

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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MEMORANDUM

June 17, 2025

To: Democratic Members of the Committee on the Judiciary

Fr: Democratic Staff

Re: President Trump's Pardons Cheat Victims out of an Astounding \$1.3 Billion in Restitution and Fines, Allowing Fraudsters, Tax Evaders, Drug Traffickers to Keep Ill-Gotten Gains

Since his second term began, Donald Trump has [pardoned or granted clemency](#) to nearly 1,600 criminal offenders. Using publicly available court documents and reviewing the Office of the Pardon Attorney's website, the House Judiciary Committee's Democratic staff estimates that **President Trump's pardons could deprive the pardoned offenders' victims (and other survivors) of approximately \$1.3 billion in restitution and fines owed to them and American taxpayers.**¹ President Trump's corrupt pardons also risk depleting funding for the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) grants through the Crime Victims Fund as well as other victims' compensation programs.

Not only has President Trump issued an unprecedented number of pardons in his second term, he has used his clemency powers to take an estimated \$1.3 billion *away* from victims and survivors of crime, allowing *perpetrators* to keep profiting from their crimes—a sharp break with established practice. The [traditional standards](#) used by the Department of Justice (DOJ) in evaluating clemency petitions require that the individual seeking a pardon “has accepted responsibility for his or her criminal conduct and *made restitution to its victims*” (emphasis added). A [2021 statistical analysis](#) of 287 clemency petitions submitted to the Office of the Pardon Attorney found that *none* of the petitioners who still had outstanding restitution obligations received a pardon. Furthermore, a president always has the option of issuing a conditional pardon that requires the pardon applicant to pay all restitution in order to receive the full benefits of the pardon.

¹ Methodology: The \$1.3 billion was calculated by reviewing the Office of the Pardon Attorney's website and publicly available court documents. For individuals who were not yet sentenced, the estimate is based on either the government's request for restitution and/or fines or case filings indicating the harm caused to the victims of the crimes committed, as detailed in the Appendix. Committee staff contacted the Department of Justice to determine whether any of the restitution or fines owed by those pardoned has already been paid but the Department has failed to provide that information at the time of publication.

On his first day in office, President Trump granted full pardons to more than 1,500 insurrectionists and rioters who violently attacked the U.S. Capitol and injured at least 140 law enforcement officers who were beaten with pipes, baseball bats, American flags and their own police shields in the [worst mob violence attack](#) on the United States Congress in American history. **Not only were the insurrectionists sentenced to time in prison, they also [owed](#) a combined total of at least \$3 million in restitution** for beating police officers and ransacking the Capitol. For example, one insurrectionist pardoned by President Trump, Lewis Wayne Snoots, was convicted of [assaulting](#) Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) Officer Michael Fanone, who was nearly killed in the mob violence. Mr. Snoots grabbed Officer Fanone by the neck, [yelling](#), “Hey! I got one!” to fellow insurrectionists and then held Officer Fanone down as others violently beat him, causing traumatic brain injury and a heart attack.

Mr. Snoots was sentenced to more than five years in prison and [ordered](#) to pay \$96,927.18 in restitution to MPD and another \$2,000 to the Architect of the Capitol just days before Donald Trump took office for the second time. But four days later, President Trump pardoned Mr. Snoots, and his restitution obligations were wiped out. President Trump guaranteed that MPD and the Architect of the Capitol would get stiffed.

At the time President Trump pardoned the January 6th insurrectionists, only [15% of the \\$3 million](#) in restitution ordered to victims had been paid, with the remaining \$2.6 million due suddenly liquidated by the President’s pardons.

Adding insult to injury, President Trump’s DOJ is now brazenly [arguing](#) in court that the federal government should *strip away the \$437,000 in restitution money that was actually paid to the victims and return it directly to the criminal insurrectionists*, leaving victims and taxpayers to foot the bill themselves for the costs of all the extremists’ violence and destruction. Perhaps emboldened by DOJ’s stance, the primary seditious conspirators behind the January 6th insurrection now [claim](#) that the government violated their constitutional rights and have sued the government for \$100 million in restitution.

Amazingly, President Trump also told reporters that he was exploring the creation of a [compensation fund](#)—not for the injured and wounded police officers being cheated out of their restitution payments or their families—but *for the convicted criminals* who beat and maimed police officers and tried to overthrow a presidential election. **Whoever said crime doesn’t pay clearly never lived under a Trump presidency.**

Of course it’s not just violent, cop-beating extremists in President Trump’s private mob-and-militia who have been pardoned. **With a far greater financial effect, President Trump’s pardon spree has also swept in big-time corporate fraudsters, millionaire tax evaders, and other white-collar criminals. Thanks to President Trump’s pardons, these convicted criminals now get to keep \$1.3 billion in ill-gotten gains they stole from their victims and American taxpayers.**

The pardoned criminal plutocrats include people like [Ross Ulbricht](#) who operated a major underground online black market which drug dealers used to deal hundreds of pounds of illicit drugs into both American and foreign communities. At his sentencing hearing, U.S. District Judge Katherine B. Forrest [said](#) to Mr. Ulbricht, “[t]here must be no doubt that lawlessness will

not be tolerated. There must be no doubt that no one is above the law—no matter one’s education or privileges. All stand equal before the law. There must be no doubt that you cannot run a massive criminal enterprise and because it occurred over the Internet minimize the crime committed on that basis.”

He was sentenced to life in prison before being pardoned by President Trump. Despite the numerous people harmed by Mr. Ulbricht’s breathtaking crimes facilitating traffic in narcotics and opioids, **President Trump on January 21 explicitly [relieved](#) him of the forfeiture and fines he was ordered to pay, which totaled an astonishing \$184 million.**

Trump donor and founder of an electric truck startup, Trevor Milton, received a [pardon](#) from President Trump on March 28. Mr. Milton was [convicted](#) and sentenced to four years in prison for securities and wire fraud after he lured investors into investing in his company, Nikola, by repeatedly lying. According to prosecutors, Mr. Milton [claimed](#) his vehicle prototype “fully functions and works, which is really incredible” even though it was missing important parts and systems, including motors and a control system. Later, he posted a video on social media claiming to show the truck driving down a flat road. In fact, according to prosecutors, the video was made by towing the truck to the top of a hill, at which point “the ‘driver’ released the brakes, and the truck rolled down the hill until being brought to a stop in front of the stop sign.”

Not only did Mr. Milton and his wife donate more than \$1.8 million to a Trump re-election campaign fund less than a month before the November 2024 election, but he was also represented by two lawyers with Trump connections: Brad Bondi, brother of Attorney General Pam Bondi, and Marc Mukasey, who has represented The Trump Organization. While a judge had not yet determined Mr. Milton’s restitution at the time he received his pardon, federal prosecutors calculated that he [owed](#) more than \$676 million to defrauded Nikola shareholders. As a result of the pardon, Mr. Milton’s victims were not awarded any restitution.

On March 28, President Trump also pardoned Jason Galanis, who was labeled a “serial fraudster” and “con man” by the federal judge who [sentenced](#) him to 15 years in prison for his more \$80 million fraud scheme against union pension funds and a Native American tribe. Mr. Galanis applied unsuccessfully for clemency during President Trump’s first term, but apparently redeemed himself in President Trump’s eyes by becoming a pliant [Republican witness](#)—behind bars, but still available over Zoom—in the failed impeachment investigation against President Joe Biden. Like the impeachment drive itself, Mr. Galanis’s testimony was patently ridiculous, but President Trump’s pardon wiped out the offender’s obligation to fully pay the \$84.8 million of restitution he was ordered at sentencing to repay the union workers and Native Americans he plundered with his original scam.

On April 23, President Trump issued a [pardon](#) for Paul Walczak, a former nursing home executive who pleaded guilty to multiple tax crimes just days after the 2024 election. [According](#) to federal prosecutors, between 2016 and 2019, **Mr. Walczak “withheld more than \$10 million from the paychecks of the nurses, doctors and others who worked at his facilities.” But instead of paying these funds to the Internal Revenue Service, as required by law, Mr. Walczak plundered his own employees to “buy a \$2 million yacht and to pay for travel and purchases at high-end retailers, including Bergdorf Goodman and Cartier.” Mr. Walczak was [sentenced](#) to 18 months in prison for stealing his employees’ tax withholdings and ordered to**

pay \$4.4 million in restitution. He was going to have to disgorge himself of a large part of his ill-gotten gains until his mom intervened and paid \$1 million to attend a glitzy fundraising dinner for Donald Trump at Mar-a-Lago.

The \$1 million contribution turned out to be a shrewd investment indeed. Just days after President Trump's inauguration, Mr. Walczak petitioned for a presidential pardon, arguing that he was the victim of government retaliation because his mother was so deeply involved in political fundraising for Donald Trump.

Thanks to his pardon from President Trump, Mr. Walczak completely escaped punishment for his crimes: not a dollar paid to his victims, nor a day served in prison for this unrepentant millionaire wage thief. His victimized employees were stiffed more than \$4 million.

President Trump also pardoned Michele Fiore, a corrupt former Republican Las Vegas City Council Member and gubernatorial candidate. Councilwoman Fiore [stole](#) tens of thousands of dollars from people who thought they were contributing to memorials honoring two slain police officers in Las Vegas. She was [convicted](#) after she solicited more than \$70,000 in donations to build memorials that would include a statue of Alyn Beck, a 41-year-old police officer killed by a criminal, execution style, while eating lunch in 2014. Councilwoman Fiore stole the money and spent it on “a variety of personal and political expenses, including political fundraising bills, personal rent payments, and payments to family members.” Councilwoman Fiore was pardoned by President Trump before sentencing and never had to repay the \$70,000 in donations she stole from donors and the memorial fund.

In another stunning display of political corruption and financial injustice, President Trump also pardoned reality TV stars and convicted criminals [Todd](#) and [Julie](#) Chrisley. Donald Trump's own Justice Department [brought](#) bank fraud and tax evasion charges against the Chrisleys in 2019. They were [convicted](#) for their crimes in 2022 and jointly owed more than \$22 million in restitution to the United States and American taxpayers. After President Trump's pardon, which fully relieved the Chrisleys of any obligation to pay restitution to their victims, Todd Chrisley bragged about his get-out-of-jail-free card, [saying](#) “[t]he feds got f***ed” as he went on an obscene [shopping spree](#) a mere 12 hours after his release.

The same day the Chrisleys were let off the hook, President Trump [pardoned](#) the former General President of the International Union of Operating Engineers, James Callahan, who pled guilty to filing false reports with the Department of Labor to conceal more than \$300,000 in tickets to sporting events and concerts he received as gifts from an advertising firm that did business with the union. The pardon came on the eve of Mr. Callahan's sentencing, where prior to the news of the pardon, prosecutors planned to argue that “Callahan's spree of pricey entertainments—a lifestyle his substantial salary could easily accommodate—is especially condemning.”

The next day, President Trump pardoned former Arkansas State Senator Jeremy Hutchinson who was [convicted](#) of a multi-million dollar public corruption scheme involving embezzlement, bribes, and illegal campaign contributions. Separately, Mr. Hutchinson was also [convicted](#) of conspiracy to commit bribery for entering into a scheme with a local orthodontist,

Benjamin Burris, who hired and retained Mr. Hutchinson as an attorney in exchange for Mr. Hutchinson passing legislation benefiting Mr. Burris's orthodontic companies. Mr. Hutchinson, who was prosecuted by the DOJ during President Trump's first term, was sentenced to nearly eight years in prison for the two cases and ordered to pay over \$355,000 in restitution. After [spending](#) a little more than two years in prison, Mr. Hutchinson got to walk away a free man.

These are just a few examples of the many criminals who received a "get-out-of-jail-free-and-keep-the-money-you-stole" card from President Trump's corrupt pardon spree. A detailed index of individuals who were pardoned by Donald Trump and the amount of money they will likely no longer have to repay can be found in the Appendix.

Beyond blocking the direct restitution owed to employees, investors, taxpayers and other victims of his pardoned criminals, President Trump's move to provide refunds and wipe clean the ledgers of convicted criminals will likely directly affect funding for VOCA grants, which are the [primary source](#) of federal funding for thousands of victim service providers across the nation, including programs serving victims of trafficking, drunk driving, domestic violence, sexual assault, and child abuse. These critical grants are funded by the statutorily created [Crime Victims Fund](#) (CVF), which is supported by the criminal fines and penalties paid by convicted federal offenders. Under the first Trump Administration, deposits into the CVF [dropped](#) significantly because of his early turn away from white-collar criminal prosecutions, leading to large cuts in grants made to victim service providers. Despite bipartisan efforts to shore up the CVF in the Biden Administration, the second Trump Administration's recent actions pardoning white-collar criminals and wiping out their restitution debts are once again severely draining the coffers of this crucial channel for victims' assistance.

Although he promised that he would "make America safe again," Donald Trump's Administration is undermining public safety at every turn. He has pardoned and released *en masse* unrepentant, violent criminals back into our communities. He has allowed criminals to keep the money they have stolen from their victims and wiped out their obligation to make the victims of their crime whole, and he now apparently intends to go even further, refunding criminals' restitution payments *they have already made*. As former Assistant U.S. Attorney Greg Rosen, who was chief of the Justice Department's Capitol Siege Section, [noted](#) when he resigned, "[i]ndividuals who were duly—and appropriately—convicted of federal crimes ranging in culpability are immediately let loose without any supervision, without any remorse, without any rehabilitation to civil society." President Trump's corrupt pardon spree is a massive, undeserved giveaway to high-rolling fraudsters, crooked politicians, violent extremists, and fanatical and unrepentant cop beaters.

The vast majority of Americans want to live in a society where crime *doesn't* pay. But in Donald Trump's emerging gangster state, crime pays very well indeed, at least for people who engage in political violence for MAGA against the police and the government or commit white-collar fraud against workers, consumers, and taxpayers, the kinds of "suckers" for whom convicted felon Donald Trump shows nothing but daily contempt.

JUNE 17, 2025: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY DEMOCRATIC STAFF MEMO
“President Trump’s Pardons Cheat Victims out of an Astounding \$1.3 Billion in Restitution and Fines, Allowing Fraudsters, Tax Evaders, Drug Traffickers to Keep Ill-Gotten Gains”

APPENDIX

| Name | Offense (as listed on the Office of the Pardon Attorney’s (OPA) website)¹ | Pardon Date | Restitution Amount² | Forfeiture³ | Fines⁴ |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ross William Ulbricht | Aiding and abetting distribution of drugs over internet; continuing criminal enterprise; computer hacking conspiracy; fraud with identification documents; money laundering conspiracy | 1/21/2025 | | \$183,961,921 | |
| Coleman Boyd | Conspiracy to obstruct access to a clinic providing reproductive health services; violation of the FACE Act | 1/23/2025 | | | \$10,000 |
| Rod R. Blagojevich | Wire fraud under color of official right (eight counts); conspiracy/attempted; attempt to commit extortion under color of official right; conspiracy to solicit and solicitation of bribe (three counts); making false statements | 2/10/2025 | | | \$20,000 |
| Devon Archer | Conspiracy to commit securities fraud; securities fraud | 3/25/2025 | \$43,427,436 | | |
| Benjamin Delo | Violation of the Bank Secrecy Act | 3/27/2025 | | | \$10,000,000 ⁵ |
| Gregory Dwyer | Violating the Bank Secrecy Act | 3/27/2025 | | | \$150,000 |
| Arthur Hayes | Violation of the Bank Secrecy Act | 3/27/2025 | | | \$10,000,000 ⁶ |

¹ U.S. Dep’t. of Justice, Office of the Pardon Attorney, *Clemency Grants by President Donald J. Trump (2025-Present)*, <https://www.justice.gov/pardon/clemency-grants-president-donald-j-trump-2025-present> (last visited June 11, 2025).

² *Id.* (All amounts listed in the columns titled Restitution Amounts, Forfeiture, and Fines were sourced from the Office of the Pardon Attorney unless otherwise noted.)

³ *Id.*

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ Press Release, U.S. Atty’s Office S.D.N.Y., *Founders of Cryptocurrency Exchange Plead Guilty To Bank Secrecy Act Violations* (Feb. 24, 2022), available at <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/founders-cryptocurrency-exchange-plead-guilty-bank-secrecy-act-violations>.

⁶ *Id.*

| Name | Offense (as listed on OPA website) | Pardon Date | Restitution Amount | Forfeiture | Fines |
|----------------------------|--|-------------|----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| HDR Global Trading Limited | Violation of Bank Secrecy Act | 3/27/2025 | | | \$100,000,000 |
| Trevor Milton | Securities fraud; wire fraud (two counts) | 3/27/2025 | \$676,054,699 ⁷ | | |
| Samuel Reed | Violation of the Bank Secrecy Act | 3/27/2025 | | | \$10,000,000 ⁸ |
| Jason Galanis | 1. Conspiracy to commit securities fraud (two counts); securities fraud; investment adviser fraud 2. Conspiracy to commit securities fraud; securities fraud; conspiracy to commit investment adviser fraud | 3/28/2025 | \$84,817,513 | | |
| Ozy Media, Inc. | Conspiracy to commit securities fraud; conspiracy to commit wire fraud | 3/28/2025 | \$36,769,154 | | |
| Carlos Roy Watson | Conspiracy to commit securities fraud; conspiracy to commit wire fraud; aggravated identity theft | 3/28/2025 | \$36,769,154 | | |
| Michele Fiore | Conspiracy to commit wire fraud; wire fraud (six counts) | 4/23/2025 | \$70,000 ⁹ | | |
| Paul Walczak | Willful failure to pay trust fund taxes; failure to file return/information | 4/23/2025 | \$4,381,266 | | |
| Scott Howard Jenkins | Conspiracy to commit bribery concerning programs receiving Federal funds, honest services mail fraud, and honest service wire fraud; honest services mail fraud; honest services wire fraud (three counts); bribery concerning programs receiving federal funds (seven counts) | 5/27/2025 | | | \$600 |

⁷ Letter from Acting U.S. Atty Matthew Podolsky, U.S. Dep't. of Justice, S.D.N.Y, to The Hon. Edgardo Ramos, U.S. District Court, S.D.N.Y (Mar. 14, 2025), *available at* <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.nysd.564175/gov.uscourts.nysd.564175.361.0.pdf>.

⁸ Press Release, U.S. Atty's Office S.D.N.Y, *Founders of Cryptocurrency Exchange Plead Guilty To Bank Secrecy Act Violations* (Feb. 24, 2022), *available at* <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/founders-cryptocurrency-exchange-plead-guilty-bank-secrecy-act-violations>.

⁹ *Nevada politician guilty of using \$70,000 meant for statue of slain officer for personal cost*, ASSOC. PRESS (Oct. 3, 2024), <https://apnews.com/article/republican-michele-fiore-guilty-wire-fraud-nevada-5844d79dacf0bfd6b43d36e03eb6cd95>.

| Name | Offense (as listed on OPA website) | Pardon Date | Restitution Amount | Forfeiture | Fines |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------------------|------------|----------|
| James Callahan | Filing false labor union reports | 5/27/2025 | \$315,000 ¹⁰ | | |
| Kevin Eric Baisden | 1. Shoplifting 2. Second degree theft 3. Bail reform act 4. Second degree theft | 5/28/2025 | | | \$150 |
| Julie Chrisley | Conspiracy to commit bank fraud; bank fraud (five counts); wire fraud; conspiracy to defraud the U.S. to obstruct and impede the Internal Revenue Laws; tax evasion; obstruction of justice | 5/28/2025 | \$4,740,645 | | |
| Todd Chrisley | Conspiracy to commit bank fraud; bank fraud (five counts); conspiracy to defraud the U.S. to obstruct and impede the Internal Revenue Laws; tax evasion | 5/28/2025 | \$17,270,742 | | |
| Lawrence S. Duran | Conspiracy to commit health care fraud; health care fraud (11 counts); conspiracy to defraud the United States and to receive and pay health care kickbacks; conspiracy to commit money laundering; money laundering (18 counts); structuring to avoid reporting requirements (six counts) | 5/28/2025 | \$87,533,863 | | |
| Michael Gerard Grimm | Aiding and assisting in the preparation of false and fraudulent tax returns | 5/28/2025 | \$148,907 | | |
| Michael Ray Harris | Conspiracy to possess with intent to distribute and to aid and abet possession and distribution of cocaine; aiding and abetting possession with intent to distribute cocaine; possession with intent to distribute cocaine | 5/28/2025 | | | \$80,000 |

¹⁰ Press Release, U.S. Atty's Office D.C., *General President of International Union of Operating Engineers Pleads Guilty and Agrees to Resign* (Jan. 29, 2025), available at <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/general-president-international-union-operating-engineers-pleads-guilty-and-agrees>.

| Name | Offense (as listed on OPA website) | Pardon Date | Restitution Amount | Forfeiture | Fines |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------|
| James M. Kernan | Knowingly and willfully permitting a convicted felon to be engaged in the business of insurance | 5/28/2025 | | | \$250,000 |
| Marlene Mary Kernan | Permitting a convicted felon to engage in the business of insurance | 5/28/2025 | | | \$182,708 |
| Tanner J. Mansell | Theft of property within special maritime jurisdiction | 5/28/2025 | \$3,344 | | |
| John R. Moore, Jr. | Theft of property within special maritime jurisdiction | 5/28/2025 | \$3,344 | | \$1,000 |
| Marian I Morgan | Conspiracy to defraud the United States; wire fraud (7 counts); transfer of funds taken by fraud (5 counts); money laundering (6 counts); making false statements on income tax returns (3 counts) | 5/28/2025 | \$19,958,995 | | |
| John G. Rowland | 1. Conspiracy to defraud the United States; 2. Falsification of records in a federal investigation; conspiracy; causing false statements (two counts); illegal campaign contributions (two counts) | 5/28/2025 | | | \$117,000 |
| Charles Overton Scott | Conspiracy to commit securities fraud; securities fraud | 5/28/2025 | \$500,000 | | \$5,000 |
| Alexander Sittenfeld | Bribery concerning programs receiving federal funds; attempted extortion under color of official right | 5/28/2025 | | | \$40,000 |
| Earl Lamont Smith | Theft of government property | 5/28/2025 | \$163,330 | | |
| Charles Lavar Tanner | Conspiracy to possess with intent to distribute five kilograms or more of cocaine; attempt to possess with intent to distribute five kilograms or more of cocaine | 5/28/2025 | | | \$1,000 |

| Name | Offense (as listed on OPA website) | Pardon Date | Restitution Amount | Forfeiture | Fines |
|-------------------------|---|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Imaad Shah Zuberi | Violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act; tax evasion; foreign, conduit, and other illegal campaign contributions; tampering with a witness, victim or informant (obstruction of justice) | 5/28/2025 | \$15,705,080 | | \$1,750,000 |
| Jeremy Young Hutchinson | 1. Conspiracy to commit bribery 2. Aiding and abetting filing of false income tax return 3. Conspiracy; criminal forfeiture of property | 5/29/2025 | \$355,535 | | |
| Edward Ruben Sotelo | Conspiracy; continuing criminal enterprise; possession with intent to distribute 1 kilogram of cocaine, aiding and abetting (two counts); use of telephone to facilitate commission of a felony (three counts); possession with intent to distribute 10 pounds of marijuana, and aiding and abetting; distribution of more than five kilograms of cocaine and aiding and abetting | 5/29/2025 | | | \$50,000 |
| January 6th Defendants | Varies ¹¹ | 1/20/2025 | \$3,000,000 | | |
| SUB-TOTALS: | | | \$1,031,988,007 | \$183,961,921 | \$132,657,458 |
| OVERALL TOTAL: | | | \$1,348,607,386 | | |

¹¹ Scott MacFarlane, *Jan. 6 offenders have paid only a fraction of restitution owed for damage to U.S. Capitol during riot*, CBS NEWS (June 13, 2024), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/jan-6-restitution-capitol-damage/>.