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One Hundred Nineteenth Congress
U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Foreign Affairs
2170 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
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September 30, 2026

The Honorable Marco Rubio
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
2201 C St. NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Rubio:

I write to you with deep concern over the reported conduct of U.S. Ambassador to Greece Kimberly Guilfoyle, including allegations that she advocated for U.S. interference to bring down sovereign democratic governments, used her position to promote the commercial interests of a particular Greek company in official diplomatic engagements, and repeatedly allowed a registered lobbyist for that foreign company to participate in meetings with senior U.S. government officials. If these reports are accurate, Ambassador Guilfoyle is unfit to represent the United States abroad and should be removed from her position.

According to a *Wall Street Journal* investigation published on September 25, 2026, Ambassador Guilfoyle told attendees at a March dinner with Greek and American officials, while discussing the impending collapse of then-Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Bolojan's government, that the United States could bring about similar political change in other countries, including Greece. This allegation has prompted public concern in both Greece and Romania about whether the United States government interferes in the democratic governments of its NATO allies.¹ Greek opposition parties have publicly sought answers from their government regarding the reported remarks.

The same reporting raises separate concerns regarding Ambassador Guilfoyle's relationship with Christos Marafatsos, a registered lobbyist for Greek construction and energy company Aktor Group. Federal lobbying records cited by the *Wall Street Journal* show that Aktor paid Mr. Marafatsos \$160,000 through June 2026 to establish connections with, among others, the Department of State, Department of Energy, and Executive Office of the President. The *Journal* further reported that Mr. Marafatsos accompanied Ambassador Guilfoyle to numerous official U.S. government meetings, including meetings with foreign heads of government and other

senior officials, and that some participants were not informed that he was a paid lobbyist for Aktor, with some foreign officials reportedly mistaking him for the Ambassador's chief of staff.²

These concerns are heightened by reporting that Ambassador Guilfoyle has promoted Aktor or Aktor-affiliated energy projects, during official engagements throughout Southeast Europe.

In the Spring of 2026, for example, Ambassador Guilfoyle participated in official talks with Bulgaria's president and prime minister concerning the Vertical Gas Corridor and regional energy cooperation. Bulgarian official reporting confirms those meetings.³ The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Mr. Marafatsos participated in the meeting with Bulgaria's president while representing Aktor and that Ambassador Guilfoyle urged Bulgarian officials to work with the company.

Similar questions arise from Ambassador Guilfoyle's activities in Albania. The Albanian government publicly confirmed that she attended a signing ceremony in April of this year involving a long-term Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) arrangement with Venture Global and Aktor LNG USA, which Ambassador Guilfoyle described as a \$6 billion commitment advancing the Administration's energy agenda.⁴ The *Journal* separately reported that she had made an earlier, unpublicized visit to Albania in March 2026 without U.S. Embassy staff, arriving after nightfall and proceeding directly, accompanied by Mr. Marafatsos and Aktor CEO Alexandros Exarchou, into an official meeting with Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama, where she pitched Albania on energy cooperation, before returning for the signing ceremony the following month.

The *Journal* further reported that Mr. Exarchou provided Ambassador Guilfoyle transportation to Bulgaria aboard a private aircraft. A U.S. Embassy official told the *Journal* that Ambassador Guilfoyle's travel was in "full compliance with State Department guidance."⁵ Given Aktor's substantial commercial interests in the same energy initiatives Ambassador Guilfoyle was promoting in her official capacity, this statement raises questions as to the Department's basis for that determination and whether the travel, its value, and its source were reviewed by Department ethics officials.

The reported engagements between Ambassador Guilfoyle and Aktor stakeholders also raise fundamental questions about conflicts of interest, preferential access, and the use of U.S. government public office to advance private commercial interests, including those of foreign companies. The Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch prohibit employees from using public office for private gain and establish requirements intended to preserve impartiality in the performance of official duties.⁶

I am also concerned by separate reporting regarding Ambassador Guilfoyle's private commercial activity during the period surrounding her Senate confirmation process. The *Journal* reported that, around the time of her confirmation, she sought outside investment of \$3 million from a Greek-American businessman for a vodka company in which she is financially involved, though the reporting notes her attorney disputed that account.⁷ Given her subsequent role overseeing one of the United States' most commercially significant bilateral relationships in Southeast Europe, the Department should clarify what ethics review occurred regarding her private business interests and whether any recusals, divestitures, waivers, or other ethics arrangements were required.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs has primary jurisdiction under House Rule X over relations of the United States with foreign nations generally, to include oversight of the conduct of officials

responsible for carrying out such diplomatic activities. I am deeply concerned that Ambassador Guilfoyle's reported conduct risks damaging relations with U.S. allies, enabling malign actors seeking to portray the United States government as anti-democratic, and opening the door to corrupt influence on U.S. foreign policy.

Accordingly, I request that you provide answers to the following questions and requested documents by no later than October 15, 2026:

- 1) **Romania and Greece.** Is the *Wall Street Journal* report accurate that Ambassador Guilfoyle stated, in substance, that the United States had participated in or could bring about the collapse of the Romanian government and could similarly do so in Greece? If not, please provide the Department's understanding of what was said.
 - a) What was Ambassador Guilfoyle's basis for suggesting that the United States played a role in the collapse of the Romanian government?
 - b) Did the Department, White House, National Security Council, or any other U.S. government entity authorize or direct any activity intended to influence the composition or survival of the Romanian government?
- 2) **Department response.** When did the Department first become aware of Ambassador Guilfoyle's reported remarks regarding Romania and Greece? What corrective action has the Department taken to address these remarks with Ambassador Guilfoyle directly? Has the Department communicated with the governments of Romania or Greece regarding those remarks?
- 3) **Mr. Marafatsos's role.** What official or unofficial roles or responsibilities, if any, has Christos Marafatsos performed for Ambassador Guilfoyle, Embassy Athens, or the Department of State?
 - a) Has Mr. Marafatsos, either in his personal capacity or through any businesses or ventures with which he is associated, received direct funding from any overseas U.S. missions or from the Department of State? If so, please indicate the amount, source, and purpose of such funding and the date on which it was provided.
 - b) Please identify every official meeting, diplomatic engagement, official trip, or event since Ambassador Guilfoyle assumed office in which Mr. Marafatsos participated with her or other Embassy personnel, including:
 - i) the date and location;
 - ii) participating U.S. and foreign officials;
 - iii) the purpose of the meeting;
 - iv) whether Mr. Marafatsos's lobbying clients or business interests were discussed; and
 - v) whether participants were informed that Mr. Marafatsos was a registered lobbyist and, where applicable, that he represented Aktor or another entity with a financial interest in the subject of the meeting.
 - c) Did Embassy Athens or the Department conduct any ethics, legal, security, counterintelligence, or conflicts-of-interest review before permitting Mr. Marafatsos to participate in official meetings or access the Ambassador's residence for official business? If so, please provide copies of any such review(s).
 - d) Did Ambassador Guilfoyle or any Embassy employee direct foreign officials, companies, investors, or other individuals to communicate with Mr. Marafatsos

regarding matters involving official U.S. policy or potential commercial transactions? If so, please identify each instance and explain the Department's justification.

- 4) **Aktor.** Has Ambassador Guilfoyle advocated that any foreign government, state-owned enterprise, or private company enter into a commercial relationship with Aktor Group, Atlantic-SEE LNG, Aktor LNG USA, or any Aktor affiliate? If so, please identify each instance and explain the U.S. policy basis for advocating on behalf of that particular company.
 - a) When did Ambassador Guilfoyle learn of Mr. Marafatsos's status as a lobbyist for Aktor Group? When did other senior Embassy officials – including the Deputy Chief of Mission, Regional Security Officer, and section heads – learn of Mr. Marafatsos's status as a lobbyist for Aktor Group? Were Embassy officials informed of Mr. Marafatsos's status as a lobbyist for Aktor Group prior to participating in meetings with him?
 - b) Did Aktor, Mr. Exarchou, Mr. Marafatsos, or any company represented by Mr. Marafatsos receive access to U.S. officials, meetings, information, introductions, or other assistance that similarly situated competitors did not receive? What procedures did the Department use to ensure impartial treatment among competing U.S. and foreign companies?
- 5) **Private aircraft travel.** Did Ambassador Guilfoyle travel aboard an aircraft owned, chartered, paid for, or otherwise provided by Aktor, Mr. Exarchou, or an Aktor affiliate?
 - a) If so:
 - i) identify each flight, the date of travel, and the departure and destination cities;
 - ii) state the value and source of the transportation;
 - iii) identify the legal authority under which the transportation was accepted;
 - iv) state whether the transportation was reported as a gift, reimbursed, or accepted as official travel; and
 - v) provide any ethics or legal determinations approving the arrangement.
 - b) Did Ambassador Guilfoyle or any member of her staff seek advice from the Department's Office of the Legal Adviser, ethics officials, the Office of Inspector General, or another Department component regarding her interactions with Aktor or Mr. Marafatsos? Please provide copies of any resulting determinations, guidance, opinions, waivers, authorizations, or recusals.
- 6) **Private financial interests.** Please identify all private business interests, outside positions, financial interests, or business relationships disclosed by Ambassador Guilfoyle upon entering government service that involved Greece, Greek nationals, Greek companies, or persons subsequently involved in matters before Embassy Athens.
 - a) Since assuming her position, has Ambassador Guilfoyle participated in any particular matter in which she has a direct financial interest, to include any matters involving Polished Rice, Inc.? Please also identify any matters in which Ambassador Guilfoyle was authorized to participate pursuant to the impartiality regulations at 5 C.F.R. Part 2635, Subpart E, or received a waiver pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 208(b)(1).

- b) Has the Department reviewed whether any conduct described in the September 25, 2026, *Wall Street Journal* report implicates the Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch, including restrictions on the misuse of public office for private gain or requirements concerning impartiality, or otherwise violates her Ethics Agreement with the Office of Government Ethics? If so, please describe the review and its conclusions.
- c) Has the Department of State Inspector General opened, considered opening, or been asked to open any review concerning Ambassador Guilfoyle's interactions with Mr. Marafatsos, Aktor, or other private commercial entities?
- d) Please provide all Department and Embassy Athens records from September 2025 to the present relating or referring to any of the following:
 - i) Christos Marafatsos;
 - ii) Aktor Group, Aktor Energy, Aktor LNG USA, and Atlantic-SEE LNG;
 - iii) Alexandros Exarchou;
 - iv) Ambassador Guilfoyle's official travel to Bulgaria, Albania, and Romania;
 - v) transportation furnished to Ambassador Guilfoyle by private individuals or companies;
 - vi) Department ethics advice concerning Ambassador Guilfoyle's private financial or business interests; and
 - vii) the reported March 2026 conversation concerning the governments of Romania and Greece.

Sincerely,



GREGORY W. MEEKS

Ranking Member

CC: Arne B. Baker, Acting Inspector General, U.S. Department of State

References

1. Rebecca Ballhaus, Dana Mattioli, Joe Parkinson & Drew Hinshaw, *The Mystery Man Shadowing Kimberly Guilfoyle as She Pushes Deals Across Europe*, *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 25, 2026 <https://www.wsj.com/articles/kimberly-guilfoyle-mystery-man-energy-5adeb541?msocid=3aa88f27210b620a37de98a5207c63cf> Ambassador Guilfoyle's attorney disputed the WSJ's description of the exchange. See also *Opposition questions government over US ambassador's alleged remarks*, *Kathimerini* (English edition) [Opposition questions government over US ambassador's alleged remarks | eKathimerini.com](https://www.kathimerini.com/2026/09/25/opposition-questions-government-over-us-ambassador-s-alleged-remarks-609056.html) and <https://hellaz.eu/portal/opposition-questions-government-over-us-ambassador-s-alleged-remarks-609056.html>]; *US ambassador's alleged remarks on Ilie Bolojan government trigger reactions in Bucharest*, *Romania Insider* (reporting that PSD leader Sorin Grindeanu and AUR leader George Simion rejected any suggestion of U.S. involvement), <https://www.romania-insider.com/society/us-ambassadors-alleged-remarks-ilie-bolojan-government-trigger>
2. *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 25, 2026 (see note 1) (federal lobbying records reported therein show Aktor paid Marafatsos \$160,000 through June 2026 to establish connections with the Executive Office of the President, the State Department, and the Energy Department). Marafatsos's first Aktor lobbying registration was reportedly filed Nov. 5, 2025. Independently compiled LDA filings naming Marafatsos are discussed in *WSJ Turns Spotlight on Marafatsos and Guilfoyle*, *Helleniscope*, Sept. 25, 2026, <https://www.helleniscope.com/2026/09/25/wsj-turns-spotlight-on-marafatsos-and-guilfoyle-following-the-trail-helleniscope-started/>. See also e.g., Catalyst Strategies, LLC, LD-2 Quarterly Activity Report for Catalyst Strategies, LLC, 1/1/26-3/31/26, filed on April 20, 2026, <https://lda.gov/filings/public/filing/d577bd1e-3239-4d03-ba38-5e7bca756bed/print/>.
3. Bulgarian News Agency, *President Iotova, US Ambassador to Greece Guilfoyle Discuss Bulgaria's Role in Region's Energy Security*, Apr. 1, 2026, <https://www.bta.bg/en/news/bulgaria/1097420-president-iotova-us-ambassador-to-greece-guilfoyle-discuss-bulgaria-s-role-in-r>; Bulgarian News Agency, *Bulgarian PM, US Ambassador to Greece Discuss Opportunities for Accelerated Development of Vertical Gas Corridor*, Apr. 1, 2026, <https://www.bta.bg/en/news/bulgaria/1097434-bulgarian-pm-us-ambassador-to-greece-discuss-opportunities-for-accelerated-deve>. The WSJ dates Marafatsos's attendance and the private-jet travel only to "this spring." Ambassador Guilfoyle also met President Iotova in Sofia in late May 2026 with Rudy Giuliani. Ambassador Kimberly Guilfoyle (@USAmbassadorGR), X, May 29, 2026, <https://x.com/USAmbassadorGR/status/2060347255928828396>
4. Government of Albania, Council of Ministers, *Energy Security: Important Steps Undertaken Toward Diversifying Energy Sources and Strengthening Energy Independence*, Apr. 28, 2026, <https://www.kryeministria.al/en/newsroom/siguria-energjetike-ndermerren-hapa-te-rendesishem-drejt-diversifikimit-te-burimeve-te-energiise-dhe-forcimit-te-pavaresise-energjetike/> (confirming Ambassador Guilfoyle's attendance); Ambassador Kimberly Guilfoyle (@USAmbassadorGR), X, Apr. 28, 2026 (describing the agreement as a "\$6B commitment" and stating she traveled "to advance @POTUS' energy agenda"), <https://x.com/USAmbassadorGR/status/2049075907214680469>; *Albania, US firms sign \$6bn LNG deal to boost Balkan energy security*, *bne IntelliNews*, Apr. 29, 2026, <https://www.intellinews.com/albania-us-firms-sign-6bn-lng-deal-to-boost-balkan-energy->

[security-440217/](#). The earlier March Tirana visit is reported in the *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 25, 2026 (see note 1).

5. *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 25, 2026 (see note 1). An U.S. Embassy official told the paper the Bulgaria travel was in "full compliance with State Department guidance."

6. Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch, 5 C.F.R. part 2635, including: § 2635.101(b) (basic obligations of public service); subpart B, §§ 2635.201–.205 (gifts from outside sources); § 2635.502 (personal and business relationships); and § 2635.702 (use of public office for private gain). <https://www.ecfr.gov/current/title-5/chapter-XVI/subchapter-B/part-2635> U.S. Office of Government Ethics training module, *Use of Public Office for Private Gain*, <https://extapps2.oge.gov/Training/OGETTraining.nsf/0/5525B91034FAC6868525890900634663>

7. *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 25, 2026 (see note 1). Ambassador Guilfoyle's attorney denied that she sought a \$3 million investment and stated that she has not pursued private business ventures since entering public service.