

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM

2157 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6143

MAJORITY (202) 225-5074  
MINORITY (202) 225-5051  
<https://oversight.house.gov>

April 28, 2025

Jeremy D. London  
Executive Partner  
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP and Affiliates  
One Manhattan West  
New York, NY 10001

Dear Mr. London:

We write regarding the “agreement” between Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP and Affiliates (“Skadden”) and President Donald Trump committing your firm to provide \$100 million in what the White House has described as “pro bono legal concessions” under the President’s control.<sup>1</sup> The details of your agreement are not clear, and there may also be discrepancies between your understanding of that agreement, that of the White House, and the public’s.<sup>2</sup> There are also differing accounts as to whether your agreement was made under threat of an executive order or if you proposed it after proactively approaching President Trump.<sup>3</sup> There may be evidence that your agreement may have been made for President Trump’s persona benefit through his personal lawyer, and that Elon Musk may have played a role.<sup>4</sup> Your assistance is therefore necessary to ensure that we have an accurate factual record of the events leading to this agreement, the specific details of the agreement, and its consequences.

Speaking at the White House shortly before your “agreement” was announced, President Trump said, “They’re all bending and saying, ‘Sir, thank you very much.’ ... including the law

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<sup>1</sup> *Major Law Firm Strikes Preemptive Deal with White House*, Politico (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at [www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324](http://www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324)); *Quick Hits*, The Bulwark (Apr. 10, 2025) (online [www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits](http://www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits)).

<sup>2</sup> *Law Firms Made Deals with Trump. Now He Wants More from Them*, The New York Times (Apr. 16, 2025) ([www.nytimes.com/2025/04/16/us/politics/law-firms-deals-trump.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/16/us/politics/law-firms-deals-trump.html)).

<sup>3</sup> *Compare March 28, 2025 email from Jeremy London (publicly available at Skadden Makes \$100 Million “Settlement” With Trump in Pro Bono Payola*, Above the Law (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at <https://abovethelaw.com/2025/03/skadden-makes-100-million-settlement-with-trump-in-pro-bono-payola/>)) with Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Truth Social (Mar 28, 2025) (online at <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114241348699704594>).

<sup>4</sup> *Trump’s \$1 Billion Law Firm Deals Are the Work of His Personal Lawyer*, The Wall Street Journal (Apr. 14, 2025) (online at [www.wsj.com/us-news/law/trumps-1-billion-law-firm-deals-are-the-work-of-his-personal-lawyer-77bd7b8c](http://www.wsj.com/us-news/law/trumps-1-billion-law-firm-deals-are-the-work-of-his-personal-lawyer-77bd7b8c)); *Major Law Firm Strikes Preemptive Deal with White House*, Politico (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at [www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324](http://www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324)).

firms ... they're saying 'Where do I sign? Where do I sign?'"<sup>5</sup> He has since made his intentions increasingly clear. At another White House event, he told a crowd, "Have you noticed that lots of law firms have been signing up with Trump? \$100 million, another \$100 million ... They give me a lot of money considering they've done nothing wrong. ... We're gonna use them and we're getting them for the right price."<sup>6</sup> During a cabinet meeting, President Trump said that "part of the way I'll spend the money we're getting from these law firms in terms of their legal time" was by "using them to represent us." The White House press secretary has repeatedly stated that "Big Law continues to bend the knee to President Trump ... and he looks forward to putting their pro bono legal concessions toward implementing his America First agenda."<sup>7</sup>

Skadden's statement announcing the "agreement" stated, "The Firm looks forward to continuing our productive relationship with President Trump and his Admin."<sup>8</sup> Two weeks earlier, a court had halted President Trump's executive order targeting another firm on the grounds that it likely violated numerous provisions of the Constitution.<sup>9</sup> Courts ruled against two more such orders the same day that your agreement was announced, followed by another ruling in a fourth case earlier this month where the judge condemned the Trump Administration's "shocking abuse of power."<sup>10</sup> In a firm-wide email, you wrote, "This agreement does not change who we are."

The information you provide will inform our broader investigation into the Trump Administration's practice of targeting individual companies, organizations, and people based on his personal or political grievance. We seek to understand, for example, where this agreement and the activities surrounding it might fall under existing law; how those activities might be treated under the ethical and legal obligations of the federal officials and other individuals involved in reaching and implementing the agreement; and if the professional and legal duties governing the practice of law no longer protect the legal system against the Trump Administration's attacks. The facts we gather as our investigation progresses will, of course, inform our legislative focus.

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<sup>5</sup> *Two more law firms reach deals with Trump to avoid executive orders: "They're all bending"*, The Guardian (Apr 2, 2025) (online at [www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/apr/02/trump-law-firm-executive-order](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/apr/02/trump-law-firm-executive-order)).

<sup>6</sup> See text and embedded video in *As the White House's Campaign against Law Firms Continues, Trump Says a Bit Too Much*, MSNBC (Apr. 9, 2025) (online at [www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/white-houses-campaign-law-firms-continues-trump-says-bit-much-rcna200417](https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/white-houses-campaign-law-firms-continues-trump-says-bit-much-rcna200417)).

<sup>7</sup> *How Trump Is Putting Law Firms in a No-Win Situation*, The New York Times (Apr 9, 2025) ([www.nytimes.com/2025/04/09/us/politics/trump-law-firms-orders.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/09/us/politics/trump-law-firms-orders.html)); *Quick Hits*, The Bulwark (Apr. 10, 2025) (online at [www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits](https://www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits)).

<sup>8</sup> Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Truth Social (Mar 28, 2025) (online at <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114241348699704594>).

<sup>9</sup> *Judge Blocks Parts of Trump Executive Order Targeting Law Firm Perkins Coie*, CBS News (Mar. 12, 2025) (online at [www.cbsnews.com/news/judge-blocks-trump-law-firm-perkins-coie-executive-order/](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/judge-blocks-trump-law-firm-perkins-coie-executive-order/)).

<sup>10</sup> *In Back-To-Back Rulings, Federal Judges Rule Against Trump Orders Targeting Law Firms*, NPR (Mr. 28, 2025) (online at [www.npr.org/2025/03/28/g-s1-56890/law-firms-sue-trump](https://www.npr.org/2025/03/28/g-s1-56890/law-firms-sue-trump)); *Judge Blocks Trump from Retaliating Against Another Top Law Firm*, The New York Times (Apr. 15, 2025) ([www.nytimes.com/2025/04/15/us/politics/trump-susman-godfrey-law-firm.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/15/us/politics/trump-susman-godfrey-law-firm.html)).

We also seek to understand the effect this agreement and any others like it could have on the U.S. legal industry, including the global competitiveness of U.S. law firms. America will be made weaker if key sectors of our economy and civil society are undermined by coercion and corruption. The U.S. legal industry is particularly vulnerable in this regard because it depends on fidelity to the rule of law, courageous advocacy, and independence—both in reputation and in fact.

America's promise of equal justice under law will perish if the legal profession allows itself to be coerced into denying legal representation to the people who need it most. True pro bono legal work often requires standing up to the government when it would otherwise separate children from their parents, evict senior citizens from their homes, deprive children with special needs of a meaningful education, or expel refugees who will be killed if they return home. Attorneys representing regular Americans free of charge have held every branch of our government to account in the face of considerable professional and financial risk. After reaching its "agreement" with President Trump, it appears that Skadden removed references to certain pro bono work from its website.<sup>11</sup>

To our knowledge, Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom was the first firm to preemptively submit to the President without an executive order being issued.<sup>12</sup> We recognize that other law firms have since entered into similar "agreements" with President Trump. Our investigation extends to those firms that followed your lead, as well as to the White House itself.

We request your response to the following questions and requests for information by May 12, 2025:

1. Documents comprising a complete and authoritative copy of any "agreement" (collectively, "the Agreement") Skadden entered into with President Trump (whether in his official or personal capacity), the Trump Administration, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Andrea R. Lucas, or Boris Epshteyn.
2. All communications between Skadden and President Trump; the Trump Administration, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the Trump Organization, any individual thereof; Andrea R. Lucas, or Boris Epshteyn concerning:
  - a. The Agreement;
  - b. Any potential or threatened executive order or government action related to the Agreement;
  - c. The March 17 letters to 20 law firms from EEOC Acting Chair Lucas;

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<sup>11</sup> Compare the current Pro Bono page (online at [www.skadden.com/about/pro-bono/overview](https://www.skadden.com/about/pro-bono/overview)) with a version archived on January 19, 2025 (online at <https://web.archive.org/web/20250119183144/https://www.skadden.com/about/pro-bono/overview>).

<sup>12</sup> *Major Law Firm Strikes Preemptive Deal with White House*, Politico (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at [www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324](https://www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324)).

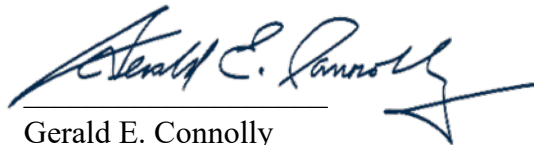
- d. The March 28, Truth Social post announcing the Agreement;
  - e. Any executive order targeting another law firm;
  - f. Any agreement between another law firm and President Trump, the Trump Administration, or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission entered into since January 20, 2025;
  - g. The implementation of the Agreement.
- 3. A list of the individuals at Skadden, its outside counsel, and any other intermediaries or agents acting on behalf of Skadden who communicated with President Trump, any member of the Trump Administration, any member of the Trump Organization, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, or any third party involved in the Agreement, as well as their intermediaries, agents, or outside counsel.
  - 4. All communications between the leadership of Skadden and the leadership of any other law firm that has entered into a similar agreement with President Trump or the Trump Administration concerning either firm's agreement.
  - 5. All records of any calls, meetings, or other events responsive to requests 1 through 4, including calendar entries, call logs, notes, descriptions, and summaries.
  - 6. A list of any messaging applications that allow for automatic deletion, such as Signal, used by the individuals in requests 2, 3, and 4 to discuss any matters related to requests 1 through 3;
  - 7. Information sufficient to identify the date and time, author, participants, subject, and details of any deleted communications responsive to requests 1 through 3.
  - 8. Information sufficient to identify the date, title, subject, author, and recipients of all legal advice or analysis provided to Skadden regarding the Agreement.
  - 9. A list of any auditors, governmental entities, clients, or counterparties to which Skadden or its attorneys will be required to disclose or report the Agreement;
  - 10. Whether Skadden has assessed and informed its attorneys of any potential consequences if the Agreement is deemed to be unlawful or unethical under the laws, regulations, or rules governing the practice of law of any domestic jurisdiction where Skadden or any Skadden attorney currently operates.
  - 11. The following information concerning Skadden's foreign operations:
    - a. A list of the laws, rules, regulations, and codes of conduct of the foreign jurisdictions where Skadden maintains an office that are implicated by the Agreement;

