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REPORT

118-__

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES
ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

R E P O R T

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS



January 2, 2025.— Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS ON JANUARY 2, 2025

**118TH CONGRESS, 2ND SESSION
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS**

**SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES
118TH CONGRESS**

JANUARY 2, 2025

Mr. GUEST from the Committee on Ethics submitted the following

REPORT

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Jennifer Seeba, *Counsel*

January 2, 2025

The Honorable Kevin F. McCumber
Acting Clerk, House of Representatives
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, "Summary of Activities 118th Congress."

Sincerely,

Michael Guest
Chairman

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SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

January 2, 2025—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the

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

R E P O R T

OVERVIEW

The Committee on Ethics (Committee) is tasked with interpreting and enforcing the House’s ethics rules. The Committee has sole jurisdiction over the interpretation of the Code of Official Conduct, which governs the acts of House Members, officers, and employees. The Committee is the only standing House committee with equal numbers of Democratic and Republican Members. The Committee’s professional staff is required by rule to be nonpartisan.

In the 118th Congress, the Committee was led Chairman Michael Guest and Ranking Member Susan Wild. The Members appointed at the beginning of the Congress were David P. Joyce, John H. Rutherford, Andrew R. Garbarino, Michelle Fischbach, Veronica Escobar, Mark DeSaulnier, Deborah K. Ross, and Glenn F. Ivey.

The Committee’s core responsibilities include: providing training, advice, and education to House Members, officers, and employees; reviewing and approving requests to accept privately-sponsored travel related to official duties; reviewing and certifying all financial disclosure reports Members, candidates for the House, officers, and senior staff are required to file; and investigating and adjudicating allegations of misconduct and violations of rules, laws, or other standards of conduct.

The Committee met 23 times in the 118th Congress, including 10 times in 2023 and 13 times in 2024.

Within the scope of its training, advice and education, travel, and financial disclosure responsibilities, the Committee:

- Issued over 800 formal advisory opinions regarding ethics rules;

- Reviewed and approved more than 4,300 requests to accept privately-sponsored, officially-connected travel;
- Fielded more than 38,000 informal telephone calls, emails, and in-person requests for guidance on ethics issues;
- Released 29 advisory memoranda on various ethics topics to the House;
- Provided training to approximately 16,000 House Members, officers, and employees each year, and reviewed their certifications for satisfying the House’s mandatory training requirements;
- Received nearly 9,979 Financial Disclosure Statements and amendments filed by House Members, officers, senior staff, and House candidates; and
- Received more than 2,775 Periodic Transaction Reports filed by House Members, officers, and senior staff, containing thousands of transactions.

The Committee is also responsible for investigating allegations against House Members, officers, and employees. The Committee uses a mix of investigative techniques to determine the validity of factual allegations, explore potential rules violations, and recommend appropriate sanctions and corrective actions. The Committee’s options for investigating a matter include fact-gathering under Committee Rules 16(c) or 18(a), the impanelment of investigative subcommittees (ISC), consideration of formal complaints, and the review of transmittals from the Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE). Committee review of a matter in any of these formats is an “investigation” under House and Committee rules. Also, it is not uncommon for a matter to be investigated by the Committee in more than one of these formats over the course of the Committee’s overall review of that matter. For example, as discussed further in this report, the Committee may occasionally begin an investigation under Committee Rule 18(a) and subsequently determine that it is appropriate to continue the investigation through an ISC.

The initiation or status of an investigative matter may or may not be publicly disclosed, depending on the circumstances of the individual matter. However, the fact that the Committee is investigating a particular matter, opts to investigate a matter in one format instead of another, is required or chooses to make a public statement regarding a pending investigative matter, or that a House Member, officer, or employee is referenced in an investigative matter should not be construed as a finding or suggestion that the Member, officer, or employee has committed any violation of the rules, law, or standards of conduct.

During the 118th Congress, within the scope of its investigative responsibilities, the Committee:

- Commenced or continued investigative fact-gathering regarding 41 separate investigative matters;

- Impaneled 3 ISCs, in the matters of Rep. George Santos, Rep. Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick, and Rep. Henry Cuellar;
- Held 19 ISC meetings;
- Filed 5 reports with the House totaling approximately 1,688 pages regarding various investigative matters;
- Publicly addressed 20 matters, described in Section VII of this report;
- Resolved 12 additional matters;
- Conducted 101 voluntary witness interviews;
- Authorized the issuance of 108 subpoenas;
- Conducted 7 interviews pursuant to subpoenas; and
- Reviewed over 1,469,945 pages of documents.

Nine investigative matters were pending before the Committee as of January 2, 2025.

All the Committee’s work as summarized in this report is made possible by the Committee’s talented professional, nonpartisan staff. The Members of the Committee wish to acknowledge their hard work and dedication to the Committee and the House. In addition, the Committee wishes to thank its departing Members for their service and for the thoughtfulness and collegiality they showed during their time on the Committee.

I. INTRODUCTION

House Rule XI, clause 1(d), requires each committee to submit to the House, not later than January 2 of each odd-numbered year, a report on the activities of that committee under that rule and House Rule X. This report summarizes the activities of the Committee for the entirety of the 118th Congress.

The jurisdiction of the Committee on Ethics is defined in clauses 3(g), 4(d)(1) and 6(c)(5) of House Rule II, clauses 1(g) and 11(g)(4) of House Rule X, clause 3 of House Rule XI, and clause 5(h) of House Rule XXV. The text of those provisions is attached as Appendix I to this Report.

In addition, several provisions of statutory law confer authority on the Committee. Specifically, for purposes of the statutes on gifts to federal employees (5 U.S.C. § 7353) and gifts to superiors (5 U.S.C. § 7351), both the Committee and the House of Representatives are the “supervising ethics office” of House Members, officers, and employees. In addition, as discussed further in Part III below, for House Members, officers, and employees, the Committee is both the “supervising ethics office” for financial disclosure under the Ethics in Government Act (EIGA) (5 U.S.C. app. §§ 101 *et seq.*) and

the “employing agency” for certain purposes under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (5 U.S.C. § 7342). The outside employment and earned income limitations of the EIGA are administered by the Committee with respect to House Members, officers, and employees (5 U.S.C. app. § 503(1)(A)). Finally, the notification of negotiation and recusal requirements created by the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act (HLOGA) are administered, in part, by the Committee.

II. ADVICE AND EDUCATION

Pursuant to the Ethics Reform Act of 1989 (2 U.S.C. § 4711(i)), the Committee maintains an Office of Advice and Education, which is staffed as directed by the Committee’s Chair and Ranking Member. Under the statute, the Office’s primary responsibilities include:

- Providing information and guidance to House Members, officers, and employees on the laws, rules, and other standards of conduct applicable to them in their official capacities;
- Drafting responses to specific advisory opinion requests received from House Members, officers, and employees, and submitting them to the Chair and Ranking Member for review and approval;
- Drafting advisory memoranda on the ethics rules for general distribution to House Members, officers, and employees, and submitting them to the Chair and Ranking Member, or the full Committee, for review and approval; and
- Developing and conducting educational briefings for House Members, officers, and employees.

The duties of the Office of Advice and Education are also addressed in Committee Rule 3, which sets out additional requirements and procedures for the issuance of Committee advisory opinions.

Under Committee Rule 3(j), the Committee will keep confidential any request for advice from a Member, officer, or employee, as well as any response to such a request. As a further inducement to House Members, officers, and employees to seek Committee advice whenever they have any uncertainty on the applicable laws, rules, or standards, statutory law (2 U.S.C. § 4711(i)(4)) provides that no information provided to the Committee by a Member or staff person when seeking advice on prospective conduct may be used as a basis for initiating a Committee investigation if the individual acts in accordance with the Committee’s written advice. In the same vein, Committee Rule 3(k) provides that the Committee may take no adverse action in regard to any conduct that has been undertaken in reliance on a written opinion of the Committee if the conduct conforms to the specific facts addressed in the opinion. Committee Rule 3(l) also precludes the Committee from using information provided to the Committee by a requesting individual “seeking advice regarding prospective conduct ... as the basis for initiating an investigation,” provided that the requesting individual “acts in good faith in accordance

with the written advice of the Committee.” In addition, the Committee understands that federal courts may consider the good faith reliance of a House Member, officer, or employee on written Committee advice from nonpartisan staff as a defense to Justice Department prosecution regarding certain statutory violations.¹

The Committee believes that a broad, active program for advice and education is an extremely important means for attaining understanding of, and compliance with, the ethics rules. The Committee’s specific efforts on publications, briefings, and advisory opinion letters during the 118th Congress are set forth below. On a daily basis, Committee staff attorneys also provided informal advice in response to inquiries received from Members, staff persons, and third parties in telephone calls and e-mails directed to the Committee office, as well as in person. During the 118th Congress, Committee attorneys responded to more than 38,000 phone calls, e-mail messages, and in-person requests for advice, and participated in many informal meetings with Members, House staff, or outside individuals or groups regarding specific ethics matters.

PUBLICATIONS

The Committee’s major publication is the *House Ethics Manual*. The Manual provides detailed explanations of all aspects of the ethics rules and statutes applicable to House Members, officers, and employees. Topics covered by the Manual include the acceptance of gifts or travel, campaign activity, casework, outside employment, and involvement with official and outside organizations. In the 118th Congress, the Committee issued an updated print of the Manual, including revised travel and gift sections. The Committee also updated the *Highlights of the House Ethics Rules*. All current Committee publications, including the *House Ethics Manual 2022 Print* and the *Highlights of the House Ethics Rules 2022 Print*, are available from the Committee’s office and their text is posted in a mobile-friendly searchable format on the Committee’s website, at <https://ethics.house.gov>.

The Committee updates and expands upon the materials in the Manual and highlights matters of particular concern, through the issuance of general advisory memoranda and quarterly newsletters to all House Members, officers, and employees. The memoranda and newsletters issued during the 118th Congress were as follows:

- Two Upcoming Live, In Person Ethics Training Sessions for 2023
- Launch of PTR Due Date Calculator and STOCK Act Reminder

¹ For example, a federal court held that it is a complete defense to a prosecution for conduct assertedly in violation of a related federal criminal strict-liability statute (18 U.S.C. § 208) that the conduct was undertaken in good faith reliance upon erroneous legal advice received from the official’s supervising ethics office. *United States v. Hedges*, 912 F.2d 1397, 1403 n.2 (11th Cir. 1990).

- The 2023 Outside Earned Income Limit and Salaries Triggering the Financial Disclosure Requirement and Post-Employment Restrictions Applicable to House Officers and Employees
- Upcoming Financial Disclosure Clinics & Training
- Committee on Ethics Quarterly Newsletter Q1 2023
- Committee on Ethics Quarterly Newsletter Q2 2023
- Joint Guidance Relating to Natural and National Disasters
- Ethics Guidance Related to Operations During a Lapse in Appropriations
- Annual Member Ethics Training Announcement 2023
- Senior Staff Ethics Training Announcement 2023
- Joint Guidance on Capitol Flag Flying Program
- Committee on Ethics Quarterly Newsletter Q3 2023
- Holiday Guidance on the Gift Rule
- Reminder of Ethics Training Requirements for 2023
- The 2024 Outside Earned Income Limit and Salaries Triggering the Financial Disclosure Requirement and Post-Employment Restrictions
- Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act CY 2023 Reporting Reminder
- Committee on Ethics Quarterly Newsletter Q4 2023
- Upcoming Financial Disclosure Clinics & Training
- Annual Member Ethics Training Announcement 2024
- Revised Legal Expense Fund Regulations
- Committee on Ethics Quarterly Newsletter Q1 2024
- Joint Guidance Regarding Co-Sponsored Constituent Service Events
- Events Taking Place and Gifts Offered During a National Political Convention
- Joint Guidance Regarding National Party Conventions

- Rules Regarding Providing a Hyperlink from Campaign Websites to Official Websites
- Campaign Activity Guidance
- Committee on Ethics Quarterly Newsletter Q2 2024
- Joint Guidance Regarding Leadership Races
- Guidance for House Staff Assisting in the Presidential Transition
- Committee on Ethics Quarterly Newsletter Q3 2024
- Reminder of Ethics Training Requirement for 2024
- Negotiations for Future Employment and Restrictions on Post-Employment for House Members and Officers
- Negotiations for Future Employment and Restrictions on Post-Employment for House Staff
- Member Swearing-In and Inauguration Events
- Legitimate and Verifiable Use of Campaign Funds
- New Ethics Committee Website

A copy of each of these advisory memoranda and newsletters is included as Appendix II to this Report.

The Committee also submits monthly reports of the Committee's activities to the Committee on House Administration (CHA). Finally, with this report, the Committee has sought to provide as much transparency as is appropriate while respecting confidentiality requirements. In addition to the many statistics cited throughout this report, the Committee publishes the following summary chart.

Committee Report (numbers are approximate)	2023	2024	TOTAL
Formal Advice and Approval			
Advisory Opinion Requests Received	471	406	877
Advisory Opinions Mailed	462	374	836
Travel Requests Received	3,025	2,668	5,693
Travel Opinions Mailed	1,805	2,587	4,392
Informal Advice (including Financial Disclosure)			
Phone Calls (approximate)	9,647	8,813	18,460
Emails (approximate)	9,143	10,095	19,238
Walk-Ins (approximate)	177	193	370
Training			
Total # of House Employees (as of Dec. 31, 2024)			
Employees having completed training	17,839	15,964	33,803
Training briefings (scheduled training sessions)	42	34	76
Personal Advisory Meetings with Members, officers, and employees	130	123	253
Investigations			
Investigative Matters carried over from the 117th Congress	12	--	12
Investigative Matters commenced in the 118th Congress	14	15	29
Investigative Subcommittees carried over from the 117th Congress	0	0	0
Investigative Subcommittees commenced	1	2	3
Publicly Disclosed Resolutions	1	8	9
Confidential Resolutions	4	8	12
Referrals received from the Office of Congressional Ethics	9	6	15
Financial Disclosures			
FD Reports filed by Members, officers, and employees	3,046	2,706	5,752
FD Reports filed by Candidates	567	885	1,452
FD Reports and amendments reviewed by Committee staff	3,318	2,963	6,281
PTRs filed by Members, officers, and employees	1,336	1,439	2,775
Total FD Reports and PTRs filed by all filers	4,949	5,030	9,979
Committee Publications			
Pink Sheets/General Advisories	11	18	29
Newsletters	3	4	7
Public Statements	9	20	29
Investigative Reports	1	4	5
Miscellaneous Oversight			
Recusals	31	55	86
Negotiations	92	119	211
Qualified Blind Trusts	5	5	10
Legal Expense Funds	5	6	11
Foreign Gifts and Travel Reports	12	19	31
Meetings			
Full Committee Meetings	10	13	23
Subcommittee Meetings	8	10	19
Personnel			
Lowest Total Staff Level	24	28	--
Highest Total Staff Level	28	29	--

ETHICS TRAINING

Clause 3(a)(6) of House Rule XI, which originated in the 110th Congress, requires all House Members and employees to complete ethics training each calendar year, pursuant

to guidelines to be issued by the Committee. The House rules and the Committee's guidelines require each House employee to complete one hour of ethics training each calendar year. The guidelines also require all House employees who are paid at the "senior staff rate" to complete an additional hour of training each Congress on issues primarily of interest to senior staff.² Rule XI requires new House Members and employees to complete ethics training within 60 days of the commencement of their service to the House.³

Pursuant to its obligations under Rule XI, the Committee held 42 ethics training sessions during 2023 and 34 during 2024. During the 118th Congress, Members, officers, and employees fulfilled their training requirement either through attending a training session in person or by viewing an on-line presentation. The training sessions for new Members and employees provided a general summary of the House ethics rules in all areas, such as gifts, travel, campaign activity, casework, involvement with outside entities, and outside employment. The live and on-line sessions for existing Members and employees covered specific topics, such as gifts, travel, and campaign work, in greater depth. The Committee also provided senior staff with different options to fulfill their additional training requirement, including an on-line overview of rules of particular significance for senior staff and live, in-depth trainings focused on a single topic of importance for senior staff.

