

Harriet Hageman: Research and Sources

The Massie-Khanna transparency effort, the three-resolutions trail, the 76-day interval, continuing redaction litigation, and the fiscal record.

Purpose: supply the factual foundation for a concise public record page. This packet distinguishes verified facts, attributed allegations, responses, and analysis.

RESEARCH STANDARD

- Prefer statutes, bill text, recorded votes, official government records, and court filings.
- Attribute news reporting and advocacy research by name.
- Do not convert a lawsuit allegation into a judicial finding.
- State material context that prevents a technically true claim from becoming misleading.
- Use short quotations only when the exact words are important.

Last reviewed: August 19, 2026

Prepared for page development and factual review. Links should be checked again immediately before publication.

Verified findings

1. The original Massie-Khanna effort began July 15, 2025.

Massie introduced H.Res. 581 for himself and Khanna. It was a special rule designed to bring H.R. 185 before the House and replace its text with the Epstein Files Transparency Act. On the same day, Khanna introduced H.R. 4405 for himself and Massie. H.R. 4405 was the stand-alone binding bill that ultimately became law.

2. H.Res. 589 was a separate nonbinding route.

H.Res. 589 was introduced July 17. It called for release within 30 days and prohibited redaction based on embarrassment, reputational harm, or political sensitivity. It was not the original Massie-Khanna act and should not be called the Epstein Files Transparency Act.

3. H.Res. 598 would have deemed H.Res. 589 adopted.

House Report 119-209 describes H.Res. 598 as a one-sentence procedural measure. During committee consideration, an amendment proposed immediate consideration of binding H.R. 4405 instead. That amendment failed 4-9. Hageman was not on the Rules Committee and did not cast this July committee vote.

4. H.Res. 672, Section 10, tabled H.Res. 598.

On September 3, H.Res. 672 passed 212-208. Section 10 stated: 'House Resolution 598 is laid on the table.' Hageman voted Aye on the complete package. The vote was not a separate vote on Section 10. The same package adopted H.Res. 668, directing continued House Oversight investigation.

5. Massie's discharge route proceeded through H.Res. 581.

Massie filed the discharge petition on September 2, one day before the H.Res. 672 vote. The petition reached 218 signatures on November 12 and forced House action. The final vote occurred November 18.

6. Seventy-six days elapsed between Hageman's procedural vote and the binding vote.

September 3 through November 18 is a 76-day interval. The supported formulation is: 'After Hageman voted for the package containing Section 10, 76 days elapsed before H.R. 4405 reached a House vote.' Do not state that Hageman alone caused the entire delay.

7. Hageman ultimately voted for H.R. 4405.

H.R. 4405 passed the House 427-1 on November 18. Hageman voted Aye. The Senate approved the bill, and it became Public Law 119-38 on November 19. Any account of the procedural history must disclose her final yes vote.

Continuing transparency dispute

The Justice Department announced on January 30, 2026 that it had published nearly 3.5 million responsive pages and complied with the Act. That assertion is now disputed in federal court.

ABC News and Courthouse News reported in August 2026 that Judge Emmet Sullivan had concluded that withheld material and redactions violated the Act. The ruling stated that the attorney general had conceded noncompliance. The judge required release or legal justification for continued withholding.

On July 15, 2026, Massie, Khanna, and additional sponsors introduced H.R. 9694, the Epstein Files Transparency Act II. The proposal would give victims, state attorneys general, and members of Congress standing to challenge failures to comply with Public Law 119-38.

Fiscal record

Federal gross debt crossed \$40 trillion in August 2026. This total accumulated through many Congresses and administrations. Do not attribute the entire debt to Hageman or one vote.

Hageman voted Aye on final passage of H.R. 1 on July 3, 2025. CBO's February 2026 outlook states that the 2025 reconciliation act increased projected deficits by \$4.7 trillion over 2026-2035 after economic changes and related debt-service costs were considered.

Recommended concise thesis

Hageman ultimately voted for Epstein transparency, but the complete record includes her September vote for a package whose Section 10 tabled the pending H.Res. 598 route. Seventy-six days passed before the binding Massie-Khanna act received a vote, and the fight over withheld material continues.

Publication language

Supported language

- Massie and Khanna launched the original transparency effort through H.Res. 581 and H.R. 4405 on July 15, 2025.
- H.Res. 589 and H.Res. 598 were a separate, nonbinding route advanced later in July.
- Hageman voted for H.Res. 672, whose Section 10 tabled H.Res. 598.
- Seventy-six days elapsed before the binding H.R. 4405 received a House vote.
- Hageman ultimately voted yes on H.R. 4405.
- DOJ claims compliance, while a federal judge has found violations involving withholding and redactions.
- Hageman voted for the 2025 reconciliation law, which CBO says increased projected deficits by \$4.7 trillion over 2026-2035.

Language to avoid

- Do not call H.Res. 589 the original Epstein Files Transparency Act.
- Do not say H.Res. 672 tabled H.R. 4405 or H.Res. 581.
- Do not describe Hageman's vote as a separate vote on Section 10.
- Do not attribute the July Rules Committee vote to Hageman.
- Do not omit Hageman's final vote for H.R. 4405.
- Do not say Hageman alone caused the 76-day interval.
- Do not attribute the entire \$40 trillion debt to Hageman.

Primary legislative sources

1. H.Res. 581 - Introduced text

U.S. Government Publishing Office | July 15, 2025 | Primary source

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/BILLS-119hres581ih/xhtml/BILLS-119hres581ih.html>

Supports: Massie's original floor-forcing resolution with Khanna and the embedded transparency language.

2. H.R. 4405 - Epstein Files Transparency Act

U.S. Government Publishing Office | July 15, 2025 | Primary source

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/BILLS-119hr4405ih/html/BILLS-119hr4405ih.htm>

Supports: The binding bill introduced by Khanna for himself and Massie.

3. H.Res. 589 - Introduced text

U.S. Government Publishing Office | July 17, 2025 | Primary source

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/BILLS-119hres589ih/html/BILLS-119hres589ih.htm>

Supports: The separate release resolution, including prohibited and permitted redactions.

4. House Report 119-209

U.S. Government Publishing Office | July 21, 2025 | Primary source

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CRPT-119hrpt209/html/CRPT-119hrpt209.htm>

Supports: H.Res. 598's purpose and the failed 4-9 amendment for immediate consideration of H.R. 4405.

5. H.Res. 672 text

House Committee on Rules | September 2, 2025 | Primary source

<https://rules.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/rules.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/rule-hr-4553-hjres-104-105-106.pdf>

Supports: Section 8 adopted H.Res. 668; Section 10 tabled H.Res. 598.

6. Roll Call 222 - H.Res. 672

Office of the Clerk, U.S. House | September 3, 2025 | Primary source

<https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2025222>

Supports: The 212-208 package vote and Hageman's Aye vote.

7. Motion to discharge H.Res. 581

Congressional Record | November 12, 2025 | Primary source

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CREC-2025-11-12/pdf/CREC-2025-11-12-house.pdf>

Supports: The discharge vehicle and recorded signatures after the petition reached the required threshold.

8. Roll Call 289 - H.R. 4405

Office of the Clerk, U.S. House | November 18, 2025 | Primary source

<https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2025289>

Supports: The 427-1 final House vote and Hageman's Aye vote.

9. Congressional Bill H.R. 4405 Signed into Law

The White House | November 19, 2025 | Primary source

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/2025/11/congressional-bill-h-r-4405-signed-into-law/>

Supports: Signing date and the law's stated purpose.

10. Public Law 119-38

U.S. Government Publishing Office | November 19, 2025 | Primary source

<https://www.govinfo.gov/link/plaw/119/public/38>

Supports: Enacted text of the Epstein Files Transparency Act.

Compliance and fiscal sources

11. Department of Justice Publishes 3.5 Million Responsive Pages

U.S. Department of Justice | January 30, 2026 | Primary source

<https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/departments-justice-publishes-35-million-responsive-pages-compliance-epstein-files>

Supports: DOJ's claim that nearly 3.5 million pages were released in compliance with the Act.

12. Judge presses DOJ to explain Epstein files redactions

ABC News | August 13, 2026 | Independent reporting

<https://abcnews.com/Politics/judge-press-doj-explain-epstein-files-redactions-withheld/story?id=135613140>

Supports: The June ruling, the concession of noncompliance, and the August hearing.

13. Feds struggle to explain redactions in Epstein files compliance case

Courthouse News Service | August 13, 2026 | Independent legal reporting

<https://www.courthousenews.com/feds-struggle-to-explain-redactions-in-epstein-files-compliance-case/>

Supports: Details of the court's concerns about redactions, withheld notes, and Federal Register justifications.

14. H.R. 9694 - Epstein Files Transparency Act II

U.S. Government Publishing Office | July 15, 2026 | Primary source

<https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/BILLS-119hr9694ih>

Supports: The enforcement proposal and its relationship to Public Law 119-38.

15. Massie, Khanna and colleagues introduce Epstein Files Transparency Act II

Office of Rep. Thomas Massie | July 15, 2026 | Sponsor statement

<https://massie.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=395849>

Supports: Sponsors' explanation of the proposed enforcement and standing provisions.

16. Roll Call 190 - H.R. 1

Office of the Clerk, U.S. House | July 3, 2025 | Primary source

<https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2025190>

Supports: Hageman's Aye vote on the final 2025 reconciliation legislation.

17. The Budget and Economic Outlook: 2026 to 2036

Congressional Budget Office | February 11, 2026 | Primary source

<https://www.cbo.gov/publication/61882>

Supports: CBO's \$4.7 trillion projected deficit effect from the 2025 reconciliation act.

18. US debt crosses \$40 trillion threshold

Reuters | August 19, 2026 | Independent reporting

<https://www.reuters.com/world/us-debt-crosses-40-trillion-threshold-after-doubling-under-trump-biden-2026-08-19/>

Supports: The \$40.047 trillion gross-debt milestone and broad historical context.

Final verification checklist

- Recalculate the 76-day interval if either endpoint is changed.
- Confirm Hageman's recorded vote on each roll call directly from the House Clerk.
- Retain the distinction between H.Res. 581, H.R. 4405, H.Res. 589, H.Res. 598, and H.Res. 672.
- State that H.Res. 672 also adopted H.Res. 668 for continued Oversight investigation.
- Confirm the latest status of the compliance litigation immediately before publication.
- Attribute the \$4.7 trillion projection to CBO and the \$40.047 trillion figure to Treasury-based reporting.