- b. The potential consequences for Skadden if the Agreement is deemed to be unlawful or unethical under the laws of a foreign jurisdiction where Skadden maintains an office; and
  - c. Whether Skadden has reached similar agreements with any government entities or officials in the People's Republic of China, given that Paul, Weiss maintains offices in Beijing, where it has had an official license to operate since 1991, and Hong Kong.
  - d. Whether Skadden has reached similar agreements with any government entities or officials in any other foreign jurisdiction where Skadden maintains an office.
- 12. Documents sufficient to show the criteria Skadden will apply going forward to determine (a) whether an existing or potential new matter is consistent with the Agreement or (b) whether the firm will continue an existing engagement or take on a new engagement in light of the Agreement;
- 13. The following information concerning pro bono work and work performed under the Agreement:
  - a. Whether attorneys and staff will be required or expected to perform work under the Agreement, and whether they will be penalized if they decline to do so;
  - b. Whether attorney and staff who will be informed of any ethical or legal risks attached to performing work under the Agreement;
  - c. How Skadden will account for and report the \$100 million of "pro bono" work performed under the Agreement;
  - d. Whether Skadden will ensure that any "pro bono" work under the Agreement will be done in addition to its average annual yearly pro bono commitments.
  - e. Whether Skadden can deem work performed on behalf of the United States Government, President Trump, another individual involved in the Agreement, or the Trump Organization as pro bono work;
  - f. Why Skadden removed references to its pro bono work from its webpage and whether any individual or entity involved in the Agreement requested or directed the removal of that material;
  - g. How Skadden will select Skadden Fellows and whether Skadden will inform applicants that they were not selected because of their political views.

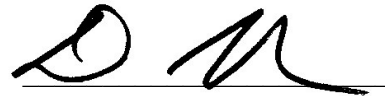
14. A list of every law firm from which Skadden has attempted to take business or staff that:
  - a. Has either refused to enter into an agreement with President Trump and the Trump Administration or has been named in an executive order issued by President Trump; or
  - b. Was a recipient of a March 17 letter from EEOC Acting Chair Lucas, if the letter was a cause of Skadden's attempt to take business or staff from the firm.
15. An explanation of whether it is now the practice of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP to give every incoming president the benefit of \$100 million of the firm's legal services and the opportunity to dictate changes to the firm's internal practices.

The Committee on Oversight and Government Reform is the principal oversight committee of the House of Representatives and has broad authority to investigate "any matter" at "any time" under House Rule X. If you have any questions regarding this request, please contact Committee Democratic staff at (202) 225-5051. Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Gerald E. Connolly  
Ranking Member



Dave Min  
Member of Congress

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman

**Congress of the United States**  
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April 28, 2025

Mr. Jon A. Ballis  
Chairman  
Kirkland & Ellis LLP  
333 West Wolf Point Plaza  
Chicago, IL 60654

Mr. Khalid Garousha  
Senior Partner and Co-Chair,  
Executive Committee and Board  
Allen Overy Shearman Sterling LLP  
Al Mamoura Building B, 5th Floor  
Muroor Road, P.O. Box 7907  
Abu Dhabi

Mr. Alden Millard  
Chair, Executive Committee  
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP  
425 Lexington Avenue  
New York, NY 10017

Mr. Richard M. Troban  
Chair and Managing Partner  
Latham & Watkins LLP  
1271 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10020

Dear Mr. Ballis, Mr. Garousha, Mr. Millard, and Mr. Troban:

We write regarding the “agreement” between Kirkland & Ellis LLP, Allen Overy Shearman Sterling US LLP, Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP, Latham & Watkins LLP and President Donald Trump committing your firms to provide \$125 million each in what the White House has described as “pro bono legal concessions” under the President’s control.<sup>1</sup> To our knowledge, this is the first time where such an agreement may have been obtained by collusion between law firms. It is also the first agreement that publicly incorporates a “settlement” with Andrea R. Lucas, who President Trump designated as Acting Chair of the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission (EEOC).<sup>2</sup> The details of this agreement are not clear.<sup>3</sup> There may also be evidence that your agreement may have been made for President Trump’s personal

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<sup>1</sup> *Titans of Big Law cut deal with Trump*, Politico (Apr. 11, 2025) (online at [www.politico.com/news/2025/04/11/trump-big-law-deals-033630](http://www.politico.com/news/2025/04/11/trump-big-law-deals-033630)). A fifth firm, Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft LLP, signed a separate agreement on the same day. *Id.*

<sup>2</sup> Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Truth Social (Apr. 11, 2025) (online at <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114241348699704594>); *In EEOC Settlement, Four “BigLaw” Firms Disavow DEI and Affirm Their Commitment to Merit-Based Employment Practices*, EEOC (Apr. 11, 2025) (online at [www.eeoc.gov/newsroom/eeoc-settlement-four-biglaw-firms-disavow-dei-and-affirm-their-commitment-merit-based](http://www.eeoc.gov/newsroom/eeoc-settlement-four-biglaw-firms-disavow-dei-and-affirm-their-commitment-merit-based)).

<sup>3</sup> *Law Firms Made Deals with Trump. Now He Wants More from Them*, The New York Times (Apr. 16, 2025) ([www.nytimes.com/2025/04/16/us/politics/law-firms-deals-trump.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/16/us/politics/law-firms-deals-trump.html)).

benefit, through his personal lawyer.<sup>4</sup> Your assistance is therefore necessary to ensure that we have an accurate factual record of the events leading to this agreement, the specific details of the agreement, and its consequences.

President Trump had spoken frequently about similar “agreements” by the time your agreement was announced. Speaking at the White House, President Trump stated that law firms were “all bending and saying, ‘Sir, thank you very much.’ ... They’re saying ‘Where do I sign? Where do I sign.’”<sup>5</sup> At another White House event, he told a crowd, “Have you noticed that lots of law firms have been signing up with Trump? They give me a lot of money considering they’ve done nothing wrong. ... We’re gonna use them and we’re getting them for the right price.”<sup>6</sup> During a cabinet meeting, President Trump said that “part of the way I’ll spend the money we’re getting from these laws firms in terms of their legal time” was by “using them to represent us.”<sup>7</sup> The White House press secretary had repeatedly stated that “Big Law continues to bend the knee to President Trump ... and he looks forward to putting their pro bono legal concessions toward implementing his America First agenda.”<sup>8</sup>

Your firms’ joint statement announcing the agreement stated, “We look forward to a continued constructive and productive relationship with President Trump and his team.”<sup>9</sup> At least one of your firms, Kirkland & Ellis, was reportedly “eager” to work with the White House.<sup>10</sup> By then, courts in three proceedings had halted the President’s executive orders targeting your competitors on the grounds that they likely violate numerous provisions of the

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<sup>4</sup> *Trump’s \$1 Billion Law Firm Deals Are the Work of His Personal Lawyer*, The Wall Street Journal (Apr. 14, 2025) (online at <https://www.wsj.com/us-news/law/trumps-1-billion-law-firm-deals-are-the-work-of-his-personal-lawyer-77bd7b8c>).

<sup>5</sup> *Two More Law Firms Reach Deals with Trump to Avoid Executive Orders: “They’re all bending”*, The Guardian (Apr 2, 2025) (online at [www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/apr/02/trump-law-firm-executive-order](http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/apr/02/trump-law-firm-executive-order)).

<sup>6</sup> See text and embedded video in *As the White House’s Campaign against Law Firms Continues, Trump Says a Bit Too Much*, MSNBC (Apr. 9, 2025) (online at [www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/white-houses-campaign-law-firms-continues-trump-says-bit-much-rcna200417](http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/white-houses-campaign-law-firms-continues-trump-says-bit-much-rcna200417)).

<sup>7</sup> *Trump Targets Law Firm Behind \$787.5 Million Fox News Suit (4)*, Bloomberg Law (Apr. 10, 2025) (online at <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/business-and-practice/susman-godfrey-latest-target-in-trumps-growing-attacks-on-big-law>).

<sup>8</sup> *How Trump Is Putting Law Firms in a No-Win Situation*, The New York Times (Apr 9, 2025) ([www.nytimes.com/2025/04/09/us/politics/trump-law-firms-orders.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/09/us/politics/trump-law-firms-orders.html)); Quick Hits, The Bulwark (Apr. 10, 2025) (online at [www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits](http://www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits)).

<sup>9</sup> The agreement was announced via two social media posts: Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Truth Social (Apr. 11, 2025) (online at <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114241348699704594> and <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114320244770957852>).

<sup>10</sup> *Law Firm Kirkland & Ellis in Talks with White House to Avoid Executive Order*, The Wall Street Journal (Apr. 3, 2025) (online at [www.wsj.com/us-news/law/law-firm-kirkland-ellis-in-talks-with-white-house-to-avoid-executive-order-939a9f56](http://www.wsj.com/us-news/law/law-firm-kirkland-ellis-in-talks-with-white-house-to-avoid-executive-order-939a9f56)).

Constitution.<sup>11</sup> A court issued a temporary restraining order against a fourth executive order earlier this month, condemning the Trump Administration’s “shocking abuse of power.”<sup>12</sup>

The information you provide will inform our broader investigation into the Trump Administration’s practice of targeting individual companies, organizations, and people based on his personal or political grievance. We seek to understand, for example, where this agreement and the activities surrounding it might fall under existing law; how those activities might be treated under the ethical and legal obligations of the federal officials and other individuals involved in reaching and implementing the agreement; and if the professional and legal duties governing the practice of law no longer protect the legal system against the Trump Administration’s attacks. The facts we gather as our investigation progresses will, of course, inform our legislative focus.

We also seek to understand the effect this agreement and any others like it could have on the U.S. legal industry, including the global competitiveness of U.S. law firms. Your agreement merits particular attention in this regard because of its collusive nature and your firms’ combined market power. America will be made weaker if key sectors of our economy and civil society are undermined by coercion and corruption. The U.S. legal industry is particularly vulnerable in this regard because it depends on fidelity to the rule of law, courageous advocacy, and independence—both in reputation and in fact.

America’s promise of equal justice under law will die if the legal profession allows itself to be coerced into denying representation to the people who need it most. True pro bono legal work often requires standing up to the government when it would otherwise separate children from their parents, evict senior citizens from their homes, deprive children with special needs of a meaningful education, or expel refugees who will be killed if they return home. Attorneys representing regular Americans free of charge have held every branch of our government to account in the face of considerable professional and financial risk. You appear to have made a different choice.

President Trump issued an executive order against another law firm on the same day that he and his aide, Stephen Miller, previewed your agreement.<sup>13</sup> That firm issued the following statement: “we believe in the rule of law, and we take seriously our duty to uphold it. This

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<sup>11</sup> *Judge Blocks Parts of Trump Executive Order Targeting Law Firm Perkins Coie*, CBS News (Mar. 12, 2025) (online at [www.cbsnews.com/news/judge-blocks-trump-law-firm-perkins-coie-executive-order/](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/judge-blocks-trump-law-firm-perkins-coie-executive-order/)); *In Back-To-Back Rulings, Federal Judges Rule Against Trump Orders Targeting Law Firms*, NPR (Mr. 28, 2025) (online at [www.npr.org/2025/03/28/g-s1-56890/law-firms-sue-trump](https://www.npr.org/2025/03/28/g-s1-56890/law-firms-sue-trump)); *Executive Orders Against Firms Threaten Rule of Law, Susman Godfrey Says in Suit Against Trump Administration*, ABA Journal (Apr. 14, 2025) (online at <https://www.abajournal.com/news/article/executive-orders-against-law-firms-threaten-rule-of-law-susman-godfrey-says-in-suit-against-trump-administration>).

<sup>12</sup> *Judge Blocks Trump from Retaliating Against Another Top Law Firm*, The New York Times (Apr. 15, 2025) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2025/04/15/us/politics/trump-susman-godfrey-law-firm.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/15/us/politics/trump-susman-godfrey-law-firm.html)).

<sup>13</sup> *Trump Targets Law Firm Behind \$787.5 Million Fox News Suit (4)*, Bloomberg Law (Apr. 10, 2025) (online at <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/business-and-practice/susman-godfrey-latest-target-in-trumps-growing-attacks-on-big-law>).

principle guides us now. There is no question that we will fight this unconstitutional order.”<sup>14</sup> Two days later you announced: “We have resolved this matter while upholding long-held principles important to each of our Firms.”<sup>15</sup>

Our investigation extends to the other firms that have made similar “agreements” with President Trump, as well as to the White House itself. However, your agreement with President Trump appears to present unique concerns. One court warned that an executive order targeting one of your competitors “casts a chilling harm of blizzard proportion across the entire legal profession” and undermines “our entire legal system and the ability of all people and groups to access justice.”<sup>16</sup> Your assistance will help us understand whether a collaborative concession to coercion made by four of the largest law firms in the country presents a risk to the legal system and the rule of law.

We request your responses to the following questions and requests for information by May 12, 2025:

1. Documents comprising a complete and authoritative copy of any “agreement,” “agreements,” “settlements,” or “resolved ... matter” (collectively, “the Agreement”):
  - a. The Firms entered into with President Trump (whether in his official or personal capacity), the Trump Administration, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and/or the Trump Organization;
  - b. The Firms made between themselves in relation to any other part of the Agreement; and
  - c. The Firms made with any individual involved in any part of the Agreement, including Boris Epshteyn, Stephen Miller, and Andrea R. Lucas.
2. All communications between the Firms and President Trump; the Trump Administration, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Trump Organization, any individual thereof; Andrea R. Lucas, or Boris Epshteyn concerning:
  - a. The Agreement;

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<sup>14</sup> “*There Is No Question That We Will Fight*,” *Says Latest Law Firm Targeted In Trump Executive Order*, ABA Journal (Apr. 10, 2025) (online at [www.abajournal.com/news/article/latest-law-firm-targeted-in-executive-order-says-there-is-no-question-that-we-will-fight](https://www.abajournal.com/news/article/latest-law-firm-targeted-in-executive-order-says-there-is-no-question-that-we-will-fight)).

<sup>15</sup> Donald Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Truth Social (Apr. 11, 2025) (online at <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114320244770957852>).

<sup>16</sup> Transcript of Hearing, *Perkins Coie LLP v. U.S. Department of Justice, et al.*, No. 25-716 (D.D.C. Mar. 12, 2025), ECF No. 22; *see also* Statement of New York City Bar Association (Apr. 2, 2025) (online at [www.nycbar.org/press-releases/the-new-york-city-bar-association-supports-the-jenner-and-wilmerhale-lawsuits/](https://www.nycbar.org/press-releases/the-new-york-city-bar-association-supports-the-jenner-and-wilmerhale-lawsuits/)).

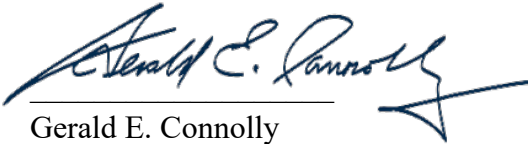
- b. Any potential executive order or government action related to the Agreement;
  - c. The March 17 letters to 20 law firms from EEOC Acting Chair Lucas;
  - d. The April 11, Truth Social posts announcing the Agreement;
  - e. Any executive order or government action targeting another law firm, either issued or threatened;
  - f. Any agreement between another law firm and the entities and individuals listed in request 3 entered into since January 20, 2025; and
  - g. The implementation of the Agreement.
- 3. All communications between the Firms concerning the topics in requests 1 and 2.
  - 4. A list of the individuals at the Firms, their outside counsel, their lobbyists, and any other intermediaries or agents acting on behalf of the Firms (either individually or collectively) who communicated with President Trump, any member of the Trump Administration, any member of the Trump Organization, Boris Epshteyn, Andrea R. Lucas, the EEOC, or any third party involved in the Agreement, as well as their intermediaries, outside counsel, lobbyists, or other agents.
  - 5. All communications between the leadership of the Firms and the leadership of any other law firm that has entered into a similar agreement, concerning either agreement.
  - 6. All records of any calls, meetings, or other events responsive to requests 1 through 5, including calendar entries, call logs, notes, descriptions, and summaries.
  - 7. A list of any messaging applications, including messaging applications that allow for automatic and permanent deletion, such as Signal, used by the individuals in requests 2, 4, and 5 to discuss any matters related to requests 1 through 4.
  - 8. Information sufficient to identify the date and time, author, participants, subject, and details of any deleted communications responsive to requests 1 through 4.
  - 9. Information sufficient to identify the date and time, title, subject, authors, and recipients of all legal advice or analysis provided to the Firms regarding the Agreement, as well as any factual matter in any document containing such advice or analysis.

10. A list of any auditors, governmental entities, clients, or counterparties to which the Firms or their attorneys will be required to disclose or report the Agreement;
11. Whether the Firms have assessed and informed its attorneys of any potential consequences if the Agreement is deemed to be unlawful or unethical under the laws, regulations, or rules governing the practice of law of any domestic jurisdiction where any of the Firms or their attorneys currently operate.
12. The following information concerning each Firm's foreign operations:
  - a. A list of the laws, rules, regulations, and codes of conduct of the foreign jurisdictions where the Firms maintain an office that are implicated by the Agreement;
  - b. The potential consequences for the Firms if the Agreement is deemed to be unlawful or unethical under the laws of a foreign jurisdiction where the Firms maintain an office; and
  - c. Whether the Firms have reached similar agreements with any government entities or officials in any foreign jurisdiction where the Firms maintain an office.
13. Documents sufficient to show the criteria the Firms will apply going forward to determine (a) whether an existing or potential new matter is consistent with the Agreement or (b) whether the firm will continue an existing engagement or take on a new engagement in light of the Agreement;
14. The following information concerning pro bono work and work performed under the Agreement:
  - a. Whether attorneys and staff will be required or expected to perform work under the Agreement, and whether they will be penalized if they decline to do so;
  - b. Whether attorney and staff who will be informed of any ethical or legal risks attached to performing work under the Agreement;
  - c. How the Firms will account for and report their \$125 million portion of "pro bono" work performed under the Agreement;
  - d. Whether the Firms will ensure that any "pro bono" work under the Agreement will be done in addition to their average annual yearly pro bono commitments.
  - e. Whether the Firms can deem work performed on behalf of the United States Government, President Trump, another individual involved in the Agreement, or the Trump Organization as pro bono work; and

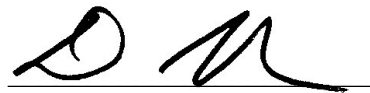
- f. Whether any individual or entity involved in the Agreement requested or directed the removal of material from the Firms' websites, and copies of any material that was removed.
- 15. A list of every law firm from which the Firms have attempted (whether successful or otherwise) to take business or personnel:
  - a. Has either refused to enter into an agreement with President Trump and the Trump Administration or has been named in an executive order issued by President Trump;
  - b. Was a recipient of a March 17 letter from EEOC Acting Chair Lucas, if the letter was a cause of the attempt to take business or personnel; or
  - c. That has been threatened with an executive order or other government action, if knowledge of the threat was a cause of the attempt to take business or personnel from the firm.
- 16. A list of every matter where your Firms represent separate clients and whether each client has expressly waived any actual or potential conflict of interest in light of the Agreement.
- 17. An explanation of whether it is now the practice of Kirkland & Ellis LLP, Allen Overy Shearman Sterling US LLP, Simpson Thacher & Bartlett LLP, and Latham & Watkins LLP (the Firms) to collectively give every incoming president the benefit of \$500 million of their legal services and the opportunity to dictate changes to their internal practices.

The Committee on Oversight and Government Reform is the principal oversight committee of the House of Representatives and has broad authority to investigate "any matter" at "any time" under House Rule X. If you have any questions regarding this request, please contact Committee Democratic staff at (202) 225-5051. Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Gerald E. Connolly  
Ranking Member



Dave Min  
Member of Congress

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM

2157 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6143

MAJORITY (202) 225-5074  
MINORITY (202) 225-5051  
<https://oversight.house.gov>

April 28, 2025

Mr. Brad S. Karp  
Chairman  
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP  
1285 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10019-6064

Dear Mr. Karp:

We write regarding the “agreement” between Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP (“Paul, Weiss”) and President Donald Trump that resulted in the revocation of an executive order targeting your law firm.<sup>1</sup> You have described the coverage of this agreement as “unhelpful, piecemeal, and incorrect in many fundamental respects.”<sup>2</sup> There also appears to be a discrepancy between your understanding of that agreement and that of the White House.<sup>3</sup> There may also be evidence that your agreement may have been made for President Trump’s personal benefit, through his personal lawyer.<sup>4</sup> Your assistance is therefore necessary to ensure that we have an accurate factual record of the events leading to this agreement, the specific details of the agreement, and its consequences.

The information you provide will inform our broader investigation into the Trump Administration’s practice of targeting individual companies, organizations, and people based on his personal or political grievance. We seek to understand, for example, where this “agreement” and the activities surrounding it might fall under existing law; how those activities might be treated under the ethical and legal obligations of the federal officials and other individuals involved in reaching and implementing the agreement; and if the professional and legal duties

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<sup>1</sup> *Executive Order: Addressing Remedial Action by Paul Weiss*, The White House (Mar. 21, 2025) (online at [www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/03/addressing-remedial-action-by-paul-weiss/](https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/03/addressing-remedial-action-by-paul-weiss/)).

<sup>2</sup> David Lat, *Brad Karp’s Email to Paul Weiss About Its Deal with the Trump Administration. Here’s what Paul Weiss chair Brad Karp sent to his colleagues on Sunday afternoon*, Original Jurisdiction with David Lat (Mar. 23, 2025) (online at <https://davidlat.substack.com/p/brad-karp-firmwide-email-to-paul-weiss-about-the-trump-administration-deal>).

<sup>3</sup> *Law Firm Paul Weiss Defends Deal with Trump as Lawyers Sound Alarm*, Reuters (Mar. 21, 2025) (online at [www.reuters.com/legal/trumps-deal-with-law-firm-paul-weiss-sparks-alarm-among-lawyers-2025-03-21/](https://www.reuters.com/legal/trumps-deal-with-law-firm-paul-weiss-sparks-alarm-among-lawyers-2025-03-21/)); *Law Firms Made Deals with Trump. Now He Wants More from Them*, The New York Times (Apr. 16, 2025) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2025/04/16/us/politics/law-firms-deals-trump.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/16/us/politics/law-firms-deals-trump.html)).

<sup>4</sup> *Trump’s \$1 Billion Law Firm Deals Are the Work of His Personal Lawyer*, The Wall Street Journal (Apr. 14, 2025) (online at [www.wsj.com/us-news/law/trumps-1-billion-law-firm-deals-are-the-work-of-his-personal-lawyer-77bd7b8c](https://www.wsj.com/us-news/law/trumps-1-billion-law-firm-deals-are-the-work-of-his-personal-lawyer-77bd7b8c)).

governing the practice of law no longer protect the legal system against the Trump Administration's attacks. The facts we gather as our investigation progresses will, of course, inform our legislative focus.

We also seek to understand the effect this "agreement" and any others like it could have on the U.S. legal industry, including the global competitiveness of U.S. law firms. America will be made weaker if key sectors of our economy and civil society are undermined by coercion and corruption. The U.S. legal industry is particularly vulnerable in this regard because it depends on fidelity to the rule of law, courageous advocacy, and independence—both in reputation and in fact.

America's promise of equal justice under law will perish if the legal profession allows itself to be coerced into denying representation to the people who need it most. Your firm's wide-ranging pro bono work has included assistance to domestic violence survivors, senior citizens seeking housing benefits, and nonprofits and small businesses, as well as higher-profile matters.<sup>5</sup> According to your website, Paul, Weiss once worked to change "American policy toward immigration" during the Holocaust when those who fled for their lives to this country were turned away.<sup>6</sup> Your firm represented Robert Oppenheimer and others during a period when, as now, federal officials turned the power of the government against the vulnerable. Your firm zealously defended a woman's right to choose for decades.

However, after you reached your "agreement" with President Trump, Paul, Weiss removed from its website references to its work on behalf of people who are fleeing persecution by other authoritarian regimes, as well as a statement denouncing antisemitism.<sup>7</sup> Paul, Weiss removed its page about its work on "reproductive choice, access to family planning, and supporting families." It took down the webpage of its Center to Combat Hate, which highlighted the firm's work to combat "hate-driven violence" and, ironically, "intimidation." That webpage was restored after a journalist wrote about its disappearance.<sup>8</sup>

We recognize that other law firms who lack Paul, Weiss's unique history of providing legal services free of charge to those in need have since reached "agreements" with President Trump. Unlike Paul, Weiss, which reached its agreement after an executive order was issued, those firms unquestionably obeyed in advance. Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom was the first firm to proactively submit to the President without an executive order being issued.<sup>9</sup> Four firms, Kirkland & Ellis, Allen Overy Shearman Sterling, Simpson Thacher & Bartlett, and

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<sup>5</sup> See generally *Pro Bono*, Paul, Weiss (accessed April 28, 2025) (online at [www.paulweiss.com/practices/pro-bono](http://www.paulweiss.com/practices/pro-bono))

<sup>6</sup> *About the Firm: History*, Paul, Weiss (accessed April 28, 2025) (online at [www.paulweiss.com/about-the-firm/history](http://www.paulweiss.com/about-the-firm/history)).

<sup>7</sup> *Paul Weiss, The Progressive Fight, and the Firm's Deal with the Devil*, HuffPost (Mar. 27, 2025) (online at [www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-paul-weiss-law-firm\\_n\\_67e57aabe4b0419750bbc102](http://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-paul-weiss-law-firm_n_67e57aabe4b0419750bbc102)).

<sup>8</sup> *Paul, Weiss Said It Felt "Called Upon" to Launch a Center to Fight Hate. Now It Won't Talk About It*, Democracy Docket (Mar. 31, 2025) (online at [www.democracymarket.com/news-alerts/paul-weiss-trump-executive-order-deal-center-to-combat-hate/](http://www.democracymarket.com/news-alerts/paul-weiss-trump-executive-order-deal-center-to-combat-hate/)).

<sup>9</sup> *Major Law Firm Strikes Preemptive Deal with White House*, Politico (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at [www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324](http://www.politico.com/news/2025/03/28/skadden-arps-trump-law-deal-028324)).

Latham & Watkins, acted in concert.<sup>10</sup> Our investigation extends to those firms and the others that followed them, as well as to the White House itself.

We also recognize that those firms may have been better informed than you when they made their own deals. President Trump has made his intentions increasingly clear in the wake of your “agreement.” As the White House press secretary has repeatedly stated, “Big Law continues to bend the knee to President Trump ... and he looks forward to putting their pro bono legal concessions toward implementing his America First agenda.”<sup>11</sup> At the time you made your agreement, a court had halted an executive order targeting another firm on the grounds that it likely violated numerous provisions of the Constitution. Courts have since ruled against three more such orders.<sup>12</sup>

We request your response to the following questions and requests for information by May 12, 2025:

1. Documents comprising a complete and authoritative copy of any “agreement,” “lasting settlement,” or “resolution” (collectively, “the Agreement”) Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP entered into with President Trump, the Trump Administration, Andrea R. Lucas, or Boris Epshteyn.
2. All communications between Paul, Weiss and President Trump; the Trump Administration, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the Trump Organization, any individual thereof; Andrea R. Lucas, or Boris Epshteyn concerning:
  - a. The Agreement between Paul, Weiss and President Trump (whether in his official or personal capacity) or the Trump Administration;
  - b. The March 14 and 21 executive orders naming Paul, Weiss;
  - c. The March 17 letters to 20 law firms from EEOC Acting Chair Lucas, which did not include a letter to Paul, Weiss;
  - d. The March 20, Truth Social post naming Paul, Weiss;
  - e. The March 20 Paul, Weiss memo concerning the Agreement;

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<sup>10</sup> *Titans of Big Law cut deal with Trump*, Politico (Apr. 11, 2025) (online at [www.politico.com/news/2025/04/11/trump-big-law-deals-033630](http://www.politico.com/news/2025/04/11/trump-big-law-deals-033630)). A fifth firm, Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft LLP, signed a separate agreement on the same day. *Id.*

<sup>11</sup> *How Trump Is Putting Law Firms in a No-Win Situation*, The New York Times (Apr 9, 2025) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2025/04/09/us/politics/trump-law-firms-orders.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/09/us/politics/trump-law-firms-orders.html)); Quick Hits, The Bulwark (Apr. 10, 2025) (online at [www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits](http://www.thebulwark.com/i/161016147/quick-hits)).

<sup>12</sup> *Judge Blocks Trump from Retaliating Against Another Top Law Firm*, The New York Times (Apr. 15, 2025) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2025/04/15/us/politics/trump-susman-godfrey-law-firm.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/15/us/politics/trump-susman-godfrey-law-firm.html)).

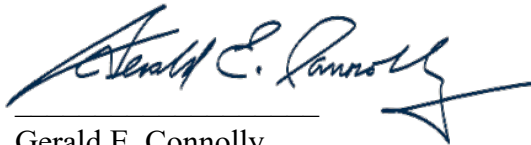
- f. The March 21 White House fact sheet naming Paul, Weiss;
  - g. Any executive order targeting another law firm; and
  - h. Any agreement between another law firm and President Trump, the Trump Administration, or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission entered into since January 20, 2025;
  - i. The implementation of the Agreement.
- 3. A list of the individuals at Paul, Weiss, its outside counsel, and any other intermediaries or agents acting on behalf of Paul, Weiss who communicated with President Trump, any member of the Trump Administration, any member of the Trump Organization, or any third party involved in the Agreement, as well as their intermediaries, agents, or outside counsel.
- 4. All records of any calls, meetings, or other events responsive to requests 1 through 3, including calendar entries, call logs, notes, descriptions, and summaries.
- 5. A list of any messaging applications that allow for automatic deletion, such as Signal, used by the individuals in requests 2 and 3 to discuss any matters related to requests 1 through 3.
- 6. Information sufficient to identify the date and time, author, participants, subject, and details of any deleted communications responsive to requests 1 through 4.
- 7. Information sufficient to identify the date, title, subject, author, and recipients of all legal advice or analysis provided to Skadden regarding the Agreement.
- 8. A list of any auditors, governmental entities, clients, or counterparties to which Paul, Weiss or its attorneys will be required to disclose or report the Agreement.
- 9. The potential consequences for Paul, Weiss or Paul, Weiss attorneys if the Agreement is deemed to be unlawful or unethical under the laws, regulations, or rules governing the practice of law of any domestic jurisdiction where Paul, Weiss or any Paul, Weiss attorney currently operates.
- 10. The following information concerning Paul, Weiss's foreign operations:
  - a. A list of the laws, rules, regulations, and codes of conduct of the foreign jurisdictions where Paul, Weiss maintains an office that are implicated by the Agreement;

- b. The potential consequences for Paul, Weiss if the Agreement is deemed to be unlawful or unethical under the laws of a foreign jurisdiction where Paul, Weiss maintains an office; and
  - c. Whether Paul, Weiss has reached similar agreements with any government entities or officials in the People's Republic of China, given that Paul, Weiss maintains an office in Hong Kong, where it operates as a Hong Kong LLP.
- 11. Documents sufficient to show the criteria Paul, Weiss will apply going forward to determine (a) whether an existing or potential new matter is consistent with the Agreement or (b) whether the firm will continue an existing engagement or take on a new engagement in light of the Agreement.
- 12. The following information concerning pro bono work and work performed under the Agreement:
  - a. Whether attorneys and staff will be required or expected to perform work under the Agreement, and whether they will be penalized if they decline to do so;
  - b. Whether attorney and staff will be informed of any ethical or legal risks attached to performing work under the Agreement;
  - c. How Paul, Weiss will account for and report the \$40 million of "pro bono" work performed under the Agreement;
  - d. How Paul, Weiss will ensure that any "pro bono" work under the Agreement will be done "in addition to" the "\$130+ million" Paul, Weiss commits annually to pro bono work;
  - e. Whether Paul, Weiss can deem work performed on behalf of the United States Government, President Trump, or another individual involved in the Agreement as pro bono work;
  - f. Why Paul, Weiss removed references to its pro bono work from its webpage and whether any individual or entity involved in the Agreement requested or directed the removal of that material.
- 13. A list of the law firms and individuals you were referring to in this portion of your March 23, 2025 "Statement to the PW Community": "we learned that certain other firms were seeking to exploit our vulnerabilities by aggressively soliciting our clients and recruiting our attorneys."

14. All communications between the leadership of Paul, Weiss and the leadership of any other law firm that has entered into a similar agreement with President Trump or the Trump Administration concerning either firm's agreement.
15. An explanation of whether it is now Paul, Weiss's practice to give every incoming president the benefit of \$40 million of the firm's legal services and the opportunity to dictate changes to the firm's internal practices.

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Sincerely,



Gerald E. Connolly  
Ranking Member



Dave Min  
Member of Congress

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman