say yes, we want these Federal programs. Yet, the people closest to the action, the people responsible, those who were elected, those with oversight responsibility, those who have prosecutorial responsibilities, those who had a job to be a part not just of the American way of doing business but a part of what our democracy is, turned a blind eye to the facts, reality, and the things that were going on right underneath their noses.

Meanwhile, senior State officials, including the Governor and the Attorney General, both former colleagues of ours who distinguished themselves in this body, were aware of this widespread fraud for years.

Mr. Speaker, that is a story in and of itself. These officials possessed the legal and prosecutorial authority to stop fraud payments but repeatedly failed to not only hear the warnings but to act against those who were whistleblowers. They retaliated against those who did bring that to them.

This is something that needs to be available for every Governor in every State and territory. When you ignore doing your job, there are people who will pay attention. There are questions that will be asked, and there is going to be some sort of review.

I will tell you, the American people are tired. They are tired of people in elected places who will turn a blind eye to not just the responsibility but with the knowledge that this was intended for maybe someone in their family, certainly someone in their community.

When we talk about education, disability payments, poor people, helping widows, helping veterans, that is the story that is being told today.

In April of this year, Federal authorities raided more than 20 locations in Minnesota as part of the ongoing Federal investigation. This included the Quality Learning Center. The self-named Quality Learning Center, was a so-called childcare center with no children being found, yet millions of dollars being sucked down by fraudsters. Fraud in Minnesota became just the tip

of the iceberg in this instance as we saw.

Whether it is widespread fraud in California in the hospice system or fraud in the Medicare waiver program in Ohio or New York, it is clear that our local, elected officials, who have the responsibility, need to pay attention to the clear warnings that are being made.

The Trump administration has taken decisive action to combat fraud, waste, and abuse by establishing the White House Task Force to Eliminate Fraud.

Since March, the task force has uncovered hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of fraud just in the State of California, including other government contracts that should go to women, children, veterans, and people with disabilities.

H. Res. 1335, sponsored by the gentleman from Texas Congressman PAT FALLON and those on the subcommittee and committee, emphasize that these schemes across the country harm the American taxpayer and the vulnerable recipients who expect to receive them. Congress must condemn these actions and make sure they are available.

□ 0930

I encourage each of the Members who will be voting today to understand the real need of what we are doing here today. It is more than just a Paul Revere call to action. It is an actual story about how local people turned a blind eye, retaliated against those who came and provided feedback, and then did nothing and waited until billions of dollars were wasted.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that what I am doing here today is giving an open invitation to all the Members of this body to come and see this for what it is. It is available to them. It is something that everyone has seen the story.

The question is: Will we today, openly, as a body, understand that this is something that happened in their backyard or could be in their backyard, and they need to use this story. Today, an "aye" vote will do just that.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Let me be clear: Fraud in Federal programs is a real problem. It diverts money meant for children, seniors, and working families into the pockets of criminals. Every dollar lost to fraud is a dollar that didn't feed a hungry child, didn't help a disabled veteran, didn't reach the people that this Congress intended to help.

Democrats and Republicans have a long history of working together to stamp it out. We should continue to do that, and I thank the gentleman from Texas. I know he is sincere in his commitment to address this issue, but this resolution turns what should be a bipartisan effort into a partisan political attack that points the finger only at Democratic-led States and Governors

while pretending the problem does not exist in Republican-led States.

The gentleman said we should follow the story, but this resolution is an incomplete story. It doesn't go where the story goes. Let's talk about some of the story that this resolution leaves out.

Mississippi has a Republican Governor, Tate Reeves. In the largest public fraud case in that State's history, more than \$77 million was stolen from the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, or TANF, program, money meant for some of the poorest families in America. It was diverted to professional athletes, horse farms, and a volleyball complex.

An audit found tens of millions in misspent Federal funds, and some of that money ended up in the pockets of Trump endorser and outspoken MAGA Republican Brett Favre, who took taxpayer dollars for speaking arrangements and never showed up. He pocketed the taxpayers' money and never showed up.

In December of 2024, Mississippi was ordered to repay \$101 million in misspent welfare money. That State's Republican-controlled legislature has done nothing to address that fraud and corruption. As of today, they are sitting on \$145 million in unallocated TANF funds with no real plan.

This resolution names Governor Walz and A.G. Ellison and mischaracterizes what has happened in Minnesota. It says nothing about Governor Reeves, who was directly implicated in the coverup of the fraud.

Let's continue to follow the story of Oklahoma and Alabama. According to Federal data, these two States, led by Republican Governors, lead the Nation in SNAP fraud. They lead the Nation. It is not Minnesota, not New York, not New Jersey, not Maryland. It is Oklahoma and Alabama. This resolution is silent in both cases.

In Florida, Federal prosecutors recently arrested a Russian national accused of submitting billions of dollars in fraudulent Medicare and Medicaid claims through a Texas-based supplier and funneling millions overseas.

Governor DeSantis in Florida just reappointed a University of Florida board of trustees member who faces Federal charges for defrauding the government of financial aid funds. In Florida, there is not accountability for fraudsters. There are board positions.

In Tennessee, Republican State Senator Brian Kelsey was convicted of conspiracy to defraud the United States. The good news is he was sentenced to 21 months in prison. The bad news is President Trump pardoned him 15 days after he began serving that sentence.

The former Republican speaker of the Tennessee House and his chief of staff were convicted together in a public corruption case. President Trump pardoned them both, too. This resolution calls for accountability for those who steal from Federal programs.

In 2025, alone, President Trump issued pardons or commutations to 25

people convicted of fraud—wire fraud, securities fraud, tax fraud, bank fraud, healthcare fraud. Those pardons deprived fraud victims of more than a billion dollars in restitution they were owed. Americans had a billion dollars stolen from them, and they are not getting it back because President Trump pardoned the criminals.

This resolution doesn't mention it.

Another State that I don't think is in the resolution is New York, and there has been some fraud in New York. A gentleman by the name of Donald J. Trump was found liable by a New York court for a decade of business fraud, inflating his net worth and values to deceive banks and insurers. The same gentleman in the State of New York was convicted by a jury of his peers—12 jurors—of 34 felony counts of falsifying business records, fraud. The same gentleman also indicted by a Federal grand jury for conspiracy to defraud the United States.

President Trump pardoned convicted fraudsters, fired 19 inspectors general who collectively uncovered over \$50 billion in fraud and waste in a single year. He defunded a nonpartisan training program that prepares the next generation of Federal fraud investigators.

You can't claim to be serious about preventing fraud, whether you have a task force or not, while you are dismantling the institutions built to catch people who commit fraud.

Mr. Speaker, I support robust, bipartisan efforts to prevent fraud in Federal programs. On the Oversight Committee, Democrats and Republicans have worked together to do that, but this resolution isn't that.

I will quote a former U.S. attorney who spent his career prosecuting the healthcare fraud that is rampant in Mississippi, not mentioned in the resolution. He said: Whether a provider or beneficiary is willing to commit fraud has nothing to do with where they live or which party governs their State.

If my colleagues truly want to fight fraud, I invite them to join me in condemning Mississippi, Oklahoma, Alabama, and Florida with the same energy they brought to fraud in other States. I invite them to condemn the pardons in 2025 that let convicted fraudsters walk free. I invite them to work with us to restore the independence of our inspectors general and fund the oversight infrastructure that this administration has defunded and gutted.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time remains on both sides, please.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas has 16 minutes remaining.

The gentleman from Virginia has 23 minutes remaining.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I do want to respond to the gentleman. I do want to respond to the gentleman and tell him today is that open invitation. He and I know that this is a lot of work, work that is factually based. It is not just showing up—and I don't doubt anything he has said—but showing up with the evidence of who, how, where, why did this happen, and what is being done. I would just say that the gentleman knows that our Government Operations Subcommittee is ready and open and available—that he would have to admit here on the floor—on a bipartisan basis.

If the gentleman wants to use the word "bipartisan" and say this is an attack, then bring the things that he would want us also to look at, but please don't make this political because we have done our homework, because we have aimed at where the problem is, because we have done these hearings. We have had people directly in front of us with their hands raised. We did the work. We did the facts of the case, and I think—

□ 0940

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SESSIONS. The gentleman has his own time. He has 23 minutes.

The gentleman needs to understand that he, too, sits at one of these tables where they can have witnesses called. They can have their staff do these things, and they can go investigate. They know that perhaps most of all, I will be very open to listening to them.

That is because if there is one thing I have done over the last few years, and when I was chairman of the Rules Committee, it is to listen to other people and to try to at least offer to the body an opportunity to see the facts of the case.

I think it is an easy thing to come down here—and I respect the gentleman. I make sure that he is involved in all of our hearings, but to come down here without evidence or hard work and make claims, I think, is a very difficult thing when we are expected, as Members of Congress and our staffs, to do these things right.

Mr. Speaker, we want to continue the story.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. FINSTAD), who was on the winning baseball team last night and did a great job.

Mr. FINSTAD. Mr. Speaker, I thank Congressman SESSIONS for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 1335.

For far too long, fraud has run rampant through our federally funded, State-administered programs in States like mine, Minnesota. It has allowed bad actors to steal billions of hard-earned taxpayer dollars, taxpayer dollars meant to feed hungry children, taxpayer dollars meant to help with and assist low-income adults, taxpayer dollars that were intended to help vet-

erans afford housing, and taxpayer dollars that were meant to provide affordable childcare.

This administration and congressional Republicans remain committed to putting an end to this nonsense and making sure assistance programs are there to serve our neighbors who truly need them, not fraudsters.

Mr. Speaker, I am just a common-sense farmer from southern Minnesota. It is beyond me and my understanding that tackling this fraud epidemic in this country should not be defined by the sweatshirt and the label we have on that sweatshirt. It should not be a sweatshirt with an "R" on it. It should not be a sweatshirt with a "D." This should be the issue that we all put on the sweatshirt that has "USA."

We are protecting the taxpayers of this country. We should be committed to putting these fraudsters in jail. That should not be a partisan issue. That should not be a red-State or a blue-State issue.

Earlier this week, the House Oversight Committee released a report exposing, in my State of Minnesota, how Governor Walz and Attorney General Ellison were aware of the widespread fraud taking place throughout the State. They had the authority to stop it, and they failed to act.

Today's resolution affirms our commitment to combating waste, fraud, and abuse. It is our commitment that we need to protect the generosity of the American taxpayer. I am proud to support this legislation that holds fraudsters accountable.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes."

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the comments from the gentleman from Texas. He is open and always willing to have a conversation and work on bipartisan legislation, and I appreciate that.

I do think it is unfair to suggest that the majority or the gentleman are the only ones who have done the work to understand these issues. I came to this floor with documented cases of fraud that have taken place across the country.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the full text of the March 4, 2026, "Democratic Staff Report—Fraud As Pretext: How the Trump Administration Sacrificed Accountability to Push a Violent, Lawless Agenda," which can be found at the following link: <https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/imo/media/doc/2026-03-04fraudaspretextstaffreport.pdf>.

[March 4, 2026]

Fraud as Pretext: How the Trump Administration Sacrificed Accountability to Push a Violent, Lawless Agenda

DEMOCRATIC STAFF REPORT: COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

I. OVERVIEW

More than three years after the first indictments in the Feeding Our Future case,

Oversight Committee Republicans are once again relitigating a fraud scheme that is being aggressively investigated and prosecuted by federal and state authorities. Rather than advancing meaningful oversight, this inquiry singles out Minnesota for political purposes while ignoring comparable fraud in other states. The facts demonstrate that Minnesota officials partnered with law enforcement, strengthened safeguards, and helped bring perpetrators to justice—undermining the central premise of this investigation.

Committee Republicans amplified their investigation into social services fraud in Minnesota after right-wing YouTuber Nick Shirley posted a viral video in December 2025 claiming, without proof, to have unearthed widespread fraud within the state's child care centers. This video, and the national conversation that followed, has been used by the Trump Administration to scapegoat members of Minnesota's Somali community and to justify sending thousands of federal agents into Minneapolis, where they have executed a violent and deadly crackdown on immigrants, protestors, and anyone they believe does not support President Trump's agenda.

Republicans' targeting of Minnesota also comes despite ample evidence of fraud in Republican-run states. Mississippi, Oklahoma, Alabama, and Florida have ongoing fraud investigations and documented issues with people defrauding federal programs, yet Committee Republicans have not launched an investigation into any of those states.

Fraud in federal social services programs occurs in all 50 states and demands a comprehensive, aggressive, and evidence-based approach to safeguarding taxpayer dollars and bringing fraudsters to justice. Yet Republicans on the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform have launched an investigation into occurrences of social services fraud exclusively within the State of Minnesota. In particular, Chairman Comer has alleged without evidence that Governor Tim Walz and Attorney General Keith Ellison failed to act after "Minnesota officials saw early signs of fraud within Feeding Our Future but failed to intervene." Notably, this investigation is not the first time Committee Republicans have targeted Governor Walz when it was politically expedient to do so. In August 2024, Committee Republicans launched a separate failed investigation into Governor Walz several weeks after presidential candidate Kamala Harris announced he would be her running mate against Donald Trump in the 2024 election.

States should remain vigilant about fraud, and federal and state funds should always carry robust oversight and fraud control mechanisms. Minnesota's Feeding our Future fraud scandal occurred during the back-drop of the COVID-19 pandemic, when states quickly deployed federal funds to keep children from going hungry when they no longer had access to school meals. In hindsight, states and the federal government have learned lessons from the rapid emergency expansion of federal programs, including the need for more robust fraud controls that prevent fraud from occurring in the first place. Committee Democrats support ongoing federal oversight and investigative work to investigate, prosecute and recover funds from those who committed pandemic-era fraud, including strengthening program payment integrity and implementing fraud risk frameworks as recommended by the Government Accountability Office (GAO).

II. KEY TAKEAWAYS

A. Federal fraud prosecutors recognized the Walz Administration as an important partner in fighting fraud in Minnesota's social services programs.

B. Witnesses testified that Governor Walz and Attorney General Ellison take fraud seriously and did not support Republican claims that Governor Walz or Attorney General Ellison ignored fraud or directed them to ignore fraud.

1. Witnesses uniformly rejected unsubstantiated whistleblower claims raised by Republicans on the Walz Administration's handling of fraud.

2. Witnesses provided details on the fraud control measures, partnerships, and efforts the Walz Administration has pursued to combat evolving fraud threats.

C. Working families will suffer if Republicans continue to use fraud as a pretext to cut access to Medicaid, child care funding, and other programs.

D. Committee Republicans' investigation appears to be providing cover for the egregious human and constitutional rights violations committed by the Trump Administration in the name of addressing fraud.

1. Trump's surge of thousands of immigration enforcement officers to Minnesota was allegedly to fight fraud, but instead, directly obliterated fraud investigation and prosecution efforts in the state.

2. Committee Republicans claim to be concerned about fraud yet were silent as President Trump pardoned dozens of fraudsters and gutted the offices responsible for fighting fraud, abuse, and corruption.

3. The Trump Administration is trying to use its alleged response to fraud in Minnesota as leverage to seize the state's voter rolls.

III. BACKGROUND

Since at least 2022, federal prosecutors have been investigating a series of social services fraud schemes perpetrated within Minnesota, totaling approximately \$1 billion in stolen taxpayer funds that never reached its intended recipients. More than 90 people have been charged and at least 59 people have been convicted across three key fraud schemes:

The Minneapolis-based nonprofit Feeding Our Future took advantage of expanded access to federal nutrition benefits during the COVID-19 pandemic to use federal funding to buy luxury goods instead of feeding tens of thousands of Minnesota children;

Certain social services providers falsely certified children as qualifying for autism treatment in order to steal public funds and provide kickbacks to the children's parents; and

Hundreds of social services providers falsely claimed to have provided services to people at risk for homelessness.

These schemes represent a corrupt and unconscionable effort to divert critically needed resources away from children and vulnerable people. Oversight Democrats strongly support efforts to prevent fraud, punish fraudsters, and ensure the integrity of social benefits programs.

While many of the defendants in these investigations are of Somali descent, and some are Somali immigrants, the vast majority of those charged in these fraudulent schemes are American citizens. Notably, the founder and executive director of Feeding Our Future and ringleader of the fraud scheme, Aimee Bock, is not Somali.

As part of the Oversight Committee's investigation into fraud in Minnesota, Chairman Comer called for transcribed interviews in January and February 2026 with current and former administrators within the Minnesota Department of Education (MDE), which oversaw the programs defrauded by Feeding Our Future, and Department of Human Services (DHS), responsible for the autism and housing assistance programs that were defrauded. The Oversight Committee conducted interviews with:

Emily Honer, Director of Nutrition Program Services at MDE

Daron Korte, Assistant Commissioner of MDE

Mary Cathryn Ricker, Former Commissioner of MDE

Dave Greeman, Former Chief Financial Officer of DHS

Eric Grumdahl, Former Assistant Commissioner for Homelessness and Housing Supports at DHS

Jodi Harpstead, Former Commissioner of DHS

Tony Lourey, Former Commissioner of DHS

Shireen Gandhi, Commissioner of DHS

The Oversight Committee also conducted a transcribed interview with Chris Schmitter, former Chief of Staff to Governor Walz. After nine transcribed interviews, there is no evidence to suggest that Governor Walz and Attorney General Ellison ignored or covered up fraud concerns in Minnesota and no evidence to suggest Minnesota failed to investigate fraud and hold fraudsters accountable.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, this report outlines some of the facts related to Minnesota and the harm done by the Trump administration's freezing of Federal funds in a number of States where law-abiding Americans who pay their taxes aren't getting the benefits that they have earned because the Trump administration has frozen funds.

I appreciate the gentleman's willingness to always engage and discuss these issues in a serious way and, as he said, follow the story wherever it leads. We have had in the Oversight Committee Governor Walz and AG Ellison.

I would just like to ask the gentleman whether he would be willing to bring to the Government Operations Subcommittee some of the Governors of the States that I outlined, where massive fraud has taken place: Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida.

Can we bring any of those Governors before our committee to talk about the fraud in their States?

Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS).

Mr. SESSIONS. This resolution that we are going to vote on today highlights fraud in Ohio, a Republican-led State. It is right in the report. It is right here.

This Committee on Oversight and Government Reform has also had an ongoing investigation, including Medicare fraud in Ohio. The committee held a hearing on that Medicaid fraud in Ohio just last week. Just last week, both the staffs were aware of that, and we brought in Ohio State officials to testify to get them on record just like we did, as the gentleman knows, in Minnesota and other States. I appreciate the gentleman asking the question.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker.

Another significant incident of fraud that isn't mentioned in the resolution, and that we haven't mentioned yet today, took place in the State of Texas, where the Attorney General, Ken Paxton, was indicted for securities fraud, and he had to pay \$300,000 in restitution and perform community service to avoid potential jail time.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman: Would you be willing to ask Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton to come before our committee to talk about fraud in Texas?

Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS).

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I will answer that question, and the answer is clear: The State of Texas that has that authority and responsibility did that in extensive hearings and extensive reports that led up to action by the State of Texas officially in the legislature to bring him before them, and he has answered every question he could have answered. It is on the record and there for all the world to see.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time.

It doesn't sound like we are going to bring any other Governors or State officials before the committee. As I noted, Governor Walz was with us for many, many hours, but no other Governors have come before us. I think that does a disservice to the American people who could benefit from hearing about the fraud in some of these other States, as well.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the full text of the CBS News article: "Trump says he'll stop health care fraudsters. Last time, he let them walk."

[From CBS NEWS, April 1, 2025]

TRUMP SAYS HE'LL STOP HEALTH CARE FRAUDSTERS. LAST TIME, HE LET THEM WALK.

(By Brett Kelman)

Five years ago, the CEO of one of the largest pain clinic companies in the Southeast was sentenced to more than three years in prison after being convicted in a \$4 million illegal kickback scheme.

But after just four months behind bars, John Estin Davis walked free. President Trump commuted Davis' sentence in the last days of his first term. In a statement explaining the decision, the White House said that "no one suffered financially" from Davis' crime.

In court, however, the Trump administration was saying something very different. As the president let him go, the Department of Justice alleged in a civil lawsuit that Davis and his company defrauded taxpayers out of tens of millions of dollars with excessive urine drug testing. The DOJ alleged that Comprehensive Pain Specialists made such a "staggering" sum from cups of pee that employees had given the testing a profit-minded nickname: "liquid gold."

Davis and the company denied all allegations in court filings and settled the DOJ's fraud lawsuit without any determination of liability. Davis declined to comment for this article.

Since returning to the White House, Mr. Trump has said he will target fraud in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, and his Republican allies in Congress have made combating fraud a key argument in their plans to slash spending on Medicaid, which provides health care for millions of low-income and disabled Americans. During an address to Congress last month, Mr. Trump said his administration had found "hundreds of billions of dollars of fraud" without citing any specific examples of fraud.

"Taken back a lot of that money," Mr. Trump said. "We got it just in time."

But Mr. Trump's history of showing leniency to convicted fraudsters contrasts with his present-day crackdown. In his first and second terms, Mr. Trump has granted pardons or commutations to at least 68 people convicted of fraud crimes or of interfering with fraud investigations, according to a KFF Health News review of court and clemency records, DOJ press releases, and news reports. At least 13 of those fraudsters were convicted in cases involving more than \$1.6 billion of fraudulent claims filed with Medicare and Medicaid, according to the Department of Justice.

And as one of the first actions of his second term, Mr. Trump fired 17 independent inspectors general responsible for rooting out fraud and waste in government.

It sends a really bad message and really hurts DOJ efforts at creating deterrence," said Jacob Elberg, a former assistant U.S. attorney and law professor at Seton Hall University in New Jersey. "In order to reduce health care fraud, you need people both to be afraid of getting in trouble, but also for people to believe in the legitimacy of the system."

Elberg said considerable fraud in Medicare and Medicaid exists largely because the programs' "pay-and-chase models" prioritize paying for patient care first and tracking down stolen dollars second. To prevent more fraud, the programs would likely need to be redesigned in ways that would be slower and more cumbersome for all patients, Elberg said.

Regardless, Elberg said the president's claimed focus on fraud appears to be a pretext for slashing spending that has been legally appropriated by Congress. Mr. Trump has empowered the Elon Musk-led Department of Government Efficiency, which he established and named by executive order, to make deep cuts in federal budgets, halting some medical research and aid programs in addition to cutting spending on climate change, transgender health, and diversity, equity, and inclusion programs.

"What's been the focal point to date of the administration is not what anybody has ever referred to as health care fraud," Elberg said. "There is a real blurring—a seemingly intentional blurring—between what is actually fraud and what is just spending that they are not in favor of."

Jerry Martin, who served as a U.S. attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee under President Barack Obama and now represents health care fraud whistleblowers, also said Mr. Trump's focus on fraud appeared to be "just a platform to attack things that they don't agree with" rather than "a genuine desire to root out and combat fraud."

Even so, Martin said some of his whistleblower clients have been emboldened.

"I've had clients repeat back to me 'President Trump says fraud is a priority,'" Martin said. "People are listening to it. But I don't know that what he's saying translates into what they believe."

The White House did not respond to requests for comment for this article.

A BILLION-DOLLAR FRAUD CASE AND NEEDLESS EYE INJECTIONS

Presidents enjoy the unique authority to erase federal convictions and prison sentences with pardons and commutations. In theory, the power is intended to be a final bulwark against injustice or overly harsh punishment. But many presidents have been accused of using the pardon power to reward powerful allies and close associates as they leave the White House.

Mr. Trump issued about 190 pardons and commutations in the final two months of his first term, including for some health care

fraudsters convicted of schemes with astonishing costs.

For example, Mr. Trump granted a commutation to Philip Esformes, a Florida health care executive convicted in 2019 of a \$1.3 billion Medicare and Medicaid fraud scheme. After he was sentenced, DOJ announced in a press release that "the man behind one of the biggest health care frauds in history will be spending 20 years in prison." Mr. Trump freed him 14 months later.

Mr. Trump also granted a commutation to Salomon Melgen, a Florida eye doctor who was serving a 17-year prison sentence for defrauding Medicare of \$42 million. Melgen falsely diagnosed patients with eye diseases, then gave them unnecessary care, including laser treatments and painful eye injections, according to DOJ and court documents.

"Salomon Melgen callously took advantage of patients who came to him fearing blindness," said a DOJ news release after Melgen was sentenced in 2018. "They received medically unreasonable and unnecessary tests and procedures that victimized his patients and the American taxpayer."

DOJ: \$70 MILLION SPENT ON "EXCESSIVE" URINE TESTING

Despite the flurry of pardons and commutations at the end of Mr. Trump's first term, the leniency he showed Davis was unique. Davis was the only convicted health care fraudster to receive clemency while the Trump administration was simultaneously accusing him of more fraud.

As CEO of Comprehensive Pain Specialists from 2011 to 2017, Davis oversaw a rapid expansion to more than 60 locations across 12 states, according to federal court documents.

He was indicted in 2018 for using his CEO position to refer Medicare patients in need of medical equipment to a conspirator in return for kickbacks paid through a shell company, according to court documents. He was convicted at trial in April 2019 of defrauding Medicare.

Three months later, the DOJ filed a fraud lawsuit against Davis and CPS that piggybacked on the claims of seven whistleblowers. The lawsuit alleged that CPS collected more than \$70 million from federal insurance programs for urine drug testing, most of which was "excessive," and that an audit of a sampling of the tests had found at least 93% "lacked medical necessity."

Typically, government insurance programs pay for urine testing so pain clinics can verify that patients are taking their prescriptions properly and not abusing any other drugs, which could contribute to an overdose. Patients could be tested as little as once a year or as often as monthly depending on their level of risk, according to the DOJ lawsuit.

But Comprehensive Pain Specialists performed "myriad urine drug testing on virtually every CPS patient on virtually every visit" then conducted "at least 16 different types of tests" on each sample, and sometimes as many as 51, according to the lawsuit.

Mr. Trump commuted Davis' sentence for his criminal conviction in January 2021 as the DOJ was finalizing a settlement in the civil lawsuit. The commutation was supported by country music star Luke Bryan, according to a White House statement.

Months later, with President Joe Biden in office, CPS and its owners agreed to repay \$4.1 million—less than 10% of the damages sought in the suit—and the case was closed.

In the settlement, Davis agreed not to take any job where he would ever again bill Medicare or other federal health care programs. He was not required to personally repay anything.

Martin, who represented one of the whistleblowers who first raised allegations

against Davis and CPS, said the leniency that Mr. Trump showed to him and other health care fraudsters may discourage DOJ employees from pursuing similar investigations during his second term.

"There are a lot of rank-and-file people who are operating at the lowest point in their professional careers, where they've seen a lot of their work essentially be water under the bridge," Martin said. "That's got to be really demoralizing."

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the full text of a PBS News article: "Trump's pardons included health care execs behind massive frauds."

[From PBS News, Jan. 22, 2021]

TRUMP'S PARDONS INCLUDED HEALTH CARE
EXECES BEHIND MASSIVE FRAUDS

At the last minute, President Donald Trump granted pardons to several individuals convicted in huge Medicare swindles that prosecutors alleged often harmed or endangered elderly and infirm patients while fleecing taxpayers.

"These aren't just technical financial crimes. These were major, major crimes," said Louis Saccoccio, chief executive officer of the National Health Care Anti-Fraud Association, an advocacy group.

The list of some 200 Trump pardons or commutations, most issued as he vacated the White House this week, included at least seven doctors or health care entrepreneurs who ran discredited health care enterprises, from nursing homes to pain clinics. One is a former doctor and California hospital owner embroiled in a massive workers' compensation kickback scheme that prosecutors alleged prompted more than 14,000 dubious spinal surgeries. Another was in prison after prosecutors accused him of ripping off more than \$1 billion from Medicare and Medicaid through nursing homes and other senior care facilities, among the largest frauds in U.S. history.

"All of us are shaking our heads with these insurance fraud criminals just walking free," said Matthew Smith, executive director of the Coalition Against Insurance Fraud. The White House argued all deserved a second chance. One man was said to have devoted himself to prayer, while another planned to resume charity work or other community service. Others won clemency at the request of prominent Republican ex-attorneys general or others who argued their crimes were victimless or said critical errors by prosecutors had led to improper convictions.

Trump commuted the sentence of former nursing home magnate Philip Esformes in late December. He was serving a 20-year sentence for bilking \$1 billion from Medicare and Medicaid. An FBI agent called him "a man driven by almost unbounded greed." Prosecutors said that Esformes used proceeds from his crimes to make a series of "extravagant purchases, including luxury automobiles and a \$360,000 watch."

Esformes also bribed the basketball coach at the University of Pennsylvania "in exchange for his assistance in gaining admission for his son into the university," according to prosecutors.

Fraud investigators had cheered the conviction. In 2019, the National Health Care Anti-Fraud Association gave its annual award to the team responsible for making the case. Saccoccio said that such cases are complex and that investigators sometimes spend years and put their "heart and soul" into them. "They get a conviction and then they see this happen. It has to be somewhat demoralizing."

Tim McCormack, a Maine lawyer who represented a whistleblower in a 2007 kickback

case involving Esformes, said these cases "are not just about stealing money."

"This is about betraying their duty to their patients. This is about using their vulnerable, sick and trusting patients as an ATM to line their already rich pockets," he said. He added: "These pardons send the message that if you are rich and connected and powerful enough, then you are above the law."

The Trump White House saw things much differently.

"While in prison, Mr. Esformes, who is 52, has been devoted to prayer and repentance and is in declining health," the White House pardon statement said.

The White House said the action was backed by former Attorneys General Edwin Meese and Michael Mukasey, while Ken Starr, one of Trump's lawyers in his first impeachment trial, filed briefs in support of his appeal claiming prosecutorial misconduct related to violating attorney-client privilege.

Trump also commuted the sentence of Salomon Melgen, a Florida eye doctor who had served four years in federal prison for fraud. That case also ensnared U.S. Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), who was acquitted in the case and helped seek the action for his friend, according to the White House.

Prosecutors had accused Melgen of endangering patients with needless injections to treat macular degeneration and other unnecessary medical care, describing his actions as "truly horrific" and "barbaric and inhumane," according to a court filing.

Melgen "not only defrauded the Medicare program of tens of millions of dollars, but he abused his patients—who were elderly, infirm, and often disabled—in the process," prosecutors wrote.

These treatments "involved sticking needles in their eyes, burning their retinas with a laser, and injecting dyes into their bloodstream."

Prosecutors said the scheme raked in "a staggering amount of money." Between 2008 and 2013, Medicare paid the solo practitioner about \$100 million. He took in an additional \$10 million from Medicaid, the government health care program for low-income people, \$62 million from private insurance, and approximately \$3 million in patients' payments, prosecutors said.

In commuting Melgen's sentence, Trump cited support from Menendez and U.S. Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R-Fla.). "Numerous patients and friends testify to his generosity in treating all patients, especially those unable to pay or unable to afford healthcare insurance," the statement said.

In a statement, Melgen, 66, thanked Trump and said his decision ended "a serious miscarriage of justice."

"Throughout this ordeal, I have come to realize the very deep flaws in our justice system and how people are at the complete mercy of prosecutors and judges. As of today, I am committed to fighting for unjustly incarcerated people," Melgen said. He denied harming any patients.

Faustino Bernadett, a former California anesthesiologist and hospital owner, received a full pardon. He had been sentenced to 15 months in prison in connection with a scheme that paid kickbacks to doctors for admitting patients to Pacific Hospital of Long Beach for spinal surgery and other treatments.

"As a physician himself, defendant knew that exchanging thousands of dollars in kickbacks in return for spinal surgery services was illegal and unethical," prosecutors wrote.

Many of the spinal surgery patients "were injured workers covered by workers' compensation insurance. Those patient-victims were often blue-collar workers who were es-

pecially vulnerable as a result of their injuries," according to prosecutors.

The White House said the conviction "was the only major blemish" on the doctor's record. While Bernadett failed to report the kickback scheme, "he was not part of the underlying scheme itself," according to the White House.

The White House also said Bernadett was involved in numerous charitable activities, including "helping protect his community from COVID-19." "President Trump determined that it is in the interests of justice and Dr. Bernadett's community that he may continue his volunteer and charitable work," the White House statement read.

Others who received pardons or commutations included Sholam Weiss, who was said to have been issued the longest sentence ever for a white collar crime—335 years. "Mr. Weiss was convicted of racketeering, wire fraud, money laundering, and obstruction of justice, for which he has already served over 18 years and paid substantial restitution. He is 66 years old and suffers from chronic health conditions," according to the White House.

John Davis, the former CEO of Comprehensive Pain Specialists, the Tennessee-based chain of pain management clinics, had spent four months in prison. Federal prosecutors charged Davis with accepting more than \$750,000 in illegal bribes and kickbacks in a scheme that billed Medicare \$4.6 million for durable medical equipment.

Trump's pardon statement cited support from country singer Luke Bryan, said to be a friend of Davis'.

"Notably, no one suffered financially as a result of his crime and he has no other criminal record," the White House statement reads.

"Prior to his conviction, Mr. Davis was well known in his community as an active supporter of local charities. He is described as hardworking and deeply committed to his family and country. Mr. Davis and his wife have been married for 15 years, and he is the father of three young children."

CPS was the subject of a November 2017 investigation by KHN that scrutinized its Medicare billings for urine drug testing. Medicare paid the company at least \$11 million for urine screenings and related tests in 2014, when five of CPS' medical professionals stood among the nation's top such Medicare billers.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the CBS Miami article: "Florida Eye Doctor Salomon Melgen Gets Clemency From Trump In Medicare Fraud."

[From CBS News Miami, Jan. 21, 2021]

FLORIDA EYE DOCTOR SALOMON MELGEN GETS
CLEMENCY FROM TRUMP IN MEDICARE FRAUD

Rappers, a real estate investor convicted in a Ponzi scheme and a once-prominent eye doctor were Floridians on former President Donald Trump's clemency list hours before he exited the presidency.

Trump commuted the sentence of Salomon Melgen, who was convicted in 2017 of defrauding Medicare out of \$73 million by persuading numerous elderly patients to undergo tests and get treatment for diseases they did not actually have.

Melgen was serving 17 years at a Miami prison, but was released early on Wednesday, Jan. 20 after he was included on a list of more than 140 people who were either pardoned or had their sentences commuted by Trump during his last hours in the White House.

A federal jury in New Jersey failed to reach a verdict later in 2017 on charges that Melgen provided bribery gifts to Democratic

Sen. Bob Menendez of New Jersey. A mistrial was declared in that case.

A White House statement credited Menendez with supporting clemency for Melgen, who was a donor to Democratic politicians and a longtime friend of the Cuban-American New Jersey senator. The statement said clemency for Melgen also was supported by Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart, a Florida Republican, and members of Brigade 2506, the Cuban exile group involved in the CIA-backed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

"Numerous patients and friends testify to his generosity in treating all patients, especially those unable to pay or unable to afford healthcare insurance," the White House statement said.

In a statement of his own, Menendez said he did very little on Melgen's behalf and did not expect the clemency decision from Trump. There's also scant evidence of any relationship between Trump and Melgen.

"I don't pretend to know what motivates President Trump to act, but I am pretty sure it's not me," Menendez said. "Months ago, I was asked if I could offer insight about an old friend, and I did, along with what I understand were more than 100 individuals and organizations, including his former patients and local Hispanic groups familiar with Sal's leadership and philanthropy in the South Florida community."

Melgen, originally from the Dominican Republic and a Harvard-trained ophthalmologist, became a notable Democratic fundraiser, hosting numerous events at his home in North Palm Beach. He once treated former Florida Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles, who appointed him to a state board.

Others on Trump's clemency list included: Rapper Lil Wayne, whose real name is Dwayne Michael Carter Jr., was given a full pardon. The Grammy-winner was charged in Florida on Nov. 17 with possession of a firearm by a convicted felon, a federal offense that carries a potential sentence of up to 10 years in prison.

Rapper Kodak Black, whose real name is Bill K. Kapri, was granted a commutation. The "Tunnel Vision" rapper is serving a three-year prison sentence for falsifying documents used to purchase weapons at a Miami gun store.

Fred Davis Clark Jr. had his 40-year prison sentence commuted. He was convicted in 2016 of falsely promising his company could turn dilapidated properties in Florida, Las Vegas and the Caribbean into luxury resorts that would bring investors fat returns. In reality, the operation was a Ponzi scheme that used money from new investors to pay existing ones while Clark took millions off the top.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. That does come up in the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a Kaiser Family Foundation Health News article: "Trump's Health Fraud Focus at Odds With Past Pardons."

TRUMP'S HEALTH FRAUD FOCUS AT ODDS WITH PAST PARDONS

Since returning to the White House, President Donald Trump has made combating fraud a centerpiece of his administration. Trump has said he will target fraud in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security programs, and his Republican allies in Congress have made combating fraud a key argument in their plans to slash Medicaid. Trump also has empowered the Elon Musk-led Department of Government Efficiency to make massive cuts to government spending, often claiming to snuff out fraud and waste in the process.

Trump's present-day crackdown starkly contrasts with his history of showing leniency to convicted fraudsters. In his first and

second terms, Trump has granted pardons or commutations to at least 68 people convicted of fraud crimes or interfering with fraud investigations, according to a KFF Health News review of court and clemency records, Department of Justice press releases, and news reports. At least 13 of those fraudsters were convicted in cases involving more than \$1.6 billion in fraudulent claims filed with Medicare and Medicaid, according to the DOJ.

In interviews with KFF Health News, two experts on health care fraud said that Trump's claimed focus appears to be a pretext for slashing spending that was legally appropriated by Congress.

"What's been the focal point to date of the administration is not what anybody has ever referred to as health care fraud," said Jacob Elberg, a former assistant U.S. attorney and law professor at Seton Hall University. "There is a real blurring—a seemingly intentional blurring—between what is actually fraud and what is just spending that they are not in favor of."

Jerry Martin, who served as a U.S. attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee under President Barack Obama and now represents health care fraud whistleblowers, said Trump's stepped-up interest may embolden informants to come forward.

"I've had clients repeat back to me 'President Trump says fraud is a priority,'" Martin said. "People are listening to it. But I don't know that what he's saying translates into what they believe."

Even so, Trump's past leniency to fraudsters might discourage the Justice Department from pursuing the whistleblowers' claims, Martin said.

"There are a lot of rank-and-file people who are operating at the lowest point in their professional careers, where they've seen a lot of their work essentially be water under the bridge," Martin said. "That's got to be really demoralizing."

The White House did not respond to requests for comment.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman knows that not only am I open to this, but my door is open in my office. It is open for a reason. It is open for a reason, not just for those who might agree with me, but for those who might disagree with me or those who might want to do business. My door is open. My availability is there.

I believe that the issues today that we are trying to talk about are fraud, not politics, and we have attempted to look at fraud where it is. The gentleman knows where my office is, and he knows I am open.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MEUSER).

Mr. MEUSER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for his leadership and his commonsense approach to what is a very serious crisis facing our country.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of Representative FALLON's antifraud resolution, H. Res. 1335.

Frankly, opposition to this bill is hard to comprehend. Making excuses, pretending that waste, abuse, and fraud do not occur, I can just hear anyone watching this on C-SPAN. I can feel their head shaking, wondering what this world is coming to.

□ 0950

This resolution is pretty simple. It condemns fraudsters and recognizes

that governmentwide fraud and improper payment prevention reforms are necessary to improve the fiscal health of the United States. That is how it reads.

This includes all States. Let's not pretend it doesn't. From sea to shining sea, this resolution is all that, according to the Government Accountability Office. Nevertheless, according to the GAO, \$1 trillion of improper payments occurred under the Biden administration. Secretary Bessent recently estimated that it was nearly \$500 billion a year, so even more than \$1 trillion. That is the reality.

The House Oversight Committee's recent report, whether you like it or not, found that Minnesota Governor Walz and his administration turned a blind eye to massive fraud schemes.

Two of the most notorious examples were the "Learning Center"—I am sure you heard of it—and Feeding Our Future, which was set up to feed hungry young children. People, criminals, stole from it. We are here defending them? Fraud was allowed to grow for years while warning signs were ignored.

In Los Angeles, Mr. Speaker, investigators have identified roughly over \$3 billion in hospice fraud. Thirty percent of the hospice bills were going to one county, an L.A. County, for the entire Nation. We have got people in this Chamber who are defending that somehow? In other words, as I just stated, we don't need any words: One-third of the Nation's hospice funds went to one county in the United States.

In my home State, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, where unemployment, by the way, sits at 3.6 percent, 15 percent of the residents are enrolled in SNAP. Yet, the program's recent error rate, by the way, was 15 percent, pretty much the highest in the country, making Pennsylvania one of the worst performing States in the Nation, particularly considering our lower unemployment. Mr. Speaker, \$463 million per year, in Pennsylvania alone, is not going to needy families. It is being scammed.

From L.A. to Minneapolis to Pennsylvania, from sea to shining sea, taxpayers are being forced to fund fraudsters in and out of our government. It is stealing from every American who works hard and pays taxes. Equally important, we need to stop these criminals who scam the American taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, as Chairman of the Financial Services Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee, I have worked with banks, telecom companies, regulators, law enforcement, and consumer groups to fight fraud and scams.

I am working on legislation to strengthen criminal penalties for fraud, require states to repay improper payments, and establish a framework to better track fraud across the federal government.

Everyone in this chamber should be outraged by this level of fraud.

Anyone who is considering voting no on this resolution ought to think about if they are going to be part of the solution or part of the problem.

I urge passage and yield back.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, with respect to Minnesota—and this is laid out in the report that I entered into the RECORD—the majority's own investigation does not support the assertions that they make in their resolution here today. Witnesses that were questioned did not support the claims that Governor Walz or Attorney General Ellison directed anyone to ignore fraud.

Instead, they describe the fraud controls, the law enforcement partnerships, and the steps to stop fraudulent payments. Minnesota's Medicaid Fraud Control Unit has prosecuted more than 300 cases and recovered more than \$80 million for taxpayers. Those prosecutions were well underway long before the majority on the Oversight Committee took any interest in the situation.

There is some more fraud that I haven't discussed yet today, and it is taking place in the Trump administration. President Trump accepted a \$400 million plane from a foreign government, in my view, I think quite clearly, in violation of the Constitution.

The Air Force then had to modify that plane to address security concerns. Those modifications are estimated to cost a billion dollars. The Air Force won't tell us. Taxpayers spent at least \$1 billion to modify the gifted jet that the President got from the Qatari Government.

Maybe you would be okay with that if it was a gift to the United States of America. What is going to happen to the plane in 2029? It will be transferred to the Donald Trump Presidential Library Foundation. Those transfer costs, to transfer the \$400 million gift the President took from the Qatari Government, were also paid for by the taxpayers.

The taxpayers are getting a raw deal here, and President Trump is getting a brand new, \$400 million—I should say \$1.4 billion—jet.

I haven't talked yet about the digital schemes. World Liberty Financial was started by the Trump family in 2024. Most of the profits flow directly to the Trump family. It is estimated they have profited \$1.6 billion. Where did that money come from? It came from people who bought meme coins and have seen the value of those coins plummet. Constituents maybe in my district or yours, Mr. Speaker, who have lost money, that money is in the pockets of the Trump family.

I haven't gotten into the conflicts of interest, the stock trades, the prediction market profits.

I heard the White House created a task force to prevent fraud. This White House and this Cabinet are a task force to commit fraud. It is well-documented.

I was reading the resolution, and one of the whereas clauses says: "Whereas the Department of Justice has also discovered that \$250 million meant for a child nutrition program was instead spent on luxury cars. . . ." That is bad. That is outrageous. Whoever did that should be prosecuted.

Mr. Speaker, I wonder if it would surprise my friends on the other side of the aisle to know that President Trump's Department of Homeland Security, under the leadership of Secretary Noem, spent hundreds of millions of dollars, not on luxury cars, but on luxury jets. They bought, not one, but two of the top-of-the-line Gulfstream G700s.

Secretary Noem basically walked into the proverbial Gulfstream dealership and said: I don't want the base model. That is not good enough. I want the most expensive model, the biggest, with the softest leather seats. I am not going to pay for it. I am going to send the bill to the taxpayers, totaling hundreds of millions of dollars.

I have called on Secretary Mullin to sell those jets, recoup hundreds of millions of dollars for the taxpayers and go back to flying the more modest Gulfstream G550 that previous DHS Secretaries flew.

I wonder if the gentleman would join me in that request of Secretary Mullin to sell the Gulfstreams and fly in a more modest jet, as previous Secretaries have.

I share the outrage about this taxpayer money being spent on luxury cars. Surely, we shouldn't be spending it on luxury jets.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS).

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman has an opportunity to bring forth more than public data. He has the ability to go and take testimony, to gather the information. I encourage the gentleman to do that.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are again reminded to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. STUTZMAN).

Mr. STUTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 1335 to condemn the waste, fraud, and abuse of taxpayer dollars.

According to the Government Accountability Office, the Federal Government loses between \$233 and \$521 billion annually to fraud. Think of that, \$233 billion to \$521 billion annually to fraud.

That is up to \$3,250 lost to fraud per taxpayer each year. That is insulting to the American people. Americans work hard for their money, and wasting Americans' paychecks to fraud is just unacceptable.

I strongly support Vice President Vance's work leading the task force to eliminate fraud. The task force has al-

ready identified and halted billions of dollars of waste to fraudulent healthcare services and government contracts.

As a Member of Congress, we are entrusted to be stewards of taxpayer dollars. I look forward to finding ways to eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse on behalf of the American taxpayers.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his hard work. This is an important issue that we must figure out in order to eliminate this waste that the American taxpayers expect us to find, so we make sure every dollar is being used wisely at the Federal Government level.

□ 1000

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I have no speakers, and I yield myself the balance of my time to close.

Mr. Speaker, President Trump's pardons and commutations have wiped away billions of dollars in victim restitution, forfeiture, and fines. That includes people who have been pardoned who were convicted of securities fraud, wire fraud, bank fraud, tax evasion, healthcare fraud, and public corruption.

President Trump commuted the sentence of Lawrence Duran, who helped lead a massive Medicare fraud scheme that generated hundreds of millions of dollars in false claims and more than \$87 million in restitution.

He commuted Joseph Schwartz, whose nursing home empire collapsed after years of neglect and fraud, leaving patients, workers, and families devastated.

Let's not forget the \$1.8 billion slush fund for January 6 cop beaters, that he continues to try to put in place.

Let's be clear, Mr. Speaker, the other side wants to lecture us about fraud. They stay silent as this administration lets convicted fraudsters walk free and wipes away the money owed to victims and taxpayers.

It doesn't stop there. As I noted, President Trump and his family stand to personally and financially benefit from some of these actions.

In April of 2026, a drone manufacturer, backed by Eric and Donald Trump, Jr., won its first DOD contract to supply drones to the Pentagon, while their father and the President of the United States led the country into an illegal war with Iran.

We have fraud being perpetrated on the American public with memecoins, no-bid contracts, Tom Homan's alleged \$50,000 paper bag of money, insider trading in the White House, and the appearance, at least, maybe more, of pardons for sale.

It is hard to take seriously this resolution, expressing to be concerned about fraud, when there is massive fraud taking place and the majority says and does nothing.

A serious anti-fraud agenda would strengthen inspectors general, fully fund the Government Accountability Office, and protect independent oversight. This resolution doesn't do that.

While oversight Democrats will oppose this partisan resolution, we are going to continue to support legislation and continue to work in a bipartisan way to combat financial fraud and improper payments, protect the privacy of sensitive taxpayer information, toughen Federal ethics laws, and hold fraudsters accountable, especially those that have been pardoned by President Trump.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time to close.

Mr. Speaker, the American people and Members of Congress have heard the story today: 200-plus pages of factual data, six hearings, and the opportunity on a bipartisan basis to develop the facts of the case from people's own testimony.

Today, we have a request for us to listen to the minority. This has been done for the last year and a half; opportunity for hearings, opportunity for their staff to develop the same kind of factually based information, not public data, not something that they read somewhere but to bring to the floor, to bring to the subcommittee and the committee, the hard facts of the case.

Mr. Speaker, I think we have made our point today, and that point is that there were people who were elected who chose not only to not listen but, when people came forward who were whistleblowers, they took retaliatory action against them. They have denied their involvement, and, yet, the mounds of data suggest otherwise.

Mr. Speaker, I think today this subcommittee and this committee are bringing forth, through Mr. FALLON's resolution, an opportunity to say enough is enough. It should be a story that is told by every one of us. We invite their vote.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCDOWELL). All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 1345, the previous question is ordered on the resolution and the preamble.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Proceedings will resume on questions previously postponed.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

The motion to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 9238; and

Adoption of H. Res. 1335.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the remaining electronic vote will be conducted as a 5-minute vote.

EXTENSION OF AUTHORITIES OF TITLE VII OF THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT OF 1978

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 9238) to amend the FISA Amendments Act of 2008 to extend the authorities of title VII of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill.

This is a 15-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 198, nays 218, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 221]

YEAS—198

Aderholt	Flood	Lee (FL)
Alford	Fong	Lee (NV)
Allen	Fox	Letlow
Amodei (NV)	Franklin, Scott	Loudermilk
Arrington	Fry	Lucas
Babin	Fuller	Luttrell
Bacon	Gallagher	Mackenzie
Baird	Garbarino	Malliotakis
Balderson	Gill (TX)	Maloy
Barr	Gimenez	Mann
Barrett	Golden (ME)	Mast
Baumgartner	Goldman (TX)	McCauley
Bean (FL)	Gonzalez, V.	McClain
Begich	Gooden	McClintock
Bentz	Gottheimer	McCormick
Bergman	Graves	McDowell
Bice	Griffith	McGuire
Biggs (SC)	Grothman	Messmer
Bilirakis	Guest	Meuser
Bost	Guthrie	Miller (IL)
Bresnahan	Hamadeh (AZ)	Miller (OH)
Buchanan	Haridopolos	Miller (WV)
Calvert	Harrigan	Miller-Meeks
Carey	Harris (MD)	Mills
Carter (GA)	Harris (NC)	Moolenaar
Carter (TX)	Harshbarger	Moore (AL)
Ciscomani	Hern (OK)	Moore (NC)
Cline	Higgins (LA)	Moore (UT)
Cole	Hill (AR)	Moore (WV)
Collins	Hinson	Moran
Comer	Houchin	Murphy
Crank	Hudson	Nehls
Crawford	Huizenga	Newhouse
Crenshaw	Hunt	Nunn (IA)
Cuellar	Hurd (CO)	Obermole
Davis (NC)	Issa	Ogles
De La Cruz	Jack	Onder
DesJarlais	Jackson (TX)	Owens
Diaz-Balart	James	Palmer
Dunn (FL)	Johnson (LA)	Patronis
Edwards	Johnson (SD)	Perez
Elzey	Jordan	Perry
Emmer	Joyce (OH)	Pfluger
Estes	Joyce (PA)	Reschenthaler
Evans (CO)	Kelly (MS)	Rogers (AL)
Ezell	Kelly (PA)	Rogers (KY)
Fallon	Kiggans (VA)	Rouzer
Fedorchak	Kiley (CA)	Rutherford
Feenstra	Kim	Salazar
Fine	Knott	Scalise
Finstad	Kustoff	Schweikert
Fischbach	LaHood	Scott, Austin
Fitzgerald	LaLota	Sessions
Fitzpatrick	Langworthy	Shreve
Fleischmann	Latta	Simpson

Smith (MO)	Taylor	Walberg
Smith (NE)	Tenney	Weber (TX)
Smith (NJ)	Thompson (PA)	Webster (FL)
Smucker	Tiffany	Westerman
Spartz	Timmons	Wied
Stauber	Valadao	Williams (TX)
Stefanik	Van Drew	Wilson (SC)
Steil	Van Duyne	Wittman
Steube	Van Epps	Womack
Strong	Van Orden	Yakym
Stutzman	Wagner	Zinke

NAYS—218

Adams	García (IL)	Norcross
Aguilar	García (TX)	Ocasio-Cortez
Amo	Gillen	Olsewski
Ansari	Gomez	Omar
Auchincloss	Goodlander	Pallone
Balint	Gosar	Panetta
Barragán	Gray	Pappas
Beatty	Green, Al (TX)	Pelosi
Bell	Grijalva	Peters
Bera	Hageman	Pettersen
Beyer	Harder (CA)	Pingree
Bishop	Hayes	Pocan
Boebert	Himes	Pou
Bonamici	Horsford	Pressley
Boyle (PA)	Houlihan	Ramirez
Brecheen	Hoyer	Randall
Brown	Hoyle (OR)	Raskin
Brownley	Huffman	Riley (NY)
Budzinski	Ivey	Rivas
Burchett	Jackson (IL)	Rose
Burlison	Jacobs	Ross
Bynum	Jayapal	Roy
Cammack	Jeffries	Ruiz
Carbajal	Johnson (GA)	Rulli
Carson	Johnson (TX)	Ryan
Carter (LA)	Kamlager-Dove	Salinas
Casar	Kaptur	Sánchez
Case	Keating	Scanlon
Casten	Kelly (IL)	Schakowsky
Castor (FL)	Kennedy (NY)	Schneider
Castro (TX)	Kennedy (UT)	Scholten
Chu	Khanna	Schrier
Cisneros	Krishnamoorthi	Scott (VA)
Clark (MA)	Landsman	Self
Cleaver	Larsen (WA)	Sewell
Cloud	Larson (CT)	Sherman
Clyburn	Latimer	Simon
Clyde	Lee (PA)	Smith (WA)
Conaway	Leger Fernandez	Sorensen
Correa	Levin	Soto
Costa	Liccardo	Stansbury
Courtney	Lieu	Stanton
Craig	Lofgren	Stevens
Crane	Lynch	Strickland
Crockett	Magaziner	Subramanyam
Crow	Mannion	Suozi
Davids (KS)	Massie	Sykes
Davidson	Matsui	Takano
Davis (IL)	McBath	Thanedar
Dean (PA)	McBride	Thompson (CA)
DeGette	McClellan Delaney	Thompson (MS)
DeLauro	McClellan	Titus
DeBene	McCollum	Tlaib
Deluzio	McGarvey	Tokuda
DeSaulnier	McGovern	Tonko
Dexter	McIver	Torres (CA)
Dingell	Meeks	Torres (NY)
Doggett	Mejia	Trahan
Downing	Menefee	Tran
Elfreth	Menendez	Underwood
Escobar	Meng	Vargas
Espallat	Mfume	Vasquez
Evans (PA)	Min	Veasey
Fields	Moore (WI)	Velázquez
Figures	Morelle	Vindman
Fletcher	Morrison	Walkinshaw
Foster	Moskowitz	Wasserman
Foushee	Moulton	Schultz
Friedman	Mrvan	Waters
Frost	Mullin	Watson Coleman
Fulcher	Nadler	Whitesides
Garamendi	Neal	Williams (GA)
García (CA)	Neguse	Wilson (FL)

NOT VOTING—15

Biggs (AZ)	Goldman (NY)	McDonald Rivet
Clarke (NY)	Kean	Norman
Cohen	Lawler	Quigley
Donalds	Luna	Schmidt
Frankel, Lois	Mace	Turner (OH)

□ 1034

Mr. BISHOP changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."