United States Senate WASHINGTON, DC 20510

February 19, 2025

Hannah Bergman Acting General Counsel National Archives and Records Administration 700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20408

Dear Ms. Bergman:

Since 2021, we have conducted oversight of Joe Biden's use of multiple pseudonyms and personal email addresses for official government business when he served as Vice President.¹ Despite our multiple requests for information, the Biden White House failed to respond. Our offices have also sent five letters to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), requesting documents in NARA's possession that are vital to our oversight.² Unfortunately, as we will explain, NARA has also failed to provide all the information that we have sought involving Joe Biden.

In June 2021, we requested NARA provide records connected to our review of the Biden family's financial dealings and potential conflicts of interest.³ Despite our letter identifying specific communication custodians and subjects, NARA did not provide those records.

¹ Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles E. Grassley, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Dana Ann Remus, Counsel to the President, White House (July 30, 2021), https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_johnson_to_white_house_counsel_-

_biden_email.pdf. Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles E. Grassley, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Richard Sauber, Special Counsel to the President, White House (June 28, 2022), https://www.ronjohnson.senate.gov/services/files/AECCDFD8-2129-45EB-A18F-B11EB81CC902; Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles E. Grassley, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Richard Sauber, Special Counsel to the President, White House (Jan. 11, 2023), https://www.ronjohnson.senate.gov/services/files/A202FFC6-11F8-4D47-B732-D0EA2F75B9F0.

² Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, to David S. Ferriero, Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (June 7, 2021); Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Debra Wall, Acting Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (Jan. 23, 2023); Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Budget, to Debra Wall, Acting Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (Feb. 24, 2023); Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Budget, to Debra Wall, Acting Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (Mar. 27, 2023); Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Budget, to Collen Shogan, Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (Aug. 29, 2023).

³ Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, to David S. Ferriero, Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (June 7, 2021).

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On January 23, 2023, following reports about then-Vice President Biden's mishandling of federal records, to include classified information, we once again called for NARA to provide Biden records.⁴ On February 2, 2023, then-acting Archivist Debra Wall responded to our request by informing us to contact the Department of Justice.⁵ Shortly after this response, it was publicly reported that NARA was aware of Joe Biden's mishandling of federal records in November 2022, but had failed to include that information in its February 2, 2023, response to us.⁶

We also raised questions about nine boxes of records that were shipped from the Penn Biden Center in Washington, D.C. to Boston, Massachusetts.⁷ Pat Moore, Biden's attorney, oversaw these specific boxes as they were sent to his law office in Boston.⁸ According to NARA's general counsel, the contents of these nine boxes totaled around 40,000 pages of documents.⁹ On February 16, 2024, NARA completed their review of these specific boxes and determined approximately 20 pages were deemed as Presidential Records Act records.¹⁰ Even though NARA claimed none of the 40,000 pages of documents "are responsive to FOIA or congressional requests pending with NARA," we believe these records should be examined by our offices so that we can make that determination.¹¹

In August of 2023, we reiterated our requests for records concerning then-Vice President Biden's use of personal email addresses and pseudonyms to conduct official government business.¹² As we noted in that letter, despite more than two years passing since our first letter requesting this information, it was unclear when NARA intended to produce the records.¹³ To date, NARA has never produced the records we requested.

Although former President Biden is no longer in office and he pardoned his son Hunter and other family members, we believe it is of importance to review these records so the American people have a full accounting of Joe Biden and his family's activities while Joe Biden was in government.

⁴ Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Judiciary, to Debra Wall, Acting Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (Jan. 23, 2023).

⁵ See Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Budget, to Debra Wall, Acting Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (Feb. 24, 2023).

⁶ Id.

⁷ Melissa Quinn, Arden Farhi, National Archives says it retrieved nine boxes of Biden records from ex-personal attorney's Boston office, CBS News, (Mar. 9, 2023), https://www.cbsnews.com/news/national-archives-retrieved-nine-boxes-biden-records-patrick-moore-boston-office/.

⁸ Id.

⁹ Email from Gary Stern, General Counsel for the National Archives and Records Administration, to Sen. Johnson and Grassley's office, (Mar. 1, 2024).

 $^{^{10}}$ Id.

¹¹ Id.

¹² Letter from Ranking Member Ron Johnson, Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations, and Ranking Member Charles Grassley, S. Comm. on the Budget, to Collen Shogan, Archivist of the United States, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, (Aug. 29, 2023).

We have summarized our priority requests below and stand ready to work with you.

- All records from or to Anne Marie Person, Francis Person, and Kathy S. Chung referencing Hunter Biden, Devon Archer, Christopher Heinz, James Biden, Katie Dodge, Joan Mayer, Elena Baturina, Rosemont Seneca, Rosemont Capital, Bohai Harvest, Blue Star Strategies, Karen Tramontano, Sally Painter, Burisma, Mykola Zlochevsky, CEFC China Energy, CEFC Infrastructure Investment, Hudson West, Ye Jianming, Gongwen "Kevin" Dong, and Chi Ping "Patrick" Ho.
- 2. All records from or to the Executive Office of the Vice President and Vice President Joe Biden referencing Hunter Biden, Devon Archer, Christopher Heinz, James Biden, Katie Dodge, Joan Mayer, Elena Baturina, Rosemont Seneca, Rosemont Capital, Bohai Harvest, Blue Star Strategies, Karen Tramontano, Sally Painter, Burisma, Mykola Zlochevsky, CEFC China Energy, CEFC Infrastructure Investment, Hudson West, Ye Jianming, Gongwen "Kevin" Dong, and Chi Ping "Patrick" Ho.
- 3. All White House records referencing Hunter Biden, Devon Archer, Christopher Heinz, James Biden, Katie Dodge, Joan Mayer, Elena Baturina, Rosemont Seneca, Rosemont Capital, Bohai Harvest, Blue Star Strategies, Karen Tramontano, Sally Painter, Burisma, Mykola Zlochevsky, CEFC China Energy, CEFC Infrastructure Investment, Hudson West, Ye Jianming, Gongwen "Kevin" Dong, and Chi Ping "Patrick" Ho.
- 4. All records that include the following pseudonyms and email addresses:
 - a. "RobinWare456@gmail.com";
 - b. "Robert.L.Peters@pci.gov";
 - c. "JRB Ware"; and
 - d. "67stingray".
- 5. All records encompassed in the nine boxes of records.
- 6. All records that have been identified as responsive to the Southeastern Legal Foundation's June 9, 2022, FOIA request.¹⁴

¹⁴ Letter from Stephannie Oriabure, Archival Operations Division, National Archives and Records Administration, to Kimberly Hermann, Southeastern Legal Foundation (June 24, 2022), https://www.slfliberty.org/wpcontent/uploads/sites/12/2023/08/20230828-Complaint-Exhibit-4-Doc.-1-4.pdf.

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Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,

Ron Johnson Chairman Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations

Chuck Granley

Charles E. Grassley Chairman Committee on the Judiciary

cc: The Honorable Richard Blumenthal Ranking Member Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations

> The Honorable Richard Durbin Ranking Member Committee on the Judiciary