

**Congress of the United States**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

December 23, 2025

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

Dear Secretary Rubio,

We write to follow up on our requests for detailed information and documentation regarding the Department of State's efforts to facilitate a bilateral agreement or informal arrangement to enable the removals of individuals from the United States to detention in El Salvador. In particular, we seek information on your direct negotiations with El Salvador's President Nayib Bukele regarding the return of senior MS-13 members in U.S. custody back to El Salvador.

Since our prior requests for information,<sup>12</sup> it has been reported you personally spoke with President Bukele on March 13, 2025.<sup>3</sup> In this discussion, you reportedly promised that the United States would terminate its informant arrangements with certain high-ranking members of MS-13 in U.S. custody who had been cooperating with law-enforcement so that the men could be turned over to El Salvador, preventing them from testifying in federal courts.<sup>4</sup> In exchange, President Bukele would receive and detain Venezuelan nationals and other deportees from the United States. This quid pro quo was arranged in spite of the reported objection of officials from the Department of Justice, who warned that terminating the informant agreements risked undermining years of work and U.S. law-enforcement agencies' ability to engage informants in the future.

If this reporting is accurate, these actions would raise significant legal, ethical, and operational concerns on top of the questions we have already raised about the Administration's opaque and

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, House Foreign Affairs Committee. "Meeks, Castro Send Letter to Rubio Demanding Answers on El Salvador Agreement." Press Release, April 17, 2025. <https://democrats-foreignaffairs.house.gov/2025/4/meeks-castro-send-letter-to-rubio-demanding-answers-on-el-salvador-agreement>

<sup>2</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, House Judiciary Committee. "Ranking Members Raskin, Thompson, Garcia, and Meeks Renew Demands for Documents Regarding the Trump Administration's Deal to Imprison Hundreds of Immigrants in El Salvador." Press Release, July 18, 2025. <https://democrats-judiciary.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/ranking-members-raskin-thompson-garcia-and-meeks-renew-demands-for-documents-regarding-the-trump-administration-s-deal-to-imprison-hundreds-of-immigrants-in-el-salvador>

<sup>3</sup> Hudson, John, Jeremy Roebuck, and Samantha Schmidt. "Rubio Promised to Betray U.S. Informants to Get Trump's El Salvador Prison Deal." *The Washington Post*, October 19, 2025. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2025/10/19/rubio-el-salvador-prison-bukele-ms13-informants/>

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

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potentially unlawful efforts to send individuals, including those legally in the United States, to be imprisoned in El Salvador.

We remain deeply concerned that you would prioritize protecting President Bukele's reputation over delivering justice for American victims of MS-13 crimes by agreeing to give up informants under U.S. protection whose knowledge and testimony is integral to ongoing federal investigations into MS-13 leadership, operations, and ties with President Bukele's administration. Multiple credible reports have alleged that the Bukele government engaged in direct negotiations with MS-13 leadership between 2019 and 2021 to secure reductions in homicide rates and support for Bukele's political party in exchange for prison privileges, political protection, or promises to stall gang leader extraditions.<sup>5</sup> One of these leaders, César López Larios<sup>6</sup>, who was facing serious charges including conspiracy to finance terrorism and support narco-terrorism, was deported to El Salvador two days after your reported March 13 conversation with Bukele.

It is deeply troubling that, despite your central, high-profile role since at least February in facilitating what you described as an "extraordinary" deal with the Government of El Salvador to imprison U.S. deportees, to date, the State Department has failed to provide adequate responses to our requests for information and documentation on this matter.<sup>7</sup> Given your dual capacity as Secretary of State and Acting Archivist of the United States, we fully expect all records under your purview to be preserved and managed in full compliance with the Federal Records Act, Presidential Records Act, and applicable National Archive and Records Administration regulations, including safeguards against unauthorized destruction, alteration, or removal.

Please provide written answers to the following questions by January 16, 2026:

- 1) Have you or other State Department officials made requests since January 20, 2025, to the Department of Justice to alter, suspend, or terminate legal proceedings against any alleged member of MS-13 in connection with diplomatic discussions or agreements between the United States and the government of El Salvador? If so, please provide the dates of each request, the name of the State Department official who made the request, and the names of the MS-13 members related to the request.
- 2) What was the nature of your or other State Department officials' involvement in the United States' decision to agree to deport nine informants on March 13, 2025?

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<sup>5</sup> U.S. Department of the Treasury. "Treasury Targets Corruption Networks Linked to Transnational Organized Crime." Press Release, December 8, 2021. <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0519>

<sup>6</sup> U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. "Fugitive, High-Ranking MS-13 Leader Arrested on Terrorism Charges Following Joint Investigation." Press Release, February 27, 2025. <https://www.ice.gov/news/releases/fugitive-high-ranking-ms-13-leader-arrested-terrorism-charges-following-joint>

<sup>7</sup> Rubio, Marco. February 4, 2025. "Very productive meeting with Salvadoran President @nayibbukele. His commitment to accept and incarcerate criminals from any country, including from violent gangs like MS-13 and Tren de Aragua, will make America safer. In an extraordinary gesture never before extended by any country, President Bukele offered to house in his jails dangerous American criminals, including US citizens and legal residents." <https://x.com/SecRubio/status/1886814328361193676>.

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- 3) What assurances, if any, were obtained from the Salvadoran government regarding these informants' safety from cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment upon entry to El Salvador?
- 4) Did the State Department conduct any assessments of the risks of cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment prior to the transfer of these informants or other deportees to El Salvador since January 20, 2025? If so, what were the conclusions?
- 5) Was a U.S. commitment to return MS-13 members requested by the Salvadoran government from U.S. custody to El Salvador a condition of any U.S. bilateral agreement or informal arrangement made with the Salvadoran government since January 20, 2025?
- 6) What is the total number of MS-13 members requested by the Salvadoran government to be returned to El Salvador from U.S. custody since January 20, 2025?
- 7) How many MS-13 members in U.S. custody have been transferred to El Salvador since January 20, 2025?

Additionally, we request that you produce all State Department documents or communications since January 20, 2025, referring or related to the following:

1. Any bilateral agreement or informal arrangement with the Government of El Salvador to accept and detain individuals deported from the United States to El Salvador;
2. Altering, suspending, or terminating U.S. legal proceedings against any alleged member of MS-13 in connection with diplomatic discussions or agreements between the United States and the Government of El Salvador since January 2025; and
3. Your call on March 13, 2025, with Salvadoran President Nayib Bukele.

We request productions of responsive agency documents and communications to begin on a rolling basis by January 16, 2026.

We seek this information and documentation as a function of our constitutional oversight duties, in order to ascertain whether the Executive Branch is acting consistently with U.S. laws and obligations. We await your timely response.

Sincerely,



Gregory W. Meeks  
Ranking Member  
House Foreign Affairs Committee



Jamie Raskin  
Ranking Member  
House Judiciary Committee



Joaquin Castro  
Ranking Member  
Subcommittee on the  
Western Hemisphere,  
House Foreign Affairs  
Committee