

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 30, 2025

VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

Ms. Hannah Bergman
Acting General Counsel
National Archives and Records Administration

Mr. William C. Brown
Acting Inspector General
National Archives and Records Administration

Dear Ms. Bergman and Mr. Brown:

Starting with Chairman Grassley's opening statement at Kash Patel's confirmation hearing to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), we have released a series of emails and documents obtained through legally protected whistleblower disclosures relating to the genesis of the election interference case brought against President Trump by then-Special Counsel Jack Smith.¹ The documents we have released show a politically-driven conspiracy that began at the hands of a group of anti-Trump FBI officials who worked closely with Department of Justice (DOJ) prosecutors in an investigation known as "Arctic Frost."² That investigation ultimately became Jack Smith's elector case against President Trump.

The most recent emails we released on April 7, 2025, illustrate the Biden White House's personal involvement in providing President Trump and Vice President Pence's phones to the FBI at their request when Trump was not yet a subject of the investigation.³ We are seeking additional records from your offices on this matter pursuant to our ongoing investigation.

¹ See Senate Committee on the Judiciary Hearings. Full Committee Nominations Hearing. Kashyap Patel to be the Director of the FBI (Jan. 30, 2025), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/committee-activity/hearings/01/30/2025/nominations> and Senate Committee on the Judiciary Press Release. Grassley, Johnson Make Public Whistleblower Records Revealing DOJ and FBI Plot to Pin Trump in Jack Smith Elector Case (Jan. 30, 2025), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/press/rep/releases/grassley-johnson-make-public-whistleblower-recordsrevealing-doj-and-fbi-plot-to-pin-trump-in-jack-smith-elector-case>; Letter from Senator Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, U.S. Senate Comm. on the Judiciary and Senator Ron Johnson, Chairman, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to Attorney General Pamela Bondi and Kash Patel, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation (Feb. 25, 2025), available at https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_johnson_to_doj_fbi_-_violations.pdf; Letter from Senator Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, U.S. Senate Comm. on the Judiciary and Senator Ron Johnson, Chairman, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to Attorney General Pamela Bondi and Kash Patel, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation (Mar. 13, 2025), available at https://www.grassley.senate.gov/download/grassley-johnson-to-doj-fbi_-_arctic-frost-updates; Letter from Senator Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, U.S. Senate Comm. on the Judiciary and Senator Ron Johnson, Chairman, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to Attorney General Pamela Bondi and Kash Patel, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation (Apr. 7, 2025), https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_johnson_to_doj_fbi_-_arctic_frost_part_3.pdf.

² *Id.*

³ See Exhibits G and H, Letter from Senator Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, U.S. Senate Comm. on the Judiciary and Senator Ron Johnson, Chairman, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to Attorney General Pamela Bondi

Moreover, because many of the DOJ, FBI and Biden White House personnel who were involved in Arctic Frost were also involved in the Biden administration's classified document case against President Trump, we are also requesting records pertaining to that matter as part of our investigation.

Accordingly, in order to conduct our constitutional oversight responsibilities, and to determine who later added former President Trump as a criminal subject to the case, we request the National Records and Archives Administration (NARA), and its Office of Inspector General (NARA OIG), produce the records listed below without redactions. Please provide all records no later than May 14, 2025.

- A. All Biden White House records referring or relating to President Trump's election interference case that began as the Arctic Frost investigation and ultimately became Jack Smith's elector case.⁴ This request includes all communications between or among all DOJ, FBI, and White House personnel. We request the initial search of Biden White House records focus on searches of the custodians listed in "1" for emails that include any name in "2."⁵ After that initial search, we request the search be expanded to all White House personnel who communicated with any name in "2." We will update our search terms as necessary.

1. Custodians:

- a. Ron Klain, Chief of Staff
- b. Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff
- c. Jennifer O'Malley Dillon, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations
- d. Anne Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations
- e. Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy
- f. Natalie Quillian, Deputy Chief of Staff for Implementation
- g. Dana Remus, White House Counsel
- h. Jonathan Su, Deputy White House Counsel
- i. Caroline McKay, Chief of Staff for White House Counsel and Deputy Associate Counsel
- j. Caroline Saba, Deputy Chief of Staff for the White House Counsel
- k. Louisa Terrell, Director, White House Legislative Affairs
- l. Shuwanza Goff, Director, White House Legislative Affairs

and Kash Patel, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation (Apr. 7, 2025). Arctic Frost Part 3.
https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_johnson_to_doj_fbi_-_arctic_frost_part_3.pdf.

⁴ "Records" include any written, recorded, or graphic material of any kind, including letters, memoranda, reports, notes, electronic data (emails, email attachments, and any other electronically-created or stored information), calendar entries, inter-office communications, meeting minutes, phone/voice mail or recordings/records of verbal communications, and drafts (whether or not they resulted in final documents).

⁵ Personnel titles listed reflect former titles or roles.

2. Justice Department and FBI:

- a. Merrick Garland, Attorney General
- b. Matt Klapper, Chief of Staff and Senior Counselor to the Attorney General
- c. Lisa Monaco, Deputy Attorney General
- d. Andrew Joseph Bruck, Chief of Staff to the Deputy Attorney General and Associate Deputy Attorney General
- e. George Toscas, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- f. Carlos Uriarte, Assistant Attorney General
- g. Sarah Zdeb, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- h. Matthew Hanson, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- i. Ted Schroeder, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- j. Keighle Joyce, Senior Counsel
- k. John D. Crabb, Criminal Division Chief, U.S. Attorney's Office – DC
- l. Matthew Burke, Assistant U.S. Attorney, U.S. Attorney's Office – DC
- m. Jack Smith, Special Counsel
- n. J.P. Cooney, Deputy Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- o. Jay Bratt, Counsel to the Special Counsel
- p. Thomas Windom, Senior Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- q. David Harbach, Assistant Special Counsel for the Office of the Special Counsel
- r. Julie Edelstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- s. Karen Gilbert, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- t. Brett Reynolds, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- u. Michael Thakur, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- v. John Pellettieri, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- w. David Raskin, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- x. Anne McNamara, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- y. Cecil VanDevender, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- z. Elizabeth Shapiro, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- aa. Christopher Wray, Director, FBI
- bb. Paul Abbate, Deputy Director, FBI
- cc. Steven D'Antuono, Assistant Director in Charge, FBI-WFO⁶
- dd. Allison Lawter, Chief Division Counsel, FBI-WFO
- ee. Timothy Thibault, Assistant Special Agent in Charge, FBI-WFO
- ff. Blaire Toleman, Supervisory Special Agent, FBI-WFO

⁶ Washington Field Office (WFO)

gg. Daniel Mehochko, Special Agent, FBI-WFO
hh. Jamie Garman, Special Agent, FBI-WFO
ii. Michelle Ball, Special Agent, FBI-WFO
jj. Walter Giardina, Special Agent, FBI-WFO
kk. Katherine Pattillo, Special Agent, FBI-WFO
ll. Patrick Findlay, Assistant Director, Congressional Affairs
mm. Christopher Dunham, Acting Assistant Director, Congressional Affairs

B. All Biden White House records referring or relating to the investigation into President Trump's alleged mishandling of classified information. This request includes all communications between or among all DOJ, FBI, and White House personnel. We request the initial search of Biden White House records focus on searches of the custodians listed in "1" for emails that include any name in "2."⁷ After that initial search, we request the search be expanded to all White House personnel who communicated with any name in "2." We will update our search terms as necessary.

1. Custodians:

- a. Ron Klain, Chief of Staff
- b. Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff
- c. Jennifer O'Malley Dillon, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations
- d. Anne Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations
- e. Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy
- f. Natalie Quillian, Deputy Chief of Staff for Implementation
- g. Dana Remus, White House Counsel
- h. Jonathan Su, Deputy White House Counsel
- i. Caroline McKay, Chief of Staff for White House Counsel and Deputy Associate Counsel
- j. Caroline Saba, Deputy Chief of Staff for the White House Counsel
- k. Louisa Terrell, Director, White House Legislative Affairs
- l. Shuwanza Goff, Director, White House Legislative Affairs

2. Justice Department and FBI:

- a. Merrick Garland, Attorney General
- b. Matt Klapper, Chief of Staff and Senior Counselor to the Attorney General
- c. Lisa Monaco, Deputy Attorney General
- d. Andrew Joseph Bruck, Chief of Staff to the Deputy Attorney General and Associate Deputy Attorney General
- e. George Toscas, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- f. Matt Olsen, Assistant Attorney General for National Security
- g. Carlos Uriarte, Assistant Attorney General

⁷ Personnel titles listed reflect former titles or roles.

- h. Sarah Zdeb, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- i. Matthew Hanson, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- j. Ted Schroeder, Deputy Assistant Attorney General
- k. Keighle Joyce, Senior Counsel
- l. Markenzy Lapointe, United States Attorney for the Southern District of Florida
- m. Michael Porter, Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida
- n. Jack Smith, Special Counsel
- o. J.P. Cooney, Deputy Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- p. Jay Bratt, Counsel to the Special Counsel
- q. Thomas Windom, Senior Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- r. David Harbach, Assistant Special Counsel for the Office of the Special Counsel
- s. Julie Edelstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- t. Karen Gilbert, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
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- z. Cecil VanDevender, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- aa. Elizabeth Shapiro, Assistant Special Counsel to the Office of Special Counsel
- bb. Christopher Wray, Director, FBI
- cc. Paul Abbate, Deputy Director, FBI
- dd. Steven D'Antuono, Assistant Director in Charge, FBI-WFO
- ee. Patrick Findlay, Assistant Director, Congressional Affairs
- ff. Christopher Dunham, Acting Assistant Director, Congressional Affairs


C. All NARA records, to include NARA OIG, referring or relating to the Arctic Frost and the classified document investigation. This request includes all communications between or among all DOJ, FBI, White House and NARA personnel, to include its OIG personnel. We request the initial search focus on the following custodians and email communications between and among them and the aforementioned White House, Justice Department and FBI personnel in request "A" and "B."


- 1. David Ferriero, Archivist, NARA
- 2. Debra Wall, Acting Archivist, NARA

3. Colleen Shogan, Archivist, NARA
4. William Bosanko, Chief Operating Officer, Deputy Archivist, NARA
5. Gary Stern, NARA General Counsel
6. David Berry, Special Agent, NARA OIG
7. David Stupar, Special Agent, NARA OIG

Thank you for your attention to this important matter. Please contact our respective Committee staff should you have questions.

Sincerely,


Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary


Ron Johnson
Chairman
Permanent Subcommittee
on Investigations