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118TH CONGRESS }
2d Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

{ REPORT
118-943

IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS
RELATING TO REPRESENTATIVE
MATT GAETZ

R E P O R T

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS



DECEMBER 24, 2024.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered
to be printed

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS,
Washington, DC, December 24, 2024.

Hon. KEVIN MCCUMBER,
Acting Clerk, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. MCCUMBER: Pursuant to clauses 3(a)(2) and 3(b) of Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, I herewith transmit the attached report with dissenting views, “In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Matt Gaetz.”

Sincerely,

MICHAEL GUEST,
Chairman.

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IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO REPRESENTATIVE MATT GAETZ

DECEMBER 24, 2024.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

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

R E P O R T

together with

DISSENTING VIEWS

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, including the Views of Chairman Guest on behalf of the dissenting Committee Members:

I. INTRODUCTION

On April 9, 2021, the Committee announced it was investigating a series of widely reported allegations relating to Representative Matt Gaetz. At the request of the Department of Justice (DOJ), the Committee deferred its review during the 117th Congress. After it was organized for the 118th Congress, the Committee reauthorized its investigation into the allegations involving Representative Gaetz. Specifically, the Committee undertook a review of allegations that Representative 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. In June 2024, following extensive factfinding, the Committee determined to continue its review of the allegations of sexual misconduct, illicit drug use, and acceptance of impermissible gifts and expanded its review to include allegations that Representative Gaetz may have dispensed special privileges and favors to individuals with whom he had a personal relationship and obstructed government investigations

into his conduct. At that time, the Committee determined to take no further action on the allegations relating to the House floor, state identification records, personal use of campaign funds, and acceptance of a bribe or gratuity.

On November 14, 2024, Representative Gaetz resigned from the House, after the President-Elect announced his intention to nominate Representative Gaetz for the position of United States Attorney General. As a result of Representative Gaetz's resignation, the Committee lost jurisdiction to continue its investigation. Representative Gaetz subsequently withdrew from consideration for the position of Attorney General; at this time, he has not announced any intent to seek higher office or return to Congress.

The Committee has typically not released its findings after losing jurisdiction in a matter.¹ However, there are a few prior instances where the Committee has determined that it was in the public interest to release its findings even after a Member's resignation from Congress.² The Committee does not do so lightly. In this instance, although several Committee Members objected, a majority of the Members of the Committee agreed that the Committee's findings should be released to the public.

In sum, the Committee found substantial evidence of the following:

- From at least 2017 to 2020, Representative Gaetz regularly paid women for engaging in sexual activity with him.
- In 2017, Representative Gaetz engaged in sexual activity with a 17-year-old girl.
- During the period 2017 to 2019, Representative Gaetz used or possessed illegal drugs, including cocaine and ecstasy, on multiple occasions.
- Representative Gaetz accepted gifts, including transportation and lodging in connection with a 2018 trip to the Bahamas, in excess of permissible amounts.
- In 2018, Representative Gaetz arranged for his Chief of Staff to assist a woman with whom he engaged in sexual activity in obtaining a passport, falsely indicating to the U.S. Department of State that she was a constituent.
- Representative Gaetz knowingly and willfully sought to impede and obstruct the Committee's investigation of his conduct.
- Representative Gaetz has acted in a manner that reflects discredibly upon the House.

Based on the above, the Committee concluded there was substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz violated House Rules, state and federal laws, and other standards of conduct prohibiting prostitution, statutory rape, illicit drug use, acceptance of impermissible gifts, the provision of special favors and privileges, and obstruction of Congress.

¹See, e.g., Statements of the Chair and Ranking Member in the Matters of Representative Jeff Fortenberry (Apr. 1, 2022), Duncan Hunter (Jan. 14, 2020), Chris Collins (Oct. 1, 2019), Chaka Fattah (June, 24, 2016), Henry "Trey" Radel (Jan. 29, 2014).

²See, e.g., Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative Daniel J. Flood*, H. Rept. 96-856, 96th Cong., 2d. Sess. (1980); Staff Report of the Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative Donald E. Lukens* (1990); Staff Report of the Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative William H. Boner* (1987).

The Committee did not find sufficient evidence to conclude that Representative Gaetz violated the federal sex trafficking statute. Although Representative Gaetz did cause the transportation of women across state lines for purposes of commercial sex, the Committee did not find evidence that any of those women were under 18 at the time of travel, nor did the Committee find sufficient evidence to conclude that the commercial sex acts were induced by force, fraud, or coercion.

Representative Gaetz was uncooperative throughout the Committee's review. He provided minimal documentation in response to the Committee's requests. He also did not agree to a voluntary interview. On July 11, 2024, the Committee issued a subpoena to Representative Gaetz for his testimony. He did not appear, despite having received notice of the date and time of the deposition. The Committee then sent Representative Gaetz a set of written questions, to which he issued a public response that ignored most of the direct questions about his misconduct and mischaracterized the Committee's investigation and his participation up to that point. Despite Representative Gaetz's claims to the contrary, the Committee's singular mission is to protect the integrity of the House. When faced with serious public allegations against a Member, the Committee will often investigate, and when such allegations are false, the Committee has a shared goal with the respondent to disprove those allegations.

While the Committee considered whether to establish an investigative subcommittee to consider sanctions against Representative Gaetz, the Committee ultimately determined that it would not risk the further victimization of the women involved in this matter. Most of the women with whom the Committee spoke also gave statements to DOJ and urged the Committee to rely on those statements in lieu of requiring them to relive their experience. They were particularly concerned with providing additional testimony about a sitting congressman in light of DOJ's lack of action on their prior testimony. DOJ refused to provide the relevant statements and other significant evidence to the Committee. DOJ cited internal policies about protecting uncharged subjects like Representative Gaetz, general concerns about how DOJ's cooperation with the Committee may deter other victims in other matters, and various inapposite policies relating to congressional oversight of DOJ itself. DOJ's initial deferral request and subsequent lack of cooperation with the Committee's review caused significant delays in the investigation; those delays were compounded by Representative Gaetz's obstructive efforts. The Committee has determined that its findings must be released without further impediments.

Accordingly, on December 10, 2024, the Committee voted on whether to release this Report; although several Members did not support its release, a majority of the Members voted in favor of its release.

II. PROCEDURAL HISTORY

On April 9, 2021, the Committee publicly announced it was investigating allegations relating to Representative Gaetz, including whether he 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.³ Shortly thereafter, DOJ requested that the Committee defer all investigation of Representative Gaetz. The Committee did so.

In February 2023, after the Committee asked DOJ for an update on its deferral request, public reports indicated that DOJ had informed Representative Gaetz and multiple witnesses that the congressman would not be charged in connection with the investigation. Shortly thereafter, DOJ informed the Committee it was no longer requesting a deferral. The Chairman and Ranking Member reauthorized the matter in May of 2023 in accordance with Committee Rule 18(a).⁴

On June 18, 2024, the Committee announced that the scope of the inquiry would focus on allegations of sexual misconduct, illicit drug use, acceptance of improper gifts, dispensation of special privileges and favors to individuals with whom he had a personal relationship, and obstruction of government investigations. At that time, the Committee also stated it would not continue to investigate allegations of sharing inappropriate images or videos on the House floor, misusing state identification records, converting campaign funds to personal use, and accepting a bribe or improper gratuity.

The Chairman and Ranking Member sent nine requests for information and six Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests.⁵ The Committee also authorized 29 subpoenas for documents and testi-

³Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Matt Gaetz (Apr. 9, 2021), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-22>. The Committee's well-established precedent is to publicly announce its investigations when there are public allegations of sexual misconduct. *See, e.g.*, Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative John Conyers, Jr. (Nov. 21, 2017), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-jo-1>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Ruben Kihuen (Dec. 15, 2017), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-8>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Patrick Meehan (Jan. 22, 2018), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-12>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Delegate Michael F.Q. San Nicolas (Oct. 24, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-delegate-michael-f-q>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member Regarding Representative Katie Hill (Oct. 23, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-katie>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Alcee Hastings (Nov. 14, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-alcee>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Tom Reed (Apr. 9, 2021), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-tom>.

⁴The Committee typically reauthorizes unresolved matters at the start of a new Congress. It is also the Committee's longstanding practice to continue a deferred investigation after DOJ concludes a parallel review, even where DOJ declined to press charges. *See* Comm. on Ethics, *Summary of Activities for the One Hundred Fifteenth Congress*, H. Rept. 115–1125, 115th Cong., 2d Sess. 35 (2019) (noting the Committee deferred its investigation at the request of law enforcement and that the Committee had not closed its review of Representative Robert Pittenger after DOJ ended its investigation into the congressman); Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Vernon G. Buchanan*, H. Rept. 114–643, 114th Cong., 2d Sess. 2 (2016) (noting that the matter was “the subject of review by four different entities—the Committee, [Office of Congressional Ethics], [Federal Election Commission], and the Department of Justice” and that the DOJ investigation concluded in 2012); *cf. id.* at 27 (noting that the Committee would not defer to decisions by other law enforcement agencies, including DOJ).

⁵Initially, the Chairman and Ranking Member sent only two voluntary requests for information, including the one to Representative Gaetz. After it became clear that Representative Gaetz was not cooperating in good faith, the Committee sought information from additional sources.

mony, reviewed nearly 14,000 documents, and contacted more than two dozen witnesses. The Committee also received sworn written responses from an associate of Representative Gaetz, Joel Greenberg; as discussed further below, however, the Committee determined that, due to credibility issues, it would not rely exclusively on information provided by Mr. Greenberg in making any findings.

Shortly after DOJ withdrew its deferral request and the Committee reauthorized its review, the Committee sent DOJ a request for information. After three months without a response despite repeated follow up, the Committee submitted FOIA requests to several relevant DOJ offices, which to date have not been adequately processed.⁶ The Committee continued to reach out to DOJ throughout 2023, having still not received a substantive response to its request for information. On January 12, 2024, the Committee received its first correspondence from DOJ on the matter. At that time, DOJ provided no substantive response or explanation for its delay; instead, DOJ simply stated that it “do[es] not provide non-public information about law enforcement investigations that do not result in charges.”⁷ This “policy” is, however, inconsistent with DOJ’s historical conduct with respect to the Committee and its unique role in upholding the integrity of the House.⁸

Thereafter, the Committee determined to issue a subpoena to DOJ to obtain records relating to its investigation of Representative Gaetz. DOJ did not comply with the subpoena by the date required, but suggested it remained “committed to good-faith engagement with the Committee.”⁹ In the spirit of cooperation, the Committee provided a list of specific responsive documents, setting out particularized demands to the subpoena. Among the particularized demands was a request for any exculpatory evidence relating to

⁶The U.S. Attorney’s Office affirmatively declined the Committee’s FOIA request as “categorically exempt from disclosure.” However, the reasons cited for not disclosing responsive records are not applicable to the Committee’s request—it did not consider the special access granted to Congress pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 522(8)(d) (stating that FOIA “is not an authority to withhold information from Congress” even when an exemption may otherwise be implicated), nor did it consider the overriding public interest exception, which has been applied to information that would inform the public about proven violations of public trust (see, e.g., *Columbia Packing Co., Inc v. Department of Agriculture*, 564 F.3d 495, 499 (1st Cir. 1977) (federal employees found guilty of accepting bribes); *Congressional News Syndicate v. Department of Justice*, 438 F. Supp. 538, 544 (D.D.C. 1977) (misconduct by White House staffers)).

⁷Letter from U.S. Attorney’s Office, U.S. Department of Justice, to Chairman Michael Guest and Ranking Member Susan Wild, Committee on Ethics (Jan. 12, 2024).

⁸Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Representative Don Young*, H. Rept. 113–487, 113th Cong., 2d Sess. (2014) (herein after *Young*) (discussing information and documents provided to the Committee by DOJ relating to a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) investigation of Representative Young); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative James McDermott*, H. Rept. 109–732, 109th Cong., 2d Sess. 5 (2006) (herein after *McDermott*) (noting that the investigative subcommittee requested and obtained documents from DOJ regarding its investigation of the matter); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative Jay Kim*, H. Rept. 105–797, 105th Cong., 2d Sess. 79 (1998) (noting the FBI provided “valuable assistance to the Investigative Subcommittee throughout its inquiry.”); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *Investigation Pursuant to House Resolution 12 Concerning Alleged Illicit Use or Distribution of Drugs by Members, Officers, or Employees of the House*, H. Rept. 98–559, 98th Cong., 1st Sess. 21 (1983) (“the Special Counsel and the Attorney General entered into an agreement whereby the Department was to provide the Committee non-privileged results of the Department’s drug investigation, provided that access to the material was restricted to certain named individuals and that certain security precautions were taken.”); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative Raymond F. Lederer*, H. Rept. 97–110, 97th Cong., 1st Sess. (1981); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative Michael J. Myers*, H. Rept. 96–1387, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. (1980); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative John W. Jenrette, Jr.*, H. Rept. 96–1537, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. 2 (1980) (noting the Special Counsel and DOJ entered into an agreement “covering the receipt of confidential information in respect to the investigation” into a Member who was a subject of DOJ investigations known as ABSCAM).

⁹Letter from U.S. Attorney’s Office, U.S. Department of Justice, to Chairman Michael Guest and Ranking Member Susan Wild, Committee on Ethics (Feb. 13, 2024).

Representative Gaetz. On March 13, 2024, Committee Members met with the Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legislative Affairs and the Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal Division of DOJ. The DOJ officials again cited no legal basis for failing to comply with the subpoena. DOJ subsequently requested additional context for the Committee's demands, which the Committee provided. After further attempts at meaningful accommodation of DOJ's concerns about the breadth of the Committee's request, DOJ ultimately provided publicly reported information about the testimony of a deceased individual. To date, DOJ has provided no meaningful evidence or information to the Committee or cited any lawful basis for its responses. 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 initially made a narrowly tailored request for information to Representative Gaetz seeking information limited to the allegations that would not be within DOJ's jurisdiction—the alleged acceptance of an improper gift and sharing of nude images and videos on the House floor. The request also invited Representative Gaetz to provide additional information relevant to any of the allegations under review. Representative Gaetz sought numerous extensions and complained about the burden of the request. Representative Gaetz ultimately provided only three pages of information in response to the Committee's initial request.

On May 20, 2024, the Committee requested Representative Gaetz inform the Committee whether he would agree to participate in a voluntary interview and provided him a list of allegations so that he could make any response or provide any information regarding the allegations. On May 24, 2024, Representative Gaetz provided brief written denials of the allegations and “demand[ed] that the [C]ommittee address [‘leaks’] prior to me providing any oral testimony to the Committee.” On June 28, 2024, the Committee requested that Representative Gaetz provide the Committee with all records previously produced to DOJ, as well as dates of availability for an interview, by July 8. At that time, the Committee made an explicit request for any exonerating information.¹⁰ The Committee also informed Representative Gaetz that it could not permit further delays. Representative Gaetz did not produce the requested documents or dates of availability, and on July 10, he asked for an extension through the August recess to produce documents he deemed “appropriate.” Representative Gaetz did not provide these documents, despite multiple extensions provided by the Committee.

The Committee noted to Representative Gaetz that an interview would be an “opportunity to respond to the allegations against you and relevant questions arising out of the review.”¹¹ However, he declined to voluntarily participate, again making demands of the Committee instead. On July 11, the Committee issued a subpoena

¹⁰ See, e.g., Letter from Representative Matt Gaetz to Chairman Michael Guest and Ranking Member Susan Wild, Committee on Ethics (June 24, 2024) (“It is highly likely that there is evidence which will exculpate me of any allegation that I have violated House Rules.”).

¹¹ Letter from Chairman Michael Guest and Ranking Member Susan Wild, Committee on Ethics, to Representative Matt Gaetz (May 20, 2024).

for Representative Gaetz’s testimony; the subpoena was served electronically to Representative Gaetz and his Chief of Staff, who had communicated with the Committee on behalf of the Congressman throughout the investigation. Representative Gaetz did not appear to testify pursuant to the Committee’s subpoena. Representative Gaetz did not provide a legal basis for his failure to appear, but informed the Committee that, “[u]pon information and belief, the House will not take action to enforce” the subpoena. The Committee informed Representative Gaetz that, following his failure to comply with a subpoena and to provide a fulsome response to previous requests for information, the Committee would “rely on the record available to it to make its findings in this matter.” Representative Gaetz responded by stating that he had prioritized providing evidence that “most clearly and directly proves [his] innocence,” and stated that he “welcomed” written questions from the Committee. The Committee subsequently sent a set of written questions to Representative Gaetz. Representative Gaetz issued his response publicly, which did not answer most questions and asserted he would “no longer voluntarily participate” in the investigation.

On November 14, 2024, Representative Gaetz submitted his resignation to the House. On December 10, 2024, while several Members of the Committee objected, a majority of the Members voted to release the Report.

III. RELEVANT LAWS, RULES, AND OTHER APPLICABLE STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

A. FEDERAL LAWS

Section 1591 of Title 18, United States Code, prohibits trafficking (including recruiting, enticing, or transporting) a minor for commercial sex, while knowing or in reckless disregard of the fact that the victim is a minor.¹² Section 1591 also prohibits trafficking adults for commercial sex using “force, threats of force, fraud, or coercion.”

The Mann Act, 18 U.S.C. § 2421 et seq., prohibits the knowing transportation of individuals through interstate or foreign commerce to engage in prostitution or other illegal sexual activity. Section 2423 specifically prohibits the transportation of minors with the intent to engage in commercial sex or illegal sexual activity. However, if a defendant establishes that (s)he “reasonably believed” that the individual with whom (s)he engaged in commercial sex was at least 18 years old, the defendant may avoid criminal liability. Sections 2421 and 2422 are not limited to transportation of minors, but the Criminal Division of DOJ has stated that it “does not prosecute these statutes in every case in which they are violated, but only where there is evidence of a victim of severe forms of trafficking in persons.”¹³

¹² As defined in 18 U.S.C. § 1591(e)(3), commercial sex act “means any sex act, on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.”

¹³ *Statutes Enforced by the Criminal Section*, U.S. Department of Justice (last visited July 16, 2024), <https://www.justice.gov/crt/statutes-enforced-criminal-section>.

Federal law also prohibits obstruction of Congress. Specifically, under 18 U.S.C. § 1505, it is a crime, either “corruptly”¹⁴ or through threats, to influence, obstruct, or impede the “due and proper exercise of the power of inquiry” of a House committee, or to endeavor to do so. Federal law also prohibits tampering with witnesses in a congressional proceeding; pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1512(b), it is a crime to knowingly intimidate, threaten or “corruptly persuade” (or attempt to do so), or to “engage[] in misleading conduct toward”¹⁵ an individual with the intent to “influence, delay, or prevent the testimony of any person in an official proceeding,” or to cause someone to withhold or alter evidence. The witness tampering statute also prohibits the lesser offense of intentionally harassing a witness in an attempt to dissuade the witness from testifying.¹⁶ False statements to Congress in connection with an investigation are also prohibited, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

B. FLORIDA STATE LAWS

Under Florida’s statutory rape law, it is a felony for a person 24 years of age or older to engage in sexual activity with a 16- or 17-year-old.¹⁷ A person charged with this offense may not claim ignorance or misrepresentation of the minor’s age as a defense.

It is also a criminal offense under Florida state law to solicit, induce, entice, or procure another to commit prostitution, or to “purchase the services of any person engaged in prostitution,” or to “aid, abet, or participate” in such actions.¹⁸ Florida defines prostitution as “the giving or receiving of the body for sexual activity for hire but excludes sexual activity between spouses.”¹⁹

In Florida, unauthorized possession of controlled substances is also a criminal offense.²⁰ Schedule I and II controlled substances are deemed by Florida law as having a “high potential for abuse.”²¹ Cocaine and MDMA, commonly referred to as ecstasy or molly, are controlled substances under Florida law.²²

C. HOUSE RULES AND OTHER STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 7353 and House rule XXV, clause 5 (the Gift Rule), Members of Congress are subject to broad limitations on the solicitation and acceptance of gifts. Under the Gift Rule, Members may not knowingly accept any gift except as provided in the rule. As the *Ethics Manual* explains, gifts “include gratuities, favors, discounts, entertainment, hospitality, loans, forbearances, services, training, travel expenses, in-kind contributions, advanced payments, and reimbursements after the fact.”²³ The general pro-

¹⁴ 18 U.S.C. § 1515(b) (“As used in section 1505, the term ‘corruptly’ means acting with an improper purpose, personally or by influencing another, including making a false or misleading statement, or withholding, concealing, altering, or destroying a document or other information.”).

¹⁵ 18 U.S.C. § 1515(a)(3) (Misleading conduct is defined as knowingly making a false statement, intentionally omitting material information to create a false impression, inviting reliance on a writing or recording known to be inauthentic, and “knowingly using a trick, scheme, or device with intent to mislead.”).

¹⁶ 18 U.S.C. § 1512(d).

¹⁷ FLA. STAT. § 794.05(1) (2023).

¹⁸ FLA. STAT. §§ 796.07(2)(h), (i) (2023).

¹⁹ FLA. STAT. § 796.07(1)(d) (2023).

²⁰ FLA. STAT. § 893.13(3)(e) (2023).

²¹ FLA. STAT. §§ 893.03(1), (2) (2023).

²² FLA. STAT. § 893.03(1) (2023).

²³ *House Ethics Manual* (2022) at 25 (hereinafter *Ethics Manual*); see also House rule XXV, cl. 5(a)(2)(A).

vision of the Gift Rule allows a Member to accept a gift valued less than \$50 so long as the source of the gift is not a registered lobbyist, foreign agent, or private entity that retains or employs such individuals.²⁴

A gift received through a personal friendship where the fair market value is more than \$250 requires formal approval from the Committee. With respect to a trip, the value is viewed as a whole and thus includes transportation, lodging, and meal expenses paid for by the gift-giver.²⁵ Certain considerations must be made in determining whether to accept a gift over \$250 related to a personal friendship, such as (1) the history of the personal friendship, including any previous occasions of exchanging gifts; (2) whether the gift-giver personally paid for the gift or sought a tax deduction or business reimbursement for the gift; and (3) whether the gift-giver gave similar gifts to other Members, officers, or employees of the House.²⁶ In addition, Members are required to report the receipt of certain gifts from non-relatives where the aggregate value exceeds the “minimal value.”²⁷ The minimum value in 2024 is \$480 (excluding any gifts valued under \$192); in 2018, it was \$390 (excluding any gifts valued under \$156).

There is also an exemption for gifts of personal hospitality, for which there is no value limit and no reporting requirement.²⁸ The personal hospitality exemption, however, is limited. It applies only to stays and meals in someone’s personally-owned home, and it does not include air travel to get to that location or stays in a property that is rented out to others.

House rule XXIII, clause 15, governs the payment for use of non-commercial aircraft by House Members. Members may use personal funds for the use of an aircraft supplied by an individual on the basis of personal friendship. Members may only accept a flight on a non-commercial aircraft without reimbursement under limited circumstances under the Gift Rule. As a general matter, the personal friendship exception can apply only if the aircraft is owned by the Member’s personal friend, the use of the aircraft is for personal purposes, and the Member receives written approval from the Committee where the value is in excess of \$250.

Section 5341 of Title 2, United States Code, establishing the Members’ Representational Allowance, provides that its purpose is “to support the conduct of the official and representational duties of a Member [] with respect to the district from which the Member [] is elected.” The *Ethics Manual* notes, however, that assistance to a non-constituent is not entirely prohibited under this statute and explains “[i]n some instances, working for non-constituents on matters that are similar to those facing constituents may enable the Member better to serve his or her district.”²⁹ Nonetheless, Members “should not devote official resources to casework for indi-

²⁴ Caveats to this provision include: (1) the cumulative gift value from a single source in a calendar year must be less than \$100; (2) a gift worth less than \$10 does not count toward the cumulative limit; (3) cash or cash equivalents are not acceptable; and (4) buying down a gift value to less than the \$50 limit is impermissible. *Ethics Manual* at 38; House rule XXV, cl. 5(a)(1)(B)(i).

²⁵ *Ethics Manual* at 40.

²⁶ House rule XXV, cl. 5(a)(3)(D)(ii); see also *Ethics Manual* at 41.

²⁷ *Ethics Manual* at 268 (also stating the minimal value is set by the General Services Administration every three years).

²⁸ House rule XXV, cl. 5(a)(3)(P) (incorporating 5 U.S.C. app. § 109(14)).

²⁹ *Ethics Manual* at 317.

viduals who live outside the district” but instead “may refer the person to his or her own Representative or Senator” for assistance.³⁰

The Code of Ethics for Government Service sets forth standards of conduct for all government employees. Paragraph 2 of that Code provides that those in government service should “[u]phold the Constitution, laws, and legal regulations of the United States and of all governments therein and never be a party to their evasion.” Paragraph 5 states that they should “[n]ever discriminate unfairly by the dispensing of special favors or privileges to anyone, whether for remuneration or not.” All public servants are charged under the Code with upholding the principles articulated, “ever conscious that public office is a public trust.”

House rule XXIII, clause 1 states, “[a] Member . . . of the House shall behave at all times in a manner that shall reflect creditably on the House.” House rule XXIII, clause 2 states that Members “shall adhere to the spirit and the letter of the Rules of the House.”

IV. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

A. ALLEGATIONS OF SEXUAL MISCONDUCT AND DRUG USE

On March 30, 2021, the New York Times reported that Representative Gaetz was under investigation by DOJ for possible violation of sex trafficking laws.³¹ The investigation reportedly related to allegations that Representative Gaetz had a sexual relationship with a 17-year-old and paid for her to travel with him. On April 1, 2021, additional reporting indicated the federal investigation included allegations involving cash payments, the use of illegal substances, the recruitment of women online for sex, and the use of campaign funds to pay for travel for women.³² The DOJ investigation was part of an ongoing inquiry involving a former county tax collector in Florida named Joel Greenberg, who was sentenced to 11 years in 2022.³³

1. Representative Gaetz’s Arrangement with Joel Greenberg

The Committee’s record shows that, shortly after he was sworn into Congress in 2017, Representative Gaetz became friends with Mr. Greenberg, who had also recently taken office as the Seminole

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ Michael S. Schmidt et al., *Matt Gaetz Is Said to Face Justice Dept. Inquiry Over Sex with an Underage Girl*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Mar. 30, 2021), <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/30/us/politics/matt-gaetz-sex-trafficking-investigation.html> (hereinafter *Mar. 30 NYT Article*). Representative Gaetz voted against the Frederick Douglass Trafficking Victims Prevention & Protection Reauthorization Act of 2022 and was the lone “no” vote in 2017 on legislation to establish an advisory committee that would coordinate efforts to prevent human trafficking. In defending his 2017 vote, Representative Gaetz asserted that he worked in the Florida legislature to broaden the definition of “duress” in the state’s trafficking law to include, *inter alia*, “economic duress.” Matt Gaetz, FACEBOOK (Dec. 28, 2017), <https://www.facebook.com/RepresentativeMattGaetz/videos/1498815083501178>.

³² Katie Benner and Michael S. Schmidt, *Justice Dept. Inquiry Into Matt Gaetz Said to Be Focused on Cash Paid to Women*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Apr. 1, 2021), <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/01/us/politics/matt-gaetz-justice-department.html> (hereinafter *April 1 NYT Article*); Evan Perez et al., *Feds’ Investigation of Matt Gaetz Includes Whether Campaign Funds Were Used to Pay for Travel and Expenses*, CNN (Apr. 1, 2021), <https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/01/politics/matt-gaetz-campaign-funds-investigation/index.html>.

³³ See *U.S. v. Joel Micah Greenberg*, No. 6:20–CR–97 (M.D. Fla. 2020) (Mr. Greenberg pleaded guilty to charges of sex trafficking of a minor, stalking, identity theft, wire fraud, and conspiracy to bribe a public official); *April 1 NYT Article*; Sara Dorn, *Former Matt Gaetz Associate Joel Greenberg Sentenced to 11 Years for Child Sex Trafficking*, FORBES (Dec. 1, 2022), <https://www.forbes.com/sites/saradorn/2022/12/01/former-matt-gaetz-associate-joel-greenberg-sentenced-to-11-years-for-child-sex-trafficking/?sh=694d6c9e4dd3>.

County tax collector. According to Mr. Greenberg, the two met at the house of Christopher Dorworth, a Florida lobbyist. Mr. Greenberg and Representative Gaetz frequently attended parties and other gatherings with young women in attendance. Many of those women were initially contacted by Mr. Greenberg via the website SeekingArrangement.com (now Seeking.com), and Mr. Greenberg subsequently introduced the women to Representative Gaetz. SeekingArrangement.com advertised itself as a “sugar dating” website that primarily connected older men and younger women seeking “mutually beneficial relationships.”³⁴ The website was generally understood by many of the women interviewed by the Committee to involve, at minimum, an exchange of companionship for money.³⁵ There have been prosecutions against individuals for sex trafficking that originated with contacts made through SeekingArrangement.com or similar websites,³⁶ and some have called for the website to be shut down due to its facilitation of prostitution.³⁷ Platforms such as SeekingArrangement.com are known to “mak[e] it easier for traffickers to exploit victims and connect with buyers.”³⁸

The Committee did not receive any evidence that Representative Gaetz had his own account on SeekingArrangement.com. Mr. Greenberg indicated he frequently showed the site to Representative Gaetz and that he provided his login credentials to Representative Gaetz. According to Mr. Greenberg, he and Representative

³⁴ See Rebecca Downs, *Alternate to College Debt? Site Arranges Women to Use ‘Sugar Daddies,’* THE WASHINGTON EXAMINER (May 19, 2016), <https://washingtone Examiner.com/red-alert-politics/787936/alternate-to-college-debt-site-arranges-women-to-use-sugar-daddies>.

³⁵ 18(a) Interview of Woman 5 (“[I]t was like a sugar daddy type website.”); 18(a) Interview of Victim A (“I understood [the purpose of SeekingArrangement.com] to be meeting men to have sex or go on dates and get paid.”); 18(a) Interview of Woman 6 (understanding the purpose of the website to be “[g]oing on dates with older men and getting paid for it.”); 18(a) Interview of Woman 3 (“I understand it to be a sugar daddy website [I]t’s pretty well known that that’s what it is.”).

³⁶ E.g., *Anton ‘Tony’ Lazzaro Sentenced to 21 Years in Prison for Child Sex Trafficking*, U.S. Attorney’s Office, D. Minn. (Aug. 9, 2023), <https://www.justice.gov/usao-mn/pr/anton-tony-lazzaro-sentenced-21-years-prison-child-sex-trafficking>.

³⁷ See *Web Site Facilitate Prostitution? State Sen. Darren Soto Asks Florida’s Attorney General to Shut Down SeekingArrangement.com*, NEWS4JAX (Feb. 14, 2013), <https://www.news4jax.com/news/2013/02/14/does-web-site-facilitate-prostitution>.

³⁸ See U.S. Government Accountability Office Report to Congressional Committees, *Sex Trafficking: Online Platforms and Federal Prosecutions* (June 2021), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-21-385.pdf>. See also Jake Roberson, *The Dangers of Sugar Dating and Sugaring, Explained*, NATIONAL CENTER ON SEXUAL EXPLOITATION (Sept. 25, 2019), <https://endsexualexploitation.org/articles/the-dangers-of-sugar-dating-and-sugaring-explained> (“[T]he ‘arrangements’ are targeted toward—and often intentionally mislead—the younger, lower-income audience and puts them in situations where the natural end game is a variety of forms of manipulation and sexual exploitation”; “Sugar dating” is not safe and it is not an empowering system—it is inherently exploitative.”); Meeghan Sheppard, *Exposing the Exploitative Realities of Sugar Dating*, NATIONAL CENTER ON SEXUAL EXPLOITATION (July 2, 2020), <https://endsexualexploitation.org/articles/exposing-the-exploitative-realities-of-sugar-dating> (“For all intents and purposes, when the facade is stripped away, what is framed as a form of online dating meant to cultivate consenting relationships between two individuals is revealed as actually being a disturbing form of sexual exploitation.”); Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, *An Introduction to Sex Trafficking: 2022 SRO Basic* (2022), [https://www.dcs.virginia.gov/sites/dcs.virginia.gov/files/training-events/8020/introduction to sex trafficking.pdf](https://www.dcs.virginia.gov/sites/dcs.virginia.gov/files/training-events/8020/introduction%20to%20sex%20trafficking.pdf) (noting that situations such as “arrangement dating” can “potentially escalate into [] human trafficking.”); Laura E. Deeks, *A Website by Any Other Name? Sex, Sugar, and Section 230*, 34 Women’s Rts. L. Rep. Law 245, 257 (2013) (“Under the banner of sugar daddy and sugar baby arrangements, a lot of prostitution may be going on.”) (internal citations omitted); Melissa Farley et al., *Online Prostitution and Trafficking*, 77 Albany L. Rev. 1039, 1056 (2014) (“Compartmentalization of the sex industry into illegal versus quasi-legal prostitution [referencing seekingArrangement.com] benefits pimps and traffickers in that it frequently avoids accountability for criminal acts.”); Jacqueline Motyl, *Trading Sex for College Tuition: How Sugar Daddy ‘Dating’ Sites May Be Sugar Coating Prostitution*, 117:3 Dickinson L. Rev. 927, 956–57 (2013) (“[S]ugar daddy dating sites may not be the most pressing issue regarding prostitution, but enough is known to suggest and perhaps predict that increasingly questionable individuals and activities may migrate to these sites” allowing for “prostitution-type arrangements to foster within the Sugar Culture.”).

Gaetz would split the costs of “drugs, hotel[s], and girls.” For example, the Committee reviewed evidence that such activity occurred in July 2017. Specifically, evidence showed that Representative Gaetz, Mr. Greenberg, and others gathered at a rental property located in the Brickell neighborhood of Miami, Florida for a weekend beginning on July 7, 2017; Representative Gaetz and Mr. Greenberg also spent time in Fort Lauderdale during the Miami stay (during which time Representative Gaetz withdrew at least \$1,200 in cash from three different accounts at a single ATM). On June 22, 2017, Representative Gaetz paid \$6,308 for that rental booking.³⁹ On July 9, 2017, Mr. Greenberg paid Representative Gaetz \$1,600 by check; Mr. Greenberg stated the check was reimbursement for a share of the rental.⁴⁰ Mr. Greenberg also noted that they met up with another individual for dinner that weekend, and he shared a photo of Representative Gaetz, himself, and the other individual on social media on July 8, 2017.⁴¹

The Committee received evidence confirming that Representative Gaetz at times personally made payments to women who attended parties with him and Mr. Greenberg, using various peer-to-peer electronic payment services, as well as checks and cash. The Committee’s record also indicates that Mr. Greenberg sometimes paid women for having sex with Representative Gaetz and was sometimes reimbursed by Representative Gaetz.⁴² Witnesses indicated that there were times where a lump sum would be sent to one woman, who would then distribute the money evenly among others who attended the parties. Likewise, in one instance Representative Gaetz sent \$400 to Mr. Greenberg with the note “Hit up [Victim A]”; Mr. Greenberg then sent two women payments totaling \$400, including Victim A.⁴³

On August 19, 2020, Mr. Greenberg was indicted on charges related to his misuse of motor vehicle records and identification documents in his role as Seminole County tax collector and his attempt to falsely accuse a political opponent of being a pedophile; he was additionally charged with sex trafficking of a child (Victim A), wire fraud, bribery of a public official, theft of government property, and related charges. He pleaded guilty to six charges, including sex trafficking of Victim A, in May 2021 but his sentencing was delayed until December 2022 due to his ongoing cooperation in several other matters. As part of his cooperation, he provided informa-

³⁹ Personal Checking Account #3. Records obtained by the Committee show that this vacation rental was booked via an account belonging to one of Representative Gaetz’s former congressional staffers and paid for via Personal Checking Account #3.

⁴⁰ Exhibit 1. Mr. Greenberg claimed that he and Representative Gaetz did drugs the entire weekend. Venmo records show that Mr. Greenberg paid several hundred dollars to two of the women he identified as present for the weekend, with a note that the payment was for “food.” One of the women identified by Mr. Greenberg asserted her Fifth Amendment privilege when asked questions about the purpose of the payments from Mr. Greenberg, including whether any of the payments were for drugs.

⁴¹ *Joel Greenberg (@JoelGreenbergTC), X (formerly Twitter) (July 8, 2017, 10:00 PM), <https://x.com/JoelGreenbergTC/status/883868335955480576>.

⁴² For example, the Committee reviewed a contemporaneous text message showing that one of the women with whom both Representative Gaetz and Mr. Greenberg engaged in sexual activity contacted Mr. Greenberg to complain about not receiving expected money from him; Mr. Greenberg responded at the time indicating that he was waiting on money from Representative Gaetz. Exhibit 2 (Woman 4 testified that she saved Representative Gaetz on her phone as “Marissa” for discretion. (18(a) Interview of Woman 4.)). Financial records reviewed by the Committee generally corroborate Mr. Greenberg’s assertions that Representative Gaetz would sometimes send him money to cover his portion of payments owed to women.

⁴³ Personal Venmo Account #1; Mr. Greenberg Venmo Account #1. Representative Gaetz’s initial attempt to send the payment did not go through; in that attempt, the note stated, “Don’t forget to hit [Victim A] up. She was on me.”

tion that was ultimately corroborated and ended in successful prosecutions.⁴⁴

2. Representative Gaetz's Interactions With Women He Met Through Mr. Greenberg

i. Transactional Nature of the Interactions

From 2017 to 2020, Representative Gaetz made tens of thousands of dollars in payments to women that the Committee determined were likely in connection with sexual activity and/or drug use.⁴⁵ Payments were made to these women using peer-to-peer payment platforms such as PayPal, Venmo, and CashApp; while Representative Gaetz had accounts in his name on each of those platforms, he also sometimes paid women through another person's PayPal account, or through an account held under a pseudonymous e-mail account.⁴⁶ Representative Gaetz also paid some of the women by check or in cash.⁴⁷

The following chart summarizes payments made by Representative Gaetz to Mr. Greenberg and to women via peer-to-peer payment platforms or checks:

Recipient	Amount ⁴⁸	Timeframe
Woman 1 ⁴⁹ (former girlfriend)	\$63,836.58	2017–2020
Woman 2	\$4,189.82	2019–2020
Woman 3	\$2,651.69	2018–2019
Woman 4	\$6,198.75	2017–2019
Woman 5	\$4,025.27	2018–2019
Woman 6	\$5,251.23	2018–2019
Woman 7	\$200.00	2018
Woman 8	\$600.00	2017
Woman 9	\$1,280.00	2018–2020

⁴⁴ Nonetheless, as the Committee has acknowledged, there are concerns regarding Mr. Greenberg's credibility. Representative Gaetz was also aware that Mr. Greenberg was not an entirely trustworthy individual: "We all joked about how Joel is going to get us in trouble one day"; Representative Gaetz was "aware" that it was not smart to "be hanging out with [Joel] because he wasn't a very [up]standing person" (18(a) Interview of Woman 5); Mr. Greenberg's personality was "not one that really lends to what you would call a traditional, conventional friend"; Mr. Greenberg "exists in a manic[] state"; "Congressman Gaetz and I had many conversations about concerns about what kind of guy Joel Greenberg was"; and Mr. Greenberg would "walk[] around with a bunch of young women he met online and things like that" (18(a) Interview of Christopher Dorworth).

⁴⁵ The Committee determined that a small portion of the payments was for drugs. See Exhibit 3.

⁴⁶ Personal Venmo Account #1; Personal CashApp Account #1; Affiliated PayPal Account #1; Affiliated PayPal Account #2. The pseudonymous e-mail account was subject to a user-initiated deletion in September 2017 and purged of all records including emails, photographs, and calendars, as well as access to certain applications, subscriptions, and content. Google only maintains deleted accounts for short periods in case a user wishes to recover it. See Google Account Help, Delete Your Google Account or Google Services <https://support.google.com/accounts/answer/32046?hl=en>; Google Account Help, Recover a Recently Deleted Google Account, <https://support.google.com/accounts/answer/6236295?sjid=7679482182268347965-NA>. Representative Gaetz appears to have initially set up the pseudonymous e-mail account in order to make payments relating to cannabis products, and then also used it to make payments to women. The witnesses interviewed by the Committee consistently testified that Representative Gaetz was a frequent user of marijuana. See, e.g., 18(a) Interview of Woman 5 ("I provided him some cartridges . . . [o]f marijuana."); 18(a) Interview of Woman 3 ("I know [Representative Gaetz] had his weed pen on him a lot of the times."); 18(a) Interview of Woman 7 ("I've seen him smoking marijuana.").

⁴⁷ One male witness recalled seeing Representative Gaetz give cash to a woman at a party at his home. He asked Representative Gaetz whether the payment was for sex, which Representative Gaetz denied. When asked whether he believed Representative Gaetz, the witness stated only that he "wanted to believe" him. 18(a) Interview of Individual 1. Mr. Greenberg also received cash reimbursements for paying women on Representative Gaetz's behalf.

⁴⁸ Amount does not include cash or checks to cash that may have ultimately been received by the women; it also does not include amounts paid by other individuals to women on behalf of Representative Gaetz.

⁴⁹ Amount does not include payments of attorney's fees.

Recipient	Amount ⁴⁸	Timeframe
Woman 10	\$400.00	2018
Woman 11	\$500.00	2017
Woman 12	\$2,135.48	2018–2019
Joel Greenberg	\$3,950.00	2018–2019

The Committee’s record indicates that Representative Gaetz was in a long-term relationship with Woman 1, and therefore some of the payments may have been of a legitimate nature; however, as discussed further below, Woman 1 asserted her Fifth Amendment right when asked whether the payments to her from Representative Gaetz were for sexual activity and/or drugs, or for her to pass on to others for such purposes. Based on that assertion combined with evidence received from other sources, the Committee found substantial reason to believe that most of these payments were for such activity.

The Committee was not able to speak with every woman who received payments from Representative Gaetz that were suspected of being part of illicit activity. Several women initially were responsive to the Committee’s outreach but later told the Committee they would not voluntarily participate. Other women were clear at first contact that they feared retaliation or were unwilling to voluntarily relive their interactions with Representative Gaetz. Due to the women’s reluctance to cooperate, as well as the delay caused by DOJ’s deferral request and subsequent refusal to provide meaningful cooperation, the Committee was unable to determine the full extent to which Representative Gaetz’s payments to women were compensation for engaging in sexual activity with him. However, the record before the Committee provides substantial reason to believe that many of the payments in the chart above were made in connection with sexual activity and/or illicit drug use. The Committee was also not able to quantify the amount of cash payments Representative Gaetz made to women,⁵⁰ or the amount of payments that other individuals, such as Mr. Greenberg, made on behalf of Representative Gaetz.

Representative Gaetz refused to answer questions about his relationships with the women involved. There was, however, evidence that he understood and shared many of the women’s transactional views of their arrangements. In one text exchange viewed by the Committee, Representative Gaetz balked at a woman’s request that he send her money after he accused her of “ditching” him on a night when she was feeling tired, claiming she only gave him a “drive by.” The woman asserted to Representative Gaetz that she was being “treated differently” than other women he was paying for sex.⁵¹ The Committee also obtained text messages in which

⁵⁰ Representative Gaetz withdrew more than \$25,000 in cash from 2017–2018 alone. See Personal Checking Account 2; Personal Checking Account 3; Personal Checking Account 4.

⁵¹ Some women appeared mindful of their own potential liability and were reluctant to acknowledge explicit discussions of sex-for-hire. The Committee received some testimony indicating that there may have at times been miscommunications about the transactional nature of their interactions, but that it was ultimately made clear. One woman testified, “[m]aybe I was under the impression that Joel [Greenberg] had talked to [Representative Gaetz] about kind of what was supposed to happen. I think maybe [Representative Gaetz] even didn’t really understand at some points because maybe that’s why he wasn’t giving me what I wanted. So I think there was definitely some miscommunication, and then maybe Joel promised stuff, and he wasn’t keeping it. I don’t really know what was going on behind the scenes with them or that kind of stuff. But I would assume that he understood, considering he did send me money at one point.” 18(a) Interview of Woman 4.

Representative Gaetz's then-girlfriend informed some of the women who were typically paid for sex that "the guys [Representative Gaetz and Mr. Greenberg] wanted me to share that they are a little limited in their cash flow this weekend . . . [M]att was like[,] if it can be more of a customer appreciation week. . . ." ⁵² A few months later, she noted that, "Btw Matt also mentioned he is going to be a bit generous cause of the 'customer appreciation' thing last time." Another woman specifically recalled a conversation with Representative Gaetz about issues with Mr. Greenberg's "following through" with expected payments after Mr. Greenberg's encounters with her. ⁵³ Mr. Greenberg told the Committee that Representative Gaetz was aware that the women they had sex with and paid had met Mr. Greenberg through the "sugar dating" website.

Representative Gaetz did not appear to have negotiated specific payment amounts prior to engaging in sexual activity with the women he paid. Instead, the women had a general expectation that they would typically receive some amount of money after each sexual encounter. In 2017, using a pseudonymous account, Representative Gaetz made payments to women largely without a description of the purpose of the payment. After several months, he began to use other payment accounts, including ones with his own name, using innocuous descriptions to indicate the purpose of the payments. ⁵⁴ Representative Gaetz did not provide any information regarding the tens of thousands of dollars in payments he made to over a dozen women despite being offered the opportunity to do so by the Committee. Representative Gaetz was provided with a list of women who the Committee found received payments from him beginning in 2017 and was asked to inform the Committee of the purpose of those payments, as well as to inform the Committee how he knew the individual and whether, "if you engaged in any sexual activity with the individual, did she ever indicate to you that she expected payment for engaging in sexual activity with you?" ⁵⁵ Rather than answer the questions, Representative Gaetz asserted incorrectly: "You ask, in part, whether I've had sex with a list of adult women over the past seven years. The lawful, consensual, sexual activities of adults are not the business of Congress."

Many of the women interviewed by the Committee were clear that there was a general expectation of sex. One woman who was paid more than \$5,000 by Representative Gaetz between 2018 and 2019 told the Committee that "99 percent of the time that [Representative Gaetz and I] were hanging out, there was sex involved." ⁵⁶

Text messages obtained by the Committee show that Representative Gaetz would also ask women to bring drugs to their rendezvous, in some instances requesting marijuana cartridges and repaying the women directly, but in other cases requesting "a full compliment [sic] of party favors," "vitamins," or "rolls." ⁵⁷ Rep-

⁵² Exhibit 4.

⁵³ 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

⁵⁴ See Exhibit 3.

⁵⁵ See Appendix A (emphasis added).

⁵⁶ *Id.* See also 18(a) Interview of Woman 13 ("Matt Gaetz paid me for sex, that was the extent of our interaction."); 18(a) Interview of Woman 5 ("it was understood . . . that [sex for money] was the arrangement.").

⁵⁷ Exhibit 4; Exhibit 5. Woman 5 explained that "rolls" referred to ecstasy. See also *Slang Terms and Code Words: A Reference for Law Enforcement Personnel*, Drug Enforcement Admin-

representative Gaetz sent one woman several hundred dollars for marijuana cartridges.⁵⁸ One woman stated that, with respect to a 2018 Bahamas trip, “[M]yself and [Representative Gaetz’s then-girlfriend] brought drugs with us, and I do know that Matt supplied [his then-girlfriend] with money.”⁵⁹ Another woman said that she brought cocaine to at least one event with Representative Gaetz and that she witnessed him taking cocaine or ecstasy on at least five occasions.⁶⁰ Mr. Greenberg told the Committee that he would typically provide drugs, such as ecstasy, for events he attended and Representative Gaetz would pay him back in cash. Several other women observed Representative Gaetz to be under the influence of drugs.⁶¹ Additionally, nearly every witness interviewed observed Representative Gaetz using marijuana.⁶²

ii. Selected Interactions

Based on the evidentiary record, the Committee identified at least 20 occasions from the beginning of 2017 through the middle of 2020 where there was substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz met with women who were paid for sex and/or drugs. The Committee also received testimony related to multiple additional events, trips, or parties where Representative Gaetz may have paid women for sex and drugs, although the Committee could not determine the specific dates or locations for all of them. To the extent Representative Gaetz paid money to women in connection with those trips, at least some such transactions are reflected in the chart discussed in the prior section.

One of the women that Mr. Greenberg met on SeekingArrangement.com and introduced to Representative Gaetz in or around March 2017 became Representative Gaetz’s girlfriend, when he was almost 35 and she was 21 years old; their relationship continued for over two years. The relationship was not exclusive, and the Committee received evidence that Representative Gaetz’s then-girlfriend sometimes participated with him in sexual encounters with other women who were active on the website or otherwise involved in sex-for-money arrangements. The Committee also obtained text messages where she appeared to act as an intermediary between Representative Gaetz and the women he paid for sex. She herself was paid tens of thousands of dollars by Representative Gaetz over the course of their two-year relationship; she stated “Matt always paid for anything for me.”⁶³ However, she

istration (July 2018), <https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2018-07/DIR-022-18.pdf> (listing “vitamin E” and “rolls” as slang for ecstasy/MDMA/molly). The Committee was not able to determine how and when Representative Gaetz paid for “party favors” such as ecstasy and cocaine.

⁵⁸ See Personal Venmo Account #1; 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

⁵⁹ 18(a) Interview of Woman 5 (also noting that she (Woman 5), Representative Gaetz’s then-girlfriend (Woman 1), or Mr. Greenberg would typically supply drugs).

⁶⁰ 18(a) Interview of Woman 6.

⁶¹ See, e.g., 18(a) Interview of Woman 4 (stating, for example, on one occasion Representative Gaetz was “talkative, sexual[] . . . he stayed up late, like probably the whole night with everybody” and that the “appearance of his face, eyes” were indicators of his having taken ecstasy); 18(a) Interview of Woman 5 (stating that on a different occasions Representative Gaetz “exhibited signs of being on ecstasy”).

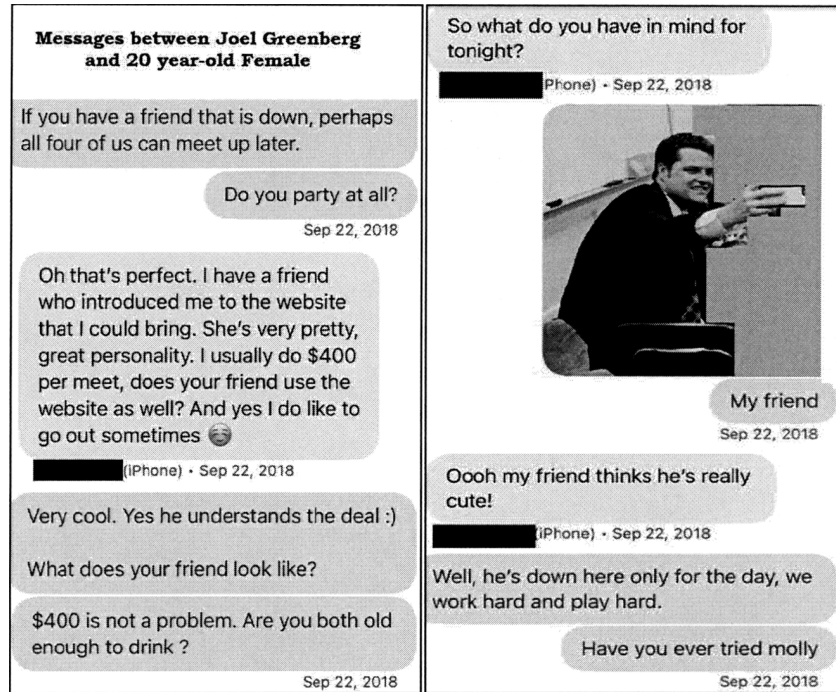
⁶² See, e.g., 18(a) Interview of Woman 3; 18(a) Interview of Woman 4; 18(a) Interview of Woman 5; 18(a) Interview of Woman 7; 18(a) Interview of Individual 1; 18(a) Interview of Christopher Dorworth.

⁶³ 18(a) Interview of Woman 1. This amount does not include the \$50,025 Representative Gaetz paid her attorneys at the outset of DOJ’s investigation. His then-girlfriend indicated he paid for her attorneys “because he cares for me, wants me to be protected and safe.” *Id.* Other witnesses indicated that they understood Representative Gaetz to have a financial relationship with his then-girlfriend.

invoked her Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination in response to several questions, including what the purpose of specific payments was, whether Representative Gaetz ever paid her money for sex, and whether she was aware of Representative Gaetz paying others for sex. She also invoked her Fifth Amendment privilege when asked to explain an increase in payments from Representative Gaetz in 2019, whether any of the payments from Representative Gaetz were related to drugs, and whether payments she received from Mr. Greenberg were related to Representative Gaetz.⁶⁴

The Committee obtained messages between Mr. Greenberg and a 20-year-old woman he met through SeekingArrangement.com who noted, “I usually do \$400 per meet.” As shown in the following exchange, Mr. Greenberg and the woman made plans to each bring a friend to their meet. The Committee found that the language used by the woman and amount proposed were consistent with typical “pay per meet” arrangements made by users of SeekingArrangement.com at that time.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., Lauren Seabrook, *UCF Sugar Babies Talk Sugar Daddy Foot Fetish, Arrangements Netting Up to \$500 a Date*, WFTV9 (Apr. 26, 2019), <https://www.wftv.com/news/9-investigates/ucf-sugar-babies-explain-arrangements-that-net-up-to-500-a-date-talk-sugar-daddy-foot-fetish/943137086>; Anonymous, *I’m a “Sugar Baby” Who Gets Paid \$500 a Date—Here’s What It’s Really Like to Date Sugar Daddies and Get Cash, Gifts, and 5-Star Hotel Stays*, BUSINESS INSIDER (Aug. 8, 2022), <https://www.businessinsider.com/sugar-baby-relationship-sugar-daddy-what-its-like-2019-8>; REDDIT (r/sugarlifestyle forum), <https://www.reddit.com/r/sugarlifestyle> forum.



Evidence reviewed by the Committee shows that, on several occasions, Representative Gaetz met with the woman who corresponded with Mr. Greenberg in these messages; he continues to follow her on social media and has paid her more than \$2,000 since late 2018.

The Committee received evidence indicating that the 20-year-old woman in the above messages joined Mr. Greenberg and Representative Gaetz at a hotel in Florida less than two weeks after her initial encounter with Representative Gaetz. The Committee's record indicates that Representative Gaetz also invited another woman who he regularly paid for sex to meet him at the hotel, without disclosing to her that others would be present. The other woman, who was 21 years old, had recently asked the congressman for his help with her tuition. She recalled that Representative Gaetz agreed and told her to meet him at that hotel room, where he would provide her with a check, which, according to the woman, "was interesting because he had normally sent Venmo payments."⁶⁶ When she arrived to pick up the check, she found Mr. Greenberg and the 20-year-old woman present. The 21-year-old woman told the Committee there was an "expectation" of a "sexual encounter." The four of them had sex and afterwards Representative Gaetz gave her a \$750 check made out to cash with "tuition reimbursement" in the memo line, which she deposited the next day to help pay her tuition.⁶⁷ The 21-year-old woman told the Committee she believed that the encounter "could potentially be a form

⁶⁶ 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

⁶⁷ Personal Checking Account #4.

of coercion because I really needed the money.”⁶⁸ Representative Gaetz’s financial records confirm that he wrote the check, and that he was present at the hotel identified by the woman, on the date identified by the woman.⁶⁹

As another example, the Committee obtained text messages that appeared to show Representative Gaetz messaging a woman he knew through Mr. Greenberg, inviting her to travel on a private plane to Key West from May 19–21, 2017, with “2 guys, 4 girls. A very high-quality, adventurous group.”⁷⁰ She initially responded, “Yeah I’m in,” to which Representative Gaetz stated, “Fantastic. As is true with all time you spend w[ith] me, it’ll be fun and very chill.” The same woman was photographed with Representative Gaetz on May 19, 2017, in Orlando. The photograph depicts Representative Gaetz in a casual shirt with his arm around her in a dimly lit bar. She was also photographed in front of a helicopter with three other women associated with Representative Gaetz around the same time, including his then-girlfriend. After the Committee obtained copies of the text messages and “selfie” photo, there was public reporting about the evidence.⁷¹ In response to the reporting, Representative Gaetz’s spokesperson released a statement asserting that “Rep. Gaetz does not know anything about the woman you’re referencing, though he takes thousands of selfies each year.”⁷² Payment records reviewed by the Committee, however, show that Representative Gaetz paid \$600 to the woman the same day he was photographed with her.

In February 2018, Mr. Greenberg introduced Representative Gaetz to two women with accounts on SeekingArrangement.com. They were generally older than the other women that Mr. Greenberg had previously introduced to Representative Gaetz, and they had a slightly different relationship with the two men. They were the only women paid by Representative Gaetz who denied to the Committee that the payments they received from the congressman were compensation for engaging in sexual activity.

One of the women, who was 25 years old when she met Representative Gaetz, testified that she understood herself to be more “sophisticated” than some other women on SeekingArrangement.com. In contrast to the women who almost exclusively interacted with Representative Gaetz in hotel rooms or at private parties,⁷³ this woman attended events as Representative Gaetz’s date, for which she was paid between \$500 and \$1,000 per

⁶⁸ 18(a) Interview of Woman 5. Contemporaneous messages reviewed by the Committee show that Representative Gaetz also understood the urgency of the woman’s need to pay for classes on a deadline.

⁶⁹ Personal Checking Account #2; Personal Checking Account #4.

⁷⁰ Exhibit 6.

⁷¹ See Will Steakin, *House Panel Obtains Texts Allegedly Showing Gaetz Setting Up 2017 Florida Keys Trip with Woman His Associate Paid for Sex: Sources*, ABC NEWS (Feb. 14, 2024), <https://abcnews.go.com/US/house-panel-obtains-texts-allegedly-showing-gaetz-setting-story?id=107126493> (herein after *February 14 ABC Article*). Representative Gaetz repeatedly accused the Committee of being responsible for “leaking” this information to the press. The Committee was not responsible for the disclosure of evidence. The same records were in the possession of multiple individuals at the time of the disclosure due to the civil litigation relating to the allegations against Representative Gaetz.

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ The Committee received evidence that Representative Gaetz invited some of the younger women to hotels where political events were occurring. Representative Gaetz advised the women on what to wear when attending such events. See Exhibit 5 (Rep. Gaetz: “let’s talk wardrobe . . . [d]o you have a cute black dress? . . . Can’t be toooo short. But sexy def OK.”).

event.⁷⁴ She also stated that she did not feel pressured to have sex with Representative Gaetz, and only did so on some occasions.⁷⁵ She told the Committee that, in December 2019, Representative Gaetz had his congressional assistant arrange travel for her to Washington, D.C. for one night.⁷⁶ According to the woman, she attended a dinner with Representative Gaetz and a few other individuals.⁷⁷ She stayed overnight at a hotel with Representative Gaetz and had sex with him. Representative Gaetz sent the woman \$1,000 around that time. The woman told the Committee she was paid to be his date and that sex was not necessarily an expectation.⁷⁸

The other older woman, who was 27 years old when she met Representative Gaetz, was the only woman interviewed by the Committee who did not view their relationship as transactional in nature.⁷⁹ The first time she met Representative Gaetz, however, she had sex with him and was paid \$1,000 by Mr. Greenberg, which she understood to have been at Representative Gaetz's direction. She told the Committee that she viewed her relationship with Representative Gaetz as "more or less" dating, although "it was never anything serious."⁸⁰ She said she was not familiar with his then-girlfriend, and said she was not aware that he was also having a sexual relationship with her friend, the 25-year-old woman. She frequently commented on his social media, and he still follows her on social media.

Most of the sex-for-money encounters that the Committee reviewed occurred in Florida, particularly around Orlando. Several of the women involved were students based in that area. On several occasions, however, Representative Gaetz did travel with women that he paid for sex.

On September 13, 2018, Representative Gaetz, two other men, and six women traveled to the Bahamas. Representative Gaetz arrived by commercial plane later than the others, who arrived on private planes. The group stayed at a vacation rental booked and paid for by one of the male travelers.⁸¹ The attendees stated that this was a social trip—they sunbathed, chartered a boat, and went to dinners and to a casino as a group. Representative Gaetz engaged in sexual activity with at least four of the women on the trip.⁸² Several of the women recalled that Representative Gaetz ap-

⁷⁴ 18(a) Interview of Woman 6 (stating that the money was "pretty much to stand there, take pictures, and smile.").

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ Personal CashApp Account #1.

⁷⁷ Representative Gaetz referenced this dinner in a March 30, 2021 media interview: "[Y]ou and I went to dinner about two years ago, your wife was there, and I brought a friend of mine, you'll remember her. . . ." Teo Armus, *Tucker Carlson Denies Gaetz Claim That He Met Witness in FBI Probes: 'One of the Weirdest Interviews I've Ever Conducted'*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Mar. 31, 2021) (herein after *Carlson Interview*), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/03/31/tucker-carlson-matt-gaetz-17/>.

⁷⁸ 18(a) Interview of Woman 6.

⁷⁹ As one example, the Committee asked this woman about a \$550 payment she received from Representative Gaetz in 2018, which occurred around the same time she attended an event with Representative Gaetz and had sex with him. The woman told the Committee that the \$550 payment was reimbursement for a dress she purchased to wear to the event. 18(a) Interview of Woman 3.

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ Exhibit 7.

⁸² 18(a) Interview of Woman 1 (stating that she was a "witness" to Representative Gaetz engaging in sexual activity with other women on the trip); 18(a) Interview of Woman 4 ("I had sex with [Representative Gaetz] at the Airbnb that we were staying in in the Bahamas." However, in the civil litigation, Woman 4 stated that she did not participate in sexual activity in

peared to be under the influence of drugs and that they took ecstasy during this trip; one woman said she witnessed Representative Gaetz taking ecstasy as well.⁸³ Most, if not all, of the women involved had some history of sexual interactions with Representative Gaetz for which they had been paid. While there were no specific payments to the women in connection with the Bahamas trip, according to one woman, “the trip itself was more so the payment.”⁸⁴ The group returned to Orlando on September 16, 2018; Representative Gaetz flew on a private plane with another man and three women, while the remaining individuals flew on another private plane.

Representative Gaetz paid for two women to travel to New York City in January 2019 to meet up with him and his then-girlfriend. The Committee reviewed text messages in which Representative Gaetz asked the women about obtaining drugs in advance of the trip, stating, “[w]ho can help w[ith] party favors?”⁸⁵ In addition to paying for their travel costs, the Committee received evidence that Representative Gaetz sent the women money to compensate them for sexual activities they engaged in with him during the trip.⁸⁶

While all the women that the Committee interviewed stated their sexual activity with Representative Gaetz was consensual, at least one woman felt that the use of drugs at the parties and events they attended may have “impair[ed their] ability to really know what was going on or fully consent.”⁸⁷ Indeed, nearly every woman that the Committee spoke with could not remember the details of at least one or more of the events they attended with Representative Gaetz and attributed that to drug or alcohol consumption.⁸⁸ The women also discussed instances where Representative Gaetz would try to convince them to have sex with him or Mr. Greenberg: “[H]e would make me feel bad about not having sex with him or [] Joel Greenberg” and that he would say, “Why don’t you want to have sex with me” or “[Mr. Greenberg] looks very sad over there . . . Make him happy.”⁸⁹ Another woman said that their relationship at some point was a “loving friendship,” but over time came to feel like a “task.”⁹⁰ A third woman said, “[W]hen I look back on certain moments, I feel violated.”⁹¹ One woman said, “I think about it all the time I still see him when I turn on the tv and there’s nothing anyone can do. It’s frustrating to know I lived a reality that he denies.”⁹²

the Bahamas.); 18(a) Interview of Victim A (“I joined in . . . when [] [Representative Gaetz] was with all of those women in the bedroom.”).

⁸³ 18(a) Interview of Victim A.

⁸⁴ 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

⁸⁵ Exhibit 8.

⁸⁶ *Id.*; *see also* Exhibit 3; 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

⁸⁷ 18(a) Interview of Woman 4.

⁸⁸ *Id.*; 18(a) Interview of Victim A; 18(a) Interview of Woman 1; 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

⁸⁹ 18(a) Interview of Victim A.

⁹⁰ 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

⁹¹ 18(a) Interview of Victim A (also commenting that she “thought all of those people were my friends . . . I know now that [] they’re not.”).

⁹² 18(a) Interview of Woman 13.

3. *Representative Gaetz's Interactions With the Minor He Met Through Mr. Greenberg*

Numerous witnesses told the Committee that, on July 15, 2017, Representative Gaetz attended a party at Mr. Dorworth's home.⁹³ This party was also attended by Mr. Greenberg, Representative Gaetz's then-girlfriend, and several others, including Victim A, who was 17 years old at the time. The record overwhelmingly suggests that Representative Gaetz had sex with multiple women at the party, including the then-17-year-old, for which they were paid.⁹⁴

Mr. Dorworth testified that Representative Gaetz was a frequent guest at his home.⁹⁵ To enter the community where Mr. Dorworth lives, non-residents are required to present a driver's license before entering, and entry records are maintained.⁹⁶ Mr. Dorworth believed that Representative Gaetz invited people to his home on the evening of July 15, 2017.⁹⁷ Likewise, Representative Gaetz's then-girlfriend provided an affidavit in the civil litigation stating that she and Representative Gaetz attended the July 15, 2017, party at the Dorworth residence.⁹⁸

The Committee received testimony that Victim A and Representative Gaetz had sex twice during the party, including at least once in the presence of other party attendees.⁹⁹ Victim A recalled receiving \$400 in cash from Representative Gaetz that evening, which she understood to be payment for sex.¹⁰⁰ At the time, she had just completed her junior year of high school.¹⁰¹ Victim A said that she did not inform Representative Gaetz that she was under 18 at the time, nor did he ask her age. The Committee did not receive any evidence indicating that Representative Gaetz was aware that Victim A was a minor when he had sex with her.

⁹³ *Id.*; 18(a) Interview of Woman 4; 18(a) Interview of Victim A; Sworn response of Joel Greenberg; *see also* Exhibit 9 (showing that Woman 1, Victim A, and Woman 4 were present at the party).

⁹⁴ 18(a) Interview of Victim A; 18(a) Interview of Woman 1; 18(a) Interview of Woman 4. Mr. Greenberg informed the Committee that the day after this party, Representative Gaetz bragged that "he had sex with six girls in one day and named all of them," including Victim A.

⁹⁵ 18(a) Interview of Christopher Dorworth (stating that Representative Gaetz would stay at his home three to five times a year, and that his home has seven bedrooms).

⁹⁶ The records only list the vehicle and driver; it does not include passengers.

⁹⁷ *See* Exhibit 9 (showing at least five individuals arriving between 3:20 p.m. and 11:16 p.m.). Mr. Dorworth's wife testified in the civil litigation that she also thought Representative Gaetz was at her home on July 15, 2017, and another individual testified in that litigation that Representative Gaetz was at Mr. Dorworth's house when he arrived that evening. One woman provided an affidavit in the civil litigation stating that, "Over the course of the Summer and into the Fall of 2017, I attended gatherings at the Dorworth Residence with alcohol; cocaine; middle-aged men; and young, attractive females."

⁹⁸ Woman 4 also provided an affidavit in the civil litigation placing Representative Gaetz at Mr. Dorworth's house during the July 15, 2017, party.

⁹⁹ Although one witness indicated that Representative Gaetz and Victim A had sex with Representative Gaetz's then-girlfriend present and participating, another witness indicated that Representative Gaetz's then-girlfriend did not have sex with Victim A at that specific party. One individual stated she saw Representative Gaetz and Victim A having sex; her testimony was consistent to both the Committee and in the civil litigation. The Committee also received evidence that Mr. Dorworth may have observed Representative Gaetz and Victim A having sex at the party; Victim A said he walked in on her and Representative Gaetz having sex and that Mr. Dorworth was "joking about it with other people at the party." 18(a) Interview of Victim A. Mr. Dorworth testified that he was not home that evening. 18(a) Interview of Christopher Dorworth. However, phone records for Mr. Dorworth indicate that he was home at approximately 7:00 p.m. and did not leave until the following day. Additionally, multiple individuals provided testimony and affidavits in the civil litigation asserting Mr. Dorworth was home on the evening of July 15.

¹⁰⁰ In the week leading up to this party, Representative Gaetz withdrew at least \$1,200 cash over three transactions. *See* Personal Checking Account #2; Personal Checking Account #3; Personal Checking Account #4.

¹⁰¹ Victim A did not turn 18 until later in 2017.

Victim A acknowledged that she was under the influence of ecstasy during her sexual encounters with Representative Gaetz at the July 15, 2017, party, and recalled seeing Representative Gaetz use cocaine at that party.¹⁰² Victim A told the Committee she was “certain” of her sexual encounters with Representative Gaetz on that night.¹⁰³ As discussed further below, Representative Gaetz generally denied engaging in sexual activity with a minor but refused to answer specific questions relating to his interactions with Victim A.

On August 2, 2024, Representative Gaetz sent the Committee a copy of a social media post from Mr. Dorworth regarding his lawsuit against Victim A, in which he had accused her of being part of a conspiracy to defame him. In that post, Mr. Dorworth discussed his recent settlement with Victim A (in which no funds were exchanged). He asserted that he had “succeeded” in proving that Victim A “lied” about him, and that “[s]he didn’t just lie about me, she lied about Gaetz as well in a federal criminal investigation that resulted in no charges against the congressman because our false-accuser has no credibility and had no evidence for the crime that didn’t occur.” The same day, Mr. Dorworth revised his post (after Victim A’s attorneys contacted his attorneys) to remove his claim that he succeeded in proving the Victim A had lied but maintaining his assertion that she falsely accused Representative Gaetz. Mr. Dorworth testified to the Committee that he himself was not present for the July 15, 2017, party at his own home, despite Victim A’s assertions to the contrary. After the Committee’s interview, and after he settled his lawsuit against Victim A, Mr. Dorworth was deposed and confronted with cell phone records showing that he was in fact at his residence during the party. Mr. Dorworth stated, “I don’t have an answer to these questions” and “I am not going to opine on cell phone data when I don’t know anything about [it]. . . . I don’t know. I do not believe I was there. . . . There could be a million reasons for that.” As the questions about his cell phone pinging from a tower less than a mile from his home continued, Mr. Dorworth became irritated, informing the attorney “I’m telling you that I was not at that party. So if you believe those [phone records] somehow impute that I was or that they make it just undeniable, then that is certainly your belief.” The Committee requested, through counsel, that Mr. Dorworth clarify his testimony regarding his whereabouts on the evening of July 15, 2017; his counsel did not respond.

4. Representative Gaetz’s Response to the Allegations of Sexual Misconduct and Illicit Drug Use

Representative Gaetz categorically stated to the Committee that the allegations he “may have engaged in sexual misconduct including violations of federal laws relating to sex trafficking and state laws relating to prostitution and statutory rape,” were “false” and

¹⁰² 18(a) Interview of Victim A. See also 18(a) Interview of Woman 4 (“[T]he state everyone was in . . . made me assume that [Representative Gaetz] was probably on [some drugs].”).

¹⁰³ 18(a) Interview of Victim A (A: [W]hen[] I first got to that party [] I wasn’t that drunk at the beginning of the party, and [] those two memories are [] so huge in my head . . . Q: [I]s there any chance that you are misremembering whether or not you engaged in sexual activity with Matt Gaetz when you were 17 years old? A: No.). Mr. Greenberg claimed to have witnessed Victim A having sex with Representative Gaetz at the home of Individual 1 when she was 17 years old; however, Victim A did not recall such an instance occurring. Victim A also had hazy memories of other occasions on which she saw Representative Gaetz.

that “[t]hese allegations were investigated by the Department of Justice and the investigation was completely dropped.” He also repeatedly, incorrectly stated that the DOJ investigation “exonerated” him. Representative Gaetz did not provide any explanation for his assertion that the allegations of state law violations were false, even though those violations were not within the jurisdiction of DOJ. He also denied the allegations that he used illicit drugs.¹⁰⁴

The Committee provided Representative Gaetz with the names of 15 women who were alleged to have received payments from him or on his behalf relating to sexual misconduct and illicit drug use, as well as the approximate payment amounts and transaction years, but he did not provide any explanation for those payments. Representative Gaetz responded publicly to allegations that his payments to women were for sex by stating that “someone is trying to recategorize my generosity to ex-girlfriends as something more untoward.”¹⁰⁵ He also repeatedly denied having ever paid for sex.¹⁰⁶ When given the opportunity to put that assertion in writing in this matter, however, Representative Gaetz refused to respond, asserting that “asking about [his] sexual history as a single man with adult women is a bridge too far.”

Representative Gaetz did broadly address the allegation that he engaged in sexual activity with a minor; he asserted in his September 26, 2024, letter to the Committee: “Your correspondence of September 4 asks whether I have engaged in sexual activity with any individual under 18. The answer to this question is unequivocally NO. You can apply this response to every version of this question, in every forum.”¹⁰⁷ The Committee’s September 4 letter, however, specifically asked him whether he was present at the July 15, 2017, party at Mr. Dorworth’s, whether he ever engaged in sexual activity with Victim A and when, and whether he ever gave Victim A money (directly or indirectly) and if so, for what purpose. Representative Gaetz did not answer any of those questions.

B. ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO THE HOUSE GIFT RULE

In 2021, news outlets reported that federal investigators were reviewing the 2018 Bahamas trip.¹⁰⁸ According to these reports, the

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., @FmrRepMattGaetz, X (formerly Twitter) (Sept. 26, 2024, 12:29 p.m.), <https://twitter.com/FmrRepMattGaetz/status/1839341409582846196> (hereinafter, September 26 X Post) (“I have not used drugs which are illegal, absent some law allowing use in a jurisdiction of the United States. I have not used ‘illicit’ drugs, which I consider to be drugs unlawful for medical or over-the-counter use everywhere in the United States.”).

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Will Steakin, *Witness Tells House Ethics Committee That Matt Gaetz Paid Her for Sex: Sources*, ABC NEWS (June 19, 2024), <https://abcnews.go.com/US/witness-tells-house-ethics-committee-matt-gaetzpaid/story?id=111217102>; Mar. 30 *NYT* Article.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*
¹⁰⁶ *February 14 ABC Article* (a spokesperson for the congressman stated, “Rep. Gaetz has never paid for sex.”); Michael S. Schmidt and Katie Benner, *Indicted Gaetz Associate is Said to be Cooperating with Justice Dept.*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Apr. 13, 2021), <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/13/us/politics/joel-greenberg-matt-gaetz.html> (a spokesperson for Representative Gaetz stated, “Congressman Gaetz has never paid for sex”); Marc Caputo, *The Congressman and His Wingman*, POLITICO (Apr. 6, 2021), <https://politico.com/states/florida/story/2021/04/06/the-congressman-and-his-wingman-1371840> (hereinafter *April 6 Politico Article*) (“I have never paid for sex”); Representative Matt Gaetz, *Rep. Matt Gaetz: The Swamp is Out to Drown Me with False Charges, but I’m Not Giving Up*, THE WASHINGTON EXAMINER (Apr. 5, 2021), <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/1933067/rep-matt-gaetz-the-swamp-is-out-to-drown-me-with-false-charges-but-im-not-giving-up/> (hereinafter *April 5 Washington Examiner Article*) (“[L]et me address the allegations against me directly. First, I have never, ever paid for sex.”).

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁸ Major Garrett et al., *Matt Gaetz Trip to Bahamas is Part of Federal Probe into Sex Trafficking, Sources Say*, CBS NEWS (Apr. 8, 2021), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/matt-gaetz-bahamas-trip-federal-probe-sex-trafficking>.

trip was paid for by an associate of Representative Gaetz with connections to the medical marijuana industry, who allegedly also paid for female escorts to accompany them on the trip.¹⁰⁹ The only other male attendee was also connected to the medical marijuana industry. According to press reports, DOJ was investigating allegations that the trip may have been part of an illegal influence effort on behalf of the medical marijuana industry.¹¹⁰

As discussed above, the Bahamas trip took place from September 13 to 16, 2018, and included Representative Gaetz, two other men, and six women. Representative Gaetz flew on a commercial airline from Washington, D.C. to the Bahamas on September 13, 2018. Representative Gaetz's associate paid for a vacation rental for the group but told the Committee that Representative Gaetz paid for various expenses in the Bahamas, such as meals, and that these expenses covered Representative Gaetz's share of the vacation rental. No other individuals recalled whether Representative Gaetz paid for their meals, vacation rental, or other activities on this trip, with the exception of his then-girlfriend. No one recalled Representative Gaetz making cash payments, and his bank statements and credit card records do not show any transactions on these dates occurring in the Bahamas, nor large withdrawals of cash during or in advance of the trip. On September 16, 2018, Representative Gaetz flew on his associate's private plane from the Bahamas to Orlando, along with three female passengers between 20 to 29 years old.¹¹¹

C. ALLEGATIONS RELATED TO MISUSE OF OFFICIAL RESOURCES

As discussed above, in early 2018, Representative Gaetz met a woman through Mr. Greenberg; the same night they met, they had sex and Mr. Greenberg sent her money. At that first meeting, the woman also told Representative Gaetz she needed a new passport for an upcoming trip. She did not initially know Representative Gaetz was a congressman, but he connected her with his then-Chief of Staff, who worked with the State Department's congressional liaison to secure a passport appointment for the woman within days of their first meeting. An individual from the Department of State, Miami Passport Agency sent the Chief of Staff an e-mail confirming "an appointment for your constituent," which the Chief of Staff then forwarded to the woman, who lived in Orlando, Florida—outside of Representative Gaetz's congressional district.¹¹²

The woman acknowledged to the Committee that the money she received from Mr. Greenberg was sent on behalf of Representative Gaetz but denied that the money was compensation for their sexual encounter. Instead, she said the \$1,000 she received from Mr. Greenberg was to assist her with transportation costs to go to the Miami passport office from Orlando.¹¹³ The woman spent \$195 to obtain her new passport prior to her trip—a standard \$60 fee for

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

¹¹⁰ Evan Perez et al., *Gaetz Probe Includes Scrutiny of Potential Public Corruption Tied to Medical Marijuana Industry*, CNN (Apr. 23, 2021), <https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/23/politics/gaetz-probe-public-corruption-medical-marijuana/index.html>. The Committee did not find any evidence that the trip was intended as a quid pro quo or gratuity for Representative Gaetz's official actions.

¹¹¹ Exhibit 10.

¹¹² 18(a) Interview of Woman 3.

¹¹³ See Section IV.C *supra*.

an in-person appointment, plus \$135 for the passport. She continued to meet up with Representative Gaetz on other occasions, during which they engaged in sexual activity.

The Committee reviewed other records relating to passport assistance requests from the office of Representative Gaetz. It was unusual for the Chief of Staff to process requests for expedited passports from constituents; those casework matters were typically handled by district staff. The Committee also received evidence that Representative Gaetz tasked the Chief of Staff with assisting Mr. Greenberg on occasion. The Chief of Staff was no longer employed in Representative Gaetz's office at the time of the Committee's review and did not respond to communications from the Committee.

D. OBSTRUCTION OF THE COMMITTEE'S INVESTIGATION

On May 23, 2023, the Committee informed Representative Gaetz that it had reauthorized an investigation into several allegations, including sexual misconduct and illicit drug use, and sent Representative Gaetz a narrowly tailored request for information seeking specific documents related to allegations squarely within the Committee's jurisdiction—namely, violations related to the House Gift Rule or bribery and improper images on the House floor. The request for information also asked for “any other information that you believe may be relevant” to the matter as a whole. In response, Representative Gaetz began sending letters to the Chairman and Ranking Member asserting, among other things, that the Committee's requests for a two-week response time and signed declaration under oath (both of which are standard practice for the Committee) were unreasonable and that he was being treated differently than other Members of Congress. Representative Gaetz indicated that the Committee's request was overly burdensome, as he would need to sort through six years' worth of records, across various accounts. In these letters, he also began making demands of the Committee in exchange for his “good faith” cooperation while suggesting that the Committee was being “weaponized” against him for various changing reasons.

The Chairman and Ranking Member granted Representative Gaetz an extension through August 11, 2023, to respond to the request for information, and explained the Committee's standard practices.¹¹⁴ Representative Gaetz missed the deadline, and stated

¹¹⁴ The July 19, 2023, letter explained, among other things, that the Committee determined that public allegations raised against Representative Gaetz should be reviewed, consistent with longstanding practice regarding public allegations of sexual misconduct (*see, e.g.*, Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative John Conyers, Jr. (Nov. 21, 2017), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-jo-1>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Ruben Kihuen (Dec. 15, 2017), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-8>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Patrick Meehan (Jan. 22, 2018), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-12>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Delegate Michael F.Q. San Nicolas (Oct. 24, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-delegate-michael-f-q>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Katie Hill (Oct. 23, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-katie>; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Alcee Hastings (Nov. 14, 2019),

he would only produce documents in-person at his district office.¹¹⁵ The Chairman and Ranking Member responded again, giving him an extension through September 28, 2023, to comply with the request for information and reiterating the Committee’s standard practices. Representative Gaetz again missed the deadline, ultimately producing three pages that were not fully responsive to the request for information on October 2, 2023. In his response, Representative Gaetz produced his “boarding passes and itinerary” used for the 2018 Bahamas trip, which he also stated he “paid for personally.” However, the boarding passes and itinerary only show his flight to the Bahamas and not his return (as discussed above, Representative Gaetz flew out of the Bahamas via private plane). Representative Gaetz intentionally omitted information relating to his return transportation, indicating in later correspondence that, because the Committee’s request was for documents “related to actual or planned travel to the Bahamas,” (emphasis added), he should not be expected to have produced records of his transportation *from* that location. When the Committee noted that any documents involving his transportation from the Bahamas were clearly “related to” the travel at issue, his response made clear that he was not willing to provide good faith responses:

[D]oes the Committee also have interest in every dollar I spent in the Bahamas on food, refreshments and other travel provisions such as sunscreen? I ask because your request is unclear, unrelated to House Rules, and more than a bit nosey. I can represent to the Committee that no funds of mine were expended in the Bahamas for “illicit drug use” or sexual misconduct.

Despite frequently suggesting he had insufficient opportunities to respond to the allegations against him, Representative Gaetz sent more than a dozen letters to the Chairman and Ranking Member throughout the Committee’s review. In addition to alleging that the Committee’s process was being “weaponized” against him, Representative Gaetz repeatedly alleged that the Committee Members and staff were leaking information to the press, that the Committee’s non-partisan staff were actually acting as Democrats, or that the Committee was working on behalf of former-Speaker Kevin McCarthy. He also demanded to know the sources of the allegations against him and argued that the Committee’s investigation should be closed because DOJ had “exonerated” him.

On May 20, 2024, the Committee requested Representative Gaetz provide availability for an interview to be conducted sometime in the first two weeks of June; the interview would be an opportunity for Representative Gaetz to answer questions about and respond to

chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-alcee; Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Tom Reed (Apr. 9, 2021), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-tom>).

¹¹⁵ As Representative Gaetz is undoubtedly aware, it is common practice to provide materials responsive to a congressional request via e-mail, courier, or a secure cloud-based platform. In fact, he provided documents via e-mail in the Committee’s prior investigation into his conduct. Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Matt Gaetz*, H. Rept. 116–479, 116th Cong., 2d Sess. (2020) (hereinafter *Gaetz*).

the allegations.¹¹⁶ In that letter, the Committee appended a fulsome list of allegations involving Representative Gaetz, to ensure his awareness of all allegations before the Committee. On May 24, 2024, Representative Gaetz responded to the Committee's letter. He demanded the Committee investigate "leaks" to the press prior to him submitting for an interview and argued (incorrectly) that the Committee could not subpoena his testimony unless it impaneled an investigative subcommittee.¹¹⁷ He also referred to "voluminous documentary evidence" he produced to the Committee that he claimed showed his innocence and categorically denied all the allegations.

On June 17, 2024, the Committee informed Representative Gaetz that it would be both expanding and narrowing the scope of its investigation into allegations involving him. The letter also requested evidence that DOJ had "exonerated" him,¹¹⁸ any records previously produced to DOJ, and any other documents he believed the Committee should have already received comprising the "voluminous" evidence he claimed to have provided. Finally, the letter reiterated the Committee's request that Representative Gaetz appear for a voluntary interview and reminded him that, pursuant to Committee Rule 10(a), it would consider whether to use compulsory process to obtain his testimony.

Representative Gaetz responded on June 24, 2024, stating that he would need additional time to review "over ten thousand records" he had previously submitted to DOJ.¹¹⁹ He also reiterated his requests that the Committee provide him with confidential information about its investigative sources, as well as regarding any investigation of disclosures in the press. He then publicly called the Committee's investigation "frivolous" and said it was an "obvious fact that every investigation into me ends the same way: my exon-

¹¹⁶The letter also noted that, should Representative Gaetz not submit to a voluntary interview, the Committee may use its compulsory process to obtain his testimony. See Committee Rule 10(a)(1).

¹¹⁷The Committee's subpoena authority is not related to whether it establishes an investigative subcommittee, which is only one procedural path for investigation by the Committee. See House rule XI, cl. 2(m); Committee Rule 10(a)(1); see also, e.g., Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Delegate Michael F.Q. San Nicolas*, H. Rept. 117-387, 117th Cong., 2d Sess. (2022) (hereinafter *San Nicolas*) (ISC issued a subpoena after the Delegate declined a voluntary interview and did not meaningfully respond to several opportunities to provide a written statement to address the allegations against him); Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Laura Richardson*, H. Rept. 112-642, 112th Cong., 2d Sess. (2012) (hereinafter *Richardson*); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative Charles B. Rangel*, H. Rept. 111-161, 111th Cong., 2d Sess. (2010) (Member agreed to voluntarily produce documents after staff informed him the Committee issued a subpoena and the subpoena was not served); *McDermott*; Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *Investigation of Allegations Related to Improper Conduct Involving Members and Current or Former House Pages*, H. Rept. 109-733, 109th Cong., 2d Sess. (2006) (subpoenas served to preserve documents at the outset of the investigation, rather than compel production of documents); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *Investigation of Certain Allegations Related to Voting on the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and Modernization Act of 2003*, H. Rept. 108-722, 108th Cong., 2d Sess. (2004) (subpoenaing Representative Nick Smith, the only Member in the investigation who declined to voluntarily interview); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative E.G. "Bud" Shuster*, H. Rept. 106-979, 106th Cong., 2d Sess. at 94-98 (2000); Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative Barbara-Rose Collins*, H. Rept. 104-876, 104th Cong., 2d Sess. (1997). Furthermore, an investigative subcommittee is not the most common process through which the Committee conducts its investigations; most Committee investigations are conducted pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), as in this matter.

¹¹⁸See Section II *supra* (regarding DOJ's non-cooperation with the Committee).

¹¹⁹Representative Gaetz did not explain in his letter why he has not produced those 10,000 records to the Committee despite having been informed of the Committee's reauthorized investigation more than a year prior.

eration.”¹²⁰ Representative Gaetz ultimately produced some additional documents to the Committee through early September, although it is not clear how many of those documents had been previously produced to DOJ. The Committee also invited Representative Gaetz to clarify the relevancy of the records he produced, most of which did not appear to be responsive to the Committee’s request, to which he stated only that he was prioritizing the evidence that most clearly proved his innocence. Representative Gaetz also falsely stated in a letter to the Committee, which he shared in a public social media post, that he had “voluntarily produced tens of thousands of records.” To the contrary, Representative Gaetz provided only a couple hundred records, more than 90 percent of which was either irrelevant or publicly available. Despite multiple extensions from the Committee to review and produce responsive records from the “ten thousand” he claimed he would review, Representative Gaetz ultimately declared he would “no longer cooperate” with the Committee in the public letter.¹²¹

The Committee also reviewed allegations that Representative Gaetz may have sought to tamper with witness testimony in connection with its investigation or the DOJ’s investigation. DOJ refused to provide a copy of an audio recording in which Representative Gaetz discussed the DOJ’s inquiry with one of the women he paid for sex.

While the Committee did not find documentary evidence that Representative Gaetz directly acted to prevent any woman from testifying before DOJ or the Committee, some women cited a fear of retaliation from the congressman when declining to speak on the record with the Committee.

V. FINDINGS

A. THE COMMITTEE FOUND REPRESENTATIVE GAETZ VIOLATED STATE LAWS RELATED TO SEXUAL MISCONDUCT

1. *The Committee Did Not Find That Representative Gaetz Violated Federal Sex Trafficking Laws*

The Committee did not obtain substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz violated federal sex trafficking laws. Transportation of an individual for purposes of commercial sex could violate such laws if the individual was a minor, or if the sexual activity occurred through force, fraud, or coercion.

Representative Gaetz was alleged in news reports to have paid a minor to engage in sexual activity and travel with him on a trip to the Bahamas in September 2018. However, the youngest person who traveled with him and his associates was 18 years old at the

¹²⁰ @FmrRepMattGaetz, X (formerly Twitter) (June 17, 2024, 4:41 PM), <https://twitter.com/FmrRepMattGaetz/status/1802803825826304266>. DOJ did not characterize the closure of their investigation into Representative Gaetz as an “exoneration” to the Committee. Representative Gaetz has also repeatedly claimed that “there are exactly zero credible (or even non-credible) accusers willing to come forward by name and state on the public record that I behaved improperly toward them.” *April 5 Washington Examiner Article*; see also Jake Tapper, Rep. Matt Gaetz on Efforts to Oust House Speaker, CNN, at 6:10 (May 6, 2024), <https://cnn.com/videos/politics/2024/05/06/the-lead-matt-gaetz-speaker-johnson-oust-niger-troops-jake-tapper.cnn> (calling the allegations an “urban legend”); *April 6 Politico Article*. However, DOJ’s investigation involved grand jury hearings, during which many of the women that the Committee contacted or interviewed testified, in addition to conducting depositions under penalty of perjury with the Committee.

¹²¹ @FmrRepMattGaetz, September 26 X Post. Representative Gaetz also provided a copy of the letter and its attachments to the Committee after having made his post public.

time of the trip. Further, she and the other women who attended the Bahamas trip did not recall being paid for sexual activity on that occasion. One woman testified that she was not paid for sex on the trip, although she did have sex with Representative Gaetz, because “the trip itself was more so the payment.”¹²²

As discussed above, there is evidence that Representative Gaetz paid women to travel to New York and Washington, D.C. for commercial sex. At the time, each of the women was over the age of 18. While Representative Gaetz’s relationship with these women involved an exploitative power imbalance, the Committee does not have reason to believe that he used force, fraud, or coercion as those terms apply under the applicable laws.

2. The Committee Found That Representative Gaetz Engaged in Commercial Sex

There is substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz paid women for sex, and had others pay women for sex on his behalf. The Committee heard testimony from over half a dozen witnesses who attended parties, events, and trips with Representative Gaetz from 2017–2020. Nearly every young woman that the Committee interviewed confirmed that she was paid for sex by, or on behalf of, Representative Gaetz. A few of the women characterized their relationship differently, describing a date-for-hire arrangement that may not necessarily implicate state prostitution laws. Even assuming the payments to those particular women would not violate prostitution laws, the Committee found evidence that Representative Gaetz spent tens of thousands of dollars on other women with whom he had a shared understanding that they would be compensated for sexual activity with him. There were potentially additional amounts spent on commercial sex that could not be specifically identified either because payments were made in cash or through intermediaries. The Committee’s record thus indicates that Representative Gaetz enticed and procured women to engage in sexual activity for hire and purchased the services of women engaging in sexual activity for hire, in violation of Florida state law.

Representative Gaetz refused to answer the Committee’s questions about his payments to women, despite opportunities to do so in sworn testimony or in writing. While he has been unwilling to address the allegations under oath, Representative Gaetz has made several public statements regarding the allegations under the Committee’s review, including that his “generosity to ex-girlfriends” is being misconstrued and that he has “never, ever paid for sex.” The Committee found this to be untrue.

Members are required to uphold the laws of the United States and all governments therein, and never be a party to their evasion.¹²³ Through his violations of state prostitution laws, Representative Gaetz acted contrary to this ethical obligation.¹²⁴ Representative Gaetz took advantage of the economic vulnerability of young women to lure them into sexual activity for which they re-

¹²² 18(a) Interview of Woman 5.

¹²³ Code of Ethics for Government Service, ¶ 2.

¹²⁴ While the statute of limitations to bring state law charges against Representative Gaetz has long passed, that limitations period is not applicable to the Committee’s findings. Pursuant to Committee Rule 18(d) and House Rule XI, cl. 3(b)(3), the Committee’s investigative authority extends to any violations occurring since the third previous Congress (in this matter, since January 2017).

ceived an average of a few hundred dollars after each encounter. Such behavior is not “generosity to ex-girlfriends,” and it does not reflect creditably upon the House. The Committee thus found Representative Gaetz to be in violation of House rule XXIII, clause 1.

3. *The Committee Found That Representative Gaetz Violated Florida’s Statutory Rape Law*

There is substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz engaged in sexual activity with a 17-year-old girl. The Committee received credible testimony from Victim A herself, as well as multiple individuals corroborating the allegation. Several of those witnesses have also testified under oath before a federal grand jury and in a civil litigation. Representative Gaetz denied the allegation but refused to testify under oath. He has publicly stated that Victim A “doesn’t exist” and that he has not “had sex with a 17-year-old since I was 17.”¹²⁵ The Committee found that to be untrue and determined that there is substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz had sex with Victim A in July 2017, when she was 17 years old, and he was 35. Representative Gaetz’s actions were in violation of Florida’s statutory rape law.

Representative Gaetz has suggested that the allegations against him have been manufactured and that Mr. Greenberg and Victim A are not credible. The Committee has acknowledged that Mr. Greenberg’s credibility is in doubt. The Committee received additional evidence from Mr. Greenberg that is not included in this Report, much of it salacious but unverifiable, although consistent with the nature of the conduct that the Committee learned of from other witnesses. The Committee found no reason to doubt the credibility of Victim A. Representative Gaetz has suggested the fact that she has, through her attorneys, expressed an intention to seek civil redress against him for raping her means that she has a financial motive that undermines the veracity of her claims. The Committee reviewed a letter from counsel to Victim A to counsel for Representative Gaetz, which stated she intended to “pursue claims against [Representative Gaetz] including child sex trafficking and statutory rape.”¹²⁶ Regardless of whether Victim A had any pecuniary motive in sending such a communication, she cooperated with DOJ’s investigation for years and was let down by the justice system when reports circulated that DOJ would be unlikely to pursue charges against Representative Gaetz.¹²⁷ Victim A is entitled to all

¹²⁵ *Carlson Interview; April 6 Politico Article.*

¹²⁶ Letter from counsel to Victim A to counsel to Representative Gaetz (Dec. 30, 2022). Representative Gaetz provided this letter to the Committee but did not produce subsequent correspondence showing that his counsel engaged in discussions regarding a potential pre-filing settlement. Over three months, Representative Gaetz’s counsel delayed Victim A’s counsel from filing her lawsuit by engaging in what were ultimately unsuccessful settlement discussions, in part due to “constrain[ts] by [Representative Gaetz’s] limited [financial] resources.”

¹²⁷ See, e.g., Evan Perez and Hannah Rabinowitz, *DOJ Prosecutors Recommend Against Charging Rep. Gaetz in Sex-Trafficking Probe*, CNN (Sept. 23, 2022), <https://www.cnn.com/2022/09/23/politics/matt-gaetz-justice-department-probe/index.html>. Victim A also noted in her response in the civil litigation that she would not be precluded from filing counterclaims against Mr. Dorworth: “the Complaint improperly seeks to preempt any claims [Victim A] may have against Mr. Dorworth for raping and trafficking her by making a threadbare request for expansive declaratory judgment.” Mot. to Dismiss Complaint by Victim A, *Christopher Dorworth v. Joel Greenberg, et al.*, No. 6:23-cv-00871 (M.D. Fla.). Victim A settled with Mr. Dorworth in August 2024. On the same date as the settlement, Representative Gaetz produced a publicly available Facebook post by Mr. Dorworth as evidence that Victim A was “not credible.” Letter from Representative Matt Gaetz to Chairman Michael Guest and Ranking Member Susan Wild, Committee on Ethics (Aug. 2, 2024). Shortly thereafter, Mr. Dorworth edited the post to remove

of the protections and remedies available to her under civil laws, and her intention to pursue claims against Representative Gaetz and others does not negate her credibility. Moreover, as discussed above, the Committee obtained testimony and documentary evidence from other witnesses corroborating the allegations.

Representative Gaetz's statutory rape of Victim A was a violation of Florida law, the Code of Official Conduct, and the Code of Ethics for Government Service. The Committee received evidence that Representative Gaetz did not learn that Victim A was 17 years old until more than a month after their first sexual encounters. However, statutory rape is a strict liability crime. After he learned that Victim A was a minor, he maintained contact and less than 6 months after she turned 18, he met up with her again for commercial sex. When Mr. Greenberg was prosecuted for sex trafficking the same individual, Representative Gaetz denied that she existed.¹²⁸ His conduct reflects discredibly upon the House.

B. THE COMMITTEE FOUND REPRESENTATIVE GAETZ USED ILLEGAL DRUGS

There is substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz used cocaine, ecstasy, and marijuana. At least two women saw Representative Gaetz using cocaine and ecstasy at different events.¹²⁹ Even more women understood him to regularly be using ecstasy. There is also ample evidence that Representative Gaetz purchased and used marijuana; he appears to have set up a pseudonymous e-mail account from his House office in the Capitol complex for the purpose of purchasing marijuana. Representative Gaetz denied using illicit drugs in written correspondence to the Committee.

Members of Congress are not required to undergo the same background check process as other government officials who obtain a security clearance. That process includes answering questions about use of illegal drugs in the seven preceding years. Representative Gaetz used illegal drugs on numerous occasions between 2017 and 2020, in violation of state laws. The Committee also received evidence that Representative Gaetz and his associates provided drugs to women to facilitate the sexual misconduct described above. Representative Gaetz's conduct violated paragraph 2 of the Code of Ethics for Government Service and clause 1 of the Code of Official Conduct.

C. THE COMMITTEE FOUND THAT REPRESENTATIVE GAETZ VIOLATED THE HOUSE GIFT RULE

There is substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz received impermissible gifts in connection with his travel to the Bahamas in September 2018. Specifically, Representative Gaetz accepted travel via a private plane and other travel costs. Contrary to Representative Gaetz's claims that he provided "substantial" evidence to the Committee "demonstrating his innocence" on this allegation, he provided no evidence showing how he paid for any travel costs

various assertions, including allegations that Victim A was a "prostitute." Representative Gaetz argued that the initial Facebook post was "dispositive" in showing Victim A's "unreliability."

¹²⁸ Caroline Linton, *Matt Gaetz denies relationship with a 17-year-old and says he's a victim of attempted extortion*, CBS News (Mar. 31, 2021), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/matt-gaetz-denies-inappropriate-sexual-relationship-17-year-old-investigation/> ("The person doesn't exist. I have not had a relationship with a 17-year-old.")

¹²⁹ Mr. Greenberg also stated he witnessed Representative Gaetz take ecstasy and cocaine.

other than his flight to the Bahamas, despite being given multiple opportunities to do so.

As discussed above, Representative Gaetz's associate provided the lodging and return flight via private plane. Representative Gaetz accepted this gift without first seeking approval from the Committee.¹³⁰ The Gift Rule requires Members to apply to the Committee for a waiver to accept gifts of personal friendship with a fair market value over a threshold amount.¹³¹ For travel via private plane, the Committee has provided extensive guidance; less than a year after Representative Gaetz's flight from the Bahamas trip, the Committee circulated a reminder about that guidance to the House community, noting that "[p]ractically any flight on a non-commercial aircraft will exceed \$250 in value and hence will require Committee approval."¹³² The flight, lodging, meal and "entertainment" expenses on the Bahamas trip that were incurred but not paid by Representative Gaetz were well in excess of the personal friendship threshold.¹³³ The Committee also found evidence that Representative Gaetz impermissibly accepted private plane travel on other occasions. Representative Gaetz failed to disclose the Bahamas travel gift, as well as other private flights he has taken on his associates' private planes, on his Financial Disclosure forms.

Accordingly, the Committee found that Representative Gaetz violated House rule XXV, clause 5, by accepting impermissible gifts. Consistent with the Committee's longstanding precedent, Representative Gaetz would be required to repay the value of the gifts and amend his Financial Disclosure statements to disclose receipt of the gifts.¹³⁴

D. THE COMMITTEE FOUND REPRESENTATIVE GAETZ DISPENSED SPECIAL PRIVILEGES AND FAVORS TO INDIVIDUALS WITH WHOM HE HAD A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

The Committee found substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz used the power of his office to assist a woman with whom he was engaged in a sexual relationship in obtaining an expedited passport. The woman was not his constituent, and the case was not handled in the same manner as similar passport assistance cases. Accordingly, the Committee found Representative Gaetz violated House regulations and laws requiring the use of official resources for representational purposes, and paragraph 5 of the Code of Ethics for Government Service, which prohibits the dispensing of special favors and privileges.

¹³⁰ The personal hospitality exception to the Gift Rule would not be applicable in this matter because Representative Gaetz did not stay at a personal residence of the gift-giver.

¹³¹ See *Young* (finding that on at least three occasions, although Representative Young "may have been permitted to accept the gift of travel under the personal friendship exception to the gift rule at the time," because he did not seek approval from the Committee, "the exception was inapplicable" and he was not permitted to accept the travel).

¹³² Comm. on Ethics, *Non-Commercial Aircraft Travel* (Apr. 10, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/Private%20Plane%20pinksheet%20FINAL.pdf>.

¹³³ Had Representative Gaetz applied for a waiver, the Committee would have considered multiple factors including the nature of the friendship, which could have involved questions related to their joint interest in and past efforts towards lobbying for medical marijuana.

¹³⁴ Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Madison Cawthorn*, H. Rept. 117-591, 117th Cong., 2d Sess. (2022); Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Bobby L. Rush*, H. Rept. 115-618, 115th Cong., 2d Sess. (2018); *Young*.

E. THE COMMITTEE FOUND REPRESENTATIVE GAETZ SOUGHT TO
OBSTRUCT ITS INVESTIGATION OF HIS CONDUCT

The Committee found substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz engaged in obstructive conduct with respect to the Committee's investigation. Representative Gaetz pointed to evidence that would "exonerate" him yet failed to produce any such materials.¹³⁵ Representative Gaetz continuously sought to deflect, deter, or mislead the Committee in order to prevent his actions from being exposed. This was most notable with respect to the Committee's specific requests regarding the Bahamas trip; as discussed above, Representative Gaetz intentionally withheld information relating to his return trip via private plane. Representative Gaetz clearly understood that he had acted contrary to House Rules by accepting private plane travel but chose to try to cover up his actions rather than comply with the Committee's request.

Despite asserting he wanted an opportunity to address the allegations against him, Representative Gaetz declined to provide testimony voluntarily and did not appear when subpoenaed.¹³⁶ Representative Gaetz was also provided ample time to review and produce documents requested at various points in the Committee's investigation, yet he produced only a handful of non-public documents to the Committee.¹³⁷ These documents were largely irrelevant, corresponding to time periods after most of the relevant conduct occurred. Likewise, Representative Gaetz informed the Committee that he would "welcome" the opportunity to respond to written questions, and the Committee then sent a list of 16 questions. After requesting an extension to respond to written questions, which was granted, it appears that Representative Gaetz used that time to craft a public letter mischaracterizing the Committee's requests and asserting he would "no longer" voluntarily cooperate, despite his uncooperative approach throughout the review.¹³⁸ His actions undermine not only his claims that he had exculpatory information to provide, but also his claims that he intended to cooperate with the Committee in good faith. It is apparent that Representative Gaetz's assertions were nothing more than attempts to delay the Committee's investigation.

Representative Gaetz routinely ignored or significantly delayed producing relevant information requested by the Committee. His

¹³⁵ Representative Gaetz pointed to news articles, the lack of a DOJ indictment, evidence that Mr. Greenberg is an unreliable witness, and a letter from a jailhouse informant as exonerating. However, he did not produce any contemporaneous documents that showed he did not engage in the conduct under investigation, such as his own text messages, peer-to-peer payment platform records, calendar entries from relevant time frames, *etc.* In an X (formerly Twitter) post, Representative Gaetz suggested, without actual knowledge, that the Committee's "star witness" is Mr. Greenberg. As noted at several points in this Report, the Committee agreed with Representative Gaetz that Mr. Greenberg is not entirely credible and sought evidence from numerous other sources. Representative Gaetz also produced a letter from a jailhouse informant and a subsequent interview conducted by "two former federal investigators." However, those investigators were not objective third-party interviewees; rather, they appear to have been hired by Representative Gaetz's counsel. @FmrRepMattGaetz September 26 X Post.

¹³⁶ The Rules of the House do not apply any standard to service of process, unlike the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, and other individuals, including Members of Congress, have been served subpoenas by e-mail in recent Congresses. As noted, Representative Gaetz acknowledged that he received the subpoena from the Committee.

¹³⁷ Representative Gaetz further asserted that he would need to ascertain whether "privilege or confidentiality" applies to documents that he previously produced to DOJ. The Committee is not aware of any privileges that would permit withholding documents that were previously produced to another governmental entity, and there is no basis to withhold documents for "confidentiality."

¹³⁸ @FmrRepMattGaetz September 26 X Post.

failure to respond required the Committee to issue subpoenas to financial institutions for Representative Gaetz's financial records related to alleged transactions. Those records show that Representative Gaetz bought and sold stocks and cryptocurrencies from a trading account he opened in March 2021.¹³⁹ Some of the trades were below the \$1,000 reporting threshold but others were not. Representative Gaetz not only failed to file the required Periodic Transaction Reports, but he also failed to disclose the transactions in his annual Financial Disclosure Statement. The Committee's longstanding practice is not to take enforcement action where a failure to file required disclosures is inadvertent, but because of his lack of cooperation the Committee was unable to determine the reason the transactions were not disclosed.

The Committee reminded Representative Gaetz of his duty of diligence and candor to the Committee.¹⁴⁰ Representative Gaetz's response was to suggest that the Committee had a duty of candor to *him* and must reveal the confidential sources supporting the allegations against him. The Committee's rules prevent such disclosures. Moreover, the Committee had serious concerns that Representative Gaetz might retaliate against individuals who cooperated with the Committee. In 2020, the Committee admonished Representative Gaetz for his conduct towards a witness in a congressional proceeding, finding that he acted in violation of the Code of Official Conduct for a public statement that was perceived by some as a threat towards a witness.¹⁴¹ In that matter, the Committee did not find sufficient evidence to conclude that Representative Gaetz had the requisite criminal intent, and noted that he had expressed regret for his conduct. In contrast, in the current matter, there is sufficient evidence of Representative Gaetz's intent to derail the investigation.

The Committee determined that Representative Gaetz's attempts to mislead and deter the Committee from investigating him implicated federal criminal laws relating to false statements and obstruction of Congress. Even if Representative Gaetz's obstructive conduct in this investigation did not rise to the level of a criminal violation, it was certainly inconsistent with the requirement that Members act in a manner that reflects creditably upon the House, in violation of House rule XXIII, clause 1.

VI. CONCLUSION

Based on the above, the Committee determined there is substantial evidence that Representative Gaetz violated House Rules and other standards of conduct prohibiting prostitution, statutory rape, illicit drug use, impermissible gifts, special favors or privileges, and obstruction of Congress.

¹³⁹ Personal Checking Account #1 (showing over 50 purchases of stock or cryptocurrency on Coinbase and Robinhood from March 2021 through June 2021 in amounts ranging from \$100 to \$3,105.62).

¹⁴⁰ Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative George Santos*, H. Rept. 118-274, 118th Cong., 1st Sess. 55 (2023); *San Nicolas* at 5; Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative David Schweikert*, H. Rept. 116-465, 116th Cong. 2d Sess. 6 (2020); see also *Richardson* at 95 (explaining that the public's trust in the integrity of the House is at risk when a respondent demonstrates "such little respect for the internal discipline of the House that [the respondent] would evade its questioning, rather than submitting to the fact gathering process in good faith.").

¹⁴¹ *Gaetz*.

VII. 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.

VIII. VIEWS OF CHAIRMAN MICHAEL GUEST ON BEHALF OF THE DISSENTING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

I write on behalf of the members of the committee who do not support the release of the report regarding former Representative Matt Gaetz. We believe and remain steadfast in the position that the House Committee on Ethics lost jurisdiction to release to the public any substantive work product regarding Mr. Gaetz after his resignation from the House on November 14, 2024.¹⁴²

While we do not challenge the Committee's findings, we take great exception that the majority deviated from the Committee's well-established standards and voted to release a report on an individual no longer under the Committee's jurisdiction, an action the Committee has not taken since 2006.¹⁴³

House Rules give the Committee jurisdiction over *current* Members, officers, and employees of the House.¹⁴⁴ Consistent with these rules, when a member who is under investigation by the Committee leaves the House, the Committee's standard practice is to close its investigation and make no further statement on its findings. We do not believe the rules authorize the Committee to continue or expand its jurisdiction as it sees fit. Any precedent to the contrary is extremely rare, inconsistent with the rules, and outweighed by the vast majority of matters—too numerous to list—in which the Committee took no material action after losing jurisdiction.

Representative Gaetz resigned from Congress, withdrew from consideration to serve in the next administration, and declared that he would not seek to be seated in the 119th Congress. The decision to publish a report after his resignation breaks from the Committee's long-standing practice, opens the Committee to undue criticism, and will be viewed by some as an attempt to weaponize the Committee's process.

We believe that operating outside the jurisdictional bounds set forth by House Rules and Committee standards, especially when making public disclosures, is a dangerous departure with potentially catastrophic consequences.

Finally, we join the views of the Committee as expressed in its December 23, 2024, public statement addressing the significant and unusual amount of public reporting on the Committee's review of this matter. As expressed by the Committee, "[t]o the extent that any of the public reporting on this matter came from unauthorized disclosures of confidential Committee information, we strongly condemn such unauthorized disclosures, which are damaging and harmful to the Committee's work."¹⁴⁵

MICHAEL GUEST,
Chairman.

¹⁴² 170 Cong. Rec. H5985 (daily ed. Nov. 14, 2014).

¹⁴³ Comm. On Ethics, *Investigation of Allegations Related to Improper Conduct Involving Members and Current or Former House Pages*, H. Rept. 109-733, 109th Cong. 2d Sess. Unlike the matter of Representative Gaetz, this 2006 matter *also* involved the conduct of current members.

¹⁴⁴ House Rule 11, Clause 3.

APPENDIX A

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Chairman
 Jackie Walorski, Indiana
Ranking Member
 Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
 Dean Phillips, Minnesota
 Veronica Escobar, Texas
 Mondaire Jones, New York
 Michael Guest, Mississippi
 Dave Joyce, Ohio
 John H. Rutherford, Florida
 Kelly Armstrong, North Dakota



ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives
 COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

David W. Arrojo
Counsel to the Chairman

Kelle A. Strickland
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515-6328
 Telephone: (202) 225-7103
 Facsimile: (202) 225-7392

April 9, 2021

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
 U.S. House of Representatives
 1721 Longworth House Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

The Committee on Ethics (Committee) is aware of allegations that you 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, in violation of House Rules, laws, or other standards of conduct. Pursuant to its investigative authority under Rule XI, clause 3 of the House of Representatives, and Committee Rule 18(a), the Committee has opened an investigation into these allegations.¹ The Committee will publicly announce its review today.

We request that you provide the Committee with a response to the allegations, along with any other information you believe may be relevant to this matter, within 14 days of the date of this letter.² Please provide your response in writing, under oath or affirmation (we have enclosed a declaration for this purpose).

Your cooperation and assistance will help the Committee complete its review as expeditiously as possible. We thank you in advance for your cooperation. If you have any questions, please contact the Committee's Staff Director and Chief Counsel, Tom Rust, at (202) 225-7103.

Sincerely,

Theodore E. Deutch
 Chairman

Jackie Walorski
 Ranking Member

¹ Accordingly, we hereby direct you not to destroy, allow to be destroyed, or alter, any documents of any kind related to the aforementioned allegations or the specific issues and requests outlined in this letter. By this letter, we also remind you of your right, pursuant to Committee Rule 26, to be represented by counsel at your own expense.

² Committee staff can provide you with links to press reports in which the allegations were raised at your request.

Declaration

I, Representative Matt Gaetz, declare (certify, verify, or state) under penalty of perjury that the responses and factual assertions contained in the attached letter dated _____, 2021, relating to my response to the April 9, 2021, Committee on Ethics letter, are true and correct.

Signature: _____

Name: Representative Matt Gaetz

Date: _____, 2021

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Kelle A. Strickland
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-6328
Telephone: (202) 225-7103
Facsimile: (202) 225-7392

May 23, 2023

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

As you are aware, in the 117th Congress, the Committee on Ethics (Committee) initiated an investigation into allegations involving you.¹ Pursuant to House Rule XI, clause 3 and Committee Rule 18(a), the Committee has reauthorized the investigation for the 118th Congress. At this time, the Committee is seeking information from you relating to allegations that you may have (1) shared inappropriate images or videos in the Hall of the House,² and/or (2) accepted a bribe, improper gratuity, or impermissible gift. The Committee may request information relating to the other allegations within the scope of the review at a later date.

In order to properly review these allegations at this time, the Committee requests the following:³

1. From January 3, 2017, to present, identify any individuals, including House Members, to whom you have shown images or videos of nude women in the Hall of the House. For any such individuals, identify the approximate date(s) on which you showed them the images or videos.
2. Provide all documents related to actual or planned travel to the Bahamas by you in or around 2018.
3. From January 3, 2017, to present, provide records of any financial transactions with Jason Pirozzolo and/or any individual affiliated with the American Medical Marijuana Physicians

¹ See Comm. on Ethics, Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Matt Gaetz (Apr. 9, 2021), available at <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-22>. By this letter, we also remind you of your right, pursuant to Committee Rule 26, to be represented by counsel at your own expense.

² For purposes of this letter, the "Hall of the House" consists of the House Chamber and its galleries, as well as the cloakrooms for each party organization and the Speaker's Lobby.

³ For any documents produced in response to any of these requests, produce those documents in accordance with the enclosed Committee on Ethics Data Delivery Standards.

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 2

Association. This request includes any payments involving you or any entity you own or control, including your campaign.

4. Describe the efforts you made to identify documents responsive to these requests.

Accordingly, the Committee requests that, within 14 days of the date of this letter, you provide the requested information and documents to the Committee, along with any other information that you believe may be relevant to this matter. To the extent that any part of your response is not a complete written response signed by you, we request that the response be provided under oath or affirmation. (We have enclosed a declaration for this purpose.)

In addition, this letter serves to provide notice that it may be necessary for Committee staff to conduct interviews with members of your staff. We ask that you make your staff available for this purpose when requested. The Committee also requests that you inform your staff that they are to fully and honestly cooperate with the Committee's requests for interviews and information and that their cooperation will not result in any adverse action against them by you or at your direction. Please note that the Committee may view any such adverse action taken against your staff as retaliatory and that the Committee may take such actions it deems necessary to address any retaliatory actions by you or at your direction.

We thank you in advance for your cooperation. If you have any questions concerning this matter, please direct your questions to Committee staff at (202) 225-7103.

Sincerely,



Michael Guest
Chairman



Susan Wild
Ranking Member

Enclosures

Declaration

I, Representative Matt Gaetz, declare (certify, verify, or state) under penalty of perjury that the responses and factual assertions contained in the attached letter dated _____, relating to my response to the May 23, 2023, Committee on Ethics request for information, are true and correct.

Signature: _____

Name: Representative Matt Gaetz

Date: _____, 2023

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA

ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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6TH FLOOR
PENSACOLA, FL 32502
(850) 479-1183

<https://gaetz.house.gov>

May 26, 2023

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 23, 2023.

Despite publication of the much-anticipated Durham Report, it seems Washington has yet to kick its habit of investigating prominent Republicans absent sufficient predication. And of course, complicit Republicans are frequently used to whitewash improper investigations into fellow Republicans (See Mueller, Cheney, Kinzinger). Indeed, you have initiated this instant action without so much as a filed complaint, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), "Committee-Initiated Inquiry or Investigation" ("notwithstanding the absence of a filed complaint").

I am further in receipt of a letter of the Committee dated April 9, 2021, and the statement of the then-Chairman and Ranking member, both of which provided no factual basis for their investigation. To date, I have never received any information providing any, let alone a reasonable basis to have opened this investigation. In the years that have followed, I have been thoroughly investigated by the FBI and DOJ. Though just this year, in an unrelated matter, the DOJ was willing to charge another Member of Congress in two separate counts for financial violations in the mere hundreds of dollars, no charges were brought against me of any kind. During this time, the "sources" of the New York Times have remained anonymous and uncorroborated, calling the entire credibility of the story upon which you predicate this investigation into serious and obvious doubt.

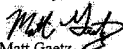
It would be an affront to ethics itself for the Committee to take third hand so-called "public reporting," itself citing anonymous sources (which could not be corroborated after years of trying by the FBI) as a sole basis for continuing this charade. Do you have any other basis?

Furthermore, while the Committee appears more than willing to open up an investigation predicated on unsworn, third-hand, anonymous hearsay, you nevertheless demand of me that my response be provided under oath. It is beyond absurd that the evidentiary burden of responding to a frivolous and unpredicated investigation should be higher than opening it. Such a double-standard literally invites frivolity such as this.

Moreover, the timeline you set forth in your letter is as unreasonable as it is illuminating as to the true motives behind this exercise. With ten days until the Secretary of the Treasury signals America's default, you have given me fourteen days to review over six years of financial, travel, and calendar records. Many of these records may be held in different accounts and places, including likely Florida. I am in Washington working to save our country from financial ruin. I request the committee permit me to utilize the August Work Period to take account of my rights and obligations as a member of the House in more fully responding to your correspondence and producing documents, if applicable.

The irony is thick. For the 118th Congress, I serve on the Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government. In a very short order, the investigative work I have done has exposed political capture at the FBI, election interference at the CIA, a government-backed Censorship Industrial Complex, and brutal retaliation against whistleblowers. One must wonder whether it is my very work in Congress to *further* government ethics that has resulted in the Ethics Committee being weaponized against me.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

June 30, 2023

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of correspondence from a person called Brittney Pescatore on June 14, 2023, who purports to be the "Director of Investigations" for the Committee, acting on your behalf. While I've been told that Committee staff is non-partisan, FEC records (Attached hereto as Exhibit A) seem to show Ms. Pescatore is a multi-time ActBlue/Obama Donor. Is this the same person? Am I to proceed assuming that this Obama Donor holds full proxy to speak for the Republican Ethics Chairman (and ranking member) in correspondence with me?

Additionally, does the Committee intend to offer a more fulsome response to the significant concerns raised in my letter to you dated May 26 (and attached hereto as Exhibit B)? If not, the Pescatore response is incomplete and insufficient.

Will the Committee have any response to my concerns regarding the lack of predication for the Committee's re-authorization of action against me? Am I to assume that, by ignoring these concerns, the Committee is conceding that it is acting solely based on years-old, third-hand, anonymous hearsay in debunked public reporting? Sad!

Will the Committee either admit or deny the allegation I have made that this is a weaponization of the Committee against me?

It seems that the events since my May 26 letter only reinforce the contentions I have made regarding the political nature of this exercise. Predictably, "news" of the Committee's reauthorization of this investigation against me leaked to none other than Jake Sherman at Punchbowl News, a reporter widely known as a mouthpiece of Republican Leadership to distribute authorized leaks to harm their critics. (See Exhibit C). Pathetic, shameful, and telling.

Moreover, the correspondence from Ms. Pescatore seems to conflict with the Committee's Data Delivery Standards. The Standards call on me to make demands of third parties to provide responsive documents. Ms. Pescatore's correspondence places a hard deadline on my production at August 11. I cannot possibly warrant the timeframe of the production of others.

Rather than the "rolling" production proposed by Ms. Pescatore, I propose the following to facilitate a voluntary "one-time" production by me to the Committee, if applicable:

1. The Chair and Ranking Member will provide a fulsome response to my letter dated May 26 within a reasonable time;

2. I will make a production of responsive records and information to the Committee, in paper form, Bates stamped, for the RFI sent to me dated May 23, at a mutually agreed time during the August Recess in my district office in Crestview, Florida. I will work in good faith to ensure that production is coordinated after any third parties have completed the production of any responsive, non-privileged records to me.

Other features of Ms. Pescatore's correspondence to me are confusing, such as vague references to "substantial" production. Does this mean a substantial number of documents? Or a substantial number of questions in the RFI answered? Is a sole document that substantially disproves third-hand, anonymous, publicly reported rumors sufficiently substantial?

No matter, though, as I have presented a reasonable, accommodating way to cooperate with any good faith actions by the committee in corresponding good faith.

In Conclusion, I would observe to the Committee that the false public reporting upon which the Committee seems to exclusively rely has caused me and my family great harm. We were the victims of a terrible crime in which Stephen Alford and others used a criminal shakedown (based on a pile of lies) to attempt to defraud my family out of millions of dollars. He pleaded guilty to this crime, lost all appeals on sentencing, and was sent to federal prison for years.

As I continue my important work in the 118th Congress, it is noteworthy that those who have spread these lies about me have found themselves debunked, defeated, and imprisoned over time.

I await your response.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Matt Gaetz", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit A

Ending 12/31/2024 x					
Contributor name					
Recipient					
State					
Employer					
Net-wgt date					
Amount					
PISCATORE, BRITTNEY	ACTBLUE	NY	CARILL GORDON	03/28/2024	\$15.00
PISCATORE, BRITTNEY	ACTBLUE	NY	CARILL GORDON	03/28/2024	\$35.00
PISCATORE, BRITTNEY	OBAMA FOR AMERICA	NY	CARILL GORDON & RENDEL	10/29/2012	\$25.00
PISCATORE, BRITTNEY	OBAMA FOR AMERICA	NY	CARILL GORDON & RENDEL	08/04/2012	\$75.00
Results per page: 30					
Showing 1 to 4 of 4 entries					

Exhibit B

From: "Pescatore, Brittney" <[REDACTED]>
 Date: Wednesday, June 14, 2023 at 11:29 AM
 To: Jillian Wyant <[REDACTED]>
 Subject: RE: Ethics Committee letter

Jillian,

The Chairman and Ranking Member have reviewed and considered Representative Gaetz's May 26, 2023, letter. The Chairman and Ranking Member have agreed to provide Representative Gaetz an additional extension to respond to the Committee's request. Specifically, they request that Representative Gaetz provide a substantial response to the Committee's letter by July 11, 2023, and complete production of all responsive information by August 11, 2023. This will allow him the full June/July Work Period before any response is required, and a significant portion of the August Work Period to complete the response.

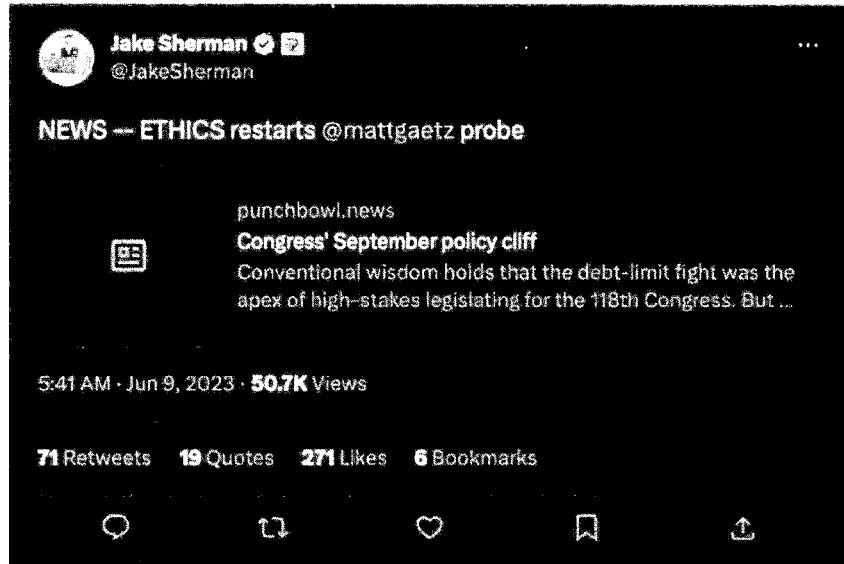
Please confirm receipt and let us know of any questions.

Thanks,
 Brittney

Brittney Pescatore
 Director of Investigations

Committee on Ethics
 United States House of Representatives
 1015 Longworth HOB
 Washington, DC 20515
 Phone: 202.225.7103
 [REDACTED]
 Fax: 202.225.7392
 [REDACTED]

Exhibit C



MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

July 14, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

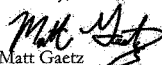
Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Attached here, please find the most recent reporting resulting from leaks of your investigation into me. These leaks cause my constituents harm as I endeavor to represent them.


Under the Rules of the Committee on Ethics, "Committee members and staff shall not disclose any evidence or information relating to any investigation or proceeding of the Committee or a subcommittee to any person or organization outside the Committee, unless authorized by the Committee." The cascade of leaks in matters relating to myself and my office, because they are not authorized by the Committee, must result in investigation and appropriate action by the Committee.

Please let me know, by July 21, 2023, what actions the Committee intends to take relating to these matters.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

House Ethics Committee reaching out to witnesses in revived Matt Gaetz probe

 [cnn.com/2023/07/13/politics/matt-gaetz-house-ethics-committee-investigation/index.html](https://www.cnn.com/2023/07/13/politics/matt-gaetz-house-ethics-committee-investigation/index.html)

Paula Reid, Alayna Treene, Annie Grayer

July 13, 2023

CNN —

Investigators from the House Ethics Committee have begun reaching out to witnesses as part of a recently revived investigation into Rep. Matt Gaetz of Florida, focused on allegations that he may have engaged in sexual misconduct, illicit drug use or other misconduct.

At least one witness in Florida told CNN they have spoken to investigators about the Republican congressman in recent weeks about alleged lobbying violations, and sources familiar with the Ethics Committee probe say other witnesses also have been contacted.

A source familiar with the House panel's work told CNN that the Justice Department's decision not to bring charges against Gaetz does not impact what the committee will and won't investigate. The committee plans to examine the same allegations they were looking into when they opened the investigation in 2021, the source told CNN.

The Ethics Committee, which at the time was controlled by Democrats, originally opened an investigation in 2021, publicly announcing that they were examining a range of allegations including that Gaetz violated sex trafficking laws, shared inappropriate images or videos on the House floor, converted campaign funds to personal use and accepted a bribe, among other claims.

Gaetz has repeatedly denied any wrongdoing.

Gaetz told CNN on Thursday, the investigation is "not something I'm worried about, I'm focused on the work."

"The Ethics Committee typically operates through leaks and so this is no surprise, but the Ethics Committee has never found me to be in violation of House rules, though they've been investigating me during my entire seven years in Congress," he said. "It's also funny that the one guy who doesn't take the corrupt lobbyist and PAC money seems to be under the most Ethics investigation."

The committee deferred its investigation at the request of the Justice Department, which was simultaneously probing the allegations. The committee resumed its work earlier this year, as first reported by Punchbowl News, after the DOJ concluded its investigation without bringing charges.

The Ethics Committee declined to comment for this story.

The new contacts are the first known instances of the committee reaching out to witnesses since the panel resumed its investigation earlier this year. So far, the focus of the committee's recent questions has been on possible lobbying violations, according to the source who was interviewed. This subject was also previously raised in the Justice Department investigation into the congressman.

However, a source familiar with the panel's probe told CNN that while some witnesses may have only been asked about one aspect of their investigation, that does not mean other witnesses are not being asked questions on other aspects of the probe.

Now chaired by Republican Rep. Michael Guest of Mississippi, the panel quietly restarted its investigation earlier this year without publicly laying out its targets anew. The decision to begin reaching out to witnesses, made by Guest and ranking Democratic member, Rep. Susan Wild of Pennsylvania, is the first formal step the committee has taken since the ethics investigation resumed.

House Speaker Kevin McCarthy told CNN this week he doesn't "know anything about" the investigation, noting that he's barred by House rules from discussing it with committee members. The Republican-led investigation into Gaetz comes as the Florida congressman finds himself repeatedly at odds with his party's leadership.

"I never know anything on (the) Ethics Committee," McCarthy told CNN. "I don't know what investigations they have. I don't know anything about it."

Asked to comment on whether he thinks the investigation should move forward, McCarthy declined to do so and referred questions to the committee.

As speaker, McCarthy appoints members to the committee but is not involved in the processes of the committee's work. The panel's work is conducted in closed-door executive session, and the only people by rule who are allowed to be involved in committee investigations are Ethics Committee members and staff, a source familiar with the probe told CNN.

The source added that McCarthy has no power over the Ethics Committee's investigation into Gaetz, and any level of his involvement would violate committee rules.

This story has been updated with additional developments.

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
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ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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July 19, 2023

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

We are in receipt of your letters dated May 26, 2023, June 30, 2023, and July 14, 2023, regarding an investigation of the Committee on Ethics (Committee) into allegations involving you. Your letters raise several concerns with the Committee's process. Contrary to your suggestions, the continuation of this matter is standard practice when the Committee has not yet resolved an investigation of allegations that remain within its jurisdiction.¹ Indeed, all of the concerns raised in your letters appear to relate to standard Committee practices; the Committee has not treated you differently than it has other respondents.

As you are aware, the Committee announced on April 9, 2021, that it had initiated a review into public allegations involving you. While you have raised concerns about the "predication" for the Committee's investigation, the Committee has merely determined that the very public allegations raised against you should be reviewed. This is consistent with the Committee's longstanding practice with respect to public allegations of sexual misconduct by Members.² In the 117th Congress, the

¹ See, e.g., Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Committee on Ethics Regarding Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (Mar. 2, 2023), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-70> (noting continuation of review of referral received in the 117th Congress); Summary of Activities of the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, H. Rept. 117-706, 117th Cong., 2d Sess. 18 (Jan. 2, 2023), available at https://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/documents/CRPT-117hrpt706_0.pdf ("In addition to confidential matters, the Committee also carried over several public matters from the 116th Congress. In the 117th Congress, the Committee continued to address the matters concerning Representative Sanford Bishop, Representative Bill Huizenga, Representative Steven Palazzo, and Delegate Michael San Nicolas.").

² See, e.g., Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member Regarding Representative John Conyers, Jr. (Nov. 21, 2017), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-jo-1>; Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member Regarding Representative Ruben Kihuen (Dec. 15, 2017), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-8>; Statement of the Chairwoman and Ranking Member Regarding Representative Patrick Meehan (Jan. 22, 2018), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-release/statement-chairwoman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-12>; Statement of Chairman and Ranking Member Regarding Delegate Michael F.Q. San Nicolas (Oct. 14, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement>.

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 2 of 3

Committee deferred its review of allegations involving you at the request of the Department of Justice. This Congress, the Department withdrew its deferral request and we jointly determined to continue the review. At this time, the Committee has made no determinations about the merits of the allegations and is seeking your cooperation in order to independently and fairly make such determinations.

Committee Members and staff are not responsible for any “leak” of information regarding this investigation. The Committee’s review is governed by the confidentiality requirements of Committee Rule 7, which prohibits Committee Members and staff from disclosing information about Committee proceedings unless authorized under the Rules. Those same confidentiality requirements prevent us from disclosing details about the investigation to you at this time, including sources of information considered by the Committee. The Committee’s confidentiality rules are not binding on witnesses contacted by the Committee, although the Committee routinely requests such witnesses’ discretion to avoid influencing other witnesses or unfairly prejudicing any subject of the matter. Should the Committee determine there is substantial reason to believe a violation has occurred, you will be afforded all due process, including notice and an opportunity to be heard, consistent with the requirements of House and Committee Rules.

All investigative steps and staff communications have been fully authorized by us pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a). Our professional staff is fully compliant with the requirements of Committee Rule 6. We have full confidence in our staff’s ability to operate in a fair and nonpartisan manner, as they have always done. As staff communicated on our behalf in the June 14, 2023, email to your Chief of Staff, we determined to authorize an extension of time for you to respond to our initial request for information and in doing so requested a substantial response by July 11, 2023, and a complete production by August 11, 2023. If our request for “substantial” production was confusing, that was not our intent. Instead, it is a term we routinely use and is purposefully broad, as you are in the best position to know what specific documents or information can be produced more quickly than others. We provided you the opportunity to make a more than *de minimis* initial production, with additional time to complete the response. Indeed, nothing about the response to your extension request was particularly unusual; in fact, in communicating the extension, staff used template language that has been used in other matters.

As to the Committee’s Data Delivery Standards and request for a signed declaration, they are the standard practices the Committee seeks from all Members who are requested to provide information from the Committee. The Data Delivery Standards also explicitly state that “Committee staff can work with you to identify reasonable alternative production standards.” The Data Delivery Standards do not call on you to demand documents from third parties. Instead, they clarify that the Committee seeks all responsive records in your possession, custody, and control, and asks that

chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-delegate-michael-f-q; Statement of Chairman and Ranking Member Regarding Representative Katie Hill (Oct. 23, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-katie>; Statement of Chairman and Ranking Member Regarding Representative Alcee Hastings (Nov. 14, 2019), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-alcee>; Statement of the Chairman and Ranking Member Regarding Representative Tom Reed (Apr. 9, 2021), <https://ethics.house.gov/press-releases/statement-chairman-and-ranking-member-committee-ethics-regarding-representative-tom>.

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 3 of 3

you take appropriate steps to collect such records.³ We understand that collecting documents from staff can take additional time, which is why the Committee regularly recommends a rolling production to respondents who seek an extension of the deadline to respond.

Your letter proposes that a production be made at a “mutually agreed time” in August but is not clear as to whether the Committee’s requested date of August 11 is mutually agreeable. The Committee recognizes that not all respondents are able to produce documents by the requested deadline, even after an extension is granted; our staff routinely works with respondents or their counsel to identify ways to narrow the Committee’s requests or otherwise reduce the burden of a response, particularly where there is reason to believe the respondent is working in good faith to provide the requested information. If the August 11 deadline does not work, please suggest an alternative date in August. If you prefer to make your production in hard copy, we will accept such a production and then assess whether additional requests, including for electronic data, are necessary.⁴

We remind you that all Members have a duty of candor to this Committee.⁵ If you have any questions concerning this matter, please direct your questions to Committee staff at (202) 225-7103. Should you retain counsel in this matter, your communications should be directed through your counsel.

Sincerely,

Michael Guest
Chairman

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

³ In addition to your personal records, this would include, for example, accessible campaign email accounts, or your congressional office’s records, to the extent such sources may contain relevant materials.

⁴ To the extent you are proposing that Committee staff physically retrieve the documents from your district office, that would be highly unusual; instead, the Committee will work with you to arrange delivery by US Mail or arrange a FedEx or UPS pickup.

⁵ See Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Delegate Michael F.Q. San Nicolas*, H. Rept. 117-387, 117th Cong., 2d Sess. 5 (June 24, 2022); Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative David Schweikert*, H. Rept. 116-465, 116th Cong., 2d Sess. 6 (July 30, 2020); see also Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Laura Richardson*, H. Rept. 112-642, 112th Cong. 2d Sess. 95 (2012) (explaining that the public’s trust in the integrity of the House is at risk when a respondent demonstrates “such little respect for the internal discipline of the House that [the respondent] would evade its questioning, rather than submitting to the fact gathering process in good faith.”).

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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August 4, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of your correspondence dated July 19, 2023. It raises additional concerns regarding your investigation into me, without resolving the serious concerns I've raised, repeatedly, often with an incomplete response from you.

As I stated previously, it is an affront to ethics itself to weaponize this Committee against me arising from facts, which have led my accusers to prison and the Department of Justice to exonerate me. You allege: "the Committee has not treated [me] different than other respondents." If the Committee can evidence this claim, it will facilitate an expeditious resolution of this matter. In what other matters has anonymous, third-hand reporting functioned as the exclusive predication for continuing an investigation that has been completed and discharged by the Department of Justice? Are there any others?

I've asked whether your sole predication for this matter is the anonymous, third-hand hearsay in public reporting from years ago, which has been debunked by a DOJ investigation. Your last correspondence essentially admits that it is, wherein you *solely* cite "very public reporting" as your basis for this endeavor. If you had any other basis, I assume it would have been referenced. I ask again: Do you have any other?

In attempting to justify this exercise, you cite two examples of other investigations into members of congress as corollaries. The first is the matter of Rep. Ocasio-Cortez attending the MET Gala. You seem to be interested in whether she received an unlawful gift. This rather simple question seems to have flummoxed the Committee for years, but no matter.

The obvious distinction is that there are literally photos of Rep. Ocasio-Cortez committing the offense you are investigating. This is hardly comparable to my matter, wherein not a single person (not currently in federal prison for fraud) has publicly put their name behind any accusation of impropriety regarding me. To compare photographic evidence to a two-year-old anonymous rumor, which has been investigated and debunked by the DOJ, is quite revealing as to the true motives of the Committee. You seem more intent to smear me with disproven rumors and leaks than to enforce an equitable standard of ethics.

To justify your interest in anonymous, disproven allegations into my sexual conduct, you cite the matter of former Rep. John Conyers. This too is comically misplaced. Rep. Conyers used taxpayer funds to pay off female staff who made claims of sexual harassment against him. He improperly used member

representation account funds to travel with his staffers with whom he was allegedly sexually involved. An actual person got actual money from the House after she alleged that Rep. Conyers mistreated her. Allegedly, Rep. Conyers would regularly drop his pants in the office, creating a hostile work environment. The Committee has clear equities to consider when a member uses taxpayer funds to resolve credible allegations of sexual misconduct or misuses public travel funds for their sexual conquests. No such credible allegations exist against me. Rep. Conyers resigned following the disclosure of his taxpayer-funded payoffs and dalliances. His portrait currently hangs in the Judiciary Committee Room (with pants still affixed!).

On information and belief, the “very public reporting” you cite as the only predicate for this matter was caused by felons Joel Greenberg and Stephen Alford. They attempted to wrongfully (and at times criminally) ensnare me in their problems that did not involve me. Both currently sit in prison for their crimes, including crimes against my family. Your willingness to regurgitate their lies is shameful and brings discredit upon the House, in violation of House Rules.

You take occasion to remind me of my “Duty of Candor” to the Committee. Does the Committee have a corresponding Duty of Candor to me? I ask because you assert, without evidence, that: “Committee members and staff are not responsible for the ‘leak’ of information regarding this investigation...”

How utterly self-affirming and conclusory of you! While you correctly cite rules requiring confidentiality, those rules have clearly been violated to my detriment. What is your plan to investigate or remediate the harm caused to me? Will you investigate whether the Obama Donor you’ve assigned to investigate me is leaking for the sake of partisan politics? Is your use of quotes to demark the leak in this matter intended to deem the leak as something other than a leak? This was a leak provided to CNN’s Washington, D.C. based reporter, Annie Grayer. You seem to imply, again without evidence, that those you’ve spoken to in Florida may be the source of these leaks. Direct evidence runs contrary to your claim. The *CNN* article points to the Committee itself as the source of the leak: “at least one witness in Florida... *and sources familiar with the Ethics Committee probe say other witnesses have also been contacted.*”

To proceed in good faith, as I intend to do, the Committee owes me some explanation as to the basis for your claim that the Committee is not the cause of harmful leaks about me. One might reasonably conclude that you haven’t investigated these leaks because you already know where they came from – the Committee!

Your last correspondence leaves unresolved the matter and process of production of documents and responses to your questions. If the Committee will embrace reciprocal good faith, I intend to respond to your questions and provide responsive documents. You deemed it “highly unusual” that I offered to make a one-time production of documents and responses in my District Office in Crestview, Florida, notwithstanding the production protocols you prefer. While you did not outright reject my request, you offered me the opportunity to provide responses by mail. I decline this option. Please let me know whether you’d like to receive documents and responses from my District Office, and I am happy to coordinate a mutually agreeable time for pickup. Per your request, and utilizing the clarifying language of your prior correspondence, I can represent to the committee that my response will be “more than de minimis.” If these terms are acceptable, and I receive a sufficiently prompt response thereto from the committee, I can provide a list of dates for pickup in Crestview during August. Whether I can meet the August 11th deadline you’ve suggested is dependent on how long it takes to resolve the issues we’ve discussed regarding the manner of production.

It is my hope to resolve these issues with you as soon as possible and I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Matt Gaetz", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
 Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
 John H. Rutherford, Florida
 Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
 Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
 Mark DeSaulnier, California
 Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
 Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Kecile Broom
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arjojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515-6328
 Telephone: (202) 225-7103
 Facsimile: (202) 225-7392

September 14, 2023

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
 U.S. House of Representatives
 2021 Rayburn House Office Building
 Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

We are in receipt of your letter dated August 4, 2023, regarding an investigation of the Committee on Ethics (Committee) into allegations involving you.

At this time, we are prohibited by Committee Rules from disclosing confidential information you have requested about the Committee's investigation into you. Similarly, we cannot disclose nonpublic information to you about other Committee investigations. We note, however, that the Committee has previously acknowledged its continued review of matters following the conclusion of a Department of Justice (DOJ) investigation.¹ Indeed, it is not unprecedented for the Committee to continue to review allegations after the closure of a DOJ investigation, even if the Committee ultimately concurs in DOJ's conclusion.² This is not surprising given that the Committee's role is different than that of DOJ. The Committee is generally not a law enforcement entity, but instead makes recommendations to the House in order for the House to execute its constitutional authority to discipline the behavior of its own Members.³ As such, the Committee is tasked with enforcing a broader set of standards with a different burden of proof. For example, even if receipt of an improper gift by a Member of Congress does not rise to the level of a crime, it can still be the subject of Committee enforcement.⁴ Accordingly, the Committee will continue to investigate the allegations involving you in a manner consistent with House and Committee Rules.

¹ Comm. on Ethics, *Summary of Activities for the 115th Congress*, H. Rept. 115-1125, 115th Cong., 2d Sess. 35 (Jan. 2, 2019) (noting the Committee deferred its investigation at the request of law enforcement and that the Committee had not closed its review of Representative Robert Pittenger after DOJ ended its investigation into the congressman).

² See e.g., Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Vern Buchanan*, H. Rept. 114-643, 114th Cong. 2d Sess. 2 (June 24, 2016) (noting that the matter was "the subject of review by four different entities, the Committee, OCE, FEC, and the Department of Justice" and that the DOJ investigation concluded in 2012); *cf. id.* at 27 (noting that the Committee would not defer to decisions by other law enforcement agencies, including DOJ).

³ See Art. 1, Sec. 5, cl. 2 of the U.S. Constitution.

⁴ Comm. on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Representative Don Young*, H. Rept. 113-487, 113th Cong. 2d Sess. 2 (June 20, 2014) (explaining that the Committee moved forward with its investigation of certain gifts received by Representative Don Young after DOJ ended its investigation of the congressman and referred evidence in the matter to the Committee).

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 2 of 2

At this time, you have failed to provide the information requested in the Committee's May 23, 2023, letter either by the original due date or by the extended deadline we provided. Further, you have not provided a legal reason as to why the documents should not be provided to the Committee by electronic means or by delivery to the Committee's office. If there is some legal impediment to your production of documents in the normal manner, please let us know. If the documents are too voluminous to email and you need technical assistance with one of the many House-approved electronic file sharing providers, we would be happy to arrange that. Moreover, the first request in the Committee's May 23, 2023 letter does not require the production of documents, and simply asks for a written response. You have not identified any reason that you cannot provide that response by email, immediately.

We hereby direct you to submit your written response to the Committee's requests for information within 7 days of the date of this letter, and to provide a complete production of responsive documents and signed declaration within 14 days of the date of this letter.

Sincerely,



Michael Guest
Chairman



Susan Wild
Ranking Member

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

September 15, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

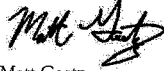
I am in receipt of your letter dated September 14, 2023, a full 41 days after my written response to your Committee. It is notable for an ostensibly “independent” body that your letter comes immediately after Speaker McCarthy publicly signaled to you to put the heat on.¹ In fact, the Speaker’s very words—belittling my principled stand on the appropriations fight—show exactly what is going on here: “Matt is upset about an ethics complaint. I don’t care what they threaten against me, I’m not going to interject into an independent committee like ethics.” And of course, by saying those words, he was instructing you to shoot your shot.

After years of wasteful investigations into me by your office, under Democratic leadership then and Obama-donor staff now, I have learned that your interest in me waxes and wanes given my interactions with House leadership.

Your response to me fails to address the serious concerns I have and the harm caused to me personally and my office. Specifically, I ask again: What affirmative steps will you take to ensure that any materials I turn over will not be leaked by the partisan staff on the Committee? What steps, *any* steps, are you taking to investigate the leaks to the media that were made in the instant matter? I ask again, because while these questions represented the bulk of my last letter to you, perhaps you missed them.

As you are surely aware, the arbitrary deadline you set in your letter to me is 14 days. Well, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, we are 15 days from a government shutdown on September 30. I remain focused on the job my constituents sent me to Washington to do. However, I will provide my fulsome response to you in fewer calendar days than it took for your instant response.

Sincerely,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

¹ [Kevin McCarthy stares down another right-wing revolt | CNN Politics](#)

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
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October 2, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I write to bring your attention to public reporting explicitly and corruptly linking this matter to my giving notice of my intent to vacate the Chair pursuant to Rule IX of the House. Your last letter to me, of September 14, 2023, came immediately after Speaker McCarthy signaled to you through the media to turn up the heat on me. (*CNN*, "McCarthy-Gaetz showdown takes center stage again," September 14, 2023).

Now, we see the connection between my legislative business and this matter in technicolor. Indeed, one "anonymous House Republican" told Fox News over the weekend that he had personal knowledge of a draft report of your office, and that the report was directly tied to my announced plans to move to vacate the chair of the House. (*Fox News*, House GOP members seek to expel Gaetz amid renewed threat to vacate House Speaker McCarthy).

It is widely known that the Fox News reporter who broke the story is dating Representative Brian Fitzpatrick, whose connection to the members of the Ethics Committee is well-documented. Indeed, this connection might also explain how Jake Tapper, interviewing me over the weekend, was able to cite "personal communications" made by me linking Speaker McCarthy to this ethics matter: The relevant communication is very likely my September 15, 2023, letter to you. So much for your Committee's alleged "independence." Most critically, on information and belief, the Speaker's office has coordinated with your office on the ethics matter, related to me, pending before you, and I urge you to retain your relevant records.

I have been cleared by the Department of Justice (in February this year) and by the Federal Elections Commission (Federal Elections Commission, Letter of August 13, 2023, *available at* fec.gov/files/legal/murs/8034/8034_09.pdf). This exercise by you is nakedly political.

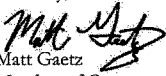
The critical substance of our correspondence over the past few months has, in fact, related to the leaks to the media by members and staff, in violation of your Committee rules and House rules. Yet again, over the weekend, it has been proved that your office leaks like a sieve, to my detriment. What has your Committee done to investigate these leaks? And to remedy the fact that my letters have not run to-and-from the members, but through a staff member with a track record of donating to Obama and other Democratic campaigns? Surely nothing. But you'll find the time to leak and lambaste me in the media, and again, I expect an imminent nastygram, because the Speaker has so requested.

I am unaware of individuals who meet the criteria set forth in your first question to me on May 23, 2023. I have attached as Exhibit 1 the travel records I maintained on my phone related to my only trip to the Bahamas in 2018. They are the boarding passes and itinerary I used for this travel, which I paid for personally.

Finally, I have sought, and cannot locate, a list of people affiliated with the American Medical Marijuana Physicians Association; thus, your third question to me on May 23, 2023, is unanswerable.

It is a disgrace that the Ethics Committee is being weaponized in this way.

Sincerely,


A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Matt Gaetz", written over the printed name.

Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

ATTACHMENT 1

Passengers : **Matthew Louis Gaetz**
Ticket Number: 0017201355982


Thu Sep 13 Washington → Nassau

IAD → MIA
 07:05 PM - 09:55 PM
American Airlines Flight 2478
2h 50m, 923 miles

Depart: Washington Dulles Intl Airport (IAD), Washington
Arrive: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami

Economy Class - Airbus A319

50m layover in Miami

MIA → NAS
 10:45 PM - 11:48 PM
American Airlines Flight 4701
Operated by Republic Airlines as American Eagle
1h 3m, 183 miles

Depart: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami
Arrive: Lynden Pindling Intl Airport (NAS), Nassau

Economy Class - Embraer 175

Passengers : **Matthew Louis Gaetz**
Ticket Number: 0017201355982

Thu Sep 13 **Washington → Nassau**

IAD → MIA



07:05 PM - 09:55 PM
American Airlines Flight 2478
2h 50m, 923 miles

Depart: Washington Dulles Intl Airport (IAD), Washington
Arrive: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami

Economy Class - Airbus A319

50m layover in Miami


MIA → NAS




10:45 PM - 11:48 PM
American Airlines Flight 4701
Operated by Republic Airlines as American Eagle
1h 3m, 183 miles


Depart: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami
Arrive: Lynden Pindling Intl Airport (NAS), Nassau


Economy Class - Embraer 175

American Airlines 

MIA to NAS


TSA Pre✓




 Add to Apple Wallet


GROUP
4
Priority / Gold


Boards 10:00 PM	Departs 10:45 PM	Seat 10C
Flight AA4701	Terminal --	Gate D53

American Airlines 

IAD to MIA

TSA Pre✓



 Add to Apple Wallet

GROUP
4
Priority / Gold

Boards 6:35 PM	Departs 7:05 PM	Seat 14D
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MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
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House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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October 4, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

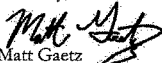
The following is yet another leak from your Committee in the matter pending before you, related to me. This was published yesterday in the *New York Times* ("Gaetz's Challenge to McCarthy Draws Attention to His Ethics Issues," October 3, 2023, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/03/us/politics/gaetz-ethics-committee-house.html>).

"Once the Justice Department inquiry ended, the Ethics Committee resumed its work, according to people familiar with the matter, reaching out to witnesses for interviews. However, a person familiar with the matter said the committee, which is made up of an equal number of Republicans and Democrats, has not yet reached out to a key witness at the center of the most serious allegations against Mr. Gaetz.

The people familiar with the situation spoke about the investigation on the condition of anonymity because it is confidential."

Needless to say, I respectfully request that you investigate these, and the numerous other leaks I have brought to your attention. Furthermore, I request that you inform me of any steps you are taking, or plan to take, in so doing. And needless to say, as before, I expect radio silence in this matter, because as you have noted to me before, all staff actions have been taken pursuant to your explicit authorization, presumably including these leaks.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
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October 23, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

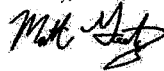
Yet again, Representative Kevin McCarthy (CA-20), has sought to influence your Committee work and abuse his (former) position with public commentary related to the instant matter. As reported by the *Washington Examiner* on October 22, 2023, McCarthy expressly tied my ethics investigation to unrelated matters: "I legally can't be involved in it — must be rather serious to put this much jeopardy into this nation."

While I have not once linked my Motion to Vacate the Chair to anything other than the Representative's failures as Speaker, he seems to know something I do not—that there is a link between my actions in Conference and on the House floor and this investigation. Indeed, his own monomaniacal commentary on the issue is a far more robust factual predicate for opening an inquiry into the Representative's contacts with your office (related to the instant matter) than any third-hand hearsay forming your sole basis for opening this inquiry.

Thankfully, the current occupant of the Speaker's suite has no more formal authority over your Committee, but I understand the position you are in. However, now is an opportune time to consider a few of my requests in the interest of good government:

- (1) Consider investigating the numerous media leaks related to the instant matter;
- (2) Consider improving internal processes for investigating and responding to such leaks;
- (3) Consider improving ethics rules to prohibit House leadership from commenting on pending investigations, given the appearance of impropriety and likelihood of undue political influence upon your operations; and
- (4) Consider investigating the contacts between Representative Kevin McCarthy (CA-20) and your Committee related to the instant matter.

Sincerely,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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February 2, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

How many letters have I sent your office, alerting you to continued leaks of the Committee, and requesting that you investigate? None of my communications with your office have been made public, although I am sure that if it were to your political advantage, these would also find their way to your preferred outlets, whether *CNN* or the *New York Times*.

Last night, another news item indicating malfeasance of your staff was published by *CNN*. The article is entitled "*First on CNN*: House Ethics Committee reached out to Rep. Matt Gaetz's ex-girlfriend amid ongoing investigation." (available at <http://www.cnn.com/2024/02/01/politics/matt-gaetz-ethics-committee/index.html>).

This exclusive to *CNN* again cites "a source familiar with the ethics probe" into me, and leaks nonpublic information: specifically, that your committee reached out to an ex-girlfriend of mine. What is particularly interesting about this leak is that the article takes a potshot at the witness, noting that she is "not expected to voluntarily cooperate with the Ethics probe." Given that the piece corroborates the leak with her attorney, who made no other comment, and given that any lawyer worth his salt would emphatically not be telling *CNN* that his client would be non-cooperative, this is strong evidence that this leak was, as we suspect in all the other leaks, your staff.

One leak might be chalked up to a witness alerting the media. Two leaks might. But three, and four, and five leaks is a pattern that can only be attributable to Ethics Committee staff. That many leaks with no attempt to correct the problem (shouldn't protocols for dealing with witnesses change if they run to the media every time your staff speaks with them, and speaks with them, surprisingly, only in my case?) suggests directive from above.

Add to that the tagline: "FIRST ON CNN." This tagline suggests an "exclusive," which is the type of comms strategy that professional staff engage in, not the type of behavior a witness who was granted immunity by the FBI and who made no other comment, and who was attacked in the very piece itself, would engage in.

What do you plan to do about this?

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz

Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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February 12, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

My letter to your Committee of ten days ago, yet again left on read, alerted you to another leak of your Committee—the most serious one yet. I mentioned that your leaks had a familiar pattern, involving your preferred outlets, “whether *CNN* or the *New York Times*.” That leak involved *CNN*, and I must be a fortune teller, because today’s involves the *New York Times*.

Last Friday, that outlet refreshed the attacks on me, largely through the lawyer of convicted felon Joel Greenberg, who has been allegedly “cooperating” with your Committee. Given his history of fraud and lies, and given that he literally was indicted in federal court for fabricating sexual abuse allegations against someone, I can only assume that the reason your staff is reaching out to him is to draft the section of your report explaining how the Committee has to be careful with handling unreliable witnesses. Because it would be embarrassing to be using him as your star witness in some hit on me.

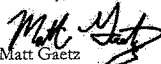
While that article, “Chief Witness Against Gaetz Is Cooperating With House Ethics Investigation” (*available at* <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/09/us/politics/gaetz-sex-trafficking.html>), only mentions possible leaks by your Committee once (“The investigation of Mr. Gaetz has been slow moving as investigators have been sent a range of tips.”), it is still notable in the context of (1) repeated leaks by Committee staff and (2) your inability and unwillingness to investigate these leaks, suggesting your noncompliance with Committee and House rules.

More crucially, however, I draw your attention to last week’s comments of former Speaker Kevin McCarthy, yet again intimating his firsthand knowledge of confidential information possessed by your Committee. Specifically, in an interview with the *Washington Examiner*, McCarthy noted:

“I think people see how far Matt Gaetz will go and the fear he has of what’s in the ethics complaint. He’s trying to protect himself, and that harms our caucus, that harms our majority. In the end, people will see why Gaetz would want to do that. And I think in the end, Gaetz would have a hard time being a Member of Congress and with staying out of jail too.”

Again, this kind of inappropriate commentary fits a pattern of behavior for Kevin. While you have no jurisdiction over a former member of Congress, it does suggest the need for you to investigate and report on his contacts with your office over this matter, while he was actually in Congress.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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February 15, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

This is, at least, the seventh letter in recent months alerting your Committee of leaks. You have simply ignored most of them, and have not proposed a single action that you would take in investigating them. My February 2, 2024 letter highlighted a new and more illuminating type of leak by you or your staff: the “exclusive” given to a news outlet. Well, today I alert you to another “exclusive” you or your staff gave to a left-wing outlet; this time, it is to *ABC News*.

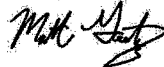
Yesterday, Will Steakin, a reporter known for publishing leaks from House leadership, published “House panel obtains texts allegedly showing Gaetz setting up 2017 Florida Keys trip with woman his associate paid for sex: Sources” (February 14, 2024, *available at* <https://abcnews.go.com/US/house-panel-obtains-texts-allegedly-showing-gaetz-setting/story?id=107126493>). This piece yet again explicitly indicates leaks by you or your staff:

Congressional House Ethics investigators have obtained text messages allegedly showing that a few months after first joining Congress, Florida Rep. Matt Gaetz asked a young woman, who at the time had received payments for sex from Gaetz's then-close friend Joel Greenberg, to join him and others on a three-day trip to the Florida Keys in May 2017, multiple sources tell ABC News.

Needless to say, this is probable cause to support an investigation into these specific leaks by you or your staff. It might also warrant review of standing policies of your Committee work. But also needless to say, I am certain that this will result in no action on your part. Disappointing (do your job!) but not surprising.

Joel Greenberg, again, is a convicted felon, who may or may not have engaged in a whole host of conduct on his own, such as the conduct alleged here. It is beyond ridiculous that you continue to facilitate these leaks, often (as with this one) having no apparent tie to any conceivable House Ethics rule. “The process is the punishment” and these are clearly meant solely to smear me. And it is telling that the news media and former Speaker McCarthy have greater opportunity to review your work product than do I: I have as yet had no opportunity to review or rebut any particular allegations.

Sincerely,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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Crestview, FL 32539
(850) 479-1183
<https://gaetz.house.gov>

April 24, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

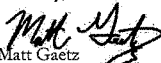
Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I'm sure this letter, by my count my eighth or ninth alerting you to unaddressed leaks out of your Committee, shouldn't come as a surprise. Last week, citing "multiple" sources on your staff, and obtaining "a sworn written statement that has been obtained by the Ethics committee," *ABCNews* published a piece entitled "Matt Gaetz attended 2017 party where minor and drugs were present, woman's sworn statement obtained by Congress claims" (April 19, 2024, available at <https://abcnews.go.com/US/matt-gaetz-attended-2017-party-minor-drugs-present/story?id=109324572>).

The piece is replete with intimate knowledge of the Committee's investigation, including specific questions asked of differently situated witnesses. Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member: these are leaks, and you know they are leaks by your staff.

Were this a serious investigation by law enforcement, investigators would be running internal investigations into the leaks, or seeking gag orders or sanctions on parties that they had reason to believe were responsible for the continued leaks and media circus, or both. And yet, to-date, you have not only not remedied this obstructive behavior, you have not made *any effort* to do so. The continued, steady drip of leaks is clear evidence of this.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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May 20, 2024

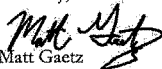
Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Here we are again: another leak from your staff. On May 16th, *Politico* published an article entitled "House Ethics panel subpoenas DOJ for Gaetz records." Of course, it's theoretically possible that the Department of Justice itself has leaked the subpoena against it, but this flies in the face of the overwhelming pattern of conduct of your committee and staff.

Please be advised.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Keele Broom
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-6328
Telephone: (202) 225-7103
Facsimile: (202) 225-7392

May 20, 2024

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

As you are aware, the Committee on Ethics ("Committee") is reviewing allegations involving you. To make sure you are aware of these allegations, we are providing a list of allegations in the enclosed Appendix. In a recent communication you stated that you "have as yet had no opportunity to review or rebut any particular allegations." Please feel free to provide any information you wish the Committee to review regarding these allegations.

The Committee has determined that your testimony is necessary to its investigation of the allegations described above. Accordingly, we hereby request that you appear for a voluntary interview with the Committee. You will have an opportunity at the interview to respond to the allegations against you and relevant questions arising out of the review. To schedule your interview, please provide at least three potential dates and times from June 3 to June 14, during which you will appear for an interview of approximately two hours to take place at the Committee's office in 1015 Longworth House Office Building.


The interview will be conducted by Committee counsel and any Committee Members who are able to attend. The entire interview will be transcribed by a House reporter. You may be accompanied by an attorney at your own expense; if you will be accompanied by an attorney, please have your attorney provide the Committee with a completed copy of the enclosed Notice of Appearance in advance of the interview.

Please provide the requested dates and times no later than May 23, 2024. Should you fail to cooperate with this request in a complete and timely manner, the Committee will consider using compulsory processes to obtain your testimony. Enclosed with this letter is a copy of the Rules of the Committee for the 118th Congress, as well as a copy of the Rules of the House of Representatives for the 118th Congress regarding the rights of witnesses.


The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 2 of 3

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Michael Guest". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "M".

Michael Guest
Chairman

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Susan Wild". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "S".

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

Enclosures

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 3 of 3

Appendix

The U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ethics (Committee) is reviewing the following allegations relating to Representative Matt Gaetz at this time:

1. Representative Gaetz may have engaged in sexual misconduct, including violations of federal laws relating to sex trafficking and state laws relating to prostitution and statutory rape.
2. Representative Gaetz may have engaged in illicit drug use, including the use or distribution of cocaine and marijuana, including in connection with commercial sexual activity.
3. Representative Gaetz may have shared inappropriate images or videos on the House floor, including videos or images of a nude woman.
4. Representative Gaetz may have misused state identification records, including unauthorized review of Florida driving license records and/or obtaining fraudulent or unauthorized identification records.
5. Representative Gaetz may have converted campaign funds to personal use, including expenditures for lodging intended to facilitate commercial sexual activity and/or illicit drug use.
6. Representative Gaetz may have accepted a bribe, improper gratuity, or impermissible gift, including through travel-related expenses in connection with a 2018 trip to the Bahamas.

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

May 24, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in possession of your correspondence dated May 20, 2024, wherein you identify the areas of your investigation into me and seek my two-hour testimony before the Committee between June 3 and June 14.

I appreciate the opportunity to directly address the matters you have raised. This letter represents my sole response at this time, and I remind you that my prior responses to your inquiry have included substantial evidence proving these allegations false.

You allege: "Representative Gaetz may have engaged in sexual misconduct, including violations federal laws relating to sex trafficking and state laws relating to prostitution and statutory rape."

This allegation is false. These allegations were investigated by the Department of Justice and the investigation was completely dropped. You are eminently aware that this was a thorough investigation that exonerated me, because numerous leaks from your Committee suggest you are reinterviewing witnesses interviewed by DOJ, and you are seeking release of the DOJ case file.

You allege: "Representative Gaetz may have engaged in illicit drug use, including the use or distribution of cocaine and marijuana, including in connection with commercial sexual activity."

This allegation is false.

You allege: "Representative Gaetz may have shared inappropriate images or videos on the House floor, including videos or images of a nude woman."

This allegation is false.

You allege, "Representative Gaetz may have misused state identification records, including unauthorized review of Florida driving license records and/or obtaining fraudulent or unauthorized identification records."

This allegation is false.

You allege: "Representative Gaetz may have converted campaign funds to personal use, including expenditures for lodging intended to facilitate commercial sexual activity, and/or illicit drug use."

This allegation is false. The Federal Election Commission investigated allegations of misuse of campaign funds and found them baseless. They voted *unanimously* to hold that there was "no reason to believe" that I converted campaign funds to personal use. Not that they just believed my story: there was no evidence to refute it. See Attached Exhibit "A."

You allege: "Representative Gaetz may have accepted a bribe, improper gratuity or impermissible gift, including through travel-related expenses in connection with a 2018 trip to the Bahamas."

This allegation is false. Again, these allegations were investigated by the Department of Justice and no charges were brought against me. Furthermore, you have received voluminous documentary evidence from me, demonstrating the falsity of this allegation.

To my detriment, your Committee, with publicly reported Democratic staff at the helm, reopened this apparently endless investigation this Congress, without any complaint by anyone. And it seems your investigation exists largely as a platform to release harmful leaks about me, often falsely implying improper conduct on my part. As you know, Rules 18 and 19 of the Committee contemplate establishing an Investigative Subcommittee for matters wherein a member could be compelled to offer testimony.

Furthermore, I have written you thirteen times regarding the leaks springing from your investigation. See my correspondence attached as composite Exhibit "B." You have failed to stop these leaks, remediate them or even slow them down. Thus, I demand that the committee address this issue prior to me providing any oral testimony to the Committee.

Knowing how politically motivated this all is, however, I fully expect you to simply move forward, including with improper leaks to the liberal press, during the height of campaign season.

Respectfully,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit A

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)	
)	MUR 8034
Friends of Matt Gaetz and Steven G.)	
Martin in his official capacity as)	
treasurer; Matt Gaetz)	

CERTIFICATION

I, Vicktoria J. Allen, recording secretary of the Federal Election Commission executive session, do hereby certify that on August 08, 2023, the Commission took the following actions in the above-captioned matter:

1.

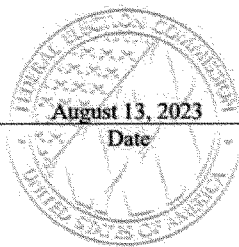
2. Decided by a vote of 5-0 to:

- a. Find no reason to believe that Friends of Matt Gaetz and Steven G. Martin as treasurer and Matt Gaetz violated 52 U.S.C. § 30114(b) by converting campaign funds to personal use.
- b. Approve the Factual and Legal Analysis, as recommended in the First General Counsel's Report dated March 9, 2023, subject to the edits circulated by Vice Chairman Cooksey's Office on August 4, 2023 at 10:21 a.m., and further subject to the deletion discussion at the table on page 10, line 1.
- c. Approve the appropriate letters.
- d. Close the file.

Federal Election Commission
Certification for MUR 8034
August 8, 2023

Page 2

Commissioners Broussard, Cooksey, Dickerson, Lindenbaum, and Trainor voted affirmatively for the decision. Commissioner Weintraub abstained.



Attest:

Vicktoria J
Allen

Digitally signed by Vicktoria J
Allen
Date: 2023.08.13 21:11:21
-04'00'

Vicktoria J. Allen
Deputy Secretary of the Commission

Exhibit B

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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PENSACOLA, FL 32502
(850) 476-1183
<https://gaetz.house.gov>

May 26, 2023

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 23, 2023.

Despite publication of the much-anticipated Durham Report, it seems Washington has yet to kick its habit of investigating prominent Republicans absent sufficient predication. And of course, complicit Republicans are frequently used to whitewash improper investigations into fellow Republicans (See Mueller, Cheney, Kinzinger). Indeed, you have initiated this instant action without so much as a filed complaint, pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), "Committee-Initiated Inquiry or Investigation" ("notwithstanding the absence of a filed complaint").

I am further in receipt of a letter of the Committee dated April 9, 2021, and the statement of the then-Chairman and Ranking member, both of which provided no factual basis for their investigation. To date, I have never received any information providing any, let alone a reasonable basis to have opened this investigation. In the years that have followed, I have been thoroughly investigated by the FBI and DOJ. Though just this year, in an unrelated matter, the DOJ was willing to charge another Member of Congress in two separate counts for financial violations in the mere hundreds of dollars, no charges were brought against me of any kind. During this time, the "sources" of the New York Times have remained anonymous and uncorroborated, calling the entire credibility of the story upon which you predicate this investigation into serious and obvious doubt.

It would be an affront to ethics itself for the Committee to take third hand so-called "public reporting," itself citing anonymous sources (which could not be corroborated after years of trying by the FBI) as a sole basis for continuing this charade. Do you have any other basis?

Furthermore, while the Committee appears more than willing to open up an investigation predicated on unsworn, third-hand, anonymous hearsay, you nevertheless demand of me that my response be provided under oath. It is beyond absurd that the evidentiary burden of responding to a frivolous and unpredicated investigation should be higher than opening it. Such a double-standard literally invites frivolity such as this.

Moreover, the timeline you set forth in your letter is as unreasonable as it is illuminating as to the true motives behind this exercise. With ten days until the Secretary of the Treasury signals America's default, you have given me fourteen days to review over six years of financial, travel, and calendar records. Many of these records may be held in different accounts and places, including likely Florida. I am in Washington working to save our country from financial ruin. I request the committee permit me to utilize the August Work Period to take account of my rights and obligations as a member of the House in more fully responding to your correspondence and producing documents, if applicable.

The irony is thick. For the 118th Congress, I serve on the Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government. In a very short order, the investigative work I have done has exposed political capture at the FBI, election interference at the CIA, a government-backed Censorship Industrial Complex, and brutal retaliation against whistleblowers. One must wonder whether it is my very work in Congress to *further* government ethics that has resulted in the Ethics Committee being weaponized against me.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

June 30, 2023

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of correspondence from a person called Brittney Pescatore on June 14, 2023, who purports to be the "Director of Investigations" for the Committee, acting on your behalf. While I've been told that Committee staff is non-partisan, FEC records (Attached hereto as Exhibit A) seem to show Ms. Pescatore is a multi-time ActBlue/Obama Donor. Is this the same person? Am I to proceed assuming that this Obama Donor holds full proxy to speak for the Republican Ethics Chairman (and ranking member) in correspondence with me?

Additionally, does the Committee intend to offer a more fulsome response to the significant concerns raised in my letter to you dated May 26 (and attached hereto as Exhibit B)? If not, the Pescatore response is incomplete and insufficient.

Will the Committee have any response to my concerns regarding the lack of predication for the Committee's re-authorization of action against me? Am I to assume that, by ignoring these concerns, the Committee is conceding that it is acting solely based on years-old, third-hand, anonymous hearsay in debunked public reporting? Sad!

Will the Committee either admit or deny the allegation I have made that this is a weaponization of the Committee against me?

It seems that the events since my May 26 letter only reinforce the contentions I have made regarding the political nature of this exercise. Predictably, "news" of the Committee's reauthorization of this investigation against me leaked to none other than Jake Sherman at Punchbowl News, a reporter widely known as a mouthpiece of Republican Leadership to distribute authorized leaks to harm their critics. (See Exhibit C). Pathetic, shameful, and telling.

Moreover, the correspondence from Ms. Pescatore seems to conflict with the Committee's Data Delivery Standards. The Standards call on me to make demands of third parties to provide responsive documents. Ms. Pescatore's correspondence places a hard deadline on my production at August 11. I cannot possibly warrant the timeframe of the production of others.

Rather than the "rolling" production proposed by Ms. Pescatore, I propose the following to facilitate a voluntary "one-time" production by me to the Committee, if applicable:

1. The Chair and Ranking Member will provide a fulsome response to my letter dated May 26 within a reasonable time;

2. I will make a production of responsive records and information to the Committee, in paper form, Bates stamped, for the RFI sent to me dated May 23, at a mutually agreed time during the August Recess in my district office in Crestview, Florida. I will work in good faith to ensure that production is coordinated after any third parties have completed the production of any responsive, non-privileged records to me.

Other features of Ms. Pescatore's correspondence to me are confusing, such as vague references to "substantial" production. Does this mean a substantial number of documents? Or a substantial number of questions in the RFI answered? Is a sole document that substantially disproves third-hand, anonymous, publicly reported rumors sufficiently substantial?

No matter, though, as I have presented a reasonable, accommodating way to cooperate with any good faith actions by the committee in corresponding good faith.

In Conclusion, I would observe to the Committee that the false public reporting upon which the Committee seems to exclusively rely has caused me and my family great harm. We were the victims of a terrible crime in which Stephen Alford and others used a criminal shakedown (based on a pile of lies) to attempt to defraud my family out of millions of dollars. He pleaded guilty to this crime, lost all appeals on sentencing, and was sent to federal prison for years.

As I continue my important work in the 118th Congress, it is noteworthy that those who have spread these lies about me have found themselves debunked, defeated, and imprisoned over time.

I await your response.

Respectfully,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit A

Filtering: 10/1/2024 10/1/2024 10/1/2024 10/1/2024					
Client/Holder name	Business	State	Employer	Payment date	Amount
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PASCARONE, BARTHELEMY	ARTIST	NY	CAROL GORDON	10/01/2024	\$15.00
PASCARONE, BARTHELEMY	OSAMA FOR AMERICA	NY	CAROL GORDON & RENDEL	10/01/2024	\$15.00
PASCARONE, BARTHELEMY	OSAMA FOR AMERICA	NY	CAROL GORDON & RENDEL	10/01/2024	\$15.00

Results per page: 10

Showing 1 to 4 of 4 entries

Exhibit B

From: "Pescatore, Brittney" [REDACTED]
Date: Wednesday, June 14, 2023 at 11:29 AM
To: Jillian Wyant [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Ethics Committee letter

Jillian,


The Chairman and Ranking Member have reviewed and considered Representative Gaetz's May 26, 2023, letter. The Chairman and Ranking Member have agreed to provide Representative Gaetz an additional extension to respond to the Committee's request. Specifically, they request that Representative Gaetz provide a substantial response to the Committee's letter by July 11, 2023, and complete production of all responsive information by August 11, 2023. This will allow him the full June/July Work Period before any response is required, and a significant portion of the August Work Period to complete the response.



Please confirm receipt and let us know of any questions.

Thanks,
Brittney

Brittney Pescatore
Director of Investigations


Committee on Ethics
United States House of Representatives
1015 Longworth HOB
Washington, DC 20515
Phone: 202.225.7103
[REDACTED]
Fax: 202.225.7392
[REDACTED]



Jake Sherman



[@jsherman1](#)

NEWS — ETHICS restarts Gernatsky probe



[Congressional Ethics Committee](#)

Congress' September policy cliff

Congressional watchdogs face the next week's passage of ethics legislation, including the House's bill.






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1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

July 14, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Attached here, please find the most recent reporting resulting from leaks of your investigation into me. These leaks cause my constituents harm as I endeavor to represent them.

Under the Rules of the Committee on Ethics, "Committee members and staff shall not disclose any evidence or information relating to any investigation or proceeding of the Committee or a subcommittee to any person or organization outside the Committee, unless authorized by the Committee." The cascade of leaks in matters relating to myself and my office, because they are not authorized by the Committee, must result in investigation and appropriate action by the Committee.

Please let me know, by July 21, 2023, what actions the Committee intends to take relating to these matters.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

House Ethics Committee reaching out to witnesses in revived Matt Gaetz probe

 [cnn.com/2023/07/13/politics/matt-gaetz-house-ethics-committee-investigation/index.html](https://www.cnn.com/2023/07/13/politics/matt-gaetz-house-ethics-committee-investigation/index.html)

Paula Reid, Alayna Treene, Annie Grayer

July 13, 2023

CNN —

Investigators from the House Ethics Committee have begun reaching out to witnesses as part of a recently revived investigation into Rep. Matt Gaetz of Florida, focused on allegations that he may have engaged in sexual misconduct, illicit drug use or other misconduct.

At least one witness in Florida told CNN they have spoken to investigators about the Republican congressman in recent weeks about alleged lobbying violations, and sources familiar with the Ethics Committee probe say other witnesses also have been contacted.

A source familiar with the House panel's work told CNN that the Justice Department's decision not to bring charges against Gaetz does not impact what the committee will and won't investigate. The committee plans to examine the same allegations they were looking into when they opened the investigation in 2021, the source told CNN.

The Ethics Committee, which at the time was controlled by Democrats, originally opened an investigation in 2021, publicly announcing that they were examining a range of allegations including that Gaetz violated sex trafficking laws, shared inappropriate images or videos on the House floor, converted campaign funds to personal use and accepted a bribe, among other claims.

Gaetz has repeatedly denied any wrongdoing.

Gaetz told CNN on Thursday, the investigation is "not something I'm worried about, I'm focused on the work."

"The Ethics Committee typically operates through leaks and so this is no surprise, but the Ethics Committee has never found me to be in violation of House rules, though they've been investigating me during my entire seven years in Congress," he said. "It's also funny that the one guy who doesn't take the corrupt lobbyist and PAC money seems to be under the most Ethics investigation."

The committee deferred its investigation at the request of the Justice Department, which was simultaneously probing the allegations. The committee resumed its work earlier this year, as first reported by Punchbowl News, after the DOJ concluded its investigation without bringing charges.

The Ethics Committee declined to comment for this story.

The new contacts are the first known instances of the committee reaching out to witnesses since the panel resumed its investigation earlier this year. So far, the focus of the committee's recent questions has been on possible lobbying violations, according to the source who was interviewed. This subject was also previously raised in the Justice Department investigation into the congressman.

However, a source familiar with the panel's probe told CNN that while some witnesses may have only been asked about one aspect of their investigation, that does not mean other witnesses are not being asked questions on other aspects of the probe.

Now chaired by Republican Rep. Michael Guest of Mississippi, the panel quietly restarted its investigation earlier this year without publicly laying out its targets anew. The decision to begin reaching out to witnesses, made by Guest and ranking Democratic member, Rep. Susan Wild of Pennsylvania, is the first formal step the committee has taken since the ethics investigation resumed.

House Speaker Kevin McCarthy told CNN this week he doesn't "know anything about" the investigation, noting that he's barred by House rules from discussing it with committee members. The Republican-led investigation into Gaetz comes as the Florida congressman finds himself repeatedly at odds with his party's leadership.

"I never know anything on (the) Ethics Committee," McCarthy told CNN. "I don't know what investigations they have. I don't know anything about it."

Asked to comment on whether he thinks the investigation should move forward, McCarthy declined to do so and referred questions to the committee.

As speaker, McCarthy appoints members to the committee but is not involved in the processes of the committee's work. The panel's work is conducted in closed-door executive session, and the only people by rule who are allowed to be involved in committee investigations are Ethics Committee members and staff, a source familiar with the probe told CNN.

The source added that McCarthy has no power over the Ethics Committee's investigation into Gaetz, and any level of his involvement would violate committee rules.

This story has been updated with additional developments.

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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info@gaetz.house.gov

August 4, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of your correspondence dated July 19, 2023. It raises additional concerns regarding your investigation into me, without resolving the serious concerns I've raised, repeatedly, often with an incomplete response from you.

As I stated previously, it is an affront to ethics itself to weaponize this Committee against me arising from facts, which have led my accusers to prison and the Department of Justice to exonerate me. You allege: "the Committee has not treated [me] different than other respondents." If the Committee can evidence this claim, it will facilitate an expeditious resolution of this matter. In what other matters has anonymous, third-hand reporting functioned as the exclusive predication for continuing an investigation that has been completed and discharged by the Department of Justice? Are there any others?

I've asked whether your sole predication for this matter is the anonymous, third-hand hearsay in public reporting from years ago, which has been debunked by a DOJ investigation. Your last correspondence essentially admits that it is, wherein you *solely* cite "very public reporting" as your basis for this endeavor. If you had any other basis, I assume it would have been referenced. I ask again: Do you have any other?

In attempting to justify this exercise, you cite two examples of other investigations into members of congress as corollaries. The first is the matter of Rep. Ocasio-Cortez attending the MET Gala. You seem to be interested in whether she received an unlawful gift. This rather simple question seems to have flummoxed the Committee for years, but no matter.

The obvious distinction is that there are literally photos of Rep. Ocasio-Cortez committing the offense you are investigating. This is hardly comparable to my matter, wherein not a single person (not currently in federal prison for fraud) has publicly put their name behind any accusation of impropriety regarding me. To compare photographic evidence to a two-year-old anonymous rumor, which has been investigated and debunked by the DOJ, is quite revealing as to the true motives of the Committee. You seem more intent to smear me with disproven rumors and leaks than to enforce an equitable standard of ethics.

To justify your interest in anonymous, disproven allegations into my sexual conduct, you cite the matter of former Rep. John Conyers. This too is comically misplaced. Rep. Conyers used taxpayer funds to pay off female staff who made claims of sexual harassment against him. He improperly used member

representation account funds to travel with his staffers with whom he was allegedly sexually involved. An actual person got actual money from the House after she alleged that Rep. Conyers mistreated her. Allegedly, Rep. Conyers would regularly drop his pants in the office, creating a hostile work environment. The Committee has clear equities to consider when a member uses taxpayer funds to resolve credible allegations of sexual misconduct or misuses public travel funds for their sexual conquests. No such credible allegations exist against me. Rep. Conyers resigned following the disclosure of his taxpayer-funded payoffs and dalliances. His portrait currently hangs in the Judiciary Committee Room (with pants still affixed!).

On information and belief, the "very public reporting" you cite as the only predicate for this matter was caused by felons Joel Greenberg and Stephen Alford. They attempted to wrongfully (and at times criminally) ensnare me in their problems that did not involve me. Both currently sit in prison for their crimes, including crimes against my family. Your willingness to regurgitate their lies is shameful and brings discredit upon the House, in violation of House Rules.

You take occasion to remind me of my "Duty of Candor" to the Committee. Does the Committee have a corresponding Duty of Candor to me? I ask because you assert, without evidence, that: "Committee members and staff are not responsible for the 'leak' of information regarding this investigation..."

How utterly self-affirming and conclusory of you! While you correctly cite rules requiring confidentiality, those rules have clearly been violated to my detriment. What is your plan to investigate or remediate the harm caused to me? Will you investigate whether the Obama Donor you've assigned to investigate me is leaking for the sake of partisan politics? Is your use of quotes to demark the leak in this matter intended to deem the leak as something other than a leak? This was a leak provided to CNN's Washington, D.C. based reporter, Annie Grayer. You seem to imply, again without evidence, that those you've spoken to in Florida may be the source of these leaks. Direct evidence runs contrary to your claim. The *CNN* article points to the Committee itself as the source of the leak: "at least one witness in Florida... and sources familiar with the Ethics Committee probe say other witnesses have also been contacted."

To proceed in good faith, as I intend to do, the Committee owes me some explanation as to the basis for your claim that the Committee is not the cause of harmful leaks about me. One might reasonably conclude that you haven't investigated these leaks because you already know where they came from – the Committee!

Your last correspondence leaves unresolved the matter and process of production of documents and responses to your questions. If the Committee will embrace reciprocal good faith, I intend to respond to your questions and provide responsive documents. You deemed it "highly unusual" that I offered to make a one-time production of documents and responses in my District Office in Crestview, Florida, notwithstanding the production protocols you prefer. While you did not outright reject my request, you offered me the opportunity to provide responses by mail. I decline this option. Please let me know whether you'd like to receive documents and responses from my District Office, and I am happy to coordinate a mutually agreeable time for pickup. Per your request, and utilizing the clarifying language of your prior correspondence, I can represent to the committee that my response will be "more than de minimis." If these terms are acceptable, and I receive a sufficiently prompt response thereto from the committee, I can provide a list of dates for pickup in Crestview during August. Whether I can meet the August 11th deadline you've suggested is dependent on how long it takes to resolve the issues we've discussed regarding the manner of production.

It is my hope to resolve these issues with you as soon as possible and I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,


Matt Gactz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

September 15, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

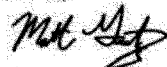
I am in receipt of your letter dated September 14, 2023, a full 41 days after my written response to your Committee. It is notable for an ostensibly "independent" body that your letter comes immediately after Speaker McCarthy publicly signaled to you to put the heat on.¹ In fact, the Speaker's very words—belittling my principled stand on the appropriations fight—show exactly what is going on here: "Matt is upset about an ethics complaint. I don't care what they threaten against me, I'm not going to interject into an independent committee like ethics." And of course, by saying those words, he was instructing you to shoot your shot.

After years of wasteful investigations into me by your office, under Democratic leadership then and Obama-donor staff now, I have learned that your interest in me waxes and wanes given my interactions with House leadership.

Your response to me fails to address the serious concerns I have and the harm caused to me personally and my office. Specifically, I ask again: What affirmative steps will you take to ensure that any materials I turn over will not be leaked by the partisan staff on the Committee? What steps, *any* steps, are you taking to investigate the leaks to the media that were made in the instant matter? I ask again, because while these questions represented the bulk of my last letter to you, perhaps you missed them.

As you are surely aware, the arbitrary deadline you set in your letter to me is 14 days. Well, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, we are 15 days from a government shutdown on September 30. I remain focused on the job my constituents sent me to Washington to do. However, I will provide my fulsome response to you in fewer calendar days than it took for your instant response.

Sincerely,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

¹ Kevin McCarthy staves down another right-wing revolt | CNN Politics

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
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Washington, DC 20515

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MattG@gaetz.house.gov

October 2, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I write to bring your attention to public reporting explicitly and corruptly linking this matter to my giving notice of my intent to vacate the Chair pursuant to Rule IX of the House. Your last letter to me, of September 14, 2023, came immediately after Speaker McCarthy signaled to you through the media to turn up the heat on me. (CNN, "McCarthy-Gaetz showdown takes center stage again," September 14, 2023).

Now, we see the connection between my legislative business and this matter in technicolor. Indeed, one "anonymous House Republican" told Fox News over the weekend that he had personal knowledge of a draft report of your office, and that the report was directly tied to my announced plans to move to vacate the chair of the House. (Fox News, House GOP members seek to expel Gaetz amid renewed threat to vacate House Speaker McCarthy).

It is widely known that the Fox News reporter who broke the story is dating Representative Brian Fitzpatrick, whose connection to the members of the Ethics Committee is well-documented. Indeed, this connection might also explain how Jake Tapper, interviewing me over the weekend, was able to cite "personal communications" made by me linking Speaker McCarthy to this ethics matter. The relevant communication is very likely my September 15, 2023, letter to you. So much for your Committee's alleged "independence." Most critically, on information and belief, the Speaker's office has coordinated with your office on the ethics matter, related to me, pending before you, and I urge you to retain your relevant records.

I have been cleared by the Department of Justice (in February this year) and by the Federal Elections Commission (Federal Elections Commission, Letter of August 13, 2023, *available at* fec.gov/files/legal/murs/8034/8034_09.pdf). This exercise by you is nakedly political.

The critical substance of our correspondence over the past few months has, in fact, related to the leaks to the media by members and staff, in violation of your Committee rules and House rules. Yet again, over the weekend, it has been proved that your office leaks like a sieve, to my detriment. What has your Committee done to investigate these leaks? And to remedy the fact that my letters have not run to-and-from the members, but through a staff member with a track record of donating to Obama and other Democratic campaigns? Surely nothing. But you'll find the time to leak and lambaste me in the media, and again, I expect an imminent nastygram, because the Speaker has so requested.

I am unaware of individuals who meet the criteria set forth in your first question to me on May 23, 2023. I have attached as Exhibit 1 the travel records I maintained on my phone related to my only trip to the Bahamas in 2018. They are the boarding passes and itinerary I used for this travel, which I paid for personally.

Finally, I have sought, and cannot locate, a list of people affiliated with the American Medical Marijuana Physicians Association; thus, your third question to me on May 23, 2023, is unanswerable.

It is a disgrace that the Ethics Committee is being weaponized in this way.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

ATTACHMENT 1

Passengers: **Matthew Louis Gaetz**
Ticket Number: 0013201352982

Thu Sep 13 **Washington → Nassau**

IAD → MIA **07:05 PM - 09:55 PM**
American Airlines Flight 2478
1h 50m, 975 miles

Depart: Washington Dulles Intl Airport (IAD), Washington
Arrive: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami

Economy Class - Airbus A319

Stop layover in Miami

MIA → NAS **10:45 PM - 11:48 PM**
American Airlines Flight 4701
Operated by Republic Airlines as American Eagle
1h 3m, 140 miles

Depart: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami
Arrive: Lynden Pindling Intl Airport (NAS), Nassau

Economy Class - Embraer 175



MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
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House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

October 4, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

The following is yet another leak from your Committee in the matter pending before you, related to me. This was published yesterday in the *New York Times* ("Gaetz's Challenge to McCarthy Draws Attention to His Ethics Issues," October 3, 2023, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/03/us/politics/gaetz-ethics-committee-house.html>).

"Once the Justice Department inquiry ended, the Ethics Committee resumed its work, according to people familiar with the matter, reaching out to witnesses for interviews. However, a person familiar with the matter said the committee, which is made up of an equal number of Republicans and Democrats, has not yet reached out to a key witness at the center of the most serious allegations against Mr. Gaetz.

The people familiar with the situation spoke about the investigation on the condition of anonymity because it is confidential."

Needless to say, I respectfully request that you investigate these, and the numerous other leaks I have brought to your attention. Furthermore, I request that you inform me of any steps you are taking, or plan to take, in so doing. And needless to say, as before, I expect radio silence in this matter, because as you have noted to me before, all staff actions have been taken pursuant to your explicit authorization, presumably including these leaks.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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House of Representatives
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October 23, 2023

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Yet again, Representative Kevin McCarthy (CA-20), has sought to influence your Committee work and abuse his (former) position with public commentary related to the instant matter. As reported by the *Washington Examiner* on October 22, 2023, McCarthy expressly tied my ethics investigation to unrelated matters: "I legally can't be involved in it — must be rather serious to put this much jeopardy into this nation."

While I have not once linked my Motion to Vacate the Chair to anything other than the Representative's failures as Speaker, he seems to know something I do not—that there is a link between my actions in Conference and on the House floor and this investigation. Indeed, his own monomaniacal commentary on the issue is a far more robust factual predicate for opening an inquiry into the Representative's contacts with your office (related to the instant matter) than any third-hand hearsay forming your sole basis for opening this inquiry.

Thankfully, the current occupant of the Speaker's suite has no more formal authority over your Committee, but I understand the position you are in. However, now is an opportune time to consider a few of my requests in the interest of good government:

- (1) Consider investigating the numerous media leaks related to the instant matter;
- (2) Consider improving internal processes for investigating and responding to such leaks;
- (3) Consider improving ethics rules to prohibit House leadership from commenting on pending investigations, given the appearance of impropriety and likelihood of undue political influence upon your operations; and
- (4) Consider investigating the contacts between Representative Kevin McCarthy (CA-20) and your Committee related to the instant matter.

Sincerely,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
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February 2, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

How many letters have I sent your office, alerting you to continued leaks of the Committee, and requesting that you investigate? None of my communications with your office have been made public, although I am sure that if it were to your political advantage, these would also find their way to your preferred outlets, whether *CNN* or the *New York Times*.

Last night, another news item indicating malfeasance of your staff was published by *CNN*. The article is entitled "*First on CNN: House Ethics Committee reached out to Rep. Matt Gaetz's ex-girlfriend amid ongoing investigation.*" (available at <http://www.cnn.com/2024/02/01/politics/matt-gaetz-ethics-committee/index.html>).

This exclusive to *CNN* again cites "a source familiar with the ethics probe" into me, and leaks nonpublic information: specifically, that your committee reached out to an ex-girlfriend of mine. What is particularly interesting about this leak is that the article takes a potshot at the witness, noting that she is "not expected to voluntarily cooperate with the Ethics probe." Given that the piece corroborates the leak with her attorney, who made no other comment, and given that any lawyer worth his salt would emphatically not be telling *CNN* that his client would be non-cooperative, this is strong evidence that this leak was, as we suspect in all the other leaks, your staff.

One leak might be chalked up to a witness alerting the media. Two leaks might. But three, and four, and five leaks is a pattern that can only be attributable to Ethics Committee staff. That many leaks with no attempt to correct the problem (shouldn't protocols for dealing with witnesses change if they run to the media every time your staff speaks with them, and speaks with them, surprisingly, only in my case?) suggests directive from above.

Add to that the tagline: "FIRST ON CNN." This tagline suggests an "exclusive," which is the type of comms strategy that professional staff engage in, not the type of behavior a witness who was granted immunity by the FBI and who made no other comment, and who was attacked in the very piece itself, would engage in.

What do you plan to do about this?

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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February 12, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

My letter to your Committee of ten days ago, yet again left on read, alerted you to another leak of your Committee—the most serious one yet. I mentioned that your leaks had a familiar pattern, involving your preferred outlets, “whether CNN or the *New York Times*.” That leak involved CNN, and I must be a fortune teller, because today’s involves the *New York Times*.

Last Friday, that outlet refreshed the attacks on me, largely through the lawyer of convicted felon Joel Greenberg, who has been allegedly “cooperating” with your Committee. Given his history of fraud and lies, and given that he literally was indicted in federal court for fabricating sexual abuse allegations against someone, I can only assume that the reason your staff is reaching out to him is to draft the section of your report explaining how the Committee has to be careful with handling unreliable witnesses. Because it would be embarrassing to be using him as your star witness in some hit on me.

While that article, “Chief Witness Against Gaetz Is Cooperating With House Ethics Investigation” (available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/09/us/politics/gaetz-sex-trafficking.html>), only mentions possible leaks by your Committee once (“The investigation of Mr. Gaetz has been slow moving as investigators have been sent a range of tips.”), it is still notable in the context of (1) repeated leaks by Committee staff and (2) your inability and unwillingness to investigate these leaks, suggesting your noncompliance with Committee and House rules.

More crucially, however, I draw your attention to last week’s comments of former Speaker Kevin McCarthy, yet again intimating his firsthand knowledge of confidential information possessed by your Committee. Specifically, in an interview with the *Washington Examiner*, McCarthy noted:

“I think people see how far Matt Gaetz will go and the fear he has of what’s in the ethics complaint. He’s trying to protect himself, and that harms our caucus, that harms our majority. In the end, people will see why Gaetz would want to do that. And I think in the end, Gaetz would have a hard time being a Member of Congress and with staying out of jail too.”

Again, this kind of inappropriate commentary fits a pattern of behavior for Kevin. While you have no jurisdiction over a former member of Congress, it does suggest the need for you to investigate and report on his contacts with your office over this matter, while he was actually in Congress.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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Matt@gaetz.house.gov

February 15, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

This is, at least, the seventh letter in recent months alerting your Committee of leaks. You have simply ignored most of them, and have not proposed a single action that you would take in investigating them. My February 2, 2024 letter highlighted a new and more illuminating type of leak by you or your staff: the "exclusive" given to a news outlet. Well, today I alert you to another "exclusive" you or your staff gave to a left-wing outlet; this time, it is to *ABC News*.

Yesterday, Will Steakin, a reporter known for publishing leaks from House leadership, published "House panel obtains texts allegedly showing Gaetz setting up 2017 Florida Keys trip with woman his associate paid for sex: Sources" (February 14, 2024, available at <https://abcnews.go.com/US/house-panel-obtains-texts-allegedly-showing-gaetz-setting/story?id=107126493>). This piece yet again explicitly indicates leaks by you or your staff.

Congressional House Ethics investigators have obtained text messages allegedly showing that a few months after first joining Congress, Florida Rep. Matt Gaetz asked a young woman, who at the time had received payments for sex from Gaetz's then-close friend Joel Greenberg, to join him and others on a three-day trip to the Florida Keys in May 2017, multiple sources tell ABC News.

Needless to say, this is probable cause to support an investigation into these specific leaks by you or your staff. It might also warrant review of standing policies of your Committee work. But also needless to say, I am certain that this will result in no action on your part. Disappointing (do your job!) but not surprising.

Joel Greenberg, again, is a convicted felon, who may or may not have engaged in a whole host of conduct on his own, such as the conduct alleged here. It is beyond ridiculous that you continue to facilitate these leaks, often (as with this one) having no apparent tie to any conceivable House Ethics rule. "The process is the punishment" and these are clearly meant solely to smear me. And it is telling that the news media and former Speaker McCarthy have greater opportunity to review your work product than do I: I have as yet had no opportunity to review or rebut any particular allegations.

Sincerely,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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April 24, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I'm sure this letter, by my count my eighth or ninth alerting you to unaddressed leaks out of your Committee, shouldn't come as a surprise. Last week, citing "multiple" sources on your staff, and obtaining "a sworn written statement that has been obtained by the Ethics committee," *ABCNews* published a piece entitled "Matt Gaetz attended 2017 party where minor and drugs were present, woman's sworn statement obtained by Congress claims" (April 19, 2024, available at <https://abcnews.go.com/US/matt-gaetz-attended-2017-party-minor-drugs-present/story?id=109324572>).

The piece is replete with intimate knowledge of the Committee's investigation, including specific questions asked of differently situated witnesses. Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member: these are leaks, and you know they are leaks by your staff.

Were this a serious investigation by law enforcement, investigators would be running internal investigations into the leaks, or seeking gag orders or sanctions on parties that they had reason to believe were responsible for the continued leaks and media circus, or both. And yet, to-date, you have not only not remedied this obstructive behavior, you have not made *any effort* to do so. The continued, steady drip of leaks is clear evidence of this.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
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May 20, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Here we are again: another leak from your staff. On May 16th, *Politico* published an article entitled "House Ethics panel subpoenas DOJ for Gaetz records." Of course, it's theoretically possible that the Department of Justice itself has leaked the subpoena against it, but this flies in the face of the overwhelming pattern of conduct of your committee and staff.

Please be advised.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Keele Broom
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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Facsimile: (202) 225-7392

June 17, 2024

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

As you are aware, the Committee on Ethics ("Committee") previously publicly announced a review into allegations involving you. Based on its review to date, the Committee has determined that certain of these allegations merit continued review. Through the course of its investigation, the Committee has also determined that there are additional allegations that merit review. Accordingly, pursuant to Committee Rules 14(a)(3) and 18(a), the Committee is reviewing allegations that you may have: engaged in sexual misconduct and illicit drug use, accepted improper gifts, dispensed special privileges and favors to individuals with whom you had a personal relationship, and sought to obstruct government investigations of your conduct. The Committee will take no further action at this time on the allegations that you 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. The Committee will make a public statement regarding the current scope of its review.

The Committee's request for your testimony remains. In a May 24, 2024, letter, you stated your "demand" that the Committee address "leaks springing from [its] investigation" prior to you providing any oral testimony to the Committee. First, we remind you that, although Committee proceedings are confidential, the Committee's confidentiality rules are not binding on witnesses or other third parties. We can confirm that the Committee has reason to believe that most of the information reported may have come from witnesses contacted by the Committee during its investigation. The Committee has not been able to determine whether the Department of Justice was the source of any of the disclosures. The Committee is confident in the integrity of its process.

As stated in our prior letter, the Committee will consider whether to use compulsory process to obtain your testimony if you do not agree to a voluntary interview. Pursuant to House Rule XI, cl. 2(m) and Committee Rule 10(a)(1), the Committee can authorize a subpoena regardless of whether an Investigative Subcommittee is impaneled.

Your letter also asserts that the Committee is "eminently aware" that the Department of Justice "exonerated" you. The Department has denied this characterization to the Committee. As

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 2 of 3

we have explained previously, the Committee has a longstanding practice of reviewing public allegations of sexual misconduct by Members, regardless of whether a complaint was filed, and its jurisdiction and mandate is separate from that of the Department. In any event, we request that you provide all records relating to your assertion that the Department has "exonerated" you, as well as any information produced to the Department by you or on your behalf in connection with the Department's investigation of you.

In your letter, you also reference providing "substantial evidence proving these allegations false," and "voluminous documentary evidence" demonstrating the falsity of one of the allegations. However, the only "evidence" we have received from you consists of the three pages demonstrating your one-way flight itinerary on September 13, 2018 (enclosed). If you believe we should have additional evidence submitted by you, please let us know.

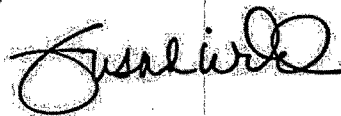
The Committee requests that you provide the requested information and documents to the Committee, along with any other information that you believe may be relevant to this matter, **no later than June 25, 2024**. To the extent that any part of your response is not a complete written response signed by you, we request that the response be provided under oath or affirmation. (We have enclosed a declaration for this purpose.)

We thank you in advance for your cooperation. If you have any questions concerning this matter, please direct your questions to Committee staff at (202) 225-7103.

Sincerely,



Michael Guest
Chairman



Susan Wild
Ranking Member

Enclosures

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 3 of 3

Declaration

I, Representative Matt Gaetz, declare (certify, verify, or state) under penalty of perjury that the responses and factual assertions contained in the attached letter dated _____, relating to my response to the June 17, 2024, Committee on Ethics request for information, are true and correct.

Signature: _____


Name: Representative Matt Gaetz

Date: _____, 2024

ATTACHMENT I

Passengers : **Matthew Louis Gaetz**
Ticket Number: 0017201353982


Thu Sep 13 **Washington → Nassau**

IAD → MIA
 07:05 PM - 09:55 PM
American Airlines Flight 2478
2h 50m, 923 miles

Depart: Washington Dulles Intl Airport (IAD), Washington
Arrive: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami

Economy Class - Airbus A319

50m layover in Miami

MIA → NAS
 10:45 PM - 11:48 PM
American Airlines Flight 4701
Operated by Republic Airlines as American Eagle
1h 3m, 183 miles

Depart: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami
Arrive: Lynden Pindling Intl Airport (NAS), Nassau

Economy Class - Embraer 175

Passengers : **Matthew Louis Gaetz**
Ticket Number: 0017201355982

Thu Sep 13 **Washington → Nassau**

IAD → MIA



07:05 PM - 09:55 PM
American Airlines Flight 2478
2h 50m, 923 miles

Depart: Washington Dulles Intl Airport (IAD), Washington
Arrive: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami

Economy Class - Airbus A319

50m layover in Miami

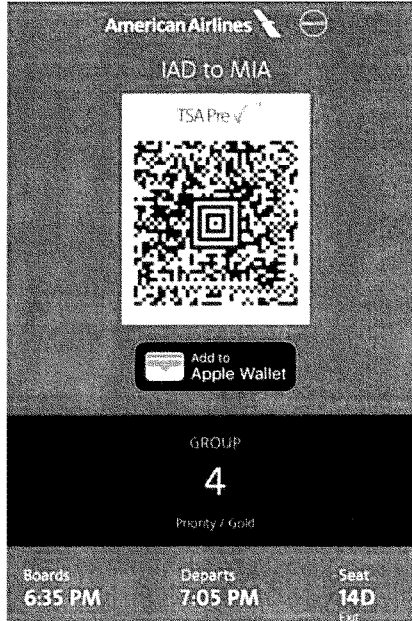
MIA → NAS



10:45 PM - 11:48 PM
American Airlines Flight 4701
Operated by Republic Airlines as American Eagle
1h 3m, 189 miles

Depart: Miami Intl Airport (MIA), Miami
Arrive: Lynden Pindling Intl Airport (NAS), Nassau

Economy Class - Embraer 175



MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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2021 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4136
DISTRICT OFFICE:
805 E. James Lee Blvd
Crestview, FL 32539
(850) 479-1183
<https://gaetz.house.gov>

June 24, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of your June 17, 2024 letter. I'm further aware of your subsequent public announcement that you are abandoning four investigations into me and continuing or initiating others. It seems the Committee has moved past its "Leaks Era" into directly attempting to smear me with released public statements.

I remain deeply concerned that the fourteen leaks, which have already sprung from the Committee's work, have greatly impaired my due process rights. It is my hope to remedy these impairments, in order to be able to provide the Committee the answers to the questions it has, so that all remaining allegations meet the same fate of the four you have just abandoned.

You are finally on record acknowledging the leaks associated with this investigation, referring multiple times in your letter to acknowledged improper "disclosures." In addition, your public statement concedes that there "has been a significant and unusual amount of public reporting on the Committee's activities this Congress."

But neither your carefully wordsmithed public statement nor your letter to me explicitly states that the leaks were not authorized by the Committee or its staff. Both refer multiple times to improper "disclosures," but are surprisingly careful not to say that they are "unauthorized." Curious. Rather, you lightly disclaim your own responsibility for these leaks by stating: "We can confirm that the Committee has reason to believe that most of the information reported may have come from witnesses contacted by the Committee during its investigation." *May?* Of course they "might" be from third-party witnesses: that's called "plausible deniability" and is why an investigation is warranted. If there were no possibility of a lawful explanation, you wouldn't need an investigation; you could just fire the Committee staff who leaked. In a court of law, your dodging wouldn't fly: a judge would immediately order a show cause hearing and get to the bottom of it.

So what is the basis for your belief that the leaks were caused by third-party witnesses? Actually, back up: *is it* the belief of the Committee that these fourteen improper leaks were made by third-party witnesses? Your statement and letter don't even make that assertion. Your public statement lists only twelve witnesses, a manageable number to investigate. I myself am in no position to investigate this: I don't know, for example, your interview calendar, or the timing of other actions of the Committee which would tell me who might or might not have been in a position to make the leaks to the press. Which witness or witnesses do you think are utilizing your investigation to improperly smear me without due process? The attorney of the incarcerated felon Joel Greenberg has publicly stated that he is providing information to the Committee. Is the Committee providing information to Mr. Greenberg or his attorney to distribute to the press with their own agenda and stated bias? If the Committee is in possession of records which form the basis for this belief, or which constitute communications wherein the Committee is authorizing leaks through witnesses, I instruct the Committee to retain and produce those records. Were this, I would remind the Committee that in anticipation of litigation, it must retain and prevent the spoliation

of such records. Remediating what the Committee apparently knows about witnesses taking action in the press to harm the integrity of this investigation is critical to facilitating my continued voluntary cooperation.

You further state: “The Committee has not been able to determine whether the Department of Justice was the source of any of the disclosures.” This is a heavy insinuation, and would be certainly relevant to the House’s recent holding Attorney General Merrick Garland in contempt. For my part, I believe in Ockham’s Razor, and absent specific evidence that DOJ was the source of these leaks, I would personally not be making this allegation. Did the Committee inquire about this matter with the Department of Justice? If so, did the Department of Justice respond? I would request that you retain and produce any records evidencing any formal or informal investigation the Committee undertook into the Department of Justice’s potential disclosures. Given the fact that the Committee’s work has generated at least fourteen leaks over a period of time, I would request the Committee inform me as to when the Committee began and concluded its assessment of the DOJ’s potential involvement in improper disclosures.

You have made three additional requests for documents of me:

Request 1 seeks records relating to the Department of Justice’s exoneration of me.

Request 2 seeks, “Any information produced to the Department by you or on your behalf in connection with the Department’s investigation of you.”

On information and belief, combined, these requests likely constitute over ten thousand records. As you are aware, the House and Article III courts recognize different privileges and immunities. Thus, I will need ample time to review and produce records responsive to this request. Your demand that they be produced by today is unreasonable, and something no state or federal judge would allow in ordinary discovery. When you arbitrarily set today as a deadline, you were obviously unaware of the scope of the documents you were newly requesting. I am willing to agree to a rolling, voluntary production of unprivileged, non-confidential documents responsive to Request 1 and Request 2 so long as the Committee follows the House’s longstanding practice of obtaining documents voluntarily prior to initiating any compulsory process regarding documents or testimony. If this is of interest to you, please let me know so we can discuss a timeframe for rolling production, consistent with ordinary legal practice in all 50 states and federal courts.

Request 3 states: “If you believe we should have additional evidence submitted by you, please let us know.”

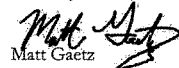
Thank you for this opportunity. It is highly likely that there is evidence which will exculpate me of any allegation that I have violated House Rules. Please let me know what conduct you believe I engaged in that is violative of said rules, with specificity, including when you believe I engaged in this conduct, and with whom, so that I am able to ascertain what evidence will exculpate me, and provide this information in response to the request. I cannot ascertain the time it will take to assemble this evidence until I have notice of the allegations.

Finally, you were dismissive of the evidence I have already provided the Committee voluntarily. You derisively described it as “three pages demonstrating a one-way flight itinerary to the Bahamas.” To be clear, I have provided much more than that, including documentary evidence of leaks out of your Committee, and including a boarding pass, which is different from an itinerary. I would remind the Committee that this is precisely what you requested. If you would like information related to my travel both to and from the Bahamas, please let me know. While it is not in my regular course of record-keeping to maintain records from personal travel more than half a decade ago, I will certainly look. You stated, publicly and falsely, that you were having “difficulty” getting information from me. It seems your difficulty might be with your staff requests, and their ability or inability to ask precise questions. And it seems your public statements speak more about your own marching orders from Kevin McCarthy than much else.

While you reference your right to subpoena me with an affirmative vote of the Committee, you must recognize that this completely subverts the typical process for investigating a Member of Congress. Under your rules, when a Member is investigated, you eventually establish an investigative subcommittee (IS), which is authorized to request subpoenas from the full committee. So you first have a majority vote to establish that IS, which gives the Members certain rights (such as a *deadline* for this nonsense to end), and you have subsequent majority votes to authorize subpoenas. I can think of no reason to avoid this normal process than to avoid multiple embarrassing votes for your Members, and to avoid giving me rights as a Member who has, for years now, been subjected to your calculated and ongoing leaks. With an assurance this normal process will be followed, I am happy to continue providing material to the Committee, to facilitate the continued dismissal of the various claims.

Thank you for your attention to these matters. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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June 27, 2024

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

The Committee on Ethics (Committee) is in receipt of your June 24, 2024, letter regarding the Committee's ongoing investigation into allegations involving you.

Despite your claim that you have not been subject to the "typical process for investigating a Member of Congress," as the Committee explains in its Summary of Activities at the end of every Congress, "[m]ost investigations are conducted pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a)," and "both the Committee and ISC may authorize subpoenas for documents and witness testimony."¹

Your letter makes several demands of the Committee with respect to "leaks." Witnesses (and Respondents) are free to make disclosures to the press; such disclosures are not improper, nor did the Committee characterize them as such. The Committee has not authorized, directed, or orchestrated any communications to the media other than the two press statements it has released in this matter. As noted in the Committee's recent statement, there has been an unusual amount of reporting on Committee activities this Congress; that reporting is not limited to actions involving you, and much of it has been inaccurate.

As we have previously explained, the Committee is governed by the confidentiality requirements of Committee Rule 7, which prohibits Committee Members and staff from disclosing information about Committee proceedings unless authorized under the Rules. Those same confidentiality requirements prevent us from disclosing details about the investigation to you at this time, including sources of information considered by the Committee. You have been and will continue to be afforded all due process, consistent with the requirements of House and Committee Rules.

¹ See Summary of Activities for the 117th Cong., H. Rept. 117-706, 117th Cong., 2d Sess. 15-16 (Jan. 2, 2023); see also Committee Rule 10.

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 2 of 4

The Committee has provided and will continue to provide you with every opportunity to voluntarily cooperate with its review. It has been over a year since the Committee informed you it was investigating allegations including sexual misconduct, illicit drug use, and impermissible gifts, and requested you provide any information you believed may be relevant to the matter. You have been and remain free to provide any “exonerating” information in your possession.

The Committee’s May 2023 letter included a request for “all documents related to actual or planned travel to the Bahamas by you in or around 2018.” You now suggest that you withheld documents regarding your transportation from the Bahamas, even though such records were clearly related to your travel to that location and responsive to the Committee’s request. You have also not produced any documents relating to your lodging or other travel costs.

In your letter, you suggest that while it is “likely” that exculpatory evidence exists, you cannot assemble such evidence until you are informed of the conduct at issue, and the specific times and individuals involved. Although we were not required to do so, we previously provided you with more specific information about the nature of the allegations of sexual misconduct, illicit drug use, and impermissible gifts under review.² Nonetheless, you can limit your production to records relating to the time period January 3, 2017, through present. You will have the opportunity to address more specific questions about your conduct when you testify before the Committee. To facilitate your production of relevant documents, we have enclosed a chart of alleged payments that may have been made by or on behalf of you relating to sexual misconduct and illicit drug use.³

You correctly note that “the House and Article III courts recognize different privileges and immunities.” However, the Committee is not aware of any privileges or immunities that would permit you to provide documents before an Article III court but not the House. Accordingly, it should require no additional review to provide those documents to the Committee. Nonetheless, we will grant you an extension of time to produce relevant records and permit a rolling production such that all records you have already provided to DOJ are due by July 8, 2024, and any remaining records that were withheld from DOJ on the basis of privileges and immunities not available before the House are due by July 22, 2024.⁴

² See Appendix to May 20, 2024 Letter.

³ See Appendix to this letter.

⁴ Your letter suggested making a production of “unprivileged, non-confidential documents.” The Committee will permit you to withhold documents subject to attorney-client privilege, marital privilege, or other well established common-law privileges, provided you submit an appropriate privilege log. There is no basis to withhold documents from the Committee on the grounds that they are “confidential.”

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 3 of 4

By July 8, 2024, you should also provide dates of availability for an interview the week of July 22, 2024. As we have already informed you, we will make use of compulsory process if necessary. The Committee must continue to move forward with this matter and will be unable to permit additional delays.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Michael Guest". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "M".

Michael Guest
Chairman

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Susan Wild". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "S".

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

Enclosure

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 4 of 4

Appendix A

*Alleged payments that may have been made by or on behalf of Representative Matt Gaetz
relating to sexual misconduct and illicit drug use*

Transaction Counterparty	Approximate payment amount	Approximate transaction year(s)
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2018-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017-2018
	\$100-\$1,000	2018
	\$100-\$1,000	2017
	\$50,000-\$150,000	2017-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2018-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017-2018
	\$5,000-\$15,000	2017-2019
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2019-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2018-2019
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2019-2020
	\$5,000-\$15,000	2018-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2018

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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<https://gaetz.house.gov>

July 10, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of your letter dated June 27, 2024. It raises serious new concerns regarding the integrity of your investigation, and fails to ameliorate due process concerns I've previously expressed. You've refused to take any action to remediate leaks. You've refused to answer basic questions I've asked in my letter of June 24, 2024, regarding claims you made in your letter of June 17, 2024, including:

- (1) What is the basis for belief that the media leaks you acknowledge are attributable to third-party sources, such as the Department of Justice?; and
- (2) Does the Committee believe these leaks were caused by third-party sources?; and
- (3) What communications has the Committee had with DOJ to get to the bottom of these leaks, if you believe, as you insinuate, that DOJ might be the source?; and
- (4) Does the Committee assure me that it will follow normal process and establish an investigatory subcommittee prior to any compulsory process?

These, and other incidental questions, remain unanswered. Moreover, you've made demands for the production of over 10,000 records within weeks, which would hinder my ability to ascertain whether privilege or confidentiality applies. This is unreasonable and violates the spirit of accommodation. Your limitation on documentation requests to dates between January 3, 2017, and the present is no limitation at all. In fact, it is the maximal jurisdictional time window available to your Committee. I remind you this is roughly seven and a half years' worth of documents, and encompasses more than 10,000 records, possibly double that amount.

The Committee must address these issues—or indicate why it will not—prior to my considering testimony to the Committee. Without this, and without specific notice relating to the precise length and scope of any interview request I might consider, your requests appear less in good faith than simply another pillar in this campaign of distraction and harassment initiated and maintained for political purposes.

You've wrongly suggested that I've "withheld" documents from the Committee regarding my travel to the Bahamas. As I've stated, it is not in my regular course of business to maintain travel records from my personal travel from approximately half a decade ago. Nevertheless, I can represent to the Committee that I am not in the possession, custody or control of documents related to lodging in the Bahamas. When you say you are interested in my "travel costs" – does this mean my airline ticket purchase? If so, I can provide this documentation upon clarification. My travel to the Bahamas was a result of my purchase of American Airlines tickets with my personal funds, and it goes without saying that I was not reimbursed by anybody. Substantial documentation has already been provided to the Committee on this point. Does the Committee also have interest in every dollar I spent in the Bahamas on food, refreshments and other travel provisions such as sunscreen? I ask because your request is unclear, unrelated to House Rules, and more than a bit nosy. I can represent to the Committee that no funds of mine were expended in the Bahamas for "illicit drug use" or sexual misconduct.

To continue my voluntary cooperation with the Committee, I've included in this correspondence an additional production of documents. The production contained herein includes both documents produced to the Department of Justice and documents which were not. I request the time period of August Recess to further assemble and voluntarily produce responsive documents which are appropriate for production.

There are several documents within this production that I'd like to highlight.

The first ("Exhibit A") is a letter from an inmate, [REDACTED], to my attorney, [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] was held in a jail cell for a time alongside Joel Greenberg, whose attorney has publicly stated is "cooperating" with the Committee. It is worth noting that Mr. Greenberg was initially indicted by the Department of Justice for falsely smearing someone as a pedophile who was not. ("Exhibit B", highlighting that Mr. Greenberg has a history of forgery, fake accounts, impersonation, and entirely fake allegations of sexual assault for political gain). [REDACTED] contends, in writing, that Mr. Greenberg was willing to lie about me to reduce his own sentence. Moreover, Mr. Greenberg apparently told [REDACTED] that he would be able to get the person he sex-trafficked as a minor (on information and belief, [REDACTED]) to lie about me in order to obtain a financial windfall.

The second is a demand letter to my attorneys from [REDACTED] attorneys ("Exhibit C"), clearly seeking a financial payment from me. On information and belief, [REDACTED] has provided false information to the Committee about me. And, on information and belief, Mr. Greenberg has paid for the legal representation of [REDACTED] at various points. The letter from Mr. St. Louis alongside [REDACTED] financial demand provides necessary context for the Committee to evaluate the credibility of Mr. Greenberg and [REDACTED]. Simply put, they have no credibility and are willing to lie to the Committee to achieve their own ends. The Committee should not be an accessory to a shakedown.

Finally, "Exhibit D" represents a tranche of documents, which I have previously turned over to the Department of Justice. I will continue to voluntarily produce such documents going forward. I respectfully request that the Committee be as accommodating to me as I have been to you, as my three reasonable, global asks are: first, that the Committee investigate and respond to the damaging pattern of leaks coming out of it; second, that the Committee provide me the traditional and requisite due process to which I am entitled as a member; and third, that it promptly dismiss the remaining allegations.

I look forward to your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit A

EXHIBITS EXCLUDED

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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Staff Director and Chief Counsel

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July 11, 2024

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matthew Louis Gaetz II
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

As you are aware, the Committee on Ethics (Committee) has determined that your testimony is necessary to its investigation of allegations involving you. The Committee has now requested your voluntary testimony on three occasions in this matter, but you have not agreed to appear voluntarily.¹ Accordingly, please find enclosed a subpoena compelling your appearance at a deposition.

In your July 10, 2024 letter, you assert that the Committee "must" address your concerns before you will even consider testifying. Your concerns, however, are not a sufficient basis to decline to answer questions about your conduct to the Ethics Committee. While you have requested information about the Committee's response to alleged "leaks," we remind you that we cannot disclose information about the Committee's investigations.

While we appreciate your stated intent to voluntarily produce documents previously turned over to the Department of Justice going forward, your initial production is sparse. Your production, consisting of four "exhibits" includes two documents, Exhibits A and B, that are publicly available. We appreciate your production of Exhibit C. As for Exhibit D, you appear to have provided a non-native document related to your calendar from part of 2021, which seems to omit any records from 2017-2020, which is the time period covered by Appendix A to the Committee's June 28, 2024, letter. The Committee has already engaged in substantial factfinding and will work to bring this matter to a close expeditiously. Therefore, we must have a complete and meaningful production of the outstanding documents before the August recess, not after. As we previously cautioned you, we cannot permit additional delays in this matter. We also noted that the Committee is not aware of any privileges that would permit withholding documents from the Committee that were produced to the Department, and there is no basis to withhold documents

¹ May 20, 2024, Letter from Committee; June 17, 2024, Letter from Committee; June 28, 2024, Letter from Committee.

The Honorable Matt Gaetz
Page 2 of 2

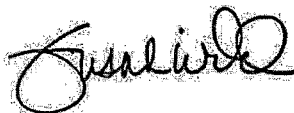
on the basis of "confidentiality." Nonetheless, you remain free to provide relevant documents to the Committee at any time during the pendency of the Committee's review.

It also remains imperative that the Committee receive your testimony without further delay. The enclosed subpoena compels your appearance for a deposition on July 23 at 4 p.m. We do not anticipate your deposition will last longer than two hours, provided you are forthright in your answers to the Committee's questions. If that date and time does not work for you, we can also conduct the deposition on July 24 at 3:30 p.m. or on July 25 at 8 a.m. Please inform Committee staff immediately if you wish to reschedule to one of those alternative dates. The Committee will make no public statement at this time but reserves the right to make any necessary disclosures regarding this matter should you make any statements that are inconsistent with the text or spirit of our communications.

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature of Michael Guest in black ink.

Michael Guest
Chairman

Handwritten signature of Susan Wild in black ink.

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

Enclosure

Subpoena Ad Testificandum

**By Authority of the House of Representatives of
The Congress of the United States of America**

To: The Honorable Matthew Louis Gaetz II

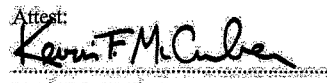
You are hereby commanded to appear before the Committee on Ethics of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Honorable Michael Guest is Chairman, in 1015 Longworth House Office Building at 4:00 p.m. on July 23, 2024, to answer questions concerning matters of inquiry before said Committee.

To: The U.S. Marshals Service or any authorized Committee member or staff to serve and make return.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives
of the United States, at the city of Washington, this
10 day of July, 2024.


The Honorable Michael Guest
Chairman
Committee on Ethics


The Honorable Susan Wild
Ranking Member
Committee on Ethics

Attest:

Kevin McCumber
Acting Clerk of the House

Subpoena for The Honorable Matt Gaetz,

2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

to appear before the Committee on Ethics, of which the
Honorable Michael Guest is the Chairman.

*U.S. House of Representatives
118th Congress*

Served by

Title

Manner of Service

Date

Signature of Server

Address

.....

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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Cresview, FL 32539
(850) 479-1183
<https://gaetz.house.gov>

July 22, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

The Committee's actions against me are unprecedented, outrageous, and nakedly political.

On July 9th, I transmitted to you correspondence that included continued rolling production of documents, which I provided to the Department of Justice and which you requested. This correspondence raised legitimate due process concerns and sought to understand how long you intended to question me for scheduling and other purposes. Rather than addressing these reasonable issues in good faith, I understand that you issued, but did not serve, a subpoena the next day.

This is political Lawfare. Each Republican on the Committee was appointed directly by Kevin McCarthy. The former speaker's political operation is reportedly inspiring these actions by the Committee against me, and they're bragging about it.¹

The former Speaker has weaponized the leaks springing from your investigation in millions of dollars of attack ads as my August 20th primary approaches.²

It has also come to my attention that Committee member David Joyce is donating, through his re-election campaign and PACs, to my McCarthy-recruited primary opponent while investigating me.³ This is a clear conflict of interest, which further endangers my due process rights.

It seems the McCarthy/Joyce plan is to attempt to use the leaks from this investigation to take me out in an election and – when that likely fails – use this Committee to otherwise impair my service to my constituents. It is a disgrace that you have allowed the Committee to be used in this manner.

I would again point out that I have provided the Committee dispositive evidence that Mr. Greenberg is lying about me, admitted his motive for lying while incarcerated, and enticed others to lie about me

¹ Olivia Beavers, *McCarthy vs. Gaetz: The GOP's never ending feud*, POLITICO (July 08, 2024).

² Ja'han Jones, *New campaign ad ties Matt Gaetz to a convicted sex offender*, YAHOO NEWS (July 2, 2024).

³ Curt Mills, *Gaetz Ethics Inquiry Takes Dubious Turn*, THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE (July 22, 2024).

for money. I've even given you evidence of those demands for money from your purported "witness."

If the Committee would like to re-engage in good faith to facilitate a rolling production of documents and answers to your questions, let me know.

On information and belief, the House will not take action to enforce your subpoena as we work to resolve these issues.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Matt Gaetz", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit A

McCarthy vs. Gaetz: The GOP's never-ending feud

politico.com/news/2024/05/08/mccarthy-gaetz-gop-florida-00156659

Congress

Seven months after the Florida firebrand led the ouster of the former speaker, tempers are running hotter than ever — with McCarthy lauding Gaetz's new primary challenger.

Rep. Matt Gaetz is the highest-profile political target among the eight hardliners whom Kevin McCarthy and his allies are targeting in a vengeance tour. | Francis Chung/POLITICO

Kevin McCarthy is escalating his revenge campaign against Rep. Matt Gaetz.

In an interview with POLITICO, McCarthy backed Gaetz's new Florida GOP primary challenger; a top McCarthy adviser also acknowledged playing a role in vetting that opponent, Aaron Dimmock. And McCarthy delivered a slashing attack on Gaetz, who led the effort to overthrow him as speaker last fall.

"Gaetz is the Hunter Biden of the Republican Party," McCarthy said. "He's got an opponent who is pro-life, pro-Second Amendment, trained at Pensacola, went to the Naval Academy and flew jets to defend us while Gaetz was getting kicked out of high school, buying coke and paying minors for sex."

McCarthy says Gaetz ousted him to stop ethics probe over sex scandal

McCarthy was referring to the focus of an ongoing House Ethics Committee probe: allegations that Gaetz had sexual contact with minors. The committee is in possession of a sworn statement that alleges Gaetz was present at a party where illegal drugs were used, ABC reported. Gaetz has denied the drugs and sex-related allegations; he graduated from Niceville High School in Florida, according to his biography on the nonpartisan site Legistorm.

The Department of Justice conducted its own investigation as part of a sex trafficking probe and, according to Gaetz's lawyers and DOJ officials, decided not to bring criminal charges.

Gaetz responded by inviting McCarthy to appear in the district with Dimmock, arguing it would be a boon for his campaign: "I whooped Kevin McCarthy in Washington. I don't think he's going to fare better when I'm playing home-field advantage in North Florida."

Presented with McCarthy's highly personal criticism, Gaetz also revived a nearly decade-old, unproven rumor that McCarthy had an affair with a colleague.

Gaetz is the highest-profile political target among the eight hardliners whom McCarthy and his allies are targeting in a vengeance tour that was first reported by POLITICO. But he is also among the hardest of McCarthy's foes to unseat.

And even if Gaetz — who's won past primary challenges by healthy margins — defeats Dimmock, McCarthy may have another opportunity to exact revenge. Florida Republicans suspect he is eyeing the seat that Gov. Ron DeSantis (R-Fla.) will be forced to give up in 2026, though Gaetz has said he doesn't plan to run.

It's the recipe for a perpetual clash. Even lobbyist and McCarthy ally Jeff Miller took his shot last week, accusing Gaetz of invoking antisemitic tropes to explain his vote against a GOP antisemitism bill and slamming the Florida firebrand as a "pedophile."

The McCarthy-Gaetz vitriol is spiking anew just as Speaker Mike Johnson appears closer than ever to neutralizing his own ouster threat from Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.), whose combative instincts McCarthy had worked to tame as he turned her into an ally. While Greene chafes at Johnson, Gaetz has stayed conspicuously on the sidelines and — though he occasionally criticizes the speaker's decisions — made clear he's not in favor of an election-year effort to topple a second House GOP leader.

The players are bringing different personalities to the clash this time, but it's also clear that no party rivalry can measure up to McCarthy-Gaetz in terms of intensity and longevity. Their feud, many House Republicans argue, was personal from the start. Gaetz's critics contend that he is responsible for the tension that has continued to grip the House GOP conference after McCarthy's ouster, including the fallout from Johnson's decisions since taking the gavel last year.

Watch: Gaetz files motion to oust McCarthy

"I think it would be expected that Kevin would want to respond to what happened," said ally Rep. Don Bacon (R-Neb.) of the ongoing animosity, while noting that both he and Gaetz are well-respected in their districts. "So it's not surprising."

Some of McCarthy's loyalists see an opportunity for payback in the Ethics Committee's ultimate findings about Gaetz. A few McCarthy allies have even privately suggested using the internal inquiry's findings to try to oust Gaetz from Congress, if the conclusions are damaging enough.

Yet such premature speculation has also given Gaetz further fodder to claim that the ethics probe was retribution rather than a fairly handled investigation.

Indeed, Gaetz's allies aren't shocked either that tempers remain hot between the two men. Another of the eight Republicans who supported the McCarthy ouster, Rep. Tim Burchett (R-Tenn.), predicted that the former speaker is "bitter and will continue on that path" of going

after the Floridian for the rest of his political career.

McCarthy allies are expected to get involved in multiple primaries where his foes could prove electorally vulnerable. Earlier this year, they had homed in on Reps. Nancy Mace (R-S.C.) and Bob Good (R-Va.), both of whom voted to oust McCarthy — and other hardliners who backed Gaetz were preparing to face their own challengers.

"Well, I hope [McCarthy] spends a lot of money there," said Rep. Andy Biggs (R-Ariz.), another of the so-called Gaetz Eight who opposed the former speaker. "Because Matt will still win, and it'll divert some of this money away from other people."

But McCarthy allies predicted that Dimmock's challenge might fare better than many expect. Brian O. Walsh, a top McCarthy ally who is overseeing efforts to take on members of the infamous "Gaetz Eight," told POLITICO that he traveled to "Florida's Panhandle in March to conduct focus groups and left pleased with the findings."

MOST READ

Some Republicans, however, indicated that the ongoing fight generally isn't helpful to the party.

"The Kevin-Matt thing is a Kevin-Matt thing, and it's unfortunate. But these things are going to play out, and we're going to move on," said Rep. Byron Donalds (R-Fla.), who said "no," he doesn't think Dimmock has any chance to beat Gaetz.

McCarthy: Gaetz 'planned this all along'

Dimmock was a last-minute entrant into the Florida primary, formalizing his bid the night before the filing deadline. One early sign that McCarthy was involved: His campaign committee has the same treasurer as American Patriots PAC, a group tied to McCarthy during the last election cycle.

With more than three months until the Aug. 20 primary, Gaetz is already taking aim at Dimmock's record.

A campaign committee tied to Gaetz, called Friends of Matt Gaetz, has sought to preempt Dimmock by purchasing a URL for his campaign, painting him as "woke" and including a link for donations to the incumbent. That attack leans on social media posts from 2020 where Dimmock voiced support for diversity and the Black Lives Matter movement following the murder of George Floyd, a Black man, by a white Minneapolis police officer.

Gaetz argued that McCarthy recruited a "D.E.I enthusiast, Black Lives Matter supporter to run against me."

A Dimmock campaign spokesperson pushed back hard at Gaetz.

"Matt Gaetz's desperation oozes out of every baseless claim he makes as he attempts to distract voters from his disastrous tenure in Congress. The voters of this district are going to have a clear choice in August: a true conservative outsider with a history of service to country or a desperate career politician who will say anything to hold on to power."


Playbook

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Exhibit B

New campaign ad ties Matt Gaetz to a convicted sex offender

 yahoo.com/news/campaign-ad-ties-matt-gaetz-223025492.html

Ja'han Jones

A new political ad on Florida airwaves is targeting Rep. [Matt Gaetz](#) over his ties to a convicted sex offender.

The ad — a boon for the Florida Republican's primary challenger, Aaron Dimmock — might just be the latest chess move in [Kevin McCarthy](#).

's revenge tour, which has sought to oust the GOP lawmakers who voted to remove him as House speaker last year. The spot is funded by an organization called Florida Patriots PAC, which [bears resemblance to similarly named PACs](#) that were used to target other McCarthy foes during primary races in South Carolina and Virginia.

The revenge tour [sputtered out of the gate](#) last month, as McCarthy's pick in South Carolina failed to oust Rep. Nancy Mace in her primary. And in Virginia, a McCarthy-backed candidate is [leading Rep. Bob Good](#) in his primary, but only after former President Donald Trump bashed Good and also endorsed the challenger.

Gaetz won his primary comfortably in 2022, so ousting him seems like an uphill climb. But the ad targeting him (which you can watch [here](#)) is cutting, without question. It highlights Gaetz's "close friendship" with Joel Greenberg, a former Florida tax official who [pleaded guilty to several federal charges in 2021](#), including child sex trafficking. Gaetz once referred to Greenberg as his "[wingman](#)."

Greenberg cooperated with a federal sex trafficking probe into Gaetz that ultimately resulted in [no charges](#) being brought against the House Republican.

Greenberg [reportedly has cooperated](#) with the House Ethics Committee's probe into Gaetz as well. Two weeks ago, the committee [said in a news release](#) that it was reviewing allegations that the Florida representative 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."


McCarthy has argued that Gaetz [fueled the effort to oust him](#) after the then-speaker declined to interfere in the ethics probe. During an event at Georgetown University in April, [McCarthy claimed](#) that he was no longer speaker because "one person, a member of Congress, wanted me to stop an ethics complaint because he slept with a 17-year-old, an ethics complaint that started before I ever became speaker. And that's illegal, and I'm not going to get in the middle. Did he do it or not? I don't know."

It was a clear reference to Gaetz, who has denied the allegation and any wrongdoing. And now this new ad is continuing to hit him on the same front.

This article was originally published on [MSNBC.com](https://www.msnbc.com)

Exhibit C

Gaetz Ethics Inquiry Takes Dubious Turn

 theamericanconservative.com/gaetz-ethics-inquiry-takes-dubious-turn

July 22, 2024

Politics

Is an advocate of foreign policy restraint being railroaded?

Credit: BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AFP via Getty Images

Amid the hurly-burly of presidential dropouts, attempted presidential assassinations, and novel presidential conventions, the gears of Washington grind on.

A sideline moment of the winding last week in Wisconsin was a direct confrontation between Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-FL) and his pet aversion, the former House Speaker Kevin McCarthy.

"What night are you speaking?" Gaetz quizzed McCarthy. "Are you speaking tonight?"

"If you took that stage, you would get booed off of it," he added. "You would get booed off the stage." In a game-after interview with CNN, McCarthy shot back: "[Gaetz] looks very unhinged."

The representative from Florida's First District, of course, led the successful charge last autumn to defenestrate the then-speaker. Gaetz alleged a panoply of heresies—spending issues, foreign policy, etc—where McCarthy was said to be deficient in comparison to alternatives.

Gaetz eventually backed now-Speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA).

McCarthy, as of late, has said the story is simpler. The Californian wouldn't stop a House Ethics Committee investigation into years-old allegations against Gaetz (allegations for which he was never charged). But from the outside looking in, McCarthy's side of the story would seem no clean tale of moral probity.

Far from being above the fray, McCarthy in private life has initiated a "revenge tour" of sorts, attempting to primary his former foes in Congress.

Perhaps most prominently, Charleston-area Congresswoman Nancy Mace—a former McCarthy acolyte turned ally of Gaetz et al.—survived a primary challenge in June. "I want to send him back to the rock he's living under right now. He's not part of America.... I hope I drive Kevin McCarthy crazy," Mace told the *Times*.

Now the primary effort of the hardliners and the ethics investigation against Gaetz have apparently merged.

Congressman David Joyce (R-OH) is a member of the House Ethics Committee, which is probing Gaetz. *The American Conservative* found financial disclosures that reveal Rep. Joyce's campaign and his leadership PAC donated a combined \$7,000 to Gaetz's primary challenger, Aaron Dimmock.

For his part, Gaetz told TAC: "It is no surprise to see Mr. Joyce, a stock-trading member of the ethics committee, funding my opponent. The ethics committee was hand picked by McCarthy and they will do his bidding in elections and in their witch hunt coming after me."

There is evidence here of a \$2,000 transaction from Friends of Dave Joyce (his campaign committee) and then \$5,000 from Defending American Values Everywhere PAC (DAVE PAC) —his leadership committee.

What comes next is unclear.

Depending on what the committee finds (a source close to the matter indicates the likely timeline is "at this rate" after the election), Gaetz could face expulsion from the House. But the stink of potential conflict-of-interest could corrode the legitimacy of any report.

And the political *realpolitik* is murky.

Gaetz is a stalwart ally of Trump, and if the president is re-elected, it would seem unlikely that the first order of the day would be to punish allies based on a potentially tainted report.

If Trump loses, and the Democrats take the House, the precedent of removing a member of Congress who has never been charged with a crime would also weigh heavily. Recent examples such as Rep. George Santos of New York and Rep. James Traficant of Ohio involved situations in which both figures had at least been charged with crimes.

Most serious: There is the question of why Gaetz has been such a focus.

Since at least 2019, Gaetz has set himself apart in advocating for a hardline position of foreign policy restraint, making him a standout in a Trumpian fray that has countenanced hawkish and even neoconservative elements.

"The 'fog of war' is no fog to me, or any of the 700,000 people I serve," Gaetz said five springs ago, when he was beginning to make his mark on this front.

"It is not hazy," said Gaetz, whose North Florida district has among the highest concentrations of active-duty military in America. "We see the impact of war every day among the people we love who shape our lives."

Add in the background of Joyce.

Ohio has rising stars on the restraint right such as the vice presidential nominee [J.D. Vance](#) and entrepreneur [Vivek Ramaswamy](#) and Rep. [Warren Davidson](#). And the Buckeye state would seem very much at the center of the new Republican politics, as I wrote for the [TACcover piece](#) in the March/April 2024 issue.

But in other ways, Ohio is a vestige of [the old guard](#).

Joyce has contemporaries such as Rep. Mike Turner, the House intel chair, who represents a more establishment perspective. Turner was a [sparring partner](#) with former Fox host [Tucker Carlson](#). Turner's district features an epic military base, "with over 30,000 employees and an annual contribution of \$16.68 billion to our regional economy," per Turner's own reporting.

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Joyce was a prime advocate of the contentious foreign military aid packages to Ukraine, Israel and Taiwan that passed out in the Spring.

"Today was not only a vote to support our allies when they need it the most, but also a vote to protect America's national security. China, Russia and Iran are anti-American regimes that have no intent of stopping their aggressions with our allies. They also pose a strong and dangerous threat to Americans here at home," Joyce said. "This package provides the critical funding necessary for Israel, Ukraine, and Taiwan to defend their freedom. Something every American should stand for."

For what it's worth, Gaetz voted against all three of those packages.

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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August 2, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I write to bring to your attention additional exonerating material relating to allegations levied against me by your Committee. Attached, please find "Exhibit 1," available at <https://www.facebook.com/1004526702/posts/10228758721045263/?mibextid=L0MuaQ&rdid=ufG7srsVSRO8gHBN>. This is a Facebook post of an individual who was defamed and extorted by, on information and belief, one of your Committee's key witnesses, and who just received legal resolution in his racketeering case against her.

Specifically, the post and the legal posture of this case conclusively demonstrate that this witness is not credible, and has, in fact, lied about me to your Committee. If appropriate, you might consider taking actions against her for providing you with knowingly false statements. At the least, the portions of any investigation against me, which are touched upon by her testimony and supposed evidence, should be expeditiously dropped.

Sincerely,

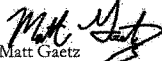

Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit 1

A Statement on my Resolution of Litigation Against A.B. In my Greenberg Dental RICO Lawsuit

Two years ago, I received a letter sent by a lawyer on behalf of a woman I never met who was accusing me of crimes I did not commit and who was seeking money that I did not owe.

This wasn't a mere case of legal (but unethical) extortion — this was a threat of character assassination because if I didn't pay up, I was told, then my false accuser would name me as a co-defendant in a lawsuit with my friend, Congressman Matt Gaetz, whom she also falsely accused of sex crimes when she was a minor. My name would be dragged through the mud by a compliant media, led by an odious progressive publication called The Daily Beast. I had only one choice: sue her to prove she lied. I succeeded. Yesterday, she has agreed not to pursue her bogus claims against me in court. The reason for her change of heart is simple: she had to undergo a deposition where the facts showed she had not met me, and she and her friend who was a party to her fraud couldn't keep their stories straight.

I have agreed not to name my false accuser, a prostitute and producer of graphic online pornography, but I can say she was limited in admitting she lied about me because her attorneys realized it put her in criminal jeopardy. She didn't just lie about me, she lied about Gaetz as well in a federal criminal investigation that resulted in no charges against the congressman because our false-accuser has no credibility and had no evidence for the crime that didn't occur.

Liberal media outlets like The Daily Beast acted in tandem with her and her criminal friend, Joel Greenberg, as part of a political smear campaign designed to spare Greenberg prison time. But it didn't work. Greenberg is in prison where he belongs. He is scum, just like her.

Despite having no prior interactions or dealings with this person, her lawyers falsely claimed that I had met her on two occasions and stated that if I did not pay her large sums of money she would claim to have had a sexual encounter with me.

In response to these baseless allegations, I took extensive measures to prove my innocence. I underwent a polygraph test administered by a former FBI agent with 35 years of experience. Witnesses testified to my absence from the alleged locations, and geodata from my phone corroborated my whereabouts. I provided comprehensive evidence demonstrating that I was not present at the places and times claimed by these lawyers.

I believe Matt is innocent as well, and it is clear that these allegations are fabricated, originating from Joel Greenberg. Greenberg personally threatened Gaetz to me and my wife, both verbally and in writing. He thought a pardon would make his legal troubles go away, believing that Gaetz's relationship to President Trump or my lobbying firm's relationship with the administration would somehow secure him a full and complete pardon reminiscent of Nixon after Watergate. Delusional fantasies.

When I explained to Greenberg that it was a total and complete impossibility that he would ever be pardoned out of his legal troubles, he began spreading lies, first against Gaetz and then against me. He advised me and others in writing to "lawyer up" as he planned to resort to deceit. Greenberg's behavior escalated when he violated bail conditions and engaged in destructive actions, leading to his continued incarceration.

His attorney, Fritz Scheller, publicly stated that they would push for further prosecutions to reduce Greenberg's sentence, despite his client's flagrant and repeated dishonesty. Every chance Greenberg has had to lie, he has done so, yet his family is happy to spend their considerable fortune bullying and threatening anything that challenges their son's lies. It is disturbing.

The Daily Beast did its best to help Greenberg and my accuser to push their lies because the publication exists to attack Republicans and conservatives, so I initiated my lawsuit to halt these lies and protect my reputation. The Daily Beast tried to pretend this was a bad move, creating a "Streisand Effect" that would amplify my accuser's claims. But their metaphor failed the most important test: the truth. Yes, I took the risk in suing because unethical The Daily Beast reporters (yes, it's redundant) credulously amplified the lies. But now we know the lies are just that: lies.

Although Gaetz has not pursued legal action, he too is a victim of these false allegations and this smear campaign led by The Daily Beast. The settlement of this lawsuit ensures there will be no further litigation on this matter as it pertains to me, but I know that these people do not give up easily.

I am relieved by this resolution, which prevents any future legal disputes. She was going to sue me for something that didn't happen, and now she's not. And importantly, not one penny changed hands.

The truth is paramount, and I stand by my innocence and integrity. Joel Greenberg is in prison for, among other things, lying about one of his old political rivals having sex with a minor. He did the same to me and to Matt Gaetz. The millions of dollars his parents have spent to protect him and minimize his much deserved sentence is disturbing, but the idea that they would seek to implicate myself and Congressman Gaetz to get their degenerate son out of prison faster is a true abuse of their wealth and power. That is what's happening, though.

I am beyond humbled by the love and support of my wife, Rebekah and my three amazing children. Thank you for taking a minute to read this if you've gotten this far. It has been a horrible experience and I am relieved that this portion is behind me. We are pleased with the result.

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glen F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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August 5, 2024

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matthew Louis Gaetz II
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

As you are aware, the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ethics (Committee) has provided you with multiple opportunities to address its questions on the record, including issuing a summons to you to appear and provide testimony before the Committee on July 23, 2024, at 4 p.m.¹ In keeping with your stated intent to cooperate with the investigation, the subpoena was delivered to you by email, consistent with all applicable Rules of the House. You nonetheless failed to appear for the testimony, even though you confirmed your awareness of the subpoena, which was sent directly to you via email, as well as to the point of contact through which you have regularly sent correspondence to the Committee.

While you have raised various concerns in your recent letter and past correspondence relating to due process, "leaks," "conflict of interest," and "political Lawfare," your concerns have not obviated your legal and ethical obligation to comply with the Committee's subpoena.² You have been afforded all due process, consistent with House Rules and applicable federal laws.

You have failed to answer written questions and failed to appear in person to answer questions regarding the allegations before the Committee. You indicated that you have "over 10,000 records" but to date you have only produced a handful of documents. We are also in receipt of your most recent production, which consisted of one Facebook post and was not contemporaneous to the allegations at issue. We have provided and will continue to provide you with the opportunity to share all relevant evidence with the Committee. You previously requested to have the full August recess to produce responsive documents. Accordingly, we expect a fulsome production by the time the House returns to session on September 9, 2024. The Committee will rely on the record available to it to make its findings in this matter.

¹ We also offered to conduct the deposition on July 24 at 3:30 p.m. or July 25 at 8 a.m., if the date and time on the summons did not work for you; you did not appear at those alternative dates and times either.

² See 2 U.S.C. §§ 192 and 194.

The Committee will make no public statement at this time but reserves the right to make any necessary disclosures regarding this matter should you make any statements that are inconsistent with the text or spirit of our communications.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Michael Guest". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "M".

Michael Guest
Chairman

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Susan Wild". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "S".

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
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August 9, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

I am in receipt of your letter dated August 5, 2024. In that letter, you state that I have “failed to answer written questions.” My review of our correspondence does not reflect this. If I have missed something, please let me know. I invite you to send me any written questions you believed I have not answered, as well as any other questions you may have. In my correspondence to you, I have repeatedly refreshed open questions, such as your inability to provide details regarding remedial steps to correct leaks: I do this because with lengthy, iterative correspondence with a written record as extensive as in this case, it is important to give the other party notice related to open issues, especially as items continue to be closed on a rolling basis.

You state that I have only provided a “handful” of records to you. I have prioritized the evidence I believe most clearly and directly proves my innocence (as you expressly requested), including evidence of Joel Greenberg’s jailhouse confession that he was getting ████████ to lie about me for hope of financial gain.

You further state that the last evidence I provided you is not sufficiently “contemporaneous.” Your assessment is inaccurate. The woman who, on information and belief, has alleged sexual misconduct against me, has dropped a related civil lawsuit threat against my friend, Mr. Dorworth, after a deposition indicated she and her friend lied, according to Mr. Dorworth. This is precisely relevant, contemporaneous and dispositive. This is the first merits-relevant court event that expressly indicates unreliability of this witness of yours, and I could not have been more timely in bringing it to your attention.

The allegations that buttress your investigation were used to try to extort my family, subject me to a criminal investigation by the Department of Justice, smear me in political campaigns, and shake me down for a phony hush money payment. Throughout all this, the allegations cannot be substantiated, and have indeed been disproven. You persist in this investigation largely to achieve political goals. It is political lawfare.

I have repeatedly asked questions to facilitate providing answers to your questions. You have ignored them, ranging from scheduling questions regarding the expected duration of the deposition to very serious questions regarding references you’ve made to other witnesses and the Department of Justice tainting the investigation with leaks and the conduct of Committee members.

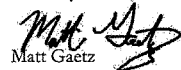
Your last correspondence concludes:

“The Committee will make no public statement at this time but reserves the right to make any necessary disclosures regarding this matter should you make any statements that are inconsistent with the text or spirit of our communications.”

This reads as a thuggish threat. I would remind you that the disclosures regarding this investigation have come from the Committee's work, not mine.

Nevertheless, I continue to cooperate with you, and I have attached to this correspondence additional information you have requested, including information that I provided to the Department of Justice as part of my rolling production to you ("Exhibit A").

Sincerely,



Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit A

EXHIBIT EXCLUDED

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman

Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives
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September 4, 2024

MEMBER'S PERSONAL ATTENTION

The Honorable Matthew Louis Gaetz II
U.S. House of Representatives
2021 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Gaetz:

The Committee on Ethics (Committee) has previously invited you to provide information relevant to this matter, in writing, under oath or affirmation. To date, you have provided minimal substantive information relating to the allegations against you. You state that you have "prioritized" the evidence you believe "most clearly and directly proves [your] innocence." We welcome any additional context about the relevance of your productions to date, including why select weeks of your calendar beginning in 2020 are among the "most clear" evidence of your innocence, since the majority of the alleged misconduct occurred prior to 2020.

In your most recent letter, you also said that your review of our correspondence does not reflect a failure to answer written questions and noted the importance of giving notice of open issues. Below is a list of Committee requests with which you have not complied:

- On April 9, 2021, the Committee requested that you provide a response to the allegations, in writing, under oath or affirmation. The Committee did not receive a response.
- On May 23, 2023, the Committee informed you it had reauthorized its investigation for the 118th Congress and made several specific requests, as well as a request for "any other information that you believe may be relevant to the matter," and asked you to describe efforts you made to identify responsive documents. The Committee reiterated its requests in multiple subsequent letters. You provided an incomplete response to the specific requests (including documents related to your Bahamas travel), as well as the general request for relevant information.
- On May 20, 2024, the Committee requested dates and times of availability for a voluntary interview; at that time the Committee also invited you to provide any information you wished the Committee to review regarding the allegations. You did not provide dates of availability for an interview. You declared each of the allegations false without providing any substantive information, declared that you

had been “exonerated” with respect to allegations of sexual misconduct, and provided no new, non-public documents.

- On June 17, 2024, the Committee requested records relating to your assertion that you were “exonerated” by the Department of Justice and requested that you let us know if you believed we should have additional evidence submitted by you. You did not provide any evidence of exoneration. In that letter, the Committee also requested that you provide any information produced to the Department by you or on your behalf; you have not provided a complete response to that request.
- On June 28, 2024, the Committee provided you with a chart of alleged payments that may have been made by or on behalf of you relating to sexual misconduct or illicit drug use to facilitate your production of relevant documents. You have provided no documents or written responses or explanations related to the payments in the chart.
- On July 11, 2024, the Committee issued a subpoena for your testimony. You did not comply with the subpoena and have, to date, refused to make yourself available for an interview.

The Committee appreciates your invitation to send additional written questions and, as such, we have enclosed specific written questions relating to the allegations under review and request that you provide your response to those questions by September 18, 2024.

The Committee will make no public statement at this time but reserves the right to make any necessary disclosures regarding this matter should you make any statements that are inconsistent with the text or spirit of our communications.

Sincerely,



Michael Guest
Chairman



Susan Wild
Ranking Member

Enclosure

Instructions

- ❖ The United States House of Representatives Committee on Ethics (Committee) is reviewing allegations involving you. Pursuant to Committee Rule 18(a), the Chairman and Ranking Member request written responses to the enclosed questions.
- ❖ The Committee has not made any conclusions about these allegations, and you should not take any of the questions to imply that the Committee has made any judgment or conclusions about the allegations. The questions below are designed to help the Committee build a complete and thorough record.
- ❖ There are sixteen (16) questions enclosed. Review each carefully and answer in writing.
- ❖ Submit the enclosed declaration along with your written answers.
- ❖ If you do not know the answer (for example, if you do not have personal knowledge or have not otherwise been made aware of an answer to any of the questions), indicate in writing that you do not know.
- ❖ There is no limit on how long your answers may be. You may provide any additional facts that you believe are relevant or that you believe the Committee should be made aware of.
- ❖ To the extent you refuse to answer any question based on attorney-client privilege or any other protection or privilege, state the nature of the claimed privilege.
- ❖ Your answers and statements may be considered by the Committee in its deliberations and official business. Therefore, if you make any intentionally false statements or intentionally attempt to mislead the Committee through your answers, that could be a crime, such as making false statements under 18 U.S.C. § 1001 or obstruction of Congress under 18 U.S.C. § 1505.

Declaration

I, Representative Matt Gaetz, declare (certify, verify, or state) under penalty of perjury that the responses and factual assertions contained in the attached letter dated _____, 2024, relating to my response to the September 4, 2024, Committee on Ethics request for information, are true and correct.

Signature: _____

Name: Representative Matt Gaetz

Date: _____, 2024

Questions¹

1. From 2017 to present, have you illegally used² any drugs or controlled substances? If yes, provide for each drug or controlled substance used: the type(s) of drug or controlled substance; an estimate of the month and year of most recent use; the nature of the use, frequency, and number of times used.
2. From 2017 to present, have you been involved in the illegal purchase, shipping, receiving, or handling of any drug or controlled substance? If yes, provide for each drug or controlled substance used: the type(s) of drug or controlled substance; an estimate of the month and year of most recent involvement; and the nature and frequency of the activity. Additionally, inform the Committee whether you have provided any drug or controlled substance to any of the individuals listed in Appendix A to the Committee's June 28, 2024, letter (also attached hereto).
3. From 2017 to present, did you engage in sexual activity with any individual that you now have reason to believe was under the age of 18 at the time of the sexual activity?
4. On or around Saturday, July 15, 2017, were you present in the Lake Mary, Orlando home of Christopher Dorworth?
5. Have you ever engaged in sexual activity with [REDACTED]? If yes, for each encounter:
 - a. What was the approximate date (e.g., month and year) of the sexual activity?
 - b. What age was [REDACTED] at the time of the sexual activity?
 - c. Did anyone else observe the sexual activity?
 - d. Did you have reason to believe [REDACTED] used drugs or alcohol at or around the time of the sexual activity?
 - e. Did you provide [REDACTED] with any money within a week of engaging in sexual activity with her? If so, how did you provide the money (e.g., cash, check, payment app), how much money did you provide, and what was the purpose of the money?
6. For each of the women identified in the "Transaction Counterparty" column of Appendix A to the Committee's June 28, 2024, letter:
 - a. Do you know her? If so, how do you know her?
 - b. Have you ever given her money, including by cash, check, or electronic payment platform? If so, for what purpose(s)?
 - c. Did you ask anyone else to give her money on your behalf? If so, who did you ask and what was the purpose of the payment?

¹ As referenced in the following questions, the illegal use of or other illegal activity relating to drugs or controlled substances pertains to illegal use or activity in accordance with Federal laws, irrespective of state or local laws.

² Use of a drug or controlled substance includes injecting, snorting, inhaling, swallowing, experimenting with or otherwise consuming any drug or controlled substance.

- d. Did you give her money with the knowledge, instruction, or belief that it would be used for the purchase of drugs or controlled substances?
 - e. If you engaged in any sexual activity with the individual, did she ever indicate to you that she expected payment for engaging in sexual activity with you?
 - f. Did you use or direct the use of congressional resources to assist her in obtaining a passport or in obtaining the assistance of any U.S. embassy?
7. From 2017 to present, have you ever solicited or received sexual activity for hire?
 8. From 2017 to present, have you ever used an account belonging to an individual other than you or an account associated with an alias to make electronic payments to any individual identified in Appendix A? If so, please identify the following:
 - a. the name of the account;
 - b. the purpose(s) of the payment, including but not limited to any payments for the purchase of drugs or drug paraphernalia; and
 - c. why the account was used.
 9. From 2017 to present, identify each instance you have flown on a non-commercial aircraft since becoming a Member of Congress, including the approximate date(s) of travel, owner of the aircraft, and purpose of travel. This request does not include any travel on a non-commercial aircraft that is paid for by a relative or government. This request also does not include travel offered by a political organization in connection with a campaign event sponsored by that political organization.
 10. For any private plane travel identified in response to Question 9, how were your flight costs paid for?
 11. How were your lodging costs paid for during your September 2018 trip to the Bahamas?
 12. Did you advise, instruct, or discuss with any individuals what to say or not say to investigators in connection with any investigations of your conduct by the Department of Justice (DOJ), Committee on Ethics, or any other government office or agency? If so, describe any such discussions, excluding any communications with your counsel.
 13. As you are aware, "exoneration" is a separate and distinct concept from a declination to prosecute criminal charges, which can occur for reasons unrelated to the innocence or culpability of an individual.³ Please describe the basis for your assertion that DOJ exonerated you with respect to each allegation that they declined to prosecute. Please identify any DOJ officials with whom you discussed such a determination or findings and any documents memorializing or otherwise describing such findings.

³ See, e.g., JM 9-27.230, DEP'T OF JUSTICE, *Justice Manual* (identifying numerous factors to be considered in declining charges).

14. Have you provided any evidence to any party or witness related to Christopher Dorworth's racketeering lawsuit against Joel Greenberg and others⁴ that you have not provided to the Committee? This request includes but is not limited to any exculpatory records that are material to the allegations of sexual misconduct, illicit drug use, acceptance of improper gifts, or any other allegations that form the basis of this investigation. This request also includes impeachment evidence relating to [REDACTED] and/or Joel Greenberg.
15. From 2017 to present, have you ever used the name [REDACTED] as an alias, or used the email account [REDACTED]? If so, for what purpose(s)?
16. From 2017 to present, have you downloaded, visited, or used any "sugar dating" application or website, such as SeekingArrangement? If so, for what purpose(s)?

⁴ *Christopher Dorworth v. Joel Greenberg, et al.*, No. 6:23-cv-00871 (M.D. Fla.).

Appendix A

Transaction Counterparty	Approximate payment amount	Approximate transaction year(s)
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2018-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017-2018
	\$100-\$1,000	2018
	\$100-\$1,000	2017
	\$50,000-\$150,000	2017-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2018-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017-2018
	\$5,000-\$15,000	2017-2019
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2019-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2017
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2018-2019
	\$1,000-\$5,000	2019-2020
	\$5,000-\$15,000	2018-2020
	\$100-\$1,000	2018

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
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WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4116
DISTRICT OFFICE:
805 E. James Lee Blvd
Crestview, FL 32539
(850) 479-1183
<https://gaetz.house.gov>

September 6 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Attached ("Exhibit A") please find correspondence between my Director of Operations and our IT provider through the House. These technical difficulties will create a slight delay in responding to your voluminous document requests.

I am working diligently to continue voluntarily producing documents you've requested, in my possession, custody, and control. You have set a September 18, 2024 deadline for response to your many new written interrogatories.

I will apply best efforts to have additional documents and a response to your September 4, 2024 correspondence by September 18, 2024.

Sincerely,

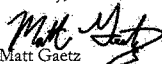
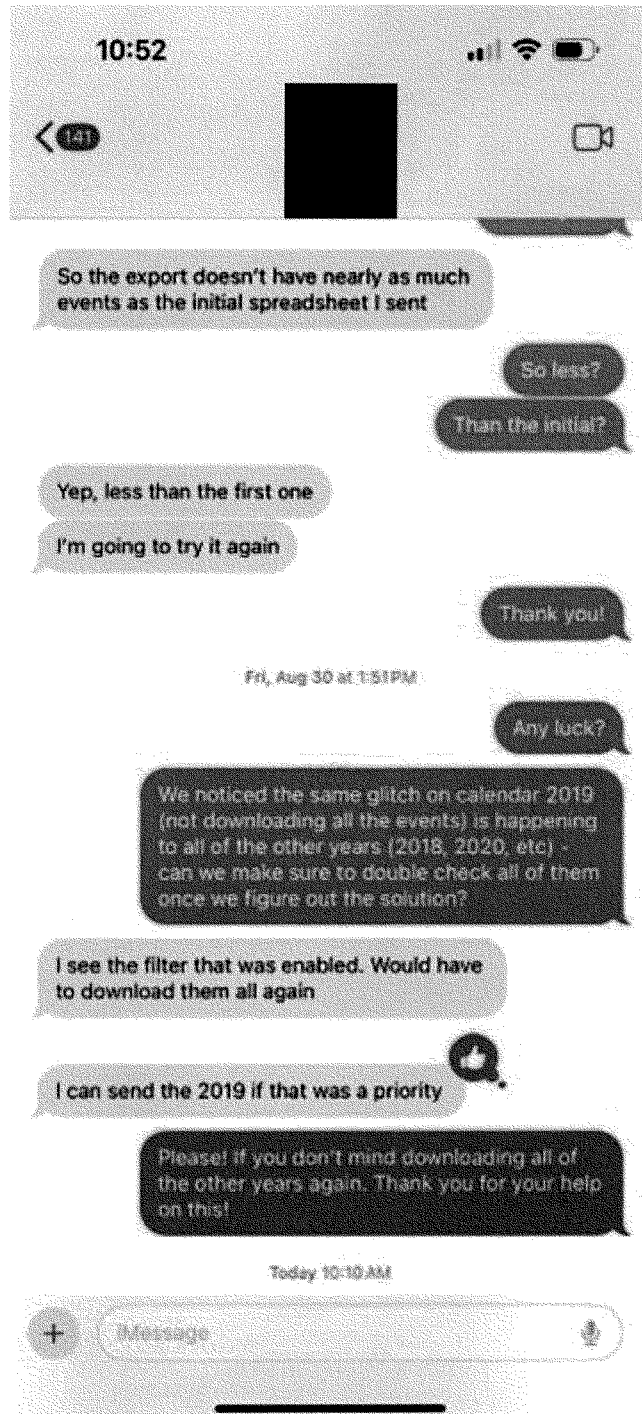

Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

Exhibit A





MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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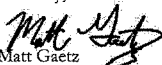
September 18, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Attached to this electronic letter is a DropBox link with a substantial component of the rolling production of documents you have requested. Assembly and production of these documents was more time consuming than expected. I request until the end of next week to respond to your correspondence of September 4, 2024.

Sincerely,


Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

MATT GAETZ
1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA
ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON THE
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
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September 26, 2024

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building (LHOB)
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Guest and Ranking Member Wild:

Your investigation into me has devolved into a political payback exercise, devoid of adequate due process, riddled with leaks, and now seeking deeply personal information that is no business of Congress.

It seems the fix is in. The Committee has refused to establish an Investigative Subcommittee, as is customary, perhaps because doing so would have time-limited this investigation long ago, and diluted the influence of those on the full committee who are seeking revenge. The Committee has, during the course of its work, released public statements to cast me in a negative light. This was understandably observed as “unusual.”¹ Most shockingly, the Committee’s own membership has participated in funding a recent political campaign against me which utilized the very smears that the Committee now seeks to revive and phony-validate in this investigation.² I am being investigated and judged by my political opponents. This is Soviet. This investigation exists to do what the voters of my district won’t - remove me from office. The Committee’s own membership tried to remove me from office via election. That failed, so this is the next iteration of the smear.

Your correspondence of September 4 asks whether I have engaged in sexual activity with any individual under 18. The answer to this question is unequivocally NO. You can apply this response to every version of this question, in every forum.

You ask whether I have illegally taken drugs. I have not used drugs which are illegal, absent some law allowing use in a jurisdiction of the United States. I have not used “illicit” drugs, which I consider to be drugs unlawful for medical or over-the-counter use everywhere in the United States.

You further asked for the basis for my claim of “exoneration.” On July 10, 2024, I provided the Committee dispositive evidence of my innocence by producing a “smoking gun” contemporaneous, jailhouse writing, documenting the plot to frame me, which includes both Joel Greenberg and his victim. Two former federal agents

¹ See, e.g., two of many such articles, “Ethics Probe into Matt Gaetz now reviewing allegations of sexual misconduct and illicit drug use,” APNEWS, available at <https://apnews.com/article/house-ethics-committee-matt-gaetz-mccarthy-935a5ec46816f8310586a2a3d545f8f2> (“unusual public update”); “House Ethics Committee reviewing sexual misconduct, obstruction allegations against Matt Gaetz,” CBSNEWS, available at <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/house-ethics-committee-matt-gaetz-sexual-misconduct-allegations/> (“unusual statement”).

² Outlined in “Gaetz Ethics Inquiry Takes a Dubious Turn,” THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE, available at <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/gaetz-ethics-inquiry-takes-dubious-turn/> (“Congressman David Joyce (R-OH) is a member of the House Ethics Committee, which is probing Gaetz. The American Conservative found financial disclosures that reveal Rep. Joyce’s campaign and his leadership PAC donated a combined \$7,000 to Gaetz’s primary challenger, Aaron Dimmock... Joyce was a prime advocate of the contentious foreign military aid packages to Ukraine, Israel and Taiwan that passed out in the Spring... For what it’s worth, Gaetz voted against all three of those packages.”).

(HSI & FBI) interviewed the inmate who revealed this plot (hereinafter “the Jailhouse Informant”). Their memorandum is attached as “Exhibit A”.

The Jailhouse Informant was in jail with Joel Greenberg in Orange County, Florida. Mr. Greenberg told the Jailhouse Informant that he planned to lie about me having sexual contact with a minor to reduce his own prison sentence. Mr. Greenberg informed the Jailhouse Informant that Mr. Greenberg’s victim would be willing to adopt Greenberg’s lie in hopes of a future financial benefit. I have provided the Committee written evidence that, according to plan, she later sought that benefit. On information and belief, Greenberg’s victim has enlisted her longtime friend and roommate in this endeavor.

On information and belief, Mr. Greenberg had arranged for his victim to meet with an attorney of Greenberg’s choosing to orchestrate the plan to get Greenberg’s victim to lie about me. A Verified Florida civil lawsuit familiar to the Committee alleges that Greenberg texted another person that he was paying for his victim’s attorneys. A copy of this text message is attached hereto as “Exhibit B.” This text occurred prior to Greenberg’s admissions to the Jailhouse Informant, and further corroborates his testimony. A copy of the letter from the Jailhouse Informant to my attorneys is attached hereto as “Exhibit C.”

This wasn’t the first - or even second - time Greenberg coordinated false smears of others in this manner. He was initially indicted for attempting to falsely smear a teacher at a local high school as a pedophile. Thereafter, he was separately found by federal law enforcement to have possessed child pornography that he intended to use to frame his own attorney. (See “Exhibit D”). On information and belief, the DOJ never charged Greenberg for the possession of this child pornography because it would have understandably eviscerated Greenberg’s credibility as a witness against me, which was the DOJ’s true goal had any of this been true.

The DOJ leaked false allegations about me to the *New York Times*, investigated those claims rigorously, cajoled witnesses to conform to their narrative, and then ultimately knew they did not have a chargeable case. The very people who have lied to the Ethics Committee were also lying to them. On information and belief, the DOJ investigated allegations regarding violations of the Mann Act, sex trafficking, child sex trafficking, obstruction of justice, illegally owning a marijuana business, taking bribes, campaign finance violations and violations of federal drugs laws. None of these investigations resulted in charges against me - and with good reason: I am innocent.

I believe the Biden Justice Department leaked to the *New York Times* in 2021 to impact the behavior and testimony of witnesses.³ My basis for this belief is a recording of Joel Greenberg from prison wherein he claims the DOJ told him that the *New York Times* piece put him in “golden position.” A copy of this recording can be provided to the Committee upon request.

I serve on the House Judiciary Committee and the Biden Justice Department loathes me. I ask the most penetrating questions of their top officials, frequently embarrassing them publicly. See Attached “Exhibit E.” The combination of the natural bias of the Biden Justice Department against me, their leaking of false allegations about me, and their ultimate decision not to charge me is a clear exoneration, as was widely observed (“Exhibit F”)

An additional basis for my claim of exoneration is the conviction and criminal sentence of Steven Alford, who attempted to shake down my family based on the very same false claims that the Committee attempts to refurbish for political payback. (“Exhibit G”) Mr. Alford was working on this criminal scheme with former DOJ official David McGee. Suspiciously, the *New York Times* story published the night before Mr. McGee was to receive a seven-figure wire transfer from my family (at the direction of and in cooperation with the FBI) to cement his criminal culpability. Mr. McGee was never charged.

³ “Justice Dep’t Inquiry Into Matt Gaetz Said to be Focused on Cash Paid to Women,” NYTIMES, April 1, 2021, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/01/us/politics/matt-gaetz-justice-department.html>.

Your September 4 correspondence to me reveals your investigation is about more than enforcing House Rules - and is uncomfortably noseey.

You ask, in part, whether I've had sex with a list of adult women over the past seven years. The lawful, consensual, sexual activities of adults are not the business of Congress. Neither is a detailing of medications I have taken under the color of law.

This question about my sexual history reveals a sinister motive of the Committee to harm me and those who have had any association with me. To date, I have voluntarily produced tens of thousands of records and answered many of your relevant questions over several months. But asking about my sexual history as a single man with adult women is a bridge too far. I will no longer voluntarily participate in this regrettable abuse of the Committee.

I understand that the Committee has issued, but not served, a subpoena for my testimony. I explicitly reserve all of my rights pursuant to House Rules and the U.S. Constitution.

Sincerely,

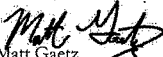

Matt Gaetz
Member of Congress

EXHIBIT A

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

ATTORNEY/CLIENT COMMUNICATION
PRIVILEGE COMMUNICATION
ATTORNEY/CLIENT WORK PRODUCT

From [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]
RE: [REDACTED]

On May 7, 2021, [REDACTED] was interviewed by investigators [REDACTED] regarding his knowledge of a conversation he participated in concerning Matthew Gaetz (Gaetz). The interview took place at the Orange County Jail, Orlando, Florida, where [REDACTED] currently an inmate.

Investigators presented a handwritten letter to [REDACTED] and asked if he wrote and or sent the letter to Gaetz's attorney. After reviewing a copy of the letter [REDACTED] acknowledged that he was the person who prepared the letter and had someone send it the lawyers.

[REDACTED] met Joel Greenberg (Greenberg) on [REDACTED] in a corrections van that was transporting prisoners from the Orange County Jail to the Federal courthouse in Orlando, Florida, as each had separate hearings. There was one other individual in the van with [REDACTED] and Greenberg. [REDACTED] described the third individual as "Indian looking" (IL), but did not know his name. [REDACTED] described the individual as an "American Indian" who was older, late 40's to early 50's, with long hair. [REDACTED] had not seen the IL inmate as mentioned above since their encounter in the transport van. [REDACTED] and Greenberg were seated separately during the van ride but placed in the same holding cell, along with the IL inmate, when they arrived at the Federal courthouse.

[REDACTED] started a conversation with the IL inmate and Greenberg by asking why they were there. The IL inmate stated he was there for a violation of probation "because he did not register." He had been to prison and served time in a medium security federal facility in Oakdale, Mississippi. [REDACTED] served time at the same facility. The IL inmate was scheduled for court at 1:30 pm.

Greenberg stated he was out on bond, but his bond was revoked because he violated his bond conditions by going outside the district. Greenberg said he was "stressed" because he was being held in 23-hour solitary confinement at the county jail. Greenberg did not state why he was in solitary confinement. [REDACTED] explained to the IL inmate and Greenberg that he was being held on a probation violation for a new firearms charge. Although the new charges were dismissed, the prosecutor in his case, Assistant United States Attorney Jackson Boggs (AUSA Boggs), recommended he be held on the probation violation, and the judge agreed.

After approximately one hour in the holding cell, Greenberg opened up to [REDACTED] and asked him how the federal prison conditions were. Greenberg stated he had never been in trouble before and wanted to know how other inmates treated individuals who cooperated. [REDACTED] told Greenberg he did not need to worry because most people that cooperate are sent to low-level facilities where many of the inmates have cooperated. Greenberg stated he was arrested for fraud and using money he stole from the government to purchase cryptocurrency and gambling. Greenberg stated he was a tax collector and earned a salary of \$150,000.00 annually. Greenberg added authorities came to his home with a search warrant related to the fraud scheme and seized his laptop. Greenberg stated his real problems involved a sex trafficking case where authorities found a receipt on his laptop for monies, he sent to an underage female victim. Authorities were now threatening to charge Greenberg with sex trafficking of an underaged girl with a ten-year minimum mandatory based on what they found on his computer. Greenberg insisted, "I can't do ten years" and asked [REDACTED] for his advice. [REDACTED] told Greenberg he saw nothing wrong with cooperating because it was the only way to reduce his sentence, especially if there was a minimum mandatory. Greenberg stated he was also concerned about his young daughter and how it would affect her. Greenberg was not worried about his child's mother because she knew he was "playing the field" and cheating on her.

[REDACTED] believed that Greenberg opened up to him because he needed someone to talk to, and [REDACTED] was soon to be released. Greenberg continued to open up to [REDACTED] and mentioned the name "Matt Gaetz." [REDACTED] recalled Gaetz's name because he shared the famous last name of "Bill Gates." Greenberg stated that when the federal agency investigating him found out it involved Gaetz, they ran with the case, and the story was leaked to the New York Times. Greenberg asked investigators not to reveal the story so he could make "controlled calls" to help with his cooperation. Investigators asked Greenberg to make controlled calls to get others to incriminate themselves. Greenberg told [REDACTED] "The crazy thing is" all the prosecutors and investigators are democrats, and they only wanted him to accuse republicans because they did not like them. Greenberg stated the prosecutors wanted information on Gaetz, a former lobbyist for President Donald Trump, and at least five to six other republicans. Greenberg told prosecutors he could link all these individuals to sex trafficking of an underaged female because he, Greenberg, arranged it. Greenberg stated none of it was true, and he was making it up to reduce his sentence. Greenberg told [REDACTED] although it did not happen, he has a way of "connecting it" to make it appear it did happen. Greenberg would use actual travel dates for the individuals in question then "fabricate" the events and encounters, although they never actually happened.

Greenberg asked [REDACTED] if he knew who Gaetz was. [REDACTED] stated he did not. Greenberg said Gaetz was a congressman from Florida. Greenberg admitted Gaetz was one of the individuals about whom he fabricated a story that he arranged to have sex with the underaged 17-year-old girl. When asked if the underaged girl would corroborate the false story, Greenberg replied she would go along with the story because she would later file a lawsuit and get paid.

Greenberg told [REDACTED] he was meeting with prosecutors and agents to cooperate against republicans. Greenberg learned that both he and [REDACTED] had the same judge. Greenberg was taken from the holding cell by the U.S. Marshals and returned about an hour later. Upon his return, Greenberg stated he met with a prosecutor and investigators and gave them information on republicans. [REDACTED] asked Greenberg why he was making up information on his colleagues. Greenberg stated "I gotta do what I gotta do" because they would make up things on him if it were them.

[REDACTED] was asked by law enforcement to cooperate against his defense attorney [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] represents several drug dealers. She also had sexual relationships with her clients, and the government believes she is involved in criminal activities [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had executed two search warrants on [REDACTED] home.

[REDACTED] was arrested during a traffic stop in [REDACTED] for possession of a firearm, released on bond, and later arrested for a probation violation at [REDACTED] condominium. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was asked if he ever authored any letters to law enforcement or prosecutors. [REDACTED] denied writing any letters to prosecutors but stated he provided the information to the individual who wrote it on his behalf. [REDACTED] declined to give the identity of the individual who wrote and sent the letter. After confronting [REDACTED] with the two separate letters with similar handwriting [REDACTED] recanted his statement that he did not write the second letter to the prosecutor involved in his case. [REDACTED] stated he did write the letter; however, he denied being a heroin addict, as stated in the letter. [REDACTED] never intended to cooperate against [REDACTED] but wrote the letter due to the pressure AUSA Boggs and SA [REDACTED] were putting on him by placing him in isolation for six months at the jail. [REDACTED] stated he was not seeking anything in return for the information. [REDACTED] insisted he only wants to do the right thing and hopes that someone would do it for him if someone were lying about something which he may have done.

End of report.

EXHIBIT B

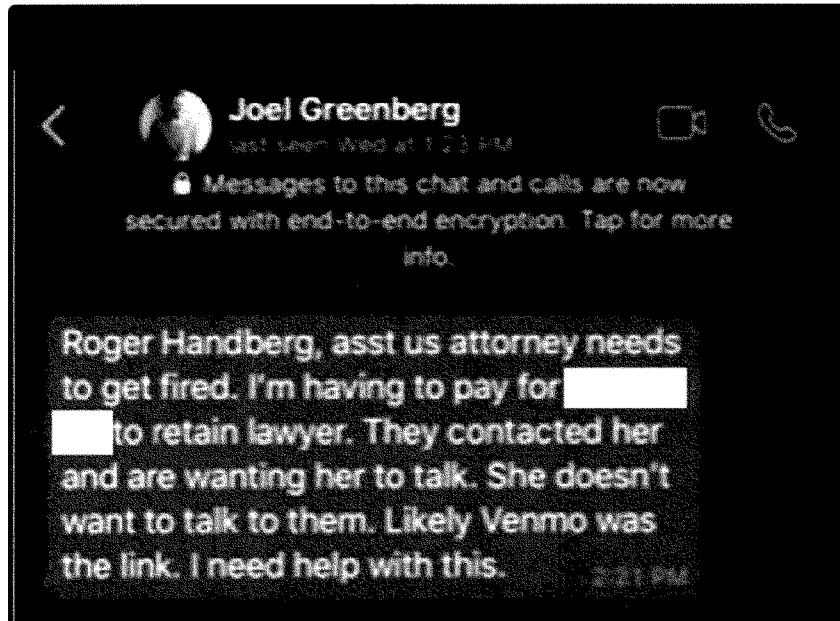


EXHIBIT C

①

#-5-21

I would like this letter to reach the "legal team" representing Mr. Congressman Matt Gates.

First, I would like to be very clear. I'm coming forward with this information voluntarily.

I'm not seeking anything in exchange, nor has anyone promised me anything. In fact, the reason I waited this long to reach out after my conversation with Mr. Greenberg is because I wanted to make sure that my own court proceedings was resolved. My name

[REDACTED] and I'm currently a federal inmate at the Orange County Jail.

On [REDACTED] I was transported from the County Jail to the federal courts for a court hearing. Two other inmates was also transported on that same van with me, one of them was Mr. Joel Greenberg. All 3 of us was having small conversations while inside the holding cell awaiting for the Marshalls to escort us to each of our individual court rooms when the time come. The other guy was an Indian guy who did not engaged too much in the conversation. Mr. Greenberg was next to me, and the other guy was sitting across the room. Mr. Greenberg didn't know too much about the federal system,

(2)

SO HE WAS ASKING ME QUESTIONS ABOUT FEDERAL PRISON BEING THAT I'VE BEEN THERE BEFORE. AS THE HOURS WENT BY HE STARTED CONFIDING IN ME ABOUT HIS SITUATION. HE TOLD ME THAT HE WAS BACK IN JAIL BECAUSE HE HAD VIOLATED HIS BOND CONDITIONS, AND THAT AUTHORITIES HAD SEARCHED HIS HOUSE AND SEIZED HIS COMPUTERS. HE SPOKE ABOUT HOW HE WAS MAKING EASY MONEY, BUYING BITCOINS AND GAMBLING ON SPORTS USING BUDGET MONEY BESIDES THE YEARLY SALARY HE'S BEING PAID AS A TAX COLLECTOR. HE SAID HE MAKES ABOUT \$150,000⁰⁰ DOLLARS. HE ALSO SAID THAT AUTHORITIES FOUND ON HIS COMPUTER, RECORDS THAT HE DID A MONEY TRANSFER TO THE 17 YEAR OLD GIRL, AND THAT THEY WERE CHARGING HIM WITH SEX TRAFFICKING OF A MINOR. HE SAID THAT THE INVESTIGATORS HAD LEAKED THE CHARGES TO THE MEDIA PREMATURELY WHICH KINDA MESSED HIM UP WITH HIS COOPERATION PLOT. HE SAID HE TOLD THE INVESTIGATORS TO GET THE STORY PULLED FROM THE NEWSPAPERS BECAUSE HE WANTED TO MAKE CONTROLLED CALLS TO OTHER POLITICIANS TO TRY TO GET THEM TO INCRIMINATE THEMSELVES, BUT HE SAID IT WAS TOO LATE AND THE PEOPLE STARTED

(3)

To kinda stay away and be skeptical of him because of the media coverage of the charges. He asked me a few questions concerning cooperation and stated that he can't do 10 years in prison. I stated back to him that I understand he's not a street dude and I'm not here to judge him or look at him no other type of way. After I told him that I wouldn't judge him, he loosened up a bit and got comfortable. He told me that he has [REDACTED] "Judge Presnell". He further told me that he was not here for court that day, he was there to debrief on some Republicans because they want him to tell on all Republicans. He said that the prosecutor and the investigators that he's cooperating with are all Democrats and they don't like Republicans. Mr. Greenberg said he's also a Republican. I laughed and asked him a sarcastic question, if he was now a Democrat since he's now telling on Republicans? He said he was still a Republican, he just gotta do what he has to do. Mr. Greenberg said that he fabricated numerous events and told investigators that he was the one

(4)

ARRANGING FOR THE GIRL TO HOOK UP WITH OTHER PEOPLE, and FURTHER STATED THAT THEY WOULD BELIEVE HIM. I ASKED HIM WHAT WOULD THE GIRL SAY WHEN THEY QUESTION HER, HE SAID THAT THE GIRL PROBABLY WOULD GO ALONG WITH IT CAUSE SHE DON'T KNOW ANY BETTER. HE SAID SHE MIGHT THINK THAT SHE CAN FILE A LAWSUIT AFTERWARDS. MR. GREENBERG ASKED ME DO I KNOW WHO MATT GATES IS? I TOLD HIM THAT I DO NOT. HE SAID MR. GATES IS A CONGRESSMAN and STATED ALSO THAT'S ONE OF TRUMP'S PEOPLE. HE SAID THAT HE TOLD INVESTIGATORS THAT MR. GATES IS ONE OF THE PEOPLE WHOM HE ARRANGED FOR THE GIRL TO SLEEP WITH. MR. GREENBERG ALSO SAID THAT HE TOLD INVESTIGATORS THAT HE ALSO ARRANGED FOR THE GIRL TO SLEEP WITH ANOTHER PERSON WHO'S A FORMER LOBBYIST FOR DONALD TRUMP "IN WHICH I DO NOT RECALL THE NAME OF THAT PERSON". MR. GREENBERG ASKED ME IN MY OPINION, HOW MUCH DO I THINK THEY WOULD CUT HIS TIME DOWN TO IF HE HELP THE FEDS BRING THOSE BIG PEOPLE IN? I TOLD HIM THAT HE MIGHT NOT EVEN DO 3 YEARS OF PRISON BEING THAT HE HAS NEVER BEEN IN TROUBLE WITH THE LAW BEFORE.

(5)

I ASKED MR. GREENBERG AN HONEST QUESTION AS TO WHY WAS HE MAKING UP STUFF ABOUT HIS COLLEAGUES? HE SIMPLY RESPONDED THAT IF THEY WERE THE ONES IN HIS SHOES, THEY WOULD FABRICATE STUFF ABOUT HIM AS WELL JUST TO GET A TIME-CUT.

I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT I'M NOT A REPUBLICAN NOR AM I A DEMOCRAT. I DO NOT FOLLOW POLITICS. I JUST THINK IT'S TOTALLY WRONG FOR MR. GREENBERG TO TRY TO RUIN THE CONGRESSMAN'S LIFE AND REPUTATION BASED ON FABRICATED ALLEGATIONS. THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF FLORIDA IS BIAS. PROSECUTORS ALLOW PEOPLE WHO'S BEEN INDICTED ON FEDERAL CHARGES TO LIE ON YOU WHEN THEY DON'T LIKE YOU AND WANT TO TAKE YOU DOWN. ESPECIALLY WHEN IT'S A SEX-RELATED CRIME, THEY KNOW AMERICA FROWNS UP ON THOSE TYPE OF CHARGES WHEN YOU'RE A PUBLIC FIGURE. I'VE SEEN IT DONE TO CELEBRITIES AND ATHLETES ALL THE TIMES. I WOULDN'T FEEL RIGHT WITHIN MYSELF IF I JUST SAT BACK AND NOT SHED LIGHT ON MY CONVERSATION WITH MR. GREENBERG KNOWING THAT HIS INTENTION IS TO TRY TO TARNISH OTHER PEOPLE'S LIVES AND CAREERS.

⑥

IN EXCHANGE FOR A POSSIBLE TIME-CUT
FROM THE GOVERNMENT. I MUST ADMIT
THAT I DO NOT KNOW WHAT MR. GATES OR
MR. GREENBERG'S DAILY LIVES CONSIST OF.
I CAN ONLY SPEAK ON THE THINGS THAT
I WAS TOLD BY MR. GREENBERG DURING
OUR CONVERSATION. YOU'RE MORE THAN
WELCOME TO VERIFY CAMERA FOOTAGE
FROM THE FEDERAL COURT'S HOLDING
CELL THE DAY OF MARCH 23, 2021.




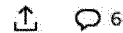
EXHIBIT D

Orlando Sentinel

Former Seminole County tax collector Joel Greenberg collected child pornography to frame in-house attorney, ex-consultant's defense says

Christopher Cann, Orlando Sentinel

July 25, 2023 · 4 min read



ORLANDO, Fla. — A search by the U.S. Secret Service of disgraced Seminole County tax collector Joel Greenberg's car yielded over 60 images of child pornography on a flash drive, which he intended to use to frame his office's in-house counsel — his former uncle, attorney Richard Sierra, jurors in a federal trial heard Tuesday.

That new allegation emerged in an opening statement by Ashley Parker, an attorney representing Michael Shirley, a former consultant for Greenberg's office standing trial this week on bribery charges.

Parker told jurors that Greenberg decided against framing Sierra, telling investigators he decided to do so would be "cruel." But he added that Greenberg has recently changed his story and now blames the flash drive on an unnamed former employee of the tax office.

"Joel Greenberg might be one of the most evil men you'll ever meet," Parker said.

Greenberg was never charged in connection with the alleged child pornography. Parker mentioned the flash drive to discredit anticipated testimony from Greenberg, who is on the witness list to appear in Shirley's case.

middleman the government claims delivered at least one bribe from Shirley to Greenberg — manufactured the allegations against her client to please the government and avoid facing charges for child pornography or having sex with a minor.

Jurors began hearing testimony in the case Tuesday. The trial is expected to last about five days.

Before opening statements, the judge in the Shirley case ruled that Ellicott, considered a pivotal witness for federal prosecutors, will be allowed to testify even if he won't answer questions about an allegation that he had sex with a 17-year-old girl — an issue that led to an early hearing Tuesday before Shirley's trial continued.

Warren Lindsey, another attorney representing Shirley, informed U.S. District Judge Gregory Presnell of the allegation against Ellicott on Monday as the trial began. Greenberg had sex with the girl in a hotel room, then paid her on behalf of Ellicott, who offered the teen illegal drugs before also having sex with her, Lindsey told Presnell.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Amanda Daniels surprised the judge when she said Ellicott would invoke the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution so as to not incriminate himself if asked about the illicit sex allegation.

Daniels argued that the case against Shirley is centered on fraud and that allegations against Ellicott are not relevant. Shirley is accused of paying bribes to and taking kickbacks of hundreds of thousands of dollars from Greenberg, the disgraced Seminole Tax Collector.

Ellicott was sentenced to 15 months in prison after he pleaded guilty to taking part in a bribery scheme with Greenberg. As part of his plea agreement, he must provide evidence and testify truthfully.

Lindsey disagreed with prosecutors, saying Ellicott's alleged sex with the girl is an important point because Ellicott was not charged for it, and therefore has an incentive to "please the government."

On Tuesday, Presnell said he will allow Ellicott's testimony and will allow Ellicott to invoke his Fifth Amendment rights in response to questions concerning the specific facts about the alleged commercial sex with a minor.

"It's a fine line," said Presnell, adding that he wants both the government and the defense to question Ellicott but does not want Greenberg's former friend to incriminate himself. "He can live up to his bargain without incriminating himself."

"There's no reason to get into the facts of the sex with a minor claim," Presnell said. "...What's important is he may be subject to such a charge."

According to an unsealed motion from the government, Ellicott's sentence was lowered, in part, because of his cooperation concerning "Florida public officials engaged in commercial sex ... including with a minor," Presnell said.

Shirley faces four counts of fraud and a charge of conspiracy to commit fraud. He has pleaded not guilty.

According to a grand jury indictment, Shirley got up to \$466,625 from his scheme with the Tax Collector's Office under Greenberg in which Shirley and his company, Praetorian Integrated Services, submitted fake invoices for goods and services at inflated prices.

Ellicott is described in the indictment as a "co-conspirator" who would take money that Shirley withdrew from a Central Florida bank and deliver it to Greenberg.

In December, Greenberg was sentenced to an 11-year federal prison sentence after pleading guilty to several federal crimes, including trafficking a teenager, stalking a political rival, stealing identities and using public money to pay for sex and cryptocurrency.

Like Ellicott, he is required to provide evidence and testimony for prosecutors in other criminal cases.

Despite him appearing on the government's witness list, Daniels said on Monday that she doesn't "anticipate calling Joel Greenberg" to testify in Shirley's trial. However, Greenberg may still testify since his name is on the defense's witness list.

Sierra, Greenberg's former uncle and in-house attorney, is also listed as a witness. Sierra warned Greenberg in early 2019 that federal authorities were looking into the Tax Collector's Office.

EXHIBIT E

DOJ/FBI

2024

Title: Matt Gaetz Questions the FBI Director About Biden's 'Cognitive Decline'

Outlet: TMZ

Date: 8/1/24

Link: <https://www.tMZ.com/2024/07/24/matt-gaetz-questions-fbi-director-christopher-wray-joe-biden-cognitive-decline/>

Mention: Matt Gaetz used the FBI Director's testimony on Donald Trump's assassination attempt to score political points ... veering off the topic to question him about Joe Biden's cognition. The controversial congressman just took his turn firing off questions at Director Christopher Wray ... and, while his colleagues have asked a series of questions about the attempt on the former prez's life, Gaetz instead focused on Biden dropping out of the race. Gaetz asks Wray if there's a conspiracy to hide Joe Biden's mental acuity from the American people ... questioning who's exactly in on it before taking a final shot about the hours he says Biden's able to work -- between 10 AM and 4 PM.

Title: FBI Director Christopher Wray testifies about Trump rally assassination attempt

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 7/24/24

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/live-news/new-video-shows-trump-rally-assassination-attempt-unfolding-butler-pennsylvania>

Mention: FBI Director Christopher Wray told House lawmakers that the FBI "did not have any information about the shooter" prior to the Trump assassination attempt in Butler, Pennsylvania on July 13. "He was not in our holdings, before the shooting," Wray said about Thomas Matthew Crooks while answering a question from Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla.

Title: Gaetz demands answers from federal prisons director on attempts to interview Peter Navarro, Steve Bannon

Outlet: BizPacReview

Date: 7/24/24

Link: <https://www.bizpacreview.com/2024/07/24/gaetz-demands-answers-from-federal-prisons-director-on-attempts-to-interview-peter-navarro-steve-bannon-1474888/>

Mention: Florida Rep. Matt Gaetz (R) slammed "arbitrary standards" and "non-answers" during an exchange with the Federal Bureau of Prisons director about attempts to interview Peter Navarro and Steve Bannon. "...when John Gotti is allowed...and Peter Navarro isn't, it's hard to ascertain how Gotti would be less notorious."

Title: Biden's attorney general is fighting back as the GOP-led House contemplates contempt

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 6/11/24

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/bidens-attorney-general-fighting-back-gop-house-contemplates-contempt>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., tangled with the attorney general over providing "correspondence between the department and Alvin Bragg's office." "You lodge this attack that it's a conspiracy theory that this is coordinated lawfare against (former President) Trump," said Gaetz. "But when you say 'we'll take your request and work it through the DoJ accommodation process,' then you're actually advancing the very dangerous conspiracy theory that you're concerned about."

Title: New docs show Bragg spent \$1M on attorneys to address House probe of Trump case amid city budget cuts

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 6/11/24

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/new-docs-show-bragg-spent-1m-attorneys-blunt-house-probe-trump-case-amid-city-budget-cuts>

Mention: In an exchange with Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., during a House hearing last week, Attorney General Merrick Garland repeatedly denied he or the Justice Department dispatched Colangelo to New York or had anything to do with the latter taking a prominent role in Trump's prosecution.

Title: Garland Rebukes Attacks on Justice Dept. and Defends Refusal to Turn Over Biden Tape

Outlet: New York Times

Date: 6/5/24

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/04/us/politics/garland-republicans-justice-department.html>

Mention: But the hearing frequently veered away from the issue of executive privilege and toward grievances Republicans have with the various criminal proceedings against Mr. Trump, including federal and Georgia cases involving his attempt to overturn the outcome of the 2020 election and a federal case over his retention of classified documents. Against that backdrop, several Republican lawmakers, including Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida and Tom McClintock of California, highlighted that a former Biden appointee in the Justice Department, Matthew Colangelo, had joined the Manhattan district attorney's office in December 2022 and participated in the trial against Mr. Trump. Mr. Colangelo was previously the top deputy to the department's No. 3 official. Mr. Gaetz accused Mr. Garland of "dispatching" Mr. Colangelo to "get Trump." But Mr. Garland said he had nothing to do with Mr. Colangelo's decision to apply for a position prosecuting white-collar crime in the Manhattan district attorney's office. "I'm saying it's false," Mr. Garland said. "I did not dispatch Mr. Colangelo anywhere."

Title: House Republicans badger Garland with baseless claims of weaponizing justice system against Trump

Outlet: MSNBC

Date: 6/4/24

Link: <https://www.msnbc.com/top-stories/latest/merrick-garland-testimony-house-republicans-hearing-trump-rcna155419>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., accused the attorney general of "dispatching" Matthew Colangelo, a former senior official at the DOJ, to the Manhattan district attorney's office. Alongside DA Alvin Bragg, Colangelo is currently a prime target for Republicans in their attacks against the New York prosecutors. "I did not dispatch Mr. Colangelo anywhere," Garland said. "I assume he spoke — he applied for a job there and got the job. I can tell you I had nothing to do with it."

Title: GOP plans aggressive 'weaponization' investigations in wake of Trump conviction

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/4/24

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/06/04/gop-trump-house-weaponization-investigations/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) accused the Justice Department of colluding with the New York district attorney's office. He also accused Attorney General Merrick Garland, without evidence, of fueling conspiracy theories by withholding information about alleged communications.

"We do not control those offices. They make their own decisions," Garland responded.

Title: 'I will not be intimidated': Garland rebuts contempt threats from House GOP

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/4/24

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/06/04/merrick-garland-testimony-judiciary-fbi-trump/>

Mention: At the hearing, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) repeated claims Republicans have made without evidence that former Justice Department official Matthew Colangelo — now an assistant district attorney in Manhattan who helped prosecute Trump — was “dispatched” by Garland to bring that case. “That is false. I did not dispatch Colangelo,” Garland said. “Do you know how he ended up there?” Gaetz replied. “I assume he applied for a job there and got it,” the attorney general said.

Title: Garland pushes Republicans on ‘dangerous’ rhetoric

Outlet: The Hill

Date: 6/4/24

Link: <https://thehill.com/homenews/house/4703558-merrick-garland-house-republicans-dangerous-rhetoric/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) said Garland wasn’t doing enough to comply with their requests seeking records for any coordination among the Justice Department and state prosecutors. “You come in here, and you lodge this attack that it’s a conspiracy theory that there’s coordinated lawfare against Trump. And then when we say, ‘Fine, just give us the documents, give us the correspondence’ and then if it’s a conspiracy theory that will be evident,” Gaetz said. “But when you say, ‘Well, we’ll take your request, and then we’ll sort of work it through the DOJ’s accommodation process,’ then you’re actually advancing the very dangerous conspiracy theory that you’re concerned about.”

Title: AG Garland hasn’t listened to Biden interview tapes, rejects calls to release them

Outlet: Washington Times

Date: 6/4/24

Link: <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2024/jun/4/merrick-garland-hasnt-listened-to-biden-interview-/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz, Florida Republican, said Mr. Garland’s refusal is part of the problem. “You’re actually advancing the very dangerous conspiracy theory you’re worried about,” he said.

Title: Garland slams attacks on the Justice Department, telling lawmakers: 'I will not be intimidated'

Outlet: ABC News

Date: 6/4/24

Link: <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/attorney-general-merrick-garland-rebuke-false-narratives-department/story?id=110793118>

Mention: Garland’s appearance before the committee became contentious from the start as Rep. Matt Gaetz kicked off questioning for Republicans. He peppered Garland with a combination of hypotheticals that the attorney general declined to engage with while trying to tie the Justice Department to state-level investigations independent from the department. Gaetz pressed Garland about the Justice Department’s interactions with the offices of Manhattan District Attorney Alvin Bragg, whose investigation into former President Donald Trump resulted in a jury convicting him on 34 felony counts last week, and Fulton County, Georgia’s District Attorney Fani Willis, the prosecutor who brought a sprawling racketeering case against Trump... The Florida Republican asked Garland whether the Justice Department will provide any documents and correspondence between the department and their offices... Gaetz then hit back arguing that by refusing to immediately hand over any such documents, the Justice Department is only fomenting more conspiracy theories.

Title: EXCLUSIVE: House Judiciary GOP Demand Testimony From Official Who Blocked Congressman From Speaking To Peter Navarro

Outlet: Daily Caller

Date: 5/9/24

Link: <https://dailycaller.com/2024/05/09/house-judiciary-republicans-demand-testimony-from-bureau-of-prisons-leader-blocked-congress-from-speaking-to-peter-navarro/>

Mention: The Daily Caller first obtained a copy of the letter, which was signed by House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jim Jordan, Arizona Rep. Andy Biggs and Florida Rep. Matt Gaetz. In the letter, the House Republicans call on the director, Colette Peters, to testify after she denied Gaetz's request to interview Navarro in prison. Gaetz alleged Peters' reason for not allowing him to interview Navarro is because he is "too notorious" to be interviewed by a member of Congress. Gaetz has since argued that the denial of his request does not make sense, as John Gotti was interviewed in prison and the QAnon Shaman was interviewed in prison.

Title: Democrats went to town in Hur hearing but Republicans missed a major moment

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 3/13/24

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/democrats-town-hur-hearing-republicans-missed-major-moment>

Mention: Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., got Hur to agree that President Biden's repeated claim that he "never shared" any of the classified documents was inaccurate.

Title: Special Counsel Robert Hur defends Biden memory comments; other takeaways from Hur's hearing

Outlet: USA Today

Date: 3/12/24

Link: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2024/03/12/robert-hur-joe-biden-congress-hearing-trump-classified-documents/72943194007/>

Mention: Multiple Republican lawmakers accused Hur of going easy on Biden by choosing not to recommend criminal charges...Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., said Hur let Biden off the hook under a "senile cooperator theory."

Title: Dems turn Biden documents hearing into 3 Stooges theater

Outlet: New York Post

Date: 3/12/24

Link: <https://nypost.com/2024/03/12/opinion/dems-turn-biden-documents-hearing-into-3-stooges-theater/>

Mention: Some Republicans were confounded that the special counsel chose not to recommend criminal charges. Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) grouched that Hur chose to "apply this 'senile cooperator' theory that because Joe Biden cooperated and the elevator didn't go to the top floor, you don't think you'd get a conviction."

Title: Special counsel Robert Hur says he 'did not exonerate' Biden, claims president lied about sharing, locking classified docs

Outlet: New York Post

Date: 3/12/24

Link: <https://nypost.com/2024/03/12/us-news/special-counsel-robert-hur-says-he-did-not-exonerate-biden-claims-president-lied-about-sharing-locking-classified-docs/>

Mention: Former special counsel Robert Hur told lawmakers Tuesday that his report on President Biden's alleged mishandling of classified documents "did not exonerate" Biden of wrongdoing and that

the commander-in-chief and his defenders were misleading the public about key details in the case...Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) read from a transcript of the presser, when Biden defended his mental acuity and his stashing of documents at his homes and at an unlocked DC office provided by the University of Pennsylvania. "Question: 'Mr. President, why did you share classified information with your ghostwriter?'" Gaetz narrated. "The president: 'I did not share classified information. I did not share it. I guarantee I did not.' That's not true, is it, Mr. Hur?" Gaetz asked "That is inconsistent with the findings based on the evidence in my report," said Hur. "So it is a lie — just what regular people would say, right?" Gaetz said. "Yeah," Hur said with a chuckle.

Title: Standout moments from the hearing on the Biden classified documents probe by special counsel Hur

Outlet: Associated Press

Date: 3/12/24

Link: <https://apnews.com/article/biden-hur-justice-department-classified-documents-trump-a74ec580757cfd972fa9c0289a9eeb5>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz, a Florida Republican, asserted that Hur had found the elements of a criminal violation but had given the president a pass because Biden was "senile." Hur objected to that characterization. "I need to disagree with at least one thing that you said, which is that I found that all of the elements were met," Hur replied. "One of the elements of the relevant mishandling statute is the intent element. And what my report reflects is my judgment that based on the evidence, I would not be able to prove beyond a reasonable doubt to a jury that that intent element had been met."

Title: Special counsel Hur gets hammered by lawmakers: 5 takeaways

Outlet: The Hill

Date: 3/12/24

Link: <https://thehill.com/homenews/house/4527290-special-counsel-hur-gets-hammered-by-lawmakers-five-takeaways/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) accused Hur of setting a dangerous precedent by taking into account how potential jurors would perceive Biden. "You find in your report that the elements of a federal criminal violation are met, but then you apply this senile cooperator theory, that because Joe Biden cooperated and the elevator didn't go to the top floor, you didn't think you could get a conviction," Gaetz said.

Title: Gaetz presses Hur over not charging Biden ghostwriter: 'What does somebody have to do?'

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 3/12/24

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/media/matt-gaetz-presses-hur-not-charging-biden-ghostwriter-what-does-somebody-have-to-do>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., grilled former Special Counsel Robert Hur during a House hearing on Tuesday over not charging President Biden's ghostwriter for destroying evidence pertaining to Hur's investigation of Biden's handling of classified documents. "What does somebody have to do to get charged with obstruction of justice by you?" Gaetz said to Hur, suggesting that the special counsel let Mark Zwonitzer — the ghostwriter on Biden's memoir "Promise Me, Dad" — off the hook for deleting evidence.

Title: Hur's testimony undermines some key GOP claims on Biden

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 3/12/24

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/03/12/robert-hur-testimony-biden-age/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) similarly posited that Hur had stated “that the elements of a federal criminal violation are met.” “But then you apply this senile cooperator theory, that because Joe Biden cooperated and the elevator didn’t go to the top floor, you don’t think you get a conviction,” Gaetz said. “I need to disagree with at least one thing that you said,” Hur told Gaetz, “which is that I found that all of the elements were met.” Hur said he decided he would not be able to prove Biden had the requisite intent.

Title: Gaetz accuses Jack Smith of election interference in DOJ complaint

Outlet: The Hill

Date: 3/6/24

Link: <https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/4512966-gaetz-accuses-jack-smith-election-interference/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) filed a complaint with the Department of Justice inspector general on Wednesday, accusing special counsel Jack Smith of election interference by resisting attempts to delay his criminal prosecution of former President Trump... “The witch hunt against President Trump by Attorney General Garland and Special Counsel Smith is a partisan exercise, and the American people know it,” Gaetz said in a statement. “The actions of the Special Counsel Smith to speed up the trial against President Trump violate the DOJ’s rules and the law.”

2023

Title: Fox News: UFO watch: House lawmakers blast intelligence community's 'orchestrated attempt' to hide UAP info

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 11/30/23

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/ufo-watch-house-blast-intelligence-communitys-orchestrated-attempt-hide-uap-info>

Mention: “It is insufficient though to seek this transparency from the Department of Defense alone. We have to have cooperation, so that all 50 authorities through the intelligence community are also subject to review [and] the FAA, the NSA, the FBI, even state and local authorities that have information are able to have that cataloged, assessed and then put out before the public,” said Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla.

Title: As GOP slams Garland over Hunter Biden probe, he keeps repeating he had no role

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 9/21/23

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/media/gop-slams-garland-hunter-biden-probe-repeating-role>

Mention: Republican Matt Gaetz said, “You’ve got the president bringing Hunter Biden around to state dinners. So anyone told him to knock it off?” Garland’s response: “No one that I know of has spoken to the White House about the Hunter Biden case.” Gaetz also asked about the president’s son making big bucks by selling his paintings. Garland wouldn’t comment.

Title: Attorney General Garland tells Congress he doesn't take orders from White House

Outlet: USA Today

Date: 9/20/23

Link: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2023/09/20/attorney-general-merrick-garland-house-judiciary-committee/70904388007/>

Mention: One of the fiercest exchanges exploded between Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., and Garland over alleged Chinese influence on the Biden family. Gaetz questioned why Chinese companies funneled millions of dollars to Hunter Biden and his relatives for business deals, although Republicans have not yet documented payments to President Biden. After asking a series of rapid-fire questions about North Korea,

China and Hunter Biden's art sales that Garland tried to answer, Gaetz accused him of not being serious. "Blissfully ignorant," Gaetz said. "People don't pay bribes to not get something in return."

Title: Garland Rebuffs Republicans' Efforts to Reveal Details on Hunter Biden Inquiry

Outlet: New York Times

Date: 9/20/23

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/09/20/us/garland-house-judiciary-hearing>

Mention: When Matt Gaetz, the bellicose Republican congressman from Florida, began a blistering attack on the attorney general, Representative Steve Cohen, Democrat of Tennessee, raised the Justice Department's sex-trafficking investigation into Mr. Gaetz that, ultimately, resulted in no charges.

Title: AG Garland: DOJ Has Had No Contact With White House Over Hunter Biden Probe

Outlet: Forbes

Date: 9/20/23

Link: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/saradorn/2023/09/20/ag-garland-doj-has-had-no-contact-with-white-house-over-hunter-biden-probe/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) also asked Garland whether the Justice Department has told the president to distance himself from his son: "You've got the president bringing Hunter Biden around to state dinners . . . has anyone told him to knock it off?" Garland responded by repeating previous denials from the White House and the Justice Department that they have coordinated on the Hunter Biden probe, telling Gaetz "no one that I know of has spoken to the White House about the Hunter Biden case." Garland told the committee, "I am not the president's lawyer" or "the prosecutor for Congress," while noting that the "overwhelming majority" of DOJ prosecutors and staff "are career public servants, meaning, they were not appointed by the president of any party."

Title: GOP and FBI are at odds as Republicans move to stop the agency's new headquarters after Trump probes

Outlet: Associated Press

Date: 7/17/23

Link: <https://apnews.com/article/fbi-headquarters-trump-republicans-wray-8ece63b547f465bb48f35d11b2034e04>

Mention: Last week, FBI Director Christopher Wray appeared before the House Judiciary Committee for the first time since Republicans took control in January, facing a long list of criticisms, complaints and accusations of bias at the bureau. "Are you protecting the Bidens?" asked Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla. "Absolutely not," Wray said. At another point Wray said, "The idea that I'm biased against conservatives seems somewhat insane to me, given my own personal background."

Title: House Republicans Criticize F.B.I. in Contentious Hearing

Outlet: New York Times

Date: 7/12/23

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/12/us/politics/christopher-wray-fbi-house-judiciary-committee.html>

Mention: In one exchange, Representative Matt Gaetz, Republican of Florida, grilled Mr. Wray about the F.B.I.'s use of Section 702, pointing to a court ruling in May that found that the bureau violated rules governing the program. The opinion, which was partly redacted, said that the F.B.I. had improperly searched a database of communications intercepted under the law for information on people suspected of participating in the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol.

Title: FBI Director Chris Wray defends the 'real FBI' against criticism from House Republicans

Outlet: Associated Press

Date: 7/12/23

Link: <https://apnews.com/article/fbi-director-wray-jordan-hunter-biden-74fe5e321b175b9381a19ec8e546ebe1>

Mention: During one tense exchange with Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., Wray noted that in Florida, the number of FBI applicants is up by more than 100%. “We’re deeply proud of them, and they deserve better than you,” Gaetz said.

Title: FBI chief Chris Wray: ‘Insane’ to say I’m biased against conservatives

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/12/23

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/07/12/fbi-wray-criticism-trump-hunter/>

Mention: One of the most heated exchanges came when Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) raised allegations made against Hunter Biden, and asked the director: “Are you protecting the Bidens?” “Absolutely not,” Wray shot back. Gaetz then accused Wray of being “blissfully ignorant” of problems at the bureau, including repeated misuses of a surveillance authority known as Section 702.

Title: FBI Director Fires Back At GOP Over ‘Insane’ Bias Claims In Heated House Hearing

Outlet: Forbes

Date: 7/12/23

Link: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/saradorn/2023/07/12/fbi-director-fires-back-at-gop-for-insane-bias-claims-in-heated-house-hearing/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) grilled Wray about the DOJ’s investigation into Joe Biden’s son Hunter, which wrapped up with a plea deal, asking Wray, “are you protecting the Bidens?”—a charge Wray strongly denied.

Title: ‘Insane,’ ‘ludicrous,’ ‘absurd’: FBI’s Wray shows teeth to GOP critics

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/12/23

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/07/12/insane-ludicrous-absurd-fbis-wray-shows-teeth-gop-critics/>

Mention: Speaking of that policy against commenting on ongoing criminal matters, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) tried to get Wray to weigh in on specific evidence involving Hunter Biden — and then pretended it was suspicious when Wray punted. “You seem deeply incurious about it, don’t you? Almost suspiciously,” Gaetz maintained — again, despite Wray’s wholly unsurprising answer. “I’m curious: Are you protecting the Bidens?” Wray responded “absolutely not.” After Gaetz proceeded to suggest Wray might have committed perjury in previous testimony and attached all of it to the decline in trust in the FBI, Wray got more animated and invoked Gaetz’s home state. “Respectfully, Congressman, in your home state of Florida, the number of people applying to come work for us and devote their lives working for us is over 100 percent,” Wray said. He later made a similar comment after a long monologue against the FBI by a Texas congressman.

Title: Jordan’s weaponization-panel game plan draws critique from some on the right

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 3/10/23

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/03/10/jim-jordan-house-weaponization-panel/>

Mention: The absence of compelling evidence has not precluded GOP lawmakers from amplifying calls to overhaul — or entirely abolish — federal law enforcement agencies. During an appearance at the Conservative Political Action Conference last week, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), who sits on the weaponization subcommittee, called for the abolishment of the FBI, the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, “if they do not come to heel.”

Title: Former FBI agent’s side work puts bureau under new scrutiny

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 2/13/23

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/02/13/mcgonigal-albania-deripaska-indictment-fbi/>

Mention: The same day, House Judiciary Chairman Jim Jordan (R-Ohio) and Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) sent their own letter to the FBI, asking what role McGonigal played in opening the FBI investigation into Russian election interference and the Trump campaign. McGonigal’s alleged “misconduct further erodes public confidence in the FBI’s conduct and law-enforcement actions,” the lawmakers wrote.

2022

Title: Domestic Terrorism Bill Vote in House Delayed for DOJ Review

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: April 26, 2022

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/RAYNI0T1UM0Y>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) wrote a letter yesterday to Attorney General William Barr, seeking a Justice Department investigation into whether Mark Zuckerberg lied in his 2018 testimony when he said that Facebook doesn’t make content decisions based on political ideology... “As a member of this body, I question Mr. Zuckerberg’s veracity, and challenge his willingness to cooperate with our oversight authority, diverting congressional resources during time-sensitive investigations, and materially impeding our work,” Gaetz said in the letter.

2021

Title: As many Republicans try to rewrite history of Jan. 6 attack, Sen. Ron Johnson suggests FBI knew more than it has said

Outlet: The Washington Post

Date: 8/2/21

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/ron-johnson-fbi/2021/08/02/5791b4aa-f25f-11eb-81d2-ffae0f931b8f_story.html

Mention: Right-wing websites first claimed in June that undercover FBI agents or informants were among those who breached the Capitol, allegations that spread quickly through the conservative media ecosystem...some far-right House Republicans have spread the claims, including Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), who sent a letter to Wray the day after Carlson’s show aired asking “to what extent” the agency had infiltrated key “militia groups” and whether operatives were “merely passive informants or active instigators” on Jan. 6.

Title: Power Up: Despite DOJ waive of executive privilege, compelling Trump-era officials to testify still a wildcard

Outlet: The Washington Post

Date: 7/28/21

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/07/28/power-up-despite-doj-waive-executive-privilege-compelling-trump-era-officials-testify-still-wildcard/>

Mention: Gohmert joined other Republican lawmakers, including Reps. Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia and Matt Gaetz of Florida, at a news conference outside the Justice Department on Tuesday where they attempted to call out what they claimed is unjust treatment of defendants detained after the attack at the U.S. Capitol. They accused the department of withholding information on detention conditions and treating the defendants unfairly.

Title: As Jan. 6 hearings begin, Republicans side with the terrorists

Outlet: The Washington Post

Date: 7/27/21

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/07/27/jan-6-hearings-begin-republicans-side-with-terrorists/>

Mention: The half-dozen lawmakers, including Matt Gaetz of Florida and Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia, made explicit what has become more obvious by the day: Republicans stand with those who attempted a violent coup on Jan. 6. And it's not just the wingnuts. House Republican leaders held a news conference before the hearing, blaming Jan. 6 not on seditionists but on Capitol Police and, particularly, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi... "There are Americans all over this country who are being harassed, who are being targeted by law enforcement!" Gaetz, at the news conference outside the DOJ, said of the insurrectionists.

Title: Protest Forces Gaetz And Greene To Abruptly End Press Conference Supporting Capitol Riot Defendants

Outlet: Forbes

Date: 7/27/21

Link: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/andrewsolender/2021/07/27/protest-forces-gaetz-and-greene-to-abruptly-end-press-conference-supporting-capitol-riot-defendants/>

Mention: Reps. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), Louie Gohmert (R-Texas), Paul Gosar (R-Ariz.) and Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) will be "demanding answers on the treatment of January 6th prisoners" outside the DOJ's D.C. office, according to Gohmert's office.

Title: Defund the military? GOP's anti-woke crusade dips into dicey territory.

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/24/21

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/24/defund-military-gops-anti-woke-crusade-dips-into-dicey-territory/>

Mention: If there's one thing Republicans have made clear over the past year, it's that defunding those who protect us is a dangerous — and politically toxic — idea... Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) is the one responsible for the (quickly aborted) attempt to urge the defunding of the FBI. He tweeted Wednesday morning, "If Democrats want to defund the police, they should start with the FBI." The tweet was deleted one minute later, according to ProPublica. If we're being charitable, he wasn't necessarily calling for the FBI to be defunded, full-stop — just that he viewed it as being the ripest for defunding if Democrats are bent on targeting law enforcement. Except this is also coming from a guy who has recently found himself under federal investigation.

Title: The far right rushes to embrace Tucker Carlson's FBI-Capitol riot conspiracy theory

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/18/21

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/18/far-right-rushes-embrace-tucker-carlsons-fbi-capitol-riot-conspiracy-theory/>

Mention: The Fox News host was elevating a story written for the website Revolver by a former Trump administration official (later fired for links to white nationalists) arguing that “unindicted co-conspirators” referred to in Justice Department charging documents referred to government law enforcement agents. ...The following day, Gaetz sent a formal letter to FBI Director Christopher A. Wray, demanding answers to three questions about the government’s activity in that period — questions lifted directly from the Revolver article.

Title: FBI director berated for Jan. 6 failures, Giuliani probe, says he’s unaware of any Trump investigation connected to riot

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/10/21

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2021/10/18/amazon-congress-letter-third-party-data/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), himself under federal investigation in a sex-trafficking case, questioned Wray on what the FBI knows about the origins of the coronavirus and possible links to the Chinese government. Wray declined to provide specifics, saying there were “differences of view” even inside the intelligence community on the subject and broadly stressing the counterintelligence threat he said China posed.

2020

Title: Opinion: Republicans are more worried about Michael Flynn than police brutality

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/17/20

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/06/17/republicans-are-more-worried-about-michael-flynn-than-police-brutality/>

Mention: The Black Lives Matter movement may have gripped the nation since George Floyd died under a police officer’s knee. But the GOP hijacked the committee debate over the Democrats’ Justice in Policing bill Wednesday to revisit complaints about the treatment of former national security adviser Michael Flynn, who pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI in the probe of Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election. “Before there was even a basis for this embarrassing hoax, you had Jim Comey telling the FBI to go and entrap General Flynn,” complained Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.).

Title: George Floyd’s brother urges Congress to take action on police reform

Outlet: Spokane Spokesman

Date: 6/10/20

Link: <https://www.spokesman.com/stories/2020/jun/10/george-floyds-brother-urges-congress-to-take-action/>

Mention: In emotional testimony before a House panel Wednesday, the brother of George Floyd pleaded for members of Congress to pass police reform legislation in the wake of his brother’s death at the hands of Minneapolis police officers...But Vanita Gupta, the former head of the Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division under President Barack Obama, told the committee it had to do “more than tinker at the edges” of law enforcement policy... Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., asked all 12 witnesses to raise their hands if they supported defunding the police. None did, although Sherrilyn Ifill, president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, said she took issue with the way he asked the question. Gaetz then pointed to Rep. Pramila Jayapal, D-Seattle, who has expressed support for some of the work of activist groups that are pushing to cut police funding.

2019

Title: Trump’s allies have found the real culprit in this Ukraine mess: Everyone except Trump

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 9/23/19

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/09/23/trumps-allies-have-found-real-culprit-this-ukraine-mess-everyone-except-trump/>

Mention: For all of the fulmination about the complexity of the still-expanding controversy surrounding President Trump's conversations with the president of Ukraine, the reality is fairly simple. Trump, according to reporting from The Post and the Wall Street Journal, repeatedly pressed President Volodymyr Zelensky, who was inaugurated in May, to investigate former vice president Joe Biden and his son Hunter... Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), one of Trump's most energetic defenders, told reporters that there are "people in the intelligence community and other parts of the government who just have it out for the president."

Title: Did the FBI warn the Trump campaign about Russia?

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 9/20/19

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/09/20/did-fbi-warn-trump-campaign-about-russia/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.): "Mr. Lewandowski, you were the campaign manager for the president's campaign when the Obama-Biden administration was notified that there might be efforts by the Russians to interfere with our election. Isn't that right?"...Lewandowski: "There was no briefing provided by anybody from the Obama-Biden administration, members of the intelligence community or the FBI to our campaign that I — when I was present or during my tenure as the campaign manager."...Gaetz: "Man, that's just baffling to me. I mean our democracy is so precious. We have to cherish it. We have to protect it, and yet when the Obama-Biden administration knew that there might be nefarious efforts to interfere or co-opt or in any way disturb our democracy, they didn't say anything to you. Now, as you sit here today, having watched these facts unfold, do you have any, any rationale as to why maybe the Clapper-Brennan-Comey-Obama-Biden team didn't want to give the Trump campaign a fair defensive briefing about the threats that we were facing?"...Republican lawmakers said the FBI failed to warn Donald Trump's campaign about Russian election interference in 2016. It's not a new talking point, but it seems to have shape-shifted this week into a new form.

Title: EDITORIAL: No one, least of all a president, should be above the law

Outlet: Orlando Sun-Sentinel

Date: 7/25/19

Link: <https://www.sun-sentinel.com/2019/07/25/no-one-least-of-all-a-president-should-be-above-the-law-editorial/>

Mention: The seven grueling hours that former Special Counsel Robert Mueller III spent in the intensely partisan congressional cockpit Wednesday left no doubt that President Trump tried persistently to obstruct the investigation into Russia's massive effort to help elect him. Florida's Matt Gaetz, like most Republicans heard from Wednesday, spent his five minutes on camera trying to discredit the probe, utterly ignoring Mueller's explicit warning of Russia's continuing determination to subvert our elections through cyberwarfare and social media.

Title: What Russian interference? While grilling Mueller, Republicans repeatedly downplay it.

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/25/19

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/07/25/what-russian-interference-while-grilling-mueller-republicans-repeatedly-downplay-it/>

Mention: At two hearings featuring former special counsel Robert S. Mueller III's testimony, House Republicans generally mentioned Russian interference only while absolving Trump of blame or while attempting to poke holes in Mueller's report...Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) homed in on a theory that the Steele dossier was full of lies fed either by a deliberate Russian "disinformation campaign" or by Christopher Steele himself. Mueller had already said he couldn't talk about the dossier, given that it's part of the Justice Department's investigation of the Russia probe's origins.

Title: Trump says 'we had a very good day' after Mueller hearings end

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/24/19

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/mueller-testimony-congress-live/2019/07/24/d51a82d6-aca1-11e9-bc5c-e73b603e7f38_story.html

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), a key critic of the Mueller investigation, used his time to hammer Mueller for his refusal to address — in his report or publicly in testimony — findings regarding the dossier put together by former British spy Christopher Steele on behalf of Democrats during the campaign. Asked repeated questions about Steele — did Mueller believe Steele made up his research, did Mueller believe Steele's report was the product of Russian disinformation, did Mueller believe Steele had lied to the FBI — Mueller quietly and repeatedly said the topic was outside his "purview."...Still, Mueller offered no explanation for how his team decided what was their purview and what to leave to others. For instance, as Gaetz noted, Russian lawyer Natalia Veselnitskaya met with Glenn Simpson, whose political research firm commissioned the Steele dossier, in the same week that she met with members of the Trump campaign. Mueller's investigation explored the Trump meeting but not her contacts with Simpson.

Title: Mueller: Florida congressmen spar with ex-special counsel

Outlet: Palm Beach Post

Date: 7/24/19

Link: <https://www.palmbeachpost.com/story/news/politics/state/2019/07/24/mueller-florida-congressmen-spar-with-ex-special-counsel/4617305007/>

Mention: The first flare-up between Mueller and a committee member occurred soon after when U.S. Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Pensacola, began his five minutes of probing. Gaetz focused on the inception of the probe, particularly Christopher Steele and the so-called Steele Dossier as well as the opposition research conducted for Democrats and the Hillary Clinton campaign by Fusion GPS and its founder Glenn Simpson. The questioning grew tense with Mueller interjecting "if I can may I finish, sir" as he talked over Gaetz, the career prosecutor and former FBI director's voice rising. Mueller insisted there were other efforts ongoing to probe those connections when pressed by Gaetz about why there was so little focus on the aspects in the 448-page report. "What is missing here is that this is under investigation elsewhere in the Justice Department," Mueller replied, telling Gaetz that DOJ and the FBI should be answering his questions "on this particular issue." Gaetz fired back that it is "absurd to suggest that a operative for the Democrats was meeting with this Russian lawyer the day before, the day after the trump Tower meeting and that is not something you referenced." The two sparred again when Gaetz turned to the Steele Dossier, and Mueller again deferred saying it wasn't the "purview" of his investigation.

Title: What Republicans would like to talk about instead of the contents of Mueller's report

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/24/19

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/07/24/what-republicans-would-like-talk-about-instead-contents-muellers-report/>

Mention: The Republican theory goes like this. Steele compiled false information, perhaps planted deliberately by the Russians (as Rep. Matt Gaetz, a Florida Republican, proposed to Mueller), which was then used as a predicate to spy on the Trump campaign, if not to launch the entire Russia probe.

Title: Republicans Prep for Mueller Showdown and Counsel a Light Touch

Outlet: New York Times

Date: 7/20/19

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/20/us/politics/republicans-mueller-hearings.html>

Mention: House Republicans have tried to chip away at the credibility of Robert S. Mueller III's inquiry into Russia's 2016 election interference since shortly after it began, savaging members of his investigative team as "angry Democrats," and calling into question his impartiality... Not every Republican is on board with a gentler approach. Representative Louie Gohmert of Texas rejected any suggestion he might pull his punches. "I can't wait," he said. Representative Matt Gaetz, a firebrand from Florida, pledged a pointed discussion of bias, which he has long maintained corrupted the investigation. His goal for the hearing? "We are going to re-elect the president," he said.

Title: Mueller Must Walk Tightrope in Testifying Publicly on His Probe

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: 6/26/19

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/PTQ6WD6JJUR>

Mention: Mueller faces other perils in testifying publicly. Republicans are expected to attack the integrity of his investigation and staff, which Trump has portrayed as "Angry Democrat Trump Haters," and to address their contention that the Russia probe was compromised before he took it over by anti-Trump bias in the FBI and Justice Department. "We have legitimate questions about how all these people ended up on the Mueller team that had a history of donating financially to Democrat -- there did not seem to be sufficient balance," Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida, a Judiciary Committee Republican, said in a tweet Wednesday.

Title: Opinion: This is worse than Watergate

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/10/19

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/will-the-watergate-sequel-have-the-same-ending/2019/06/10/694e21a2-8bc7-11e9-b08e-cfd89bd36d4e_story.html

Mention: And there at the witness table sat none other than John Dean, White House counsel to President Richard Nixon during Watergate, who did prison time and lost his law license for his role in the coverup... Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) accused Dean of building a "cottage industry out of accusing presidents of acting like Richard Nixon." Dean patronized the young Trump acolyte: "Mr. Gaetz, I appreciate that you were not born at the time all this happened." "Do you believe if we turned the lights off here and maybe lit some candles, got out a Ouija board, we could raise the specter of Richard Nixon?" Gaetz continued. "I doubt that," Dean replied dryly. At this, Gaetz lost control of his metaphors: "You're hearing the ghost of Christmas past. . . . We're here reopening the impeachment inquiry potentially into Richard Nixon. . . . (We're) sort of playing out our own version of 'That '70s' Show.' "

Title: Florida lawmakers push FBI to name counties hacked by Russia

Outlet: Associated Press

Date: 5/17/19

Link: <https://apnews.com/united-states-congress-b280c25dafbf451dac9ffab62917138d>

Mention: Members of Florida's congressional delegation said Thursday it was unacceptable that the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security will not publicly identify the two counties where Russian hackers gained access to voter databases before the 2016 election... The FBI also told the lawmakers there was "suspicious activity" around other counties, but didn't identify those counties by name... Republican Rep. Matt Gaetz was blunter: "I don't know who the hell they think they are to not share that information with us."

Note: This article is also present in "DHS" categories

Title: Florida Republicans, Democrats blast feds for secrecy on Russian election hack

Outlet: Palm Beach Post

Date: 5/16/19

Link: <https://www.palmbeachpost.com/story/news/politics/2019/05/16/florida-republicans-democrats-blast-feds-for-secrecy-on-russian-election-hack/5141216007/>

Mention: The FBI and Department of Homeland Security drew bipartisan criticism from members of Florida's congressional delegation on Thursday for refusing to reveal which two of Florida's 67 counties had their elections systems breached by Russian hackers before the 2016 election. "The FBI and Department of Homeland Security have not been sufficiently forthcoming with the American people or members of the United States Congress," said U.S. Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fort Walton Beach, a prominent ally of President Donald Trump, during a news conference in Washington after the Florida congressional delegation was briefed on the hacking.

Note: This article is also present in "DHS" category

Title: Russian government hackers targeted small county in Florida panhandle in 2016

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 5/16/19

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/floridas-house-members-demand-changes-to-disclosure-rules-on-election-hacking/2019/05/16/8e039672-77f8-11e9-bd25-c989555e7766_story.html

Mention: Lawmakers took particular offense at the FBI's assertion that it could not publicly disclose the information not only out of concern for protecting sources and methods, but also because the bureau considers county officials to be victims of the Russian hacking. "That rationale is ludicrous," said Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), who was briefed Thursday with Murphy. "The victims in these cases are not government officeholders. The victims are voters."

2018

Title: Key Trump ally in Congress calls on Rosenstein to resign

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 10/18/18

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/key-trump-ally-in-congress-calls-on-rosenstein-to-resign/2018/10/18/cb5b64d0-d304-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0_story.html

Mention: "Frankly, I think that a lot of people are just wringing their hands and waiting for the election to occur," Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) said of efforts to schedule Rosenstein's appearance, accusing both the House Judiciary, and Oversight and Government Reform panels of exercising "low-energy oversight" and "not issuing the subpoenas we need to issue."

Title: DJ Rod Rosenstein Won't Meet Lawmakers This Week

Outlet: Wall Street Journal

Date: 10/10/18

Link: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/rod-rosenstein-wont-meet-lawmakers-this-week-1539197507>

Mention: Mr. Rosenstein had initially agreed to meet with lawmakers behind closed doors in the House Judiciary and Oversight committees after the New York Times report. A meeting date had not been publicly announced, but several Republican lawmakers on the panel said both publicly and privately they believed they had a tentative agreement for Mr. Rosenstein to appear Thursday. One Florida lawmaker, Matt Gaetz, had flown to Washington, D.C. to attend, even as his state was about to be hammered by a powerful hurricane.

Title: EDITORIAL: Trump, Rosenstein, must clear air, get back to work

Outlet: Reading Eagle

Date: 9/27/18

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/PFPO0PAIBMDI>

Mention: Some have threatened to impeach [deputy AG] Rosenstein. "I don't think it's appropriate to joke about taking an action against the institution of the presidency while you're overseeing an investigation," U.S. Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., said on CNN. "Rod Rosenstein's impeachment can be brought up for a vote by any member of Congress at this point," Gaetz said. "If we don't get these answers under oath, we may invoke that vote to keep the Congress in town so we can get to the bottom of this."

Title: NY Daily News: Trump allies call on Rod Rosenstein to testify as bipartisan support grows for congressional action

Outlet: NY Daily News

Date: 9/25/18

Link: <https://www.nydailynews.com/2018/09/25/trump-allies-call-on-rod-rosenstein-to-testify-as-bipartisan-support-grows-for-congressional-action-should-he-be-fired/>

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), another member of the Freedom House Caucus, suggested impeaching Rosenstein should he refuse to testify. "I worry that leadership wants to send us home at the end of the week, tell us to go campaign for the midterms, and that we won't really get these answers," Gaetz tweeted. "Rosenstein's impeachment can be brought up for a vote by any members of Congress at this point."

Title: House conservatives introduce resolution calling for impeachment of Rod Rosenstein

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/25/18

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/conservative-lawmakers-introduce-resolution-calling-for-impeachment-of-rod-rosenstein-who-oversees-special-counsel-probe-on-russia/2018/07/25/fe8ee304-9060-11e8-bcd5-9d911c784c38_story.html

Mention: In an appearance on Fox Business Network on Wednesday, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) said that while the next step remains uncertain as the House leaves town for its summer recess at the end of this week, "it was very important for those of us who believe that norms have been violated to step out and say Rod Rosenstein needs to be impeached." "The mountain of evidence against Rod Rosenstein is very compelling when you look at the extent to which documents and witnesses have been withheld," said Gaetz, one of the lawmakers who introduced the resolution.

Title: Former FBI lawyer Lisa Page said to be 'cooperative' during Capitol Hill meeting about anti-Trump texts

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/13/18

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/former-fbi-lawyer-lisa-page-to-speak-with-house-panels-about-anti-trump-texts/2018/07/13/153eb41e-86aa-11e8-8553-a3ce89036c78_story.html

Mention: Republican lawmakers contend that former FBI lawyer Lisa Page provided new information during private testimony Friday that further convinces them political bias marred the investigations of Hillary Clinton's emails and the Trump campaign's alleged ties to Russia... Page's answers "heightened my concern that the processes at the FBI were contrived to fit the desired outcomes of people who were biased in favor of Hillary Clinton and against Donald Trump," Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) said, emerging from Friday's meeting.

Title: Republicans hammer FBI over handling of Clinton email probe

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/19/18

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/house-lawmakers-to-press-justice-dept-inspector-general-on-clinton-probe-report/2018/06/18/1bc8fb8c-7340-11e8-9780-b1dd6a09b549_story.html

Mention: Republicans and Democrats sparred for a second day Tuesday over an internal Justice Department report that sharply criticized former FBI director James B. Comey for the bureau's work investigating Hillary Clinton in 2016... "I feel as though sunshine, transparency, would be the way to root out this bias that we seem to see reflected," said Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.).

Title: Code Name Crossfire Hurricane: The Secret Origins of the Trump Investigation

Outlet: New York Times

Date: 5/16/18

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/16/us/politics/crossfire-hurricane-trump-russia-fbi-mueller-investigation.html>

Mention: And there were missteps. Andrew G. McCabe, the former deputy F.B.I. director, was cited by internal investigators for dishonesty about his conversations with reporters about Mrs. Clinton. That gave ammunition for Mr. Trump's claims that the F.B.I. cannot be trusted. And Mr. Strzok and Lisa Page, an F.B.I. lawyer, exchanged texts criticizing Mr. Trump, allowing the president to point to evidence of bias when they became public... "It's like the deep state all got together to try to orchestrate a palace coup," Representative Matt Gaetz, Republican of Florida, said in January on Fox Business Network.

Title: Trump allies seize on DOJ report as they seek to undercut Mueller probe

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/14/18

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-allies-seize-on-doj-report-as-they-seek-to-undercut-mueller-probe/2018/06/14/6bea640a-6ff0-11e8-afd5-778aca903bbe_story.html

Mention: Since the Strzok text message had not been previously disclosed to Congress, a number of Republicans immediately asked whether the Justice Department had purposefully hidden that missive from them. Republican Reps. Andy Biggs (Ariz.), Matt Gaetz (Fla.) and Ron DeSantis (Fla.) — all Trump supporters — sent the Justice Department a letter Thursday demanding that the inspector general turn over all previous reports to see if "people may have changed the report in a way that obfuscates your findings."

Title: House speaker defends Trump on Russia as Justice Department makes a concession to GOP

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 6/7/18

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-offers-lawmakers-new-material-on-fbis-russia-investigation/2018/06/07/e562b8d2-6a37-11e8-bf8c-f9ed2e672adf_story.html

Mention: On Wednesday, Ryan said he agreed with initial assessments that the FBI did nothing improper when it began investigating Russian campaign interference in 2016...But it was Ryan who took the brunt of the blowback, particularly from the GOP faction on Capitol Hill that has been leading the charge against the FBI and Justice Department's handling of the Russia investigation, including Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.). Following Ryan's comments, Gaetz lashed out at those "carrying water" for the Justice Department.

Title: Newsday: Trump, France's Macron speak the language of bromance

Outlet: Newsday

Date: 4/25/18

Link: <https://www.newsday.com/long-island/politics/trump-macron-iran-veterans-sessions-o39332>

Mention: Rep. Lee Zeldin (R-Shirley) joined other GOP Reps. Mark Meadows of North Carolina, Jim Jordan of Ohio, and Matt Gaetz and Ron DeSantis of Florida in signing a letter to Sessions critical of the recent FBI raid on Cohen's office and residence.

Title: Medical Marijuana Bill Gains Backing of Key Republican in House

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: 4/25/18

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/P7QRIH6K50XY>

Mention: Representative Matt Gaetz started circulating a handout Tuesday night explaining his Medical Cannabis Research Act, with Goodlatte listed as a co-sponsor...Asked if he's talked to the attorney general about his new bill, Gaetz said he has not. He joked of Sessions, "doesn't call or visit me anymore." Gaetz is among House conservatives who have been criticizing the Justice Department in unrelated battles over providing Congress documents tied to the FBI's handling of its investigations of Hillary Clinton's emails, and the Russia inquiry led by Special Counsel Robert Mueller.

Title: Sessions Declines to Recuse Himself From Probe Into Trump Lawyer

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: 4/24/18

Link:

Mention: Five Republican House members asked Sessions in a letter released Tuesday why he left up to Rosenstein the decision to raid Cohen's office. "In light of the fact that the action was not directly related to the Russian investigation, and the subject was the personal attorney of the president of the United States, it would appear that the attorney general should have been involved," Representatives Jim Jordan, Mark Meadows, Lee Zeldin, Ron DeSantis and Matt Gaetz wrote.

Title: Trump's First State of the Union Address: A Call for Unity That Wasn't Always Heard That Way

Outlet: New York Times

Date: 1/31/18

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/30/us/politics/trump-state-of-the-union.html>

Mention: Speaker Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin spent part of the morning before Mr. Trump's speech tamping down expectations about a secretive Republican memo that some House members have claimed contains evidence that could undercut the Russia investigation. In a closed-door meeting of House Republicans this morning, Mr. Ryan "implored" his fellow lawmakers not to overstate the facts of the memo, which the House Intelligence Committee voted to release Monday night. And he urged them not to

tie the contentious document -- which Democrats call dangerously misleading -- to the work of the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, according to a person in the room. That was not enough to quiet the most ardent proponents of the notion that federal law enforcement agents have conspired to bring down the Trump White House. Representative Matt Gaetz, Republican of Florida, called on the president to release the memo during the State of the Union.

Title: FBI's Andrew McCabe leaving deputy director job amid internal investigation

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 1/29/18

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/fbis-andrew-mccabe-leaving-deputy-director-job-will-retire-in-march/2018/01/29/35b1bbd4-051c-11e8-b48c-b07fea957bd5_story.html

Mention: FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe — who became a symbol for President Trump of what he considers the bureau's political bias — abruptly stepped down Monday amid an internal probe examining his handling of the bureau's investigations into Hillary Clinton, according to people familiar with the matter... In the campaign's final days, Trump often singled out McCabe for criticism. More recently, McCabe has been harshly criticized by congressional Republicans who challenge the FBI's rationale for opening the Russia probe in July 2016. One of those critics, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), cheered McCabe's move Monday, calling it "a step forward." "The past several weeks and months have seen worrisome evidence of bias and wrongdoing at the FBI come to light," Gaetz said.

Title: CNN's Chris Cuomo grills GOP Rep. Matt Gaetz on how missing FBI texts are the 'greatest coincidence since the Immaculate Conception'

Outlet: The Week

Date: 1/25/18

Link: <https://theweek.com/speedreads/750760/cnns-chris-cuomo-grills-gop-rep-matt-gaetz-how-missing-fbi-texts-are-greatest-coincidence-since-immaculate-conception>

Mention: Why are Republicans dragging the Holy Family into their political fights? In November, Alabama's state auditor used the relationship between Mary and Joseph to justify failed Senate candidate Roy Moore's alleged sexual misconduct with a 14-year-old girl, and on Fox News Wednesday, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) called the five-month gap in FBI agent Peter Strzok's text messages "the greatest coincidence since the Immaculate Conception."

2017

Title: No longer a 'lonely battle': How the campaign against the Mueller probe has taken hold

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 12/24/17

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/no-longer-a-lonely-battle-how-the-campaign-against-the-mueller-probe-has-taken-hold/2017/12/24/441fc726-e5cb-11e7-a65d-1ac0fd7f097e_story.html

Mention: "The senior levels of the FBI have been infected with an intractable bias that seemed to favor Hillary Clinton and work against President Donald Trump," said Rep. Matt Gaetz of Florida on Fox News on Wednesday, adding, "It's time for Bob Mueller to put up or shut up: If there's evidence of collusion, let's see it."

Title: Mueller's Silence Cuts Through Noise of Trump Russia Inquiries

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: 12/21/17

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/P1A9V86JIJUT>

Mention: Mueller's approach is unconventional, both in the current political climate and compared with former FBI director James Comey or previous high-profile public prosecutors like Kenneth Starr, who investigated President Bill Clinton. The vacuum created by Mueller's silence has been filled by GOP critics and conservative media charging the investigation is tainted with bias against President Donald Trump. Several House Republicans have called for Mueller to resign, with Matt Gaetz of Florida going to the House floor last week to accuse him of "fishing in the never-Trump aquarium" in choosing prosecutors and FBI agents for his team.

Title: OPINION: Trump says he won't fire Mueller. Don't believe him.

Outlet: Chicago Tribune

Date: 12/19/17

Link: <https://www.chicagotribune.com/2017/12/19/trump-says-he-wont-fire-mueller-dont-believe-him/>

Mention: "Mueller obtained his team by fishing in the never-Trump aquarium," said Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., creating still more rhetorical cover for Trump's complaint that the Mueller probe is a "witch hunt" aimed at delegitimizing his election or even removing him from office.

Title: Opinion: Trump thrives in destructive chaos

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 12/18/17

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-thrives-in-destructive-chaos/2017/12/18/f23fc176-e41d-11e7-ab50-621fe0588340_story.html

Mention: Bill Clinton and his defenders were accusing an investigator of being a power-mad prig. Some of Trump's defenders are claiming, in effect, that the FBI is engaged in a "coup d'état" (the words of Florida Republican Rep. Matt Gaetz) — a politically motivated attempt to reverse the results of the 2016 election. Their evidence? That some senior investigators donated to Democrats, supported Hillary Clinton and called Trump an "idiot."

Title: EDITORIAL: How Trump's allies are making Putin's day

Outlet: San Diego Union-Tribune

Date: 12/18/17

Link: <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/2017/12/18/how-trumps-allies-are-making-putins-day/>

Mention: Yet the Fox News-Breitbart-conservative social media juggernaut simply doesn't care if it tears down institutions while seeming to lay the groundwork for Mueller's firing. It is disgraceful for Rep. Mark Gaetz, R-Florida, to liken the investigation to an unfolding "coup d'état." It is beyond disgraceful for Fox host Jeanine Pirro to say Trump is the victim of a "criminal cabal" within the government whose members should be led out "in cuffs." This wild rhetoric has the potential to destabilize America -- which, of course, was Russia's goal when it interfered with the 2016 election. Congratulations to Gaetz and Pirro for making Vladimir Putin's day.

Title: A 'coup in America?' Fox News escalates anti-Mueller rhetoric.

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 12/18/17

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/12/18/a-coup-in-america-fox-news-escalates-anti-mueller-rhetoric/>

Mention: In a speech on the House floor last month, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) called for Mueller to resign or be fired, alleging he has "indisputable" conflicts of interest.

"We are at risk of a coup d'état in this country if we allow an unaccountable person with no oversight to undermine the duly-elected president of the United States," Gaetz said.

Title: Trump says he won't fire Mueller, as campaign to discredit Russia probe heats up
Outlet: Washington Post
Date: 12/17/17
Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-says-he-wont-fire-mueller-as-campaign-to-discredit-russia-probe-heats-up/2017/12/17/801e8cce-c348-11e7-ab50-621fe0588340_story.html
Mention: "This bias is like an infection," Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) said Friday on Fox Business Network. "It's like an incurable cancer that's inoperable, and we've got to end this Mueller probe."

Title: Senate Republicans try to shield Mueller from criticism of his Russia probe
Outlet: Washington Post
Date: 12/14/17
Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/senate-republicans-try-to-shield-mueller-from-criticism-of-his-russia-probe/2017/12/14/8766ee30-e088-11e7-8679-a9728984779c_story.html
Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), who last month filed a resolution calling for Mueller to recuse himself from the Russia investigation, said Wednesday that he had been "a lone voice in the wilderness" for the past few weeks. But since the Strzok-Page texts emerged, "now I find a chorus singing loudly behind me," he said.

Title: Justice Dept. Official Defends Mueller as Republicans Try to Discredit Him
Outlet: New York Times
Date: 12/13/17
Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/13/us/politics/trump-mueller-russia-republican-campaign.html>
Mention: Mr. Mueller, a registered Republican appointed by President George W. Bush to direct the F.B.I., has long had critics in the most pro-Trump corners of the House and the conservative news media. But in recent weeks, as his investigation has delivered a series of indictments to high-profile associates of the president and evidence that at least two of them are cooperating with the inquiry, those critics have grown louder and in numbers... "I was the lone voice in the wilderness, and now I have a robust chorus behind me," said Representative Matt Gaetz, a first-term Florida Republican who has emerged as one of Mr. Trump's most vocal defenders on Capitol Hill.

Title: Rosenstein Faces Off With GOP; McMaster Calls out Russia, China
Outlet: Bloomberg
Date: 12/13/17
Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/P0WDVG6JIV8>
Mention: Some Republicans are even urging appointment of a second special counsel just to look into allegations that prosecutors and agents favored Trump's Democratic opponent Hillary Clinton last year, as several congressional inquiries have deteriorated into bitter partisan sniping. "We continue to see bias against the president and in favor of Mrs. Clinton at the FBI's and Justice Department's highest levels," panel member Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) said.

Title: Opinion: The GOP's all-out assault on justice
Outlet: Washington Post
Date: 12/8/17
Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-gops-all-out-assault-on-justice/2017/12/08/2e1ce9ba-dc28-11e7-b1a8-62589434a581_story.html
Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) called former FBI director James B. Comey an "egomaniac rogue" and speculated that the FBI paid for the "dossier" on Trump's activities in Russia.

Title: F.B.I. Director Says There Is No Bias in Inquiry

Outlet: New York Times

Date: 12/8/17

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/07/us/politics/fbi-director-political-bias-trump.html>

Mention: Mr. Wray said he was working to ensure that politics stayed out of the F.B.I.'s investigations. "I am emphasizing in every audience I can inside the bureau that our decisions need to be made based on nothing other than the facts and the law and our rules and our processes and our core values and not based on any political considerations by any side of the aisle," he said. Another Republican, Matt Gaetz of Florida, pointed out that a senior prosecutor on Mr. Mueller's team, Andrew Weissmann, had praised Sally Q. Yates, the former deputy attorney general who defied Mr. Trump over his travel ban and was fired. Mr. Gaetz wondered whether Mr. Weissmann's actions demonstrated political bias.

Title: House conservatives demand answers from FBI on Clinton probe, Fusion GPS

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 12/1/17

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/12/01/house-conservatives-demand-answers-from-fbi-on-clinton-probe-fusion-gps/>

Mention: A trio of House conservatives, who have succeeded in getting the Judiciary Committee to keep questioning the FBI's 2015-2016 probe of Hillary Clinton's private email server, have sent a letter to the bureau asking for more answers before Director Christopher A. Wray next testifies...In the letter, Reps. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), Andy Biggs (R-Ariz.) and Louie Gohmert (R-Tex.) demanded answers from Wray about what the "special" designation meant. "Who decided that the investigation would be handled 'at HQ with a small team' rather than by the Washington field office?" they asked. "What processes are in place at the FBI to ensure that 'special' treatment is not given to other political figures?"

Title: As Washington debates taxes, some Republicans keep focus on issues loved by their base

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 11/30/17

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/as-washington-debates-taxes-some-republicans-keep-focus-on-partisan-issues-loved-by-their-base/2017/11/30/8ed38c16-d488-11e7-95bf-df7c19270879_story.html

Mention: On Nov. 3, Gaetz introduced a resolution demanding that former FBI director Robert S. Mueller III resign as the special counsel investigating Russian interference in the 2016 election. Since then, Gaetz has appeared on cable news shows 20 times to discuss that effort or the need to investigate Clinton.x

Title: Sessions Appearance Spotlights a Partisan Split Over Russia

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: 11/14/17

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/OZDYZU6TTDS2>

Mention: "Why in 2016 did FBI Director Comey begin drafting an exoneration letter for Secretary Clinton, whom he called 'grossly negligent' in an early draft of the letter, before completing the investigation? Before interviewing several witnesses? And before interviewing Secretary Clinton?" committee Republicans Jim Jordan of Ohio and Matt Gaetz of Florida wrote in a joint opinion piece for FoxNews.com.

Title: Trump Talks Defense in Asia; What Else to Watch on Trump's Trip

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: 11/6/17

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/OYZUSQ6JTSFS>

Mention: MUELLER RESOLUTION: House Republicans, led by Judiciary Committee member Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), filed a resolution Friday calling on Special Counsel Robert Mueller to recuse himself over the U.S. sale of uranium to a Russian-held company. Mueller's "impartiality is hopelessly compromised" due to evidence emerging that the FBI withheld information from Congress about Russian corruption of American uranium companies while he led the agency, Gaetz said in a written statement Friday.

Title: Conservative Republicans demand Mueller recuse himself over uranium deal

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 11/3/17

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/conservative-republicans-demand-mueller-recuse-himself-over-uranium-deal/2017/11/03/809135bc-c07f-11e7-959c-fe2b598d8c00_story.html

Mention: Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), who wrote the resolution, accuses Mueller of having a conflict of interest because he was serving as FBI chief when the Obama administration approved a deal allowing a Russian company to purchase a Canada-based mining group with uranium operations in the United States, according to a draft obtained by The Washington Post... "Someone who was involved in a deal cannot reasonably be trusted to scrutinize that probe," Gaetz said in an interview. Gaetz added that he does not trust Mueller because of his "close personal relationship" with former FBI director James B. Comey. Similar complaints have been raised by other Republicans, though there is considerable dispute over whether the Comey-Mueller relationship was primarily professional.

Title: The Latest: Judge sets May 7 court date for Manafort, Gates

Outlet: Associated Press

Date: 11/3/17

Link: <https://apnews.com/united-states-government-0b924056459c40d58f89d1d077a1ffc2>

Mention: Three Republican House members are introducing a resolution that calls for Robert Mueller to "resign from his special counsel position immediately."... Reps. Matt Gaetz of Florida, Andy Biggs of Arizona and Louis Gohmert of Texas introduced the resolution, which would be nonbinding if passed. Republican leaders have shown little appetite for publicly pressuring Mueller.

Title: GOP House Member Backs Resolution Urging Mueller to Resign

Outlet: Bloomberg

Date: 11/3/17

Link: <https://www.bgov.com/next/news/OYUKP26JIJUR>

Mention: Special Counsel Bob Mueller's "impartiality is hopelessly compromised" due to evidence emerging that FBI withheld information from Congress about Russian corruption of American uranium cos. while Mueller led the FBI, Rep. Matt Gaetz, House Judiciary Cmte member, says. Mueller "must step down immediately," Gaetz, R-Fla., says in written statement. Gaetz says federal agents knew in 2010 that U.S. witness working in Russian nuclear industry said Russia had compromised an American uranium trucking firm "through bribery and financial kickbacks." Gaetz alleges FBI required witness to sign non-disclosure agreement and when witness attempted to contact Congress and federal courts about corruption, he was threatened with legal action. "By silencing him, Obama's Justice Department and Mueller's FBI knowingly kept Congress in the dark about Russia's significant and illegal involvement with American uranium companies," Gaetz says.

Title: House Judiciary Committee votes to probe Comey and Clinton's 2016 campaign

Outlet: Washington Post

Date: 7/27/17

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/07/26/house-judiciary-committee-votes-to-probe-comey-and-clintons-2016-campaign/>

Mention: Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee voted Wednesday to request documents about former FBI director James B. Comey's conversations with the Obama administration and journalists, amending and replacing a Democratic resolution that was designed to obtain documents about Comey's firing by President Trump... "They're not focused on things like the Clinton Foundation functionally selling access to the State Department; they're not worried about selling uranium to the Russians; they're not worried about unmasking," said Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), another amendment sponsor, referring to Democrats.

Note: This article is present in the State dept. section as well.

EXHIBIT F

Title: DOJ tells Matt Gaetz that he won't be charged in sex trafficking probe, his lawyers say

Outlet: NBC News

Date: 2/15/23

Link: <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/doj-decides-not-charge-rep-matt-gaetz-sex-trafficking-investigation-rcna70839>

Mention: The Justice Department is ending its sex trafficking investigation into Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., without charging him with any crimes, his attorneys and congressional office said...NBC News had reported in October that the investigation into Gaetz had stalled, according to attorneys who have represented witnesses and people who have been subpoenaed or have spoken to investigators. The attorneys briefed about aspects of the case said the probe stalled over concerns about the credibility of two key witnesses or a lack of direct evidence implicating Gaetz, who has denied all wrongdoing.

NBC NEWS

DOJ tells Matt Gaetz that he won't be charged in sex trafficking probe, his lawyers say

PHOTO: G. JAMES

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DOJ tells Matt Gaetz that he won't be charged in sex trafficking probe, his lawyers say

Prosecutors had spent months investigating allegations that Gaetz was part of a scheme that led to the sex trafficking of a 17-year-old girl.

Feb. 15, 2023, 1:30 PM EST

By Ryan Nobles, Garrett Haake, Julia Ainsley, Tom Winter and Rebecca Shabad

Title: DOJ won't charge Matt Gaetz with crimes in sex trafficking probe

Outlet: Fox News

Date: 2/15/23

Link: <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/doj-wont-charge-matt-gaetz-with-crimes-sex-trafficking-probe>

Mention: The Justice Department will not pursue charges against Rep. Matt Gaetz, R-Fla., after a yearslong probe into sex trafficking allegations. In a statement to Fox News Digital, Gaetz's office confirmed that "the Department of Justice has confirmed to Congressman Gaetz's attorneys that their investigation has concluded and that he will not be charged with any crimes."...However, one source familiar with the situation confirmed to Fox News that the DOJ's investigation has wrapped up and there will not be any charges brought against Congressman Gaetz



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DOJ won't charge Matt Gaetz with crimes in sex trafficking probe

DOJ officials confirmed to Gaetz's lawyers that he would not be charged with any crimes

By Brianna Herlihy • Fox News

Published February 15, 2023 1:11pm EST

EXHIBIT G

Charged/Indicted

Title: Convicted Fraudster Charged With Trying to Bilk Rep. Matt Gaetz and Dad for \$25 Million

Outlet: The Daily Beast

Date: 8/31/21

Link: <https://www.thedailybeast.com/convicted-fraudster-stephen-alford-charged-with-trying-to-bilk-rep-matt-gaetz-and-dad-for-dollar25-million>

Mention: A Florida man allegedly attempted to shake down Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-FL) and Gaetz's father, promising a presidential pardon in exchange for \$25 million, according to a federal indictment unsealed Tuesday. Stephen Alford, a 62-year-old resident of Walton Beach, is charged with wire fraud and the attempted prevention of seizure of an electronic device. Alford allegedly told Don Gaetz, a wealthy Florida businessman worth hundreds of millions and the father of the Republican congressman, that he could make an investigation into his son vanish and guarantee Matt Gaetz would serve no jail time. Gaetz is under federal investigation for sex trafficking in connection with an alleged relationship with a 17-year-old girl. He has denied wrongdoing... The extortion allegations first came to light in the wake of the revelation that Gaetz was under federal investigation, and Gaetz said at the time that someone at the Department of Justice had leaked the details of the investigation into him to throw a wrench into the probe of Alford's alleged scheme.



Convicted Fraudster Charged With Trying to Bilk Rep. Matt Gaetz and Dad for \$25 Million

\$25 MILLION MAN

Stephen Alford allegedly promised a presidential pardon in exchange for the money, which he said he would use to ransom and repatriate an FBI agent long considered dead.



Blake Montgomery
Former Reporter/Editor

Updated Aug. 31, 2021 6:37PM EDT / Published Aug. 31, 2021 5:58PM EDT



Title: Stephen Alford update: Alleged conspirator in U.S. Rep. Matt Gaetz extortion scheme indicted and arrested

Outlet: Northwest Florida Daily News

Date: 8/31/21

Link: <https://www.nwfdailynews.com/story/news/local/2021/08/31/stephen-alford-charged-wire-fraud-gaetz-extortion-scheme/5671443001/>

Mention: Stephen Alford, a prominent Fort Walton Beach businessman with a checkered legal history, has been indicted on federal charges stemming from alleged efforts to extort \$25 million...

nwfdailynews Helene forecast: Florida is not getting out of this one. Pn

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LOCAL

Stephen Alford update: Alleged conspirator in U.S. Rep. Matt Gaetz extortion scheme indicted and arrested

 **Tom McLaughlin**
Northwest Florida Daily News

Published 6:54 p.m. ET Aug. 31, 2021 | Updated 7:27 p.m. ET Aug. 31, 2021

Title: Man charged with \$25M extortion scheme promising pardon for Rep. Matt Gaetz

Outlet: Politico

Date: 8/31/21

Link: <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/08/31/man-charged-extortion-gaetz-508122>

Mention: A Florida developer and fraud convict was arrested Tuesday on a charge that he tried to extort \$25 million from the father of Rep. Matt Gaetz in exchange for a presidential pardon that would shut down a high-profile, criminal sex-trafficking investigation into the Republican congressman... The indictment refers to Don Gaetz, a former Florida state Senate leader, as "D.G." and describes the investigation to be extinguished as one "by the FBI for various public corruption and public integrity issues."

POLITICO

Man charged with \$25M extortion scheme promising pardon for Rep. Matt Gaetz

By JOSH GERSTEIN, MARC CAPUTO and MATT DIXON

08/31/2021 06:14 PM EDT

Updated: 08/31/2021 08:45 PM EDT

Title: Florida man charged in connection with overture to Matt Gaetz's father about the investigation of his son

Outlet: The Washington Post

Date: 8/31/21

Link: https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/stephen-alford-charged-don-gaetz/2021/08/31/3f9e67e8-0a9a-11ec-a6dd-296ba7fb2dce_story.html

Mention: The Justice Department on Tuesday arrested a Florida man over a scheme that involved seeking money from Florida Republican Don Gaetz to help halt the sex-trafficking investigation of his son, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), according to court records and a person familiar with the matter.

The Washington Post
Democracy Dies in Darkness

Florida man charged in connection with overture to Matt Gaetz's father about the investigation of his son

Convicted/Sentenced

Title: Stephen Alford sentenced to five years in prison for scheme to extort \$25M from Gaetz family

Outlet: Northwest Florida Daily News

Date: 8/22/22

Link: <https://www.nwfdailynews.com/story/news/courts/2022/08/22/alford-sentenced-five-years-attempted-extortion-gaetz-family/7864230001/>

Mention: Alford is being sent to prison for the third time since March 2006 on charges related to his efforts to swindle big money from wealthy individuals or entities. The plan to extort money from the Gaetz family, spelled out in documents filed with the U.S. District Court, involved Alford and others coming to them with a complicated scheme...At the time, news was just beginning to leak that Matt Gaetz was the subject of a criminal investigation. No criminal charges have been filed and Matt Gaetz maintains his innocence.

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Stephen Alford sentenced to five years in prison for scheme to extort \$25M from Gaetz family



Tom McLaughlin

Northwest Florida Daily News

Title: Man accused of attempting to extort millions from Gaetz family pleads guilty to wire fraud

Outlet: Northwest Florida Daily News

Date: 11/22/21

Link: <https://www.nwfdailynews.com/story/news/local/2021/11/22/stephen-alford-pleads-guilty-effort-extort-millions-don-gaetz/8718849002/>

Mention:

Sentencing is scheduled for 9 a.m. Feb. 16. Alford faces a maximum of 20 years in prison. It will mark the third time since March 2006 that Alford will face prison time for a felony involving an effort to swindle big money from wealthy individuals or entities...The federal authorities who arrested Alford on Aug. 31 said he and a group of co-conspirators had dangled the presidential pardon for Matt Gaetz as a trade to Don Gaetz in exchange for him providing them the funds they needed to buy Levinson's freedom...According to a version of events provided first by Matt Gaetz, R-Fort Walton Beach, Pensacola attorney David McGee had been among those working with Alford to extort the \$25 million from the Gaetz family, and Don Gaetz had worn an FBI wire to a meeting with Alford to discuss a \$5.5 million down payment.

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Man accused of attempting to extort millions from Gaetz family pleads guilty to wire fraud

 **Tom McLaughlin**
Northwest Florida Daily News

Published 5:35 p.m. ET Nov. 22, 2021 | Updated 5:49 p.m. ET Nov. 22, 2021

Title: Man sentenced in scheme to defraud Rep. Gaetz's father of \$25 million

Outlet: The Washington Post

Date: 8/23/22

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2022/08/23/matt-gaetz-father-extortion-investigation/>

Mention: A federal judge on Monday sentenced a Florida businessman to a little over five years in prison for his role in a 2021 plot to defraud the father of Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) of \$25 million as the congressman found himself under investigation for possible sex crimes...The scheme was first made public on March 30, 2021, when Gaetz appeared on Fox News hours after the New York Times first reported that the congressman was under investigation. Gaetz claimed the Times's story was a "planted leak" meant to distract from the real crime — a shakedown of him and his father. According to court records, Alford and another man somehow learned that Gaetz was under a Department of Justice probe before the investigation was publicly reported.

The Washington Post
Democracy Dies in Darkness

Man sentenced in scheme to defraud Rep. Gaetz's father of \$25 million



By **María Luisa Paúl**

August 23, 2022 at 8:44 a.m. EDT

Exonerated/Innocent

Title: Matt Gaetz Exonerated from 'Pile of Lies' After Man Charged with Extortion

Outlet: Townhall

Date: 9/1/21

Link: <https://townhall.com/tipsheet/katiepavlich/2021/09/01/matt-gaetz-exonerated-after-man-charged-with-extortion-n2595102>

Mention: Florida Republican Congressman Matt Gaetz has been exonerated after 62-year-old Stephen Alford was recently indicted by the Department of Justice for extortion... Back in March when news broke that the Department of Justice was investigating Gaetz for sexual misconduct, the congressman maintained he was being extorted... "The allegations of sexual misconduct against me are false," Gaetz told Axios at the time. "They are rooted in an extortion effort against my family for \$25 million."

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TIPSHEET

Matt Gaetz Exonerated from 'Pile of Lies' After Man Charged with Extortion



Katie Pavlich | September 01, 2021 6:00 AM



Israeli consulate

Title: The tangled tale of the Israel consulate, the Dilbert cartoonist and the Matt Gaetz case

Outlet: Politico

Date: 9/23/21

Link: <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/09/23/israel-dilbert-matt-gaetz-513800>

Mention: Of the many only-in-Florida aspects of the Rep. Matt Gaetz sex-crimes investigation, one stands out for its utter weirdness: the story of the Israeli consulate staffer, the cartoonist who created Dilbert and a complicated shakedown scheme tied to a former CIA operative captured in Iran... But scant attention has been paid to the mysterious cameo of Jake Novak, the broadcast media director of the Consulate General of Israel in New York... Three days before the story broke in March that federal investigators were probing whether Gaetz had sex with a 17-year-old girl, Novak began corresponding with Dilbert cartoonist Scott Adams about the scandal. The two were pals on social media. Novak indicated to Adams he had inside knowledge of the probe and also suggested he was personally involved in an effort to get \$25 million out of Gaetz's wealthy father to help free an American hostage in Iran named Bob Levinson... The allegation that a foreign official may be involved in a shakedown scheme of a U.S. congressman — a highly unusual development in its own right — could help provide a fuller picture of a scandal that has captivated the nation's capital but where many pieces are still unknown. The allegations have been largely overlooked by most media outlets.

POLITICO

FLORIDA

The tangled tale of the Israel consulate, the Dilbert cartoonist and the Matt Gaetz case

The Novak incident is one of the many twists and turns in the Gaetz case.

By **MARC CAPUTO**

09/23/2021 04:30 AM EDT

Updated: 09/23/2021 12:41 PM EDT

Title: Israeli Consulate disavows staffer's Matt Gaetz remarks

Outlet: Jerusalem Post

Date: 9/25/21

Link: <https://www.jpost.com/international/israeli-consulate-apologizes-for-staff-members-matt-gaetz-remarks-680188>

Mention: A statement by the Consulate General of Israel in New York has been issued following the involvement of a consulate employee in the case regarding Representative Matt Gaetz.

Jake Novak, the broadcast media director of the Consulate General, corresponded with Dilbert cartoonist Scott Adams about the federal investigators probing Gaetz, according to a recent article by POLITICO.

The correspondence occurred before Novak began working for the consulate. Matt Gaetz is being investigated over alleged paid sexual relations with a 17-year-old girl...During their correspondence, Novak said he had "inside knowledge" of the probe. He also suggested he was involved in the plot to get \$25 million out of Gaetz's father. This was to help free an American hostage in Iran named Bob Levison. "The backstory is this is screwing up my efforts to free Bob Levinson," Novak wrote to Adams, according to POLITICO. "I've got a commando team

THE JERUSALEM POST

JP NEWSLETTER ISRAEL NEWS HEALTH & WELLNESS WORLD NEWS MIDDLE EAST BI

Jerusalem Post > World News

Israeli Consulate disavows staffer's Matt Gaetz remarks

A statement by the Consulate General of Israel in New York has been issued following the involvement of a consulate employee in the case regarding Representative Matt Gaetz.

By JERUSALEM POST STAFF
SEPTEMBER 25, 2021 01:27

APPENDIX B

EXHIBIT 1


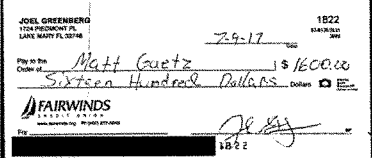
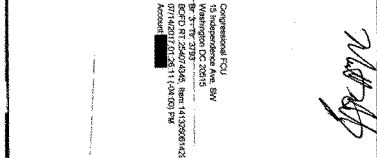
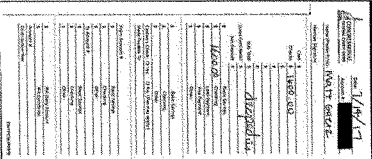
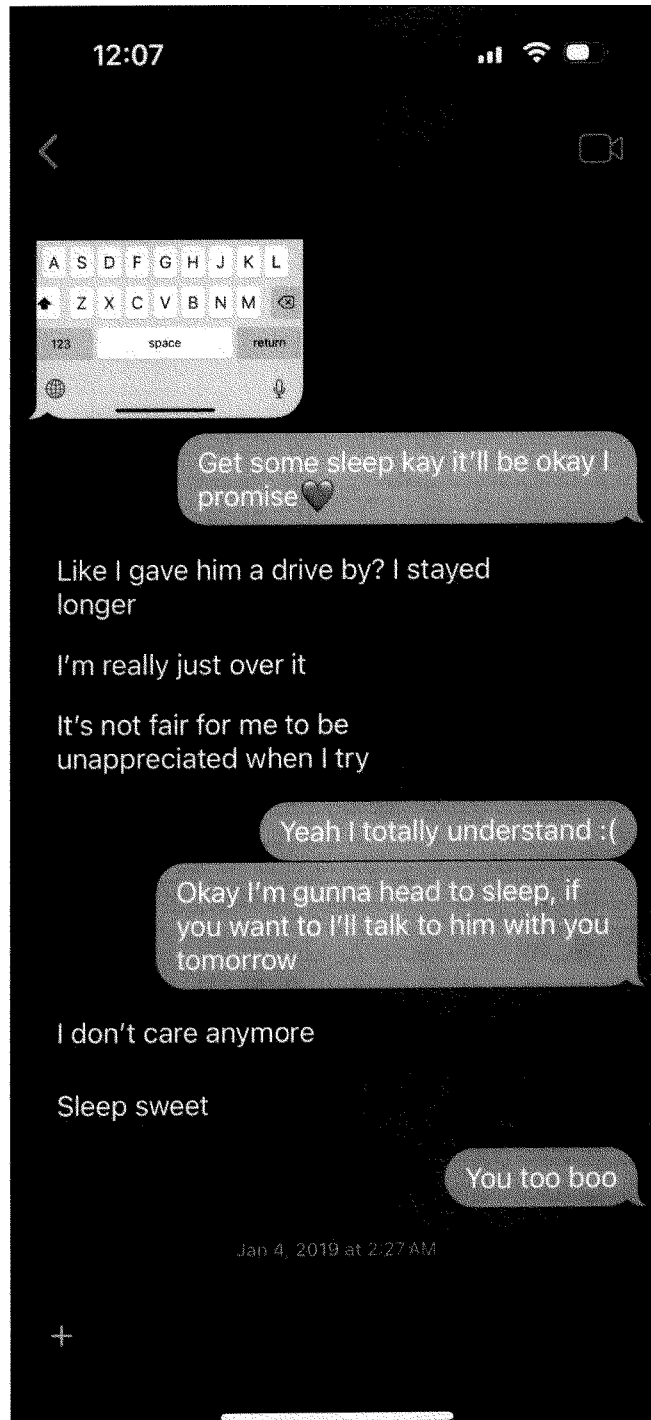
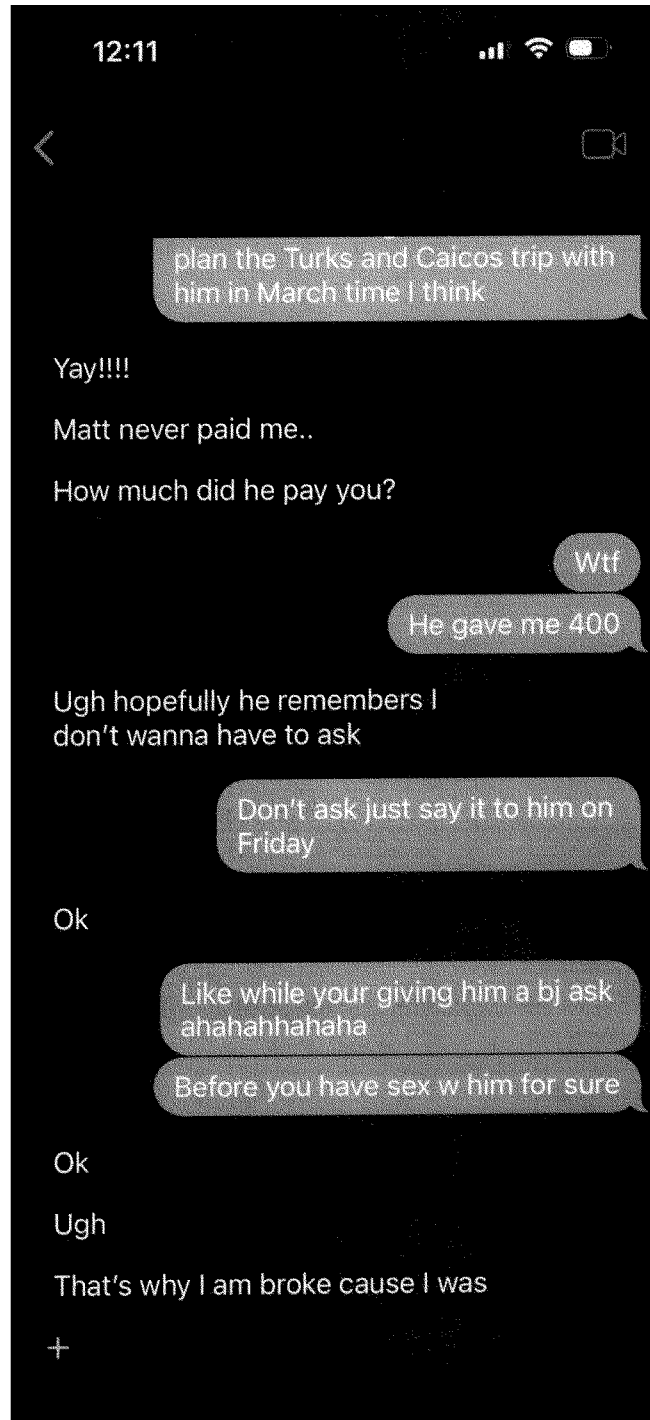
ACCT: [REDACTED] MATT L GAETZ II ACCOUNT-SF AMOUNT SEQ TO CHECKING ACCOUNT ****95-S1 1600.00 152 BALANCE: ***** PREVIOUS: ***** AVAILABLE: ***** ----- CHECKS: 1600.00 3298576 14 JUL 17 01:26PM BR 3 TLR 3793		 Congressional Federal 10461 White Granite Dr Oakton, Virginia 22124 (800) 491-2328 www.congressionalfcu.org Disbursed: 0.00 Received: 0.00
Memo:		Authentication:
SCANNED ITEMS:		
Branch 3 Teller 3793 Date: 07/14/2017 Amount \$1,600.00 Account: [REDACTED] Item Type: VC Deposit 123456789 254074345 9		
		
		

EXHIBIT 2









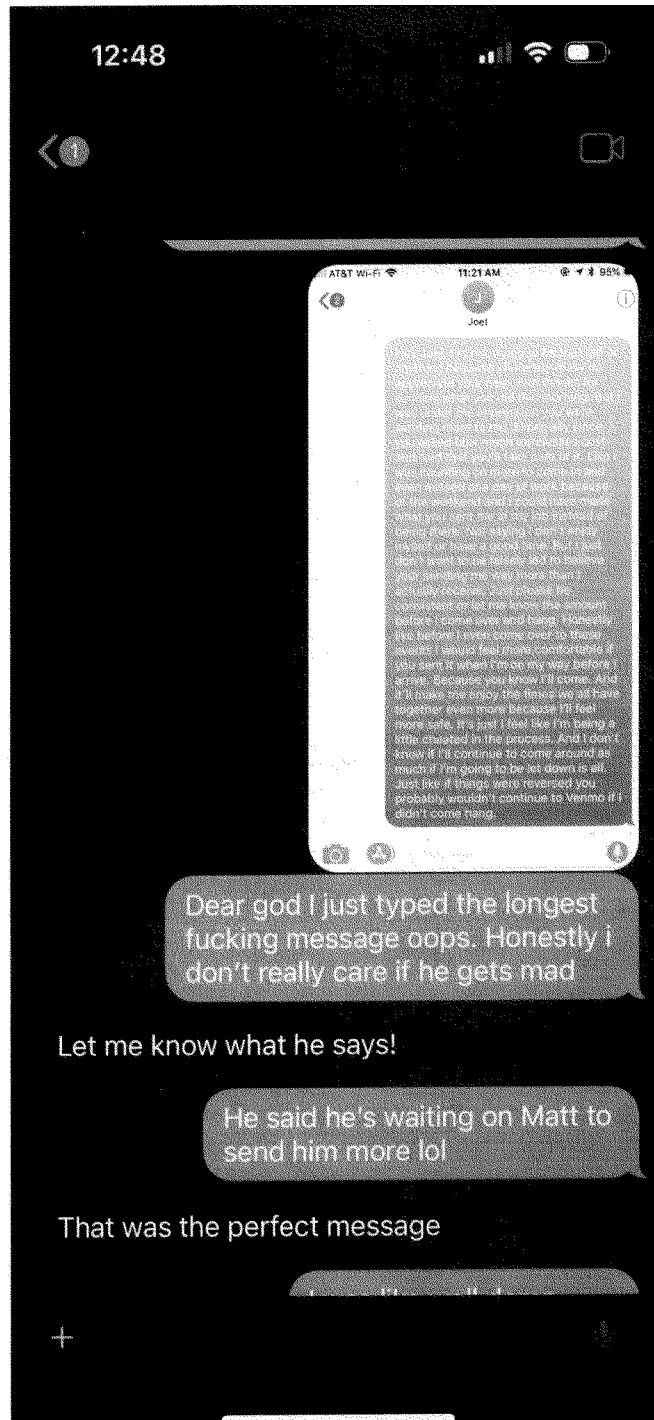


EXHIBIT 3

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
5/16/2017	8:27 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	None
5/19/2017	1:16 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 8	\$600.00	None
5/19/2017	2:07 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
6/3/2017	12:25 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
6/14/2017	7:10 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
7/8/2017	2:48 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
7/14/2017	1:26 P.M.	Joel Greenberg Personal Checking Account #1	Matt Gaetz	\$1,600.00	Check date 7/9; deposited to Personal Checking Account #2
7/17/2017	5:48 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 4	\$500.00	None
7/17/2017	5:49 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 11	\$250.00	None
7/17/2017	5:56 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 11	\$250.00	None
7/17/2017	5:57 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 4	\$500.00	None
7/31/2017	4:00 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
9/1/2017	7:55 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #1	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
9/14/2017	1:03 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$772.05	None
10/5/2017	9:28 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$772.05	None
10/5/2017	9:31 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$257.55	None
10/7/2017	2:48 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 4	\$514.80	None
10/8/2017	10:10 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 4	\$772.05	None
10/8/2017	10:11 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$257.55	None
10/9/2017	9:46 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$128.93	None
10/19/2017	9:42 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$1,029.30	None
10/25/2017	8:11 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
10/25/2017	10:42 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
11/1/2017	11:50 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$103.20	None
11/12/2017	4:44 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
11/22/2017	7:43 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
12/1/2017	12:10 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$1,281.41	None
12/2/2017	9:11 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
12/12/2017	7:51 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 4	\$411.90	None

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
12/30/2017	3:48 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$1,029.30	None
1/4/2018	5:40 AM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
1/6/2018	10:49 PM	Affiliated PayPal Account #2	Woman 1	\$514.80	None
2/20/2018	1:18 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	eC
2/24/2018	5:57 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Plants
2/28/2018	3:01 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$250.00	Being my friend
2/28/2018	5:31 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$400.00	BB
3/2/2018	6:43 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$400.00	Being awesome
3/2/2018	6:44 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$700.00 (Declined)	Groceries
3/2/2018	6:45 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00 (Declined)	Groceries for [Woman 9]
3/2/2018	6:45 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	Groceries for [Woman 9]
3/2/2018	10:10 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	[Woman 9] Groceries
3/2/2018	11:15 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$500.00	Here
3/5/2018	5:25 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Stuff
3/6/2018	6:16 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$50.00	Phone
3/6/2018	9:17 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	Cash
3/16/2018	3:52 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	Hi
3/16/2018	6:15 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$450.00	Uber + hotel
3/18/2018	6:08 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	A. B.
3/21/2018	10:49 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 9	\$630.00	130 for fucked up contest rules, 500 for lease liberation.
3/23/2018	5:56 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Gift
3/29/2018	1:04 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$124.00	Relaxation
3/31/2018	12:24 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	Groceries
4/1/2018	3:16 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 9	\$100.00	Happy Easter! We miss you!
4/1/2018	3:16 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Easter Bunny
4/4/2018	3:19 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Groceries - no tuition
4/7/2018	4:48 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	Asdf
4/7/2018	4:48 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	Test
4/10/2018	3:33 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$345.00	→

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
4/12/2018	2:02 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Trip
4/13/2018	11:43 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Dry clean
4/15/2018	4:11 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	Shoes for my fav uber driver :)
4/16/2018	12:31 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$500.00	Reimbursement
4/16/2018	12:37 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 6	\$500.00 (Declined)	Reimbursement
4/16/2018	12:38 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 6	\$500.00 (Declined)	Trip
4/16/2018	12:43 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00 (Declined)	Test
4/16/2018	8:23 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 6	\$500.00	Trip
4/22/2018	11:59 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Food
4/24/2018	5:19 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	♥
4/27/2018	11:06 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Groceries
4/28/2018	2:32 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	Travel
4/30/2018	12:57 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$600.00	Solving rent probs.
5/5/2018	10:09 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$300.00	🍷
5/5/2018	11:06 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 7	\$200.00	🍷🍷🍷
5/7/2018	6:26 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 9	\$300.00	Gift
5/8/2018	5:29 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$900.00 (Blocked)	Trip
5/8/2018	5:33 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Tax Collector aka Joel Greenberg	\$900.00 (Retracted)	Joel
5/8/2018	5:35 PM	Joel Greenberg CashApp Account #1	Matt Gaetz	\$1.00	Test
5/8/2018	5:38 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$900.00 (Blocked)	Yo
5/8/2018	5:39 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Tax Collector aka Joel Greenberg	\$900.00 (Retracted)	Trip
5/8/2018	5:41 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$400.00 (Blocked)	Trip
5/9/2018	11:17 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$300.00 (Declined)	Test
5/9/2018	11:19 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$500.00 (Declined)	Test
5/10/2018	4:16 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$500.00	Test
5/10/2018	4:17 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$400.00 (Declined)	Don't forget to hit [Victim A] up. She was on me.
5/10/2018	4:19 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$300.00 (Declined)	Hit up [Victim A]
5/10/2018	4:20 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$400.00	Hit up [Victim A]

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
5/10/2018	4:45 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Hi
5/10/2018	4:46 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00 (Declined)	Yo
5/20/2018	11:36 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$400.00 (Declined)	Carl
5/22/2018	6:51 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$300.00	Car deductible
6/1/2018	8:12 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$200.00 (Declined)	Surprise!
6/1/2018	8:13 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00 (Declined)	Test
6/1/2018	8:14 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$5.00	Test
6/1/2018	8:15 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$200.00 (Declined)	👉
6/2/2018	7:56 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$200.00 (Declined)	Gift
6/1/2018	7:59 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$100.00 (Declined)	Test
6/3/2018	5:14 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$200.00	Gift
6/8/2018	9:11 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$150.00	👉
6/8/2018	11:09 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Happy!
6/16/2018	1:46 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	Happy 🎉
6/20/2018	9:43 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	Call to discuss
6/20/2018	9:45 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	Hi
6/20/2018	9:55 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00 (Declined)	Hi
6/20/2018	10:03 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	Gift
6/23/2018	4:27 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Gift
6/25/2018	1:19 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 6	\$438.45	Reimbursement
6/26/2018	4:17 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$417.45	Reimbursement
6/28/2018	5:20 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$300.00	👉
6/30/2018	6:10 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 6	\$200.00	Gas and parking
6/30/2018	4:02 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$150.00	👉
7/3/2018	7:55 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Money moves
7/5/2018	3:06 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	supplies
7/13/2018	7:47 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	room
7/17/2018	12:19 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$437.82	Tickets
7/22/2018	7:16 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$150.00	dinner

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
8/1/2018	7:21 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	gas
8/6/2018	3:37 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Transport
8/7/2018	4:36 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 6	\$400.00	✓
8/14/2018	8:00 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$400.00	Refreshments
8/21/2018	8:43 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$1,000.00	Chicago trip
8/27/2018	12:55 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$28.00 (Expired)	party
8/27/2018	1:02 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$280.00 (Expired)	power
8/27/2018	1:02 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Party
8/27/2018	1:03 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Yo
8/30/2018	6:25 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Flight and Uber
9/4/2018	6:09 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 6	\$400.00	Transport
9/4/2018	9:47 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Expired)	hi!
9/4/2018	9:48 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	Hi!
9/6/2018	3:10 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Parking
9/8/2018	6:10 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$200.00	Just because
9/9/2018	8:43 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	Parking
9/10/2018	2:34 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$1,000.00	Travel
9/12/2018	12:06 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$350.00	Yes
9/21/2018	8:12 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$400.00	[Victim A] flight + xtra 4 u
9/30/2018	3:06 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 10	\$400.00	Tickets
9/30/2018	3:08 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 3	\$550.00 (Expired)	reimbursement
10/8/2018	9:08 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	Car trouble
10/8/2018	9:35 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	New battery
10/14/2018	3:57 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Not ignoring - shopping
10/15/2018	12:32 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	Y
10/15/2018	7:57 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$350.00	Plane
10/19/2018	1:13 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Yo
10/23/2018	8:35 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	Rent
11/1/2018	3:14 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$209.00	Hotel
11/1/2018	5:02 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Joel Greenberg	\$300.00	👋

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
11/3/2018	5:31 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Hi!
11/8/2018	1:34 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Shopping
11/16/2018	3:57 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$300.00	Love you
		Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$300.00 (Pending)	Love you
11/16/2018	3:59 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$1,073.00	Airplane fix
12/2/2018	7:33 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	WAM!
12/7/2018	1:29 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	NYC WAM!
12/9/2018	4:23 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$216.00	NYC
12/11/2018	4:06 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$374.00	Whiteboard
12/12/2018	12:04 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Thx
12/15/2018	12:18 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$350.00	Whiteboard
12/19/2018	4:28 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 12	\$250.00	Magic fix
12/20/2018	10:12 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$650.00	Travel
12/21/2018	8:11 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$1,000.00	Paid up
12/28/2018	7:18 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$1,000.00	Rent deposit
12/29/2018	11:00 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$400.00	Cartrages
1/3/2019	6:42 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$100.00	Travel
1/4/2019	12:38 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Travel
1/4/2019	12:39 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$250.00	Travel
1/4/2019	12:39 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 4	\$150.00	Travel
1/4/2019	3:32 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$250.00	Hi
1/12/2019	3:09 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 2	\$800.00	Tuition
1/15/2019	11:19 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	Moving
1/19/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Woman 1	\$1,500.00	Check for "Rent Jan + Feb"
1/21/2019	10:31 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$1,000.00	Moving expenses
1/26/2019	5:17 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 5	\$420.00	Joy!
1/27/2019	5:45 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 2	\$800.00	☺
2/11/2019	1:47 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$1,200.00	Kale
2/11/2019	3:27 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 2	\$439.82	👉
2/13/2019	12:34 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$260.00	Medicine

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
2/11/2019	9:27 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$260.00 (Pending)	Medicine
2/13/2019	1:47 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$350.00	➔
2/16/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Woman 1	\$700.00	Travel
2/25/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Woman 1	\$1,000.00	Check for "March Rent"
2/26/2019	8:58 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 2	\$550.00	Hotel
3/7/2019	11:31 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$50.00	Goodwill hunting
3/15/2019	4:25 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 2	\$250.00	Miss ya and hope to see you soon! Just a little gift to help you out :)
3/16/2019	1:47 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Life
3/21/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Joel Greenberg	\$1,000.00	Check for "Reimbursement - NCAA"
3/23/2019	2:03 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	Tennessee Trip
3/24/2019	1:34 AM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	☺
3/25/2019	1:46 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	Random expenses
3/25/2019	10:12 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$50.00	Antiques
3/25/2019	2:35 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 3	\$650.00	tickets & travel
4/1/2019	11:06 PM	Personal Venmo Account #1	Woman 1	\$205.84	Kat
4/3/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Joel Greenberg	\$750.00	Check for "Hotel Reimbursement"
4/9/2019	1:53 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	cat
4/11/2019	10:15 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	AC
4/14/2019	8:51 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	food
4/17/2019	2:40 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	premium
4/18/2019	10:21 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	date!
4/19/2019	7:47 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$350.00	pub + sa premium
4/20/2019	3:52 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	good point
4/27/2019	1:26 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	dinner
4/27/2019	4:28 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	laptop support
4/30/2019	11:11 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$462.00	loan
5/5/2019	3:22 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$30.00	Shopping
5/10/2019	3:16 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	utilities + travel
5/22/2019	2:36 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$90.00 (Expired)	accident charge

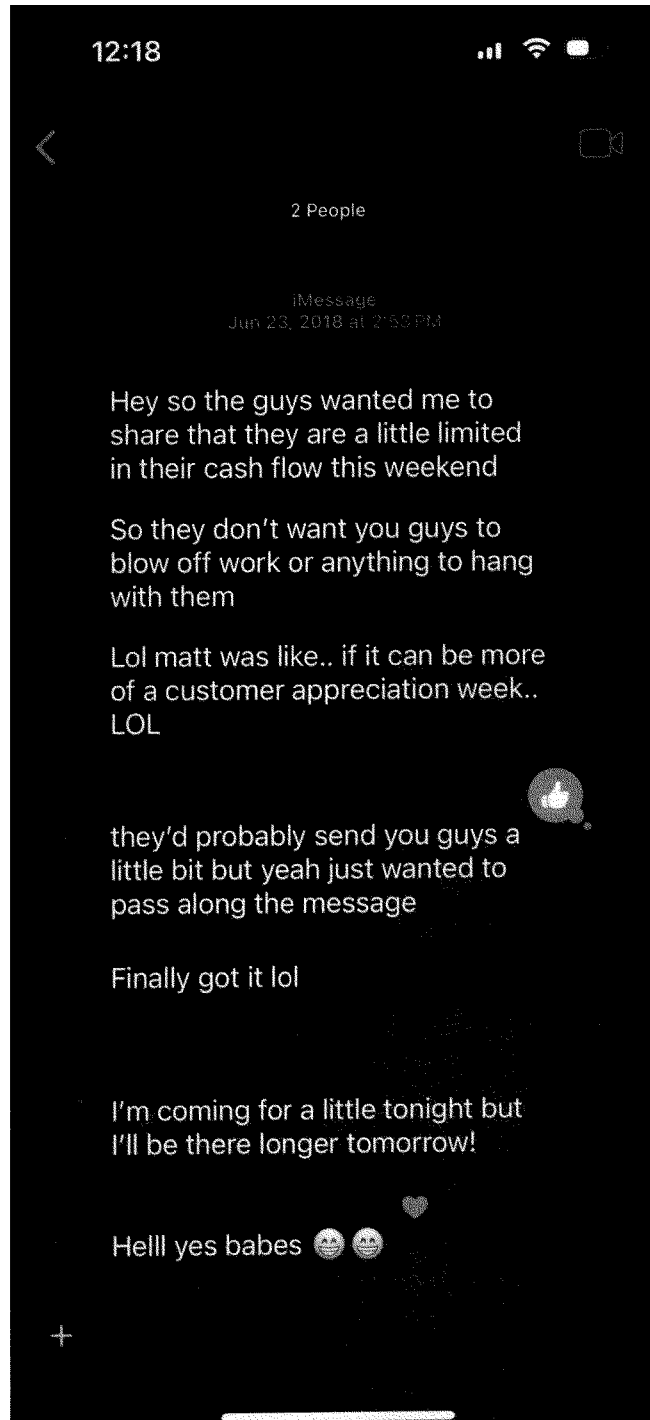
DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
5/24/2019	11:41 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	premium charge + 1/2 rent
5/27/2019	12:51 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	washer
5/29/2019	2:14 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$100.00	get well soon
5/30/2019	4:25 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$512.78	utilities
5/30/2019	4:26 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 3	\$486.84	travel
6/3/2019	10:20 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	car repairs
6/11/2019	5:20 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	doctor visit
6/23/2019	3:07 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 3	\$750.00	
6/23/2019	3:08 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 12	\$785.48	furniture
6/24/2019	4:04 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 3	\$264.85	groceries
6/26/2019	6:49 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$350.00	doctor visit
7/7/2019	5:02 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	travel and dinner
7/10/2019	6:12 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	groceries
7/10/2019	9:00 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	Nestor
7/17/2019	4:13 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	
7/17/2019	6:30 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	groceries
7/25/2019	1:05 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	rent
7/30/2019	3:26 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	rent
7/31/2019	8:18 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	Publix
8/4/2019	2:19 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	more
8/10/2019	3:21 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$327.00	utilities
8/13/2019	12:36 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	dinner
8/18/2019	3:24 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	gas
8/19/2019	12:58 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$50.00	pool table sale
8/21/2019	12:28 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	rent
8/22/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Woman 1	\$500.00	Check for "Nashville Hotel"
8/27/2019	1:42 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	dinner
8/27/2019	4:43 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$205.00	groceries
8/28/2019	8:36 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 3	\$500.00	app "first date" investment
9/3/2019	2:13 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	car

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
9/12/2019	3:16 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$250.00	ext
9/14/2019	4:38 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	stix
9/24/2019	8:14 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	rent
9/25/2019	2:21 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$280.00	Penske + one way greyhound
10/2/2019	3:26 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	rent
10/2/2019	9:34 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$120.00	Luna
10/5/2019	8:18 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$800.00	couch
10/11/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Woman 1	\$1,000.00	Check
10/12/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Woman 1	\$500.00	Check
10/12/2019		Personal Checking Account #4	Joel Greenberg	\$1,000.00	Check for "Joel Greenberg Campaign - Primary"
10/14/2019	11:56 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$180.00 (Refused)	clear me .com
10/15/2019	2:20 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$180.00 (Expired)	clear
10/15/2019	2:21 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$180.00 (Expired)	clear
10/15/2019	2:21 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$182.00	clear
10/27/2019	1:26 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$900.00	rent help .)
11/2/2019	6:56 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$400.00	partial gift
11/6/2019	1:56 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$400.00	remainder
11/15/2019	12:53 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	
11/16/2019	4:12 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 12	\$500.00	Moving expenses
11/28/2019	10:46 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 12	\$458.84 (Declined)	books
11/28/2019	10:47 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 12	\$300.00	happy thanksgiving
12/2/2019	4:03 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 12	\$200.00	.)
12/6/2019	7:39 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	groceries
12/6/2019	7:39 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	groceries
12/6/2019	7:46 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	groceries
12/6/2019	7:46 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	ext
12/6/2019	7:48 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	groceries
12/6/2019	7:55 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	groceries
12/6/2019	8:06 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	you
12/6/2019	8:07 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00 (Declined)	groceries

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
12/6/2019	9:23 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	groceries
12/10/2019	5:50 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$500.00	ticket
12/10/2019	5:57 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$300.00 (Declined)	travel costs
12/12/2019	8:39 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$50.00	Gift
12/13/2019	5:08 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 6	\$500.00	travel costs
12/18/2019	6:03 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$700.00	car insurance
12/25/2019	4:33 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 12	\$100.00	Merry Christmas sweet [Woman 12]!
1/5/2020	11:38 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	groceries
1/7/2020	9:34 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$175.00	groceries
1/11/2020	3:51 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$50.00	Nestor
1/12/2020	10:47 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	gas
1/20/2020	10:06 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$600.00	rent
1/30/2020	2:11 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	groceries
2/6/2020	5:30 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	travel and groceries
2/9/2020	6:56 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	gas money
2/14/2020	6:18 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$20.00	groceries
2/18/2020	6:25 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$180.00	the rest!
3/9/2020	8:53 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	groceries
3/14/2020	11:56 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	reimbursement
3/15/2020	7:17 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 2	\$800.00	covid
3/16/2020	7:31 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	dinner
3/19/2020	1:12 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	good
3/22/2020	11:38 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$300.00	groceries
3/27/2020	4:07 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$425.00	groceries
4/12/2020	9:12 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$100.00	gas
4/21/2020	8:36 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$500.00	here
4/28/2020	5:44 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 2	\$300.00	☘
5/3/2020	1:26 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$95.00	last shift transfer
8/13/2020	8:25 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 9	\$250.00	baby ☐ gift!!
8/20/2020	8:28 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$200.00	clear

DATE	TIME	SENDER ACCOUNT	COUNTERPARTY	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
9/14/2020	2:30 AM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 2	\$250.00	Covid help
10/1/2020	12:57 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	travel expenses
10/13/2020	7:13 PM	Personal CashApp Account #1	Woman 1	\$400.00	travel
1/19/2021		Personal Checking Account #1	[Woman 1 Counsel]	\$50,000.00	Wire Transfer
1/19/2021		[Woman 1 Counsel]	Matt Gaetz	\$49,975.00	Deposited to Personal Checking Account #1
1/22/2021		Personal Checking Account #1	[Woman 1 Counsel]	\$50,000.00	Wire Transfer

EXHIBIT 4





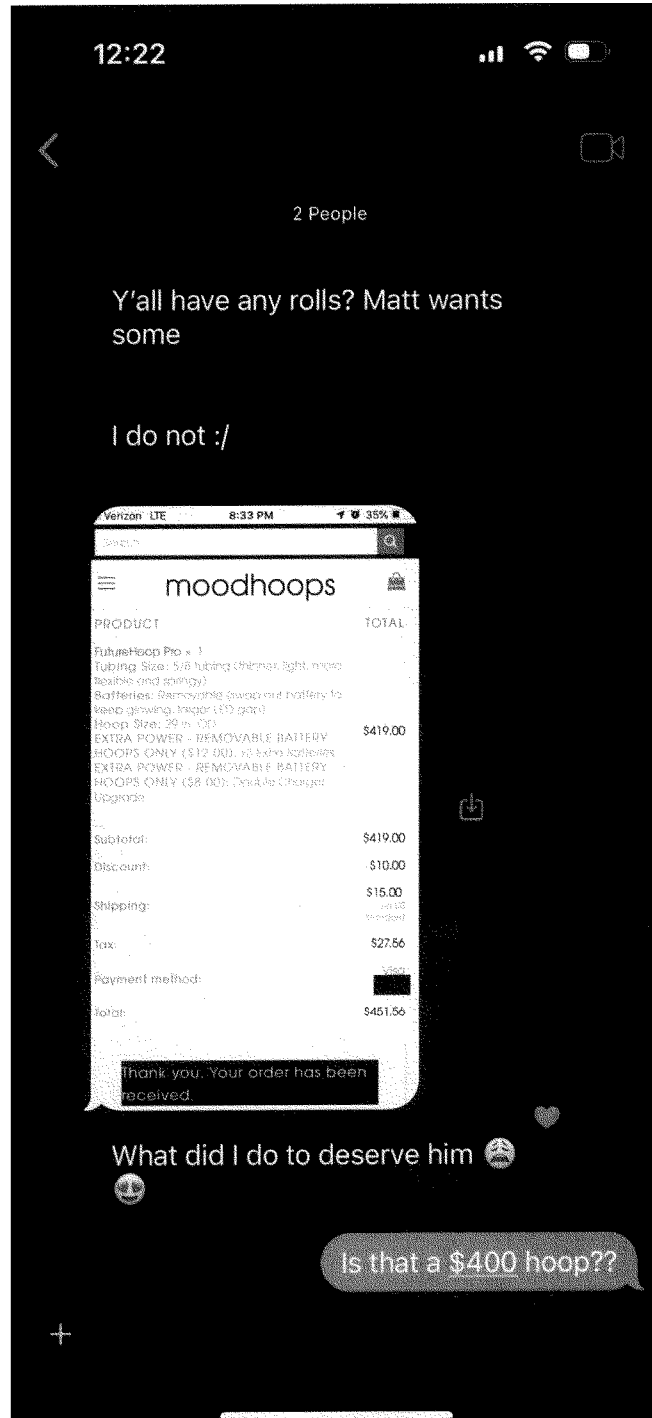
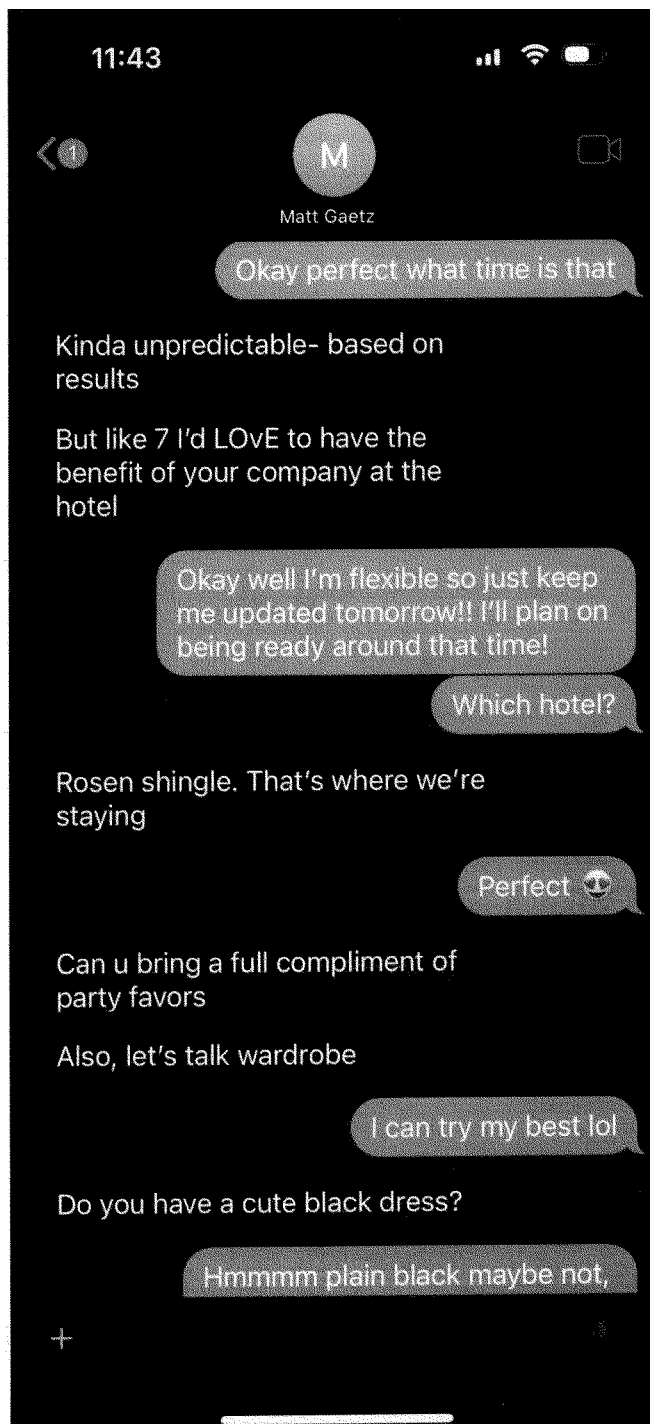
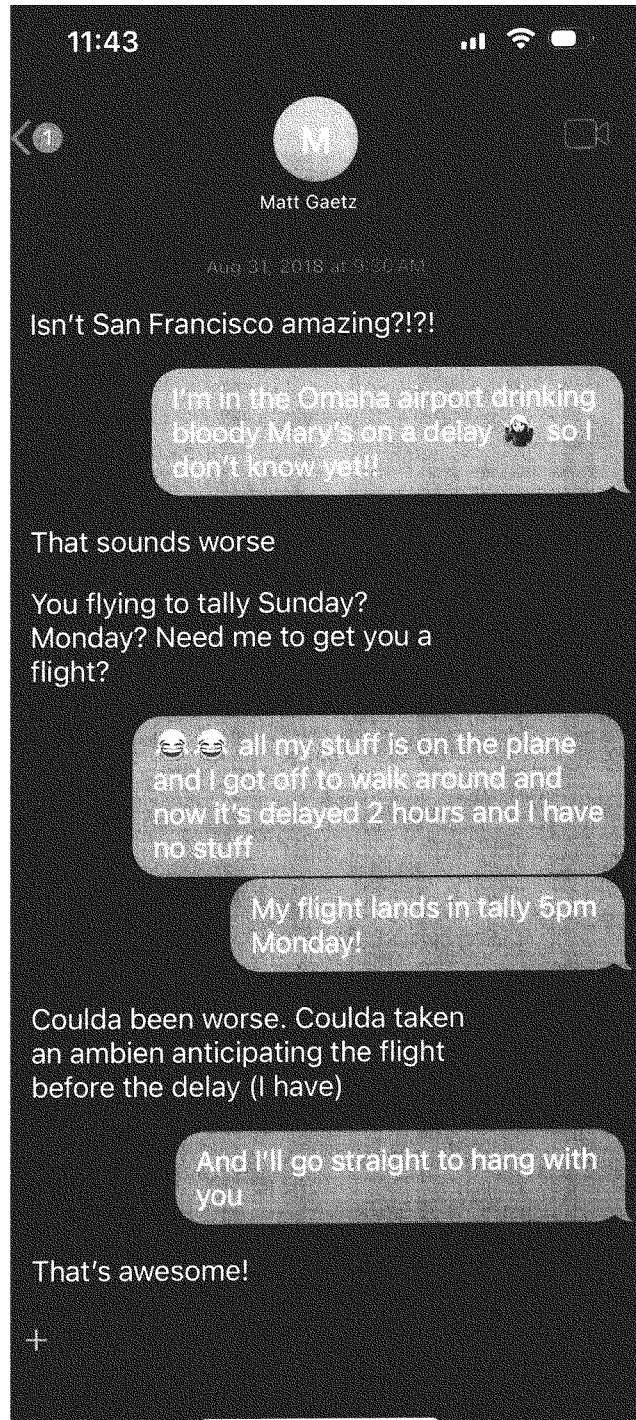


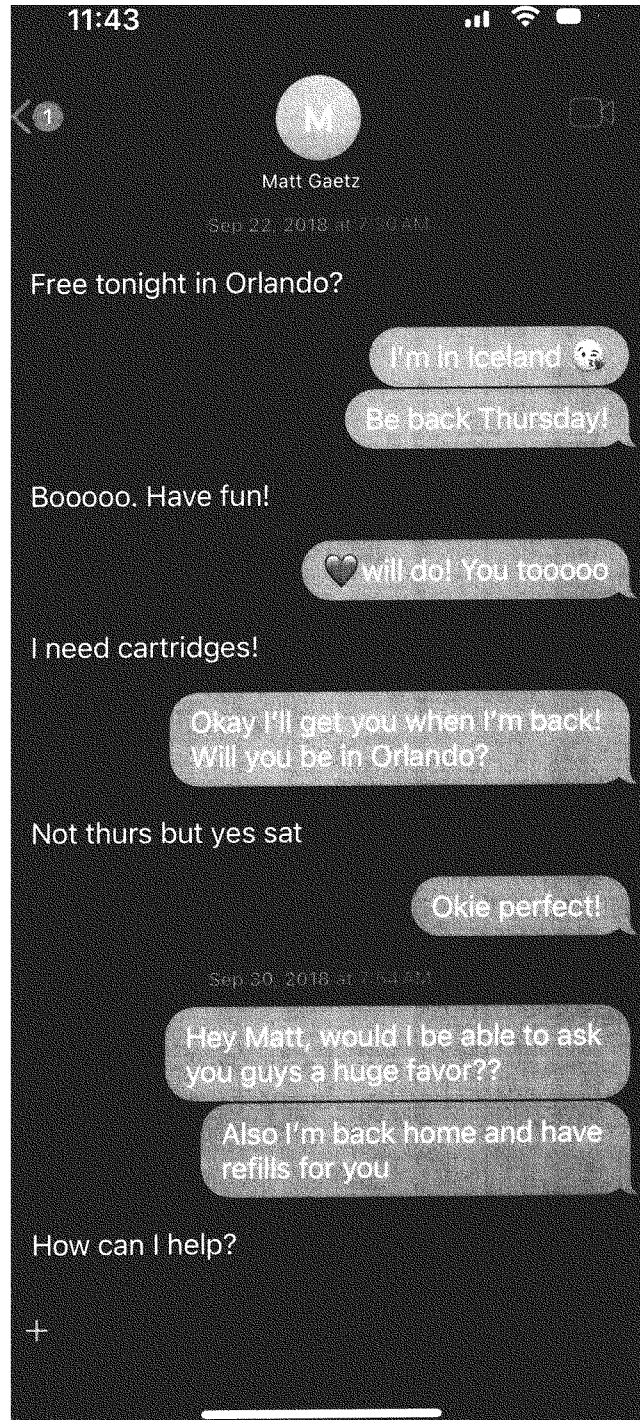
EXHIBIT 5

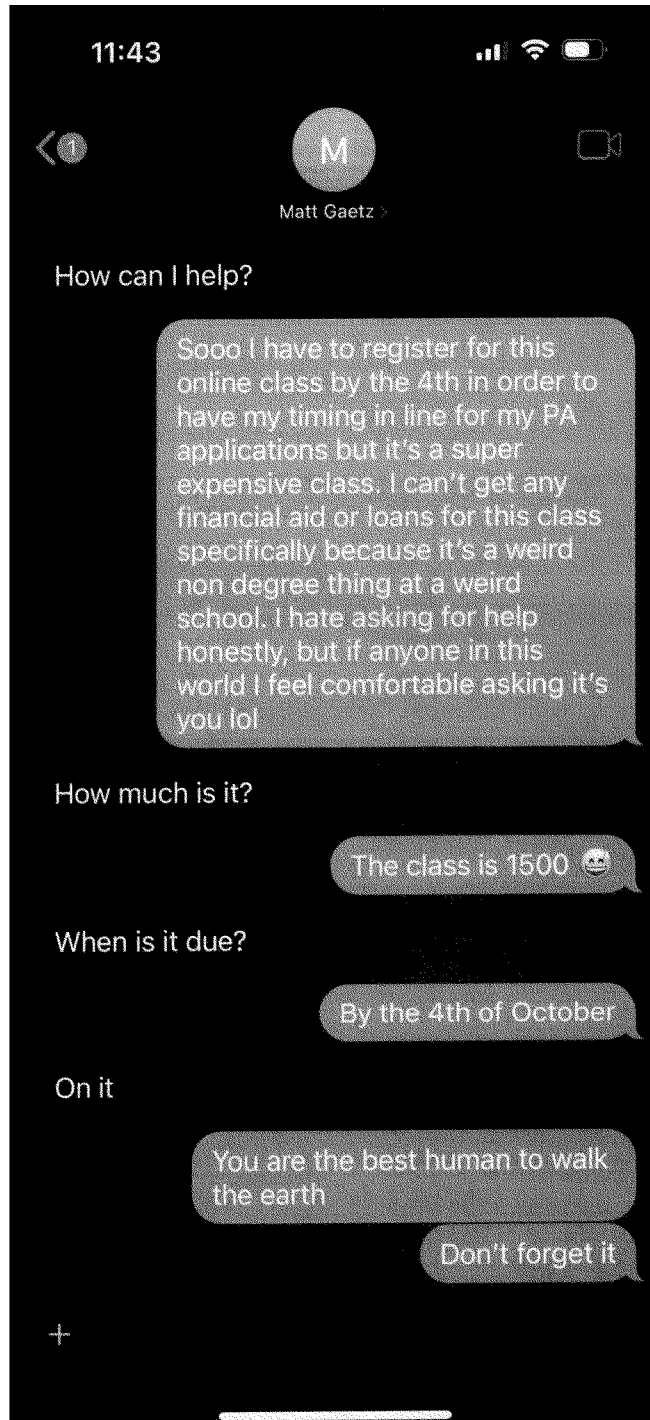


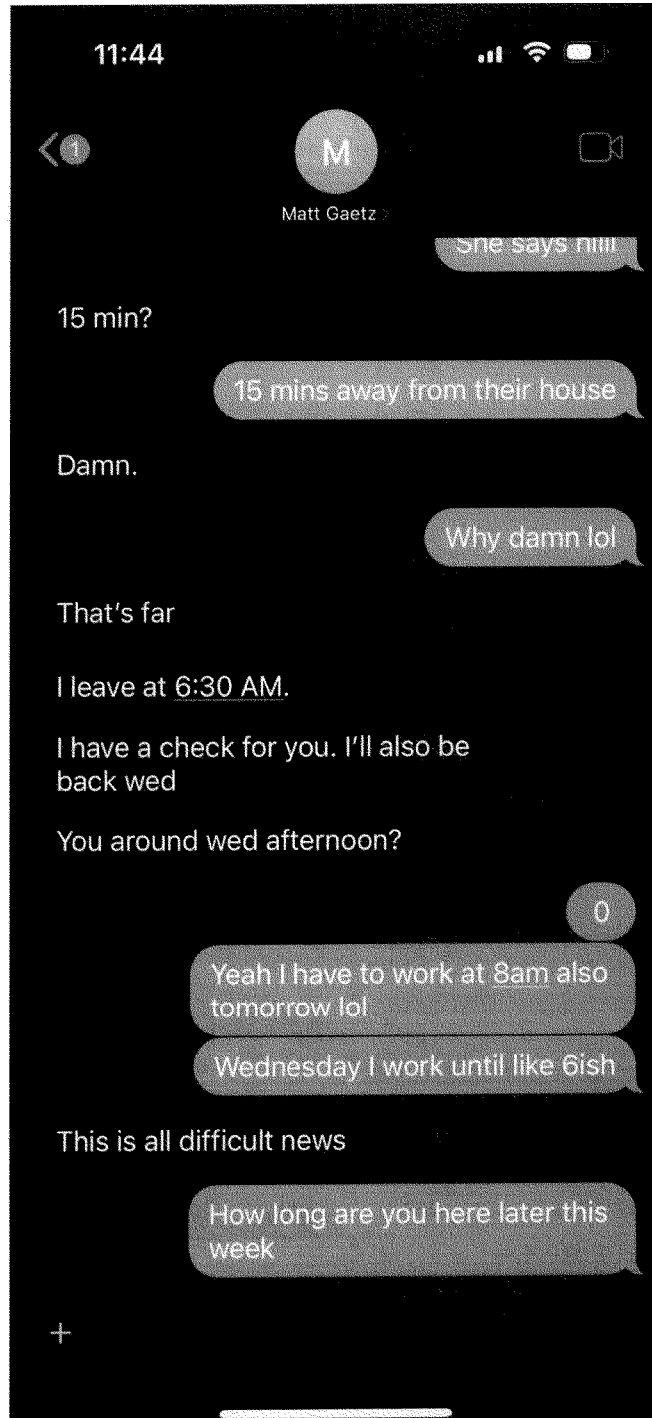


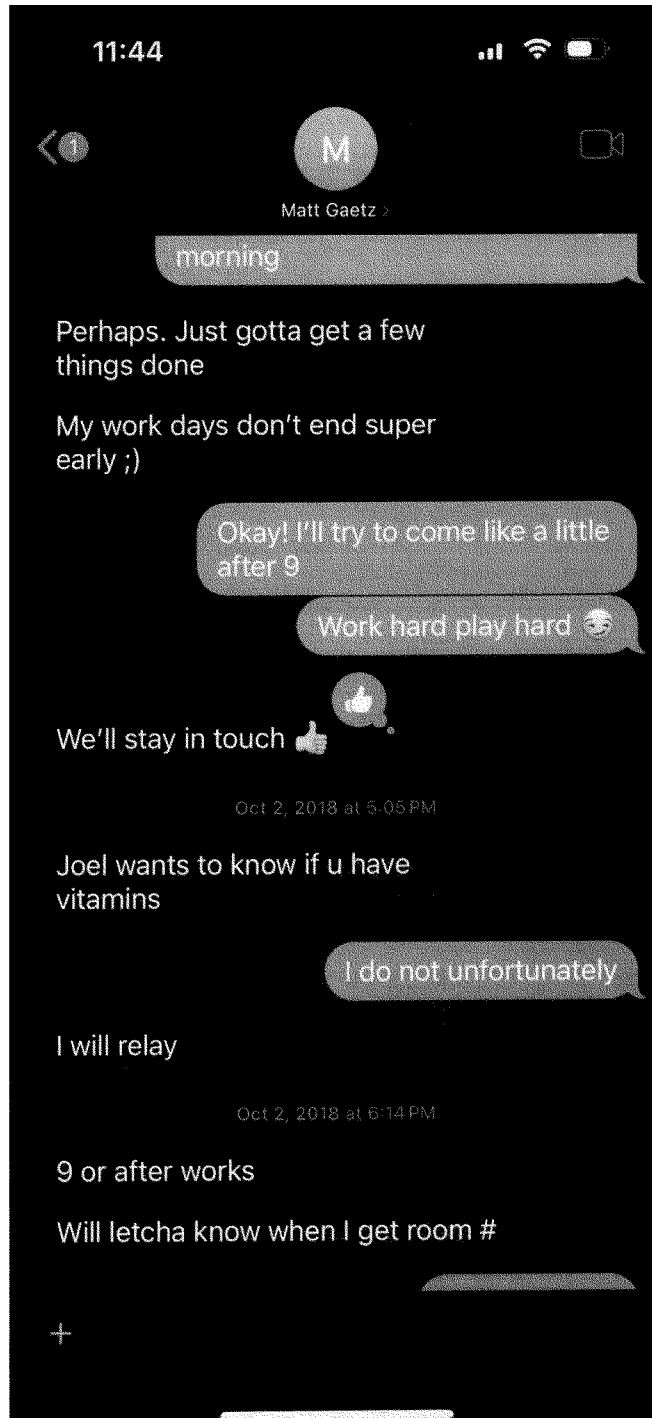




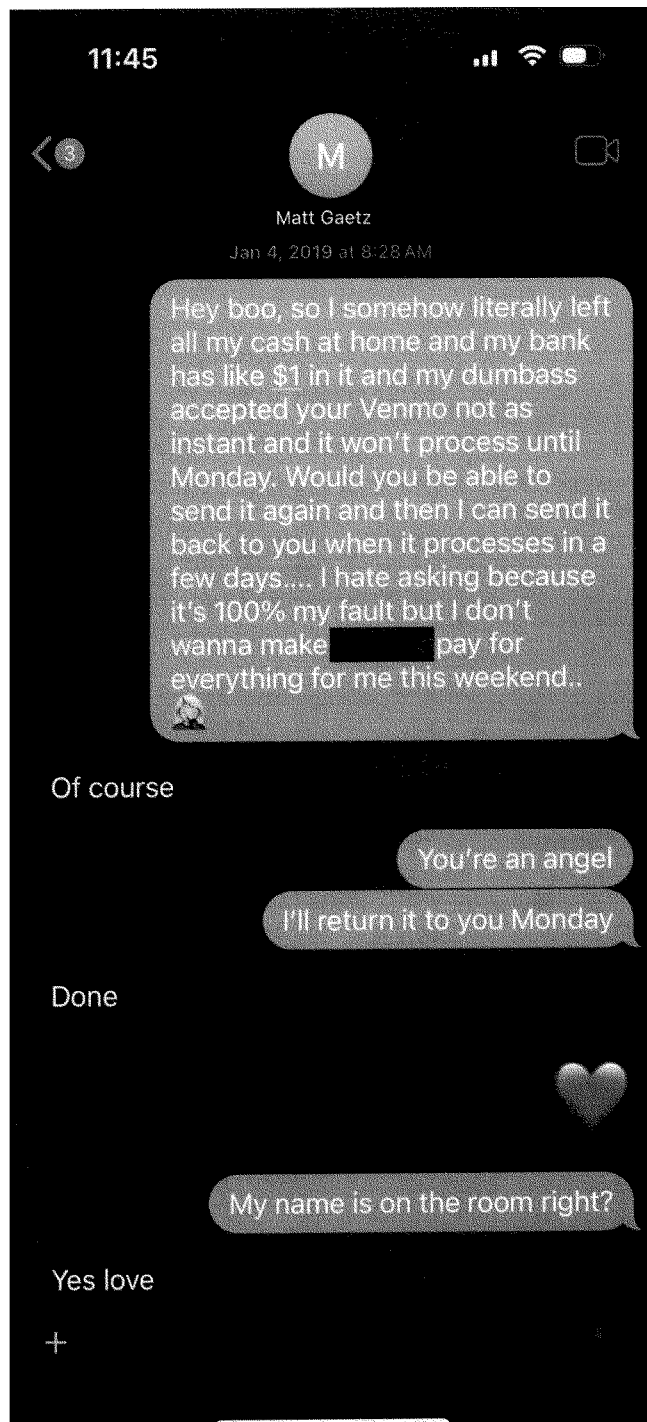












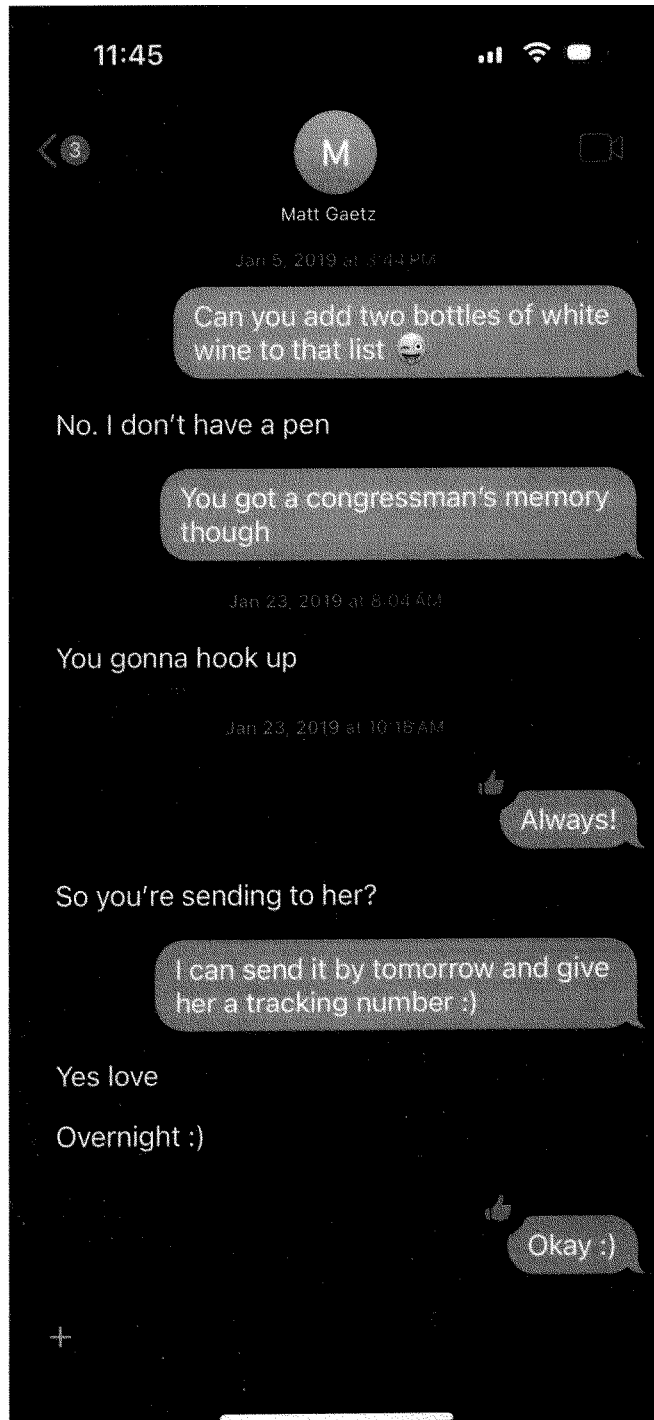


EXHIBIT 6

To: Matt Gaetz

Monday 2:22 PM

Hey - any interest in flying on a private plane to the keys may 19-21?

Yeah is it a weekend?

Yep

2 guys, 4 girls. A very high-quality, adventurous group

The keys are fun

Yeah I'm in

Fantastic. As is true with all time you spend w me, it'll be fun and very chill

Awesome

Monday 9:39 PM

You have a passport?

Yeah



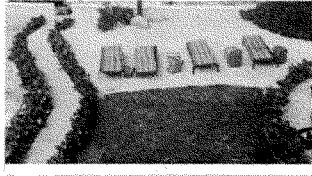
iMessage



EXHIBIT 7

Reserve: Sep 19, 19

Your stay at [redacted] place



SNORKELING PARADISE, INFINITY POOL, MINI BEACH

Check-in

Thu, Sep 19
5:00 PM

Check-out

Sun, Sep 16
11:00 AM

Guests

1 Adult (18+)
1 Adult (18+)
\$2,999.00

Reservation details

Get a better deal on your stay

10% off

10% off

Get a better deal on your stay

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Get a better deal on your stay

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Get a better deal on your stay

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10% off

Get a better deal on your stay

10% off

10% off

Cancellation policy

100% refund (no penalty)

100% refund (no penalty)

100% refund (no penalty)

100% refund (no penalty)

100% refund (no penalty)

Cutoff times are based on the listing's local time

Check-in details

Where you're staying

100% refund (no penalty)

100% refund (no penalty)

100% refund (no penalty)

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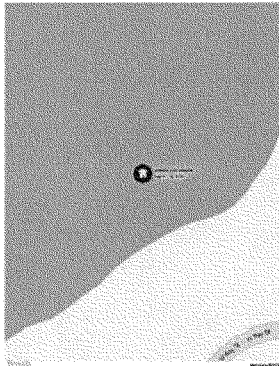


EXHIBIT 8

EXHIBIT 6

To: Matt Gaetz

Monday 2:22 PM

Hey - any interest in flying on a private plane to the keys may 19-21?

Yeah is it a weekend?

Yep

2 guys, 4 girls. A very high-quality, adventurous group

The keys are fun

Yeah I'm in

Fantastic. As is true with all time you spend w me, it'll be fun and very chill

Awesome

Monday 9:39 PM

You have a passport?

Yeah



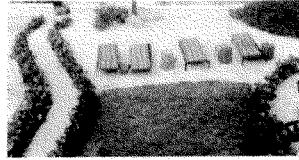
iMessage



EXHIBIT 7

2020, Sep 19, 10

Your stay at [REDACTED] place



SNORKELING PARADISE INFINITY POOL, MINI BEACH

Check-in
 Thu, Sep 18
 3:00 PM

Check-out
 Sun, Sep 20
 11:00 AM

Hosted by

[REDACTED]
 Entire home in [REDACTED]
 3 bedrooms

Reservation details

- 1. Total cost breakdown
- 2. Payments
- 3. Cancellation

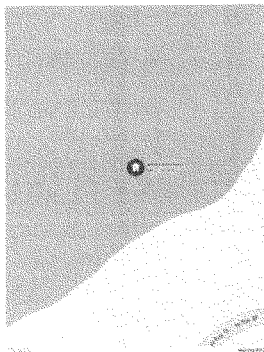
Costing there

- Address: [REDACTED]
- Property: [REDACTED]
- Location: [REDACTED]

Where you're staying

House rules
 - No smoking or drinking on the property
 - If you damage or stain the property, you'll be responsible for the cost of repairs
 - No pets or animals on the property
 - A 10% cleaning fee is included in the total price
 - A 10% service fee is included in the total price

- 1. House rules
- 2. Amenities
- 3. Location
- 4. Reviews
- 5. Host profile



Cancellation policy

- 1. Free cancellation until 30 days before check-in
- 2. All-in-one rate: \$10,000 (including the entire stay)
- 3. Sep 18, 3:00 PM: Check-in
- 4. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-out
- 5. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-in
- 6. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-out

- 1. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-in
- 2. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-out
- 3. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-in
- 4. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-out
- 5. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-in
- 6. Sep 19, 11:00 AM: Check-out

Check-in times are based on the property's local time

Get the details

Check-in times are based on the property's local time

Check-in times are based on the property's local time

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Check-in times are based on the property's local time

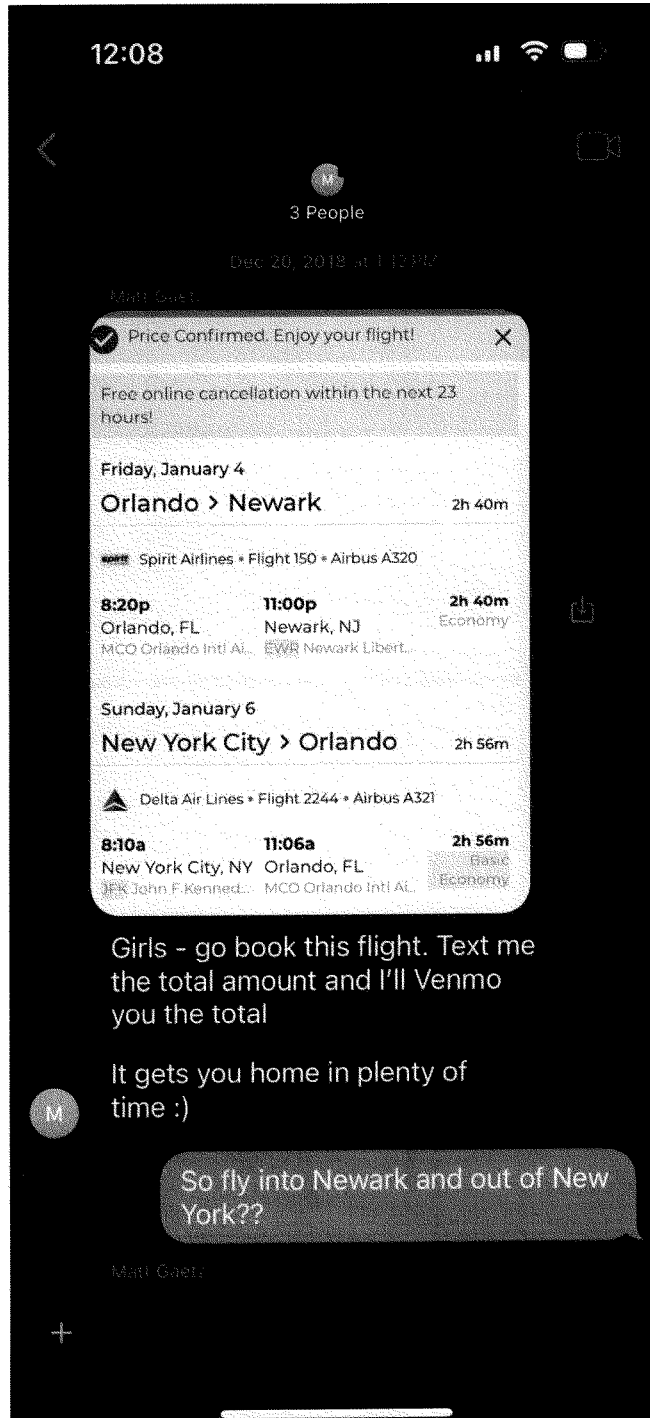
Check-in times are based on the property's local time

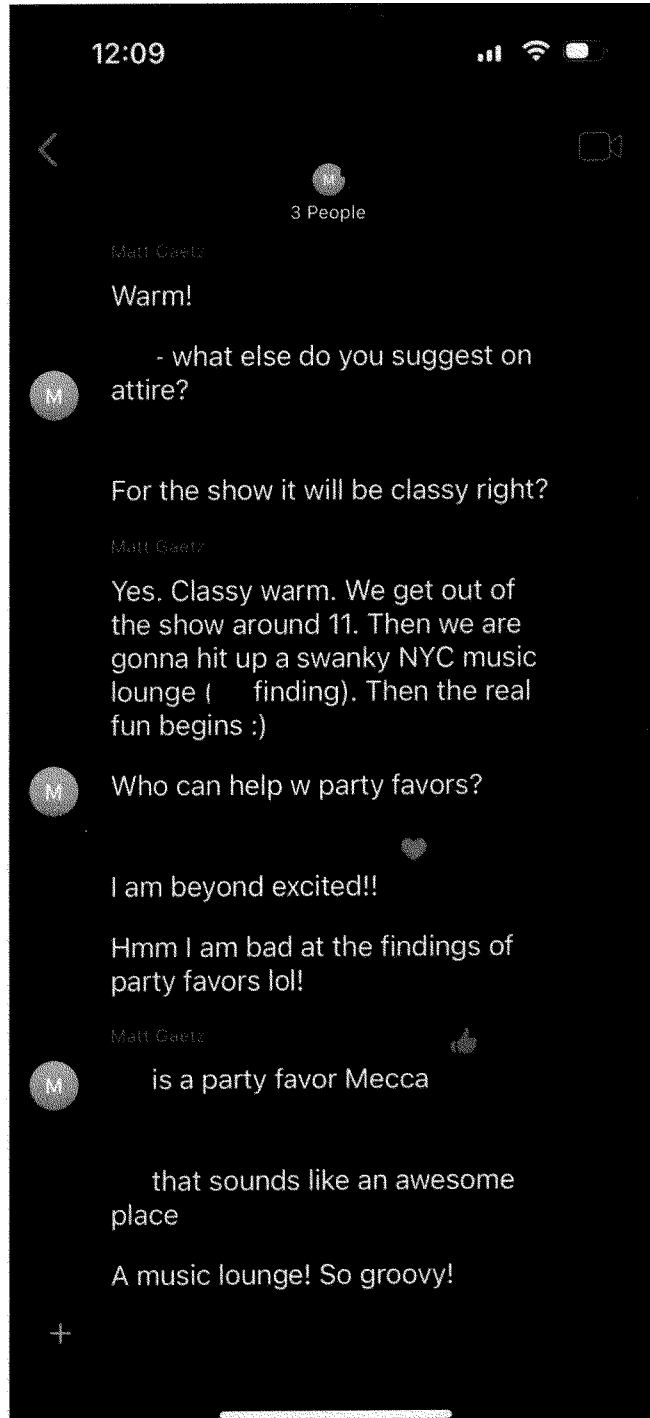
Check-in times are based on the property's local time

Check-in times are based on the property's local time

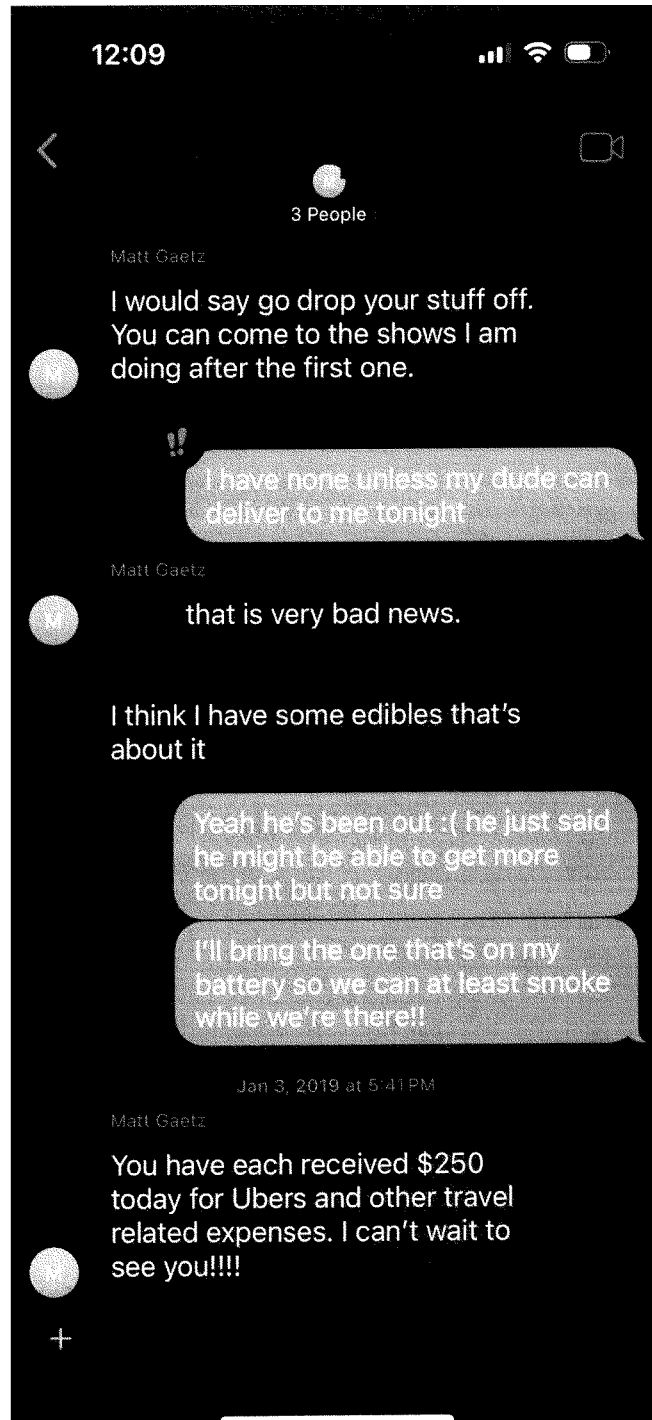
Check-in times are based on the property's local time

EXHIBIT 8









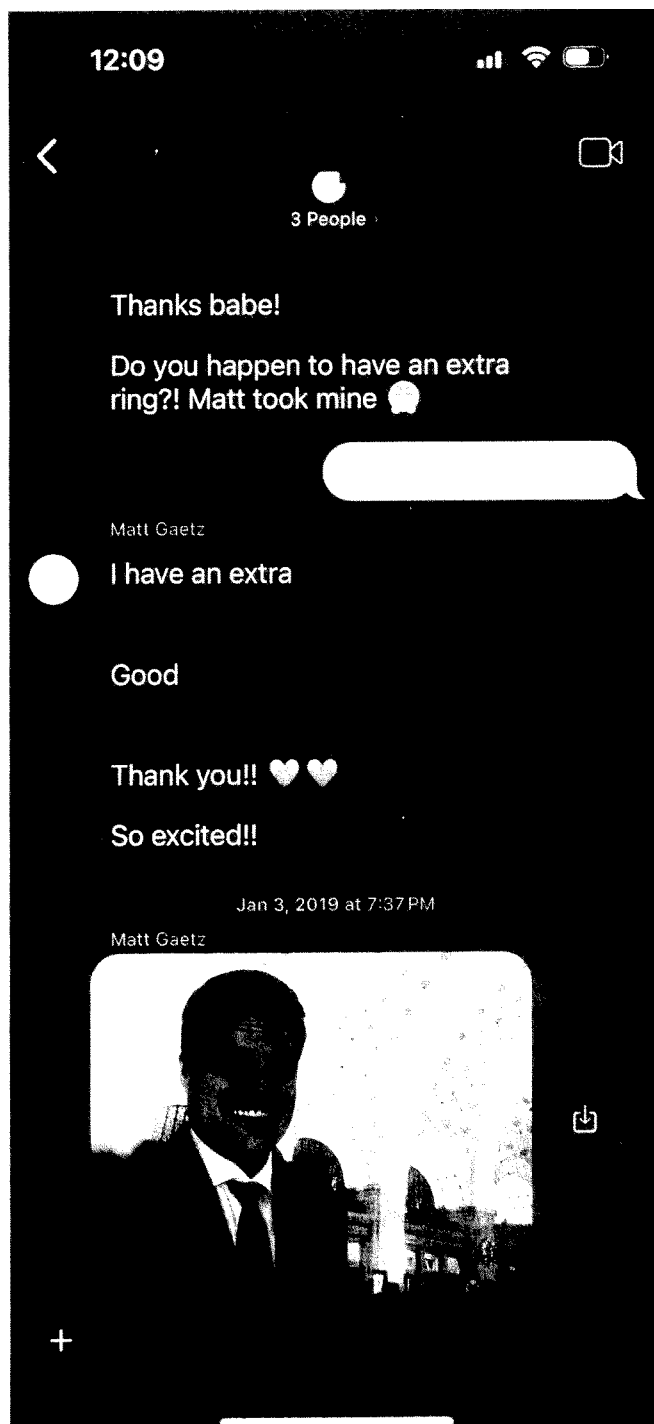


EXHIBIT 9

Entries Report

<i>Entry time</i>	<i>Guest name</i>	<i>Tag #1</i>	<i>Tag #2</i>	<i>Destination:</i>

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:

277

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:
07/15/2017 03:20:45 PM	C DORWORTH			
07/15/2017 04:42:24 PM				
07/15/2017 06:15:21 PM				
07/15/2017 08:50:01 PM				
07/15/2017 11:15:14 PM				
07/15/2017 11:16:44 PM				
07/19/2017 02:04:30 PM				
07/19/2017 05:15:03 PM				
07/19/2017 06:08:00 PM				
07/19/2017 08:31:48 PM				
07/19/2017 08:40:49 PM				
07/19/2017 10:05:04 PM				
07/19/2017 11:10:20 PM				

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:
[REDACTED]				

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:

Entry time	Guest name	Tag #1	Tag #2	Destination:

Your Entries:

EXHIBIT 10



U.S. Customs and Border Protection
U.S. Department of Homeland Security
TECS - Person Encounter List

10/12/2023 13:38 EDT

Generated By: [REDACTED]

Page 1 of 1

Last Name	First Name	DOB	Doc Type	Document Number	Date - Time (Eastern)	Carrier Code	I/O	Site	Insp	Type	Status	Updated Status	Ref	Arr Loc	Dep Loc
GAETZ II	MATTHEW	05/07/1982	P	[REDACTED]	09/16/2018 11:46	N89BR *GA	I	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	AFIS	PASSENGER			KORL	MTNN
GAETZ II	MATTHEW LOUIS	05/07/1982	P	[REDACTED]	09/13/2018 00:00	YX	O			AFIS	ON BOARD			NAS	MLA
Total Number of Records: 2															

Legend	
Codes	Value
NAS	NASSAU INTL
MLA	MIAMI INTL, FL
MTNN	MTNN
KORL	KORL

Doc Type	
Codes	Value
P	P - PASSPORT

Site Code	
Codes	Value
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED] - CBP-ORLANDO, EXEC AP USER FEE

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PERSON NUMBER	CARRIER CODE	CONVIVANCE NUMBER	DEPARTURE DATE	ARRIVAL DATE	DEPARTURE PORT	ARRIVAL PORT	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP COUNTRY CODE	GENDER	PASSPORT COUNTRY CODE	PASSPORT NUMBER
[REDACTED]	*GA	N898R	09/16/2018 09:30	09/16/2018 11:30	NAS	ORL	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	11/27/1976	US	M	US	[REDACTED]
	*GA	N898R	09/16/2018 09:30	09/16/2018 11:30	NAS	ORL	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	11/27/1976	US	F	US	[REDACTED]
	*GA	N898R	09/16/2018 09:30	09/16/2018 11:30	NAS	ORL	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	11/27/1976	US	F	US	[REDACTED]
	*GA	N898R	09/16/2018 09:30	09/16/2018 11:30	NAS	ORL	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	11/27/1976	US	M	US	[REDACTED]

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