

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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March 24, 2026

The Honorable Pamela J. Bondi
Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20530

Attorney General Bondi:

We have long known that, as he left office in 2021, President Donald Trump stole classified documents, hoarded them in the ballrooms and bathrooms of his Mar-a-Lago clubhouse, defied subpoenas, and obstructed law enforcement. One lingering question has been: why? Why would Donald Trump go to such extraordinary lengths to steal classified documents, hoard them, and refuse to return them? Together with Donald Trump, your Department of Justice (DOJ) has been fighting tooth and nail to gag Special Counsel Jack Smith and bury his report in order to cover-up the answer to this key question.

For the past year, DOJ has been working with Republicans of the House Judiciary Committee to wage a campaign of retribution against career prosecutors and federal agents who did their duty, followed the facts and the law, and investigated Donald Trump both for conspiring to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election and for hiding and lying about the classified documents he stole. As part of this effort, DOJ earlier this month produced yet another set of cherry-picked documents relating to Jack Smith's Arctic Frost and Plasmic Echo investigations. Apparently blinded by the frenzied search to find any scrap of evidence that could be twisted and distorted to level an attack against Special Counsel Smith (despite constantly coming up empty-handed), you have, quite amazingly, missed the fact that some of the documents you provided include damning evidence about your boss's conduct and may well violate the gag order your DOJ and Donald Trump demanded from Judge Aileen Cannon.

These new disclosures suggest that Donald Trump stole documents so sensitive that only six people in the entire U.S. government had access to them, that the documents President Trump stole pertained to his business interests, and that Susie Wiles, then the CEO of Donald Trump's super PAC, witnessed President Trump showing off a classified map to passengers on his private plane.¹ This glimpse into the trove of evidence behind the coverup reveals a President of the United States who may have sold out our national security to enrich himself.

¹ DOJ Production to House Committee on the Judiciary (Mar. 13, 2026), on file with Committee Democrats.

When Special Counsel Smith and his deputies appeared before Congress, they could not answer this Committee's questions about the classified documents case, under threat of potential federal prosecution, because of the gag order Judge Cannon issued at the request of Donald Trump. Judge Cannon's Protective Order broadly prevents the "[d]isclosure to the Public" of any discovery materials or "any information derived therefrom."² Mr. Smith's authorization letter from DOJ expressly prohibited him from discussing "Volume II of the Special Counsel's report, and any information or conclusions in the Volume II or in drafts thereof."³

DOJ clearly does not view itself as bound by these same restrictions. On the afternoon of Friday, March 13, DOJ produced several documents involving the classified documents case to the House Committee on the Judiciary, including non-public information apparently barred from release by Judge Cannon's order. What is more, a significant portion of the pages in one production are marked "Contains 6(e) and Sealed Material"—material that would be a crime for DOJ prosecutors to disclose to third parties, including to Congress. This document not only seemingly actually contains grand jury material,⁴ it obliterates the government's own argument before Judge Cannon that a "careful Rule 6(e) review is no longer feasible given ... the departures of Special Counsel Smith and his team from the Department of Justice."⁵ In short, the position of the DOJ appears to be that it can violate Judge Cannon's order and grand jury secrecy whenever it sees an opportunity to smear Jack Smith.

Most damning is what these documents, cherry-picked by your own DOJ for disclosure, show about President Trump's conduct. They include a January 13, 2023, memorandum, in which prosecutors wrote that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has determined that the classified documents President Trump retained from the White House "**were commingled with documents created after Trump left office.**" FBI has also found that certain classified documents President Trump improperly retained "**would be pertinent to certain business interests.**" DOJ prosecutors further assessed that these "**classified documents pertinent to his business interests**" established "**a motive for retaining them. We must have those documents.**"⁶

² *United States v. Trump*, No. 9:23-cr-80101-AMC (S.D. Fla.), ECF No. 27 (June 19, 2023) ¶ 6. Judge Cannon's recent order continuing to suppress the release of Volume II of the Special Counsel's report makes clear that this protective order remains in effect. See *United States v. Trump*, ECF No. 779 (Feb. 23, 2026) ¶ 5 ("The Rule 16 Protective Order, issued on motion of the Special Counsel in June 2023, remains in effect without change and provides, in part, as follows: 'No Disclosure to the Public. The Discovery Materials, along with any information derived therefrom, shall not be disclosed to the public or the news media, or disseminated on any news or social media platform, without prior notice to and consent of the United States or approval of the Court.'").

³ Department of Justice, Letter to Lanny A. Breuer and Peter Koski, Counsel to former Special Counsel Jack Smith, (Dec. 11, 2025), on file with Committee, at 1 (emphasis in original).

⁴ President Trump's DOJ has argued that 6(e) restrictions cover "all information that would tend to reveal some secret aspect of the grand jury's investigation, including the identities of witnesses or jurors, the substance of testimony, the strategy or direction of the investigation, or the deliberations or questions of jurors" as well as investigative steps "likely to occur." *The New York Times Company et al. v. United States Department of Justice*, No. 25-562 (S.D.N.Y.), ECF No. 23 (June 6, 2025). At a minimum, DOJ's release includes both the identities of witnesses and steps that were "likely to occur" in the investigation, such as detailing likely future subpoenas. *Id.*

⁵ *United States v. Trump*, ECF No. 779 (Feb. 23, 2026), at 9.

⁶ DOJ Production to House Committee on the Judiciary (Mar. 13, 2026), on file with Committee Democrats.

The memorandum further specifies that the disclosure of these documents represented “**an aggravated potential harm to national security.**” The prosecutors also wrote that these were “**highly sensitive documents—the type of documents that only presidents and officials with the most sensitive authority have.**” One “**particularly sensitive document was accessible by only 6? people, including the president.**”⁷

The memorandum also details the extent to which the President and his staff acted recklessly with our nation’s most sensitive secrets. A then-23-year-old Trump aide and current Director of Oval Office Operations, Chamberlain Harris, “**scanned**” the contents of one box onto her laptop and retained it for nearly two years. Ms. Harris also “**uploaded the scan to a cloud.**” A Trump lawyer had to retrieve this scan from Ms. Harris’s laptop and then fly on a commercial airline with the thumb drive containing the classified documents. DOJ redacted the subsequent text in the memorandum, so we are unable to determine the full extent of this incident or whether these documents were compromised.⁸

Similarly, in June 2022, President Trump apparently took classified documents on a flight to his golf club in Bedminster, NJ. Prosecutors determined that they “**identified a classified map that we believe Trump may have shown to individuals on board**” that airplane and that their investigation “**indicates that Susan Wiles, the CEO of Trump’s Super PAC was aboard that flight and witnessed this event.**” The memorandum does not specify who else might have seen this document.⁹ DOJ produced a map of the aircraft, enclosed with this letter, but with all names of passengers redacted.

Without access to Volume II of the Special Counsel’s final report or the investigative files, we do not know what that classified map contained, nor can we determine from this memo the relationship between the classified documents President Trump stole and their pertinence to his “business interests.” We do know that around the time of this flight to Bedminster, President Trump was entering into partnerships with Saudi-backed LIV Golf and state-linked real estate firm Dar al Arkan.¹⁰ A month after this flight, in July 2022, President Trump played golf at Bedminster with Yasir al-Rumayyan, head of the sovereign wealth fund of Saudi Arabia—the same official who plied the Trump family with tens of millions of dollars as the family began to run out of money between terms.¹¹ During this trip, President Trump defended his business partners from criticism levied by the families of 9/11 victims protesting the Saudi government’s role in the attack, saying inaccurately that “nobody’s gotten to the bottom of 9/11, unfortunately.”¹² We also know that there are reports that Donald Trump, at one point while on the phone with his ghost-writer, “made a reference to having classified records relating to the

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ Eric Lipton et al., *Trump Family Signs Deal with Saudi Real Estate Developer*, N.Y. TIMES (Nov. 14, 2022), <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/14/us/politics/trump-organization-oman-saudi.html>.

¹¹ David Waldstein, *Trump Criticizes PGA Tour and Praises Saudis for Backing LIV Golf*, N.Y. TIMES (July 28, 2022), <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/28/sports/golf/donald-trump-liv-saudi-pga.html>.

¹² *Id.*

bombing of Iran.” He also reportedly boasted that it was only the hawks who wanted to attack Iran, not him, and that he had Pentagon war plans “done by the military and given to me” about such a potential attack.¹³

If this map is related to our military posture in the Middle East, and it was in fact shown to any foreign official, Saudi or otherwise, that would amount to an unforgiveable betrayal of our men and women in uniform who are currently valiantly fighting in President Trump’s disastrous war against Iran.

It is now clear that DOJ is in possession of evidence that President Trump has already endangered national security to further the interests of Trump family businesses. It is time for you to stop the cover-up and allow the American people to know what secrets he betrayed and how he may have cashed in on them. Our country is at war, American lives are at stake, and the answer to these questions has never been more pressing.

Accordingly, please provide detailed answers to the following questions by 5:00 p.m. on March 31, 2026, all of which are required to understand the full context of the documents your DOJ itself produced. Should any of the answers to these questions require the exposure of classified information or information which could harm the national security of the United States and its servicemembers, Members and staff stand ready to receive that information in a Sensitive Compartmented Information Facility (SCIF).

1. Who else was on the plane with President Trump from Florida to Bedminster, New Jersey on June 3, 2022?
2. Who on that plane did President Trump show the classified map to? Did the Special Counsel’s Office find any evidence that President Trump showed the map to anyone else?
3. What did the classified map detail?
4. Which documents did President Trump improperly retain that were pertinent to his business interests, and which specific business interests?
5. Which members of President Trump’s family engaged in his business ventures saw or were made aware of the content of these classified documents? Please specifically reference Donald Trump Jr., Eric Trump, Jared Kushner, Ivanka Trump, and Barron Trump in your answer.
6. Which document did President Trump steal that was so sensitive that only six people in the entire federal government had access to it?

¹³ Carol Leonnig & Aaron C. Davis, INJUSTICE: HOW POLITICS AND FEAR VANQUISHED AMERICA’S JUSTICE DEPARTMENT (Nov. 4, 2025), pp. 297-298, 305-306.

7. Did any of the documents President Trump stole or showed to other individuals after your term in office relate to the U.S. government's war plans in the Middle East?
8. Did any foreign actors access, or attempt to access, these classified documents, either in their paper form or when uploaded to staffers' computers? If so, which foreign actors?

In addition, DOJ must cease cherry-picking investigative materials and produce *all* remaining investigative files, including memoranda, emails, and analyses prepared by the Special Counsel's Office by 5:00 p.m. on April 14, 2026. As a matter of priority, DOJ must produce the unredacted seating chart of the aircraft, the redacted version of which is enclosed with this letter, and the full, unredacted January 13, 2023, memo at DOJ-JSAF-031326-000085 to DOJ-JSAF-031326-000096, subject to all rules regarding grand jury secrecy.

Thank you for your attention to these important oversight requests. I look forward to your prompt attention to this grave matter.

Very truly yours,


Jamie Raskin
Ranking Member

Enclosure

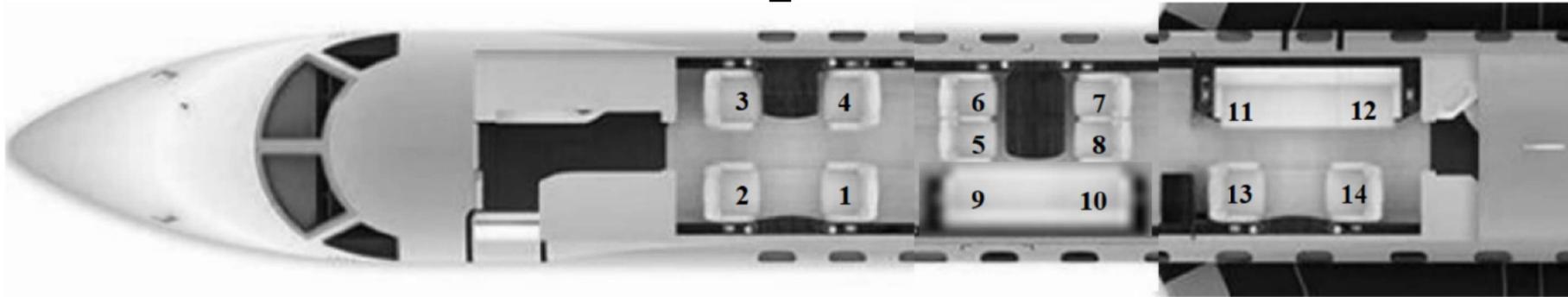
cc: The Honorable Jim Jordan, Chairman



AIRCRAFT MANIFEST

Redacted by HJC Dems

June x, 2022



LEG 1 (2+30)

ORIGIN: PALM BEACH INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

DESTINATION: LAGUARDIA AIRPORT

| | NAME | ROLE |
|-----|------------|------------|
| 1. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 2. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 3. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 4. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 5. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 6. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 7. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 8. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 9. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 10. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 11. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 12. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 13. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |
| 14. | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |