

House Calendar No. \_\_

118TH CONGRESS

*1st Session*

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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REPORT

118-\_\_

IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS  
RELATING TO REPRESENTATIVE  
GEORGE SANTOS

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R E P O R T  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS



November 16, 2023.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered  
to be printed

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**ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS ON NOVEMBER 14, 2023**

**118TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS**

**IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO  
REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE SANTOS**

**NOVEMBER 14, 2023**

Mr. GUEST, from the Committee on Ethics, submitted the following

**REPORT**

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ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

# U.S. House of Representatives

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

November 16, 2023

The Honorable Kevin F. McCumber  
Acting Clerk, House of Representatives  
H-154, The Capitol  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. McCumber:

Pursuant to clauses 3(a)(2) and 3(b) of Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, we herewith transmit the attached report, "In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative George Santos."

Sincerely,

Michael Guest  
Chairman

Susan Wild  
Ranking Member

**C O N T E N T S**

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**118TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS**

**IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO  
REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE SANTOS**

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**November 14, 2023**

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Mr. GUEST, from the Committee on Ethics, submitted the following

**R E P O R T**

In accordance with House Rule XI, clauses 3(a)(2) and 3(b), the Committee on Ethics (Committee) hereby submits the following Report to the House of Representatives:

**I. FINDINGS**

On November 14, 2023, the Committee unanimously voted to adopt the Report of the Investigative Subcommittee (ISC), which is enclosed as Appendix A. The Committee also unanimously voted, pursuant to Committee Rule 28, to refer to the Department of Justice (DOJ) substantial evidence that Representative Santos: knowingly caused his campaign committee to file false or incomplete reports with the Federal Election Commission; used campaign funds for personal purposes; engaged in fraudulent conduct in connection with RedStone Strategies LLC; and engaged in knowing and willful violations of the Ethics in Government Act as it relates to his Financial Disclosure (FD) Statements filed with the House.

Amid a deferral request from DOJ and Representative Santos' obfuscation and delay, the ISC expeditiously compiled a voluminous record consisting of over 170,000 pages of documents and testimony from dozens of witnesses, including financial statements, contemporaneous communications, and other materials. That record demonstrated the breadth of Representative Santos' misconduct. As discussed in the ISC's Report:

Representative Santos sought to fraudulently exploit every aspect of his House candidacy for his own personal financial profit.

He blatantly stole from his campaign.

He deceived donors into providing what they thought were contributions to his campaign but were in fact payments for his personal benefit.

He reported fictitious loans to his political committees to induce donors and party committees to make further contributions to his campaign – and then diverted more campaign money to himself as purported “repayments” of those fictitious loans.

He used his connections to high value donors and other political campaigns to obtain additional funds for himself through fraudulent or otherwise questionable business dealings.

And he sustained all of this through a constant series of lies to his constituents, donors, and staff about his background and experience.<sup>1</sup>

Representative Santos continues to flout his statutory financial disclosure obligations and has failed to correct countless errors and omissions in his past FD Statements, despite being repeatedly reminded by the ISC and the Committee of his requirement to do so.

The ISC also found that, despite his attempts to blame others for much of the misconduct, Representative Santos was a knowing and active participant in the wrongdoing. Particularly troubling was Representative Santos’ lack of candor during the investigation itself.

At the outset of the review, Representative Santos was given an opportunity, pursuant to Committee Rule 17(b), to submit a signed written statement responding to the allegations raised in a complaint filed by his fellow Members; he did not do so. The ISC requested that he provide all documents and information responsive to its Request for Information; he did not do so. The ISC asked him to voluntarily testify; he did not do so. The ISC also provided him the opportunity, pursuant to Committee Rule 19(b)(3), to provide a statement under oath, but he did not do so. Representative Santos’ repeated public statements that he would like to prove his innocence and is cooperating with the ISC’s investigation are belied by his consistent failure to meaningfully cooperate with the ISC’s review.

The ISC and the Committee have now completed their review of the allegations and charges and have amassed overwhelming evidence of his misconduct. This evidence is summarized in the ISC’s Report.<sup>2</sup>

## **II. PROCEDURAL BACKGROUND**

On November 9, 2023, the ISC transmitted a Report to the Committee summarizing its findings, which include substantial evidence that Representative Santos violated federal criminal laws and other standards of conduct within the Committee’s jurisdiction. Based on the unique and unprecedented circumstances in this case, the ISC unanimously determined that the Committee’s duty to safeguard the integrity of the House and the interests of justice warranted the immediate

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<sup>1</sup> ISC Report at 4.

<sup>2</sup> Consistent with Committee Rule 25, the Report includes any evidence that could be considered substantially favorable to Representative Santos.

disclosure of its findings and recommended that the Committee refer evidence to DOJ. The ISC further recommended that the Committee adopt its Report and publicly condemn Representative Santos for his conduct, which the ISC found to be beneath the dignity of the office and to have brought severe discredit upon the House.

The ISC was in regular contact with DOJ to ensure that its investigation did not unduly interfere with the ongoing prosecution of Representative Santos. Those communications led the ISC to delay its review at multiple stages of the investigation and to forgo certain investigative steps.

The Committee agreed with the ISC's recommendation that these findings should be disclosed immediately, and evidence referred to DOJ. The Committee's referral to DOJ includes evidence of alleged violations beyond those Representative Santos is currently charged with in the pending criminal matter. Committee and House Rules provide a process by which the ISC can bring formal charges through a Statement of Alleged Violations, which would then be subject to a lengthy trial-like public adjudication and sanctions hearing by the Committee, after which the Committee can make a recommendation to the full House. Given Representative Santos' failure to meaningfully engage with the Committee to date, proceeding with that adjudicatory process would only provide Representative Santos with further opportunity to delay any accountability for his actions and could risk interfering with the ongoing criminal prosecution. The ISC thus chose to report its findings to the Committee, pursuant to Committee Rule 19(g), and the Committee has decided to send that Report to the full House, pursuant to Committee Rule 21(a).

The Committee encourages all Members of the House to carefully read the ISC's Report, which details grave and pervasive campaign finance violations and fraudulent activity by Representative Santos, and take any action they deem appropriate and necessary, based on the ISC's findings, to fulfill the House's Constitutional mandate to police the conduct of its Members.

### **III. STATEMENT UNDER HOUSE RULE XIII, CLAUSE 3(C)**

The Committee made no special oversight findings in this Report. No budget statement is submitted. No funding is authorized by any measure in this Report.