In 2023, the Committee trained 1,257 employees at live ethics briefings, and more than 16,000 used one of the on-demand training options. During 2024, the Committee trained 388 employees at live ethics briefings, and more than 15,500 through one of the on-demand training options. The total number of employees who completed ethics training for 2024 will be determined after January 31, 2025, the date that House Rule XI established as the deadline for employees to certify completion of the ethics training requirement for 2024.

In addition to the training required under House Rule XI, the Committee also provided training in several other contexts. The House will include 66 new Members in the 119th Congress, most of whom have not previously served in the House. The Committee made a presentation to the Members-elect of the 119th Congress during New Member Orientation and participated in two issue-specific panels. The Committee also met with numerous departing Members and staff to counsel them on the ethics rules related to their transition to private life and the post-employment restrictions. The Committee also provided training open to all House Members, officers, and employees on the financial disclosure rules, which are discussed further in Section III.

Committee staff also participated in 1 briefing sponsored by or held for the members of outside organizations. In addition, Committee staff led approximately 6

² In 2024, the senior staff rate was \$147,649 per year, or a monthly salary above \$12,304. This figure is subject to change each year, and the Committee issues a general advisory memorandum to all House Members, officers, and employees announcing changes in this and other salary thresholds relevant to ethics rules.

³ The requirement that new Members receive training within 60 days of commencement of their service to the House was added to House Rule XI in the 114th Congress.

briefings for visiting international dignitaries from a variety of countries, including Kosovo, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, the Philippines, Laos, Ghana, Nigeria, and Saudi Arabia.

ADVISORY OPINION LETTERS

The Committee's Office of Advice and Education, under the direction and supervision of the Committee's Chair and Ranking Member, prepared and issued 836 private advisory opinions during the 118th Congress: 462 in 2023 and 374 in 2024.

Opinions issued by the Committee in the 118th Congress addressed a wide range of subjects, including various provisions of the Gift Rule, campaign-related activities, the outside earned income and employment limitations, co-sponsored constituent service events, and the post-employment restrictions.

TRAVEL APPROVAL LETTERS

As discussed above, House Rule XXV, clause 5(d)(2), which was enacted at the start of the 110th Congress, charged each House Member or employee with obtaining Committee approval before undertaking any officially-connected travel paid for by a private source. Since 2007, the Committee has conducted a thorough review of each proposed privately-sponsored trip.

Committee approval does not reflect an endorsement of the trip sponsor or a determination on the proposed trip's safety or security. Instead, Committee approval is limited to compliance with the relevant laws, rules, or regulations. To that end, the Committee's nonpartisan, professional staff recommends changes where necessary to bring a proposed trip into compliance with relevant laws, rules, or regulations and, on occasion, informs House Members and employees that a proposed trip is not permissible. The Committee recognizes both the significant benefit the public receives when their Representatives and their Representatives' staff receive hands-on education and experience, as well as the mandate that outside groups be appropriately limited in what gifts and support they provide to Members of Congress and congressional staff.

The Committee is directed by House Rules to develop and revise as necessary guidelines and regulations governing the acceptance of privately-sponsored, officially-connected travel by House Members, officers, and employees.⁴ The Committee issued initial travel regulations in a pair of memoranda dated February 20 and March 14, 2007. At the end of the 112th Congress, the Committee adopted new travel regulations (Travel Regulations), which were issued on December 27, 2012. In the 116th Congress, the Committee adopted revised Travel Regulations and FGDA Regulations. The new Travel Regulations were effective for all trips starting on or after April 1, 2021. In general, the Committee requires any House Member, officer, or employee who wishes to accept an offer of privately-sponsored, officially-connected travel to submit all required paperwork to the Committee at least 30 days prior to the start of the trip.⁵ However, the 30-day requirement does not apply to certain types of trips, and the Committee retains authority to

⁴ House Rule XXV, clause 5(i).

⁵ Travel Regulations at Part 500 – Committee Approval Process.

approve requests submitted after that deadline in exceptional circumstances.⁶ When the Committee opts to approve a request filed after the general deadline, the approval letter sent to the traveler – which must ultimately be publicly disclosed – notes that fact.

Under the travel approval process established by the Committee to implement this rule, the Committee reviewed more than 3,205 requests to accept privately-sponsored, officially-connected travel, and issued letters approving more than 1,805 such requests in 2023. In 2024, the Committee reviewed over 2,600 requests to accept privately-sponsored, officially-connected travel, and issued letters approving over 2,500 such requests.

House Rules and the Committee’s Travel Regulations require all House Members, officers, and employees who receive Committee approval to accept privately-sponsored, officially-connected travel to file detailed paperwork about the trip with the Clerk within 15 days of the conclusion of the trip.⁷ The Committee also reviewed the post-travel disclosure forms filed by the traveler for each approved trip and requested amendments or other remedial action by the traveler as necessary.⁸

The post-travel filings are made available to the public in a searchable online database on the Clerk’s website, at http://clerk.house.gov/public_disc/giftTravel-search.aspx. The public, the media, and outside groups have used this valuable resource for years, and the Committee anticipates that they will continue to do so. The Committee requires those Members, officers, and employees who are required to file financial disclosure statements, as discussed in Section III, to also provide information about privately-sponsored, officially-connected travel on their financial disclosure filings, but the public should be aware that much more detailed and timely public filings regarding such travel are required, and the most authoritative source of those filings is the Clerk’s website.

III. FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE

Title I of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (EIGA), as amended (5 U.S.C. app. §§ 101-111), requires certain officials in all branches of the federal government, as well as candidates for federal office, to file publicly-available Financial Disclosure Statements (Statements). These Statements disclose information concerning the filer’s finances, as well as those of certain family members. By May 15 of each year, these “covered individuals” are required to file a Statement that provides information for the preceding calendar year. In addition, the Stop Trading on Congressional Knowledge Act (STOCK Act) amended EIGA in 2012 to require financial disclosure filers to report certain securities transactions over \$1,000 within 30 days of notice, but no later than 45 days after the transaction. The Committee has termed these interim reports “Periodic Transaction Reports” or “PTRs.”

Financial disclosure filings are not intended to be net worth statements, nor are they well suited to that purpose. As the Commission on Administrative Review of the 95th

⁶ *Id.* at § 501.1.

⁷ House Rule XXV, clause 5(b)(1)(A)(ii); Travel Regulations at Part 600 – Post-Travel Disclosure.

⁸ From time to time, a traveler may inadvertently fail to file all of the required paperwork with their post-travel submission. That is not an indication that the information was not provided to the Committee prior to the trip and before the Committee approved the request, only that the traveler’s subsequent submission was incomplete.

Congress stated in recommending broader financial disclosure requirements: “The objectives of financial disclosure are to inform the public about the financial interests of government officials in order to increase public confidence in the integrity of government and to deter potential conflicts of interest.”⁹

All House Members, including Members who are serving the first year of their first term, are required to file a Statement. In addition, any officer or employee of the House who was paid at or above 120 percent of the minimum pay for Executive Branch GS-15 (the “senior staff” rate) for at least 60 days in a calendar year must file a Statement on or before May 15 of the following year. Certain other employees, including those designated by a Member as a “principal assistant” for financial disclosure purposes and employees who are shared staff of three or more offices, are also subject to some financial disclosure filing requirements. More than 95% of Members and House staff used the online system to draft and submit their 2024 Statements.

The Committee engages in substantial training efforts to assist filers with completing their Statements and PTRs. In 2023, the Committee held three briefings for Members, officers, and employees and six walk-in clinics to support filers’ use of the electronic filing system for Statements and PTRs. In 2024, the Committee held three briefings for Members, officers, and employees and six walk-in clinics.

For the 118th Congress, Committee staff continued their long-standing practice of assisting filers with their Statements and PTRs. Committee staff responded to telephone, e-mail, and in-person questions from filers on an as-needed basis, in addition to reviewing draft Statements and PTRs. The Committee encourages all financial disclosure filers to avail themselves of opportunities to receive assistance.

For calendar year 2023, the Legislative Resource Center of the Clerk’s office referred a total of 3,613 Financial Disclosure Statements to the Committee for review. Of those, 3,046 were Statements filed by current or new House Members or employees, and 567 were Statements filed by candidates for the House. The Clerk’s office also referred a total of 1,336 PTRs to the Committee for review. The Committee received 450 PTRs from Members and 886 PTRs from officers and employees.

For calendar year 2024, the Legislative Resource Center of the Clerk’s office referred a total of 3,591 Statements to the Committee for review. Of those, 3,046 were Statements filed by current or new House Members or employees, and 885 were Statements filed by candidates for the House. The Clerk’s office also referred a total of 1,439 PTRs to the Committee for review. The Committee received 423 PTRs from Members and 1,016 PTRs from officers and employees.

Where the Committee’s review indicated that a filed Statement or PTR was deficient, the Committee requested an amendment from the filer. Such amendments are routine and, without evidence of a knowing or willful violation, the Committee will usually take no further action after the amendment has been filed. Amendments are made publicly available in the same manner as other financial disclosure filings. The Committee also endeavored to follow

⁹ House Comm’n on Admin. Review, *Financial Ethics*, H. Doc. 95-73, 96th Cong., 1st Sess. 6 (1977).

up with filers whose Statements indicated non-compliance with applicable law, such as the outside employment and outside earned income limitations. Accurate and timely financial disclosure filings are an important part of the House's conflict of interest protections, and the Committee takes the statutory financial disclosure requirements and its oversight of them very seriously.

More information about financial disclosure, including the Committee's instruction booklet for filers and blank copies of Statement and PTR forms, is available on the Committee's website, at <https://ethics.house.gov/financial-disclosure>. In addition, financial disclosure filings of Members and candidates and other information about financial disclosure is available on the Clerk's website, at http://clerk.house.gov/public_disc/financial.aspx.

IV. COMMITTEE RULES

After the beginning of each Congress, the Committee must adopt rules for that Congress. On February 28, 2023, the Committee met and adopted the Committee rules for the 118th Congress. The substance of the Committee rules for the 118th Congress was largely identical to the amended rules adopted in the 117th Congress.

A copy of the Committee Rules for the 118th Congress is included as Appendix III to this Report.

V. NEW METHOD FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF INFORMATION OFFERED AS A COMPLAINT

On January 9, 2023, the House passed House Resolution 5, which amended the House Rule XI, clause 3(r) to include a new subparagraph (2), which stated, in part, that the Committee was directed to adopt its rules providing for a process to receive from the public outside information offered as a complaint and that the process shall include the establishment of a method for submission of such information to the Committee in electronic form.¹⁰

Since at least the 98th Congress, the Committee rules have permitted the Committee to receive from the public outside information offered as a complaint.¹¹ Since at least the 116th Congress, the Committee has had a method for submission of such information to the Committee in electronic form.

In the 116th Congress, the Committee began a process of making improvements to its website for the first time since the 112th Congress. In the 116th Congress, the Committee released a new interface with the *House Ethics Manual* that made it easier to access and more mobile-friendly. In the 117th Congress, the Committee developed new web forms and other tools to modernize the Committee's work. In the 118th Congress, the Committee completely redesigned its website to be easier to navigate, more intuitive, and more helpful to the House community. As part of that process, the Committee created a new web form that makes it easier for the public to submit information offered as a

¹⁰ H. Res. 521 (118th Cong.).

¹¹ See Rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for the 98th Congress (Jan. 27, 1983).

complaint. The Committee launched its redesigned website, including the new web form, on December 18, 2024.

VI. CONFIDENTIALITY

Several House and Committee rules require that the Committee conducts a significant amount of its work confidentially.

Pursuant to Committee Rule 3(j), the Committee shall keep confidential any request for advice from a Member, officer, or employee, as well as any response thereto. Upon request of any Member, officer, or employee who has submitted a written request for an opinion or submitted a request for privately-sponsored travel, the Committee may release to the requesting individual a copy of their own written request for advice or submitted travel forms, any subsequent written communications between such individual and Committee staff regarding the request, and any Committee advisory opinion or travel letter issued to that individual in response. The Committee shall not release any internal Committee staff work product, communications, or notes in response to such a request, except as authorized by the Committee.

Under Committee Rule 5(c) and House Rule XI, clauses 3(c)(1) and (h), each meeting of the Committee or a subcommittee thereof shall occur in executive session unless the Committee or subcommittee opens the meeting to the public by an affirmative vote of the majority of its Members. Pursuant to House Rule VII, clause 3(b), “[u]nder no circumstances may minutes or transcripts of executive sessions . . . be disclosed or copied.”

Pursuant to Committee Rule 7(a) and House Rule XI, clause 3(d), all Committee Members and staff sign a confidentiality oath at the start of each Congress stating:

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will not disclose, to any person or entity outside the Committee on Ethics, any information received in the course of my service with the committee, except as authorized by the committee or in accordance with its rules.

Committee Rule 7(b) stipulates that no Committee staffer or outside counsel may make public, unless approved by an affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Committee, any information, document, or other material that is confidential, derived from executive session, or classified and that is obtained during the course of employment with the Committee. Pursuant to Committee Rule 7(c) and House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(6), information or testimony received, or the contents of a complaint or the fact of its filing, may not be publicly disclosed by any Committee Member or staffer unless specifically authorized by a vote of the full Committee. Committee Rule 7(f) and House Rule XI, clause 3(i), state that unless authorized by a vote of the Committee, only the Chair or Ranking Member, after consultation with each other, may make public statements regarding matters before the Committee.

Pursuant to Committee Rule 26(p), a witness, upon request, may be provided a copy of the transcript of their interview only after a vote of the Committee. A witness may be provided an opportunity to examine a copy of the transcript of their interview in the Committee offices with approval of the Chair or Ranking Member. In either case, such

approval shall only be granted if the witness and the witness's counsel agree to maintain confidentiality of all executive session proceedings covered by such transcript.

These confidentiality rules are vital to the Committee's work. Maintaining the confidentiality of investigations minimizes the risk of interference and protects the identities of complainants and witnesses. Maintaining a confidential investigation also avoids unnecessarily tarnishing a Member's reputation before a determination of wrongdoing has been made. Although the Committee's investigations are conducted confidentially, the Committee's confidentiality rules generally do not prohibit witnesses from disclosing information about the Committee's requests or conversations with Committee investigators. Further, the fact that an investigation is conducted in a confidential manner does not preclude the Committee from making public statements during the course of, or at the end of, an investigation, where the statement is required by rule, necessary to effectuate a sanction, or otherwise in the public interest.

Confidentiality is equally important to the Committee's advisory work. The House's ethics program works best when House Members and staff seek the Committee's guidance before taking an action. Accordingly, the Committee makes every effort to encourage Members and staff to contact the Committee's advisory staff with any ethics questions they may have. Maintaining confidentiality of the Committee's advice is critical to that effort. It allows Members and staff to ask sensitive questions without fear of reprisal, and it ensures that Members and staff are comfortable sharing with the Committee all information relevant to their query. Although the Committee's advice is provided confidentially, the Committee's confidentiality rules generally do not prohibit Members and staff from disclosing information about advice they received from the Committee.

In both the investigative and advisory contexts, confidentiality is central to the Committee's internal deliberative process. Ethics rules should be applied and enforced without regard to partisan, political concerns. It is for this reason that the Committee is the only House Committee with an equal number of Members from each party. Under this structure, the Committee can only take action with bipartisan consensus. Confidentiality both during and outside of the Committee's executive session meetings allows Committee Members to have frank and honest discussions about the work of the Committee, which is an essential part of building that consensus.

There has been a significant and unusual amount of reporting on the Committee's activities during the 118th Congress, and much of that reporting has been inaccurate. Although the Committee's confidentiality rules prohibit Committee Members and staff from disclosing confidential information, the Committee's confidentiality rules do not prohibit others from disclosing information about their communications with the Committee. To the extent that any of the public reporting about the Committee's work came from unauthorized disclosures of confidential Committee information, the Committee strongly condemns such unauthorized disclosures, which are damaging and harmful to the Committee's work.

VII. INVESTIGATIONS

Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution grants each chamber of Congress the power to “punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.” The Committee is designated by House rule as the body which conducts the investigative and adjudicatory functions which usually precede a vote by the full House regarding such punishment or expulsion. House Rule XI, clause 3, as well as Committee Rules 13 through 28, describe specific guidelines and procedures for the exercise of that authority.

As a general matter, the Committee’s investigative jurisdiction extends to current House Members, officers and employees.¹² When a Member, officer, or employee, who is the subject of a Committee investigation departs the House the Committee loses jurisdiction. In rare circumstances, the Committee has determined to make a public statement regarding a matter previously within its jurisdiction.

The Committee may not undertake an investigation of an alleged violation that occurred before the third previous Congress unless the Committee determines that the alleged violation is directly related to an alleged violation that occurred in a more recent Congress.¹³

In most cases, the Committee only investigates matters that allegedly occurred while the individual was a House Member, officer, or employee. However, the Committee has asserted jurisdiction over alleged conduct that may have violated laws, regulations, or standards of conduct, which occurred prior to a Member’s swearing-in but in connection with a successful campaign for the House of Representatives. Further, the Committee is required to establish an Investigative Subcommittee (ISC) whenever a Member, officer, or employee of the House is convicted of a felony, regardless of whether the underlying conduct occurred while the individual was a Member, officer, or employee of the House. The Committee is also required to either establish an ISC or report to the House why it did not do so whenever a Member is formally charged with criminal conduct in any Federal, state or local court.

As a general matter, the Committee’s investigations are conducted either pursuant to authorization by the Chair and Ranking Member, under Committee Rule 18(a), or pursuant to a vote by the Committee to impanel an ISC. Most investigations are conducted pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).¹⁴ Even those investigations that ultimately result in the formation of an ISC usually begin as Committee Rule 18(a) investigations. Committee Rule 18(a) and ISC investigations differ only in process, not substance. In both kinds of investigations, Committee staff is authorized by Members of the Committee to interview witnesses, request documents and information, and engage in other investigative actions. Further, both the Committee and ISC may authorize subpoenas for documents and witness

¹² House Rule XI, clause 3(a)(2).

¹³ House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(3).

¹⁴ An investigation of a formal complaint or information offered as a complaint pursuant to Committee Rule 15 is conducted pursuant to a similar rule, Committee Rule 16(c), until an ISC is impaneled or the question of whether to impanel one is placed on the Committee’s agenda.

testimony.¹⁵ Members of the Committee can, and do, attend and participate in voluntary interviews with witnesses in both 18(a) and ISC investigations.

The Committee may opt to investigate a matter under Committee Rule 18(a) rather than an ISC for several reasons. For example, investigating pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a) preserves the Committee's ability both to deploy its limited resources in the most efficient manner possible, and to maintain the confidentiality of its investigations. In general, the Committee publicly announces when it has voted to impanel an ISC. In contrast, most investigations conducted pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a) are confidential. Maintaining the confidentiality of investigations minimizes the risk of interference and protects the identities of complainants. Indeed, in past investigations, employees of a Member have brought allegations of misconduct to the Committee when they have remained in the employ of the Member and faced intimidation or reprisal.¹⁶ Maintaining a confidential investigation also avoids unnecessarily tarnishing a Member's reputation before a determination of wrongdoing has been made.

The fact that an investigation is conducted in a confidential manner does not preclude the Committee from making a public statement during the course of or at the end of the investigation. For example, in recent Congresses, the Committee has issued public reports to the House and/or letters of reproof in various investigative matters that were initiated by the Committee and that had not previously been publicly disclosed by the Committee.¹⁷

Whether the Committee investigates a matter under Committee Rule 18(a) or through an ISC, by rule, the Committee may choose to exercise its investigative authority in several different scenarios.¹⁸ However, most Committee investigations begin when the Committee, on its own initiative, undertakes an investigation. In the 118th Congress, the Committee commenced or continued investigative fact-gathering regarding 41 separate investigative matters, most of which were begun at the Committee's initiative. Those

¹⁵ The mechanism for issuing a subpoena by the Committee or an ISC does differ. Where an ISC has been impaneled, it can authorize a subpoena, to be signed by the Committee's Chair and Ranking Member. If the investigation is at the Committee Rule 18(a) stage, the full Committee can vote to issue a subpoena to be signed by the Chair.

¹⁶ See, e.g., House Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Laura Richardson*, H. Rept. 112-642, 112th Cong. 2d Sess. (2012).

¹⁷ See, e.g., House Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Elizabeth Esty*, H. Rept 115-1093, 115th Cong. 2d Sess. (2018); House Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative David McKinley*, H. Rept. 114-795, 114th Cong. 2d Sess. (2016); House Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Phil Gingrey*, H. Rept. 113-664, 113th Cong. 2d Sess. (2014).

¹⁸ Specifically, the Committee may exercise its investigative authority when: (1) information offered as a complaint by a Member of the House of Representatives is transmitted directly to the Committee; (2) information offered as a complaint by an individual not a Member of the House is transmitted to the Committee, provided that a Member of the House certifies in writing that such Member believes the information is submitted in good faith and warrants the review and consideration of the Committee; (3) the Committee, on its own initiative, undertakes an investigation; (4) a Member, officer, or employee is convicted in a Federal, State, or local court of a felony; (5) the House of Representatives, by resolution, authorizes or directs the Committee to undertake an inquiry or investigation; or (6) a referral from OCE is transmitted to the Committee. See Committee Rule 14(a).

matters also included referrals from the Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE). In the 118th Congress, OCE referred 15 matters to the Committee, 9 with a recommendation for further review, 6 with a recommendation that all allegations be dismissed, and 0 that were referred without a recommendation due to a tie vote of OCE's Board.

In the 118th Congress, the Committee did not seek a House sanction in any matters. In one instance, the Committee determined to release findings in a matter after determining that "proceeding with [the] adjudicatory process" would only serve to provide the Member with "further opportunity to delay any accountability for his actions and could risk interfering with the ongoing criminal prosecution" involving the same Member.¹⁹ The House subsequently voted to expel that Member under its direct constitutional authority.²⁰

OCE is an independent office within the House created by a House resolution in the 110th Congress after the release of a report of the Democratic Members of the Special Ethics Task Force on Ethics Enforcement (Task Force Report).²¹ According to the Task Force Report, the OCE Board has the responsibility to review information on allegations of misconduct by Members, officers, and employees of the House and make recommendations to the Committee for the Committee's official consideration and action.

Two OCE Board members may initiate a review by notifying all other OCE Board members in writing. The OCE Board then has 30 calendar days to consider the matter in a preliminary review phase and may vote to either terminate the review or progress to the second-phase review. Once in the second phase, the OCE Board has 45 calendar days (with a possible one-time extension of 14 days) to complete consideration of the matter and refer it to the Committee with a recommendation for dismissal, further review, or as unresolved due to a tie vote. The OCE Board's referral may not contain any conclusions regarding the validity of the allegations upon which it is based or the guilt or innocence of the individual who is the subject of the review. The Task Force believed that "the timeline requirements instituted by the new process are critical: matters will spend at most three months under consideration by the Board of the OCE before being referred to the Committee for resolution."²² The Task Force considered whether to give OCE either direct or indirect subpoena power. The Task Force Report ultimately decided not to give OCE subpoena power based on a number of factors. Instead, the Task Force Report stated that the Board's referral may include recommendations for the issuance of subpoenas by the Committee where Members feel it appropriate.

¹⁹ Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative George Santos*, H. Rept. 118-274, 118th Cong. 1st Sess. 3 (2023).

²⁰ Since 2008, the Committee has recommended that the House issue a censure in one matter, recommended in three matters that the House issue a reprimand, and issued 16 reprovals. In addition to these formal sanctions, the Committee has admonished several Members, officers, and employees, both publicly and privately. An admonishment is not a formal sanction of the Committee or the House. It is a warning that certain conduct can be found in violation of House Rules and potentially lead to sanction.

²¹ Special Task Force on Ethics Enforcement, *Report of the Democratic Members of the Special Task Force on Ethics Enforcement*, (H.Rept. 110-1, 110th Cong. 1st Sess. (Comm. Print 2007).

²² *Id.* at 14. The 18 OCE referrals received by the Committee in the 117th Congress were transmitted an average of 122 days after the start of the preliminary review phase.

When the Committee receives a referral from OCE, it is required to review the referral “without prejudice or presumptions as to the merit of the allegations.”²³ The Committee thus makes an independent determination about how to proceed in the matter based on the information before the Committee, which may include not only the OCE referral and supporting documents provided to the Committee by OCE, but other information. It is not uncommon that the Committee’s review will require more than 90 days because of the need to review documents, interview witnesses, and/or assess the legal significance of evidence, among other investigative steps. Some investigations may require the review of tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of pages of documents.

In some instances, the Committee may be asked to defer its investigation in whole or in part by another law enforcement entity, generally the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ). The Committee is mindful of the risks associated with dual investigations and endeavors to communicate with other government investigators to mitigate the potential risks while still meeting the Committee’s obligations to safeguard the integrity of the House. In some instances, the Committee has wholly deferred its review at the request of law enforcement. In other instances, it has deferred only certain investigative steps, such as interviews of particular witnesses. Provided that the Committee still retains jurisdiction, a decision by the Committee to defer does not preclude the Committee from continuing its investigation later, regardless of the outcome of the other entity’s investigation. In addition, a decision by the Committee to defer an investigation does not itself indicate that any violation has occurred or reflect any judgment on behalf of the Committee. In the 118th Congress, the Committee continued review of a matter it had deferred for two years at the request of DOJ, after DOJ withdrew the deferral request.²⁴ In that matter, the Committee sought information from DOJ relating to the matter, but DOJ provided no meaningful evidence or information to the Committee. DOJ’s initial deferral request and subsequent lack of cooperation with the Committee’s review caused significant delays in the investigation. The Committee hopes to continue to engage with DOJ on the broader issues raised by its failure to recognize the Committee’s unique mandate. As the Committee has told DOJ, the Committee and DOJ should be partners in their shared mission of upholding the integrity of our government institutions.

The Committee publicly addressed 20 investigative matters during the 118th Congress. In addition to confidential matters, the Committee also carried over several public matters from the 117th Congress. In the 118th Congress, the Committee continued to address the matters concerning Representative Sanford Bishop, Representative Matt Gaetz, Representative Bill Huizenga, Representative Ronny Jackson, Representative Mike Kelly, Representative Doug Lamborn, Representative Alex Mooney, and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. A chronological overview of public statements made by the Committee in the 118th Congress regarding investigative matters follows.

On March 2, 2023, the Committee announced it had unanimously voted to establish an ISC with regard to allegations that Representative George Santos engaged in unlawful

²³ Committee Rule 17A(a).

²⁴ Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Matt Gaetz*, 118th Cong. 2d. Sess. (2024).

activity with respect to his 2022 congressional campaign; failed to properly disclose required information on statements filed with the House; violated federal conflict of interest laws in connection with his role in a firm providing fiduciary services; and/or engaged in sexual misconduct towards an individual seeking employment in his congressional office.

On March 2, 2023, the Committee announced that, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), it would continue to review allegations referred by OCE regarding Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez.

On June 22, 2023, the Committee announced it had unanimously voted to expand the jurisdiction of the ISC regarding Representative George Santos to include counts IX-XI of the indictment of the U.S District Court for the Eastern District of New York, alleging that Representative Santos fraudulently obtained unemployment insurance benefits.

On October 31, 2023, the Committee announced the ISC regarding Representative George Santos was continuing to review allegations during the pendency of a related criminal prosecution and that it would announce its next course of action on or before November 17, 2023.

On November 16, 2023, the Committee transmitted a report to the House regarding allegations relating to Representative George Santos and announced its referral of substantial evidence of potential violations of federal criminal law to the DOJ.

On November 22, 2023, the Committee announced that a majority of the Members of the Committee did not agree to establish an ISC or report to the House regarding Representative Jamaal Bowman's conduct.

On December 27, 2023, the Committee announced it had unanimously voted to establish an ISC with regard to allegations that Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick may have violated campaign finance laws and regulations in connection with her 2022 special election and/or 2022 re-election campaigns; failed to properly disclose required information on statements required to be filed with the House; and/or accepted voluntary services for official work from an individual not employed in her congressional office.

On January 24, 2024, the Committee announced it would not continue review of allegations referred by OCE regarding Representative Jamaal Bowman.

On May 10, 2024, the Committee announced that, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), it would continue to review allegations referred by OCE regarding Representative Troy Nehls.

On May 29, 2024, the Committee announced it had unanimously voted to establish an ISC with regard to allegations that Representative Henry Cuellar solicited or accepted bribes, gratuities, or improper gifts; acted as a foreign agent; violated federal money laundering laws; misused his official position for private gain; and/or made false statements or omissions on public disclosure statements filed with the House.

On June 5, 2024, the Committee transmitted a report to the House regarding allegations relating to Representative Bill Huizenga.

On June 18, 2024, the Committee announced that it was continuing to investigate allegations relating to Representative Matt Gaetz.

On June 24, 2024, the Committee announced that, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), it would continue to review allegations referred by OCE regarding Representative Ronny Jackson.

On June 24, 2024, the Committee announced that, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), it would continue to review allegations referred by OCE regarding Representative Wesley Hunt.

On June 25, 2024, the Committee unanimously voted to expand the jurisdiction of the ISC relating to Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick to include allegations that Representative Cherfilus-McCormick: (1) engaged in improper conduct in connection with community project funding requests; (2) misused official funds for campaign purposes; and/or (3) violated campaign finance laws and regulations in connection with her 2024 re-election campaign.

On September 25, 2024, the Committee made public the OCE Report in the matter of Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick.

On November 12, 2024, the Committee transmitted a report to the House regarding allegations relating to Representative Victoria Spartz.

On December 5, 2024, the Committee stated it had met to discuss the matter of Representative Matt Gaetz and is continuing to discuss the matter.

On December 23, 2024, the Committee transmitted a report to the House regarding allegations relating to Representative Matt Gaetz.

On December 23, 2024, the Committee transmitted a report to the House regarding allegations relating to Representative Michael McCaul.

On December 30, 2024, the Committee announced its dismissal of allegations referred by OCE regarding Representatives Sanford Bishop, Wesley Hunt, Ronny Jackson, and Alexander Mooney.

On January 2, 2025, the Committee announced that, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), it would continue to review allegations referred by OCE regarding Representative Andy Ogles.

On January 2, 2025, the Committee made public the OCE Report and Findings in the matter of Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick.

These investigative matters are described in more detail below, in alphabetical order. Copies of the Committee's public statements related to these matters are included as Appendix IV to this Report. Those statements, along with any attachments referenced in the statements, are available on the Committee's website. All Committee Reports filed with the House are also available on the Committee's website.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Sanford Bishop, Jr.

On February 10, 2020, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Sanford Bishop, Jr.'s campaign committee reported disbursements that were not attributable to bona fide campaign or political purposes, and that Representative Bishop may have authorized expenditures from his Members' Representational Allowance (MRA) that were not for permissible official expenses. On July 31, 2020, the Committee released the OCE Report and Findings, along with Representative Bishop's response, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

On December 30, 2024, the Committee released a public statement announcing its dismissal of the matter.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Jamaal Bowman

In accordance with the requirements of Committee Rule 18(e)(2), the Committee convened on November 14, 2023, to consider the misdemeanor charge filed against Representative Jamaal Bowman for pulling a fire alarm in the Cannon House Office Building on Saturday, September 30, 2023. Representative Bowman entered a guilty plea pursuant to a Deferred Sentencing Agreement that required Representative Bowman to pay a \$1,000.00 fine, make a \$50 contribution to a Victims Compensation Fund, write and deliver an apology letter to the U.S. Capitol Police Chief, and serve three months of probation.

Pursuant to Committee Rule 18(e)(2) and House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(9), within 30 days of a Member being indicted or otherwise formally charged with criminal conduct, the Committee shall either establish an ISC or report to the House describing its reasons for not establishing an ISC. On November 22, 2023, the Committee released a public statement announcing that the Committee was not able to either establish an ISC or issue a report to the House. Pursuant to Committee Rule 10(a), both establishment of an ISC and the issuing of a report to the House regarding a Member's conduct require some level of consensus, because they require an affirmative vote of a majority of the Members of the Committee. The Committee did not reach consensus for either option. At that time, the Committee was aware that OCE had begun a preliminary review of the matter regarding Representative Bowman but had not yet completed the review. Some Members of the Committee thought it was appropriate to impanel an ISC immediately, while other Members of the Committee thought that any action should wait until OCE made its referral.

On December 7, 2023, the House voted to censure Representative Bowman for his conduct.

On December 11, 2023, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of the allegation that Representative Bowman may have willfully or knowingly gave a false alarm of fire and recommended dismissal of the allegation that Representative Bowman may have obstructed or attempted to impede an official House proceeding.

The Committee released the OCE Report and Findings on January 25, 2024, and noted in a public statement that: in light of the House's December 7, 2023, censure of Representative Bowman for his conduct, the Committee determined that further review of Representative Bowman's conduct would be moot; the Committee separately confirmed that Representative Bowman has complied with the relevant terms of his deferred sentencing agreement; House Rule XI, clause 3 and Committee Rule 17A provide for no specific further action; and that the Committee would not further review the matter.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick

On September 25, 2023, the OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick may have: made payments to a state political action committee that may have been in connection with her campaign for federal office; received services related to franked communications and other official work from an individual who was not compensated with official funds; accepted and failed to report contributions exceeding FEC contribution limits; and failed to report transactions between the campaign committee's bank account and her businesses' bank accounts. On December 27, 2023, the Committee announced that it had unanimously voted to establish an ISC with jurisdiction to investigate whether Representative Sheila Cherfilus-McCormick may have: violated campaign finance laws and regulations in connection with her 2022 special election and/or 2022 re-election campaigns; failed to properly disclose required information on statements required to be filed with the House; and/or accepted voluntary services for official work from an individual not employed in her congressional office. On September 25, 2024, the Committee released the OCE Report and on January 2, 2025, the Committee released OCE's Findings.

On May 9, 2024, the OCE forwarded to the Committee a second Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Cherfilus-McCormick may have: requested community project funding that would be directed to a for-profit entity; accepted campaign contributions linked to an official actions; made payments to an entity in violation of House committee rules and standards of conduct or accepted and failed to report in-kind contributions that exceeded applicable limits; dispensed special favors or privileges to friends in connection with her congressional office's requests for community project funding; and mis reported the source of a campaign contribution or accepted a campaign contribution made by one person in the name of another. On June 25, 2024, the Committee announced that it had unanimously voted to

expand the jurisdiction of the ISC to investigate whether Representative Cherfilus-McCormick may have: engaged in improper conduct in connection with community project funding requests; misused official funds for campaign purposes; and/or violated campaign finance laws and regulations in connection with her 2024 re-election campaign.

As of the conclusion of the 118th Congress, the ISC had not completed its investigation into this matter. Representative Cherfilus-McCormick was reelected to the House for the 119th Congress.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Henry Cuellar

On April 30, 2024, Representative Henry Cuellar was charged in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas with conspiracy, bribery, honest services wire fraud, money laundering, and violation of the ban on public officials acting as an agent of a foreign principal required to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. On May 29, 2024, the Committee announced that it had unanimously voted to establish an ISC with jurisdiction to determine whether Representative Cuellar solicited or accepted bribes, gratuities, or improper gifts; acted as a foreign agent; violated federal money laundering laws; misused his official position for private gain; and/or made false statements or omissions on public disclosure statements filed with the House.

At the conclusion of the 118th Congress, the ISC had not completed its investigation into this matter. Representative Cuellar was reelected to the House for the 119th Congress.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Matt Gaetz

On April 9, 2021, the Committee announced that it was investigating, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), allegations that Representative Matt Gaetz may have engaged in sexual misconduct and/or illicit drug use, shared inappropriate images or videos on the House floor, misused state identification records, converted campaign funds to personal use, and/or accepted a bribe, improper gratuity, or impermissible gift. The Committee, following precedent, deferred consideration of the matter in response to a request from DOJ.

At the beginning of the 118th Congress, DOJ rescinded its deferral request. On June 18, 2024, the Committee announced that it was expanding its investigation into Representative Gaetz to include allegations that he may have: engaged in sexual misconduct and illicit drug use, accepted improper gifts, dispensed special privileges and favors to individuals with whom he had a personal relationship, and sought to obstruct government investigations of his conduct. The Committee also announced that it would no longer investigate allegations that Representative Gaetz may have shared inappropriate images or videos on the House floor, misused state identification records, converted campaign funds to personal use, and/or accepted a bribe or improper gratuity.

At the completion of its investigation, the Committee found Representative Gaetz did not violate Federal sex trafficking laws. The Committee did find, however, that Representative Gaetz engaged in sexual misconduct, used illegal drugs, violated the House Gift Rule, dispensed special privileges and favors to individuals with whom he had a personal relationship, and sought to obstruct the Committee's investigation of his conduct. On November 14, 2024, Representative Gaetz resigned from the House.

On December 23, 2024, the Committee submitted a Report with Dissenting Views to the House describing the facts and findings regarding this matter and the dissenting views of the Committee Members who opposed release of the Report.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Bill Huizenga

On August 16, 2019, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Bill Huizenga's campaign committee reported disbursements that were not attributable to bona fide campaign or political purposes, specifically, for campaign-funded trips and a campaign-funded dinner, and that the campaign accepted contributions from individuals employed in his congressional office. OCE also reviewed an allegation that Representative Huizenga authorized expenditures from his MRA that were not for permissible official use, but recommended the Committee dismiss that allegation. On November 14, 2019, the Committee released the OCE Report and Findings and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

At the completion of its investigation, the Committee concluded that Representative Huizenga and his staff generally acted within the bounds of the law when spending campaign and official funds. The Committee noted that some expenditures paid for by Representative Huizenga's campaign, particularly during travel to recreational destinations, fell within unclear areas of FEC regulations; however, there was an established campaign purpose for each of the trips reviewed, and there was no clear pattern of misspending. The Committee did find that the campaign did not fully comply with relevant standards with respect to its reporting and reimbursement practices, largely due to lack of knowledge or confusion about the applicable requirements. Accordingly, the Committee unanimously voted that a sanction was not merited in this matter and sent Representative Huizenga a private letter detailing its findings in this matter conveying its expectation that he continue to employ appropriate safeguards to ensure proper spending and reporting of both official and campaign funds.

On June 5, 2024, the Committee submitted a Report to the House describing the facts and findings in this matter, as well as its determination to take no further action in this matter.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Wesley Hunt

On March 25, 2024, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Wesley Hunt's

campaign committee, Hunt for Congress, reported campaign disbursements that may not be legitimate campaign expenditures attributable to bona fide campaign or political purposes. On June 24, 2024, the Committee released the OCE Report and Findings, along with Representative Hunt's response, and noted in the public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

On December 30, 2024, the Committee released a public statement announcing its dismissal of the matter.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Ronny Jackson

On December 22, 2021, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Ronny Jackson's campaign committee made disbursements that were not legitimate and verifiable campaign expenditures. On May 23, 2022, the Committee released the OCE Report and Findings, along with Representative Jackson's response, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a). On March 25, 2024, OCE forwarded to the Committee a second Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of the same allegations concerning Representative Jackson. On June 24, 2024, the Committee released OCE's second Report and Findings and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

On December 30, 2024, the Committee released a public statement announcing its dismissal of the matter.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Mike Kelly

On July 23, 2021, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Mike Kelly's wife may have purchased stock based on confidential or material nonpublic information that Representative Kelly had learned during his official job duties. The Committee released the OCE Report and Findings, along with Representative Kelly's response, on October 21, 2021, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

At the conclusion of the 118th Congress, the Committee had not completed its investigation into this matter. Representative Kelly was reelected to the House for the 119th Congress.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Doug Lamborn

On October 25, 2021, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Doug Lamborn may have misused official resources for personal and non-official purposes; and that Representative Lamborn may have solicited or accepted improper gifts from subordinates.

The Committee released the OCE Report and Findings, along with Representative Lamborn's response, on January 24, 2022, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

Representative Lamborn did not seek reelection to the House and the Committee will no longer have jurisdiction to continue the investigation after January 3, 2025.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Michael McCaul

In accordance with the requirements of Committee Rule 18(e)(2), the Committee convened on December 10, 2024, to consider the misdemeanor charge filed against Representative Michael McCaul for public intoxication. On December 13, 2024, the charge was voluntarily dismissed. After reviewing and considering the matter, the Committee voted against impaneling an ISC related to Representative McCaul's conduct underlying the charge. In reaching this decision, the Committee considered the scope and nature of the violation and determined it to be one for which review by an ISC was not required.

On December 23, 2024, the Committee submitted a Report to the House describing the facts and its findings regarding this matter, as well as its determination to take no further action in this matter.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Cory Mills

On August 29, 2024, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings regarding Representative Cory Mills.

At the conclusion of the 118th Congress, the Committee had not completed its investigation into this matter. Representative Mills was reelected to the House for the 119th Congress.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Alex Mooney

On July 23, 2021, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that: Representative Alex Mooney's campaign committees reported campaign disbursements that are not legitimate and verifiable campaign expenditures attributable to bona fide campaign or political purposes; and Representative Mooney's campaign committees omitted required information from Federal Election Commission candidate committee reports. The Committee released the OCE Report and Findings on October 21, 2021, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

On December 22, 2021, OCE forwarded to the Committee a second Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that: Representative Mooney's campaign committees reported campaign disbursements that may not be legitimate and verifiable campaign expenditures attributable to bona fide campaign or

political purposes; Representative Mooney may have authorized expenditures from his MRA that were not for permissible official expenses; Representative Mooney may have used official resources, including staff time, for unofficial or campaign purposes; and Representative Mooney may have withheld, concealed, or otherwise falsified information during the prior OCE review. The Committee released OCE's second Report and Findings on May 23, 2022, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

On December 30, 2024, the Committee released a public statement announcing its dismissal of the matter.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Troy Nehls

On December 11, 2023, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Troy Nehls' campaign committee, Nehls for Congress, reported campaign disbursements that may not be legitimate and verifiable campaign expenditures attributable to bona fide campaign or political purposes; and that Representative Nehls may have omitted required information from his annual House financial disclosure statements. The Committee released the OCE Report and Findings, along with Representative Nehls' response, on May 10, 2024, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

At the conclusion of the 118th Congress, the Committee had not completed its investigation into this matter. Representative Nehls was reelected to the House for the 119th Congress.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

On June 23, 2022, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez may have accepted impermissible gifts associated with her attendance at the 2021 Met Gala. The Committee released the OCE Report and Findings, along with Representative Ocasio-Cortez's response, on March 2, 2023, and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

At the conclusion of the 118th Congress, the Committee had not completed its investigation into this matter. Representative Ocasio-Cortez was reelected to the House for the 119th Congress.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Andy Ogles

On August 2, 2024, OCE forwarded to the Committee a Report and Findings in which it recommended further review of allegations that Representative Andy Ogles may have omitted or misrepresented required information in his FD statements or FEC

candidate committee reports and Representative Ogles' campaign committee may have accepted excessive contributions reported as personal loans and contributions from the candidate that may not have been sourced from Representative Ogles' personal funds. On January 2, 2025, the Committee released the OCE Report and Findings and noted in a public statement that the Committee was continuing to review the allegations pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a).

As of the conclusion of the 118th Congress, the Committee had not completed its investigation into this matter. Representative Ogles was reelected to the House for the 119th Congress.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative George Santos

On January 10, 2023, the Committee received a Member complaint alleging that Representative George Santos failed to file timely, accurate, and complete Financial Disclosure Statements and that he made improper loans to his campaign committee. On February 3, 2023, the Committee also received a letter from an individual who had applied for a position in Representative Santos' congressional office alleging that Representative Santos sexually harassed him and violated House Rules relating to the use of volunteers. On March 2, 2023, the Committee announced that it had unanimously voted to establish an ISC with jurisdiction to investigate whether Representative Santos may have: engaged in unlawful activity with respect to his 2022 congressional campaign; failed to properly disclose required information on statements filed with the House; violated federal conflict of interest laws in connection with his role in a firm providing fiduciary services; and engaged in sexual misconduct towards and individual seeking employment in his congressional office.

On March 29, 2023, the Committee requested OCE cease its review of allegations relating to Representative Santos because of the ISC's ongoing investigation into the matter, in accordance with House Rule XI, clause 3(r) and Committee Rule 17A(k). Notwithstanding the Committee's request and applicable House Rules, on May 1, 2023, the OCE transmitted its Report and Supplemental Information to the Committee.

On May 9, 2023, Representative Santos was indicted on federal charges in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York. Most of the charges in the indictment were already in the jurisdiction of the ISC. In accordance with House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(9) and Committee Rule 18(e), on June 22, 2023, the Committee announced that it had unanimously voted to expand the jurisdiction of the ISC's inquiry to include counts IX-XI of the indictment, allegations that Representative Santos fraudulently obtained unemployment insurance benefits.

At the completion of its investigation, the ISC unanimously concluded that there was 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 Statements filed with the House. In light of the criminal investigation into Representative Santos, and the ISC’s findings of additional uncharged and unlawful conduct by Representative Santos, the ISC recommended that the Committee immediately refer these allegations to DOJ.

On November 16, 2023, the Committee made public its Report, in which it adopted the ISC’s Report and recommendations, and with it, referred the substantial evidence of potential violations of federal criminal law to DOJ for such further action as it deemed appropriate.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Adam Schiff

On June 21, 2023, the House passed House Resolution 521. The resolution both censured Representative Schiff “for misleading the American public and for conduct unbecoming of an elected Member of the House of Representatives” and directed the Committee to “conduct an investigation into Representative Adam Schiff’s falsehoods, misrepresentations, and abuses of sensitive information.”²⁵

As a general matter, the Committee’s investigations are conducted either pursuant to authorization by the Chair and Ranking Member acting jointly, under Committee Rule 18(a), or pursuant to a vote by a majority of the Members of the Committee to impanel an ISC. Under either method, approval of investigative steps requires some level of consensus. The Committee did not reach consensus on the investigative steps to take with regard to Representative Schiff.

In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Victoria Spartz

In accordance with the requirements of Committee Rule 18(e)(2), the Committee convened on September 24, 2024, to consider the misdemeanor charge filed against Representative Victoria Spartz for carrying a weapon in an airport terminal. Representative Spartz completed a gun safety course as part of an agreement for the charge to be dismissed, and on September 20, 2024, the charge was dismissed through a nolle prosequi declaration. After reviewing and considering the matter, the Committee voted against impaneling an ISC related to Representative Spartz’s conduct underlying the charge. In reaching this decision, the Committee considered the scope and nature of the violation and determined it to be one for which review by an ISC was not required.

On November 12, 2024, the Committee submitted a Report to the House describing the facts and its findings regarding this matter, as well as its determination to take no further action in this matter.

Referrals from the Select Committee to Investigative the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

²⁵ H. Res. 521 Sec. 2(g) (118th Cong.).

On December 27, 2022, the Committee received information offered as a referral from the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol.

As a general matter, the Committee's investigations are conducted either pursuant to authorization by the Chair and Ranking Member acting jointly, under Committee Rule 18(a), or pursuant to a vote by a majority of the Members of the Committee to impanel an ISC. Under either method, approval of investigative steps requires some level of consensus. The Committee did not reach consensus on the investigative steps to take with regard to information offered as a referral from the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol.