

**A D D E N D U M**  
**to**  
**CONFIRMATION HEARING ON THE**  
**NOMINATION OF KASHYAP PRAMOD PATEL**  
**TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**This Addendum is available at:**

*<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-119shrg61322/pdf/CHRG-119shrg61322-add1.pdf>*

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A LETTER FROM ARAB AMERICAN COMMUNITY LEADERS  
IN SUPPORT OF THE NOMINATION OF PAMELA JO BONDI  
FOR UNITED STATES ATTORNEY GENERAL AND KASH PATEL AS DIRECTOR OF  
THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

January 15,  
2025

The Honorable John Thune  
Senate Majority Leader  
U.S. Senate  
511 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
Sent via email to: [jessica\\_mcbride@thune.senate.gov](mailto:jessica_mcbride@thune.senate.gov)

The Honorable Chuck Schumer  
Senate Minority Leader  
U.S. Senate  
322 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
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The Honorable John Barrasso  
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U.S. Senate  
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The Honorable Dick Durbin  
Senate Minority Whip  
U.S. Senate  
711 Hart Senate Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
Sent via email to: [katrina\\_petrone@durbin.senate.gov](mailto:katrina_petrone@durbin.senate.gov)

The Honorable Chuck Grassley  
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee  
U.S. Senate  
135 Hart Senate Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20510

Sent via email to: [james\\_rice@grassley.senate.gov](mailto:james_rice@grassley.senate.gov)

Dear Leader Thune, Leader Schumer, Senator Barrasso, Senator Durbin, and Senator Grassley,

We write as leaders in the Arab American and Muslim community to respectfully request your support of the confirmation of Former Florida State Attorney General Pamela Jo Bondi as the 87th United States Attorney General, and for the confirmation of Kash Patel to be the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We believe there will be broad support for Mr. Patel and General Bondi, and we look forward to their swift confirmation by the full United States Senate.

Civil rights, religious freedoms, and protecting family rights and our children in their schools are critical priorities for our community. We believe that as Attorney General, and FBI Director, General Bondi and Mr. Patel will undoubtedly prove qualified and capable to solve problems and work cooperatively on issues that not only impact not our respective communities, but are so important for millions of our fellow Americans.

The commitment to public service by both nominees make them exceptionally qualified for their positions. We are confident that they will act fairly and judiciously in their positions; their commitment to the reciprocity of access-to-advise is essential to tackling serious challenges that impact our communities and country writ large.

Thus, we, the undersigned, offer our support for Pam Bondi and Kash Patel in our individual capacities, and we thank you for your consideration of our support for their confirmation.

Sincerely,

Muhammed H Alayoubi MD  
Sam Alasri ( YAPAC)Michigan  
Bazel FADEL (leader- (MI

Abdullah Alshobai (leader- MI

Mohamed Algzali (leader -MI

Ahmed sherf Alden / community activist- MI

Zaid Albarmki (leader Maryland

Khalid Aljamal( Community leader Maryland

January 28, 2025

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman, United States Senate  
Committee on the Judiciary  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Richard J. Durbin  
Ranking Member, United States Senate  
Committee on the Judiciary  
711 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

***Re: Confirmation of Kashyap P. Patel for Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation***

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin:

We, the signatories below, are former United States Attorneys and former U.S. Department of Justice officials who write in support of the confirmation of Kashyap P. Patel as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

As former U.S. Attorneys and former Department of Justice officials, we are in a special position to assess the qualifications of Kash Patel to serve as our nation's FBI Director. Kash Patel is unique in having years of experience in a variety of federal national-security roles, including as a federal prosecutor leading counterterrorism efforts and his service as the Chief of Staff to the Acting Secretary of Defense. His many past positions have equipped him for the FBI Director role and instilled in him a deep appreciation for individual rights and the constitutional structure governing the U.S. Department of Justice and the Executive Branch.

The breadth and depth of Mr. Patel's experience is remarkable. After completing law school, Mr. Patel served as both a state and federal public defender for eight years. Mr. Patel also served as a terrorism prosecutor at the Department of Justice, investigating and successfully prosecuting high-value terrorist targets. As the National Security Advisor and Senior Counsel for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI), Mr. Patel led investigations into Russian efforts to influence the 2016 election while overseeing sensitive intelligence programs.

Through his work as the Deputy Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism at the National Security Council, Mr. Patel played a crucial role in dismantling terrorist networks and preventing attacks on American soil. In particular he oversaw efforts to eliminate ISIS and Al Qaeda, resulting in the deaths of terrorist leaders Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and Qasem al-Rimi. Mr. Patel's efforts likewise resulted in the rescue of numerous American hostages. Mr. Patel went on to serve as principal deputy in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence and as Chief of Staff to the Acting Secretary of Defense.

As former U.S. Attorneys and former Department of Justice officials, we have worked with many outstanding FBI Directors, each different, and each with unique strengths and a particular vision

Letter of Support for Kash Patel

January 28, 2025

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for the FBI. Mr. Patel will bring to this critically important office his unique and extensive experience combatting terrorism and protecting our national security. We have no doubt that Kash Patel will serve our nation in this important post with integrity and a tireless effort to protect the American people.

We strongly urge you to support his confirmation.

Letter of Support for Kash Patel  
January 28, 2025  
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Kurt Alme  
United States Attorney  
District of Montana, 2017-2020

Bob Barr  
United States Attorney  
Northern District of Georgia, 1986-1990

Scott W. Brady  
United States Attorney  
Western District of Pennsylvania, 2017-2021

Ben Burgess  
United States Attorney  
District of Kansas, 1984-1990

Thomas P. Colantuono  
United States Attorney  
District of New Hampshire, 2001-2009

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United States Attorney  
Eastern District of Arkansas, 2001-2006

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United States Attorney  
Western District of Tennessee, 2017-2021

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January 28, 2025  
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2018-2019

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Middle District of Tennessee, 2007-2010

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Western District of Texas, 2020-2021

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Northern District of Indiana, 1981-1985

Michael B. Stuart  
United States Attorney  
Southern District of West Virginia, 2018-2021

Johnny Sutton  
United States Attorney  
Western District of Texas, 2001-2009

Jay E. Town  
United States Attorney  
Northern District of Alabama, 2017-2020

Donald W. Washington  
United States Attorney  
Western District of Louisiana, 2001-2010  
Director  
United States Marshals Service, 2019-2021

Drew H. Wrigley  
Attorney General of North Dakota, 2022-Present  
United States Attorney  
District of North Dakota, 2001-2009, 2019-2021



**The Honorable Chuck Grassley, Chairman**  
**The Honorable Dick Durbin, Ranking Member**  
Senate Judiciary Committee  
224 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

The Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA) is pleased to express our robust support for the nomination of Kashyap "Kash" Patel as the next Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Our association, representing a significant portion of the hotel industry in the United States, believes that Mr. Patel's unique background and experience will serve our nation well in this critical role.

**Economic Impact of Asian American Hotel Owners.** Our AAHOA Members own more than 60% of all hotels in the United States, contributing significantly to the national economy. With over 36,000 hotels managed by our members, we employ more than 1.1 million individuals, contributing over 1.5% to the U.S. GDP and injecting over \$50 billion annually into the economy through various expenditures. The economic success of Asian American hoteliers over the past 40 years, predominantly from Gujarat, India, exemplifies the American dream. It showcases a community that has transformed from modest beginnings into major players in the hospitality industry. This success story is not just about economic growth but also about the cultural integration and entrepreneurial spirit our members bring to America.

**Anti-Human Trafficking Efforts in Hotels.** As hotel owners, we are acutely aware of the challenges posed by human trafficking within our industry. It is estimated that a significant number of trafficking incidents occur in hotels across America. In response, we have taken the lead with anti-human trafficking educational training and certification programs for our AAHOA hotelier owners and their employees. We have supported anti-human trafficking legislation, and worked with organizations such as BEST (Businesses Ending Slavery & Trafficking) to raise awareness and fight this scourge in our society. The FBI plays a pivotal role in combating these crimes through investigations and enforcement. Under Mr. Patel's leadership, we believe there will be a renewed focus on these issues, leveraging his background in counterterrorism and justice to enhance the FBI's effectiveness in tackling human trafficking.

**Kash Patel's Historic Nomination.** Kash Patel's nomination marks a historic moment as he would be the first Asian American to serve as Director of the FBI. His career, ranging from public defense to high-level counterterrorism roles, particularly his service in the National Security Council and with the House Intelligence Committee, equips him with the necessary acumen and perspective to lead the FBI into addressing modern threats with both integrity and innovation.

We firmly believe that Kash Patel's leadership will not only continue but elevate the FBI's role in safeguarding our nation's security while addressing the nuanced challenges within industries like ours.

Thank you for considering our perspective. We urge you to support Mr. Patel's confirmation to ensure that the FBI continues to serve with the highest standards of integrity and effectiveness.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Laura Lee Blake'.

Laura Lee Blake  
President & CEO



IOWA DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The Honorable John Thune  
Minority Leader  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Chuck Schumer  
Majority Leader  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20515

**Re: Supporting Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Director Nominee Kash Patel**

Dear Leader Thune and Leader Schumer:

Kash Patel is the leader that the Federal Bureau of Investigation needs. The FBI has long been a beacon for hardworking and impressive investigators—but their leadership has failed both those brave men and women as well as the country. The FBI needs a smart, competent, reformer as its leader. Mr. Patel is the man for the job.

As Attorneys General for our respective States familiar with the operations of justice departments, we have in the past weighed in on past nominees for the United States Department of Justice positions or when our own colleagues have been nominated. And we take the rule of law seriously. Many of us are also the chief law enforcement officers in our States—and we all partner with the federal government and FBI when needed to ensure justice is done. That the FBI is run well is important to us—and who runs the FBI is important to us, too.

That is why we, as the Attorneys General of Iowa, Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and West Virginia write you today to strongly encourage you and your caucuses to support Mr. Patel's nomination for Director of the FBI.

Americans have a crisis in confidence in FBI's leadership. Years of scandal, [including baseless investigations](#) into President Trump have shaken the nation's trust in the agency. Rather than focusing on investigating crime

and America's domestic threats, the FBI seems [oddly focused](#) on investigating President Trump. It is time for a leader to refocus the FBI on its core mission.

Mr. Patel has served in roles that require high degrees of competence, determination, and trust. Former White House national security advisor Robert O'Brien [recently wrote](#) that Mr. Patel could be counted on "to get any job done, no matter how complex or difficult." That type of experience is invaluable. O'Brien continued to explain Mr. Patel's key role in taking down the ISIS caliphate. We can hope that he can help refocus the FBI on dismantling terrorist organizations like ISIS, which is seeking to infiltrate the United States and [away from wasting its time](#) investigating Catholics for seeking a Latin mass. Hopefully, Mr. Patel can also stop the agency from [labeling parents extremists](#) just for expressing their views to school officials on issues regarding their children's education and safety.

He also has played key roles in increasing transparency and stands to further that goal if confirmed. In his role as national security advisor to the House Intelligence Committee, Mr. Patel helped Congress [uncover FISA abuses](#) and illegal politically motivated surveillance into President Trump's campaign.

Mr. Patel's resume speaks to his impeccable qualifications for this job. He served as [chief of staff to the Department of Defense](#) and as deputy director of national intelligence. Before accepting those high-powered roles, Mr. Patel was a national security prosecutor at the DOJ and even a public defender earlier in his career. His longstanding and diverse legal experiences will serve him well.

The American people have spoken and given President Trump a historic victory and mandate to be a change agent and enact reform. And few institutions need reform more than the FBI. Mr. Patel's sterling character and qualifications strongly commend this august body to exercise its constitutional function and consent to his nomination.

In these increasingly partisan times, uniters like President Trump need support from precisely the type of highly competent and qualified nominees like Mr. Patel. His willingness to stand up for what is right will be invaluable in reforming the FBI and restoring trust in the institution worthy of the brave men and women that serve in its ranks.

Sincerely,

Brenna Bird

Brenna Bird  
Attorney General of Iowa

Steve Marshall

Steve Marshall  
Attorney General of Alabama



Treg Taylor  
Attorney General of Alaska

Tim Griffin

Tim Griffin  
Attorney General of Arkansas

Ashley Moody

Ashley Moody  
Attorney General of Florida

Chris Carr

Chris Carr  
Attorney General of Georgia

Raúl R. Labrador

Raúl R. Labrador  
Attorney General of Idaho

Todd Rokita

Todd Rokita  
Attorney General of Indiana

Kris W. Kobach

Kris Kobach  
Attorney General of Kansas

Liz Murrill

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Attorney General of Louisiana

Lynn Fitch

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Andrew T. Bailey  
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Mike Hilgers  
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Drew Wrigley  
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Dave Yost  
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Patrick Morrisey  
Attorney General of West Virginia

January 28, 2025

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman, United States Senate  
Committee on the Judiciary  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Richard J. Durbin  
Ranking Member, United States Senate  
Committee on the Judiciary  
711 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

***Re: Confirmation of Kashyap P. Patel for Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation***

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin:

On behalf of the members of the California Narcotic Officers' Association (CNOA) comprised of over 7,000 local, state, and federal peace officers, prosecutors, law enforcement personnel, and other national and international associates, I am writing to express our strong endorsement of Kash Patel for the position of Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Mr. Patel's extensive career in government service spans three branches of government, showcasing a profound commitment to public service and the rule of law. His experience includes roles as a public defender, a federal prosecutor, and various national security positions, which uniquely qualify him to lead the FBI at this critical juncture.

We are particularly impressed by Mr. Patel's dedication to tackling violent crime and drug-related offenses across the United States. His deep understanding of law enforcement challenges, coupled with his proactive stance on restoring public trust and accountability within the FBI, aligns perfectly with our mission to combat drug crimes, especially in California where we face rampant drug overdoses.

California has been at the epicenter of the national opioid and fentanyl crises, and we believe Mr. Patel is precisely the type of leader the FBI needs to address these pressing issues. His commitment to enhancing cooperation between federal, state, and local law enforcement to combat drug trafficking and support community-based prevention efforts is commendable. His approach promises not only to reduce the influx of harmful substances into our communities but also to support recovery and rehabilitation programs.

Moreover, Mr. Patel's vision for the FBI emphasizes transparency and integrity, which are essential for rebuilding the public's confidence in this vital institution. His background in both defense and prosecution provides him with a balanced perspective necessary to navigate the complexities of modern law enforcement with fairness and efficacy.

We look forward to a swift confirmation process for Mr. Patel, which would signal a strong commitment to addressing one of the most significant public health crises of our time—drug addiction and crime. We believe he will lead the FBI with the vigor and dedication it requires in these challenging times.

Respectfully,



Bob Cooke  
President



# 'Just like Trump': ISIS murder victim Kayla Mueller's parents endorse Patel for FBI following military op role

By Emma Colton

Published January 28, 2025

Fox News

**FIRST ON FOX:** Carl and Marsha Mueller, the parents of ISIS murder victim Kayla Mueller, offered their full endorsement of Kash Patel for FBI director, after years of building a personal relationship with the Trump administration nominee.

"He loves his country. He loves the people of this country," Marsha Mueller told Fox News Digital in an exclusive interview via Zoom on Monday morning. "To us, you know, he is a person that we would go to for help. And he is so action oriented."

"Just like Trump," Carl Mueller added to his wife's comments on Patel's action-motivated personality.

The Muellers wrote a letter this week to Sens. Chuck Grassley, R-Iowa, and Dick Durbin, D-Ill., of the Senate Judiciary Committee, offering their full endorsement of Patel to serve as director of the FBI under the second Trump administration.

Their daughter Kayla was abducted by terrorists while leaving a Doctors Without Borders hospital in Aleppo, Syria, in 2013, when she was assisting with humanitarian efforts amid the country's bloody civil war. She was held hostage for 18 months, when she was believed to be repeatedly tortured and raped by ISIS militants, including then-ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

## **'WHEN THEY FAIL, AMERICANS DIE': TRUMP SOURCE BLASTS FBI, URGES SWIFT CONFIRMATION OF KASH PATEL AS DIRECTOR**



Carl Mueller, right, and Marsha Mueller show a picture of their daughter Kayla, who was killed by ISIS when she was an aid worker in Syria, as they attend the State of the Union address in 2020 in Washington, D.C. (Brendan Smialowski/AFP via Getty Images)

She was killed in 2015 — with her parents speaking to Fox Digital just days ahead of the 10-year anniversary of her death, on Feb. 6.

Patel served as deputy assistant to the president and senior director for counterterrorism at the National Security Council during the first Trump administration, which put him in the Mueller's orbit when he assisted in overseeing the military operation to eliminate ISIS chief al-Baghdadi in 2019.

"We would like to add our voices to those in support of Kash Patel's nomination to be the director of the FBI," the Mueller's letter to Senate lawmakers and obtained by Fox News Digital reads. "Any family who has lived through such an experience will know the value of dedicated, compassionate law enforcement officials."

"Because we have watched him at his work over time, and because we have personal experience of his dedication, we know that Kash Patel is such a person," the letter continues. "We continue to see in him a genuinely kind, thoughtful, action-oriented man who focuses on what is true and right and just. He loves our country and our citizens and wants the best for us all. He wants our country to be the best it can be."

Patel personally has been at the Muellers side over the past five years, they told Fox News Digital. He has stood out from the crowd as a federal government employee who sincerely cares for Americans who are suffering and will pick up the phone "night or day" to

"I'm confident if I texted him right now, he would get back to me before this interview is over," Carl Mueller said.

**'BEACON OF SELFLESSNESS': ISIS VICTIM KAYLA MUELLER HONORED AT CONGRESSMAN'S SWEARING-IN 10 YEARS AFTER DEATH**



Kash Patel, left, meets with Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas) in his Washington, D.C., office in 2024. (Anna Moneymaker/Getty Images)

**NATIONAL SHERIFFS' ASSOCIATION SLAMS STATE OF POLICING UNDER BIDEN, THROWS FULL SUPPORT BEHIND PATEL FOR FBI**

Patel previously served as a public defender in Florida's Miami-Dade area, as well as a Department of Justice official during the Obama administration, when he won awards for his prosecution and conviction of 12 terrorists responsible for the World Cup bombings in 2010.

Patel hit the national radar during Trump's first administration, including when he worked as a national security advisor and senior counsel for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence under the leadership of then-Committee Chair Rep. Devin Nunes, R-Calif.



Kayla Mueller, pictured here, was abducted by terrorists while leaving a Doctors Without Borders hospital in Aleppo, Syria, in 2013. (The Associated Press)

The Muellers reflected on the first time they met with Patel at the White House nearly five years ago when he served on the National Security Council, and how he told them to contact him at any time with questions about their daughter or to just talk.



President Donald Trump, center, in October 2019, monitors developments as U.S. Special Operations forces close in on ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's compound in Syria with a mission to kill or capture the terrorist. (Shealah Craighead/The White House via Getty Images)

"We actually met Kash — we were back in D.C. at the White House, and he actually came to us and found us. That's the first time we met him and wanted us to go meet with him and National Security Advisor, [Robert O'Brien]. So that's how we first came to meet him. So it's been almost five years ago. And they wanted to sit down and talk with us about Kayla. And we told them that we were working, and we're still working with, [former FBI agent] Ali Soufan. And they told us to continue to work with him and they would help in any way they could. And so that was our first meeting," Marsha Mueller said.



1

The Honorable Chuck Grassley, Chairman

The Honorable Dick Durbin, Ranking Member

United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary  
Washington D.C. 20510

Re: Nomination of Kash Patel for FBI Director

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

We would like to add our voices to those in support of Kash Patel's nomination to be the Director of the FBI. The terrorist group, ISIS, kidnapped our daughter, Kayla, in August of 2013. Any family who has lived through such an experience will know the value of dedicated, compassionate law enforcement officials.

Because we have watched him at his work over time, and because we have personal experience of his dedication, we know that Kash Patel is such a person. We continue to see in him a genuinely kind, thoughtful, action-oriented man who focuses on what is true and right and just. He loves our country and our citizens and wants the best for us all. He wants our country to be the best it can be.

After our first meeting in February of 2020 he wrote the following note to us: "Please contact me at any time, day or night, with whatever questions you may have, or simply if you just need someone to speak with. I'll always answer your call." He has kept every promise he made to us, as we knew he would.

Because we know Kash Patel to be a reliable, dedicated and totally honest public servant, we do not doubt that he will be an excellent director of the FBI.

Sincerely,

C and M Mueller

In their letter endorsing Patel, the Muellers reflected on the nominee's note to them encouraging them to reach out, which came as a departure from their treatment under the Obama administration, they said.



Carl and Marsha Mueller, pictured here in 2020, wrote a letter offering their full endorsement of Kash Patel to serve as director of the FBI under the second Trump administration. (Committee on Arrangements for the 2020 Republican National Committee via Getty Images)

"It was actually after that first meeting when we met him, and he wrote us the note, and he said, 'Please contact me at any time, day or night, with whatever questions you may have, or simply if you just need someone to speak with. I'll always answer your call.' And, you know, he's kept every promise he's ever made to us, as we knew we would from meeting him that first time," Marsha Mueller told Fox News Digital.

#### PARENTS OF ISIS VICTIM KAYLA MUELLER REFLECT ON THEIR LOSS

The Muellers previously spoke out against the Obama administration's handling of their daughter's captivity in Syria, repeatedly

saying she would not have been murdered if Trump was in office when she was taken hostage. Carl Mueller underscored the conviction in his interview on Monday, adding that the second Trump administration not only reopens lines of communication for his family, but extends hope to families around the country who have loved ones in the hands of terrorists.

"We didn't want to forget to mention to the families of current American hostages that their chances of getting their loved ones home have exponentially increased with the Trump administration in there," Carl Mueller said. "As I said before, if Trump would have been in office, Marsha and I are convinced that Kayla would be home. And we feel that he will do everything to get current American hostages. So just a word of encouragement and hope for them, because we know that sometimes hope is all they have."

Then-President Barack Obama offered his condolences to the family following Kayla's death in 2015, vowing that the U.S. would bring the terrorists to justice.

"She has been taken from us, but her legacy endures, inspiring all those who fight, each in their own way, for what is just and what is decent. No matter how long it takes, the United States will find and bring to justice the terrorists who are responsible for Kayla's captivity and death," Obama said at the time, just roughly four years before the Trump administration wiped out ISIS's leader.

Kayla Mueller's remains have not been recovered, but the couple believes the second Trump administration reinvigorates efforts to bring her and other hostages who have been murdered back to the U.S.

#### **I WORKED WITH KASH PATEL TO EXPOSE THE RUSSIA HOAX AND KNOW HE'S THE BEST PICK TO REFORM THE FBI**

"We believe [the Trump administration] will work closely with Ali Soufan to help us find Kayla and hopefully other hostages that were killed and bring them home as well," Marsha Mueller said, referring to a former FBI agent who has worked with the Muellers across the years following Kayla Mueller's captivity and murder.



President Donald Trump announces from the White House in October 2019 that ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has been killed in a military operation in northwest Syria. (Alex Wong/Getty Images)

Patel, if confirmed, will replace former FBI Director Christopher Wray, whom the Muellers also lauded as a compassionate man who has also helped their efforts across the years. Looking ahead to the next four years, they said they are "very fortunate and looking forward to more progress and finding Kayla through the Trump administration."

Patel is set to join the Senate Judiciary Committee on Thursday as the final leg of his nomination process kicks off in earnest. Patel has been on Capitol Hill meeting with Senate lawmakers to rally support for his nomination, earning praise from conservative lawmakers such as Tennessee Sens. Marsha Blackburn and Bill Hagerty, as well as endorsements from key law enforcement groups, such as the National Sheriffs' Association. Patel is expected to face an uphill battle overall to secure the nomination, as Democrats balk that he lacks the qualifications to lead the law enforcement agency and would politicize the agency.

#### **GOP ATTORNEYS GENERAL OFFER SUPPORT FOR TRUMP FBI PICK KASH PATEL, URGE SENATORS TO DO THE SAME**



Kash Patel, a former chief of staff to then-acting Secretary of Defense Christopher Miller, is followed by reporters as he departs from a deposition meeting on Capitol Hill on Dec. 9, 2021 in Washington, D.C. (Anna Moneymaker/Getty Images)

The Muellers explained that even when Patel was no longer serving in the first Trump administration, he met with the couple and other families suffering from losing a loved one to terrorist captivity. The Muellers were among family members who attended the trial of ISIS terrorist El Shafee Elsheikh, a member of the so-called "ISIS Beatles," who admitted to his involvement in and

Elsheikh's trial was held in 2022, when he was convicted by a jury in the Eastern District of Virginia and sentenced to eight concurrent terms of life imprisonment for holding four American citizens, as well as British and Japanese nationals, hostage before their deaths.

Patel joined the Muellers and other affected families during the trial, the couple explained, meeting them and "anyone that wanted to talk with him" at their hotel and speaking to them for maybe an hour.

#### **KAYLA MUELLER'S PARENTS PRAISE TRUMP, SOLDIERS FOR RAID THAT KILLED AL-BAGHDADI**

"It was not just the Americans that came down when we were sitting there with him," Marsha Mueller said. "Actually, people from other countries did, too, because ... he was willing to sit and talk with us. I was really deeply touched by that."

"But, you know, there was no reason, he was not in government anymore. But yet it was still in his heart and soul for justice," she said.

The couple reflected on the past decade, when they first learned their daughter was murdered, remarking that Obama administration officials "will have to live with" their failure of not bringing the American citizen home before her death.

Marsha Mueller also read her daughter's letter to her family while she was held captive, including a portion of the note that was not widely reported.

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"We always like Kayla to speak for herself. And there's a quote out there that most people know, but they don't know what she said after that quote, and if I can get through it, she said, 'I've known for some time what my life's work is, using my hands as tools to relieve suffering.' But she went on to say, 'that is my life's work, but my family is my life.'"

"That's Kayla," Marsha Mueller said through tears. "She loved us. We love her. And we encourage her to go out and help all the people she could in this world."

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The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary  
United States Senate  
224 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C., 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee,

The Conservative Political Action Coalition (CPAC) is the nation's oldest grassroots advocacy organization. Founded over 50 years ago, CPAC has a track record of advancing policies that reduce the size of government, protect liberty, and ensure the safety of the communities we live in. As part of our work to achieve these goals, CPAC established the Prosecutors & Law Enforcement Advisory Council to represent a wide swath of elected and appointed prosecutors at all levels of government who are viewed as leaders on public safety, common sense improvements to our justice system, and fighting the recent weaponization of our government. After careful consideration, we are confident Kash Patel is the clear choice to serve as the next Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Public safety is at a crossroads as trust in federal law enforcement agencies has been eroded after four years of politicization and weaponization of the criminal justice system. Americans' trust in the FBI has continued to decline at a time when the threats to the homeland continue to grow. Instead of prioritizing the ongoing fentanyl crisis, recent increases in violent crime, and the threat from organized cartels, partisan justice officials diverted resources to efforts that harassed parents at school board meetings and surveilled Catholics for simply attending religious services. Prosecutors across the country have also felt the effects of these misguided policies as they work every day to ensure the rule of law is followed and communities are protected from violent criminals. Mr. Patel is overwhelmingly qualified to refocus the FBI on prioritizing the safety and well-being of the American public it serves.

A native New Yorker, Mr. Patel is a graduate of the University of Richmond and received his Juris Doctorate from the Pace University School of Law while also obtaining a certificate in international law from the University College of London, England. He began his legal career serving as a state and federal public defender in Miami-Dade County, Florida then moving into a role as a trial attorney with the Department of Justice's National Security Division. By 2017, he was appointed as a senior counsel and aide to the House Intelligence Committee, identifying and setting policy on the constantly evolving threats facing our nation. Serving on both sides of the criminal justice system early in his career gives Mr. Patel a unique perspective on ensuring the Bureau can protect public safety while ensuring civil liberties are protected. From these roles, he was nominated by President Trump to serve as a Senior Director of

Counterterrorism at the National Security Council, Principal deputy with the Director of National Intelligence, and Chief of Staff the Secretary of Defense. Once again, Mr. Patel distinguished himself in these roles identifying the significant threats to the homeland and ensuring a plan was in place to keep the American people safe and secure.

The diversity of Mr. Patel's resume, serving as a public defender, prosecutor, and intelligence expert, makes him exceptionally qualified to be the next leader of the FBI. The American people want their faith in law enforcement restored and prosecutors are looking for partners at the federal level to achieve true community safety following four years of failed leadership. The brave men and women serving in law enforcement and prosecution across the country will benefit immensely from Kash Patel's confirmation as Director of the FBI and we proud to join an impressive list of public safety voices supporting his confirmation.

Should you have any questions or concerns, you can reach me at [frusso@conservative.org](mailto:frusso@conservative.org).



**Frank W. Russo Jr.**

Director, CPAC Foundation's  
Prosecutor Advisory Council

[https://www.inforney.com/politics/kash-patel-the-fighter-america-needs-to-restore-the-fbi/article\\_666c04f0-db1b-11ef-add0-53a21ec57e25.html](https://www.inforney.com/politics/kash-patel-the-fighter-america-needs-to-restore-the-fbi/article_666c04f0-db1b-11ef-add0-53a21ec57e25.html)

## Kash Patel: The Fighter America Needs to Restore the FBI

op-ed by Congressman Lance Gooden

Jan 25, 2025

1 of 2



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Mr. Kash Patel, Chief of Staff Secretary of Defense, poses for his official portrait in the Army portrait studio at the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, Nov. 17, 2020. (U.S. Army photo by Sgt. Keisha Brown)

Sgt. Keisha Brown



Dallas, TX -



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Over the past four years, the FBI's leadership has betrayed its mission, becoming a weapon in the hands of the radical left against conservatives, people of faith, and numerous partisan interests. President-elect Donald Trump's nomination of Kash Patel as FBI Director is a crucial step toward cleaning up this embattled institution and restoring its integrity.

I have witnessed firsthand how Christopher Wray's tenure as FBI Director has been defined by dishonesty and a blatant disregard for the rule of law. During a 2023 House Judiciary hearing, I listened as Wray insisted that a memo targeting Catholic Americans for their faith originated from a "single field office" in Richmond, Virginia. Evidence we uncovered at the Judiciary Committee proved this was a lie. The memo was the product of multiple field offices, including Portland and Los Angeles. More shockingly, Wray presented a deceptively redacted version of this memo to Congress, hoping to cover up the full scope of the FBI's targeting of Catholics.



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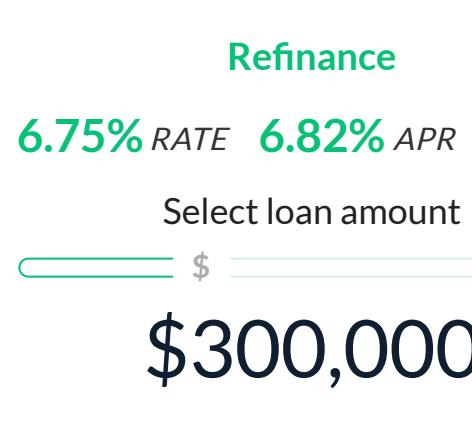
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crime. And it shielded powerful elites—like the Biden family—from scrutiny, refusing to investigate credible allegations of influence peddling and corruption.

President Trump's nominee, Kash Patel, is the man who will fix this mess. As a former federal prosecutor, public defender, senior intelligence staffer, and Chief of Staff in the Department of Defense, Patel has the expertise and courage to take on the entrenched corruption at the FBI, something the rank-and-file agents at the Bureau have been calling for over the past four years. During his time on the House Intelligence Committee, Patel exposed unlawful surveillance practices within the FBI, including its role in the infamous Russia hoax—a politically motivated attempt to undermine President Trump's first term.



The image shows a mobile application interface for a refinance calculator. At the top, there is a green 'Refinance' button with a blue 'X' icon to its right. Below the button, the text '6.75% RATE 6.82% APR' is displayed in green. Underneath this, the text 'Select loan amount' is shown in a grey font. Below the text is a horizontal input field with a dollar sign (\$) in the center, indicating the amount of the loan. The input field contains the value '\$300,000' in a large, bold, dark grey font. Below the input field is a grey 'Calculate Payment' button. At the very bottom of the interface, in a small grey font, is the text 'Terms & Conditions apply. 30-yr fixed. NMLS#'. The entire interface is set against a white background.

Patel's vision for the FBI is clear and bold: dismantle the political cabal that has corrupted the bureau, end the harassment of conservatives and religious groups, and refocus the FBI on its core mission of fighting crime. Patel has pledged to send FBI agents back into the field to combat violent crime, human trafficking, and the drug epidemic tearing apart our communities. He will fire the legion of lawyers and bureaucrats who have turned the FBI into a partisan weapon and restore its commitment to justice and fairness.

This nomination is an opening salvo in President Trump's assault on the corrupt deep state and a necessary move to dismantle the weaponized bureaucracy that has plagued our nation. The FBI's credibility is in shambles, with millions of Americans rightly viewing it as a rogue agency that targets citizens for their political and religious beliefs instead of upholding the rule of law. Patel has a proven record of exposing corruption and holding bad actors accountable, making

itions.

e justice,

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## Lance Gooden



United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

December 9, 2024

**VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION**

The Honorable Christopher Wray  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Director Wray:

Seven years ago, I presided over your confirmation hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, after President Trump nominated you to become only the eighth FBI Director in the Bureau's 116-year history. The Senate confirmed you to your current position in hopes you'd bring needed change to the FBI after the politicization and scandal presided over by your predecessor, Director James Comey. While I sincerely congratulated you on your nomination, I reminded you that an FBI Director's ten-year term is a ceiling, not a floor, and laid down my expectations for your service.<sup>1</sup> These included foremost the prompt and thorough compliance with congressional oversight requests and the protection of whistleblowers, whom I've spent my career defending.<sup>2</sup> As we stand at the threshold of a new Congress and a new administration, with seven years of water under the bridge, you've failed in these fundamental duties as director. Even President Biden, who denied weaponizing his administration against President-elect Trump, has finally admitted that political bias has indeed infected law enforcement.<sup>3</sup> These failures are serious enough and their pattern widespread enough to have shattered my confidence in your leadership and the confidence and hope many others in Congress placed in you. Rather than turn over a new leaf at the FBI, you've continued to read from the old playbook of weaponization, double standards, and a relentless game of hide-and-seek with the Congress. As your tenure as FBI Director comes to an end, I want to take this opportunity to tell you where you went wrong, for the benefit of the Bureau and that of your successor.

Contrary to the assurances you made to gain confirmation to your position, the FBI has shown outright disdain for congressional oversight during your tenure. By doing so, it has hindered Congress in the exercise of its constitutional duty to oversee the actions of executive branch agencies and officials. You pledged under oath at your confirmation hearing to assist members of the Judiciary Committee and the entire Senate with oversight requests, and said you would do everything in your power to make sure the FBI is "appropriately responsive and prompt" in responding to these requests.<sup>4</sup> You didn't live up to your word. Promises made, promises broken has become a recurrent theme under your leadership.

One of the most egregious examples is the FBI's failure to provide basic information I requested more than two years ago related to the FBI's ongoing mishandling of sexual harassment claims made by

<sup>1</sup> Press Release, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, *Grassley Statement at the Hearing of FBI Director Nominee Christopher Wray* (July 12, 2017), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-statement-hearing-fbi-director-nominee-christopher-wray>.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, *Hearing on the nomination of Christopher A. Wray, to be Director of the Fed. Bur. of Investigation* (July 12, 2017), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/committee-activity/hearings/07/12/2017/nominations>.

<sup>3</sup> Statement from President Joe Biden, The White House, Briefing Room, Statements and Releases (Dec. 1, 2024), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/12/01/statement-from-president-joe-biden-11/>.

<sup>4</sup> Hearing, *supra* n. 2.

the FBI's female employees. This request was not pulled out of a hat. It was based on credible whistleblower disclosures alleging hundreds of FBI employees had retired or resigned to avoid accountability for sexual misconduct.<sup>5</sup> Whistleblowers also alleged the FBI had disciplined senior officials less severely than their subordinates for this misconduct.<sup>6</sup> In November 2022, I released internal FBI documents corroborating these disclosures.<sup>7</sup> I and my staff ever since have asked repeatedly for information sufficient to determine how FBI handled these serious claims and how widespread the problem really is. The FBI, for its part, told the media it would provide the information to me.<sup>8</sup> You personally told me at a December 5, 2023, Judiciary Committee hearing, when I confronted you with the FBI's blatant inaction, that you would check with your team and then follow up with me.<sup>9</sup> Your Deputy Director, Paul Abbate, also publicly stated the FBI is serious about removing officials for sexual misconduct.<sup>10</sup> After a year since you made that pledge, over three years since Deputy Director Abbate's public comments, and after many more requests to FBI to provide this information, neither of you have followed up or followed through. This inexcusable delay and obstruction by you and Deputy Director Abbate has prevented Congress and the Judiciary Committee from addressing the shocking sexual misconduct at the FBI. This is a promise made and broken, on an issue of utmost importance.

Likewise, in May and August of 2022, I wrote you requesting information about the vetting of individuals evacuated from Afghanistan through Operations Allies Welcome (OAW).<sup>11</sup> These letters highlighted troubling revelations in a February 2022 report from the DOJ Office of Inspector General, which revealed Afghanistan evacuees weren't vetted against all available DOD tactical data prior to being paroled into the U.S. by the Biden-Harris Department of Homeland Security.<sup>12</sup> The report revealed the National Ground Intelligence Center (NGIC) flagged at least 50 Afghan evacuees for the FBI as "potentially significant security concerns."<sup>13</sup> FBI failed entirely to answer my inquiry on this serious national security issue. Instead, in July 2022, FBI participated in a classified multi-agency briefing to congressional staff on the issue, which revealed new information about additional individuals beyond the 50 individuals initially flagged by NGIC, but failed to answer my outstanding questions.<sup>14</sup> At an August 4, 2022, Judiciary Committee oversight hearing, I asked you directly whether the FBI knows where certain flagged evacuees are located. Your answer left the impression that you hadn't even looked into the matter, despite my repeated inquiries. You said, "I can't sit here right now and tell you that we know where all are located at any given time. That's probably true."<sup>15</sup> Since that time, on

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Merrick Garland, Attorney Gen., Dep't of Justice, and the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, (Oct. 5, 2022), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_doj\\_fbi\\_sexual\\_misconduct\\_allegations.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_doj_fbi_sexual_misconduct_allegations.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Judiciary Comm., to the Hon. Michael Horowitz, Inspector General, Dep't of Justice Off. of Inspector Gen., (Nov. 2, 2022) [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_justice\\_deptinspectorgeneralsexualmisconductreview.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_justice_deptinspectorgeneralsexualmisconductreview.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> Eric Tucker & Jim Mustian, *Whistleblower: 665 left FBI over misconduct in two decades*, ASSOCIATED PRESS, (Oct. 6, 2022), <https://apnews.com/article/business-personnel-sexual-misconduct-chuck-grassley-merrick-garland9ca9ea18036814bd12e8c62a20e08d9>.

<sup>9</sup> Hearing Before the Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, *Oversight of the Federal Bureau of Investigation* (Dec. 5, 2023), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/committee-activity/hearings/12/05/2023/oversight-of-the-federal-bureau-of-investigation>.

<sup>10</sup> Jim Mustian and Eric Tucker, *'We mean it': FBI takes on sexual misconduct in its ranks*, ASSOCIATED PRESS (June 11, 2021), <https://apnews.com/article/government-and-politics-sexual-misconduct-business-ecd5d47a077a9d8e9ec03708be5168>.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, et al., to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (May 26, 2022), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/ceg\\_et\\_al.tofbiupdateonafghanvacuevetting.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/ceg_et_al.tofbiupdateonafghanvacuevetting.pdf); Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Senate Comm. on the Judiciary, et al., to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (Aug. 22, 2022), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_portman\\_inhofe\\_to\\_fbi\\_afghan\\_vetting\\_follow-up.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_portman_inhofe_to_fbi_afghan_vetting_follow-up.pdf).

<sup>12</sup> Off. of the Inspector Gen. of the Dep't of Defense, *Evaluation of the Screening of Displaced Persons from Afghanistan* (DODIG-2022-065) (Feb. 15, 2022), <https://www.dodig.mil/reports.html/article/2938359/evaluation-of-the-screening-of-displaced-persons-from-afghanistan-dodig-2022-065/>.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.* at 10.

<sup>14</sup> Verified by relevant staff on the Sen. Judiciary Comm.

<sup>15</sup> Hearing before the U.S. Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, *Oversight of the Fed. Bur. of Investigation* (Aug. 4, 2022), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/committee-activity/hearings/08/04/2022/oversight-of-the-federal-bureau-of-investigation>.

October 7, 2024, the FBI arrested Nasir Ahmad Tawhedi after he allegedly planned an election day terrorist attack in the U.S. on behalf of the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS).<sup>16</sup> The DOJ's criminal complaint claimed Tawhedi, an Afghan national, entered the U.S. in September 2021 during the same time period as the Biden-Harris Administration's Operation Allies Refuge and Operation Allies Welcome, and was placed on parole status pending his immigration proceedings.<sup>17</sup> You've failed to respond to my inquiries on that serious matter as well.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, in May 2024, a DHS OIG report confirmed the concerns I and my colleagues raised, that the Biden Administration has failed to properly vet Afghan evacuees.<sup>19</sup> That report outlined various failures at DHS, including its failure to identify and resolve issues for noncitizens with derogatory information, and gaps in CBP, USCIS, and ICE's responsibility for terminating parole, initiating removal proceedings, or monitoring parole expiration.<sup>20</sup> The same report also noted FBI's refusal to provide USCIS with full access to its National Crime Information Center Interstate Identification Index.<sup>21</sup> The DHS OIG noted that FBI refused to provide this access because it, "deems immigration and naturalization issues as noncriminal justice matters."<sup>22</sup> This position is hard to defend, especially given the fact that, again as the OIG report noted, OAW parolees, "were [] convicted of committing crimes such as abusive sexual contact with a minor, indecent exposure, sexual assault, auto grand larceny, assault, and battery."<sup>23</sup> Once again, FBI, with you at the helm, failed to respond to any of this, despite my repeated requests.

At the very beginning of your tenure as FBI Director, I presented you with evidence of the FBI's failure to adequately investigate Hillary Clinton's mishandling of highly classified information when she was Secretary of State, another example of federal law enforcement double standards.<sup>24</sup> Consistent with that FBI failure, yet another glaring example of FBI's broken promises under your leadership is its inexcusable failure to investigate bribery allegations against former Vice President Joe Biden, while strictly scrutinizing former President Trump. You've repeatedly claimed you would ensure the FBI does justice, "free of fear, favor, or partisan influence."<sup>25</sup> The FBI under your watch, however, had possession of incriminating information against President Biden for three years until I exposed the existence of the record outlining those allegations, but did nothing to investigate it.<sup>26</sup> This record, known as an FD-1023, documented allegations of bribery between and among then-Vice President

<sup>16</sup> *United States v. Tawhedi*, M-24-760-SM (W.D. Okla. 2024) at 1, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/25196610-usa-v-tawhedi>; Louis Casiano, *David Spunt, Afghan man in Oklahoma plotted Election Day terror attack in US on behalf of ISIS, Justice Department says*, FOX NEWS (Oct. 8, 2024), <https://www.foxnews.com/us/afghan-man-oklahoma-plotted-election-day-terror-attack-us-isis-justice-department-says>.

<sup>17</sup> *U.S. v. Tawhedi*, M-24-760-SM, *supra* n. 16 at 6, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/25196610-usa-v-tawhedi>.

<sup>18</sup> See, e.g., Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (Oct. 10, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_fbi\\_tawhedi.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_fbi_tawhedi.pdf); Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, to the Hon. Merrick Garland, Attorney Gen., Dep't of Justice, and the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (Oct. 21, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_doj\\_fbi\\_tawhedi\\_follow\\_up.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_doj_fbi_tawhedi_follow_up.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> Dep't of Homeland Sec., Off. of Insp. Gen., OIG-24-24, *DHS Has a Fragmented Process for Identifying and Resolving Derogatory Information for Operation Allies Welcome Parolees* (May 6, 2024), <https://www.oig.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/assets/2024-05/OIG-24-24-May24.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* at 21.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* at 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.* at 12.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* at 10, 15.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Senator Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, and the Hon. Lindsey O. Graham, Chairman, Subcomm. on Crime and Terrorism, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (August 30, 2017), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2017-08-30%20CEG%20+%20LG%20to%20FB%20\(Comey%20Statement\).pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2017-08-30%20CEG%20+%20LG%20to%20FB%20(Comey%20Statement).pdf).

<sup>25</sup> Answers from Christopher A. Wray, Nominee to be Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, to questions for the Record from members of the Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary (July 12, 2017), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Wray%20Responses%20to%20QFRs.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Budget Comm., and Rep. James Comer, Chairman, House Oversight and Accountability Comm., to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (May 3, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_comer\\_to\\_fbi\\_biden\\_1023.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_comer_to_fbi_biden_1023.pdf).

Biden, Hunter Biden, and Ukrainian officials.<sup>27</sup> The FBI confidential human source (CHS) behind this FD-1023 was on the FBI's payroll during the Obama administration, paid hundreds of thousands of dollars, was given permission to violate the law, and the information he provided was used in prosecutions. The FBI called this CHS "highly credible," and Deputy Director Abbate publicly testified in response to the FBI's refusal to remove obstructive redactions from that document that "[w]e often redact documents to protect sources and methods...the document was redacted to protect the source as everyone knows, and this is a question of life and death, potentially."<sup>28</sup> Then after the FD-1023 was made public – which didn't include the source's name – DOJ not only publicly named him, but indicted him, calling into question the truthfulness of Deputy Director Abbate's testimony and his refusal to be transparent.<sup>29</sup> Still, to-date, the DOJ and FBI have neither answered whether they investigated the substance of the FD-1023, nor have they provided an explanation for any effort undertaken to obtain the financial records and other pieces of evidence referenced within the document. This sounds a lot like Director Comey's leadership of the FBI, which was nothing short of shameful.

As I noted on the Senate floor on February 27, 2024, if a highly regarded source had alleged President Trump accepted a bribe, the FBI would pursue this information without keeping it stored away in one of its dusty closets for three years.<sup>30</sup> Actions speak louder than words, and in this regard FBI's actions don't just speak, they shout. The FBI has shown itself all too willing to act against President Trump based upon sources lacking credibility, such as those behind the Steele Dossier. This piece of dangerous foreign disinformation was created as a paid piece of opposition research for Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign.<sup>31</sup> That partisan source and the failure of the FBI to vet the information didn't stop the FBI, under the leadership of your predecessor, from offering it to the FISA court to obtain a warrant authorizing the FBI to spy on President Trump's 2016 campaign.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, because of my and Senator Johnson's oversight, I exposed the fact that the FBI knew the Steele Dossier had credibility problems and was possibly part of a Russian disinformation campaign before it was used to obtain FISA warrant renewals.<sup>33</sup> My and Senator Johnson's oversight work also exposed the Steele Dossier was pushed by the FBI to be included in the Intelligence Community Assessment about Russian meddling in the 2016 election, despite concerns over its lack of verification.<sup>34</sup> This is some of the most egregious, Orwellian conduct I've witnessed in my nearly 50 years in the Congress, and the rightful

<sup>27</sup> Fed. Bur. of Investigation, FD-1023 Document, obtained by Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Budget Comm. (June 30, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fd\\_1023\\_obtained\\_by\\_senator\\_grassley\\_-biden.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fd_1023_obtained_by_senator_grassley_-biden.pdf).

<sup>28</sup> Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, Hearing, *Oversight of Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act and Related Surveillance Authorities*, testimony of Paul Abbate, Deputy Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (June 13, 2023), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/oversight-of-section-702-of-the-foreign-intelligence-surveillance-act-and-related-surveillance-authorities>.

<sup>29</sup> Brooke Singman, *Person alleging Biden criminal bribery scheme is a 'highly credible' FBI source used since Obama admin: source*, FOX NEWS, (June 2, 2023), <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/person-alleging-biden-criminal-bribery-scheme-is-a-highly-credible-fbi-source-used-since-obama-admin-source>; U.S. Dep't of Justice, Press Release, *Grand Jury Returns Indictment Charging FBI Confidential Human Source with Felony False Statement and Obstruction Crimes* (Feb. 15, 2024), <https://www.justice.gov/sco-weiss/pr/grand-jury-returns-indictment-charging-fbi-confidential-human-source-felony-false>.

<sup>30</sup> Press Release, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Senate Comm. on the Budget, *Grassley Sets The Record Straight On Oversight Of FBI-Generated 1023 Document* (Feb. 27, 2024), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/remarks/grassley-sets-the-record-straight-on-oversight-of-fbi-generated-1023-document>.

<sup>31</sup> Letter from Matthew Gehringer, General Counsel, Perkins Coie, to William Taylor III, Zuckerman Spaeder, (Oct. 24, 2017), <https://cdn.cnn.com/cnn/2017/images/10/25/fusion.perkins.coie.pdf>.

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Stephen E. Boyd, Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Dep't of Justice, to Sen. Lindsey Graham, Chairman, Sen. Judiciary Comm., Sen. Richard Burr, Chairman, Select Comm. on Intelligence, Sen. Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Sen. Judiciary Comm., and Sen. Mark Warner, Ranking Member, Select Comm. on Intelligence (Feb. 7, 2020), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/FISA%20Warrant%20Application%20for%20Carter%20Page.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup> Press Release, Office of Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *IG Footnotes: Serious Problems with Dossier Sources Didn't Stop FBI's Page Surveillance* (April 15, 2020), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/ig-footnotes-serious-problems-dossier-sources-didn-t-stop-fbi-s-page-surveillance>.

<sup>34</sup> Press Release, Office of Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *Sens. Grassley and Johnson Release Declassified Annex to Intelligence Community Assessment That was Based on the Debunked Steele Dossier*, <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/sens-grassley-and-johnson-release-declassified-annex-intelligence-community>.

dismissal of Director Comey should've closed the book on such weaponization. Unfortunately for the nation, it didn't.

President Trump has been subjected to a continuing double standard, an area where your failed tenure is consistent with your predecessor's. While the FBI under your leadership turned a blind eye to information contained in the FD-1023 that was prejudicial to President Biden, FBI agents conducted an unprecedented raid of President Trump's home in Florida to serve a warrant for records.<sup>35</sup> In that raid, roughly 30 armed agents entered the home of a former president of the United States, with full authorization to use lethal force if needed to execute its warrant, and even searched the former First Lady's clothing drawers.<sup>36</sup>

This raid occurred despite serious questions about the need for it. President Trump apparently was cooperating with the investigation, notwithstanding liberal press reports. He voluntarily turned over 15 boxes of documents months before the FBI's drastic escalation.<sup>37</sup> Further, on June 3, 2022, two months before the raid on Trump's home, Jay Bratt, Chief of the Counterintelligence and Export Control Section of the DOJ's National Security Division, accompanied by FBI agents, visited Trump at his Mar-A-Lago residence. President Trump told the group, "I appreciate the job you're doing," and added, "[a]nything you need, let us know."<sup>38</sup> Bratt days later sent a letter to a Trump lawyer requesting placement of a stronger lock on the door where remaining records were kept "until further notice," which was done.<sup>39</sup> Following this, on June 22, 2022, the Trump organization complied with a subpoena for security footage taken at Mar-A-Lago, the last official action before FBI entered his home to execute a search warrant, treatment no former president has had to endure, which was approved under your leadership.<sup>40</sup>

No such raid took place at Hillary Clinton's premises, even though she and her staff mishandled highly classified information while using a non-government server after repeated warnings from State Department security personnel it was a security risk, and despite the fact her associates destroyed potentially-incriminating evidence.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, in an unheard of agreement that my oversight exposed, the FBI agreed to destroy records and laptops associated with Clinton's staff after reviewing them, even

<sup>35</sup> *In the Matter of the Search of Mar-a-Lago*, No. 22-mj-8332 BER (S.D. Fla. Aug. 5, 2022), <https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2022/08/TRUMP-WARRANT-FROM-PACER-1.pdf>; Alex Leary, Aruna Viswanatha, and Sadie Gurman, *FBI Quest for Trump Documents Started with Breezy Chats, Tour of a Crowded Closet*, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, (Aug. 10, 2022), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/fbi-quest-for-trump-documents-started-with-breezy-chats-tour-of-a-crowded-closet-11660169349>; *Mar-a-Lago: Republican uproar over FBI raid on Trump home*, BBC (Aug. 9, 2022), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-62486406>.

<sup>36</sup> *Mar-a-Lago: Republican uproar over FBI raid on Trump home*, BBC (Aug. 9, 2022) <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-62486406>; Brooke Singman, *Trump highlights Biden admin authorizing 'deadly use of force' in Mar-a-Lago raid*, FOX NEWS (May 22, 2024), <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/biden-administration-authorized-use-of-deadly-force-mar-a-lago-raid>.

<sup>37</sup> Alex Leary, Aruna Viswanatha, and Sadie Gurman, *FBI Quest for Trump Documents Started with Breezy Chats, Tour of a Crowded Closet*, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (Aug. 10, 2022), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/fbi-quest-for-trump-documents-started-with-breezy-chats-tour-of-a-crowded-closet-11660169349>.

<sup>38</sup> Eugene Kiely, *Timeline of FBI Investigation of Trump's Handling of Highly Classified Documents*, ANNENBERG PUBLIC POLICY CENTER, (Aug. 30, 2022), <https://www.factcheck.org/2022/08/timeline-of-fbi-investigation-of-trumps-handling-of-highly-classified-documents/>; Alex Leary, Aruna Viswanatha, and Sadie Gurman, *FBI Quest for Trump Documents Started with Breezy Chats, Tour of a Crowded Closet*, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, (August 10, 2022), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/fbi-quest-for-trump-documents-started-with-breezy-chats-tour-of-a-crowded-closet-11660169349>.

<sup>39</sup> Alex Leary, Aruna Viswanatha, and Sadie Gurman, *supra* n. 37.

<sup>40</sup> Sadie Gurman and Aruna Visanatha, *Timeline of Effort to Retrieve Documents from Trump's Mar-a-Lago*, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (Aug. 31, 2022), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/timeline-of-effort-to-retrieve-documents-from-trumps-mar-a-lago-11661969949>.

<sup>41</sup> Press Release, James Comey, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, *Statement by FBI Director James B. Comey on the Investigation of Secretary Hillary Clinton's Use of a Personal E-Mail System*, (July 5, 2016), <https://www.fbi.gov/news/press-releases/statement-by-fbi-director-james-b-comey-on-the-investigation-of-secretary-hillary-clinton2019s-use-of-a-personal-e-mail-system>; Report from the Office of the Secretary, Office of the Inspector General, U.S. State Department, *Evaluation of Email Records Management and Cybersecurity Requirements*, at 23-25 (26 May 2016), <https://www.oversight.gov/sites/default/files/documents/reports/2017-09/esp-16-03.pdf>.

though those records were potentially responsive to congressional investigations.<sup>42</sup> No such raid occurred on the home of President Biden, even though his records were consciously divided up, some stored at his home in a garage next to his Corvette, others stored at the Penn Biden Center, and that still more classified records were found by his attorneys in the days following his initial admission that he absconded with highly classified documents that dated to over a period of decades.<sup>43</sup> This is also despite the fact that it took the White House more than two months to publicly disclose that the classified documents had been found.<sup>44</sup> I warned you after the Mar-a-Lago raid that it risked the credibility of the FBI, and it has done just that.<sup>45</sup> A double standard in a nation that rightly boasts that “justice is blind” is no standard at all.

The FBI under your lack of leadership also served as an accomplice to the Democrats’ false information campaign designed to undermine my investigation of alleged Biden-family corruption. On August 6, 2020, as Senator Ron Johnson and I were finishing our report on the Biden family’s financial connections to foreign governments and questionable foreign nationals, you succumbed to pressure from Democrats in Congress and provided an unnecessary briefing that Democratic leadership requested in an effort to falsely label our investigation as Russian disinformation.<sup>46</sup> That briefing consisted of information we already knew and information that wasn’t connected to our Biden investigation. We made clear at the time our concern that the briefing would be subject to a leak that would shed false light on the focus of our investigation. Predictably, on May 1, 2021, the Washington Post did just that, falsely labeling our investigation as Russian disinformation.<sup>47</sup> At the briefing, and many times following it, we requested records documenting what happened at the briefing, its intelligence basis, and the personnel involved in making the decision to brief us. The FBI has consistently failed to fully respond to these requests, which were critical to ensure FBI didn’t knowingly or willingly use the briefing for partisan purposes.<sup>48</sup> To this day, because of the FBI’s lack of transparency, we still don’t know what the basis was for the briefing and have been prevented from questioning the briefers.

<sup>42</sup> The Hon. Jason Chaffetz, Chairman, House Comm. on Oversight and Gov’t Reform, the Hon. Bob Goodlatte, Chairman, House Comm. on the Judiciary, the Hon. Charles E. Grassley, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, and the Hon. Devin Nunes, Chairman, House Permanent Select Comm. on Intelligence, to the Hon. Loretta E. Lynch, Attorney General, U.S. Dep’t of Justice (October 5, 2016), <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2016-10-05%20CEG%20et.%20al%20to%20DOJ%20-%20Wilkinson%20Immunity%20Letters.pdf>.

<sup>43</sup> Dustin Jones, *FBI searched Biden’s Delaware vacation home as part of classified document probe*, NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO (Feb. 1, 2023), <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/01/1150927869/biden-rehoboth-beach-classified-documents>.

<sup>44</sup> Dan Mangan, *Biden Classified Documents: White House won’t say why it didn’t disclose earlier that records were found*, CNBC (Jan. 10, 2023), <https://www.cnbc.com/2023/01/10/biden-classified-documents-white-house-mum-on-disclosure-timing.html>.

<sup>45</sup> Julia Mueller, *Grassley expresses concern to FBI director in wake of Mar-a-Lago search*, THE HILL (Aug. 9, 2023), <https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/3595155-grassley-expresses-concern-to-fbi-director-in-wake-of-mar-a-lago-search>.

<sup>46</sup> Letter from Chairman Charles Grassley, Sen. Comm. on Fin., and Chairman Ron Johnson, Sen. Comm. on Homeland Sec. and Gov’t Affs., to Ranking Member Ron Wyden, Sen. Comm. on Fin., and Ranking Member Gary Peters, Sen. Comm. on Homeland Sec. and Governmental Affs. (July 28, 2020); Press Release, *Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Sen. Ron Johnson, Denounce Democrat Disinformation Campaign In Response To Peters, Wyden, Democrat Leaders’ Letters* (July 28, 2020), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/johnson-grassley-denounce-democrat-disinformation-campaign-response-peters-wyden>; Press Release, *Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Grassley (Again) Rejects Democrats’ Baseless Claims About Burisma Probe* (Sept. 16, 2020), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-again-rejects-democrats-baseless-claims-aboutburisma-probe>; Floor Speech, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *Grassley On The Ukraine Investigation* (Sept. 29, 2020), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-ukraine-investigation>; Floor Speech, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *Grassley On Democrats Spreading Disinformation To Protect President Biden* (Mar. 18, 2021), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-on-democrats-spreading-disinformation-to-protectpresident-biden>; Floor Speech, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *The Media Again Takes Liberal Disinformation Bait On Biden Family Oversight* (May 11, 2021), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/remarks/the-media-again-takesliberal-disinformation-bait-on-biden-family-oversight>; Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, and Sen. Ron Johnson to Inspector General Horowitz (July 20, 2021), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_johnson\\_to\\_justice\\_dept.inspectorgeneralaugust2020briefing.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_johnson_to_justice_dept.inspectorgeneralaugust2020briefing.pdf).

<sup>47</sup> Ellen Nakashima, Shane Harris and Tom Hamburger, *FBI was aware of prominent Americans, including Giuliani, were targeted by Russian influence operation*, The Washington Post (May 1, 2021), [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/rudy-giuliani-fbi-warning-russia/2021/04/29/5db90f96-a84e-11eb-bea5-048b2759a489\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/rudy-giuliani-fbi-warning-russia/2021/04/29/5db90f96-a84e-11eb-bea5-048b2759a489_story.html).

<sup>48</sup> Letter from Chairman Charles Grassley, Sen. Comm. on Fin., to Attorney Gen. Garland and Director Wray (Aug. 12, 2020), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_justice\\_deptfbibriefing.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_justice_deptfbibriefing.pdf); Letter from Chairman Charles Grassley, Sen. Comm. on Fin., and Chairman Ron Johnson, Sen. Comm. on Homeland Sec. and Gov’t Affs., to Director Wray and Director Avril Haines (May 3, 2021), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_johnson\\_to\\_fbi\\_odni - briefing.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_johnson_to_fbi_odni - briefing.pdf); Letter from Ranking Member Charles Grassley to Attorney General Garland and Director Wray (July 25, 2022) [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_justice\\_deptfbipoliticalbiasfollowup.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_justice_deptfbipoliticalbiasfollowup.pdf).

If these examples aren't enough to make my point, there are many more to offer. For more than a year-and-a-half, the FBI has failed to be responsive to repeated requests, again addressed to you, asking for information about the outrageous memo prepared by analysts in the FBI's field office in Richmond, Virginia. That memo struck fear in believers across the country by purporting, without anything other than biased, discredited sources like the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), to tie faithful Christians to violent extremism.<sup>49</sup> Shortly after a whistleblower disclosed the notorious memo to the public, I requested FBI provide answers, backed up by records.<sup>50</sup> The FBI in its paltry response deflected on the basis it was conducting an internal investigation of the incident.<sup>51</sup> Little did FBI leadership know the final "strategic review report" conducted by the FBI's Inspection Division would be produced to Congress the next year, on February 9, 2024, as the FBI was later directed to produce it by the Explanatory Statement on the Intelligence Authorization Act for FY 2024.<sup>52</sup> That internal report declared that "the [Inspection Division] completed its strategic review" and provided the review's findings. It was date stamped April 17, 2023, the day before the FBI's April 18, 2023, letter to me claiming the internal review was still "ongoing" as an excuse not to answer my questions.<sup>53</sup> It appears the FBI actively misled and obstructed congressional oversight.

In the case of the Richmond memo, my oversight continued throughout the remainder of 2023 and has continued since, with my office urging FBI to provide more information on the memo and the internal review. FBI waited until late September 2023, which we now know was more than five months past the review's completion, to even brief Senate staff on its findings.<sup>54</sup> I later led seven of my colleagues in a letter raising deep concerns on the content of that internal review and your testimony before Congress that the Richmond incident was about, "a product by one field office" and "a single product by a single field office."<sup>55</sup> Once redactions were lifted from the memo in a version provided to the House Judiciary Committee, it was apparent FBI had redacted information from the memo related to input received on the memo from two other FBI field offices, calling into question the veracity of your claim that the memo was the product of a "single field office." You later defended your testimony when I confronted you with the contradiction by saying the input from other offices was limited to verifying a

Ranking Member Charles Grassley, Questions for the Record - FBI Oversight Hearing (Aug. 11, 2022),

[https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi\\_oversight\\_hearing\\_questions\\_for\\_the\\_record\\_-\\_senator\\_grassley.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi_oversight_hearing_questions_for_the_record_-_senator_grassley.pdf).

<sup>49</sup> FBI Richmond, *Interest of Racially or Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremists in Radical-Traditionalist Catholic Ideology Almost Certainly Presents New Mitigation Opportunities*, (Jan. 23, 2023), <https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/fbi-anti-catholic-memo.pdf>; Letter from Sen. James Lankford and Sen. Charles E. Grassley, to Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, (Oct. 11, 2023) <https://www.lankford.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/10.3.23.-Final-letter-to-FBI-on-SPLC.pdf>.

<sup>50</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Budget Comm., and Sen. Lindsey Graham, Ranking Member, Sen. Judiciary Comm., to the Hon. Merrick Garland, Attorney Gen., and the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, (Mar. 1, 2023) [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_graham\\_to\\_doj\\_fbi\\_richmond\\_fbi\\_catholic\\_report.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_graham_to_doj_fbi_richmond_fbi_catholic_report.pdf).

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Christopher Dunham, Acting Assistant Director, Off. of Congressional Affairs, Fed. Bureau of Investigation, to Sen. Charles Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Budget Comm., and Sen. Lindsey Graham, Ranking Member, Sen. Judiciary Comm., (Apr. 18, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi\\_to\\_grassley\\_graham\\_-\\_richmond\\_fbi\\_catholic\\_report.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi_to_grassley_graham_-_richmond_fbi_catholic_report.pdf).

<sup>52</sup> Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2024, Cong. Rec. S5990-S5991 (Dec. 14, 2023), <https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/publications/IAA%20FY24%20JES%20-%20Cong.%20Rec.%20S5990%20-%2012.14.23.pdf>; Letter from Patrick N. Findlay, Assistant Dir., Fed. Bur. of Investigation, to the Hon. Richard Durbin, Chairman, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, and the Hon. Lindsey Graham, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary (Feb. 9, 2024) and attached report, Inspection Division, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, *Strategic Review Report, Richmond Field Office – Domain Perspective Strategic Review* (Apr. 17, 2023, Apr. 21, 2023), on file with staff.

<sup>53</sup> Letter from Patrick N. Findlay and attached Inspection Division report, *supra* n. 52.

<sup>54</sup> Emails with FBI Senate Judiciary Committee Liaison on file with staff.

<sup>55</sup> House Judiciary Comm., *Hearing on Oversight of the Fed. Bur. of Investigation* (July 12, 2023), <https://judiciary.house.gov/committee-activity/hearings/oversight-federal-bureau-investigation-0> (referring to the memo as, "a single product by a single field office"); U.S. Senate Select Comm. on Intelligence, *Hearing on Worldwide Threats* (March 8, 2023), <https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/hearings/open-hearing-worldwide-threats-3> (referring to the memo as, "a product by one field office"); Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, et al., to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bureau of Investigation (Aug. 24, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_et\\_al\\_to\\_fbi\\_-\\_richmond\\_catholic\\_memo\\_follow\\_up.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_et_al_to_fbi_-_richmond_catholic_memo_follow_up.pdf).

couple of sentences in the memo.<sup>56</sup> Nonetheless, you failed in that exchange to answer why the FBI redacted information about the involvement of other field offices in versions of the memo provided to Congress and whether you had reviewed the memo before you testified that it was the product of a “single field office.” Information about the involvement of other offices was highly material to the memo’s production, and you should have revealed it to the Senate when testifying on the topic.

Even more troubling was your testimony the Richmond incident involved “a single product.” Congress later discovered this claim was indisputably false or at least materially misleading, and neither you nor the FBI to this date has answered my request to explain your testimony. The FBI later revealed the existence of an external memo to me in a single passing line in its October 27, 2023, response, with no explanation, that an “external Strategic Perspective Executive Analytical Report (SPEAR) product [was created] on the same topic.”<sup>57</sup> According to staff present at the FBI’s September 2023 briefing, FBI withheld this information about the production of a second, external memo.<sup>58</sup> A later House Judiciary Committee report confirmed that a second product was drafted by the Richmond analysts on the same topic as the internal Richmond memo, and was reviewed by the Counterterrorism Division in FBI headquarters for planned dissemination throughout the FBI.<sup>59</sup> Based on the revelation that the Richmond memo was not a solitary product, I led fifteen of my Senate colleagues in yet another appeal for transparency.<sup>60</sup> Rather than come clean, the FBI waited nearly seven more months to respond, until August 15, 2024, and after I confronted you on portions of your testimony in a hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee on December 5, 2023.<sup>61</sup> The FBI’s embarrassing August 2024 response failed to answer any of the points I raised in my January 2024 letter and ignored my request for a clarification of your misleading testimony.<sup>62</sup> To this day, you’ve failed to clear up your testimony, even after being questioned by many members of the Senate – a state of affairs completely unacceptable for one of the nation’s premier law enforcement agencies. The FBI’s response also ignored the request of sixteen senators for additional information on the permanent deletion of files related to the memo, which was ordered by Deputy Director Abbate.<sup>63</sup> In a call my staff had with the FBI on August 27, 2024, a Bureau official assured my office that these files are recoverable and could be provided, and that she would

<sup>56</sup> Press Release, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, *Grassley Grills FBI Director Wray at Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing* (Dec. 5, 2023), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-grills-fbi-director-wray-at-senate-judiciary-committee-hearing>.

<sup>57</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, Comm. on the Judiciary and Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Fed. Gov’t, Interim Staff Report, *The FBI’s Breach of Religious Freedom: The Weaponization of Law Enforcement Against Catholic Americans* at 22 (December 4, 2023), <https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/2023-12-04-the-fbis-breach-of-religious-freedom-the-weaponization-of-law-enforcement-against-catholic-americans.pdf>; Letter from Mr. Christopher Dunham, Acting Assistant Director, Dep’t of Justice Office of Congressional Affs., to Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget (Oct. 27, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi\\_to\\_grassley - richmond\\_catholic\\_memo\\_follow\\_up\\_and\\_southern\\_poverty\\_law\\_center.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi_to_grassley - richmond_catholic_memo_follow_up_and_southern_poverty_law_center.pdf).

<sup>58</sup> Notes of briefing to Comm. staff on file with staff.

<sup>59</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, Comm. on the Judiciary and Select Subcomm. on the Weaponization of the Federal Gov’t, Interim Staff Report, *The FBI’s Breach of Religious Freedom: The Weaponization of Law Enforcement Against Catholic Americans* at 23 (December 4, 2023), <https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/2023-12-04-the-fbis-breach-of-religious-freedom-the-weaponization-of-law-enforcement-against-catholic-americans.pdf>.

<sup>60</sup> Press Release, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Senate Comm. on the Budget, *Grassley Leads Colleagues in Demanding ‘Coherent and Complete Response’ on Anti-Catholic FBI Richmond Memo* (Feb. 1, 2024), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-leads-colleagues-in-demanding-coherent-and-complete-response-on-anti-catholic-fbi-richmond-memo>.

<sup>61</sup> Letter from Patrick N. Findlay, Assistant Director, Off. of Congressional Affs., Dept. of Justice, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, to Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget (Aug. 15, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi\\_to\\_grassley - richmond\\_memo\\_follow\\_up.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi_to_grassley - richmond_memo_follow_up.pdf); Press Release, Senator Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, *Grassley Grills FBI Director Wray at Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing* (Dec. 5, 2023), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-grills-fbi-director-wray-at-senate-judiciary-committee-hearing>.

<sup>62</sup> Letter from Patrick N. Findlay, Assistant Director, Off. of Congressional Affs., Dept. of Justice, Fed. Bureau of Investigation, to Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, Sen. Lindsey Graham, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, et al. (Aug. 15, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi\\_to\\_grassley - richmond\\_memo\\_follow\\_up.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fbi_to_grassley - richmond_memo_follow_up.pdf); Press Release, Senator Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Budget, *Grassley Grills FBI Director Wray at Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing* (Dec. 5, 2023), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-grills-fbi-director-wray-at-senate-judiciary-committee-hearing>.

<sup>63</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, Judiciary Comm. interim staff report, *supra* n. 58.

follow up with my office.<sup>64</sup> She hasn't done so. This continuous mule-headed war against transparency again violates your solemn promises made under oath when you were nominated.

While your failure to fulfill your duty regarding the multiple examples above is sufficient reason to question your continued tenure as director, your broken promise to protect whistleblowers and be transparent about that protection is a final straw on the camel's back. The FBI's silence in response to my requests that you protect whistleblowers is completely unacceptable. As I said, you promised at your confirmation hearing to do so.<sup>65</sup> Protecting these brave patriots has been a priority of mine throughout my nearly-50-years of service in the U.S. Congress. Yet my pleas to you on their behalf, just like my many oversight requests, have fallen on deaf ears. On July 18 of last year, nearly seventeen months ago, I led twenty-two of my colleagues in a letter asking you to commit that no taxpayer money would be used to retaliate against brave whistleblowers who provided information about the Biden family.<sup>66</sup> Despite your pledge to protect them, you've failed to commit to this minimal and basic protection I requested. This shouldn't be controversial at all, but despite the small ask, you've failed for nearly a year-and-a-half to even reply.

Likewise, on September 13 of last year, almost 15 months ago, I asked you to provide records and information documenting what safeguards are in place at the FBI to ensure legally-protected whistleblower communications aren't monitored and inappropriately reviewed through your insider threat program.<sup>67</sup> Again, my simple request on behalf of brave FBI whistleblowers was greeted with deafening silence. President Reagan often said we should, "trust but verify."<sup>68</sup> I employ that same policy. When I ask the FBI for documents, it's to determine whether or not what's being said is verifiable. Those documents are worth more than mere assurances, because contemporary records paint an unmistakable and undeniable picture. The FBI here, as in so many instances, has failed to provide documents I've reasonably requested to verify its claims, or to fill in gaps where the FBI makes no claim at all because of its refusal to provide answers. Scripture tells us that one who can't be trusted in little matters can't be trusted in larger ones.<sup>69</sup> As these examples show us, you've failed in both.

You've also failed to adequately respond to my concerns about the protection of specific whistleblowers. As just one example, on November 30, 2018, I wrote you about the reported raid of a former FBI whistleblower's home relating to Uranium One.<sup>70</sup> The FBI took nearly two and a half years to provide a paltry 118-word response.<sup>71</sup> That response failed to provide any information on the raid, yet it asserted the FBI doesn't engage in whistleblower retaliation.<sup>72</sup> Again, such bland assertions do

<sup>64</sup> Notes of phone call with Ms. Katherine Gulotta, FBI Liaison to the Senate Judiciary Committee (August 27, 2024), on file with Committee staff.

<sup>65</sup> Hearing *supra* n. 2.

<sup>66</sup> Press Release, Senator Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, *Grassley, Johnson, Senate Republicans Demand DOJ and FBI Protect Whistleblowers Alleging Biden Bribery Scheme* (July 18, 2023), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-johnson-senate-republicans-demand-doj-and-fbi-protect-whistleblowers-alleging-biden-bribery-scheme>.

<sup>67</sup> Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, to the Hon. Merrick Garland and Christopher Wray, Attorney General, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (Sept. 13, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_doj\\_and\\_fbi\\_-\\_whistleblower\\_monitoring.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_doj_and_fbi_-_whistleblower_monitoring.pdf).

<sup>68</sup> Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum, *Remarks on Signing the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty*, Nat'l Archives and Records Admin. (Dec. 8, 1987) <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/remarks-signing-intermediate-range-nuclear-forces-treaty>.

<sup>69</sup> Luke 16:10.

<sup>70</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (Nov. 30, 2018), [https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2018-11-30%20CEG%20to%20FBI%20\(FBI%20Raid%20on%20Whistleblower\).pdf](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2018-11-30%20CEG%20to%20FBI%20(FBI%20Raid%20on%20Whistleblower).pdf); see Richard Pollock, "Exclusive: FBI Raids Home of Whistleblower on Clinton Foundation, Lawyer Says," THE DAILY CALLER (November 29, 2018), <https://dailycaller.com/2018/11/29/fbi-whistleblower-clinton-uranium/>.

<sup>71</sup> Letter from Jill C. Tyson, Assistant Director, Off. of Congressional Affs., Fed. Bur. of Investigation, to Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary (April 30, 2021), on file with Comm. staff.

<sup>72</sup> *Id.*

nothing to further the oversight work of Congress, which has every right and a constitutional duty to verify the claims FBI makes and assure they are consistent with the agency's own documentation.

On April 12, 2019, I also inquired about potential whistleblower retaliation in the form of suspended or revoked whistleblower security clearances and have recently raised additional concerns based on Inspector General findings.<sup>73</sup> The letter focused on Special Agent John Parkinson, who initially made protected disclosures in 2008, and subsequently lost his security clearance.<sup>74</sup> FBI also failed to provide answers to my inquiry on the status of others who allegedly lost their clearances after making protected disclosures to the DOJ's Office of Inspector General.<sup>75</sup> The FBI's response failed to address either of these inquiries.<sup>76</sup>

I've given quite a few examples here, but other examples of blatant failures throughout your tenure abound. The FBI for years has failed to update me on the status of criminal referrals I made related to individuals who made materially false statements and obstructed the work of the Judiciary Committee and my investigative staff during the Committee's consideration of the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court;<sup>77</sup> it's failed for over two years to adequately answer my inquiries into the DOJ and FBI's targeting of pro-life activists like Mark Houck, and the heavy-handed at-gunpoint raid against him;<sup>78</sup> it's failed to respond to my March 2024 inquiry about the support FBI provided Project Thor, a successful ATF anti-cartel program defunded by the Biden DOJ, and what efforts FBI is taking to stop firearms trafficking to Mexico;<sup>79</sup> it's failed to respond to my inquiry to DOJ and FBI in October of this year asking why it took so long to indict and arrest a man who made violent threats against Judge Aileen Cannon after she dismissed charges against President Trump related to his handling of classified information;<sup>80</sup> it's failed to respond to my inquiry from May of this year asking about whistleblower allegations that the Obama-Biden State Department obstructed the FBI from making arrests of high-risk targets providing support to Iran for their nuclear and ballistic missile programs;<sup>81</sup> it's failed to answer my letter from July of this year asking the DOJ and FBI to keep me updated on the ongoing investigation into the attempted assassination of former President Trump;<sup>82</sup> it's failed to update me on the status of a criminal referral I made to FBI in January

<sup>73</sup> Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Sen. Comm. on Fin., to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (April 12, 2019), on file with Comm. staff; Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, to the Hon. Lisa Monaco, Deputy Attorney Gen., Dep't of Justice (May 29, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_doj - retaliatory\\_security\\_clearance\\_susensions.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_doj - retaliatory_security_clearance_susensions.pdf).

<sup>74</sup> *Id.*

<sup>75</sup> *Id.*

<sup>76</sup> Letter from Christine E. O'Neill, Deputy Assistant Director, Sec. Div., Fed. Bur. of Investigation, to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Comm. on Finance (July 12, 2019), on file with Comm. staff.

<sup>77</sup> See, e.g., Press Release, Off. of Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, *Senators Seek Status Update on Criminal Referrals of Spurious Allegations Made During Kavanaugh Nomination* (Oct. 8, 2019), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/senators-seek-status-update-criminal-referrals-spurious-allegations-made-during>.

<sup>78</sup> See, e.g., Press Release, Off. of Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *Judiciary Republicans, Home-State Senator Demand Explanation For Dawn Raid On Pro-Life Activist Family Home* (Sept. 28, 2022), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/judiciary-republicans-home-state-senator-demand-explanation-for-dawn-raid-on-pro-life-activist-family-home>; Letter from Carlos Uriarte, Assistant Attorney Gen., to the Hon. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Comm. on the Judiciary (Dec. 6, 2022) (responding to the Sept. 28 letter, but failing to answer any of the specific factors senators asked about concerning the Houck arrest), on file with staff.

<sup>79</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (March 21, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_fbi - project\\_thor.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_fbi - project_thor.pdf).

<sup>80</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Merrick Garland, Attorney Gen., Dep't of Justice, the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation, and the Hon. Markenzy Lapointe, U.S. Attorney, S.D. Fla. (October 21, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_doj\\_fbi\\_sdf - judge\\_aileen\\_cannon.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_doj_fbi_sdf - judge_aileen_cannon.pdf).

<sup>81</sup> Press Release, Off. of Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *Grassley, Johnson Uncover Obama-Biden State Department's Politically-motivated Obstruction of FBI Law Enforcement Efforts* (May 22, 2024), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-johnson-uncover-obama-biden-state-departments-politically-motivated-obstruction-of-fbi-law-enforcement-efforts>.

<sup>82</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Merrick B. Garland, Attorney Gen., Dep't of Justice, and the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (July 16, 2024), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_doj\\_fbi - trump\\_assassination\\_attempt.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_doj_fbi - trump_assassination_attempt.pdf).

of this year related to likely child trafficking through the Biden-Harris Office of Refugee Resettlement at the Department of Health and Human Services;<sup>83</sup> it's failed for over a year-and-a-half to respond to my April 2023 request for records related to news reports you commandeered your FBI private jet to avoid spending time in traffic;<sup>84</sup> it's failed for six years to provide a full response to my inquiry into the FBI's investigation of the shooting of an unarmed man sitting in his car;<sup>85</sup> it's also failed, despite promises, to provide sufficient transparency about the FISA query process, with names of politicians and names of 19,000 donors to a congressional campaign and individuals arrested at social justice protests being improperly searched, and thousands of FISA protocol violations reported by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court.<sup>86</sup> The list goes on and on.

Your and Deputy Director Abbate's failure to take control of the FBI has hindered my work and others' work throughout multiple Congresses on matters that needed timely information, and has prevented the truth on some issues from ever reaching the American people. You've also shown a continuing double standard and failure to carry through on promises. For the good of the country, it's time for you and your deputy to move on to the next chapter in your lives. I've spent my career fighting for transparency, and I've always called out those in government who have fought against it. For the public record, I must do so once again now. I therefore must express my vote of no confidence in your continued leadership of the FBI. President-elect Trump has already announced his intention to nominate a candidate to replace you, and the Senate will carefully consider that choice. For my part, I've also seen enough, and hope your respective successors will learn from these failures.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Grassley  
Ranking Member  
Committee on the Budget

<sup>83</sup> Press Release, Off. of Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *Grassley Alerts DHS, FBI To Evidence of Human Trafficking; Calls for Immediate Action To Locate & Rescue Migrant Children* (Jan. 24, 2024), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-alerts-dhs-fbi-to-evidence-of-human-trafficking-calls-for-immediate-action-to-locate-and-rescue-migrant-children>.

<sup>84</sup> See, e.g., Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (April 3, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_o\\_fbi - jet transfer follow-up.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_o_fbi - jet transfer follow-up.pdf).

<sup>85</sup> Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Sen. Comm. on the Judiciary, to the Hon. Christopher Wray, Director, Fed. Bur. of Investigation (Dec. 17, 2018), [https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2018-12-17%20CEG%20to%20FBI%20\(Ghaisar\).pdf](https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2018-12-17%20CEG%20to%20FBI%20(Ghaisar).pdf) (two letters from FBI dated March 15, 2019 and August 30, 2019, on file with staff, declined to provide any requested information).

<sup>86</sup> For problems with FISA queries, see, e.g., Intel.gov, Release of Documents Related to the 2023 FISA Section 702 Certifications (July 21, 2023), <https://www.intel.gov/ic-on-the-record-database/results/1307-release-of-documents-related-to-the-2023-fisa-section-702-certifications>; United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, Mem. Op. and Or., 1, 28-29 (Apr. 21, 2022),

[https://www.intel.gov/assets/documents/702%20Documents/declassified/21/2021\\_FISC\\_Certification\\_Opinion.pdf](https://www.intel.gov/assets/documents/702%20Documents/declassified/21/2021_FISC_Certification_Opinion.pdf); see also Norma Merchant, *FBI wrongly searched for US senator and state senator in Section 702 spy data, court says*, AP (July 21, 2023), <https://apnews.com/article/fbi-foreign-surveillance-section-702-a804ea3ee688d8670aa19610e6fa8494>; Eric Tucker, *FBI broke rules in scouring foreign intelligence on Jan. 6 riot, racial justice protests, court says*, AP (May 19, 2023), <https://apnews.com/article/justice-department-fbi-surveillance-75c466a64e838ab12eaef96f6335f3cd>.

# RealClear Politics

# Kash Patel Is Uniquely Qualified To Lead the FBI

## COMMENTARY

By **Alexander B. Gray** December 13, 2024

AP

The predictable chorus of outrage from denizens of the Beltway Blob poured forth following President-elect Trump's nomination of Kash Patel to serve as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As the individual most closely associated with uncovering the astounding abuses of power now known as "Russiagate," Patel's nomination was always destined to terrify the Washington think tank-media complex that had sought to perpetuate the myth of President Trump's supposed collusion with Moscow.

Far more pernicious than discredited conspiracy theorists objecting to the nomination of the man who debunked their serial misinformation is the emerging Beltway line that Patel is "unqualified" to serve as director of the FBI. In a town that venerates credentials, it is remarkable that even the most anti-Trump commentators would insist upon Patel's supposed lack of qualifications to lead the United States' chief federal law enforcement agency. An objective evaluation of Patel's service, and the backgrounds of previous FBI Directors, points to only one conclusion: Kash Patel has the most significant and serious national security background of anyone ever nominated to serve as director of the FBI.

Since J. Edgar Hoover became the bureau's first director in 1935, the top job at the FBI has nearly always gone to an individual with a mix of federal prosecutorial, judicial branch, and senior Justice Department service. While these backgrounds made sense for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the FBI's principal role remained that of a domestic law enforcement agency, they are woefully inadequate for the threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Since Sept. 11, 2001, and over the last decade of Great Power competition with China and Russia, the FBI has become the nation's front line in counterterrorism, counterespionage, and domestic security matters. The approach required of the FBI to meet these challenges, which will only grow and expand in the years ahead, ~~differs substantially from the traditional bureau mindset historically oriented to kidnapping and bank~~

robberies. A director who has operated at the highest level of the national security apparatus, and understands these 21<sup>st</sup> century threats from a prism beyond that of an assistant attorney general or U.S. attorney, is essential for American security.

Kash Patel will be just such a director. While Patel has significant courtroom experience as both a prosecutor and a public defender, it is his time working at the highest levels of the U.S. national security bureaucracy that uniquely prepares him to lead the bureau at this moment. Patel served with distinction as deputy assistant to the president and senior director for counterterrorism at the National Security Council, where he was the principal White House official responsible for overseeing the U.S. government's counterterrorism agenda. This goes far beyond the vantage point of a traditional FBI director, who may have encountered the government's approach to counterterrorism as a prosecutor, judge, or Justice Department official. By contrast, Patel worked each day with, and helped set the direction for, the men and women actually executing America's counterterrorism efforts. With access to the most sensitive intelligence the country possesses, and responsibility for advising the president in real time on operations of extraordinary sensitivity and consequence, Patel lived and breathed the threats that will define the coming decades.

As chief of staff of the Department of Defense, Patel occupied one of the United States' most unsung but consequential positions. As the right-hand man to the acting secretary of defense, Patel was involved in every aspect of running the largest and most complex bureaucracy on earth. From Special Operations missions to conventional force deployments to intelligence on adversary threats and intentions, Patel acquired an understanding of the U.S. military's capabilities and requirements that no other FBI director has ever enjoyed. It is experience that will serve him well in a threat environment where the line between overseas battlefields and the home front is intentionally blurred by adversaries.

Having worked closely with Kash Patel during his time at both the NSC and the Pentagon, I can say with confidence that Donald Trump could not have picked an individual more suited by experience and dedication to lead today's FBI. As he has done with other appointments, President-elect Trump is jettisoning the Beltway cookie-cutter definition of what constitutes appropriate qualifications and instead asking: What are the actual skills, experiences, and qualities needed to keep America safe and prosperous in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? In Kash Patel, the president and the American people have our man.

*Alexander B. Gray served as deputy assistant to President Donald J. Trump and chief of staff of the White House National Security Council, 2019-21.*

**Illinois Drug Enforcement Officers Association**  
P.O. Box 709  
Sugar Grove, Il. 60554

January 27, 2025

**The Honorable Charles Grassley**  
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee  
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 224  
Washington, DC 20510

**The Honorable Dick Durbin**  
Ranking Member, Senate Judiciary Committee  
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 224  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

On behalf of the Illinois Drug Enforcement Officers Association (IDEOA), I am writing to express our support for the nomination of Mr. Kash Patel to serve as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Mr. Patel's background in national security, combined with his understanding of the complexities of law enforcement at both federal and local levels, makes him an outstanding candidate for this role. Of particular interest to our Association is his commitment to expanding the collaboration between the FBI and state and local law enforcement agencies.

His expressed intention to address the issue of illicit narcotics head-on is one we wholeheartedly endorse as it aligns with our main Association's main mission. Mr. Patel's plans to work closely with organizations like ours, to share intelligence, resources, and operational tactics, are crucial steps toward dismantling drug networks that plague our communities here in Illinois and Iowa. Mr. Patel has expressed the importance and support of vital programs such as HITDA and the Byrne-JAG grant.

Under Mr. Patel's leadership, we anticipate an FBI that will not only support but actively engage with state and local drug enforcement initiatives. This partnership is vital in our fight against the opioid crisis, human trafficking and the violence associated with those illicit activities. We are confident that his direction will lead to more effective inter-agency operations, better intelligence-led policing, and ultimately, safer streets for all Americans.

We urge the Senate Judiciary Committee to consider Mr. Patel's nomination favorably and with urgency. His leadership at the FBI could mark a significant turning point in how we address the national security threats posed by narcotics, providing both strategic insight and operational support where it is most needed.

Thank you for your consideration of our endorsement. We look forward to working with Mr. Patel to ensure a safer Illinois and a stronger nation.

Sincerely,

*Kevin Winslow*

Kevin Winslow  
President, Illinois Drug Enforcement Officers Association

# Independent Women®

## **Independent Women Supports the Confirmation of Kash Patel as Director of the FBI**

January 20, 2025

Dear Senators,

Independent Women, which advances policies that enhance opportunity and well-being, fully supports the confirmation of Kash Patel to serve as Director of the FBI. President Trump deserves the team he wants so that he can carry out the directive given to him by the American people.

There is no question that Mr. Patel is incredibly qualified to serve as Director of the FBI.

Mr. Patel's years of experience in key defense and intelligence roles during President Trump's first administration—coupled with his background as a public defender, DOJ prosecutor, and congressional investigator—have prepared him to refocus the FBI on its mission of protecting the American people.

Independent Women is proud to support the nomination of such a qualified nominee to serve as Director of the FBI. We urge senators to provide Kash Patel with a fair and respectful hearing and to confirm him as Director of the FBI.

Respectfully,



Heather R. Higgins  
CEO  
*Independent Women's Voice*



Carrie Lukas  
Vice President  
*Independent Women's Voice*



DONATE

DECEMBER 18, 2024

# ICAN Statement on the Nomination of Kashyap "Kash" Patel as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation



The Israeli-American Civic Action Network (ICAN) proudly supports the nomination of Kashyap "Kash" Patel as the next Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. A seasoned attorney and national security expert, Director-Designate Patel embodies the leadership, vision, and dedication needed to restore trust, ensure justice, and address critical threats to our nation's security. His commitment to combating extremism, safeguarding civil liberties, and upholding the rule of law makes him well suited to lead the FBI at this pivotal moment in our nation's history.

## **A Career Defined by Leadership, National Security**

Kash Patel brings a wealth of experience in law enforcement, national security, and public service to his nomination as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As a federal prosecutor, Patel specialized in prosecuting terrorism and human trafficking cases, demonstrating his steadfast commitment to justice and protecting the American people.

Patel's career trajectory highlights his ability to navigate complex national security challenges. While serving on the House Intelligence Committee, he played a pivotal role in investigative oversight, focusing on issues of transparency and accountability within intelligence and law enforcement agencies. His leadership as Senior Director of the Counterterrorism Directorate on the National Security Council advanced critical initiatives to combat global terrorism and safeguard American interests abroad.

Patel is also a staunch advocate for the U.S.-Israel relationship, consistently emphasizing Israel's role as America's "number one ally" in the Middle East. He has publicly highlighted the importance of U.S. support for Israel, particularly in countering threats posed by Iran. Patel has praised Israel's intelligence and defense capabilities, calling them "exquisite," while underscoring the necessity of American partnership to confront shared security challenges in the region.

Patel has demonstrated a commitment to reform, accountability, and the rule of law throughout his career. His leadership at the FBI will bring a fresh perspective and a renewed focus on addressing modern challenges, including combating domestic and international threats, fostering community trust, and ensuring the bureau remains a neutral and effective force for justice.

### **The Urgent Need for Leadership to Confront Surging Antisemitism**

The October 7, 2023 attacks revealed serious domestic challenges for the United States. Antisemitism has surged, fueled by extremism, hate crimes, and hostility disguised as political discourse. These issues require a clear and decisive response from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which is tasked with protecting communities and upholding the rule of law.

In the year since the attacks in Israel, antisemitic hate crimes have increased dramatically. Jewish communities have faced vandalism, harassment, and violence targeting synagogues, community centers, and individuals. The FBI's role is to investigate and prosecute these crimes while working with local law enforcement to protect vulnerable communities.

College campuses and public schools have become flashpoints for antisemitism. Jewish students and educators report rising incidents of hate speech and harassment, often masked as anti-Zionism. Public demonstrations and discriminatory policies have created a hostile environment, leaving many Jewish students feeling unsafe.

The FBI's ability to combat these challenges depends on strong leadership. The next Director must prioritize clear action against hate crimes and extremism, rebuild public trust in the bureau, and ensure the agency remains impartial and effective.

### **Key Areas of Focus for the FBI Director**

The following are critical areas of concern shared by ICAN and the communities we represent, which we urge Director-Designate Patel to prioritize during his confirmation hearings and throughout his tenure as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

**1. Combating Antisemitic Hate Crimes:** The FBI must take a leading role in investigating and prosecuting hate crimes targeting Jewish communities. Enhanced coordination with local law enforcement, advocacy organizations, and faith-based groups is essential to prevent violence and protect vulnerable communities.

**2. Countering Online Extremism:** The FBI should work collaboratively with online platforms and communities to address the spread of antisemitic rhetoric, misinformation, and extremism while respecting free speech and avoiding government overreach. Efforts must balance the need to address extremism with preserving free speech rights, where communities play a crucial role in fostering accountability, setting norms, and ensuring that digital spaces remain inclusive and respectful.

**3. Addressing Campus Antisemitism:** The FBI should partner with educational institutions to combat antisemitic harassment and ensure accountability for violations of civil rights. Supporting students through clear guidance, education, and targeted enforcement is vital for fostering inclusive campuses.

**4. Protecting Religious Institutions:** Synagogues and Jewish community centers continue to face heightened threats. The FBI must prioritize resources for intelligence gathering, threat assessment, and preventative measures to safeguard these spaces.

**5. Strengthening Counterterrorism Efforts:** Given the ongoing threats to the U.S. and its allies, including Israel, the FBI must remain vigilant in its counterterrorism work. This includes addressing both international and domestic threats, particularly those tied to antisemitism and extremist ideologies. Strengthening intelligence-sharing and joint operations with Israeli security agencies will enhance the ability to address shared threats and ensure the safety and security of both nations.

Patel's unique combination of legal expertise, national security experience, and unwavering support for America's allies makes him well-suited to lead the FBI at this critical juncture.

ICAN encourages U.S. Senators, community leaders, and all those committed to a strong Israeli-American community and U.S.-Israel relationship to recognize the importance of this nomination and to support a timely and thoughtful confirmation process, ensuring that America has the leadership needed to strengthen its relationship with Israel during this historic time.

## What It Means to Be Pro-Israeli-American

At ICAN, being pro-Israeli-American means uniting Israeli-American immigrants and pro-Israel Americans into a cohesive, action-oriented coalition that strengthens the U.S.-Israel

alliance while addressing domestic challenges that both communities face, like hate and antisemitism. It is an advocacy model rooted in shared values of democracy, innovation, and security, reflecting the unique role Israeli-Americans play as a bridge between two vibrant democracies. Pro-Israeli-American advocacy recognizes that the future stability and strength of the U.S.-Israel relationship depends on:

- Building bipartisan support for policies that strengthen mutual security and economic prosperity.
- Promoting the value of initiatives like the Abraham Accords, which exemplify the power of regional cooperation and diplomacy.
- Combating antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment through people-to-people, Israeli-American immigrant, and pro-Israel American cooperation.

This approach is dynamic, inclusive, and forward-looking, ensuring that our communities have a powerful and unified voice in shaping policies that benefit both nations.

**The Israeli-American Civic Action Network (ICAN)** is the only organization that brings together Israeli and American activists to create change for a better America, a more secure Israel, and a stronger U.S.-Israel alliance.

ICAN works with community leaders, public officials, and grassroots organizations to strengthen the bond between the United States and Israel at all levels of government through civic education, advocacy, and public engagement. It also promotes policies that support the Israeli-American community and foster mutual understanding. With a focus on policy leadership and strategic engagement, ICAN is committed to empowering Israeli-American activists and pro-Israel Americans to take an active role in shaping public policy.

Learn more about the Israeli-American Civic Action Network at [IsraelUSA.org](http://IsraelUSA.org).



Join a growing community of empowered activists who are making a real difference in the advancement of the U.S. - Israel relationship.

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Photo by Anna Moneymaker/Getty Images

## OPINION & ANALYSIS

# Kash Patel is the leader the FBI needs

CHRISTOPHER C. MILLER

JANUARY 29, 2025

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The rank-and-file agents of America's premier law enforcement agency deserve leadership that empowers them to protect the country, not merely serve political interests.

“ It’s not OK for the government to break the law,” Kash Patel explained. As President Trump’s nominee for FBI director, Patel’s words to me carry significant weight. His career proves his unwavering commitment to the rule of law, accountability, and, above all, the American people.

We were talking on a Friday evening in July 2018, just as we wrapped up a long week in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building next to the White House. At the time, I was the special assistant to the president for counterterrorism and transnational threats on the National Security Council. Patel was my deputy. We had worked together closely since his hiring by National Security Adviser John Bolton.

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**Patel represents the American dream. Most importantly, Patel delivers when it matters.**

We were deep in the Russiagate investigation, and new evidence had just emerged from the Justice Department inspector general. The

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interference” probe. At the center of uncovering this scandal stood Patel.

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More than anyone, Patel sought *the truth*. He remained committed to his work, driven not by politics or ambition but by integrity and good faith. As senior counsel for the House Intelligence Committee, he led one of the most consequential investigations in modern political history. He never sought self-promotion, career advancement, or approval from Washington’s entrenched bureaucracy.

That kind of dedication is rare in Washington, D.C. Many enter public service only to advance their own ambitions, putting political gains above the facts and the fair application of the law. Patel, however, remains focused on preserving the rule of law and holding power centers accountable.

Ironically, this mission makes him a threat to the political

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His commitment to restoring the FBI's true purpose makes his nomination more important than ever. On that evening in July 2018, his words were not complex, but they were powerful. They

summed up everything he stood for.

## CHRISTOPHER C. MILLER

Christopher C. Miller is a retired U.S. Army Green Beret, former director of the U.S. National Counterterrorism Center, and former acting U.S. secretary of defense.

I admit I was skeptical of Patel when we first met. Our paths crossed when he took over oversight of international counterterrorism organizations at the NSC. As a former Army Green Beret and mid-level government bureaucrat on loan from the Department of Defense, I prided myself on being aggressively apolitical.

Before working with him, I had only seen Patel through the lens of internet coverage, which painted him as a divisive partisan figure. The media labeled him a “right-wing operative,” accusing him of trying to “punish” the FBI with the infamous “Nunes Memo.”

But those claims were false.

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Patel represents the American dream. His sharp legal acumen and relentless work ethic propelled him to nearly every corner of the legal landscape. That tenacity quickly earned him the trust of President Trump, his closest advisers, and even career national security officials.

Most importantly, Patel delivers when it matters.

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**Leadership under pressure** 55

During the Trump administration, we had an opportunity to dismantle al-Qaeda's remaining leadership, an achievement once thought impossible. I made it my top priority. However, my efforts faced resistance from Pentagon and CIA leadership. Their reluctance — whether due to bureaucracy or outright hostility — stood in the way.

I knew the only way to get the job done required direct presidential intervention, something beyond my reach. Patel stepped in without hesitation. "I got it," he said. "I'll talk to the president."

That was Patel's strength — he knew how to cut through bureaucracy and drive real action. We became close confidants. When I needed a deputy, I knew Patel was the right person to step up.

He was a leader — professional, polite, and decent to everyone around him. But he never sacrificed his core beliefs or love for the country just to maintain the status quo. He complemented my often haphazard approach with sharp discernment, cutting through complex situations to offer clear, concise guidance.

Though his detractors labeled him a "heartless, sycophantic fundamentalist," Patel proved to be the exact opposite. He understood government intricacies and navigated them with

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And let's be clear — our work was *not* political. Patel and I were part of a 20-person team, all career civil servants or military officers from both parties. The exception was Patel. Yet his effectiveness and integrity earned him the respect of those around him.

## A defining moment: The Philip Walton rescue

Patel's leadership extended beyond policy and intelligence work. One of the greatest displays of moral courage I ever witnessed was his commitment to rescuing Philip Walton.

On October 26, 2020, militants kidnapped Walton from his farm in Niger, intending to sell him to a regional terrorist group. The captors made a fatal mistake by staying in the same location for three nights in a row. Intelligence reports confirmed their whereabouts, but time was running out.

Patel was with President Trump at a hostage rescue operations unit when the intelligence came in. He understood the kidnappers' strategy, recalling the 2016 case of American missionary Jeffrey Woodke, who was kidnapped in Niger and sold to an al-Qaeda faction. Woodke remained in captivity for years before French commandos finally rescued him.

Patel knew immediate action was necessary. If the kidnappers moved, Walton could disappear into a terror network, possibly forever. Patel briefed the president, who immediately ordered

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U.S. Navy SEALS, supported by Air Force special operations teams, launched one of the most complex hostage rescue missions in history. Patel and I monitored the operation from the White House Situation Room.

This was not his first time leading in high-pressure situations. Just months earlier, we had advised President Trump during the operation to eliminate ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Yet unlike that mission, where top officials — including Mike Pompeo and Gina Haspel — actively participated, they sent lower-level staffers this time. Pentagon officials Mark Esper and General Mark Milley resisted Patel's request to conduct the briefing at the Pentagon, despite the logistical advantages.

Nevertheless, the operation succeeded. Walton was rescued, and three of his four captors were killed.

The mission underscored Patel's moral clarity and operational expertise. When America needed action, he delivered. Meanwhile, career bureaucrats in Washington prioritized politics over results.

## **The right choice for the FBI**

A few days later, on Nov. 9, 2020, President Trump fired Esper, and I stepped in as acting secretary of defense. I accepted the role only because Patel agreed to serve as my chief of staff. Together, we

~~returning troops home from unnecessary conflicts, and ensuring~~

that service members and their families had a voice.

In December 2020, Patel and I visited the Navy SEALs who rescued Philip Walton. As we stood among those heroes, I was reminded why America remains the ultimate meritocracy. Patel, the son of immigrants, rose through the ranks by studying, working hard, and making difficult decisions. He demonstrated that integrity and courage still have a place in public service.

Now, as Trump's nominee for FBI director, Patel represents exactly what the American people need. The rank-and-file agents of the FBI deserve leadership that empowers them to carry out their mission — protecting the country, not serving political interests.

Patel will demand the highest standards of conduct while treating FBI agents with respect and dignity. He will enforce the Constitution without bias, something the agency desperately needs.

America needs a strong, principled FBI director. Kash Patel is the right man for the job.



**The Honorable Chuck Grassley, Chairman**

**The Honorable Dick Durbin, Ranking Member**

**United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary  
Washington D.C. 20510**

**Re: Nomination of Kash Patel for FBI Director**

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

We would like to add our voices to those in support of Kash Patel's nomination to be the Director of the FBI. The terrorist group, ISIS, kidnapped our daughter, Kayla, in August of 2013. Any family who has lived through such an experience will know the value of dedicated, compassionate law enforcement officials.

Because we have watched him at his work over time, and because we have personal experience of his dedication, we know that Kash Patel is such a person. We continue to see in him a genuinely kind, thoughtful, action-oriented man who focuses on what is true and right and just. He loves our country and our citizens and wants the best for us all. He wants our country to be the best it can be.

After our first meeting in February of 2020 he wrote the following note to us: "Please contact me at any time, day or night, with whatever questions you may have, or simply if you just need someone to speak with. I'll always answer your call." He has kept every promise he made to us, as we knew he would.

Because we know Kash Patel to be a reliable, dedicated and totally honest public servant, we do not doubt that he will be an excellent director of the FBI.

Sincerely,

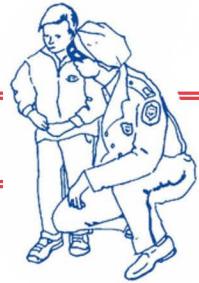
C and M Mueller



POLICE BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION  
POLICE DEPARTMENT, COUNTY OF NASSAU, N.Y.

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January 28, 2025

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Senate Judiciary Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Chairman Grassley,

Please consider this letter recognizing our support for Kash Patel to serve as the next Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The most effective way to tackle crime and preserve Law and Order is through partnerships at all levels of Law Enforcement. Mr. Patel has repeatedly proven how he values such partnerships. As a former resident of Nassau County, he understands the needs and difficulties our community is dealing with.

His vast experience in multiple levels of law enforcement and national security provides the necessary insight and offers a unique perspective on keeping our communities and Nation safe. These qualities will help him serve as a strong and capable leader who can effectively tackle Federal, State, and Local crime.

The FBI is vital in protecting all American citizens and our Nation. The Nassau County PBA is one of the largest police unions on Long Island. We have over 5,000 members, including Active Police, Associate Members, and Retired Members, who strongly urge you to support Kash Patel as the next Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Thomas Shevlin".

Thomas Shevlin  
President





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Executive Director and  
General Co

The Honorable Charles Grassley

Chair, Judiciary Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Richard Durbin

Ranking Member, Judiciary Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

On behalf of the National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO), I am writing to advise you of our support for the nomination of Kashyap (Kash) P. Patel for the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

NAPO is a coalition of police unions and associations from across the United States that serves to advance the interests of America's law enforcement through legislative and legal advocacy, political action, and education. Founded in 1978, NAPO now represents more than 1,000 police units and associations and over 250,000 sworn law enforcement officers who share a common dedication to fair and effective crime control and law enforcement.

Mr. Patel's distinguished career in public service gives him a unique perspective that will only benefit him as FBI Director. From being a public defender to a federal prosecutor to his extensive experience in the realm of counterintelligence, he intimately understands the various aspects of the FBI's broad mission to keep our nation safe.

Throughout his career, Mr. Patel has a proven history of working well with all different components of law enforcement, specifically, from our point of view, with state and local law enforcement agencies and officers. He has committed to repairing and maintaining an excellent and open line of communication, which will be vital to ensuring that federal, state, and local law enforcement have a strong partnership and work together effectively.

Therefore, NAPO urges the Committee to support the nomination of Kash Patel to be the next Director of the FBI. Please feel free to contact me at (703) 549-0775 if there is anything I or our organization can do in further support of Mr. Patel's nomination.

Sincerely,

Michael McHale  
President

Cc: Members, Judiciary Committee, United States Senate

# NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF STATE DRUG ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

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T. J. Jordan  
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Tennessee Bureau of Investigation (Ret)

September 17, 2025

### The Honorable Charles Grassley

Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee  
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 224  
Washington, DC 20510

### The Honorable Dick Durbin

Ranking Member Senate Judiciary Committee  
Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 224  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

The National Association of State Drug Enforcement Agencies (NASDEA) is pleased to extend our support for Mr. Kash Patel's nomination to serve as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). We trust that under Mr. Patel's leadership, the FBI will enhance its role in the national fight against drug-related crime, and we respectfully urge the Senate Judiciary Committee to expedite his confirmation.

Mr. Patel has demonstrated a deep commitment to law enforcement and national security, qualities that are essential for the leadership of the FBI. One of the most encouraging aspects of his platform is his intention to expand collaboration between the FBI and state and local law enforcement agencies. This partnership is crucial to our mission at NASDEA, as it directly impacts our ability to combat drug trafficking and abuse at all levels of government.

We are particularly excited about Mr. Patel's pledge to address the pressing issue of illicit narcotics. His vision for the FBI includes a more integrated approach to drug enforcement, with a focus on intelligence sharing, joint task forces, and leveraging federal resources to support state and local efforts. This strategy aligns with our goals to dismantle drug networks, reduce the supply of dangerous drugs like opioids and synthetics, and ultimately save lives across the United States.

NASDEA believes that Mr. Patel's background makes him uniquely qualified to lead the FBI in this direction. His experience, coupled with his commitment to transparency, accountability, and partnership with state agencies, promises to bring about significant improvements in how we tackle the drug epidemic. We look forward to a future where the FBI, under Mr. Patel's stewardship, works hand in glove with state drug enforcement officers to make our communities safer.

Sincerely,

Donald J. Payton  
President  
National Alliance of State Drug Enforcement Agencies



January 29, 2025

The Honorable Chuck Grassley, Chairman  
The Honorable Dick Durbin, Ranking Member  
Committee on the Judiciary  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin:

I write on behalf of the National Narcotic Officers' Associations' Coalition (NNOAC), representing thousands of front-line law enforcement officers who are combatting cartel-driven drug trafficking across the country, in support of President Trump's nomination of Kash Patel to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The relative ease with which Mexican cartels and other transnational drug trafficking organizations transport drugs across our porous borders is inexcusable. Even more troubling is the level of control these organizations exert over drug distribution and violent crime inside our borders. Policymakers must change course to increase pressure on drug distribution networks at all levels, hold drug sales offenders accountable, and keep chronic violators and repeat offenders away from the communities they continue to victimize. It is time for our federal government to take control of our borders and stop drug traffickers and their poisons from entering the country.

President Trump's early action to create a process for designating cartels as Foreign Terrorist Organizations is a hopeful indication that the policy situation may change for the better when it comes to protecting Americans from drug traffickers. If this results in additional engagement by the FBI in a wider range of drug-related investigations, it will require greater partnership and collaboration among the FBI and its federal, state, and local partners. We are hopeful that Mr. Patel, if confirmed, would prioritize making improvements to how the FBI works with state and local law enforcement agencies and regional drug task forces.

Thank you for your support of America's law enforcement officers and for recognizing the need to enhance our efforts to enforce laws against dangerous drug distribution. We encourage the committee to advance Mr. Patel's nomination to lead the FBI.

Sincerely,

Eric Brown, President  
National Narcotic Officers' Associations' Coalition

# The National Police Association Endorses Kash Patel for FBI Director: A Proven Leader to Restore Integrity, Justice, and Public Trust

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NEWS PROVIDED BY  
**National Police Association** →  
Dec 06, 2024, 08:31 ET

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INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 6, 2024 /PRNewswire/ -- The National Police Association (NPA) proudly expresses our full support for Kash Patel's nomination to serve as the next Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Kash Patel's extensive career in national security, law enforcement, and public service has demonstrated his unwavering commitment to upholding the rule of law, defending justice, and protecting the American people.

[Continue Reading](#)



Kash Patel



Throughout his distinguished career, Kash Patel has consistently prioritized transparency, accountability, and the safety of our nation. As a federal prosecutor, he worked alongside law enforcement to dismantle international drug trafficking organizations, combat violent crime, and bring dangerous offenders to justice. His tenure as a legal liaison to the Joint Special Operations Command further illustrates his ability to operate effectively in high-stakes environments, forging critical partnerships across federal, state, and local agencies.

In his role as Senior Counsel to the House Intelligence Committee, Mr. Patel showcased his dedication to ensuring the integrity of our nation's institutions. By exposing misconduct and advocating for ethical oversight, he earned the trust and respect of countless law enforcement professionals. His experience as Chief of Staff to the Acting Secretary of Defense underscores his readiness to lead with integrity, strategy, and an unyielding focus on national security.

The law enforcement community knows that effective leadership at the FBI is essential for building public trust and enhancing coordination across all levels of policing. Kash Patel's proven record of leadership, expertise in counterterrorism and intelligence, and ability to navigate complex legal and operational challenges make him the ideal candidate to restore faith in the FBI's mission and ensure it remains a steadfast ally to our nation's police forces.

We firmly believe that Kash Patel's appointment as FBI Director will mark a pivotal moment for law enforcement and public safety across the United States. His leadership will bring a renewed focus on collaboration, ethical standards, and the relentless pursuit of justice.

The National Police Association strongly endorses Kash Patel and urges his confirmation as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We are confident that under his stewardship, the FBI will thrive in its vital mission to protect and serve the American people.

The National Police Association (NPA) is a nonprofit organization supporting law enforcement through advocacy, education, and law. For more information, visit [NationalPolice.org](http://NationalPolice.org).

Media Contact:

Betsy Smith

3024691765

[387329@email4pr.com](mailto:387329@email4pr.com)



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# NATIONAL SHERIFFS' ASSOCIATION

SHERIFF KIERAN DONAHUE  
President

January 6, 2025

The Honorable Charles Grassley  
Chairman  
Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Richard Durbin  
Ranking-member  
Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin:

I write today on behalf of the National Sheriffs' Association and the 3,081 elected Sheriffs serving our nation's security interests.

The law enforcement policies of the last four years have undermined the rule of law and burdened our nation with great risk and vulnerability. Equally detrimental are the border policies that permit unchecked access to our homeland. These two factors have sadly but predictably granted domestic and international criminals unprecedented opportunity to victimize or endanger the citizens and residents of our nation. As a result, countless communities across America are under siege. Through the exploitation of these vulnerabilities, complex criminal and terror schemes are taking hold and flourishing. The blind spot created by inadequate border control and law enforcement policies has facilitated criminal activity that falls under multiple jurisdictions and therefore demands a robust and coordinated response.

For the last four years, law enforcement leadership has been denied direct unfiltered access to the President. As a result, there is a perception within law enforcement and the public that our national leaders do not comprehend the ground truth about criminal trends and lack the will, policy tools, and resources to thwart the criminal activities undermining the security of our nation.

Sheriffs nationwide want to work more closely with our federal partners to maximize effectiveness in combating the unprecedented infiltration of dangerous Mexican cartels, Transcontinental Criminal Organizations (TCO's), hostile intelligence and terrorism practitioners as well as individual criminals who flout the rule of law.

Sheriffs, as elected law enforcement officials, are uniquely duty bound to respond to the concerns of their constituents, irrespective of creed or political affiliation. This access-to-advise means their incumbency depends on listening to everyone. Sheriffs who do not respond to a sector of their constituency can be removed—by the people. Equally, our federal law enforcement hierarchy, armed with knowledge gained through local collaboration, must be heard

by the decisionmakers in Washington. In this time of uncertainty, it is critical the Federal Bureau of Investigation be led by someone who has the complete confidence of the President.

The NSA is heartened that President-elect Donald Trump selected Kash Patel to serve as the next FBI Director. His resume reflects the credentials, skills, temperament, commitment, and experience for this critical position. Mr. Patel's service will undoubtedly prioritize the restoration of confidence in the Bureau through increased transparency, integrity, collaboration, and commitment to excellence. Mr. Patel promised NSA – if confirmed – his unwavering dedication to working hand in glove with local, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement at the rank-and-file and leadership levels. His commitment to the reciprocity of access-to-advise is essential to combating the most serious security and policing challenges ahead. We are certain Mr. Patel's engagement will result in vital and effective partnerships nationwide to protect communities large and small.

We are pleased to give our enthusiastic endorsement of Mr. Patel's nomination to be the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and urge the Committee hold hearings expeditiously. We believe there will be broad support for Mr. Patel and we look forward to his swift confirmation by the full United States Senate.

Very Respectfully,



Sheriff Kieran Donahue  
Canyon County, ID  
President  
National Sheriffs' Association

Cc: POTUS-elect  
Senator John Thune, Majority Leader  
Senator Charles Schumer, Minority Leader  
Jonathan Thompson, Executive Director/CEO

# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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Commentary

## Kash Patel Is Right for the FBI

I worked with him in the first Trump White House and saw his courage, discretion and capability.

**By Robert C. O'Brien**

Dec 05, 2024 02:35 p.m. ET

President-elect Trump has assembled one of the most diverse and capable cabinets in American history, and he has done so at a record pace. His nomination of Kash Patel to be director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is an excellent choice that adds further luster to the new administration.

Mr. Patel will be a worthy successor to my friend Director Christopher Wray. The nominee is the son of Indian immigrants who fled beautiful East Africa for New York because of discrimination and the abuse of the rule of law by a tyrant in their homeland.

Mr. Patel served as the National Security Council's senior director for counterterrorism when I was White House national security adviser. I was able to count on him to get any job done, no matter how complex or difficult. Mr. Patel handled some of the nation's most sensitive issues with care and discretion.

He led the interagency team that took down the ISIS caliphate. He was in the Situation Room when the president and his team watched our special forces bring justice to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, murderer of Kayla Mueller, James Foley, Steven Sotloff and Peter Kassig.

I saw him demonstrate personal bravery in his professional life. American journalist Austin Tice has been held hostage for more than 12 years, presumably by the Syrian government. In 2020, the Syrians finally agreed to talk to U.S. officials about Mr. Tice—but only in Damascus. I asked Mr. Patel and Ambassador Roger Carstens if they would go. They agreed. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo opposed sending them because the mission was so dangerous.

Messrs. Patel and Carstens traveled overland from Beirut to Damascus through territory where the al Nusra Front, al Qaeda, ISIS and Hezbollah were all potentially present. They drove all the way to Damascus to meet with the head of Bashar al-Assad's intelligence service. The Syrians themselves could easily have taken them hostage. Unfortunately, the negotiations didn't succeed, and Mr. Tice is still missing. I remember being very relieved when Messrs. Patel and Carstens

made it back to the U.S. Embassy in Beirut.

Mr. Patel's qualifications for FBI director far exceed his work hunting terrorists and rescuing hostages at the NSC. He was a federal public defender representing those accused of crimes, a federal prosecutor, a Justice Department staff member in Washington and a staff member for the House Intelligence Committee, where he exposed unlawful surveillance activities inside the FBI.

After his time at the NSC, Mr. Patel served as chief of staff to the acting director of national intelligence and later held that same position for the acting defense secretary. According to his superiors and colleagues, he excelled in each of these positions.

Mr. Patel has an impressively broad background in federal criminal law and U.S. national-security matters. If his critics would take off their partisan lenses and look at his résumé objectively, they would see he is one of the most experienced people ever to be nominated for FBI director. There was a time when Democrats would have applauded a president for appointing a director with criminal-defense experience and who fought against the FBI illegally surveilling American citizens.

I have no doubt that Mr. Patel will return our top-flight FBI agents to fighting crime and arresting the gang members, terrorists, spies and traffickers whose activities have surged over our open borders in recent years. Under his leadership the FBI will no longer harass parents who speak up at PTA meetings and Catholics who attend the Latin Mass or conduct lawfare against Mr. Trump and senior GOP officials.

The FBI is America's premier law-enforcement agency. It should never be used as a tool of a political party or an ideological agenda, but sadly, that is how millions of Americans perceive the bureau today. Mr. Patel is a highly qualified nominee with the courage and integrity to reform the FBI and restore its once-sterling reputation with the American people. The FBI needs Director Kash Patel, and so does the nation.

*Mr. O'Brien is chairman of American Global Strategies. He served as White House national security adviser, 2019-21.*



**\*\*MEMORANDUM\*\***

**To:** Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee

**From:** Public Safety Alliance of Nevada

**Date:** December 10, 2024

**Subject:** Support for Kash Patel as FBI Director

Dear Honorable Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee,

We, The Public Safety Alliance of Nevada which represents the overwhelming majority of law enforcement officers in Nevada, are writing to express our strong and unwavering support for the nomination of Kash Patel as the next Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Kash Patel's extensive experience in national security, law enforcement, and his commitment to upholding the rule of law make him an exemplary candidate for this vital position. His tenure in various roles, including his service as the Chief of Staff for the Department of Defense and as a Deputy Assistant to the President, has equipped him with a profound understanding of the complexities and challenges facing our nation's law enforcement agencies.

We believe that Mr. Patel possesses the following essential qualities that make him the right choice for this role:

1. **Integrity and Accountability:** Throughout his career, Mr. Patel has demonstrated a strong commitment to integrity and accountability in all his endeavors. His dedication to transparency and ethical leadership is crucial for restoring public trust in the FBI.
2. **Leadership Experience:** Mr. Patel has proven his ability to lead effectively in high-pressure environments. His experience working alongside top officials in the government has honed his skills in crisis management and strategic decision-making.
3. **Commitment to Collaboration:** His history of collaboration with various law enforcement agencies emphasizes his understanding of the importance of teamwork in combating crime and terrorism. We believe his approach will foster stronger partnerships between the FBI and local, state, and federal law enforcement entities.
4. **Focus on National Security:** In today's rapidly evolving threat landscape, Mr. Patel's background in national security will be invaluable. His understanding of the intricacies of both domestic and international threats will enable the FBI to adapt and respond effectively.



5. Advocacy for Law Enforcement: Mr. Patel has consistently advocated for law enforcement professionals, understanding the challenges they face daily. His support for the men and women in blue as well as their families, will help bolster morale and ensure that their needs are prioritized.

In conclusion, we firmly believe that Kash Patel's nomination as FBI Director is a step in the right direction for our nation's law enforcement. His proven track record, commitment to justice, and ability to unite various law enforcement bodies will undoubtedly enhance the effectiveness of the FBI in serving and protecting the American people.

We urge you to support his nomination and look forward to the positive changes he will bring to the Bureau.

Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully,

Police Officer John Abel  
Director of Governmental Affairs  
Las Vegas Police Protective Association  
Public Safety Alliance of Nevada



**WCSPOA**  
Washoe County School  
Police Officer's Association



# Republican Jewish Coalition

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January 27, 2025

The Honorable Charles Grassley  
Chairman, U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chairman Grassley,

I am writing on behalf of the Republican Jewish Coalition in support of the nomination of Kash Patel as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

At a time when antisemitism is at historic highs and Jewish Americans and their communal institutions are under attack, it is imperative to have an FBI Director who will protect our community.

Kash Patel is committed to the rule of law and its enforcement, something he has demonstrated at the highest levels as a federal prosecutor, as a senior intelligence official, and most recently as Chief of Staff at the Department of Defense.

We are confident that Kash will bring much-needed reforms to the FBI. We need a strong, focused FBI that will enforce the law and protect Americans. We hope to see the FBI prioritize combatting online extremism, violence against Jewish synagogues and schools, and antisemitism in all its forms.

President Trump is assembling a solid team to lead this country. He deserves to have the advice and support of fine nominees like Kash Patel.

We ask you to support Kash Patel's swift confirmation as Director of the FBI—in these dangerous times, President Trump's national security team must be confirmed without delay.

Sincerely,

Matt Brooks  
Chief Executive Officer

## EDITORIALS

# Op-Ed: Tiffany Smiley: Kash Patel will be the most qualified FBI Director our country has ever had

President Donald Trump has the important task of reforming a corrupt, politicized and Kash Patel is the best man to reform the agency.



THE WASHINGTON REPORTER

JAN 10, 2025

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It's time for a change. Voters handed President Donald Trump a mandate election in November, and it's clear that our government institutions need fresh blood and new leadership. Over the last four years, our government has become politicized and rife with corruption — none more so than the FBI.

We can't afford business as usual in Washington, which is why President Trump's nomination of Kash Patel and his promise to remove political agendas from the FBI is what the American people need. Patel will shake things up, restore faith in the FBI, and protect the American people.

Under Joe Biden, we watched the FBI become hopelessly politicized and consumed by witch hunts against concerned parents at school board meetings, practicing Catholics and even President Trump. Don't forget that last year, the FBI was authorized by the Department of Justice to use "deadly force" while raiding Mar-a-Lago to search the President's residence.

The American people watched this abuse of power in horror, and as a result, public trust in the FBI is at its lowest point this century. America's institutions are at a

crossroads and the FBI has strayed from its core mission of protecting the people. President Trump has the important task of reforming a corrupt, politicized FBI and Kash Patel is the best man to reform the agency.

Since his nomination was announced, Patel has been relentlessly attacked by the left and the mainstream media. He has also been unfairly prosecuted and lied about. But the truth is, Patel is the most qualified FBI director our country has ever had. He's worked in national security under both Democrats and Republicans, serving as Chief of Staff at the Department of Defense, Deputy Director of National Intelligence, and director of counterterrorism on the National Security Council.

Furthermore, Patel's experience as a federal prosecutor in the National Security Division of the DOJ, where he prosecuted criminals involved with terror groups like al Qaeda, has given him insight into the threats our country is facing. It's clear that he's prioritized our national security since day one, and has the investigative expertise necessary to lead the FBI.

Patel even has first-hand experience uncovering abuse of power and corruption. Patel led the House Intelligence Committee's investigations into the FBI's witch hunt against the Trump campaign during President Trump's first campaign. Under Patel, the weaponization of law enforcement that began under Joe Biden will end. Rather than play partisan games, Patel will build new national security measures from the ground up and dismantle deep-state bureaucracy.

The American people are firmly behind President Trump's nominees, the transition process, and his promise to Make America Great Again. They have watched as the Biden Administration strategically embedded political operatives within the FBI like they were playing chess, and the outcome has left Americans questioning our national justice system. Americans voted President Trump into office because of his unwavering dedication to strong national security. Now, more than ever, Americans deserve an honorable FBI — which is precisely what Kash Patel will deliver once confirmed.

*Tiffany Smiley, former Republican U.S. Senate candidate from Washington, is a long-time veterans advocate and founder of Endeavor PAC, an organization that supports and elevates political outsiders who are tired of the status quo in Washington. She resides in Pasco, WA, with her husband and three sons.*

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# FBI-approved book manuscript supports Kash Patel's Benghazi narrative challenged by NY Times

By John Solomon and Steven Richards

Published: January 21, 2025 11:02pm

Updated: January 22, 2025 1:55pm

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The FBI approved a book manuscript in 2023 from its lead investigator in the Benghazi terror attack probe that confirms frontline agents and prosecutors believed politics kept the Justice Department from approving operations to capture several conspirators, supporting a key part of FBI Director-nominee Kash Patel's account of events that was recently challenged by *The New York Times*.

In his yet to be published book, retired FBI Special Agent Michael Clarke chronicles the frustrations he and other law enforcement officials experienced at the end of President Barack Obama's administration when their Joint Terrorism Task Force had identified several conspirators in the Sept. 11, 2012 attack on the State Department special mission compound in Benghazi but could not get a memo signed that would have sent the Pentagon in action to round up the alleged suspects.

Specifically, Clarke raised concerns that in 2016 then-FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe – whose wife had recently run for political office as a Democrat and received large donations from a Hillary Clinton ally – would not approve an “executive memo” clearing the way for the Pentagon to plan the capture of key suspects in the attack on the Benghazi consulate.

The deadly terror attack proved to be a black eye for Clinton during her tenure as Secretary of State.

## Only one defendant

The lead agents and prosecutors “could accept a reality where the White House may elect to postpone an operation based on political considerations - this was always their prerogative, however distasteful,” Clarke wrote. “What none of us ever fathomed was that a small number of FBI higher ups would consider politics in making an operational decision.”

Clarke, who led the FBI’s investigation of Benghazi from the start until his retirement in 2020 and received top DOJ and FBI awards for his work in the probe, declined comment when contacted by *Just the News*, referring reporters to the FBI-approved language in his manuscript.

McCabe did not immediately respond to a request for comment sent Tuesday to his email address at George Mason University, where he is a distinguished visiting professor. The FBI declined to comment.

But [in 2017 testimony to Congress, McCabe acknowledged](#) the FBI had managed to bring only one defendant, Ahmed Abu Khatallah, to justice, blaming it on the complexity of the investigation.

"So Mr. Khatallah was one of the few people that we have been able to hold responsible for the attack on our special mission facility in Benghazi, Libya," he testified. "I oversaw the development of that operation and the very significant and complicated partnership relationships that enabled us to bring Mr. Khatallah to Justice."

"Was that a difficult case?" he was asked.

"Yes, sir, it was," McCabe answered.

But other government officials told *Just the News* that Clarke's team in concert with other U.S. agencies and foreign allies had identified dozens of suspects and potential defendants but only two ultimately went to trial. The current and former officials said Patel, then the coordinating lawyer in main DOJ's counterterrorism office, supported frontline agents but that others blocked the team from succeeding as Clarke alleged in his manuscript and Patel claimed in the 2024 book titled "*Government Gangsters*" was accurate.

"By the time the D.O.J. was moving in full force to compile evidence and bring prosecutions against the Benghazi terrorists, I was leading the prosecution's efforts at Main Justice in Washington, D.C.," Patel wrote in the book.

After experiencing lengthy foot-dragging from the leadership, Clarke's team spent years working with DOD and other agencies to find other solutions for the unpunished suspects, often drone strikes, to ensure some form of justice and ensure Benghazi participants posed no further threat to the Western world, current and former officials told *Just the News*, stressing the investigation still continues today.

The delays were also criticized by Patel in his book and in media appearances following his service in the first Trump administration.

"Despite the fact that we had reams of evidence against dozens of terrorists in the Benghazi attack, Eric Holder's Justice Department decided to only prosecute one of the attackers," Patel wrote in his book, "[Government Gangsters](#)".

#### **Motivated by politics**

He also said bureau and department leadership were motivated by politics in their decision to delay pursuing other Benghazi attack suspects in 2016.

“I remember this meeting with then-A.G. Holder. And we had a deck of like 19 guys we wanted to prosecute. You know, JSOC had them rolled up and we wanted to get them all. They killed four Americans. You know, it’s a legit terrorist attack. And the basic general response from the F.B.I. and D.O.J. leadership was ‘it’s only politically convenient to get one guy,’” Patel said on *The Shawn Ryan Show* in September.

In December, the *New York Times* [challenged Patel’s account](#) of events basing its reporting on several anonymous sources. According to those anonymous sources, Patel’s statements inflated his role and was, in reality, only in a supporting role to the overall investigation. However, in the book and interview excerpts cited by the *Times*, Patel never claimed that he led the overall, interagency investigation into the Benghazi attacks.

The *Times* also challenged Patel’s contention that the government had “rolled up” 19 suspects in the Benghazi attack, citing the government’s failure to capture a vast majority of the suspects.

But Patel’s account about frustrating efforts to take into custody and prosecute the several suspected attackers is supported by Clarke’s manuscript, which chronicled how senior FBI leadership delayed the Pentagon to begin its planning to locate and capture the remaining individuals.

The *Times* did not respond to a request for comment from *Just the News*.

According to Clarke, in March of 2016 both the Department of Defense and the U.S. Attorney’s Office in Washington, D.C. were supportive of the plan. The Pentagon began to draw up plans to apprehend the suspects immediately and identified a small window of opportunity that would allow U.S. forces to apprehend the suspects in war-torn Libya.

Clarke wrote, because of the risk of employing U.S. forces in the war zone, the Pentagon wanted a reassurance from the FBI and DOJ that the suspects would be prosecuted in the form of an “executive memo.”

The memo, according to Clarke, was delayed by McCabe at the senior level. After repeatedly asking for updates and an explanation, the [then-Special Agent in Charge](#) of the New York counterterrorism division indicated that the memo was being held up for political reasons.

Clarke wrote that his FBI boss “pulled me aside and with a disgusted look on his face said, ‘nothing is going to happen until after the election in November.’”

“The Benghazi Team should focus strictly on the upcoming trial of Khatallah and stop looking at capture options. ‘It was politics,’” Clarke wrote.

He also stated a top federal prosecutor also confirmed to him that McCabe was part of the holdup.

The criminal division chief at the U.S. attorney’s office in Washington, D.C. “advised me the log jam regarding the issuing of an executive session memo remained between the Deputy Assistant

Attorney General at DOJ National Security Division and with FBI Deputy Director," Clarke wrote.

In his manuscript, Clarke raised concerns about the former FBI deputy director's political ties. [Multiple news reports confirmed](#) McCabe's wife had received financial assistance in 2015 from then-Virginia Gov. Terry McAuliffe, a close Clinton ally, to run for state Senate. [Just the News reported that internal FBI documents](#) showed the financial and political ties between McAuliffe and the McCabe family raised red flags.

Clarke wrote he shared in those concerns, especially as it related to Benghazi.

"In late October 2016, the *Wall Street Journal* reported Virginia Gov. Terry McAuliffe, a longtime Clinton confidant, helped steer hundreds of thousands of dollars to the election campaign of the wife of Deputy Director Andy McCabe who was heading the probe into Hillary Clinton's use of a private email system," he wrote. "The political action committee of McAuliffe, a Clinton loyalist, gave the contribution to the state Senate campaign of Jill McCabe, the wife of the Deputy Director. The report stated Jill McCabe received an additional two-hundred-thousand-plus from the Virginia Democratic Party, which is heavily influenced by McAuliffe.

"When the article broke in the *Wall Street Journal*, the obvious questions immediately surfaced. From the beginning of the case in 2012, Andy McCabe had an influential role to the Benghazi investigation while serving at a variety of positions at FBIHQ," he added.

McCabe has acknowledged the donations his wife received but insisted they did not affect his work decisions.

"Did you or your wife ever solicit or receive any funds as a quid pro quo for any action that you might have taken running or running any quid pro quo for that -- her running, you being her husband?" he was asked at a 2017 House hearing.

"No, ma'am, never," McCabe answered.

#### **Nothing moved forward under McCabe**

But over time, Clarke wrote, agents became suspicious politics was infecting the Benghazi decisions.

"As the months rolled on towards the 2016 Presidential election, despite the Benghazi Team's best efforts to restart the dialog, it became clear nothing was moving forward. It was also clear, despite the constant pushing of NYO and CTD, a select few in Washington at the FBI and DOJ were the cause of the delay," his manuscript stated. "All the Benghazi Team could do was hope for a change in the bureaucratic stone walling after the 2016 election. There was a general belief that whoever won the race would take politics out of operational decisions and move forward with bringing BAN subjects to justice."

“Our greatest fear was that in the meantime, the BAN subjects would drop off the grid and change their pattern of life, disappearing into the night. Or worse, the real possibility these terrorists could resurface in another attack on the West. Unthinkable,” he added.

## The Facts Inside Our Reporter's Notebook

### Links

- [in 2017 testimony to Congress, McCabe acknowledged](#)
- [Government Gangsters](#)
- [challenged Patel's account](#)
- [then-Special Agent in Charge](#)
- [Multiple news reports confirmed](#)
- [Just the News reported that internal FBI documents](#)



[OPINION](#)

## SPIVACK: From Public Defender To Public Servant — If Liberals Were Honest, They'd Love The Kash Patel Story

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[MICHAEL SPIVACK](#) CONTRIBUTOR

December 19, 2024 2:52 PM ET

Kash Patel's nomination to serve as the next FBI director is historic for many reasons. He'll be the first Indian-American and the first public defender to serve as FBI director, respectively.

It's that last feat that is most important to me considering I worked with Kash at the Federal Public Defender's office in Miami from 2009 to 2014.

It's also the one that I expected Democrats to be most excited about, yet they never mention it in their screeds attacking Kash Patel. The Kash that I know and worked with isn't the caricature you read about in the press that will "lock up his enemies."

The Public Defender of the Southern District of Florida's office where we worked was reputed for being one of, if not the best, public defense offices in the country. The defender took her office's reputation seriously and only hired people like Kash who were levelheaded, even keeled, and fact-based in their arguments.

[Kash](#) fought for due process for his clients no matter what they were accused of doing. [He](#) defended gun smugglers, an alleged dirty cop, a Colombian narcotrafficker, and a drug dealer nicknamed "slug."

In fact, Kash had already worked as a public defender before he joined the federal PD office in Miami as he spent four years prior with the Miami-Dade Public Defender's Office. There he tried dozens of cases to verdict with charges including murder, kidnapping, and armed carjacking.

Kash Patel speaks during a Turning Point Action ‘United for Change’ campaign rally for former US President and Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump in Las Vegas, Nevada, on October 24, 2024. (Photo by PATRICK T. FALLON/AFP via Getty Images)

Kash Patel is thus in my view the perfect pick to spearhead the FBI and implement the mandate by the Americans to course correct our current justice system.

Kash’s work experience has given him a unique approach to lead the FBI. He’s worked years and years for people who can’t afford their own attorney — the only explanation for someone to take that career path is because they believe in [the justice system](#) in the way Kash does. He understands that aside from serving in the military the best way to keep people free is to keep the justice system impartial and keep government abuse in check.

I’m nearing the forty-year mark as an attorney, and I can’t find a name I’d recommend above Kash for the job. He’s true to the mission of upholding the law, abiding by the Constitution, and has made sure even the nastiest of human traffickers, most vile of terrorists, most robust drug lords and high-end white-collar crimes are all seen, tried and given what they deserve by a fair and apolitical justice system through the eyes of due process. In fact, in one case that made the news, Kash exposed a federal prosecutor for withholding key evidence in a drug trafficking trial from the defense.

Kash’s tried-and-true approach has allowed him to defend those who otherwise would have no voice in the lowest of courts and throw the extent of the book at ISIS and Al-Qaida affiliated criminals while serving under both Democrat and Republican presidents.

President Donald Trump barnstormed the country and promised again and again he’d restore the trust of the American people by taking politics out of the FBI and ending the weaponization of the federal government. Kash will be the first public defender to claim the head desk at the FBI, root out the weeds that have taken over one of the most historic and necessary institutions of our federal government, and restore the FBI’s focus on deterring criminals from committing crimes and getting to the bottom of it when they do.

*Michael Spivack was an assistant public defender. He is currently a solo practitioner criminal defense attorney.*

Report ad

GUEST OPINION

OPINION

# Opinion: Kash Patel is the right man to restore trust in the FBI

Published: Jan 3, 2025, 9:00 a.m. MST



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Kash Patel, President-elect Donald Trump's pick to be the director of the FBI, leaves after a meeting in the office of Sen. John Cornyn, R-Texas, on Capitol Hill, Monday, Dec. 9, 2024, in Washington. | Mark Schiefelbein, Associated Press

**By Chris Stewart**

Former Congressman Chris Stewart was a member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House Committee on Appropriations and the House China Task Force. He's also a world-record-setting Air Force pilot and New York Times best-selling author.

The recent terrorist attack in New Orleans, as well as the blast in Las Vegas, are sobering reminders of the FBI's essential role in our lives and society.

The bureau has a no-fail mission — when the terrorists succeed, Americans die.

This all-important mission implies a trusting relationship between the FBI and the American people, but right now the bureau is facing an undeniable crisis in confidence.

A recent Gallup survey found that just 41% of Americans have a favorable view of our nation's premier law enforcement agency. This didn't happen overnight or by accident — trust and confidence levels are low in the FBI following repeated and shocking discoveries of malfeasance.

It was just last year when we learned the FBI had conducted an expansive investigation targeting traditional Catholics as potential domestic terrorists. This was a massive violation of religious liberty. The investigation included the use of an undercover agent and the participation of multiple field offices, as well as interviews of a priest and choir director.

This alone is a gross constitutional violation that would irreparably harm the FBI's reputation, but it wasn't a one-time mistake — this revelation followed evidence that the FBI targeted concerned parents at school board meetings as well as pro-life activists.

Frankly, though, the FBI's problems are long-standing. I served on the House Intelligence Committee when we uncovered the Russiagate scandal. The committee unveiled that the entire Russian collusion narrative was not only funded by Democrats, but that this Democrat-funded research was weaponized by the FBI's leadership to get a warrant to spy on a Trump campaign associate.

One of the people who was most instrumental in discovering FBI malfeasance was none other than Kash Patel, President-elect Donald Trump's pick for FBI director. I've known Kash for roughly ten years now. Kash was our committee's national security adviser and counsel, and he was an invaluable tool in our oversight of the bureau.

His work did come at a cost. In return for his service to the nation in uncovering this wrongdoing, the FBI spied on Kash. A new Inspector General report revealed that the FBI compelled Apple and Google to turn over Kash's private information and gagged them from notifying Kash of this intrusion.

This is why Kash is the exact right person for the position: He knows how deep the problems are. He knows where many of these problems lie, and Kash is smart enough and courageous enough to go in and fix them. President-elect Trump made a great pick when he chose Kash to fix this unique and pressing issue.

Properly reforming the FBI is a no-fail mission. It's necessary that trust is restored to the bureau — not just for the bureau's sake, but for our nation's security.

FBI recruitment numbers have been significantly down in recent years, and it's hard not to connect that dip to the nation's growing distrust of the bureau. House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jim Jordan, for example, recently revealed in a letter to Director Chris Way that "the FBI's Special Agent hiring numbers are down," and that whistleblowers have informed the Judiciary Committee that the number of special agent applications have fallen by half since the early 2000s.

It's not going to be easy to restore trust in the FBI, but restoring transparency is a first step that I'm confident Kash will take.

[Comments](#)

I can't tell you how many times the Intelligence Committee would ask for information from the FBI and then get stonewalled. The FBI has enormous power not only to investigate, but to surveil American citizens. You can't have those kinds of capabilities and not be subject to oversight. Taxpayers deserve to know what the FBI is up to and I'm confident that Kash, particularly as a former congressional staffer, will understand the importance of promptly responding to congressional oversight inquiries.

I want to be clear on one point before I finish: The FBI is chock full of hard-working, patriotic agents who want to fight crime and keep Americans safe. These men and women are doing God's work every day to protect us, and these are the agents who Kash will need to empower and promote.

I'm hopeful the Senate recognizes what we can all see clearly: need for reform at the FBI. It'll be a long road to restoring the American people's trust in the bureau, but the first step is appointing a director who has the experience, mind and courage to make reforms and rebuild that trust. Kash Patel is certainly the right man for that job.

#### RELATED

#### **Kash Patel, Trump's pick to lead the FBI, visited Utah last year**

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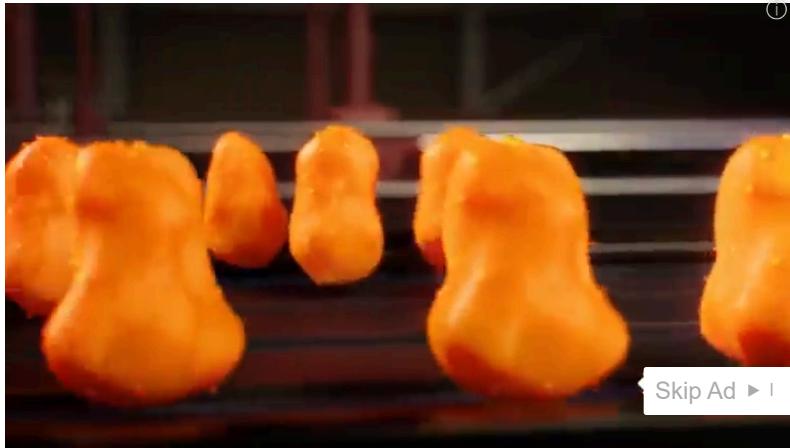
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January 27, 2025

The Honorable Charles Grassley  
Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Dick Durbin  
Ranking Member of the Senate Judiciary  
Committee  
711 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable John Thune  
Majority Leader of the United States Senate  
United States Senate SD-511  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Chuck Schumer  
Minority Leader of the United States Senate  
Hart Senate Office Building, 322,  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senators Grassley, Durbin, Thune, and Schumer,

As a group of retired FBI Special Agents and former Intelligence Analysts from across the country dedicated to restoring public trust in the FBI and returning the FBI to its original mission, we support President Trump's nomination of Kash Patel as the FBI's next Director.

Many Americans have lost faith in the FBI, and for good reason. The FBI is broken. And with this loss of trust has come a rise in threats at home and abroad. Drug cartels and Mexican gangs have taken control of the border and have infiltrated cities across the country bringing violent crime and drugs with them. At the same time, China has grown more brazen, engaging in espionage that robs U.S. businesses of their intellectual property and undermines our national security. Terrorist groups are on the rise again in the Middle East, with unknown numbers having flooded into our country over the past four years through a wide-open border.

Just as these many, varied threats have increased, the FBI has been used as a tool in the weaponization of the Department of Justice to go after its political enemies. Lives have been shattered and the targets of these weaponized investigations have been forced to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars of their own personal funds to defend themselves and their reputations. This needs to stop.

As the FBI has veered away from its core mission over time, perhaps no one has been more devastated than the rank and file men and women of the FBI who devote and risk their lives alongside other law enforcement partners in service of their country as FBI Special Agents. Once revered as the world's premier law enforcement agency, the FBI has gradually become an agency that many citizens view as ineffective, corrupt, and weaponized. This is a big problem, not only for the FBI, but for our country.

In response, a group of retired and former Special Agents formed Reform the Bureau (RTB). Reform the Bureau is an association of retired federal law enforcement professionals committed to helping reform the FBI and return it to its founding mission: protecting the public, fighting crime, and upholding the rule of law. We believe that a strong FBI, rooted in meritocracy and ethical integrity, and trusted by citizens as fair and impartial arbiters of justice, is essential to the safety and prosperity of our nation.

More than ever, our country is in desperate need of a highly capable, non-partisan, and legally compliant FBI it can trust. More than ever, America needs an FBI that is refocused on its core mission, and back on track. More than ever, America needs Kash Patel as its next FBI Director.

As a former public defender and prosecutor, Kash Patel has operated on both sides of the justice system, giving him a unique and important perspective as the FBI's next Director. Mr. Patel understands the need for a professional, nonpartisan law enforcement agency to enforce federal law while vigorously protecting the rights of the accused. As a former congressional aide, he understands the importance of congressional oversight and the need for the FBI to be responsive and transparent to members of Congress as they perform this important function. And as a former Executive Branch national security official who has served at the National Security Council, at the Directorate of Intelligence, and at the Pentagon, he understands the scope of national security threats our country faces. Mr. Patel also understands how organizations such as the FBI function and collaborate with other agencies to keep America safe, and the need for highly capable but legally compliant agencies to take on these threats and protect the American people. Never has the FBI faced such an urgent and compelling need for comprehensive reform as it does today. Mr. Patel has proven he possesses the breadth of experience required to address these challenges. His leadership, expertise, and vision make him uniquely qualified to guide the FBI through this pivotal moment. For these reasons, we stand in full support of Kash Patel's nomination.

The FBI needs significant reform that not only fixes the organization in the way it operates, but that helps restore trust in the organization by the citizens it serves. This will require an unprecedented level of reform and transparency that only a strong, principled leader can bring. For all of these reasons, we offer our support for Kash Patel as the next Director of the FBI.

Sincerely,

Richard Stout



Director, Reform the Bureau  
FBI Special Agent (Retired)

J. Clay Price	FBI Supervisory Special Agent Section Chief (SES) Retired
Dr. J. Richard Kiper	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Joaquín "Jack" García	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Chad Kaestle	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
John W Crouthamel	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Thomas V Fuentes	Assistant Director FBI (Retired), Special Agent 1979-2008
Erin Marciniak	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Michael F. Popolano	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Mark D. Ferbrache	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
John E. Nantz	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
William Gawthrop, PhD	FBI Supervisory Intelligence Analyst (Former)
Donald Albracht	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
John W. Swartzwelder Jr.	FBI Special Agent (Retired)

Gregory B. Dillon	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Mark Safarik	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Dave Couvertier	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Paul J Erickson	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Brian Kensel	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
James D (Drew) Barnett	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Alan A. Malinchak	FBI SSA (Retired) / CEO Eclat Transitions LLC
Jerry Hester	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
J. Stephen Veyera	FBI Supervisory Special Agent, Unit Chief, (Retired)
Jeffrey A. Danik	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Robert L Fricke	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Kathleen Mitchell	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
David Cudmore	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Robert W Clark	FBI Assistant Special Agent in Charge (Retired)
Francis X. Gramlich	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Bryan L. Travers	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
T. David Church, Jr.	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Gregory B. Dillon	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
William Hekel	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
David Shellenberger	FBI Special Agent, Unit Chief HRT (Retired)
Sean Cox	FBI Special Agent HRT (Retired)
John P. Fagan	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
James Bryant	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Whit Darnell	FBI Special Agent, Unit Chief HRT (Retired)
Lonnie R Cox	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Michael J. Wyatt	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Todd Dawson	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Stan Wadas	FBI Special Agent HRT (Retired)
Chris Hinkle	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Carol Motyka	FBI Special Agent (Retired)

Lionel S. Lofton Jr	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Sean E. Edwards	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Robert Downey	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Daniel Powers	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Marilyn Mielke	FBI Supervisory Special Agent, Assistant Section Chief (Retired)
Michael Adams	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Brian Jerome	FBI Special Agent (Retired)
Amber Evans	FBI Supervisory Intelligence Analyst (Former)
Chris Evans	FBI Special Agent HRT (Retired)
W. Dale Anderson	FBI Special Agent HRT (Retired)
Ed Mireles	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
Lionel S. Lofton Jr	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)
James A. Gagliano	FBI Supervisory Special Agent (Retired)



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POLICE CONFERENCE  
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January 28, 2025

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Senate Judiciary Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Chairman Grassley,

We write to you in support of the nomination of Mr. Kash Patel for the position of Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Patel's extensive experience in public service, particularly at the National Security Council and the Department of Justice, makes him an excellent candidate to lead the FBI. Mr. Patel worked on key programs that support local law enforcement including the Edward J. Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant (Byrne-JAG) and the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS). These programs display his commitment to fostering partnerships between federal and local law enforcement and showcase his support for local police who serve on the front line.

The FBI's mission of safeguarding and serving all Americans relies on strong leadership that emphasizes operational effectiveness and teamwork at all levels. This position requires someone who will uphold the United States Constitution and apply the law in a fair and impartial manner. Mr. Patel's proven success in tackling complex national security challenges and his strong conviction to follow the rule of law makes him the ideal person for this role.

On behalf of the Suffolk County Law Enforcement Coalition, representing over 5,000 active officers in New York, we urge you to confirm Mr. Patel's nomination. We believe that his leadership will significantly enhance the Bureau's operational capabilities, uphold its distinguished legacy, foster innovation, strengthen its collaborative partnerships with local agencies and refocus the Bureau's priorities on what matters most, protecting the American public.

Sincerely,

*Louis Civello*

Louis Civello, President  
Suffolk County Police Benevolent Association

On behalf of:  
Screening Committee  
**COALITION OF SUFFOLK POLICE UNIONS**

**The Honorable Chuck Grassley, Chairman**

**The Honorable Dick Durbin, Ranking Member**

**United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary**

**Washington D.C. 20510**

**Re: Nomination of Kash Patel for FBI Director**

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

Kash Patel is a great public servant who reveres and respects our military, law enforcement and veterans. I know. I have worked closely with him. In my service with Kash, he has always been committed to excellence in everything he does.

On Oct 31, 2020, while I was performing the duties as undersecretary of defense for policy and Kash was serving as the senior advisor to the president for counterterrorism, Kash operated within the chain of command by relaying a message from the state department to me which he believed to be true. I communicated that authority, along with several others previously confirmed, to the Secretary of Defense, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and SOCOM commander, among others.

As my team and I simultaneously attempted to independently confirm that specific authority with the State Department, which was responsible for obtaining the clearance, I called the Chairman and discussed the status of all authorities. The Chairman recommended continuing with the launch of the team pending confirmation of the State Department authority because we could turn around the planes if we didn't confirm the clearance. Launching the planes too much later would put the darkness window in jeopardy, meaning the mission would have to be delayed 24 hours.

To delay by even a day would have risked the perishable intelligence we had on the hostage location. In essence, we launched believing we would hear from Secretary Pompeo about whether he, or his team, had in fact secured this clearance. It is unclear what the confusion at State was regarding this one authority, but what is clear is that Kash's focus on the special operators never wavered.

It's irresponsible to suggest that Kash's report "jeopardized" the mission when the Chairman elected to launch *knowing* the information required further validation. Had we not launched when we did, the operators would not have been in the air when the State Department finally confirmed the authority, and we could have lost the darkness window, forcing a 24-hour slip of the mission and perhaps losing actionable intelligence on the hostage.

Ultimately, we were all focused on mission success in a high-stakes environment where an American citizen's life was on the line. From my viewpoint, Kash played a critical role in that and many other successes during his tenure precisely because he cares so deeply about America, its national and domestic security, and her citizens.

Respectfully,

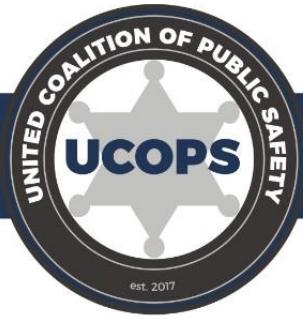


Anthony J. Tata

Brigadier General, U.S. Army (Retired)

Former PTDO Undersecretary of Defense for Policy

# Building Relationships to Keep Our Communities Safe.



January 27<sup>th</sup>, 2025

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Senate Judiciary Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Chairman Grassley,

I am writing as President of the United Coalition of Public Safety (UCOPS), representing many of the nation's largest and most influential law enforcement organizations, to express our strong support for your nomination of Mr. Kash Patel to serve as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in your Administration.

Mr. Patel's distinguished career in public service, including his roles at the National Security Council and the Department of Justice, has prepared him to lead the FBI with integrity and resolve. His expertise in counterterrorism, intelligence, and national security, coupled with his unwavering dedication to the rule of law, uniquely qualify him to guide the Bureau during these critical times.

Mr. Patel has consistently demonstrated his commitment to fostering collaboration between federal, state, and local law enforcement. He understands the vital role that line-level police officers play in ensuring public safety and has worked to strengthen the partnerships that enable them to succeed. His leadership will ensure that programs critical to state and local agencies—such as the Edward J. Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant (Byrne-JAG) program and the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS)—remain robust and impactful.

The FBI's mission to protect and serve all Americans depends on effective leadership that prioritizes operational excellence and collaboration at every level. Mr. Patel's proven track record of addressing complex threats to national security, while advocating for the needs of law enforcement professionals, positions him as the ideal candidate to lead the FBI in protecting our communities.

On behalf of the United Coalition of Public Safety and all our member organizations, we commend your nomination of Mr. Patel to this critical role. We are confident in his ability to enhance the Bureau's capabilities, strengthen its partnerships with local agencies, and uphold its legacy of protecting the American people.

Respectfully,

Mike Solan, President  
Seattle Police Officers Guild  
United Coalition of Public Safety



# UNITED FEDERATION OF POLICE OFFICERS, INC.

*"Serving Those Who Protect & Serve"*

UFPO National Headquarters  
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 1025  
Washington, D.C. 20006



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December 11, 2024

President Emeritus  
*Ralph J. Purdy*  
NLEOMF Board Member  
*Gerald J. Flynn, Jr.*  
General Counsel  
*Thomas E. Hogan, Esq.*

## RE: Support for the appointment of Kash Patel as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

To whom it may concern;

The United Federation of Police Officers (UFPO), representing law enforcement professionals across the country, is proud to announce our steadfast support for Kash Patel to serve as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

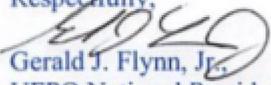
Kash Patel is a shining example of dedication to justice, public safety, and accountability. His career as a federal prosecutor where he has partnered with law enforcement agencies to take down international drug cartels, prosecute violent offenders and dismantle criminal organizations that threaten our communities. His work has always reflected a deep respect for the service and sacrifice of law enforcement officers at all levels.

Beyond the courtroom, Mr. Patel has consistently demonstrated his ability to lead with integrity and collaborate effectively. As Senior Counsel to the House Intelligence Committee, he played a vital role in ensuring government accountability and transparency - values essential to building trust within law enforcement and the communities we serve. His service as Chief of Staff to the Acting Secretary of Defense further underscores his leadership skills, his commitment to national security and his ability to manage complex organizations under pressure.

The FBI is at a crossroads, and it requires a leader who understands the importance of rebuilding trust and strengthening partnerships between federal agencies and local law enforcement. Kash Patel has shown time and again that he has the vision, courage and expertise to do just that. His unwavering support for the rule of law and his dedication to protecting the American people make him the ideal candidate to lead the FBI during these challenging times.

The United Federation of Police Officers proudly endorses Kash Patel as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). We urge his confirmation and are confident that his leadership will restore integrity to the FBI, while fostering stronger relationships with law enforcement across the nation.

I am writing to you directly because our organization was the first law enforcement labor organization to endorse Donald J. Trump in 2015 after meeting with him in his office at Trump Towers. Our organization (UFPO) endorsed President Donald John Trump before the New Hampshire Primary in 2016, 2020, and 2024 and today more than ever he needs the team he has chosen to Make America Safe Again, so that his vision to "Make America Great Again" can be fulfilled.

Respectfully,  
  
*Gerald J. Flynn, Jr.*  
UFPO National President

Office: 1-202-559-9031 \* Toll Free: 1-866-577-2251 \* Fax: 978-453-2555



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**KEITH THIRION**

CHAIR

**PAULETTE MEYER**

January 29, 2025

Senator Charles Grassley  
Chair, Senate Judiciary Committee

Senator Richard Durbin  
Ranking Member, Senate Judiciary Committee

Dear Senator Grassley and Senator Durbin,

On behalf of the Alliance for Justice (AFJ), a national association representing nearly 140 public interest and civil rights organizations, I urge you and your Senate Judiciary Committee colleagues to oppose the nomination of Kash Patel to serve as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Patel's career is defined by incompetence, dangerous rhetoric about weaponizing the FBI to target political opponents, and dogged loyalty to President Trump. Patel's confirmation to this critical position would inflict irrevocable damage on the FBI, an institution he once vowed to dismantle, and, far more importantly, endanger the safety, security, and rights of all Americans.

First, Patel is, without question, unqualified to direct the nation's leading investigatory and security agency, as illustrated by former Trump administration officials themselves, who have declared that he is "profoundly unqualified" for the role. Confirming an unqualified individual with a glaring lack of law enforcement or senior cabinet level experience, judgement, and commitment to our nation's principles in such a preeminently powerful role would directly threaten the lives and safety of the American people.

Indeed, Patel has provoked multiple scandals and exhibited vast incompetence when previously serving in influential positions. A prominent example of this is his misleading of Pentagon officials in 2020, when he falsely relayed that the U.S. had received approval for Seal Team 6 to conduct a hostage rescue on Nigerian territory. Patel's lies almost sparked a national security crisis, and, if followed, would have put the lives of the extraction team at extreme risk. A further example of Patel's incompetence was his authorship of the controversial Nunes Memo, which falsely accused the FBI of improperly obtaining a Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) warrant against former Trump foreign adviser Carter Page.

Secondly, Patel's troubling rhetoric about weaponizing the FBI to target political opponents should single-handedly disqualify him from this position, as it raises grave concerns about his ability to lead an agency insulated from electoral politics and political will. A fervent Trump loyalist and self-professed member of "Donald Trump's army," Patel has previously expressed intentions to go after the media, members of Congress, and law enforcement officials who attempted to hold the president accountable. In his book, *Government Gangsters: The Deep State, the Truth, and the Battle for Our Democracy*, Patel described members of the "deep state" as "the most dangerous threat to our democracy" and wrote a list of political enemies made up of Democratic politicians and former Trump aides who have since spoken out against the president. Additionally, in a 2023 interview with Steve Bannon, Patel said the Justice Department under Trump would "come after" those in the media who "helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections." We, as a nation, cannot hand such a powerful agency to someone who has pledged to weaponize it against Americans.

Patel's personal loyalty to Trump also extends to his role on the board of directors for Trump Media Technology Group, the parent company of Trump's Truth Social. The FBI Director must be free of such personal and financial conflicts of interest that may influence its ability to conduct independent investigations, including of the president or top aides if necessary. Patel's personal loyalty to Trump and persistent statements threatening persecution of the president's political opponents directly conflict with the Bureau's mandate to be independent from politics.

Additionally, Patel has spread and publicized multiple baseless, harmful conspiracy theories. Among these are blatant falsehoods about the 2020 election results in an attempt to overturn the will of the people, which includes his publication of a children's book on the matter: *The Plot Against the King: 2,000 Mules*. Patel also pedalled conspiracies relating to QAnon and the FBI's investigation of January 6 insurrectionists. It is, therefore, a chilling prospect that he would serve as the head of the FBI, an independent agency tasked with investigating based on hard facts and law.

Put simply, the Senate would be putting the American people — and their security, safety, and rights — at risk if it confirms Patel, and doing so would irrevocably damage the FBI and the American government. His nomination is deeply troubling, especially given his vows to dismantle the Bureau and turn it into a "museum of the deep state," his unwavering loyalty to the president, repeated publication of baseless conspiracy theories, and blatant lack of experience.

For the numerous reasons outlined in this letter, we strenuously urge the Judiciary Committee to reject Kash Patel's nomination to serve as Director of the FBI. We stand ready to answer any questions you may have about our conclusions regarding this nominee.

Sincerely,



Keith Thirion  
Interim Co-President, Alliance for Justice

January 9, 2025

The Honorable Charles Grassley  
Chairman  
Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Dick Durbin  
Ranking Member  
Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
711 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin:

In this letter, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is providing key background information on four key issue areas regarding Kash Patel's nomination as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation: targeting of perceived enemies, protecting the independence of the FBI from partisan or political influence, safeguarding against FBI surveillance and investigation abuses, and protecting the rights of marginalized communities.

The ACLU is providing this material to you and members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary to provide background on Mr. Patel's record and to ensure that all senators have a complete understanding of his record before voting on the nomination. The ACLU does not support or oppose any nominee, in accordance with our longstanding organizational policy. Consequently, we are not endorsing or opposing the nomination of Mr. Patel as the next director of the FBI but are providing these materials consistent with our practice of providing senators with important information about key nominees' record on civil rights and civil liberties so that senators can meaningfully carry out their constitutional role of advice and consent on nominations.

### **Targeting of Perceived Enemies**

We urge senators to inquire into Mr. Patel's views on journalists and civil servants and obtain commitments that he will not use his position as director of the FBI to target perceived enemies.

In multiple appearances since the 2020 election, Mr. Patel has stated that he perceives the media as one of the most dangerous enemies of

President-Elect Trump due to purported misrepresentation about President-Elect Trump's record and agenda. In September, Patel stated, "We [must] collectively join forces to take on the most powerful enemy that the United States has ever seen, and no it's not Washington, DC, it's the mainstream media and these people out there in the fake news. That is our mission!"<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, in a 2023 "War Room" podcast with Steven Bannon, Patel stated, "We're going to come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens who helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections. We're going to come after you, whether it's criminally or civilly. We'll figure that out. But yeah, we're putting you all on notice."<sup>2</sup>

Patel's language parallels threats made by President-Elect Trump. As one example, in a Truth Social post, President-Elect Trump stated:

[The media] are almost all dishonest and corrupt, but Comcast, with its one-side and vicious coverage by NBC NEWS, and in particular MSNBC . . . should be investigated for its "Country Threatening Treason." . . . I say up front, openly, and proudly, that when I WIN the Presidency of the United States, they and others of the LameStream Media will be thoroughly scrutinized for their knowingly dishonest and corrupt coverage of people, things, and events. . . . They are a true threat to Democracy and are, in fact, THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE! The Fake News Media should pay a big price for what they have done to our once great Country!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Episode 128: Kash Patel - Donald Trump's FBI Director Nominee, Shawn Ryan Show at 9:46 (Sept. 2, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pjWCnh42Sc4> [hereinafter Shawn Ryan Show].

<sup>2</sup> Episode 3223: The Elites Want The Invasion Of Your Country, Bannon's War Room at 24:48 (Dec. 5, 2023), <https://listen.warroom.org/episode-3223-the-elites-want-the-invasion-of-your-country>.

<sup>3</sup> Post by @realDonaldTrump, Truth Social (Sept. 24, 2023, 7:53 PM), <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/111122815628828712>; accord Sara Fischer, *Trump Ramps Up Legal Threats Against News Outlets*, Axios (Dec. 17, 2024), <https://wwwaxios.com/2024/12/17/trump-legal-threats-media>; Tom Wheeler, *Donald Trump Has Threatened to Shut Down Broadcasters, But Can He?*, Brookings (Oct. 29, 2024), <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/donald-trump-has-threatened-to-shut-down-broadcasters-but-can-he>.

Recent reporting has suggested that Patel's statements are not mere hyperbole, but political priorities.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Patel has also targeted ordinary civil servants as perceived enemies of President-Elect Trump, characterizing them pejoratively as "the Deep State." In a podcast this fall, Patel stated that he would "recommend" that a second Trump administration prosecute current and former federal employees. He stated, "How do you get the Deep State out of government? You deprive them of the opportunity to continue running the Deep State, removing their security clearances."<sup>5</sup> Patel elaborated, "The DNI can come in there on day one and [say] X-X-X all the way down the line . . . . Trump speaks for Trump [but] I've recommended that to him, I can tell you that publicly and to your audience — I want him to do that."<sup>6</sup>

According to Patel, the revoking of security clearances would include, but not be limited to, officials, such as the 51 that signed a letter characterizing the release of emails from Hunter Biden's laptop as having the "classic earmarks" of a "Russian information operation."<sup>7</sup> He stated, "They're just one example, the 51, right? There's everybody that participated at the FBI, in 'Russia-gate,' everybody that participated in FBI, excuse me, at DOJ in 'Russia-gate.' All these people have clearances — they all still have clearances, gone. Same thing at CIA, same thing at DoD, same thing at NSA. I mean the list will be massive. The 51 is just a very public facing version of it down the line and they're not the only ones."<sup>8</sup>

Finally, in his book *Government Gangsters*, Patel lists 60 current and former Executive Branch officials that he refers to as members of the "Executive Branch Deep State."<sup>9</sup> Although the list includes officials under both parties, it is heavily focused on perceived enemies in the Biden administration, including President Joe Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris, Attorney General Merrick Garland, FBI Director

<sup>4</sup> Tim Miller, *Bannon: Kash Patel Will Absolutely Investigate the People Named in His Book*, The Bulwark (Dec. 20, 2024), <https://www.thebulwark.com/p/bannon-kash-patel-will-absolutely> ("A tough break for those hoping that the likely next FBI director may moderate if confirmed."); Sarah Fortinsky, *Bannon, Patel say Trump 'Dead Serious' About Revenge on Media*, The Hill (Dec. 4, 2023), <https://thehill.com/homenews/4344065-bannon-patel-trump-revenge-on-media>.

<sup>5</sup> Shawn Ryan Show at 56:19.

<sup>6</sup> Shawn Ryan Show at 1:09:25.

<sup>7</sup> See Jim Clapper et al., Public Statement on the Hunter Biden Emails (Oct. 19, 2020), <https://www.politico.com/f/?id=00000175-4393-d7aa-af77-579f9b330000>.

<sup>8</sup> Shawn Ryan Show at 1:10:19.

<sup>9</sup> Timothy Noah, *The Who's Who on Kash Patel's Crazy Enemies List*, New Republic (Dec. 3, 2024), <https://newrepublic.com/article/188946/kash-patel-fbi-enemies-list>.

Christopher Wray, National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan, and more.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, several prominent figures on the list — including former Trump administration officials Bill Barr, Gina Haspel, and Mark Esper — seem to appear for no other reason than personal grievances,<sup>11</sup> such as resisting Patel’s appointment to significant roles in the first Trump administration.<sup>12</sup>

Patel labels this group “a cabal of unelected tyrants” and “the most dangerous threat to our democracy” and notes that his list is “not exhaustive” and that it omits “other corrupt actors of the first order.”<sup>13</sup>

In light of Mr. Patel’s statements, it is crucial that senators obtain commitments that Mr. Patel will not use the power of the FBI to target journalists, civil servants, or political opponents because of their ideology, speech, journalism, or political activity. To the extent that Mr. Patel asserts that he will investigate or prosecute such individuals, senators should inquire as to who and on what basis.

### **Independence of the FBI from Partisan or Political Influence**

Senators should also obtain commitments from Mr. Patel that he will resist express or implicit directives to use the power of the FBI for partisan or political purposes.

President-Elect Trump has suggested he would use federal law enforcement to investigate or prosecute political opponents. During the campaign, President-Elect Trump vowed, “I will appoint a real special prosecutor to go after the most corrupt president in the history of the United States of America, Joe Biden, and the entire Biden crime family,”<sup>14</sup> a sentiment he has reiterated multiple times and expanded to include “all others involved with the destruction of our elections, borders, & country itself!”<sup>15</sup> Following those repeated statements,

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*

<sup>12</sup> Ankush Khadri, *You Should Worry About Kash Patel Running the FBI*, Politico Magazine (Dec. 14, 2024), <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2024/12/14/kash-patel-fbi-constraints-column-00194285> (noting that Barr, Haspel, and Esper had resisted hiring Patel or had expressed displeasure with the performance of his duties).

<sup>13</sup> Noah, *supra* note 9.

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Swan et al., The Radical Strategy Behind Trump’s Promise to ‘Go After’ Biden, N.Y. Times (June 15, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/15/us/politics/trump-indictment-justice-department.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Brett Samuels, *Trump Vows to Appoint Special Prosecutor to ‘Go After’ Biden if Former President Wins in 2024*, The Hill (June 12, 2023),

Trump engaged in the following exchange in recent interview with Kristen Welker on Meet the Press:<sup>16</sup>

WELKER: You named Kash Patel to be the next FBI director. He has a list in his book of 60 people that he calls members of the so-called Deep State. It includes Democrats like Joe Biden and Hillary Clinton. It includes former members of your cabinet from Bill Barr to Christopher Wray. You campaigned on destroying the Deep State. Do you want Kash Patel to launch investigations into people on that list?

TRUMP: No. I mean, he's going to do what he thinks is right.

WELKER: Do you think that's right? Do you think that's right, sir?

TRUMP: If they think that somebody was dishonest or crooked or a corrupt politician, I think he probably has an obligation to do it.

WELKER: Are you going to direct him to do it?

TRUMP: Not at all.

Mr. Patel has suggested that he may view President-Elect Trump's grievances as a moral directive.

In an appearance at CPAC this summer, Patel stated, "We're blessed by God to have Donald Trump be our juggernaut of justice, to be our leader, to be our continued warrior in the arena."<sup>17</sup> In that same speech, he likewise described himself a member of "Donald Trump's

<https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/4045934-trump-vows-to-appoint-special-prosecutor-to-go-after-biden-if-former-president-wins-in-2024>; e.g., Tom Dreisbach, *Trump Has Made More than 100 Threats to Prosecute or Punish Perceived Enemies*, NPR (Oct. 22, 2024), <https://www.npr.org/2024/10/21/65134924/trump-election-2024-kamala-harris-elizabeth-cheney-threat-civil-liberties>; Chris Cameron, *Trump Defends Vow to Prosecute Rivals, Saying 'Sometimes Revenge Can Be Justified'*, N.Y. Times (June 6, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/06/us/politics/trump-retribution-revenge-democrats.html>.

<sup>16</sup> NBC News, *Trump Says He Won't Direct FBI to Investigate Enemies but Patel Will Do 'What He Thinks is Right'*, YouTube at 0:33 (Dec. 8, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnQcRfG70o8>; cf. Mia McCarthy, *Fetterman: Patel Pledged to Not Go After Political Enemies*, Politico (Dec. 22, 2024), <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/12/22/fetterman-patel-go-after-political-enemies-00195836>.

<sup>17</sup> Right Side Broadcasting Network, *Full Speech: Kash Patel Addresses CPAC in DC 2024 - 2/23/24*, YouTube at 0:39 (Feb. 23, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Geu8Ucl1tI>.

army.”<sup>18</sup> In contrast, current FBI Director Chris Wray recently stated, “[I]n terms of how we do the work, we’ve got to maintain our independence and objectivity—staying above partisanship and politics. That’s what the American people expect of us, and that’s what they deserve.”

In light of the statements by Mr. Patel and the President-Elect, senators should obtain commitments from Mr. Patel to fulfil the FBI’s tradition of enforcing the law in a nonpolitical manner.

Further, Mr. Patel’s financial ties to the President-Elect may make him susceptible to partisan or political influence. President-Elect Trump “indirectly” owns a majority stake in Trump Media & Technology Group (TMTG), which is held in a trust controlled by Mr. Trump’s son.<sup>19</sup> Mr. Patel sits on the board of TMTG<sup>20</sup> and also serves as an outside consultant to the company and to Trump’s political action committee, for which he has been paid \$465,000.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Trump has previously stated that he does not intend to sell his shares in the company, and consequently, Mr. Trump and his son effectively have control over Mr. Patel’s seat on the board.

Consequently, senators should obtain commitments from Mr. Patel that he will resign from TMTG’s board and cut other financial ties with the President-Elect and his immediate family.

### **Reining in Governmental Surveillance**

Patel recently critiqued FBI surveillance operations. In September he stated, “The FBI’s footprint has gotten so freaking big and the biggest problem the FBI has had has come out of its intel shops. I’d break that

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* at 0:25.

<sup>19</sup> Matthew Goldstein, *Trump Puts \$4 Billion in Shares of His Media Company in a Trust*, N.Y. Times (Dec. 20, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/20/business/trump-media-donald-trump-trust.html>.

<sup>20</sup> *Board of Directors*, TMTG, <https://ir.tmtgcorp.com/corporate-governance/board-of-directors/> (last visited Dec. 20, 2024).

<sup>21</sup> Matthew Goldstein, *At Truth Social, Kash Patel Investigated Trump’s Estranged Co-Founders*, N.Y. Times (Dec. 6, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/06/business/kash-patel-trump-media-truth-social.html>; Gelnn Thrust et al., *Kash Patel Would Bring Bravado and Baggage to F.B.I. Role*, N.Y. Times (Dec. 1, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/kash-patel-bravado-baggage-fbi.html>; Form 10-Q for the Quarter Ending September 30, 2024, Trump Media & Technology Group Corp., note 9, [https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/1849635/000114036124045260/ef20034529\\_10q.htm](https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/1849635/000114036124045260/ef20034529_10q.htm).

component out of it. I'd shut down the FBI Hoover building on day one and reopen [it] the next day as a museum of the Deep State, and I take the 7,000 employees that work in that building and send them across America.”<sup>22</sup>

Patel has also critiqued foreign intelligence-based surveillance of U.S. persons and criticized reauthorization of 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). He stated:<sup>23</sup>

Once you get a FISA [order] you basically just hoover in all this intel all this data and on paper and in theory it sounds like a good idea . . . . The problem is the people given the FISA authorities in the Deep State at the leadership levels, they're the ones that abused it, they're the ones that broke the law, corrupted it, and they're the reason we have such a revolt in this country against FISA.

He also specifically addressed abuses of FISA Section 702:

[N]ot only that, there's another application of FISA called 702. . . . It's just another vector into how we collect certain data on emails and email hops and phones of overseas people. We're not supposed to use it here in the United States of America . . . . There was this big fight about 702 reauthorization . . . this year to say we want FISA reform, and FISA did need reform . . . . So because the budget of FISA was up this this cycle, we demanded Congress fix it, and do you know what the majority in in the House, what the Republicans did? They bent the knee. They reauth'd it.

Patel concluded that Section 702 “needs major, major reform — tons.”<sup>24</sup> Mr. Patel is not alone in his critique of surveillance abuses; the issue has been raised by both the ACLU<sup>25</sup> and conservative organizations,<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Shawn Ryan Show at 1:12:55.

<sup>23</sup> Shawn Ryan Show at 1:17:00

<sup>24</sup> Shawn Ryan Show at 1:24:17.

<sup>25</sup> *ACLU Statement on Congress Passing Bill that Massively Expands the Government's Power to Spy on Americans Without a Warrant*, ACLU (Apr. 12, 2024), <https://www.aclu.org/press-releases/congress-passing-bill-that-massively-expands-the-governments-power-to-spy-on-americans-without-a-warrant>.

<sup>26</sup> Steven Bradbury, How to Fix the FBI, Heritage Foundation (July 10, 2023), <https://www.heritage.org/the-constitution/report/how-fix-the-fbi>; cf. Liberty and Justice for All: An America First FBI, America First Policy Institute (July 11, 2023), <https://americafirstpolicy.com/issues/liberty-and-justice-for-all-an-america-first-fbi>.

although there are significant differences in the detail of policy recommendations.

Senators should inquire into the details of Mr. Patel’s plans, which components of the FBI he would spin out, where those components would then be placed, and how that reorganization would protect civil rights and civil liberties.

### **Safeguarding Equality and the Rights of Marginalized Groups**

Mr. Patel has made statements that could endanger marginalized groups.

For example, Mr. Patel has spread disinformation about the role of immigrants in U.S. elections. He stated: “[I]t’s at least 10 million, if not 15 million [undocumented people]. Right? And you’ve seen liberal states go out and say, we’re going to house illegal immigrants, we’re going to give them IDs, and we’re going to help finance whatever needs they might have for their families and themselves. And so you got to ask yourself, what’s the point of all that? What do you bring in all these people here for? . . . I think the Democrats are smart enough to say, well, we got to figure out a new way to rig the election.”<sup>27</sup>

The claim that there is widespread voting by noncitizens in federal elections — which is already prohibited under federal and state laws — has been thoroughly debunked. Senators should ask Mr. Patel to repudiate those statements and, given those statements, obtain commitments that he will refrain from spreading this disinformation and sowing distrust in our elections

Likewise, Mr. Patel has claimed that “DEI and white rage” have replaced intelligence and law enforcement activities as the chief priorities of the FBI and other agencies.<sup>28</sup> For example, he stated that the National Intelligence Priorities Framework “reads like a children’s playbook — tier one DEI, tier one Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion for every agency in the Department, tier one LGBTQ stuff.” The FBI workforce is currently 45.9% women, 27.5% racial or ethnic minorities, and 1.7% LGBTQIA+.

Senators should obtain commitments from Mr. Patel that he will ensure that civil rights protections are enforced at the FBI and that employees will be able to free from discrimination in a welcoming

<sup>27</sup> Shawn Ryan Show at 10:06.

<sup>28</sup> Shaw Ryan Show at 1:23:46.

environment, where they are able to safely and effectively serve the country.

Thank you for your work to protect civil rights and civil liberties. If you have any questions about this letter, please do not hesitate to contact us at [cvenzke@aclu.org](mailto:cvenzke@aclu.org).

Sincerely,



Mike Zamore  
National Director of Policy &  
Government Affairs  
ACLU



Cody Venzke  
Senior Policy Counsel



This letter, signed by opioid addiction victim advocates from across the country, represents the voices of those who have worked tirelessly for victims and families impacted by the opioid epidemic. We deeply appreciate your attention to this crisis and urge the Senate to prioritize qualified leadership at the FBI and DEA—leaders who can effectively dismantle illicit drug networks at our borders and maintain a victim-centered focus on prevention, treatment, and recovery.

Sincerely,  
Dita Bhargava  
Drug Epidemic Memorial, Purdue Watchdogs

**Statement from Opioid Addiction Victim Advocates on Leadership at ONDCP, SAMHSA, DEA, and the FBI**

**“Donald Trump, 2024: ‘We will end the scourge of fentanyl in America. No parent should have to bury their child because of drugs pouring across our borders or failures in our system. Reforming the DEA and empowering victims will be central to this fight.’”**

As advocates for those harmed by the drug epidemic, we acknowledge the urgent need for more effective strategies at the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These agencies must play a pivotal role in confronting the opioid and fentanyl crises. As decisions are made about the leadership of these institutions, we emphasize that any new director or administrator should possess extensive professional expertise, a strong track record in addressing illicit drug networks, and an unwavering commitment to victim-focused solutions. We appreciate that the President-elect recognizes the enormity of this crisis and the need for action at the DEA and the FBI. However, while welcoming efforts to revitalize these agencies, we urge thoughtful consideration of the next FBI Director. The chosen leader must be thoroughly vetted for balanced judgment and victim-centered policies—someone who will restore public trust, effectively lead enforcement efforts against drug traffickers, and maintain a humane, community-oriented approach.

This is not solely about bringing the perpetrators to justice; it is about bolstering the support systems so crucial for survivors and families. Even as enforcement intensifies, reinforcing victim support—counseling services, financial assistance, and locally driven recovery initiatives—will help repair the social fabric torn by addiction and overdose. To that effect, it is also crucial that the incoming Director of Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) and Assistant Secretary of Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) are highly vetted to ensure they have the qualifications and experience to pass critical policies related to prevention, treatment, and recovery programs.

More than 100,000 lives are lost every year to drug overdoses. Behind these numbers are families and communities deeply scarred by loss and hardship. Effective leadership at the DEA, FBI, ONDCP, and SAMHSA must understand and address this broader human cost, ensuring resources and strategies reflect both the complexity of the problem and the importance of healing its victims.

**Qualities for the Next Leaders of the FBI, DEA, ONDCP, and SAMHSA:**

1. Knowledgeable Leadership: Seek individuals with proven experience, ensuring agencies are well-equipped to combat illicit drug trafficking.

2. Fresh Perspective: Prioritize leaders who emphasize victims' rights and community restoration, increasing accountability and strengthening prevention programs.

**Principles of a Victims' Rights Agenda:**

1. Support for Families: Dedicate federal resources for counseling, financial help, and rehabilitation for families devastated by opioid addiction.
2. Community Empowerment: Fund and support local initiatives that give victims and families a direct voice in shaping prevention and treatment programs.
3. Justice for Victims: While increasing penalties for fentanyl traffickers, ensure the legal process is swift and fair—providing timely justice and closure for those affected.

By choosing leaders who bring both expertise and empathy, we can move beyond simply punishing traffickers and truly begin to heal. With fresh vision and renewed commitment, the DEA, FBI, ONDCP, and SAMHSA can help turn the tide of this crisis, restoring hope and resilience to our communities.

**Signatories**

Dita Bhargava, CT - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Purdue Watchdogs  
Carol Egan, GA - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Purdue Watchdogs  
Dan Schneider, LA - The Pharmacist, The Tunnel of Hope Foundation  
Ryan Hampton, NV - Recovery Advocate, Person in Long-Term Recovery  
Angel Kennecke, SD - Emily's Hope  
Jim Willfred, MO - Missouri State Rep, A Second Chance at Life, Drug Induced Homicide  
Rebecca Finnerty, NJ - Drug Epidemic Memorial and Advocate  
Annie Chute Hernandez, TX - Drug Epidemic Advocate  
Debbie Peeden, NC - Drug Epidemic Advocate  
Fiona Firine, CT - For Cameron  
Theresa Guerra, TX - Association of People Against Lethal Drugs (APALD)  
Kelly O'Dell, TX - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Reid Forever 29 (06/08/2024)  
Diane Santos, CT - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Advocate and Grieving Mother Who Lost a Son to Fentanyl  
Kathleen Callahan, AZ - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Mother Who Lost My Beautiful Joe to Fentanyl, Joeforever27 (11/20/2021)  
Erika Redd, PA - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Forever Amir Pitts Forever 24 (11/20/2023)  
Diane Hubball, IL - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Brett James Forever 31 (12/12/2019) #NotinVain  
Brooke Arpan, LA - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Grieving Mother of William Seth Arpan II, Forever 28 (07/01/2022) Fentanyl Poisoning  
Pattie Hunt-Scott, FL - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Grieving Mother and Grandmother, Matthew Hunt Forever 36, Kyle Hunt Forever 21  
Kimberly Book, WA - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Shaylyn Book (11/03/2024) Forever 18  
Malia Fox, WI - Drug Epidemic Memorial, Activist Mom  
Ankush K. Bansal, FL - MD  
J. Brantly, NY - Advocate  
Sandy Snodgrass, AK - Activist, Drug Epidemic Memorial  
Tonya Dickey, ME - Activist, Drug Epidemic Memorial  
Sharon Bailey, ME - Activist, Drug Epidemic Memorial

Amber Saale-burger (KS) – Kaylee’s Dad Is Mad, Drug Epidemic Memorial KS Lead

Amy Kloss Manning (PA) – Former VP of APALD, GAO - Grieving an Overdose, Outreach with homeless

Andrea M. Wright (VA) – BA, MA, CIP: Reduce stigma and advocate for drug policy change for justice-involved individuals

Angela Vos (Canada) – Founder of Jordan’s Life, in memory of her son (2020)

Anne Marie Emerson (MN) – Recovery Advocacy Project, Mobilize Recovery, Purdue Watchdogs, Memorial Christmas Tree at Valhalla Place, DEA Family Summits

April Kristy Smith (FL) – Brevard Angels, Drue McGuire Foundation, Drug Epidemic Memorial FL Lead

Ashley Cameron (MO) – Founder of A Piece of Ash, The Fentanyl Fight, Co-Founder of Enough is Enough

Barbara Folds (OH) – ADAMHS (Cuyahoga County), Advocate with Ohio/DC politicians, Cleveland Dept. of Health

Barbara Ford (OH) – Drug Epidemic Memorial Ohio Lead, Healing Ohio Families

Beth Deno (MO) – Founder of ACPD, placed 6,000 individuals in long-term treatment

Brenda Starr Moreno (CT) – Drug Epidemic Memorial CT Lead

Catherine Quigley Giblin (NY) – Drug Epidemic Memorial NY Lead

Christina Melgoza (TX) – Angelina Lives On

Cindy Dodds (FL) – Drug Epidemic Advocate

DeAnna Brooks (PA) – AA, BA, MBA, Founder of Kaysie and Stevie’s Hope, Past president of The Mecca-Mann Mission, Inc.

Debbie Evans (VA) – Founder of Remembering Jamie, Angels In Heaven Illustrations, Illustration of Virginia Angels In Heaven at the Governor’s Mansion

Debbie Thomas (NM) – Founder of Eternal Angel Poster Projects

Dee Gillen (NJ) – Founder of The Black Poster Project

Elaine Lopez (CO) – Tee Spark Non-Profit, Colorado Coalition for Families Affected by Fentanyl, Drug Epidemic Memorial Wall CO Co-Lead

Freida MacDonald (NC) – Founder of Know Hope North Carolina

Geralyn Maul-Vasquez (CA) – The Act Project (Spring Education), The Jacob Vasquez Memorial Scholarship, SCCOOPP

Heather Brinker (MO) – Founder Connor’s Avengers Fight Against Fentanyl

Helen Ozuna (CA) – Drug Epidemic Memorial CA Lead, Administration of Drug Epidemic Memorial

Jeff Breedlove (GA) – Survivor, CEO of the American Addiction Recovery Association

Jennipher Talamantes Guerra (TX) – Founder of Fighting to Save Lives / Jacob’s Legacy Foundation

Jerel McDonald (AZ) – Arizona Families Advocacy from Within

John Shinholsen (VA) – Founder of The McShin Foundation

Joyce Alosi (AZ) – Drug Epidemic Memorial AZ Lead

Judy Naphys Alessi (NJ) – Founder of Christian’s Crew Inc., Drug Epidemic Memorial Wall NJ Lead

Justin Philips (IN) – Founder/CEO of Overdose Lifeline, distributing 24,000 free naloxone doses a month statewide

Karie Chloe Krouse (CA) – Angels of Fentanyl Graphics, Enough Is Enough, The Fentanyl Fight

Kate Hart (Canada) – Drug Epidemic Memorial Wall Canada Lead, Drug Epidemic Memorial Administration

Kathleen Ginty Highland (NJ) – Morris Twp. Mayor, Founder of The Morristown Municipal Alliance and Teen Pride Inc.

Kathy Everhart Schwartz (NY) – Drug Epidemic Memorial NY Lead  
Kelly Garner (KS) – Desi'ree's Mommy  
Kelly Marie (KS) – Cruz4life/Kansas  
Kim St. Clair (KY)  
Laura Cloy (TX) – MAFAFIA (Mothers and Fathers Against Fentanyl In America)  
Laura M Griffith (FL) – Angels of Pinellas County, Drug Epidemic Memorial FL Lead  
Lilly Harvey – Founder/Director of Millie Mattered Overdose & Addiction Advocacy  
Lou Cuadrado (NJ) – Founder, Drug Epidemic Memorial, Purdue Watchdogs, Rooting For Recovery, The Global Recovery Movement  
Lyn Fortner (WA) – National Advisory Committee for Addiction Policy Forum; Drug Epidemic Memorial WA Lead  
Marilyn Shannon (NC) – Founder of PRISM (The Peoples Recovery Initiative for Solutions)  
Mary Lynn Freeman (MI) – Drug Epidemic Memorial MI Lead  
Michele Lee Stroh (OR) – Drug Epidemic Memorial Oregon Lead  
Michelle Conroy Sawyer (CA) – Founder of Micah's Hugs, Drug Epidemic Memorial CA Lead  
Michelle Watson (TX) – Founder of The 1:11 Project  
Michelle Wright-Harless (GA) – Drug Epidemic Memorial Wall GA Lead  
Patience Helton Vogel (NC) – Founder of Gideon's Army, Drug Epidemic Memorial Wall NC Lead  
Patricia Esposito (NJ) – Founding Partner Teen Pride, Morristown & Morris Township Municipal Alliance  
Paula Khoelle (FL) – Director, Project Noelle Lake County; supports children left behind by the Opioid Epidemic  
Phyllis Babrove (FL) – Advocate for substance use education and prevention awareness  
Precious Jones (MO) – Founder of Breaking Generational Poverty Foundation, Inc.  
Renee Puma (OH) – Founder of Purpose After Tears (PAT), Advocate for All Those Affected  
Robert Mosco (NC) – Drug Epidemic Memorial Wall NC  
Sandy Ferrell Gearlds (IN) – “Fight Like A Mother,” Overdose Lifeline Indiana, State-approved naloxone trainer/distributor  
Shannon McGuire (LA) – Tunnel of Hope, Drug Epidemic Memorial LA  
Shari Klessig (WI) – Parent advocate for Start Healing Now & Overdose Aid Kits, Drug Epidemic Memorial WI  
Sharon Constable - Roberts (VA)  
Sharon Kitts (TN) – Drug Epidemic Memorial TN Lead, Enough Is Enough  
Sharon Sawyer (IA) – Drug Epidemic Memorial Founding Partner  
Tanya Ludzieski – Founder of Drue McGuire Foundation  
Theresa Guerrero (AZ) – Fentanyl Awareness Advocate, Drug Epidemic Memorial AZ Lead  
Tricia Hawkins Bodine (IL) – Drug Epidemic Memorial Wall Central IL Lead, Narcan distributor/trainer, 30 years in healthcare administration



The Honorable Charles Grassley  
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee  
United States Senate

The Honorable Richard Durbin  
Ranking Member, Senate Judiciary Committee  
United States Senate

January 29, 2025

Re: Kash Patel Nomination to be FBI Director

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin:

My organization, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), is a nonpartisan nonprofit organization dedicated to preserving and strengthening our democracy. Among our other work, CREW aims to ensure the continued effective functioning of our government institutions, and to curb the abuse and weaponization of government power to violate civil liberties. I write today to urge the Senate to oppose Kash Patel's nomination to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) both because he is unqualified for the position and because of his stated desire to use the FBI to seek retribution against his perceived political rivals.

Mr. Patel lacks the experience necessary to serve as FBI director. He has never held a management position in the executive branch, let alone led an agency as integral to national security and public safety as the FBI.<sup>1</sup> His work for four years as a trial attorney in the Department of Justice (DOJ) is his only experience in federal law enforcement. His executive branch experience writ large is also slim, as he served less than two years as a staff member at the National Security Council and Office of the Director of National Intelligence and just three months as chief of staff to the acting Secretary of Defense at the end of the first Trump administration.<sup>2</sup> These past positions are inadequate preparation to lead an organization of

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, *Kashyap P. Patel, Esq.*, <https://www.defense.gov/About/Biographies/Biography/Article/2418491/kashyap-p-patel>.

<sup>2</sup> Press Release, U.S. Department of Defense, DOD Statement on Personnel Changes at the Pentagon (Nov. 10, 2020), <https://www.defense.gov/News/Releases/Release/Article/2411893/dod-statement-on-personnel-changes-at-the-pentagon>.

38,000 employees which has personnel in 55 field offices in the United States and legal attaché offices in 62 foreign countries.<sup>3</sup>

This lack of experience stands in stark contrast to the credentials of past FBI directors. Christopher Wray, James Comey and Robert Mueller—the three most recent FBI directors—all served as high-ranking DOJ officials prior to their nominations. Wray was previously the head of DOJ's criminal division, overseeing large-scale investigations.<sup>4</sup> Comey served as a U.S. attorney and as deputy attorney general.<sup>5</sup> Mueller held all three roles in an acting or permanent capacity prior to his nomination.<sup>6</sup> This wealth of experience in high-ranking, managerial, Senate-confirmed DOJ positions shows that, despite any disagreements with substantive choices made during their tenure, they had the experience, skill and knowledge necessary to lead a large and hugely consequential federal agency.

Mr. Patel's lack of qualifications for this position is underscored by the fierce opposition that several high-ranking government employees had to his employment in senior positions during President Trump's first term. President Trump's then-CIA director, Gina Haspel, threatened to resign if Mr. Patel was made her deputy. When President Trump considered appointing Mr. Patel to be FBI deputy director during his first term, then-Attorney General Bill Barr dismissed the idea, telling then-Chief of Staff Mark Meadows that it would only happen "over my dead body."<sup>7</sup>

Further, Mr. Patel's public remarks since the end of the first Trump administration make clear that he should not be trusted at the helm of the FBI's massive surveillance and law enforcement apparatus. Mr. Patel's promise to use civil and criminal legal means to "come after" perceived "conspirators not just in government, but in the media" was chilling when made as a mere civilian in 2023. Read now as a promise by the nominee to lead the FBI, it is disqualifyingly dangerous.<sup>8</sup> The job of the FBI is to protect public safety, not to settle grievances. The use of the FBI in such a manner would be dangerous to a free society.

Mr. Patel has given ample reason to believe that he intends to make good on the promise to "come after" perceived political foes. Mr. Patel's published list of approximately 60 former

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<sup>3</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Internal Operations*, <https://www.fbi.gov/about/leadership-and-structure/international-operations>.

<sup>4</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Christopher Wray, August 2, 2017 - Present*, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/directors/christopher-wray>.

<sup>5</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, *James B. Comey, September 4, 2013 - May 9, 2017*, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/directors/james-b-comey>.

<sup>6</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Robert S. Mueller, III, September 4, 2001- September 4, 2013*, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/directors/robert-s-mueller-iii>.

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Swan, *Episode 5: The secret CIA plan*, Axios (Jan. 18, 2021), <https://wwwaxios.com/2021/01/18/off-the-rails-trump-cia-kash-patel>; Devlin Barrett and Maggie Haberman, *Trump Says He Will Nominate Kash Patel to Run F.B.I.*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 30, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/30/us/politics/trump-replace-christopher-wray.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Lalee Ibssa and Soo Rin Kim, *Kash Patel tells members of media, government: 'We're going to come after you' in Trump's 2nd term*, ABC News (Dec. 6, 2023), <https://abcnews.go.com/US/kash-patel-tells-members-media-government-after-trumps/story?id=105432592>.

“members of the executive branch deep state”—which includes both former Biden administration officials and officials from the first Trump administration who resisted President Trump’s authoritarian impulses—suggests potential conduct that is particularly threatening if wielded by an FBI director.<sup>9</sup> His persistent mischaracterizations of the January 6, 2021 attack on the Capitol, including asserting that the FBI planned the attack,<sup>10</sup> suggest that he is willing to pursue courses of action, even if not supported by fact, in order to achieve his aims. And the alignment of his threats both with President Trump’s myriad promises of retribution during the 2024 presidential campaign and Trump’s moves during his first week back in office to remove his perceived enemies from government employment suggests that Mr. Patel’s bid to lead the FBI could well usher in an era of retribution.<sup>11</sup>

History illustrates the dangers of a weaponized FBI. From 1956-71, the Bureau maintained COINTELPRO, a secretive series of operations aimed at surveilling, infiltrating and disrupting a wide range of social and political advocacy groups in excess of its legal authority.<sup>12</sup> Targets of the program were determined insularly by Bureau leadership.<sup>13</sup> Under the auspices of COINTELPRO, the FBI used its vast powers to limit First Amendment freedoms, harass civil rights activists (including Dr. Martin Luther King) and endanger law-abiding citizens.<sup>14</sup> Ignoring statutory restrictions and utilizing the “techniques of wartime,” for fifteen years the FBI conducted a renegade, extralegal campaign of persecuting American civilians “because of their political views” and to “serve[] the political and personal objectives of presidents,” all while escaping accountability from Congress, courts and the public.<sup>15</sup> If the Senate confirms Mr. Patel, it invites the risk that he will abuse the enormous powers of the FBI in a similar fashion to harass and threaten his and President Trump’s perceived opponents in service of President Trump rather than the Constitution.

Focusing the FBI on a crusade of retribution is terrifying in its own right. But it is also important to realize that implementing Mr. Patel’s desired campaign would require diverting FBI resources from crucial programs that keep Americans safe, including efforts to investigate, disrupt and prevent terrorism, cybercrime, transnational organized crime and

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<sup>9</sup> Sonam Sheth, *Full List of Kash Patel’s ‘Government Gangsters’ Who Could Be Targeted*, Newsweek (Dec. 2, 2024), <https://www.newsweek.com/kash-patel-list-officials-targeted-fbi-doj-trump-1994417>.

<sup>10</sup> Charlie Savage, Adam Goldman and Alan Feuer, *F.B.I. Pick Pushed False and Misleading Claims About Trump Investigations*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 23, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/01/23/us/politics/kash-patel-trump-fbi-inquiries.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Tom Dreisbach, Trump has made more than 100 threats to prosecute or punish perceived enemies, NPR (Oct. 22, 2024), <https://www.npr.org/2024/10/21/nx-s1-5134924/trump-election-2024-kamala-harris-elizabeth-cheney-threat-civil-liberties>; Jeremy Herb, Hannah Rabinowitz and Evan Perez, *Trump touts political firings and retribution as he begins a government overhaul in his image*, CNN (Jan. 21, 2025), <https://www.cnn.com/2025/01/21/politics/trump-touts-political-firings-and-retribution-and-installs-loyalists-at-key-posts/index.html>.

<sup>12</sup> S. Rep. No. 94-755, Book III, at 3, 10 (1976), [https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/94755\\_III.pdf](https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/94755_III.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> *Id.* at 11.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* at 5, 27, 46, 81.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* at 7; S. Rep. No. 94-755, Book II, at 5 (1976), [https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/94755\\_II.pdf](https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/94755_II.pdf).

other forms of violent crime. Diverting resources from these programs will make your constituents less safe and will increase the chance that malicious actors can harm Americans at home and abroad. It should be uncontroversial to say that the American people will be safer if the FBI focuses on preventing terrorism and violent crime rather than if it uses its precious resources to implement an agenda of retribution.

Mr. Patel is unqualified to lead the Bureau, and his past remarks raise the distinct possibility that under his leadership the FBI will abuse its massive surveillance and law enforcement infrastructure in a fashion that harkens back to the Bureau's darkest days. The FBI is too powerful and too important an institution to be used as a political pawn. It should not be placed into the hands of someone who has not demonstrated the skills, knowledge or temperament to lead it. We urge the Senate to reject Kash Patel's nomination for FBI director.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Noah Bookbinder".

Noah Bookbinder  
President and Chief Executive Officer  
Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in  
Washington (CREW)

Cc: Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee

January 7, 2025

By Hand

Dear Senator Durbin:

I am writing to express my deep concern about the appointment of a new FBI Director who might use the Bureau as a weapon against political opponents or personal adversaries. As a lawyer, who has dedicated decades of service to the rule of law—including service as a Marine Corps Judge Advocate, years at the Department of Justice, and an extensive trial practice—I believe the FBI's integrity must remain inviolate. The men and women of the Bureau shoulder immense responsibility, and their mission demands an apolitical Director who enforces the law impartially.

The removal of former Director James Comey was both decisive and necessary. Too often, his public pronouncements and investigative decisions veered into the political arena, eroding public trust in an institution charged with safeguarding all Americans, regardless of party or position. Politicization of the FBI imperils our democracy; the Bureau must stand steadfast as a neutral guardian of the law, unencumbered by personal agendas or animosities.

Now, more than ever, it is critical that we confirm a Director, who can restore and maintain the FBI's independence and credibility. We cannot allow the Bureau's considerable powers—investigative, prosecutorial, protective—to be shaped by the whims of individuals seeking retribution. The next Director should exhibit humility, integrity, and an unwavering loyalty to the Constitution above any political allegiance or personal vendetta.

I urge you to exercise utmost caution in confirming the individual to lead this vital institution. The American people have witnessed the consequences of a politicized FBI. Let us not repeat those mistakes.

Only by ensuring the Director's strict impartiality can we preserve the public's trust and safeguard the freedoms we cherish.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/

John M. Dowd

31 Hardings Lane  
Chatham, MA 02633

# GIFFORDS

# GIFFORDS

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:** January 30, 2024

**CONTACT:** Mary Yatrousis, [myatrousis@giffords.org](mailto:myatrousis@giffords.org)

## **GIFFORDS: Kash Patel is not fit to run the FBI**

**WASHINGTON** — Today, [\*\*GIFFORDS\*\*](#), the national gun violence prevention organization founded by former Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, released the following statement ahead of Kash Patel's nomination hearing before the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

“Kash Patel leading the FBI would be an unprecedented threat to public safety and the integrity of federal law enforcement. Patel is woefully unprepared to lead an agency tasked with keeping Americans safe,” **said GIFFORDS Executive Director Emma Brown.** “His troubling ties to extreme groups that oppose basic gun safety measures, combined with his total lack of experience in public safety, make him uniquely unqualified to oversee the FBI. The FBI requires experienced leadership committed to protecting all Americans, not a conspiracy theorist whose primary qualification appears to be loyalty to a single individual.”

###

*[\*\*GIFFORDS\*\*](#) is a nonprofit organization dedicated to saving lives from gun violence. Led by former Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, GIFFORDS shifts culture, changes policies, and challenges injustice, inspiring Americans across the country to fight gun violence.*

**From:** Kindred Motes <[kindred@globalextremism.org](mailto:kindred@globalextremism.org)>  
**Date:** January 27, 2025 at 2:56:38 PM EST  
**To:** Kindred Motes <[kindred@globalextremism.org](mailto:kindred@globalextremism.org)>  
**Subject: Expert Insights for Patel Confirmation Hearing**

Good afternoon,

I'm reaching out from the [Global Project Against Hate and Extremism](#) (GPAHE), founded by [Wendy Via and Heidi Beirich](#), leading experts on far-right extremism.

As you prepare for [Kash Patel](#)'s confirmation hearing this week, we urge you to consider our deeply troubling findings about his record of anti-democratic statements, vows of political retribution, conspiratorial rhetoric, and affiliations with extremist groups, documented in the profile linked below. Patel's history of promoting election denialism, endorsing QAnon conspiracy theories, and weaponizing rhetoric against journalists and political opponents raises significant concerns about his alignment with democratic principles and the potential impacts of his confirmation.

For example, Patel has said, "We will go out and find the conspirators, not just in government, but in the media. Yes, we're going to come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens who helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections. We're going to come after you, whether it's criminally or civilly."

We have summarized our key findings on these and other topics below, and Patel's own words are in the profile. **Wendy and Heidi are available for an immediate briefing via email or call to provide insights into their detailed research and analysis.**

**Kash Patel:**

**Weaponization of the Justice System:** Patel has a history of advocating for the prosecution of journalists and critics, labeling them as part of the "Deep State." His actions and statements suggest a willingness to use the justice system to target perceived enemies, aligning with extremist narratives and Trump's retaliation-focused rhetoric.

**Election Denialism and Conspiratorial Rhetoric:** Patel has actively promoted false claims about the 2020 election, including QAnon conspiracy theories. These statements undermine public trust in democratic processes and institutions.

**Endorsement by Extremist Groups:** Patel's nomination has been praised by groups such as the Proud Boys and neo-Nazis, who see his leadership as a means to further their goals and attack their adversaries.

**Questionable Ethics:** Patel's public behavior and rhetoric indicate a readiness to dismantle critical institutions and processes for personal or political gain, creating risks for democracy and accountability.

Best,  
Kindred

cv

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
The Honorable Dick Durbin  
United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
224 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

January 30, 2025

Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

I write to you in strong opposition to the nomination of Mr. Kash Patel as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As the granddaughter of a Soviet political prisoner, the daughter of a disabled veteran, a wife, a mother, and an American patriot, I believe confirming Mr. Patel to this position would pose grave threats to the rule of law and fundamental freedoms in the United States of America.

Mr. Patel included me on a list of what he calls “Government Gangsters” in an appendix to his book of the same name. I believe my inclusion in his list is related to a years-long drumbeat of conspiracy theories and threats about a political appointment I held for a total of 77 days. To Mr. Patel, this makes me a “government gangster.”

Mr. Patel either did sloppy research in compiling and publishing his list, believes conspiracy theories about me, or knowingly published falsehoods. Any of these attributes should be disqualifying for the nation’s leading law enforcement official.

I appreciate this opportunity to describe the impact these falsehoods have had on my life and my worries about my family’s security and safety should Mr. Patel be confirmed. They are not unique; if someone who served in government for 77 days could be called a “gangster,” what is stopping Mr. Patel from targeting other honorable public servants in this way, with the full power of the nation’s premier law enforcement agency behind him?

### **The Truth About My Work**

I came to my work on disinformation through the lens of Russia and the post-Soviet space, a foundation that instilled in me the utmost appreciation for our First Amendment, as I worked in environments where free expression was at best imperiled. After completing two degrees focused on the democratic transitions of the region, I began my career at the National Democratic Institute where I supported democracy assistance programs to Russia and Belarus. Our partners were brave activists who operated in an environment where censorship ran rampant. A few years later, I was honored to represent the United States as a Fulbright Public Policy Fellow in Ukraine, where I advised the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry on strategic communications and countering Russian disinformation.

When I returned to the United States, I spent several years as a fellow at the Wilson Center, which has a long history of providing nonpartisan policy analysis to the executive and legislative branches. In my case, this included four Congressional testimonies at the request of both Republicans—including at the invitation of Judiciary Chairman Chuck Grassley in 2018—and Democrats. I was honored to interface with Members and staff on both sides of the aisle. In 2020, I published my first book, *How to Lose the Information War*,<sup>1</sup> which evaluates Central and Eastern Europe’s responses to Russian disinformation. The main thesis of the book is that playing what I call “Whack-a-Troll,” or relying on content moderation or removal to solve the disinformation challenge, is neither effective nor democratic; instead, I advocate for investing in education programs and other citizens-based solutions.

In other words, not only do I believe censorship is contrary to American law and tradition, I also wrote a book articulating my belief that it is ineffective.

In 2022, on the basis of my scholarship and analysis, I was appointed to lead the Disinformation Governance Board, an admittedly poorly-named coordination body tasked with shepherding counter-disinformation policy by other components within the Department of Homeland Security. In large part, this body was created to “develop and support the implementation of governance policies and protocols that, among other issues, protect privacy, civil rights, and civil liberties,” coordinate DHS’s work on disinformation that affected the homeland with other USG agencies, and set standards for the Department’s interactions with the “private, non-profit, and academic sectors.”<sup>2</sup> Despite common misrepresentations, my job was to protect civil liberties and prevent potential forms of censorship. The Board had no operational authority, no budget, and no full-time staff other than myself.

Within hours of the Board’s public launch, influencers and Members of Congress dubbed it a “Ministry of Truth” and claimed that I was censoring or adjudicating Americans’ speech. They did this entirely without evidence; even after DHS corrected the record, politicians, pundits, major media organizations, and influencers continued to repeat this falsehood. A few weeks later, in the face of an unrelenting wave of incendiary hate and lies, when I was weeks away from becoming a mother, I resigned from the Department. However, the threats, harassment, and lies continued.

In June 2022, Members of this committee released the Board’s founding documents,<sup>3</sup> laying out in a clear and detailed paper trail the boring truth of the Board’s purview and my former responsibilities: to coordinate the Department’s preexisting communication responses to relevant disinformation campaigns, and to recommend best practices and guardrails for the Department to better “ensure its counter-disinformation efforts do not have the effect of chilling or suppressing free speech.” The

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<sup>1</sup> Nina Jankowicz, *How to Lose the Information War* (Bloomsbury: 2020).

<sup>2</sup> Senator Grassley and Senator Hawley, *DHS Disinformation Governance Board Charter*, February 28, 2022, [https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/files/2022-06/2022-06-07%20DOCS%20ONLY%20CEG%20JH%20to%20DHS%20\(Disinformation%20Governance%20Board\)\[1\].pdf#page=9](https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/files/2022-06/2022-06-07%20DOCS%20ONLY%20CEG%20JH%20to%20DHS%20(Disinformation%20Governance%20Board)[1].pdf#page=9).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

conspiracy theories were now not only baseless but also fully debunked. However, the threats, harassment, and lies still continued.

As I told the House Judiciary Committee’s Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government several times throughout my sworn 2023 deposition<sup>4</sup> about my time at DHS: if censorship were part of my mandate, not only would I not have taken the job, I would have loudly condemned such activities.<sup>5</sup> I am the granddaughter of a political prisoner who spent two years in a Soviet work camp, and, as outlined above, have studied, lived, and worked in countries where government censorship is all too real. My decade of writing and analysis—including testimony before this committee—has consistently pointed to education and *more speech* as a solution to the disinformation problem. Censorship is antithetical to my very being. However, the threats, harassment, and lies grounded in the belief that I was hired to censor continued, and follow me to this day.

#### **Kash Patel Propagated These Long-Debunked Lies When He Targeted Me as “Deep State”**

Mr. Patel either: believes the conspiracy theory that I was censoring Americans and am part of the so-called “deep state;” does not have the depth of knowledge to understand he is wrong; or is willing to ruthlessly exploit this lie for political or personal gain. Any of these possibilities presents serious concerns about whether he possesses the competence, judgment, and moral fiber necessary to lead the FBI.

In his September 2023 book, *Government Gangsters*, Mr. Patel published the false statement that my role at DHS was “to monitor and squelch messages and information that the administration doesn’t support”<sup>6</sup> and named me on his “Deep State” target list in Appendix B.<sup>7</sup>

Creating enemies lists like the one Mr. Patel published is reminiscent of some of the darkest moments in political history:

- Senator Joseph McCarthy’s infamous 1950 speech detailing a list of 205 alleged communist “enemies within” the State Department set off years of investigations that derailed careers and lives. Morale at the State Department plummeted; one employee committed suicide.<sup>8</sup> The loyalty of hundreds of individuals in the public and private sector was called into question. In 2004, when the records of the McCarthy investigations were unsealed, Senators Carl Levin and Susan Collins wrote:

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<sup>4</sup> Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, *Deposition of Nina Jankowicz*, April 10, 2023, [https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/jankowicz%20Transcript\\_Redacted.pdf](https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/jankowicz%20Transcript_Redacted.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> The Subcommittee’s 17,000-page final report found no instances of so-called weaponization by the Board or me; the report contains just a few lines noting the Board’s existence. Senior DHS staff corroborate my testimony that the Board did not engage in censorship. See <https://judiciary.house.gov/media/press-releases/final-report-weaponization-federal-government>

<sup>6</sup> Kash Pramod Patel, *Government Gangsters: The Deep State, the Truth, and the Battle for Our Democracy* (Post Hill Press: 2023)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, Appendix B.

<sup>8</sup> The Levin Center, “Portraits in Oversight: Senator Joe McCarthy’s Oversight Abuses,” Wayne State Law School. <https://levin-center.org/joe-mccarthys-oversight-abuses/>

*Senator McCarthy's zeal to uncover subversion and espionage led to disturbing excesses. His browbeating tactics destroyed careers of people who were not involved in the infiltration of our government. [...] These hearings are a part of our national past that we can neither afford to forget nor permit to reoccur.<sup>9</sup>*

- The Nixon Administration notoriously circulated a memo that included an enemies list. The memo explored “how we can maximize the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration. Stated a bit more bluntly — how we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies.”<sup>10</sup> The author of the memo later spent four months in prison for his role in the coverup of the Watergate scandal. One of the list’s targets, Sidney Davidoff, recalled that his inclusion on the list “led to IRS audits, it led to people close to me, friends, interviewed by federal officials, being interviewed about me and their relationship to me and who I am and so on.”<sup>11</sup>
- The Soviet regime compiled lists of “enemies of the people”—political opponents, often the educated elite—to send to government work camps, also known as GULAGs, that at their peak housed 1.5 million political prisoners.<sup>12</sup> And, lest we forget, “the Nazis began [their political rule] by identifying individual political opponents; branding them enemies of the German nation and dangerous obstacles to its recovery; and systematically attacking, persecuting, and suppressing them in the name of national peace.”<sup>13</sup>

The mere existence of any published list of political enemies is troubling enough for a presumptive FBI Director. The targeting on that list of an appointee whose total government service spanned under three months as “Deep State” is bizarre and concerning in its own right. But it is especially unqualifying that a prospective FBI Director would imply the need for retribution based on a pure fiction debunked by Congressional releases for over a year.

The FBI Director is one of the most important positions in government, and its responsibilities and power are weighty. The Bureau protects the U.S. from foreign intelligence and terrorist activities, investigates violations of federal criminal law, and provides leadership and assistance to other law enforcement agencies. Its criminal investigative functions include counterterrorism; cyber crime; foreign counterintelligence; organized crime/drugs; violent crimes and major offenders; white collar crime; and civil rights. These are critical responsibilities that require complex investigations and the utmost respect for the truth.

Mr. Patel’s decision to publish and include me on his enemies list demonstrates his lack of fitness for office. If Mr. Patel would publish such claims in a book without doing any fact checking, then he

<sup>9</sup> The Levin Center.

<sup>10</sup> Micheal M. Miller, “Nixon had an enemies list. Now so does Trump,” *The Washington Post*, August 19, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2018/08/17/nixon-had-an-enemies-list-now-so-does-trump/>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Gerhard Toews, Pierre-Louis Vézina, “Enemies of the People,” *Free Network*, May 24, 2021, <https://freepolicybriefs.org/2021/05/24/enemies-of-the-people/>

<sup>13</sup> *Nazi Ideology and the Holocaust* (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: 2007), 23. <https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20090831-nazi-ideology-book-enemies-of-the-regime.pdf>

lacks the competence to lead a law enforcement agency that investigates the most sensitive and important cases in the country. If Mr. Patel deeply believes this or other baseless conspiracy theories, then he lacks the judgment to think critically and lead the FBI as it navigates complex foreign intelligence threats to our nation. And if Mr. Patel doesn't actually believe the lie but chose to exploit it anyway, then he lacks the moral character "to protect the American people and uphold the U.S. Constitution," as is the mission statement of the FBI.<sup>14</sup>

Particularly in the wake of President Trump's Executive Order on "Restoring Freedom of Speech and Ending Federal Censorship," which calls for the Attorney General and agency heads to "investigate the activities of the Federal Government over the last 4 years" to recommend "remedial actions" for purported "censorship,"<sup>15</sup> I worry that Mr. Patel will use this "investigation" to seek retribution against researchers like me who deign to speak out against the use of disinformation in our nation's politics. In this situation and all others, it is imperative that the FBI Director be objective, clear headed, and even handed so that any such investigations are grounded in reality, not debunked falsehoods.

### **These Lies Continue to Have Serious Personal Consequences**

The consequences of the lies about me, my work, and my personal life have not been simply administrative or professional. I have received scores of death threats. While I was still a DHS employee, I was forced to contract a private security consultant due to credible threats against me and my family while I was in the final weeks of pregnancy. Since my resignation—for the entirety of my son's short life—my family has continued to face a constant stream of hate. I have been depicted in deep fake pornography that has been viewed thousands of times. My child has been threatened.

A *partial* accounting of the out-of-pocket expenses I have faced as a result of these lies amounts to about \$90,000. This includes retaining legal representation: for my deposition before the Weaponization Subcommittee; for frivolous civil litigation in which a plaintiff falsely alleged I conspired to censor him (a case that was dismissed with prejudice); and to secure a protective order against cyberstalker who threatened me, my husband, and my child; as well as security costs I will bear for the rest of my life.

Unlike many other members of Kash Patel's target list, I did not hold a position of significant influence or consequence, despite the lies to the contrary. I have never had the benefit of a security detail. I do not have vast personal financial resources. The impact of these politically motivated investigations, legal actions, and threats has been completely disproportionate to my three short months of government service in an advisory position in an area of my expertise.

I can quantify the consequences of these lies in dollars and cents; what is harder to quantify in those terms is the economic and personal impact of the many hours I have lost preparing for depositions and legal proceedings, responding to bogus claims, tracking threats against me and my family, and

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<sup>14</sup> FBI, "Mission and Priorities," [fbi.gov](https://www.fbi.gov/about/mission), accessed January 27, 2025, <https://www.fbi.gov/about/mission>

<sup>15</sup> "Executive Order 14146 of January 20, 2025, Restoring Freedom of Speech and Ending Federal Censorship," Code of Federal Regulations, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/restoring-freedom-of-speech-and-ending-federal-censorship/>

more broadly worrying about my family's safety and security. Similarly, it is difficult to quantify the many opportunities I have lost, or the fact that I can no longer publicize most of my speaking engagements for fear that they may attract those who wish me harm. My family and I forever have to change the way we move around in the world.

This, of course, is the aim of many who peddle lies about me, my colleagues in disinformation research, and others who choose to stand up for the truth: to keep targets buried in legal battles and threats in order to prevent us from speaking out and doing our work—work that is protected by the very First Amendment rights the Trump administration has so strenuously claimed it defends. Mr. Patel is one of the people who has perpetuated these and other conspiracy theories, and he has done so without concern for their real world impact. In his mind, I sit at shadowy tables with other “government gangsters.” In reality, the most important table I sit at is the one in my kitchen, where my husband and I do our best to get our toddler to eat his vegetables. We should be able to do so without fear for our safety, or fear that our government would target us based on lies.

I stand opposed to Mr. Patel’s confirmation not only because of my unfortunate personal stake in it, but because I fear that other families, other mothers, other patriotic public servants may find themselves on the wrong side of his conspiratorial thinking if elevated to the role of FBI Director, not to mention the public fallout his targets would be forced to navigate in our divided political environment.

Most of all, I write to you today because I remain committed to working toward a safer, more prosperous, freer United States. I believe it is my duty as an American to speak truth to power, and just as I have previously, I appreciated meeting with offices on both sides of the aisle in the past several weeks to discuss this important matter. I look forward to continuing to do so in the future.

Sincerely,

Nina Jankowicz

January 28, 2025

United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20005

**OPPOSE THE NOMINATION OF KASH PATEL TO BE THE DIRECTOR OF THE F.B.I.**

Dear Senators,

We are former law enforcement officials who served in Republican administrations, Republican members of Congress, and other policymakers who are committed to the rule of law. We write to express our deep concerns about Kash Patel's nomination to serve as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Confirming Patel would be a grievous mistake that would endanger the FBI's integrity and compromise its critical mission. We urge you to oppose his confirmation for the following reasons:

**Patel lacks the record and temperament for FBI leadership.** Patel has said he will close FBI headquarters on his first day in office and [convert it](#) into a so-called "Deep State museum." He has also [threatened to criminally investigate](#) members of the J6 committee. When former President Trump sought to make Patel deputy FBI director, then-Attorney General Bill Barr [opposed the move](#), saying it would happen "over my dead body."

**Patel is motivated by revenge.** He has repeatedly [vowed to go after](#) individuals on perceived enemies lists. This is a vision of the FBI as an authoritarian weapon for pursuing his and Trump's grievances.

**Patel has a history of poor judgment that has reportedly endangered American lives.** According to the New York Times, Patel endangered a SEAL Team Six operation in Nigeria in 2020. He [claimed](#) the Nigerian government had given approval for a mission when it, in fact, had not. This could have jeopardized the lives of our service members, as well as the hostage they were tasked with rescuing.

**Patel has suggested that the FBI planned January 6th.** Patel has [repeatedly insinuated](#) or argued, [without credible evidence](#), that the FBI [planned](#) the [January 6th attack](#) on the U.S. Capitol. This unfounded claim undermines the agency he seeks to lead.

**Patel produced and promoted the “J6 Prison Choir” song:** Some of the members of the J6 Prison Choir [assaulted police officers](#). Yet Patel has consistently portrayed the choir members as “political prisoners” and victims of injustice. The FBI should not be led by a man who whitewashes the actions of those who assault law enforcement.

**Patel has repeatedly engaged with and courted the dangerous QAnon conspiracy movement.** Patel [has appeared](#) on QAnon-promoting platforms and podcasts. By aligning himself with QAnon, Patel signals support for dangerous and unfounded theories that would undermine the FBI's credibility.

The FBI is a cornerstone of our justice system, tasked with defending our nation against threats both foreign and domestic. Its director must be a person with strong ethics, sound judgment, and an unwavering commitment to enforcing the law. Kash Patel has repeatedly demonstrated that he is not this person. To preserve the FBI's integrity, the Senate should reject his nomination.

Sincerely,

Philip Allen Lacovara served as Deputy Solicitor General in the Nixon Administration (1972-1973); Counsel to the Special Prosecutor, Watergate Special Prosecutor's Office (1973-1974); and drafted the brief for the United States and presented argument in *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683 (1974).

Alan Charles Raul served as Associate Counsel to the President (1986-1988); General Counsel of the Office of Management and Budget (1988-1989); General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (1989-1993); Vice Chairman of the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board (2006-2008); and currently serves as a Lecturer on Law at Harvard Law School.

Ty Cobb served as Special Counsel to the President in the Trump Administration (2017-2018); Senior Trial Counsel to Independent Counsel Judge Arlin Adams (1995); and Assistant U.S. Attorney for the District of Maryland (1980-1986).

Barbara Comstock served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-VA) (2015-2019); Director of Public Affairs at the Department of Justice (2002-2003).

Mickey Edwards served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-OK) (1977-1993).

Stuart M. Gerson served as Acting Attorney General (1993); Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division (1989-1993); and Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Columbia (1972-1975).

Jim Greenwood served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-PA) (1993-2005).

Peter Keisler served as Acting U.S. Attorney General (2007), Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division (2003-2007), and Principal Deputy Associate Attorney General and Acting Associate Attorney General (2002-2003). He was Assistant and Associate Counsel to the President during the Reagan Administration (1986-1988).

William Kristol served as Chief of Staff to Vice President Dan Quayle (1989-1993).

John McKay served as U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Washington in the George W. Bush Administration (2001-2007).

Marc Racicot was Montana's Attorney General (1989-1993) and later its Governor (1993-2001). He was the Chair of the Republican National Committee (2001-2003) and the Chair of the 2004 Bush/Cheney Reelection Campaign (2003-2005).

Tom Rath served as Attorney General of New Hampshire (1978-1980) and is the former Director of the Legal Services Corporation under President George W. Bush.

Paul Rosenzweig served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy, Department of Homeland Security (2005-2009).

Nicholas Rostow served as General Counsel and Senior Policy Adviser to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations (2001-2005); Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Legal Adviser to the National Security Council (1987-1993); Special Assistant to the Legal Adviser at the U.S. Department of State (1985-1987).

Claudine Schneider served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-RI) (1981-1991).

Peter Shane is the Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law Emeritus at The Ohio State University's Moritz College of Law. He previously served as Attorney-Adviser in the Office of Legal Counsel (1978-1981).

Robert Shanks served as Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel (1981-1984).

Christine Todd Whitman served as the Governor of New Jersey (1994-2001) and Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency in the George W. Bush Administration (2001-2003).

David Trott served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-MI) (2015-2019).

Olivia Troye served as Special Advisor, Homeland Security and Counterterrorism to Vice President Mike Pence (2018-2020).

Jim Walsh served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-NY) (1989-2009).

Joe Walsh served as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL) (2011-2013).

William F. Weld served as U.S. Attorney for Massachusetts (1981-1986); Assistant U.S. Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division (1986-1988); and Governor of Massachusetts (1991-1997).

## **MEMO: KASH PATEL'S NOMINATION THREATENS OUR RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY**

To: Interested Persons  
From: The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights  
Re: Kash Patel's confirmation hearing

On January 30, the Senate Judiciary Committee began its consideration of the nomination of Kash Patel to serve as FBI director. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, the nation's oldest and largest civil rights coalition, opposes his confirmation.

The FBI possesses tremendous law enforcement authority, and as the nation's primary criminal investigative agency, the FBI is deeply consequential to civil rights, public safety, and the integrity of our democracy. Throughout today's hearing, Mr. Patel confirmed that he lacks both the professional experience and temperament to lead this important federal agency that investigates a range of civil and human rights violations. His disturbing past statements and many of his troubling and misleading responses to questions during the hearing disqualify him from serving as director of the FBI.

### **Kash Patel repeatedly refused to say that Trump lost the 2020 presidential election.**

Senator Hirono noted that "the FBI is the primary agency responsible for investigating election-related crimes, including fraud and the denial of voting rights," and she asked Mr. Patel: "Did Donald Trump lose the 2020 presidential election, yes or no?" Mr. Patel would only say that "President Biden's election was certified. He was sworn in. And he served as the president of the United States."

"Once again, the people who are 100 percent loyal to President Trump cannot answer that question," Senator Hirono said. "It is alarming that you want to be an FBI director who can't answer a simple question — factual question."

Senator Welch later asked, "what's so hard about just saying that Biden won the 2020 election?" Mr. Patel repeated his response to Senator Hirono, refusing to say that he won the election. When asked if he believes the 2020 election was stolen, as Trump says it was, Mr. Patel said that the president is entitled to his opinions. When Senator Welch asked him whether he can say the words "Joe Biden won the 2020 election," he simply responded "Joe Biden was the president of the United States."

Mr. Patel's election denial is part of a disturbing pattern among Trump's nominees to serve in critical positions at the Department of Justice, including his attorney general nominee, Pam Bondi, and his nominee to lead the Civil Rights Division, Harmeet Dhillon. His nominee to lead the Office of Management and Budget, Russell Vought, went so far as to say that "the 2020 election was rigged" in one of his written responses. It is disturbing that individuals would be considered for these positions who lack independence, good character, and sound judgement, as this election denial demonstrates.

### **Kash Patel downplayed and denied his association with extremists.**

Ranking Member Durbin asked Mr. Patel about his association with individuals with well-documented histories of racist, antisemitic, conspiratorial, or violent statements or beliefs, including Laura Loomer and Stew Peters. He said he is not guilty by association and that he was not familiar with Peters off the top of his head, despite appearing on his podcast eight times. As Senator Durbin reminded him, Peters “promoted outrageous conspiracy theories and worked with a prominent neo-Nazi.”

As Senator Durbin said in a statement, “This lack of judgment is very concerning for someone who hopes to be our nation’s top law enforcement officer.”

### **Kash Patel repeatedly dismissed some of his shameful past statements.**

Senator Klobuchar asked Mr. Patel a number of questions about some of his disturbing statements. For example, she asked whether he said that “Donald Trump has every right to tell the world that in 2020, 2016, and every other election in between was rigged by our government because they were” on August 27, 2023, during the Thrive Time Show. He said he didn’t have the statement in front of him. He also wouldn’t say whether those claims were rejected by courts, including by [Republican-appointed judges](#).

Senator Klobuchar then asked whether he accused police officers of lying when testifying about the January 6 attack, which he stated on a March 2024 podcast. He only said “I don’t think that’s accurate.” Senator Klobuchar asked whether he [posted](#) on his social media account in May 2024 that “January 6 never an insurrection: Cowards in uniform exposed. They broke the chain of command.” He again said he didn’t have that statement in front of him and wouldn’t confirm.

Senator Klobuchar asked if Mr. Patel referred to the media as “The most powerful enemy of the United States that they have ever seen” and asked him whether he said “We’re gonna come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens who helped Joe Biden rig the elections. We’re going to come after you whether it’s criminally or civilly,” which he said on Steve Bannon’s podcast. He dismissed these quotes as partial statements. Again, when asked if he said he would put the “entire fake news mafia” on his list, he would not confirm or deny.

### **Kash Patel denied his involvement with the “J6 Prison Choir” and failed to separate himself from insurrectionists.**

Several senators asked Mr. Patel about his involvement with the “J6 Prison Choir.” Indeed, Mr. Patel spent time producing and promoting this choir, whose membership includes six January 6 rioters who pleaded guilty to assaulting law enforcement officers and were sentenced to prison. One of the men, Julian Khater, pleaded guilty to pepper spraying U.S. Capitol Police officer Brian Sicknick, who died the next day after suffering two strokes. Mr. Patel has consistently [portrayed](#) the choir members as “political prisoners” and victims of injustice.

In response to questions from Senators Durbin, Blumenthal, Hirono, Padilla, and Schiff, he would not answer questions about his role with the choir. After Senator Blumenthal recounted

what happened to Brian Sicknick, Mr. Patel said that “I’m not familiar with his case. You seem to know a lot more about it than I do.”

Mr. Patel’s denial of his knowledge about the choir and its members, under oath, is concerning and must be scrutinized. As Senator Blumenthal said, “The simple fact is that you knew about the J6 choir, you knew what they did in assaulting and endangering police officers who sought to defend the Capitol on that day, were severely injured. And some, as a consequence, died. I think the FBI deserves better.”

Additionally, Mr. Patel wouldn’t say whether America is safer following Trump’s January 6-related pardons and commutations. In response to Ranking Member Durbin’s question about this, he attempted to pivot to individuals granted clemency during the Biden administration and said that America will be safe when we don’t have 200,000 drug overdoses in two years. Any individual nominated to lead the FBI must be willing to say that America is indeed not safer following President Trump’s use of clemency for people convicted of violently assaulting law enforcement.

### **Kash Patel’s retorts demonstrate a lack of character and temperament required for this position.**

Astonishingly, following Senator Klobuchar’s list of his recent past statements, Mr. Patel claimed that these questions undermine the FBI. He responded that “If the best attacks on me are gonna be false accusations and grotesque mischaracterizations, the only thing this body is doing is defeating the credibility of the men and women at the FBI...And I will have you reminded that I have been endorsed by over 300,000 law enforcement officers to become the next director of the FBI. Let’s ask them.” This dismissal of Senator Klobuchar reflects not only contempt for the thorough vetting process that should be required for nominees, but it also denies respect to the law enforcement officers and to the public to understand Mr. Patel’s record.

In her second round of questioning, Senator Klobuchar followed up on a question with additional context to offer more clarity about one of Mr. Patel’s past statements. He shot back, “That’s a general statement and a mischaracterization of what I said. I encourage you to read the rest of the interview. This is why snippets of information are often misleading and detrimental to this committee’s advice and consent process.” Senator Klobuchar noted that she would love more time during the hearing to read the whole transcript. “You’ve got two minutes,” Mr. Patel said, to which Senator Klobuchar responded: “Wow.”

As noted above, when denying his involvement with the “J6 Prison Choir,” he told Senator Blumenthal that “You seem to know a lot more about it than I do” and engaged in a back-and-forth with Senator Schiff, including accusing Senator Schiff of telling an “abject lie” related to the choir and whether he raised money from its song glorifying insurrectionists. When Senator Schiff challenged him to address the Capitol police officers in the room, he responded, “How about you ask them if I have their backs and let’s see about that answer.”

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As The Leadership Conference and 57 other national organizations [noted](#) in their letter to the committee, Mr. Patel “is wholly unqualified for the role, is a peril to our country’s safety, and is intent on weaponizing this important position for his own personal and political gain.” We stand by those assertions following today’s hearing and continue to urge senators to oppose his confirmation.

For information about the first Trump administration’s across-the-board assault on civil and human rights, many which occurred through the Department of Justice, read The Leadership Conference’s timeline of rollbacks [here](#).

If you have any questions or need more information, please contact Patrick McNeil at [mcneil@civilrights.org](mailto:mcneil@civilrights.org).

January 30, 2025

Senator John Thune  
Majority Leader  
United States Senate  
511 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Senator Chuck Grassley  
Chairman  
U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Senator Chuck Schumer  
Minority Leader  
United States Senate  
322 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Senator Dick Durbin  
Ranking Member  
U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary  
711 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

RE: Letter in Opposition to the Confirmation of Kash Patel as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

Dear Leaders Thune and Schumer, Chairman Grassley, and Ranking Member Durbin:

This letter expresses the Legal Defense Fund's (LDF) strong opposition to the confirmation of Mr. Kashyap ("Kash") Patel as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The FBI is tasked with an array of profoundly important functions, including gathering and analyzing intelligence, serving as the principal criminal investigative agency of the Department of Justice (DOJ), deploying agents to carry out law enforcement activities, and providing training and cooperative services to other agencies around the country.<sup>1</sup>

As the nation's premier legal organization fighting for racial justice, LDF has a vested interest in the FBI as it relates to investigations and enforcing federal civil rights laws. There is no hiding the fact that the FBI has a troubled history when it comes to protecting the civil rights of African Americans. During the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, the FBI surveilled scores of civil rights leaders and organizations.<sup>2</sup> Although these issues exist, the FBI was a key agency in gathering evidence in some of America's most egregious racial hate crimes. In 1963, the FBI deployed dozens of agents who interviewed thousands of people after four African American girls were murdered in the Birmingham Church bombing. In 1964, during the Freedom Summer rides, the FBI launched a massive search which helped discover the missing young civil rights workers who were murdered in Mississippi.<sup>3</sup> In May 2004, the FBI helped reopen the investigation into the brutal murder

<sup>1</sup> See FBI, *Frequently Asked Questions: What is the FBI?*, <https://www.fbi.gov/about/faqs/what-is-the-fbi> (last visited Jan. 28, 2025).

<sup>2</sup> Virgie Hoban, *'Discredit, disrupt, and destroy': FBI records acquired by the Library reveal violent surveillance of Black leaders, civil rights organizations*, UC BERKELEY LIBRARY (Jan. 18, 2021), <https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/about/news/fbi>.

<sup>3</sup> See FBI, *A Brief History: Baptist Street Church Bombing*, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/baptist-street-church-bombing> (last visited Jan. 29, 2025); FBI, *A Brief History: Mississippi Burning*, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/mississippi-burning> (last visited Jan. 29, 2025).

of Emmett Till to collect additional evidence and determine if other people were involved.<sup>4</sup> The FBI plays a crucial role in investigating acts of racial violence, and it is equally important for the director to use the authority to discover the truth and safeguard the freedoms and rights of all people.

Charged with protecting our civil rights and national security, the FBI is a critical public agency that requires an experienced, credible leader who is insulated from politics, and who is not predisposed to use the FBI as a tool to punish the political rivals of a sitting president. Mr. Patel is unfit to lead the FBI and has given the Senate Judiciary Committee ample reason to believe he would use this position to politically weaponize the FBI against political enemies and journalists. Not only does Mr. Patel objectively lack the experience needed to lead the FBI, but several high-ranking officials in the law enforcement and intelligence communities—including those who were appointed during conservative administrations—have also publicly commented on his lack of fitness for high-level intelligence roles. Charles Kupperman, former Deputy National Security Advisor and Mr. Patel's supervisor during the first Trump administration, has stated that Mr. Patel is “unqualified,” “untrustworthy,” and unworthy of consideration for this post.<sup>5</sup> During the first Trump administration, Attorney General William Barr and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director Gina Haspel successfully protested plans to install Mr. Patel as Deputy Director of either the FBI or the CIA because of his severe lack of fitness for those roles.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Barr's comment that Mr. Patel “had virtually no experience that would qualify him to serve at the highest level of the world's preeminent law enforcement agency” is as true now as it was during the previous Trump administration.<sup>7</sup>

As one of the top law enforcement officers in the nation, the FBI Director must demonstrate an unwavering commitment to the truth and the rule of law. Mr. Patel consistently fails to meet these baseline standards. One colleague in the intelligence community during the first Trump administration reported that Mr. Patel “[madel things up on operations” and lied about intelligence,<sup>8</sup> while former Defense Secretary Mark Esper recalled in his memoir that Mr. Patel's false claims during a hostage-rescue mission endangered the lives of Navy SEALs.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Patel has even spread harmful lies about the Bureau he is nominated to lead, including absurd insinuations that the FBI planned the January 6th attack on the

<sup>4</sup> See FBI, *A Brief History: Emmett Till*, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/emmett-till> (last visited Jan. 29, 2025).

<sup>5</sup> John Bolton, *Kash Patel Doesn't Belong at the FBI*, WALL ST. J.: OPINION (Dec. 10, 2024, 12:27 PM), [https://www.wsj.com/opinion/kash-patel-doesnt-belong-at-the-fbi-cabinet-nominee-5ef655eb?mod=opinion\\_lead\\_pos5](https://www.wsj.com/opinion/kash-patel-doesnt-belong-at-the-fbi-cabinet-nominee-5ef655eb?mod=opinion_lead_pos5).

<sup>6</sup> Steve Benen, *Democrats aren't alone in slamming Kash Patel's prospective FBI nomination*, MSNBC (Dec. 11, 2024, 11:01 AM), <https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/democrats-arent-alone-slaming-kash-patels-prospective-fbi-nomination-rcna183754>; Sarah Polus, *CIA chief threatened to resign over push to install Trump loyalist as deputy*: report, THE HILL (Jan. 15, 2021, 11:31 PM), <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/534551-cia-chief-threatened-to-resign-over-push-to-install-trump-loyalist-as/>.

<sup>7</sup> Polus, *supra* note 6.

<sup>8</sup> Bolton, *supra* note 5.

<sup>9</sup> Brian Bennett, *Why Kash Patel Went All In For Trump*, TIME (Dec. 5, 2024), <https://time.com/7200016/why-kash-patel-went-all-in-for-trump/>.

Capitol,<sup>10</sup> and that an FBI employee participated in that attack.<sup>11</sup> He falsely asserted that the FBI's inquiry into Russian attempts to influence the 2016 election was politically motivated, an allegation that had already been debunked by Trump-appointed Special Counsel John Durham.<sup>12</sup> As a congressional staffer, Mr. Patel consistently mischaracterized the substance of FBI wiretap applications in order to portray the FBI as malicious and ill-intentioned.<sup>13</sup> He further lied about the FBI's investigation into President Trump's handling of classified documents by falsely and baselessly claiming that the documents had previously been declassified.<sup>14</sup> More broadly, Mr. Patel has undermined the very existence of the FBI by claiming that it is "[rotten] to the core," and "one of the most cunning and powerful arms of the Deep State," staffed by "political jackals."<sup>15</sup> He also promised to shutter the Bureau's Washington, D.C. office and turn it into a "museum of the deep state."<sup>16</sup> Mr. Patel's willingness to boldly lie about matters of investigative importance and disparage the Bureau he has been nominated to lead casts severe doubt about his ability to steer the FBI with integrity and in a manner that instills public trust.

If confirmed as FBI Director, Mr. Patel will undoubtedly use his list of perceived enemies to bring meritless charges against President Trump's political rivals. Mr. Patel's 2023 book "Government Gangsters: The Deep State, the Truth and the Battle for Our Democracy" features a list of approximately 60 individuals—including Democrats and Republicans who have criticized President Trump—whom Mr. Patel describes as members of a "Deep State" cabal of criminals that "is continuing to weaponize the power of the state against internal dissidents."<sup>17</sup> Numerous members of the law enforcement and intelligence communities have expressed a well-founded fear that Mr. Patel will pursue politicized criminal investigations against critics of President Trump who serve in office or civil service.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Patel's potential targets are not limited to those in government, as he has also stated his intent to explore criminal and civil charges against journalists and media members who, as

<sup>10</sup> Charlie Savage et al., *F.B.I. Pick Pushed False and Misleading Claims About Trump Investigations*, N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 23, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/01/23/us/politics/kash-patel-trump-fbi-inquiries.html>; See Kash Patel, *What did the FBI know before Jan. 6?*, EPOCH TV (Nov. 25, 2022), <https://www.theepochtimes.com/epochtv/kashs-corner-what-did-the-fbi-know-before-jan-6-4885960> ("What was the FBI doing planning January 6th for a year?").

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Joscelyn & Norman Eisen, *Kash Patel Believes the FBI Planned Jan. 6th*, BULWARK (Jan. 5, 2025), <https://www.thebulwark.com/p/kash-patel-fbi-director-nominee-january-6th-conspiracy-theories>.

<sup>12</sup> Savage et al., *supra* note 10.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*

<sup>14</sup> Kristina Wong, *Documents at Mar-a-Lago Marked 'Classified' Were Already Declassified, Kash Patel Says*, BREITBART (May 5, 2022), <https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2022/05/05/documents-mar-a-lago-marked-classified-were-already-declassified-kash-patel-says/>.

<sup>15</sup> Ruth Marcus, *A dangerous and unqualified choice for the FBI*, WASH. POST (Dec. 1, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/12/01/kash-patel-fbi-nomination-trump-unqualified/> (quoting Mr. Patel's 2023 book "Government Gangsters").

<sup>16</sup> Rebecca Beitsch, *Hearing set for Kash Patel nomination to lead FBI*, THE HILL (Jan. 24, 2025), <https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/5104880-kash-patel-nomination-fbi-hearing/>.

<sup>17</sup> David Rohde, *'Curious if I'm on that list?': Kash Patel's potential targets fear his tenure as FBI director*, NBC (Dec. 21, 2024), <https://www.nbcnews.com/investigations/kash-patels-potential-targets-fear-tenure-fbi-director-rcna182416>.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*; Benen *supra* note 6.

he falsely claims, “helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections.”<sup>19</sup> For these reasons, the Senate should take Mr. Patel at his word when he expresses his intent to use the FBI as a sword to attack democratic norms and freedom of the press.<sup>20</sup>

Mr. Patel has consistently demonstrated that he has neither the experience nor the character to lead the FBI. He has a proven track record of dishonesty, particularly regarding the very kinds of investigations that he would be tasked with leading. A vast array of officials across the political spectrum, including those in the intelligence community who have worked with him, have raised serious and disqualifying concerns about his ability to lead the FBI faithfully and in a non-partisan manner. Mr. Patel should not be confirmed as the next FBI Director.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "DLM".

Demetria L. McCain, Director of Policy  
NAACP Legal Defense Fund  
700 14th Street NW, Suite 600  
Washington, D.C. 20005

<sup>19</sup> Dominick Mastrangelo, *Trump sparks fears over retribution against media with Patel FBI pick*, THE HILL (Dec. 11, 2024), <https://thehill.com/media/5030896-threats-kash-patel-fbi-media/>.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*

January 29, 2025

The Honorable Chuck Grassley, Chair  
The Honorable Dick Durbin, Ranking Member

Dear Chair Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin:

On behalf of the undersigned organizations representing millions of Americans, we strongly urge you to oppose Kash Patel's confirmation to lead the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the nation's principal criminal investigation agency.

Mr. Patel lacks both the professional experience and temperament to lead a federal agency charged with investigating a range of civil and human rights violations, including hate crimes, voter intimidation and election-related crimes, human trafficking, and police misconduct. Unlike previous FBI directors, Mr. Patel has no senior-level law enforcement experience, nor has he ever held a Senate-confirmed position.<sup>1</sup> His incendiary comments, including those directed at perceived political rivals and civil servants, could endanger American lives if acted upon.

The threat posed by Mr. Patel is not merely hypothetical — it is grounded in historical reality. The FBI possesses tremendous law enforcement authority, and as the nation's primary criminal investigative agency, the FBI is deeply consequential to civil rights, public safety, and the integrity of our democracy. From 1956 to 1971, the FBI conducted a covert and illegal operation known as COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program)<sup>2</sup> targeting civil rights groups and leaders, including the anti-Vietnam War movement and the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.<sup>3</sup> This program, intended to surveil, infiltrate, and sabotage civil rights movements, is now widely regarded as one of the agency's most significant overreaches. It led to widespread abuse of power and prompted a series of reforms, including the creation of permanent U.S. House and Senate Intelligence Committees<sup>4</sup> and the establishment of term limits for FBI directors.<sup>5</sup> Despite these changes, the FBI continues to monitor religious communities and civil rights movements. The FBI developed a system of "ethnic mapping,"<sup>6</sup> infiltrated mosques following the 9/11 attacks,<sup>7</sup> and surveilled Black Lives Matter protesters and tracked protest activity after the murder of George Floyd.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Why Kash Patel shouldn't (but might) be confirmed as FBI director," <https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/kash-patel-shouldnt-might-confirmed-fbi-director-rn182405>.

<sup>2</sup> "COINTELPRO," Federal Bureau of Investigation, <https://vault.fbi.gov/coinel-pro>.

<sup>3</sup> "Opened Files," The New Yorker, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/01/20/opened-files>.

<sup>4</sup> "Congressional Oversight of Intelligence: Background and Selected Options for Further Reform," Congressional Research Service, updated Dec. 4, 2018, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45421>.

<sup>5</sup> "Why Did Congress Set a Ten-Year Term for the FBI Director?" Fordham Law News, <https://news.law.fordham.edu/blog/2017/05/18/why-did-congress-set-a-ten-year-term-for-the-fbi-director>.

<sup>6</sup> "Mapping the FBI," American Civil Liberties Union, <https://www.aclu.org/mapping-the-fbi>.

<sup>7</sup> "ACLU EYE on the FBI Alert – Mosque Outreach for Intelligence Gathering," American Civil Liberties Union, <https://www.aclu.org/documents/aclu-eye-fbi-alert-mosque-outreach-intelligence-gathering>.

<sup>8</sup> "The FBI Targets a New Generation of Black Activists," Brennan Center For Justice, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/fbi-targets-new-generation-black-activists>.

Still, the FBI has played an important role in civil rights cases that future FBI directors must honor and continue. It was the FBI that responded to the murder of Emmett Till in 1955, with the case going to trial fewer than four weeks later.<sup>9</sup> It was the FBI that launched immediate investigations into the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing<sup>10</sup> in Birmingham in 1963 and the Freedom Summer murders<sup>11</sup> of civil rights workers in 1964. And it was the FBI, after all-white juries did not reach a verdict for the murder of Medgar Evers, that helped ensure justice was served in the 1990s when the white supremacist who killed him was finally convicted and sentenced to life in prison.<sup>12</sup>

Given this complicated history and the FBI's vast authority, the bureau's leadership must be entrusted to someone who will uphold the U.S. Constitution, respect the rule of law, and commit to safeguarding the rights and freedoms of the American people. Given his record, Mr. Patel is unfit to serve as the next FBI director.

We explain just a few of our reasons below.

#### **Mr. Patel Has Threatened to Exact Retribution on Political Rivals, Undermining Civil Rights.**

While serving in the Pentagon, Mr. Patel advanced Trump's false election fraud claims.<sup>13</sup> He used his position to attempt to legitimize Trump's baseless narrative, undermining confidence in the electoral process and spreading disinformation that culminated in the January 6 attack on our country. At a time in the nation's history when attacks on voting rights and our multiracial democracy run rampant, and given the very real responsibilities of the FBI to investigate voter intimidation and election-related crimes, it would be unacceptable for the Senate to confirm a nominee to lead this agency who has a history of undermining voting rights and threatening our democracy.

Mr. Patel has named members of a so-called "deep state," which amounts to a list of perceived enemies.<sup>14</sup> With the immense authority of the FBI, including surveillance, and Mr. Patel's devotion to President Trump, a list of perceived enemies should cause alarm and be taken seriously. This is particularly true given Mr. Patel's proclamation that he is part of "Donald Trump's army."<sup>15</sup> Mr. Patel would undermine the independence of both the Department of Justice and the FBI, eroding the rule of law and further embedding Trump loyalists into critical government posts, particularly in roles where the agency needs to have credibility that its leaders are fair and independent.

#### **Mr. Patel Presents a Clear and Present Danger to the First Amendment's Freedom of the Press.**

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<sup>9</sup> "The Long Arm of the Law," Federal Bureau of Investigation, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/stories/2004/june/till060104>.

<sup>10</sup> "Baptist Street Church Bombing," Federal Bureau of Investigation, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/baptist-street-church-bombing>.

<sup>11</sup> "Mississippi Burning," Federal Bureau of Investigation, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/mississippi-burning>.

<sup>12</sup> "Civil Rights in the '60s, Part 1: Justice for Medgar Evers," Federal Bureau of Investigation, <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/civil-rights-in-the-60s-part-1-justice-for-medgar-evers>.

<sup>13</sup> "'Incredibly harmful': why Trump's FBI and DoJ picks scare civil liberties experts," The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2024/dec/10/trump-fbi-kash-patel-justice-department-pam-bondi>.

<sup>14</sup> <https://x.com/Timodc/status/1863620081873244259>.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Geu8UcL11tI>.

Adding to the list of people and entities Mr. Patel has expressed interest in targeting, he stated that he would also go after media who truthfully reported on the 2020 election. As described in an interview with Steve Bannon, Mr. Patel threatened that the Trump administration would “come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens who helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections.”<sup>16</sup> These statements are not Mr. Patel’s first attacks on the media. He has filed at least four defamation lawsuits since 2019, including a \$25 million suit against Politico,<sup>17</sup> a \$44 million suit against The New York Times,<sup>18</sup> and a \$50 million defamation lawsuit against CNN.<sup>19</sup> All of the lawsuits were ultimately dismissed, but not before some companies, like CNN, spent years in litigation.<sup>20</sup> Mr. Patel used these defamation suits to foment distrust of the media and promote narratives that were more favorable to President Trump. Taken together, his statements against the media and litigious past show a willingness to silence and punish journalists — a direct attack on the First Amendment.

### **Mr. Patel Has a History of Poor Judgment.**

Mr. Patel has a history of misrepresenting facts and a general disregard for the truth, according to concerning reports.<sup>21</sup> As noted above, while serving in the Pentagon, Patel advanced Trump’s false claims of election fraud.<sup>22</sup> He used his position to legitimize Trump’s baseless narrative, undermining confidence in the electoral process and spreading disinformation that culminated in the January 6 attack on our country.

More recently, Patel spent time producing and promoting the “J6 Prison Choir,”<sup>23</sup> whose membership includes six January 6 rioters<sup>24</sup> who pleaded guilty to assaulting law enforcement officers and were sentenced to prison.<sup>25</sup> One of the men, Julian Khater,<sup>26</sup> pleaded guilty to pepper spraying U.S. Capitol Police officer Brian Sicknick, who died the next day after suffering two strokes. Patel has consistently portrayed the choir members as “political prisoners” and victims of injustice.

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<sup>16</sup> “A second Trump administration will ‘come after’ people in the media in the courts, an ally says,” Associated Press, <https://apnews.com/article/trump-2024-second-term-prosecute-media-b892fd6f3ce721016eb1176e82aa51c3>.

<sup>17</sup> “White House official sues Politico, targets Schiff’s role in impeachment,” Fox News, <https://www.foxnews.com/media/white-house-official-sues-politico-targets-schiffs-role-in-impeachment>.

<sup>18</sup> “Trump security adviser Kash Patel sues NY Times over Ukraine story,” New York Post, <https://nypost.com/2019/11/27/trump-security-adviser-kash-patel-sues-ny-times-over-ukraine-story>.

<sup>19</sup> *Patel v. Cable News Network, Inc.*, Court of Appeals of Virginia, Jan. 21, 2025, <https://www.virginiadefamationlawyer.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/53/2025/01/Patel-v-CNN-VCA.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> “FBI Nominee Patel’s CNN Defamation Lawsuit Fails to Advance (1),” Bloomberg Law, <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/litigation/patel-cnn-defamation-lawsuit-fails-to-advance-after-appeal>.

<sup>21</sup> “F.B.I. Pick Pushed False and Misleading Claims About Trump Investigations,” The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/01/23/us/politics/kash-patel-trump-fbi-inquiries.html>.

<sup>22</sup> “Kash Patel Would Bring Bravado and Baggage to F.B.I. Role,” The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/kash-patel-bravado-baggage-fbi.html>.

<sup>23</sup> “What Kash Patel Doesn’t Want the Senate to Know About the ‘J6 Prison Choir’,” The Bulwark, <https://www.thebulwark.com/p/what-trump-defense-nominee-kash-patel-doesnt-want-the-senate-to-know-about-j6-prison-choir-produced-song>.

<sup>24</sup> “Behind Trump’s musical tribute to some of the most violent Jan. 6 rioters,” The Washington Post, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/interactive/2023/trump-j6-prison-choir>.

<sup>25</sup> “The Jan. 6 attack: The cases behind the biggest criminal investigation in U.S. history,” National Public Radio, <https://www.npr.org/2021/02/09/965472049/the-capitol-siege-the-arrested-and-their-stories>.

<sup>26</sup> “New Jersey Man Pleads Guilty to Assaulting Officers With a Dangerous Weapon During Jan. 6 Capitol Breach,” District of Columbia United States Attorney’s Office, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/new-jersey-man-pleads-guilty-assaulting-officers-dangerous-weapon-during-jan-6-capitol>.

These are not qualities the U.S. Senate should accept in the next leader of the FBI.

The organizations signing this letter include many that have worked for decades to advance multiracial democracy, protect vulnerable communities, and demand a federal government that works for all people in America. We implore you to oppose Mr. Patel's confirmation as the next FBI director. He is wholly unqualified for the role, is a peril to our country's safety, and is intent on weaponizing this important position for his own personal and political gain.

Sincerely,

People For the American Way  
Accountable.US  
Advancement Project  
Alliance for Justice  
American Atheists  
American Humanist Association  
ASATA Power  
Asian Americans Advancing Justice - AAJC  
Aunties Coalition  
Autistic Self Advocacy Network  
Bend the Arc: Jewish Action  
Blue Future  
Catholics Vote Common Good  
Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW)  
Clearinghouse on Women's Issues  
Climate Hawks Vote  
CommonDefense.us  
Court Accountability Action  
Democracy 21  
Democracy Matters  
Empowering Pacific Islander Communities  
Equal Rights Advocates  
Feminist Majority Foundation  
FFRF Action Fund  
Fourth Branch Action  
Free Press Action  
Friends of the Earth  
Government Information Watch  
Human Rights Campaign  
Indivisible  
Just Solutions  
LDF  
The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights  
League of Conservation Voters

Matthew Shepard Foundation  
MomsRising  
MoveOn  
NAACP  
Nathaniel R. Jones Foundation  
National Action Network  
National Council of Jewish Women  
National Organization for Women  
National Urban League  
National Women's Law Center  
NBJC  
NextGen America  
People Power United  
PFLAG National  
Public Advocacy for Kids (PAK)  
Public Citizen  
Reproaction  
Sadhana: Coalition of Progressive Hindus  
Southern Poverty Law Center  
Stand Up America  
State Democracy Defenders Action  
Stop AAPI Hate  
Surveillance Technology Oversight Project (S.T.O.P.)  
The Workers Circle

January 29, 2025

Senator Charles Grassley  
Chair, Senate Judiciary Committee

Senator Richard Durbin  
Ranking Member, Senate Judiciary Committee

Dear Senator Grassley and Senator Durbin,

On behalf of our hundreds of thousands of supporters and activists nationwide, People For the American Way opposes the confirmation of Kash Patel to be director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He will not provide the needed check on the incoming president's promised abuses of power. Indeed, he has made clear that he is eager to collaborate in the abuses, rather than protect the safety of every American.

This nomination comes at a unique time in American history. After losing to Joe Biden in 2020, then-President Trump engaged in a scheme to undo the election results, leading to the attack on the Capitol on January 6, 2021. The scheme failed, but our nation's unbroken tradition of a peaceful transfer of power came to a violent end. In the four years since, including in his successful campaign to regain the presidency, Trump has vowed to use the power of the federal government in a personal quest for revenge against those who have sought to hold him accountable for his betrayal of the United States Constitution.

But no such un-American abuse of power can be carried out by the president alone. It requires collaborators within government. In Trump's first term, there were patriots in his administration who refused to collaborate. They put their loyalty to America before their personal loyalty to Donald Trump.

With Trump returning to the White House, the Senate cannot responsibly confirm his nominees without being confident that they too will put their loyalty to the nation and the American people before their personal loyalty to Trump. That is especially important for nominees within the Department of Justice, which holds the power to launch criminal prosecutions and civil lawsuits.

The FBI is particularly important because of its power to protect people from harm through its investigations, in areas such as civil rights violations, gun safety, corporate corruption and abuse, and consumer fraud. These important functions

threaten to get lost and completely overshadowed by Patel's pursuit of retribution among other Trump objectives as FBI director.

Kash Patel has been open about his plans to abuse power, to the detriment of the American people. For instance, before the election, he made clear that if he were appointed to a position in the Trump administration, he would use it to harass journalists who accurately reported that Joe Biden won the 2020 presidential election:

We will go out and find the conspirators, not just in government, but in the media. Yes, we're going to come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens, who helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections. We're going to come after you. Whether it's criminally or civilly, we'll figure that out.<sup>i</sup>

He has made no secret of whom in the government he would target. He published an enemies list in his 2023 book *Government Gangsters: The Deep State, the Truth, and the Battle for Our Democracy*. The list includes several dozen individuals who served in the federal government and did not place personal loyalty to Donald Trump over all else. Patel wrote that such "deep state" government employees are "the most dangerous threat to our democracy."

So rather than investigating people who actually intend to do Americans harm, the presumption is that he will use the power of government to hurt people who are insufficiently loyal to Donald Trump. The list includes individuals who most Americans have never heard of, as well as Kamala Harris, Joe Biden, and Hillary Clinton.<sup>ii</sup>

In court, Patel has been considered a non-credible witness. In fact, there is even evidence that he may have lied in court to advance Trump's political interests. This occurred after Colorado's secretary of state barred Trump from appearing on the primary ballot because of his role in the January 6 insurrection. Denver district court judge Sarah Wallace then held a hearing to make a factual determination as to whether Trump had in fact engaged in an insurrection. Patel gave testimony as to Trump's actions that day. Judge Wallace concluded that Patel was "not a credible witness." She wrote:

Kash Patel testified on behalf of Intervenor Trump. Mr. Patel was the former Chief of Staff to the acting Secretary of Defense on January 6, 2021. Mr. Patel testified that on January 3, 2021, then-President Trump authorized 10,000-20,000 National Guard forces. He also testified about his experiences with the

January 6th Select Committee including that he gave a deposition to the Committee. The Court finds that Mr. Patel was not a credible witness. His testimony regarding Trump authorizing 10,000-20,000 National Guardsmen is not only illogical (because Trump only had authority over about 2,000 National Guardsmen) but completely devoid of any evidence in the record.

Further, his testimony regarding the January 6th Committee refusing to release his deposition and refusing his request to speak at a public hearing was refuted by Mr. Heaphy who was a far more credible witness. The Court did not give any weight to Mr. Patel's testimony other than as evidence that the January 6th Select Committee interviewed many of Trump's supporters as part of its extensive investigation.<sup>iii</sup>

Patel's association with far-right figure Stew Peters is also disqualifying. Patel has frequently appeared on Peters' show even though Peters in July of 2021 had called for the arrest, trial, and execution of Anthony Fauci.<sup>iv</sup> In May of 2021, Peters likened ride-share companies giving free rides to people with COVID vaccinations to Nazis giving "free boxcar transportation" to Auschwitz.<sup>v</sup> Last November, Peters released a "documentary" riddled with Holocaust denial and Hitler apologetism.<sup>vi</sup> In June of 2021, Peters conducted an interview with an unseen Twitter user to "confirm" that "it's common knowledge throughout our entire government that ... Mike Pence is a pedophile, and that Justice Roberts is a pedophile."<sup>vii</sup>

Several former Trump officials and conservative Republicans have severely criticized Patel, in addition to independents and Democrats. Charles Kupperman, deputy national security adviser under Trump, has called the idea that Patel will become FBI director, in light of his limited experience and "ludicrous" ideas, "appalling."<sup>viii</sup> Former Trump Attorney General William Barr wrote that Patel had "virtually no experience" that would qualify him for a high-level FBI position, and told the White House during Trump's first term that making Patel deputy FBI director would happen only "over my dead body."<sup>ix</sup> Former Trump national security adviser John Bolton has written that Patel has placed "obedience to Mr. Trump above other, higher considerations - most important, loyalty to the Constitution" and that Patel "doesn't belong at the FBI."<sup>x</sup>

In short, Kash Patel would be a disastrous choice to head the FBI. We urge all Senators to oppose and defeat his nomination.

Sincerely,



Svante Myrick  
President and CEO



Marge Baker  
Executive Vice President

<sup>i</sup> Recording from a December 2023 episode of Steve Bannon's "War Room," played on National Public Radio, "Politics chat: Trump to nominate Kash Patel as FBI director, announces tariffs," December 1, 2024, <https://www.npr.org/2024/12/01/nx-s1-5204459/politics-chat-trump-to-nominate-kash-patel-as-fbi-director-announces-tariffs>.

<sup>ii</sup> "The Who's Who on Kash Patel's Crazy Enemies List," Timothy Noah, The New Republic, <https://newrepublic.com/article/188946/kash-patel-fbi-enemies-list>.

<sup>iii</sup> *Anderson v. Griswold*, 2023 Colo. Dist. LEXIS 362, paragraph 47.

<sup>iv</sup> "Right-Wing Broadcaster Stew Peters Again Says Dr. Fauci Should Be Executed," People For the American Way's Right Wing Watch, July 22, 2021, <https://www.peoplefor.org/rightwingwatch/post/right-wing-broadcaster-stew-peters-again-says-dr-anthony-fauci-should-be-executed>.

<sup>v</sup> "Right Wing Bonus Tracks: Demoralize the Deplorables," People For the American Way's Right Wing Watch, May 19, 2021, <https://www.peoplefor.org/rightwingwatch/post/right-wing-bonus-tracks-demoralize-deplorables>.

<sup>vi</sup> "OCCUPIED WORLD PREMIERE: WARNING! Sensitive Content, Viewer Discretion is Advised," Nov. 27, 2024, [https://rumble.com/v5tqte2-occupied-world-premiere-warning-sensitive-content-viewer-discretion-is-advi.html?e9s=src\\_v1\\_ucp](https://rumble.com/v5tqte2-occupied-world-premiere-warning-sensitive-content-viewer-discretion-is-advi.html?e9s=src_v1_ucp).

<sup>vii</sup> "Right Wing Bonus Tracks: It's Common Knowledge," People For the American Way's Right Wing Watch, June 24, 2021, <https://www.peoplefor.org/rightwingwatch/post/right-wing-bonus-tracks-its-common-knowledge>.

<sup>viii</sup> "Despite Criticism Of Patel FBI Pick As 'Appalling,' He Gets GOP Backing," National Criminal Justice Association, Jan. 17, 2025, <https://www.ncja.org/crimeandjusticenews/despite-criticism-of-patel-fbi-pick-as-appalling-he-gets-gop-backing>.

<sup>ix</sup> "Democrats aren't alone in slamming Kash Patel's prospective FBI nomination," MaddowBlog, Dec. 11, 2024, <https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/democrats-arent-alone-slamming-kash-patels-prospective-fbi-nomination-rcna183754>.

<sup>x</sup> *Id.*



February 3, 2025

The Hon. Chuck Grassley  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Hon. Dick Durbin  
711 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Durbin,

We write to express our deep concerns about FBI nominee Kash Patel's recently revealed financial relationship with the government of Qatar—and to encourage you to hold a public hearing to hear his explanation. We are both government ethics experts, and have spent our entire careers assessing conflicts of interest and Patel's apparent relationship with Qatar deserves far greater public scrutiny. As head of the FBI he will be able to enforce—or not enforce—a series of laws that could impact Qatar's and other foreign principals' ability to influence United States policymaking, including the Foreign Agents Registration Act (“FARA”). The public needs to know whether the person entrusted with the country's federal law enforcement is working in their interests—or in the interests of the Qatari government.

On Saturday, February 1—two days *after* Patel's committee confirmation hearing—the Office of Government Ethics (“OGE”) made publicly available Patel's ethics papers,<sup>1</sup> revealing that Patel's “National Security, Defense, and Intelligence” consulting company did work for Qatar until November 2024.<sup>2</sup> Patel continued this relationship while serving as a national security advisor to

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<sup>1</sup> Officials Individual Disclosures Search Collection, OGE website, <https://oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Officials%20Individual%20Disclosures%20Search%20Collection?OpenForm> (OGE's financial disclosure database reveals that Patel's “Ethics Agreement” and “Nominee 278” public financial disclosure report had not been added to the OGE database for public access until February 1, 2025).

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Kashyap Patel to Jolene A. Lauria, Designated Agency Ethics Official, Department of Defense (Jan. 28, 2025), at 5,

[https://extapps2.oge.gov/201/Presiden.nsf/PAS+Index/730D7A12BBF6654785258C240032196E/\\$FILE/Patel%2C%20Kashyap%20%20finalEA.pdf](https://extapps2.oge.gov/201/Presiden.nsf/PAS+Index/730D7A12BBF6654785258C240032196E/$FILE/Patel%2C%20Kashyap%20%20finalEA.pdf) (“Ethics Agreement”);

Kash Patel, Office of Gov't Ethics Form 278e, Section 4 Line 4, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/25509708-kash-patel-financial-disclosure/>. See also Bryan Metzger, *Trump FBI pick Kash Patel made more than \$2.6 million from consulting, paid speeches, and books last year*, Business Insider (Jan. 30, 2025),

now-President Trump during the 2024 campaign, and reported receiving business income from that consulting company, Trishul LLC, in the amount of \$2,114,251.<sup>3</sup> On the form Patel does not commit to divest from or wind down the firm, but rather states that, “[m]y consulting business will be inactive during my appointment and all outstanding client fees will be fixed before I enter government service.”<sup>4</sup> This arrangement at the very least raises questions about whether he plans to continue his relationship with Qatar as soon as he leaves the government.

Federal law often requires people working on policy for foreign governments to register as a foreign agent under FARA. Congress passed FARA to give the public the opportunity to know who is engaging in political activities on behalf of foreign governments, foreign political parties and other foreign principals, “so that their activities can be evaluated in light of their associations.”<sup>5</sup> FARA requires “individuals doing political or advocacy work on behalf of foreign entities in the United States to register with the Department of Justice (“DOJ”) and to disclose their relationship, activities, receipts, and disbursements in support of their activities.”<sup>6</sup>

It appears neither Patel nor Trishul is registered under FARA for services provided to Qatar,<sup>7</sup> leaving open the important question of exactly what Patel did for Qatar when he was serving as a national security advisor to President Trump during the 2024 election. This is precisely why Patel must explain this relationship. If confirmed as the head of the FBI, Patel will be responsible for law enforcement investigations into possible FARA violations. And he will be expected to carry out this duty faithfully and impartially. That includes, for example, building FARA cases like the case against two men with ties to Trump’s 2016 campaign who were charged with violating FARA in January 2024 because of work they did for the Qatari government.<sup>8</sup>

The OGE paperwork includes other information raising potentially serious conflicts of interest questions. For instance, Patel reported in his ethics paperwork that he provided consulting services through Trishul to Trump Media and Technology Group, Save America and Fix

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<http://businessinsider.com/trump-fbi-director-kash-patel-financial-disclosure-2025-1> (An advance copy of Patel’s Nominee 278 was made available to Business Insider in advance of it being made publicly available by OGE).

<sup>3</sup> Patel, Form 278e, Section 2 Line 3.

<sup>4</sup> Patel, Form 278e, Section 3 Line 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cong. Research Serv., *Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA): An Overview* (Jan. 5, 2024),

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10499> (quoting from

U.S. Dep’t of Justice, *Report of the Attorney General to the Congress on the Administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act* (June 2012)).

<sup>6</sup> Cong. Research Serv., *Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA): An Overview* (Jan. 5, 2024),

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10499>.

<sup>7</sup> Foreign Agents Registration Act Database, Department of Justice website,

<https://efile.fara.gov/ords/fara/f?p=1235%3A10> (“Filings Full-Text Search” was conducted for registration information using the search terms “Kashyap Patel,” “Kash Patel” and “Trishul”. Search was last conducted on February 3, 2025.)

<sup>8</sup> Devlin Barrett and Josh Dawsey, *Two Operatives Prepare to Admit to Foreign Lobbying Charges*, Wash. Post (Jan. 2, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/01/02/fara-barry-bennett-douglas-watts-qatar/>.

Nevada.<sup>9</sup> SEC filings for Trump Media show that Patel served as an independent contractor for which he received an annual payment of \$120,000.<sup>10</sup> And new SEC filings show that Patel, who serves on the board of directors of Trump Media, was issued 25,946 shares of Trump Media stock on January 28.<sup>11</sup> His ethics paperwork has not yet been updated to disclose those shares, and he has not committed to divest those holdings.

These papers are notable in their own right. But because OGE failed to publicly release them before his confirmation hearing, the public was deprived of a chance to assess how Patel's relationship with Qatar affects his holding one of the nation's highest law enforcement offices. Patel needs to explain any payments he received from the government of Qatar and he must do so before your Committee votes on his nomination.

If there is a risk of foreign influence, we need to know now, before we hand over the keys to the country's federal law enforcement.

Sincerely,

/s/Norman Eisen

/s/Virginia Canter

Ambassador Norman Eisen (ret.)  
Executive Chair and Founder

Virginia Canter  
Chief Counsel for Ethics and Anticorruption

cc.: Senate Judiciary Committee

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<sup>9</sup> Patel, OGE Form 278e, Section 4 Lines 1-3.

<sup>10</sup> Trump Media & Technology Grp. Corp., Amendment No. 3 to Form S-1 (June 17, 2024)

[https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1849635/000114036124030406/ny20026576x34\\_s1a.htm](https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1849635/000114036124030406/ny20026576x34_s1a.htm).

<sup>11</sup> Kashyap Patel c/o Trump Media & Technology Group Corp, SEC Form 4 (Statement of Changes in Beneficial Ownership) Jan. 30, 2025, [https://s3.amazonaws.com/sec\\_irpass.cc/2660/0001474506-25-000022.htm](https://s3.amazonaws.com/sec_irpass.cc/2660/0001474506-25-000022.htm); Elisabeth Buchwald and Clare Duffy, *Trump Media grants large amounts of stock to directors, including two who are Trump administration nominees*, CNN (Jan. 31, 2025)

<https://amp.cnn.com/cnn/2025/01/31/investing/trump-media-share-gifts-patel-mcmahon>.

Dear Senator Durbin:

I had the honor of serving as Director of both the FBI and CIA, organizations vital to safeguarding our nation. Their effectiveness depends on operating with complete independence from political influence—a principle essential to maintaining public trust and national security.

History has shown us the dangers of compromising this independence. When leaders of these organizations become too closely aligned with political figures, public confidence erodes and our nation’s security is jeopardized. This underscores the necessity for these institutions to serve the American people, not the political agendas of the executive or legislative branches.

In my ten years at the FBI, I was contacted by the President only twice. On both occasions, the interactions underscored the importance of maintaining the FBI’s independence. President Carter once asked me to investigate a matter, to which I responded, “Mr. President, if the FBI has jurisdiction, we will act. If not, I hope you will understand that we cannot get involved.” President Carter replied, “Absolutely. I would not want the FBI to operate any other way.” Similarly, President Reagan’s request for assistance with the First Lady’s security during a visit to the UK involved collaboration, not interference, ensuring the integrity of the agency’s work.

I am deeply concerned about the potential nominations of Mr. Kash Patel to lead the FBI and the inclusion of Former Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard as DNI in intelligence roles. While Mr. Patel’s intelligence and patriotism are commendable, his close political alignment with President Trump raises serious concerns about impartiality and integrity. Statements such as “He’s my intel guy” and his record of executing the president’s directives suggest a loyalty to individuals rather than the rule of law—a dangerous precedent for an agency tasked with impartial enforcement of justice.

Congresswoman Gabbard’s profound lack of intelligence experience and the daunting task of overseeing 18 disparate intelligence agencies further highlight the need for seasoned leadership. Effective management of our intelligence community requires unparalleled expertise to navigate the complexities of global threats and to maintain the trust of allied nations. Without that trust, our ability to safeguard sensitive secrets and collaborate internationally is severely diminished. As someone who transitioned from the FBI to the CIA, I can attest to the steep learning curve even for a seasoned professional. This is no time in world history for a novice in the field to learn this role.

The recent resignation of Christopher Wray is a tremendous loss. As a public servant who commanded respect across the political spectrum, his departure leaves a void in leadership and a critical moment for the future of the FBI. This underscores the urgency of appointing leaders who embody independence, integrity, and experience.

Every president deserves appointees they trust, but the selection process must prioritize competence and independence to uphold the rule of law. As you consider these and future nominations, I urge you to weigh the critical importance of nonpartisan leadership and experience. The safety of the American people—and your own families—depends on it. Trust in our intelligence and law enforcement agencies is also crucial for our international partners. Without that trust, we cannot be effective in guarding sensitive secrets or collaborating to address shared threats.

Thank you for your careful consideration of these pivotal appointments.

Sincerely,

William Webster  
Former Director of the CIA and FBI

Dear Ranking Member Durbin,

As I wrote to you recently, when I served as Director of the FBI and later as Director of Central Intelligence and the CIA, we faced serious and complex challenges—but they were nothing like those the intelligence community and FBI face today on both domestic and international fronts.

I sadly attended the farewell ceremony for Christopher Wray, a highly regarded and profoundly capable leader, who was forced to step down. Now, the removal of Acting Director Paul Abbate as Acting, a highly respected career FBI agent, underscores the ongoing hollowing out of the professional leadership the FBI desperately needs to protect Americans. **This creates an institutional memory void that threatens the Bureau's ability to address pressing national security challenges.**

We all understand why President Trump wants to make significant changes to the FBI and intelligence community. While the pressures of a new presidency are many, I ask you to hold the security of the American people foremost in your thoughts as you review the Gabbard and Patel nominations. These critical roles demand experienced and steady hands to navigate the complex threats we face. Installing unqualified individuals for personal or political purposes not only undermines the institution but creates **dangerous vulnerabilities for our nation's security – and yours.**

As I've often said, the terrorists only need to be right once to succeed. Our intelligence and law enforcement communities must be at the top of their game every time. It does no good to identify the threat after the bomb goes off.

Kash Patel and Tulsi Gabbard have demonstrated a lack of the qualifications, experience, and temperament required to hold these critical positions. Patel's limited background and history of prioritizing personal and political loyalties over national security should disqualify him outright. Similarly, Gabbard's controversial foreign policy stances and alignment with adversaries like Assad raise serious questions about her ability to align with U.S. strategic interests.

President Trump deserves to have a capable team to lead with him – not to be led by him. These are not nominations that can be taken lightly. I urge you to carefully consider the qualifications, judgment, and experience of these nominees. Leadership at the FBI and within our intelligence community cannot be compromised without dire consequences for the safety and security of the United States.

Sincerely,  
William Webster  
Former Director, FBI and CIA

PS: It is of great concern that independent oversight of the executive branch, put in place by Congress, is being dismantled across the government with a purge of Inspectors General that did not comply with federal law. While I do not believe the DOJ/Intelligence Community are presently impacted, the Senate should presume they will be, and that qualified, proven leadership is even more critical to our national security.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 2, 2018

The Honorable Devin Nunes  
Chairman, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence  
United States Capitol  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On January 29, 2018, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (hereinafter “the Committee”) voted to disclose publicly a memorandum containing classified information provided to the Committee in connection with its oversight activities (the “Memorandum,” which is attached to this letter). As provided by clause 11(g) of Rule X of the House of Representatives, the Committee has forwarded this Memorandum to the President based on its determination that the release of the Memorandum would serve the public interest.

The Constitution vests the President with the authority to protect national security secrets from disclosure. As the Supreme Court has recognized, it is the President’s responsibility to classify, declassify, and control access to information bearing on our intelligence sources and methods and national defense. *See, e.g., Dep’t of Navy v. Egan*, 484 U.S. 518, 527 (1988). In order to facilitate appropriate congressional oversight, the Executive Branch may entrust classified information to the appropriate committees of Congress, as it has done in connection with the Committee’s oversight activities here. The Executive Branch does so on the assumption that the Committee will responsibly protect such classified information, consistent with the laws of the United States.

The Committee has now determined that the release of the Memorandum would be appropriate. The Executive Branch, across Administrations of both parties, has worked to accommodate congressional requests to declassify specific materials in the public interest.<sup>1</sup> However, public release of classified information by unilateral action of the Legislative Branch is extremely rare and raises significant separation of powers concerns. Accordingly, the Committee’s request to release the Memorandum is interpreted as a request for declassification pursuant to the President’s authority.

The President understands that the protection of our national security represents his highest obligation. Accordingly, he has directed lawyers and national security staff to assess the

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., S. Rept. 114-8 at 12 (Administration of Barack Obama) (“On April 3, 2014 . . . the Committee agreed to send the revised Findings and Conclusions, and the updated Executive Summary of the Committee Study, to the President for declassification and public release.”); H. Rept. 107-792 (Administration of George W. Bush) (similar); E.O. 12812 (Administration of George H.W. Bush) (noting Senate resolution requesting that President provide for declassification of certain information via Executive Order).

declassification request, consistent with established standards governing the handling of classified information, including those under Section 3.1(d) of Executive Order 13526. Those standards permit declassification when the public interest in disclosure outweighs any need to protect the information. The White House review process also included input from the Office of the Director of National Intelligence and the Department of Justice. Consistent with this review and these standards, the President has determined that declassification of the Memorandum is appropriate.

Based on this assessment and in light of the significant public interest in the memorandum, the President has authorized the declassification of the Memorandum. To be clear, the Memorandum reflects the judgments of its congressional authors. The President understands that oversight concerning matters related to the Memorandum may be continuing. Though the circumstances leading to the declassification through this process are extraordinary, the Executive Branch stands ready to work with Congress to accommodate oversight requests consistent with applicable standards and processes, including the need to protect intelligence sources and methods.

Sincerely,



Donald F. McGahn II  
Counsel to the President

cc: The Honorable Paul Ryan  
Speaker of the House of Representatives

The Honorable Adam Schiff  
Ranking Member, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

**UNCLASSIFIED**

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~

January 18, 2018

Declassified by order of the President  
February 2, 2018

To: HPSCI Majority Members

From: HPSCI Majority Staff

Subject: Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Abuses at the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation

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### **Purpose**

This memorandum provides Members an update on significant facts relating to the Committee's ongoing investigation into the Department of Justice (DOJ) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and their use of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) during the 2016 presidential election cycle. Our findings, which are detailed below, 1) raise concerns with the legitimacy and legality of certain DOJ and FBI interactions with the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC), and 2) represent a troubling breakdown of legal processes established to protect the American people from abuses related to the FISA process.

### **Investigation Update**

On October 21, 2016, DOJ and FBI sought and received a FISA probable cause order (not under Title VII) authorizing electronic surveillance on Carter Page from the FISC. Page is a U.S. citizen who served as a volunteer advisor to the Trump presidential campaign. Consistent with requirements under FISA, the application had to be first certified by the Director or Deputy Director of the FBI. It then required the approval of the Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General (DAG), or the Senate-confirmed Assistant Attorney General for the National Security Division.

The FBI and DOJ obtained one initial FISA warrant targeting Carter Page and three FISA renewals from the FISC. As required by statute (50 U.S.C. §1805(d)(1)), a FISA order on an American citizen must be renewed by the FISC every 90 days and each renewal requires a separate finding of probable cause. Then-Director James Comey signed three FISA applications in question on behalf of the FBI, and Deputy Director Andrew McCabe signed one. Then-DAG Sally Yates, then-Acting DAG Dana Boente, and DAG Rod Rosenstein each signed one or more FISA applications on behalf of DOJ.

Due to the sensitive nature of foreign intelligence activity, FISA submissions (including renewals) before the FISC are classified. As such, the public's confidence in the integrity of the FISA process depends on the court's ability to hold the government to the highest standard—particularly as it relates to surveillance of American citizens. However, the FISC's rigor in protecting the rights of Americans, which is reinforced by 90-day renewals of surveillance orders, is necessarily dependent on the government's production to the court of all material and relevant facts. This should include information potentially favorable to the target of the FISA

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~

PROPERTY OF THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

application that is known by the government. In the case of Carter Page, the government had at least four independent opportunities before the FISC to accurately provide an accounting of the relevant facts. However, our findings indicate that, as described below, material and relevant information was omitted.

- 1) The “dossier” compiled by Christopher Steele (Steele dossier) on behalf of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and the Hillary Clinton campaign formed an essential part of the Carter Page FISA application. Steele was a longtime FBI source who was paid over \$160,000 by the DNC and Clinton campaign, via the law firm Perkins Coie and research firm Fusion GPS, to obtain derogatory information on Donald Trump’s ties to Russia.
  - a) Neither the initial application in October 2016, nor any of the renewals, disclose or reference the role of the DNC, Clinton campaign, or any party/campaign in funding Steele’s efforts, even though the political origins of the Steele dossier were then known to senior DOJ and FBI officials.
  - b) The initial FISA application notes Steele was working for a named U.S. person, but does not name Fusion GPS and principal Glenn Simpson, who was paid by a U.S. law firm (Perkins Coie) representing the DNC (even though it was known by DOJ at the time that political actors were involved with the Steele dossier). The application does not mention Steele was ultimately working on behalf of—and paid by—the DNC and Clinton campaign, or that the FBI had separately authorized payment to Steele for the same information.
- 2) The Carter Page FISA application also cited extensively a September 23, 2016, *Yahoo News* article by Michael Isikoff, which focuses on Page’s July 2016 trip to Moscow.  
This article does not corroborate the Steele dossier because it is derived from information leaked by Steele himself to *Yahoo News*. The Page FISA application incorrectly assesses that Steele did not directly provide information to *Yahoo News*. Steele has admitted in British court filings that he met with *Yahoo News*—and several other outlets—in September 2016 at the direction of Fusion GPS. Perkins Coie was aware of Steele’s initial media contacts because they hosted at least one meeting in Washington D.C. in 2016 with Steele and Fusion GPS where this matter was discussed.
  - a) Steele was suspended and then terminated as an FBI source for what the FBI defines as the most serious of violations—an unauthorized disclosure to the media of his relationship with the FBI in an October 30, 2016, *Mother Jones* article by David Corn. Steele should have been terminated for his previous undisclosed contacts with *Yahoo* and other outlets **in September**—before the Page application was submitted to

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the FISC in October—but Steele improperly concealed from and lied to the FBI about those contacts.

- b) Steele's numerous encounters with the media violated the cardinal rule of source handling—maintaining confidentiality—and demonstrated that Steele had become a less than reliable source for the FBI.
- 3) Before and after Steele was terminated as a source, he maintained contact with DOJ via then-Associate Deputy Attorney General Bruce Ohr, a senior DOJ official who worked closely with Deputy Attorneys General Yates and later Rosenstein. Shortly after the election, the FBI began interviewing Ohr, documenting his communications with Steele. For example, in September 2016, Steele admitted to Ohr his feelings against then-candidate Trump when Steele said he **“was desperate that Donald Trump not get elected and was passionate about him not being president.”** This clear evidence of Steele's bias was recorded by Ohr at the time and subsequently in official FBI files—but not reflected in any of the Page FISA applications.
  - a) During this same time period, Ohr's wife was employed by Fusion GPS to assist in the cultivation of opposition research on Trump. Ohr later provided the FBI with all of his wife's opposition research, paid for by the DNC and Clinton campaign via Fusion GPS. The Ohrs' relationship with Steele and Fusion GPS was inexplicably concealed from the FISC.
- 4) According to the head of the FBI's counterintelligence division, Assistant Director Bill Priestap, corroboration of the Steele dossier was in its “infancy” at the time of the initial Page FISA application. After Steele was terminated, a source validation report conducted by an independent unit within FBI assessed Steele's reporting as only minimally corroborated. Yet, in early January 2017, Director Comey briefed President-elect Trump on a summary of the Steele dossier, even though it was—according to his June 2017 testimony—“salacious and unverified.” While the FISA application relied on Steele's past record of credible reporting on other unrelated matters, it ignored or concealed his anti-Trump financial and ideological motivations. Furthermore, Deputy Director McCabe testified before the Committee in December 2017 that no surveillance warrant would have been sought from the FISC without the Steele dossier information.

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- 5) The Page FISA application also mentions information regarding fellow Trump campaign advisor George Papadopoulos, but there is no evidence of any cooperation or conspiracy between Page and Papadopoulos. The Papadopoulos information triggered the opening of an FBI counterintelligence investigation in late July 2016 by FBI agent Pete Strzok. Strzok was reassigned by the Special Counsel's Office to FBI Human Resources for improper text messages with his mistress, FBI Attorney Lisa Page (no known relation to Carter Page), where they both demonstrated a clear bias against Trump and in favor of Clinton, whom Strzok had also investigated. The Strzok/Lisa Page texts also reflect extensive discussions about the investigation, orchestrating leaks to the media, and include a meeting with Deputy Director McCabe to discuss an "insurance" policy against President Trump's election.

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## IMPROVEMENTS MADE TO SECTION 702:

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- Prohibit U.S. person query terms solely designed to find evidence of a crime
- Increase damages by 10x for violations of FISA involving a U.S. person
- Require the FBI to submit an annual report to Judiciary and Intelligence Committees on U.S. person queries and require declassification of the report
- Impose new compliance measures for FBI querying procedures, including mandatory audits, higher-level supervisory review/approval, and protocols to prevent overbroad queries
- Amend FISA's foreign intelligence definition to permit more effective counter-narcotics collection

John  Cornyn  
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM TEXAS



IOWA DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The Honorable John Thune  
Minority Leader  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Chuck Schumer  
Majority Leader  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20515

**Re: Supporting Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Director Nominee Kash Patel**

Dear Leader Thune and Leader Schumer:

Kash Patel is the leader that the Federal Bureau of Investigation needs. The FBI has long been a beacon for hardworking and impressive investigators—but their leadership has failed both those brave men and women as well as the country. The FBI needs a smart, competent, reformer as its leader. Mr. Patel is the man for the job.

As Attorneys General for our respective States familiar with the operations of justice departments, we have in the past weighed in on past nominees for the United States Department of Justice positions or when our own colleagues have been nominated. And we take the rule of law seriously. Many of us are also the chief law enforcement officers in our States—and we all partner with the federal government and FBI when needed to ensure justice is done. That the FBI is run well is important to us—and who runs the FBI is important to us, too.

That is why we, as the Attorneys General of Iowa, Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and West Virginia write you today to strongly encourage you and your caucuses to support Mr. Patel's nomination for Director of the FBI.

Americans have a crisis in confidence in FBI's leadership. Years of scandal, [including baseless investigations](#) into President Trump have shaken the nation's trust in the agency. Rather than focusing on investigating crime

and America's domestic threats, the FBI seems [oddly focused](#) on investigating President Trump. It is time for a leader to refocus the FBI on its core mission.

Mr. Patel has served in roles that require high degrees of competence, determination, and trust. Former White House national security advisor Robert O'Brien [recently wrote](#) that Mr. Patel could be counted on "to get any job done, no matter how complex or difficult." That type of experience is invaluable. O'Brien continued to explain Mr. Patel's key role in taking down the ISIS caliphate. We can hope that he can help refocus the FBI on dismantling terrorist organizations like ISIS, which is seeking to infiltrate the United States and [away from wasting its time](#) investigating Catholics for seeking a Latin mass. Hopefully, Mr. Patel can also stop the agency from [labeling parents extremists](#) just for expressing their views to school officials on issues regarding their children's education and safety.

He also has played key roles in increasing transparency and stands to further that goal if confirmed. In his role as national security advisor to the House Intelligence Committee, Mr. Patel helped Congress [uncover FISA abuses](#) and illegal politically motivated surveillance into President Trump's campaign.

Mr. Patel's resume speaks to his impeccable qualifications for this job. He served as [chief of staff to the Department of Defense](#) and as deputy director of national intelligence. Before accepting those high-powered roles, Mr. Patel was a national security prosecutor at the DOJ and even a public defender earlier in his career. His longstanding and diverse legal experiences will serve him well.

The American people have spoken and given President Trump a historic victory and mandate to be a change agent and enact reform. And few institutions need reform more than the FBI. Mr. Patel's sterling character and qualifications strongly commend this august body to exercise its constitutional function and consent to his nomination.

In these increasingly partisan times, uniters like President Trump need support from precisely the type of highly competent and qualified nominees like Mr. Patel. His willingness to stand up for what is right will be invaluable in reforming the FBI and restoring trust in the institution worthy of the brave men and women that serve in its ranks.

Sincerely,

Brenna Bird

Brenna Bird  
Attorney General of Iowa

Steve Marshall

Steve Marshall  
Attorney General of Alabama



Treg Taylor  
Attorney General of Alaska

Tim Griffin

Tim Griffin  
Attorney General of Arkansas

Ashley Moody

Ashley Moody  
Attorney General of Florida

Chris Carr

Chris Carr  
Attorney General of Georgia

Raúl R. Labrador

Raúl R. Labrador  
Attorney General of Idaho

Todd Rokita

Todd Rokita  
Attorney General of Indiana

Kris W. Kobach

Kris Kobach  
Attorney General of Kansas



Liz Murrill  
Attorney General of Louisiana



Lynn Fitch  
Attorney General of Mississippi



Andrew T. Bailey  
Attorney General of Missouri

Austin Knudsen

Austin Knudsen  
Attorney General of Montana



Mike Hilgers  
Attorney General of Nebraska



Drew Wrigley  
Attorney General of North Dakota



Dave Yost  
Attorney General of Ohio



Gentner Drummond  
Attorney General of Oklahoma



Alan Wilson  
Attorney General of South Carolina



Marty Jackley  
Attorney General of South Dakota



Jonathan Skrmetti  
Attorney General of Tennessee



Ken Paxton  
Attorney General of Texas



Sean D. Reyes  
Attorney General of Utah



Jason S. Miyares  
Attorney General of Virginia



Patrick Morrisey  
Attorney General of West Virginia

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA  
FORT PIERCE DIVISION

STATE OF FLORIDA,

*Plaintiff,*

v.

Case No. 2:24-cv-14348

MERRICK GARLAND, in his official capacity as U.S. Attorney General,

*Defendant.*

/

**COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

1. In just a two-month period, Donald J. Trump (President Trump) has faced two credible attempts to take his life.

2. In one attempt, a gunman fired shots at President Trump's head, nearly killing him, and was even able to wound the former President's ear. The alleged failures by the Secret Service with respect to that event were so severe that the head of that agency resigned.

3. In the other attempt, a gunman was able to hide for nearly twelve hours near the sixth green of Trump International Golf Club in West Palm Beach, Florida. By the time the Secret Service found the shooter, he had "ma[de] it within several hundred yards" of President Trump.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Alana Wise, *2 close calls have the Secret Service facing criticism and an uncertain future*, NPR (Sept. 19, 2024), <https://www.npr.org/2024/09/19/g-s1-23618/secret-service-trump-shooting-gunner-problems>.

4. Two days after this second attempt, on September 17, 2024, Governor Ron DeSantis signed Executive Order Number 24-197.<sup>2</sup> The Executive Order directed the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) and Florida Highway Patrol (FHP) to work with relevant partners and with the Office of Statewide Prosecution to ensure appropriate state charges are brought. *Cf. Crossley v. California*, 168 U.S. 640, 641 (1898) (“[I]t is settled law that the same act may constitute an offense against the United States and against a state.”).

5. Within days of Governor DeSantis signing the Executive Order, however, officials at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), under the supervision of the Department of Justice (DOJ), indicated that the State of Florida must suspend its investigation. As the basis for this demand, the federal officials cited 18 U.S.C. § 351(f), which purports to temporarily “suspend the exercise of jurisdiction by a State or local authority” when the federal government asserts jurisdiction over an assassination attempt of a major presidential candidate.

6. In conversations with federal officials and in subsequent correspondence, these officials have stated that Florida may not conduct its own investigation, may not interview witnesses, and may only cooperate with the federal government’s investigation.

7. Because § 351(f) does not prohibit such conduct, and because it would violate the Tenth Amendment if it reached so far, Florida sues to vindicate its

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<sup>2</sup> Available at <https://www.flgov.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/EO-24-197.pdf>.

sovereign interest to investigate violations of state law, as delay may impact the outcome of any prosecution.

## **PARTIES**

8. Plaintiff the State of Florida is a sovereign State and has the authority and responsibility to protect its sovereign interests and the health, safety, and welfare of its citizens. As the State's Chief Legal Officer, Attorney General Ashley Moody is authorized to represent the interests of the State in civil suits. § 16.01(4), (5), Fla. Stat.

9. Defendant Merrick Garland is the U.S. Attorney General and the head of the Department of Justice (DOJ). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is a component of DOJ and is under Defendant Garland's supervision and control.

## **JURISDICTION AND VENUE**

10. Florida sues Defendant Garland under 5 U.S.C. § 702, 28 U.S.C. §§ 1361 and 2201–02, the U.S. Constitution, and the Court's equitable powers.

11. This Court has subject matter jurisdiction pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1346, and 1361, and the U.S. Constitution.

12. Venue is proper in this district and division for two reasons.

13. First, venue is proper under 28 U.S.C. § 1391(e)(1) because Defendant Garland is a federal officer and Plaintiff the State of Florida is a resident of every judicial district in its sovereign territory, including this district (and division). *See California v. Azar*, 911 F.3d 558, 570 (9th Cir. 2018); *Florida v. United States*, No. 3:21-cv-1066, 2022 WL 2431443, at \*2 (N.D. Fla. Jan. 18, 2022).

14. Second, a substantial part of the events or omissions giving rise to the claims occurred here. *See* 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b)(2). Virtually all the relevant events occurred in this district. And one of the most important events occurred in this division because, as further detailed below, the first time the federal government communicated to Florida regarding § 351(f) was on a phone call with a Florida law enforcement officer based in Fort Pierce.

## **BACKGROUND**

### **Factual Background**

15. On September 15, 2024, President Trump played a round of golf at Trump International Golf Club in West Palm Beach, Florida.

16. During that round, the Secret Service discovered an armed gunman, later identified as Ryan Wesley Routh, hiding near the sixth green.

17. After Secret Service agents fired at his position, Mr. Routh fled on foot and later by car. Officers from the Martin County Sheriff's Office, in coordination with the Palm Beach County Sheriff's Office, later located Mr. Routh and took him into custody.

18. It is reasonably clear from all the facts and circumstances, including a note authored by Mr. Routh himself, that Mr. Routh intended to assassinate President Trump.

19. This was the second assassination attempt on President Trump in as many months. In the first attempt, a gunman was able to shoot President Trump in the ear and nearly kill him.

20. During the first attempt, the Secret Service failed to discharge its duties in a variety of ways,<sup>3</sup> including by allowing the gunman access to a rooftop with a clear line of sight to President Trump. Within days of these failures, the head of the Secret Service resigned.

21. With respect to the second attempt, similar concerns have been raised, such as how a gunman managed to get so close to President Trump and hide for twelve hours undetected.

22. Two days after this second attempt, on September 17, 2024, Governor Ron DeSantis signed Executive Order Number 24-197.<sup>4</sup> The Executive Order directed FDLE and FHP to work with relevant partners and with the Office of Statewide Prosecution to ensure appropriate state charges are brought.

23. Those charges may ultimately include attempted murder, fleeing and eluding, and charges related to Mr. Routh's unlawful possession of firearms. *See* § 782.04, Fla. Stat. (murder); *id.* § 777.04 (liability for attempted crimes); *id.* § 316.1935 (fleeing and eluding); *id.* § 790.23 (felon in possession).

24. Additionally, the State may pursue charges against Mr. Routh stemming from injuries caused by his flight from law enforcement after the assassination attempt.

25. Almost immediately, however, federal officials began taking steps to halt the State's investigation.

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<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Independent Review Panel on the July 13, 2024 Assassination Attempt in Butler Pennsylvania*, Independent Review Panel (Oct. 15, 2024), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/2024-10/24\\_1017\\_opa-Independent-Review-Panel-Final-Report-and-Accompanying-Materials.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/2024-10/24_1017_opa-Independent-Review-Panel-Final-Report-and-Accompanying-Materials.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Available at <https://www.flgov.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/EO-24-197.pdf>.

26. Only a few days after Governor DeSantis signed the Executive Order, FBI Special Agent in Charge Jeffrey Veltri called the FDLE Special Agent in Charge in Fort Pierce. During that phone call, Mr. Veltri directed FDLE to 18 U.S.C. § 351(f).

27. Mr. Veltri did so even though, at that time, the federal government had only charged Mr. Routh with firearms related charges and had not charged him for attempted assassination under § 351.

28. Section 351(f) purports to temporarily “suspend the exercise of jurisdiction by a State or local authority” where the federal government asserts “investigative or prosecutive jurisdiction” over violations of § 351, which would include the attempted assassination of a major presidential candidate.

29. In a subsequent meeting between Florida’s Statewide Prosecutor Nicholas Cox and U.S. Attorney Markenzy Lapointe of the Southern District of Florida, the U.S. Attorney again mentioned § 351(f). In this meeting, U.S. Attorney Lapointe suggested that Florida should not interview witnesses until the federal investigation was completed.

30. In light of these statements and other attempts to block Florida’s investigation, on September 23, 2024, Florida Attorney General Ashley Moody wrote a letter to U.S. Attorney Lapointe and FBI Director Christopher Wray. *See* Ex. 1. The letter covered several things.

31. First, the letter noted the lack of public confidence in the federal investigation—specifically (a) the Secret Service’s repeated failures to adequately protect President Trump, (b) the federal government’s ongoing prosecution of the

victim, President Trump, and (c) the fact that Mr. Veltri, who is leading the investigation, has made statements in the past that some believe demonstrate a bias against President Trump. The letter further noted that “having Florida conduct its own investigation . . . would mitigate public concern regarding the credibility and reliability of these institutions.” Ex. 1 at 3.

32. Second, the letter noted that, as a legal matter, general references to § 351(f) in a verbal conversation were likely insufficient to invoke that provision. Ex. 1 at 4.

33. Third, the letter asked for clarification regarding whether § 351(f) was being formally invoked and, if so, “what you believe this provision prohibits and how the federal government would enforce it.” Ex. 1 at 4.

34. Notably, when General Moody sent that letter, DOJ had only charged Mr. Routh with illegal possession of firearms. DOJ had not charged Mr. Routh with any violation of § 351.

35. After DOJ received General Moody’s letter, DOJ charged Mr. Routh with a violation of § 351(c), which prohibits the attempted assassination of a major presidential candidate.

36. On September 30, a week after receiving General Moody’s letter, U.S. Attorney Lapointe sent a response letter. Ex. 2.

37. U.S. Attorney Lapointe’s letter claimed that “[t]he federal indictment returned last week—which post-dates your letter—resolves any potential uncertainty about whether 18 USC 351(f) applies here.” Ex. 2 at 3.

38. U.S. Attorney Lapointe's letter did not provide any response to General Moody's request for guidance regarding what § 351(f) prohibits or how the federal government plans to enforce it.

39. Following this unequivocal assertion of § 351(f), the federal government almost immediately asked the trial court assigned to the criminal case to remove the case from the trial calendar until further notice. *See* Unopposed Motion to Designate Case as Complex Under Speedy Trial Act, *United States v. Routh*, Doc. 30, 9:24-cr-80116 (S.D. Fla. Oct. 2, 2024).

### **Legal Background**

#### **18 U.S.C. § 351**

40. Section 351 prohibits the killing, kidnapping, attempting killing or kidnapping, or assaulting of a variety of individuals. 18 U.S.C. § 351(a)–(c), (e).

41. These individuals include members of Congress, certain high-ranking executive branch officials, justices of the Supreme Court, nominees for certain positions, and “major Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate[s]” as defined in 18 U.S.C. § 3056(a)(7). *See* 18 U.S.C. § 351(a).

42. Subsection (f) of § 351 states as follows: “If Federal investigative or prosecutive jurisdiction is asserted for a violation of this section, such assertion shall suspend the exercise of jurisdiction by a State or local authority, under any applicable State or local law, until Federal action is terminated.”

43. It appears that no court has interpreted this provision. But applying traditional principles of statutory interpretation, the statute is far narrower than DOJ asserts.

44. Specifically, all the statute prohibits is the State’s “*exercise of jurisdiction*” under “any applicable State or local law, until Federal action is terminated.” 18 U.S.C. § 351(f) (emphasis added).

45. That phrase—“*exercise of jurisdiction*”—does not refer to all investigatory actions. Rather, it refers to the formal exercise of jurisdiction over a person or thing—namely, a seizure. That is true for several reasons.

46. First, the phrase “*exercise jurisdiction*” stands in contrast to the phrase “assert[] . . . jurisdiction,” which is what DOJ must do to trigger the statute. *See Sosa v. Alvarez-Machain*, 542 U.S. 692, 711 n.9 (2004) (“[W]hen the legislature uses certain language in one part of the statute and different language in another, the court assumes different meanings were intended.” (quotations omitted)).

47. Given this contrast, exercising jurisdiction involves something more significant than asserting jurisdiction. For example, if someone “asserts” a right to vote, that person may take any number of actions short of casting a ballot. If someone seeks to “exercise” such a right, however, that person may do so only by the formal act of casting a ballot.

48. Second, and relatedly, the phrase “*exercise jurisdiction*” is most frequently used in a manner consistent with Florida’s reading of the statute—specifically, in reference to taking a person or thing into custody.

49. “Exercising jurisdiction” arises most often in applying the rule of comity. Under that rule, when a state government and the federal government both assert jurisdiction over the same person or thing, “the court which first takes the subject-matter of the litigation into its control, whether this be person or property, must be permitted to exhaust its remedy, to attain which it assumed control, before the other court shall attempt to take it for its purpose.” *Ponzi v. Fessenden*, 258 U.S. 254, 260–61 (1922).

50. In rule of comity cases, the first sovereign to take custody of the person or thing—thus triggering the rule of comity—is said to “exercise its jurisdiction over the” person or thing. *Rooney v. Hunter*, 64 F. Supp. 165, 168 (D. Kan. 1945); *accord United States ex rel. Helwig v. Klopfinstrin*, 137 F. Supp. 214, 215 (W.D. Pa. 1956); *In re James*, 18 F. 853, 857 (C.C.W.D. Mo. 1884).

51. Applying this understanding of “exercise jurisdiction,” § 351(f) grants the federal government a right to custody of Mr. Routh even if the State arrests him first.<sup>5</sup> In other words, the purpose of § 351(f) is merely to modify the rule of comity, which would otherwise compel the federal government to wait for the State to prosecute and incarcerate Mr. Routh before it could do so.

52. Finally, even if the State’s reading is only one of multiple plausible readings, the Court should adopt the State’s reading. As explained below, the federal

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<sup>5</sup> In fact, the State did arrest Mr. Routh first and complied with § 351(f) by acquiescing to the federal government taking custody of Mr. Routh.

government's reading would raise a substantial constitutional question because it would likely render § 351(f) unconstitutional under the Tenth Amendment.

The Tenth Amendment and the Supremacy Clause

53. The Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states that “[t]he powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

54. This Amendment confirms that “[t]he Constitution confers on Congress not plenary legislative power but only certain enumerated powers,” and thus, “all other legislative power is reserved for the States.” *Murphy v. NCAA*, 584 U.S. 453, 477 (2018).

55. As relevant here, the Supreme Court has interpreted the Tenth Amendment to impose an anti-commandeering rule. Under that rule “[t]he Federal Government’ may not ‘command the States’ officers, or those of their political subdivisions, to administer or enforce a federal regulatory program.” *Murphy*, 584 U.S. at 473 (quoting *Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898, 935 (1997)).

56. Unconstitutional commandeering can include ordering state officials to take some action, such as conducting background checks. *E.g.*, *Printz*, 512 U.S. at 905. And it can also involve ordering state officials not to do something, such as enacting particular legislation. *E.g.*, *Murphy*, 548 U.S. at 474.

57. Commandeering, however, is different from federal preemption.

58. Preemption occurs as a result of the Supremacy Clause of the U.S. Constitution, which expressly designates federal law as the “supreme law of the land.”

U.S. Const., art. VI, cl. 2. But “that Clause is not an independent grant of legislative power to Congress. Instead, it simply provides ‘a rule of decision.’” *Murphy*, 584 U.S. at 477 (quoting *Armstrong v. Exceptional Child Ctr., Inc.*, 575 U.S. 320, 324 (2015)).

59. When a federal law preempts a state law, “a state law confers rights or imposes restrictions that conflict with the federal law; and therefore the federal law takes precedence and the state law is preempted.” *Id.* Thus, when federal law preempts state law, the federal law creates “a federal right to engage in certain conduct subject only to certain (federal) constraints.” *Id.* at 479.

60. Importantly, “the Constitution ‘confers upon Congress the power to regulate individuals, not States.’” *Id.* at 477 (quoting *New York v. United States*, 505 U.S. 144, 166 (1992)). As such, to constitute a valid preemption provision, a federal law “must be best read as one that regulates *private actors*.” *Id.* (emphasis added).

61. By contrast, a federal law that “dictates what” state officials “may and may not do” is not a valid preemption provision and “violates the anticommandeering rule” of the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. *Id.* at 474.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> While *Murphy* addresses legislative acts, other case law makes clear that the anti-commandeering rule applies equally when the federal government “harnesses a State’s . . . executive authority.” *Haaland v. Brackeen*, 599 U.S. 255, 281 (2023); *e.g.*, *Printz*, 512 U.S. at 905 (reviewing a provision of federal law requiring state executive officials to conduct background checks for a federal regulatory program).

### **Injuries to the State of Florida**

62. The mere fact that the State may not carry out its right to investigate violations of its own laws is a sovereign injury sufficient to trigger Article III jurisdiction. But the State's concrete injuries go beyond that harm to its sovereignty.

63. According to U.S. Attorney Lapointe's letter, Florida law enforcement officials may not conduct any investigative activities of their own until after "the conclusion of the federal prosecution." Ex. 2 at 3. This means that, according to the federal government, the State may not interview witnesses or execute warrants or subpoenas.

64. That is significant. Evidence disappears, memories fade, and the State has no way to force the federal government to cooperate in the State's prosecution. *See United States ex rel. Touhy v. Ragen*, 340 U.S. 462, 465 (1951).

65. Every day that Florida is prevented from investigating, the State's case becomes harder to prove at trial. By contrast, the federal government suffers no injury from Florida investigating state law crimes, as the State has no intention of interfering with or obstructing the federal investigation.

66. To prevent further injury, Florida seeks the following relief.

## CLAIMS

### COUNT 1

#### **Declaratory Judgment Act**

67. Florida repeats and incorporates by reference ¶¶ 1–66.

68. The Declaratory Judgment Act (DJA) provides that, “[i]n a case of actual controversy within its jurisdiction, . . . any court of the United States . . . may declare the rights and other legal relations of any interested party seeking such declaration, whether or not further relief is or could be sought.” 28 U.S.C. § 2201.

69. The DJA empowers a party faced with a “genuine threat of enforcement” to bring an action to seek a court’s declaration as to whether an expected government action is lawful. *MedImmune, Inc. v. Genentech, Inc.*, 549 U.S. 118, 129 (2007).

70. Moreover, courts “normally do not require plaintiffs to ‘bet the farm . . . by taking the violative action’ before ‘testing the validity of the law.’” *Free Enter. Fund v. Pub. Acct. Oversight Bd.*, 561 U.S. 477, 490 (2010) (quoting *MedImmune, Inc.*, 549 U.S. at 129).

71. The federal government has demonstrated a “genuine threat of enforc[ing]” § 351(f) to bar Florida from investigating the latest assassination attempt

against President Trump, as well as other state law crimes emanating from Mr. Routh's actions. *MedImmune, Inc.*, 549 U.S. at 129.

72. As discussed above, federal officials have stated in writing that § 351(f) is in effect against the State of Florida and have told state officials that basic investigative activities, such as interviewing witnesses, are illegal under federal law. Moreover, the federal government indicated in its letter that it will not allow Florida to access evidence until *after* the federal government has concluded its own investigation. *See* Ex. 2 at (“[Section 351 (f)] does not preclude state prosecutions permissibly *following the conclusion of the federal prosecution*—and in no way prevents the sharing of federal evidence with state authorities *after the federal matter has ended.*” (emphasis added)).

73. As explained above, the federal government dramatically overreads § 351(f), which merely modifies the traditional rule of comity and allows the federal government to take custody of Mr. Routh over the State’s objection.

74. A declaratory judgment action is therefore proper to clarify whether the federal government can lawfully prevent Florida’s investigation of state law violations under § 351(f) until the conclusion of the federal prosecution. *See GTE Directories Publ’g Corp. v. Trimen Am., Inc.*, 67 F.3d 1563, 1567 (11th Cir. 2011) (A suit brought under the Declaratory Judgment Act presents “a substantial controversy, between parties having adverse legal interests, of sufficient immediacy and reality to warrant the issuance of a declaratory judgment.” (quoting *Maryland Cas. Co. v. Pacific Coal & Oil Co.*, 312 U.S. 270, 273 (1941))).

## **COUNT 2**

### **Equitable Cause of Action**

75. Florida repeats and incorporates by reference ¶¶ 1–66.

76. Under the traditional equitable cause of action, courts may “enjoin unlawful executive action.” *Armstrong*, 575 U.S. at 326–27. This cause of action “is the creation of courts of equity, and reflects a long history of judicial review of illegal executive action.” *Id.*

77. For the reasons discussed in Count 1, the federal government’s attempt to thwart Florida’s investigation vastly overreads § 351(f) and any enforcement of it would constitute illegal executive action.

## **COUNT 3**

### **Violation of the Tenth Amendment**

78. Florida repeats and incorporates by reference ¶¶ 1–66.

79. To the extent the Court rejects Counts 1 and 2 and adopts DOJ’s broad reading of § 351(f), that provision violates the Tenth Amendment.

80. It does not create “a federal right to engage in certain conduct subject only to certain (federal) constraints.” *Murphy*, 584 U.S. at 479.

81. Rather, it operates directly on the States by leaving state law completely intact but issuing a command to state officials regarding *when* they may exercise a sovereign function—here, enforcing state law.

82. By “dictat[ing] what” state officials “may and may not do,” § 351(f) “violates the anticommandeering rule” of the Tenth Amendment. *Id.* at 474.

83. Put differently, a valid preemption provision is one that “regulates private actors” because “the Constitution ‘confers upon Congress the power to regulate individuals, not States.’” *Murphy*, 584 U.S. at 477 (quoting *New York*, 505 U.S. at 166).

84. But § 351(f)—at least on DOJ’s reading—does not regulate private individuals at all—it only tells the States when they may enforce an otherwise valid law against those private individuals.

85. As the Supreme Court recently held, “[t]he Supremacy Clause gives priority to the ‘Laws of the United States,’ not the criminal law enforcement priorities or preferences of federal officers.” *Kansas v. Garcia*, 589 U.S. 191, 212 (2020).

86. For these reasons, to the extent the Court rejects Counts 1 and 2, § 351(f) violates the Tenth Amendment.

#### **PRAYER FOR RELIEF**

For these reasons, Florida asks the Court to:

- a) Declare that Florida may conduct its investigation without violating § 351(f).
- b) In the alternative, declare § 351(f) unconstitutional as applied to Florida.
- c) Enjoin Defendants from enforcing § 351(f) in a manner that would prevent Florida from conducting its investigation.
- d) Award costs and reasonable attorney’s fees.
- e) Award such other relief as the Court deems equitable and just.

Respectfully submitted,

Ashley Moody  
ATTORNEY GENERAL

John Guard (FBN 374600)  
CHIEF DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL

/s/ James H. Percival  
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*Counsel for the State of Florida*

**Senate Judiciary Committee**  
**Hearing on The Nomination of the Kashyap Pramod Patel**  
**to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**January 31, 2025**  
**Submission to the Record**  
**Senator Amy Klobuchar**

**Quote:** “Donald Trump has “every right to tell the world that in 2020, 2016, and every other election in between was rigged by our government because they were.”

**Full quote / transcript:** “We have to motivate Congress to act and impeach the right people, Wray and Garland. We have to get Congress to give us the ammunition, the receipts of corruption that we now know exist in the FBI and at DOJ and in the halls of the Intelligence Community. We can only get that if Congress not only does the job they need to do by investigating and subpoenaing them, but by shutting off specific routes of funding to the DOJ and FBI so that we can have accountability at the polls. Donald Trump has every right to tell the world that he won the 2020 election. That is not an illegal position to take. He has every right to tell the world that the 2020, 2016, and every other election in between was rigged by our government because they were. It wasn't illegal in 2001, 5, and 17 for Hillary Clinton, for Speaker Pelosi, Hakeem Jeffries, and Senator Barbara Boxer to say, what? The election was stolen. That's what they said then.”

**Source:** ThriveTime Show, August 27, 2023, at approximately 7:14 mark. Available at: <https://rumble.com/v3cgdmm-kash-patel-a-quick-updates-from-reawaken-tour-las-vegas.html>

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**Quote:** “These claims made in that statement were rejected by courts including by Republican judges. Is that correct?”

**Sources:**

- Fact check: Courts have dismissed multiple lawsuits of alleged electoral fraud presented by Trump campaign | Reuters; available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/fact-check-courts-have-dismissed-multiple-lawsuit-s-of-alleged-electoral-fraud-p-idUSKBN2AF1FQ/>
- Kelly, Mike, et al. v. Pennsylvania, et al.; available at: <https://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/kelly-v-pennsylvania/>
  - SCOTUS denied a request from Pennsylvania Republicans to block the state from certifying the results of the 2020 election.
- Texas v. Pennsylvania, et al.; available at: <https://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/texas-v-pennsylvania/>
  - SCOTUS dismissed the State of Texas' challenge to the election results in four battleground states (Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin) due to lack of interest/ standing.

---

**Quote:**

Joe Pags: "Kash, the Capitol Police in that fake January 6 committee, they didn't tell the truth did they?"

Patel: "No. Not just them, many others. And lying under oath is a federal offense and they should be investigated for it.

**Full quote / transcript:**

Joe Pags: "Kash, the Capitol Police in that fake January 6 committee, they didn't tell the truth did they?"

Patel: "No. Not just them, many others. And lying under oath is a federal offense and they should be investigated for it. And I am glad we are finally getting to see some of these transcripts and exposing some of their lies. They added to the false disinformation campaign of the insurrection narrative that the Jan. 6th Committee wanted out there. The Jan. 6th Committee itself, I believe, committed acts of crime by burying evidence of innocence and destroying evidence that the American people is owed because that evidence spoke the truth and destroyed the Jan. 6th Committee's narrative about insurrection."

**Sources:** Joe Pags Show, May 29, 2024, at approximately 2:57 mark available at:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eUK2POjyi4>;

Also reported by the Washington Post on December 19, 2024:  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/12/19/kash-patel-criminal-investigations/>

---

**Quote:** “Jan. 6 never an insurrection: cowards in uniform exposed, they broke the chain of command, and violated the law.”

**Full post:**

← Truth Details  
105 replies

 Kash Patel   
@Kash

Jan. 6 never an insurrection: cowards in uniform exposed, they broke the chain of command, and violated the law. Warm up the UCMJ bus- you will receive no quarter here...  
[rumble.com/v4tskow-kash-patel-...](https://rumble.com/v4tskow-kash-patel-...)

**Kash Patel: "We Have Absolutely Leveled The Farce That Is The In...**



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 Kash Patel: "We Have Absolutely Leveled The Farce That Is The Insurrection Narrative"

901 ReTruths 2.04k Likes May 08, 2024, 11:30 AM

**Source:** Kash Patel (@Kash), TRUTH SOCIAL (May 8, 2024, 11:30 AM), <https://truthsocial.com/@Kash/posts/112406183916789450>.

Link to video embedded: [rumble.com/v4tskow-kash-patel-](https://rumble.com/v4tskow-kash-patel-), at approximately 5:47 mark

**Full quote / transcript:**

“What we found out in this testimony is shocking cowardice by Secretary of the Army Ryan McCarthy, by Secretary (excuse me) by Major General Walker and the others.

Ryan McCarthy went to the media after he got the order from the President of the United States and the Secretary of Defense to go and emplimentize (sic) and mobilize the National Guard, this guy stopped to take phone calls and talk to the media?

Where is the Uniform Code of Military Justice’s bringing up of charges for the violation, grossly, of the chain of command? And do you know why he did it to answer your question Steve? And there is (sic) emails at the Department of Defense that prove this. Ryan McCarthy as Secretary of the Army wanted to stay on, into the Biden Administration. Ryan McCarthy wanted to become the Secretary of Defense in the Biden Administration. Go ahead prove me wrong. Call my bluff. Get the emails from the Department of Defense.

And this guy was acting as a political gangster under the authorities of Mark Milley, who also wanted to save his job. So what did those guys do? They put out an operation to thwart the lawful commands of the chain of command from the commander in chief because it suited them.

These guys always say they live by the chain of command. Except when they violated it to use it as a shield for political purposes, and no one has held them to account. None of these guys in these articles impress me in any way, shape, or form. They are completely cowards in uniform.

And do you know what Major General Walker was doing? The same thing. Auditioning for a job in Nancy Pelosi's administration. In April of 2021, Major General Walker would become the top cop for Nancy Pelosi as the Sergeant at Arms in the House of Representative.

Are you telling me these guys in uniform weren't auditioning for political jobs, and mucking up the process along the way? And it took us three years to put this country through this much turmoil to get the truth out from supposed career military officers. These guys are cowards and they should be brought up on charges under the UCMJ."

---

**Quote 1:** "Mrna detox, reverse the vaxx n get health with @warrioessential spikegangsters.com/"

**Full Post:**

 Kash Patel ✅  
 @Kash

Mrna detox, reverse the vaxx n get healthy with [@warrioessential](#)  
[spikegangsters.com/](#)

**Spike Protein Recovery System**



**YOU WERE  
IMMUNE TO THE  
PROPAGANDA,  
BUT ARE YOU  
IMMUNE TO THE  
SHEDDERS?**

**WARRIOR ESSENTIALS** 

383 ReTruths 907 Likes      Apr 13, 2024, 12:54 PM

Reply    ReTruth    Like    ...

**Source:** <https://truthtsocial.com/@Kash/posts/112264956311023145>

**Quote 2:** “Spike the vaxx with @warrioressentials - sign up, clean up your bodys health spikegangsters.com/”

**Full Post:**

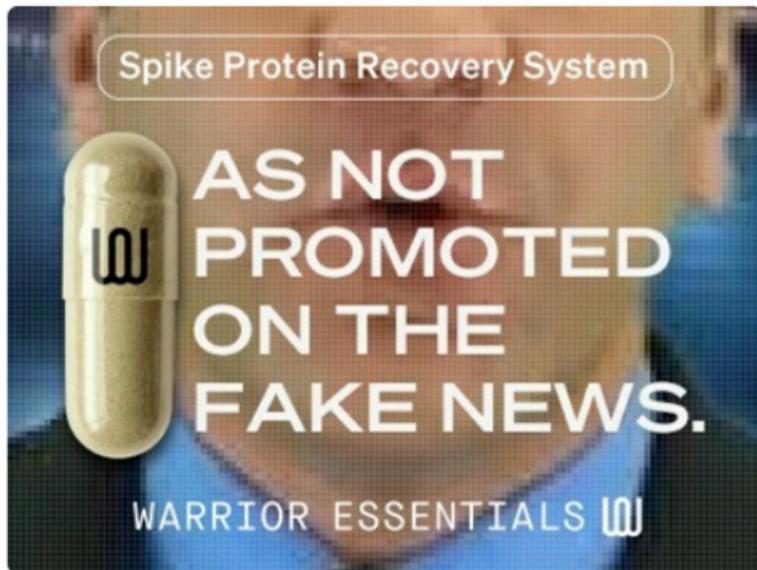
 Kash Patel ReTruthe



Kash Patel

@Kash · Apr 29, 2024

Spike the vaxx with @warrioressentials - sign up, clean up your bodys health  
[spikegangsters.com/](http://spikegangsters.com/)



Q 16    203    590    1    ...

**Source:** <https://truthsocial.com/@Kash/posts/112004498555307440>

**Quote:** “When Trump wins in 2024, and is in power in 2025, we can prosecute them, [referring to Justice Department officials] for an actual RICO statute violation for criminally organizing the United States government to break the law to rig presidential elections.”

**Source:** X22 Report podcast, Streamed on August 16, 2024, at approximately 14:15 mark, available at:

[https://x22report.com/aiovg\\_videos/kash-patel-right-wing-conspiracy-theories-are-true-its-all-about-to-boomerang-on-the-ds/](https://x22report.com/aiovg_videos/kash-patel-right-wing-conspiracy-theories-are-true-its-all-about-to-boomerang-on-the-ds/)

**Full Quote / Transcript:**

“All the same bad actors at FBI and DOJ back then, are basically now in bigger, powerful positions in DOJ and FBI now. And do you think for one second, they haven’t figured out a way to do Russia-gate all over again? And just do it better, meaning do it with a more masterful criminal scheme at play so they don’t get caught.

Of course, they are doing it to rig a presidential election. They did it with the intel letter scheme and they’ve got something in the works. And these guys are going to get away with it unless we make Chris Wray and Merrick Garland testify under oath to the American public.

And the kicker is when we lock in their testimony and every single one of their cronies, I don’t just mean them. I mean Lisa Monaco, I mean John Carlin, I mean the deputy director of the FBI, the new head of counter-intel, all of these people.

Once we lock in their testimony under oath, when Trump wins in 2024, and is in power in 2025 in January, we can prosecute them for an actual RICO statute violation, for criminally organizing the United States government to break the law to rig presidential elections. And baselessly, and unlawfully target Americans who abide by the law.”

---

**Quote:** “The election stuff was never my job’ and ‘I stayed out of all, all that stuff. That never came to me.’”

**Source:** Pushback with Aaron Mate podcast February 23, 2021, at approximately 37:11 mark, available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IstXmSlN4oM>

**Full quote / transcript:**

**Interviewer:** “What did you make first of Trump’s claims that this election was stolen and were people advising him that what he was saying was not grounded in fact?”

**Mr. Patel:** “I’m not going to say what people were advising him on because, really, the election stuff was never my job. My job was head his counterterrorism program, run his DNI, and then ultimately help run his Defense Department so I stayed out of all that stuff. That never came to me.”

---

**Quote:** “[The media is] the most powerful enemy of the United States that they have ever seen.”

**Full quote / transcript:** “When we wake up in November, it is not going to be just hope that pushes us across the finish line. We will look back together and say we helped destroy the two-tiered system of justice that is targeting Americans illegally. We helped destroy, and identify, an intelligence community that has gone rogue to seize our right to vote with their lies and fake disinformation campaign. And we collectively joined forces to take on the most powerful enemy that the United States has ever seen. And no, it’s not Washington DC, it’s the mainstream media. And these people out there in the fake news. That is our mission.”

**Source:** Speech at Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), dated February 23, 2024, at approximately 0:47 mark, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lrszCJQundw>

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**Quote:** “We're going to come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens who helped Joe Biden rig the elections. We're going to come after you whether it's criminally or civilly.”

**Source:** Steve Bannon's War Room Podcast, dated Dec. 5, 2023, “Kash Patel Calls on Speaker Johnson to Subpoena J6 Committee, Let Trump 2024 Team ‘Handle the Rest,’” RealAmericasVoice, at approximately 5:12 mark available at: <https://rumble.com/v3zrciz-kash-patel-calls-on-speaker-johnson-to-subpoena-j6committee-let-trump-2024.html>

Also available at “Who is Kash Patel, Trump’s pick for FBI director?” CNN, at approximately 0:50 mark, available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBQyy\\_-9Nic](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBQyy_-9Nic)

**Full quote / transcript:** “We will go out and find the conspirators not just in government, but in the media. Yes, we're going to come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens who helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections. We're going to come after you, whether it's criminally or civilly we'll figure that out. But yeah, we are putting you all on notice.”

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**Quote:** “You also said you would put the entire fake news Mafia press corps on your list. Is that correct? Is that what you said?”

**Source:** Benny Johnson Podcast dated August 21, 2023, at 18:47 mark, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xe0GLY7gO8k>

Also see Appendix B of *Government Gangsters*, by Kash Patel:

# GOVERNMENT GANGSTERS

*THE DEEP STATE, the TRUTH,  
and the BATTLE for OUR DEMOCRACY*

**KASH PRAMOD PATEL**



## APPENDIX B

# Members of the Executive Branch Deep State

This list only includes current and former Executive Branch officials and is not exhaustive. It does not, for example, include other corrupt actors of the first order such as Congressmen Adam Schiff and Eric Swalwell, members of Fusion GPS or Perkins Coie, Christopher Steele, Paul Ryan, the entire fake news mafia press corps, etc. Alphabetical by last name.

- **Atkinson, Michael** – Former Intelligence Community Inspector General
- **Austin, Lloyd** – Secretary of Defense under President Biden
- **Auten, Brian** – Supervisory Intelligence Analyst within the FBI
- **Baker, James** – Former General Counsel for the FBI, currently a member of the Brookings Institute, former Deputy General Counsel at Twitter
- **Barr, Bill** – Former Attorney General under President Trump
- **Bolton, John** – Former National Security Advisor under President Trump
- **Boyd, Stephen** – Former head of Legislative Affairs at DoJ under Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein

**Quote:** "The FBI remains utterly corrupt.

**Sources:** See Pages 73 and 85 *Government Gangsters*, by Kash Patel.

# GOVERNMENT GANGSTERS

*THE DEEP STATE, the TRUTH,  
and the BATTLE for OUR DEMOCRACY*

**KASH PRAMOD PATEL**



embarrassment. The fact that he was then reportedly allowed to meddle in the Hunter Biden investigation reveals, without a doubt, that the FBI remains utterly corrupt and without remorse for the damage it has done to America.

### THE FBI RAID ON MAR-A-LAGO

After spying on the Trump campaign and on a sitting president, it seemed like the FBI had no more lines it could cross. Then, in August 2022, the FBI did something it had never done before. They raided the home of a former president of the United States and a man who could well run for the presidency again. I know better than anyone just how deeply the FBI has been politicized and corrupted. But even so, the Mar-a-Lago raid shocked me.

The raid was approved by none other than Attorney General Merrick Garland himself. The White House publicly denied having any involvement, but that's not how these things work in Washington—and it's certainly not possible in this case. There is absolutely no way that the White House Counsel wasn't fully engaged beforehand with the FBI and DoJ about raiding the home of the president's former and potentially future opponent. In fact, not only did they know, but subsequent reporting on uncovered documents showed that the Biden White House authorized the recission of executive privilege so that presidential documents protected by this longstanding privilege could be grabbed by the FBI.<sup>25</sup> In fact, the White House Counsel's office was proactively emailing the National Archives and Records Administration, along with other government officials, who were engaging with the FBI and DoJ to prepare for the raid.

The Mar-a-Lago raid makes Watergate look like the teacup ride at Disney World. Instead of the sitting president having political cronies break into the offices of his opponent, his administration had the taxpayer-funded FBI violate longstanding precedent, which protected the constitutional privileges of the executive branch, by busting into the personal residence of his predecessor and political opponent.

## REFORMS AT THE ROOT

The FBI needs structural reforms as well. Even if we fix special counsels and have the most rigorous congressional oversight possible, the FBI has become so thoroughly compromised that it will remain a threat to the people unless drastic measures are taken.

Most importantly, we need to get the FBI the hell out of Washington, DC. There is no reason for the nation's law enforcement agency to be centralized in the swamp. Keeping the FBI in its behemoth Washington HQ building only allows for institutional capture and incentivizes senior leadership in the FBI to lose focus on their mission and learn how to play political games instead, currying favor with politicians and cultivating relationships with the press to advance their career. Ambitious FBI agents are forced to swim in this environment. Right now, every agent is taught in field offices across the country that if you want to rise through the ranks, then you have to do a tour in Washington.

These perverse incentives must be eliminated. FBI agents should be in the field investigating crimes, not covering for their swamp masters to get their next title. Kissing ass in Washington, DC, has nothing to do with solving federal crimes, which occur throughout the United States. And as we've seen in the most highly politicized cases in FBI history from Russia Gate to the Hunter Biden "investigation" to the Mar-a-Lago raid, it's always the same corrupt agents quarterbacking the entire op from Washington. Moving the FBI out of the capital will break up the corrupt networks and politicized strike forces the FBI uses to attack political opponents. Not to mention it will put federal law enforcement agents where they belong, in everyday America rooting out crime and securing our communities.

This can be accomplished in a variety of ways. Congress can remove funding from the Washington, DC, headquarters and instead reassign FBI funding—and therefore FBI personnel—throughout the United States, putting field-level agents back in the field. If Congress wanted to, it could reduce the FBI behemoth in Washington, DC, to just a single field office dedicated to investigating crimes within the district and place the headquarters anywhere else in America. They could even go so far

**Quote:** “So then we need to decrease what I call government creep with personnel. The FBI’s footprint has gotten so freaking big, and the biggest problem the FBI has had — has come out of its intel shops. I’d break that component out of it. I’d shut down the FBI Hoover building on day one and reopening the next day as a museum of the deep state.”

**Source:** Kash Patel on Shawn Ryan Show Podcast (Sep 2, 2024), at approximately 1:13:02, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pjWCnh42Sc4>; see transcript at <https://singjupost.com/transcript-of-kash-patel-on-shawn-ryan-show-podcast/?singlepage=1>

**Full quote / transcript:**

**Shawn Ryan:** What are some of the other ways we could get rid of them in your book?

**Mr. Patel:** I should know the short form of the book better. I’m failing on my chance to sell it. I think we’ve talked about, like, the bulk of the ones I want to — personnel. It’s the one thing we haven’t really discussed. Restocking. I don’t consider it restocking. Everybody keeps talking about who’s got the black books. You’ve got to go in and fill 4,000 jobs. Why? Who the hell said you have to have 4,000 people come in with you? Why can’t it be 1,000? No one’s ever given me a good answer for that, except that’s the way we do things. That’s the way we do transitions. That’s the way the deep state works. Okay, well, that’s not really a good answer. And then if you decrease the amount of people in the cog, you preempt the wheel, the whole, like, wheel of government. Instead of having 67 people that can say no and don’t want to follow your lawful command, you just have a chain of command that goes from point to point. Right? So I think you need way less people. You don’t need this massive number. I think that is a fiction of the deep state. Not to mention, again, you save money. Then you need to do a whole bunch of things with personnel. For, like, instance, at FBI, you need to stock it with a Director, Deputy Director, and the heads of the separate divisions. Same thing at CIA and DOD that are going to support. And the media, again, is distorting it already. Trump’s going to install loyalists. Kash Patel is the Trump loyalist. What does that even mean? Like, if the guy gives me a lawful chain of command authority, you want me to not execute it? That’s unlawful if I violate it. He was the president. If he’s the president again, the same thing should apply. So then we need to decrease what I call government creep with personnel. The FBI’s footprint has gotten so freaking big, and the biggest problem the FBI has had — has come out of its intel shops. I’d break that component out of it. I’d shut down the FBI Hoover building on day one and reopening the next day as a museum of the deep state. And I’d take the 7,000 employees that work in that building and send them across America to chase down criminals. Go be cops. You’re cops. Go be cops. Go chase down murderers and rapists and drug dealers and violent offenders. What do you need 7,000 people there for? Same thing with DOJ. What are all these people doing here? Looking for the next government promotion. Looking for the next fancy government title. Looking for their parachute out of government. So while you’re bringing in the right people, you also have to shrink government.

**Shawn Ryan:** So massive government reform.

**Mr. Patel:** Yeah. And you've got to work with Congress to eliminate the billets. This is one of the things we did when I was deputy DNI. We got to DNI, and I was like, okay, what do all these people do? Well, we've got the CIA, so why do I have analysts doing the CIA's job here? Why do I have a floor of them? Like, give me a good answer. I don't know everything. I don't know a lot. But if you can give me an answer that satisfies their existence, I'm all in. Well, we just have our own people. Ok. Well now we don't.

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**Quote:** “Elon Musk cares about two things: your data and his money.”

**Source:** Steak for Breakfast Podcast, Episode 242, dated May 26, 2023, at approximately [2:10:38] mark; available at:  
<https://www.podchaser.com/podcasts/steak-for-breakfast-podcast-1414185/episodes/episode-242-173995714>

**Full Quote / Transcript:** “Well yeah and he also doesn't use platforms that implode and have guys like Elon Musk who is basically allowing the World Economic Forum to run Twitter. Elon Musk cares about two things: your data, and his money. And that's what he's buying with Twitter. And that's what he wanted with Ron DeSantis. So it is not a free speech platform...”

**Full Posts:**



Kash Patel   
@Kash · May 21, 2023

Newsflash: Elon Musk cares about Elon Musk n his X app, he wants to own the company that owns humanity... dont believe me, hes now got his billionaire buddys at the commie central world economic forum running Titter-  
#TruthOverTweets

310 1.46k 3.53k 199

Available at: <https://truthtsocial.com/@Kash/110404728459038864>



Kash Patel ✅

@Kash · Jul 15, 2023

Elon Musk is is big tech colluding with our government to censor our elections. You've had months to set the record straight, n you have failed. Your cheap Titter posts and your Mickey Mouse clown droppings do not absolve you- you are as bad as FBI/DOJ n you and are making millions from the disinformation campaigns. You are a complete and total fake who cares only about \$. Any time you want a real challenge, I'll debate you, name the place and time. Elon = Schiff - gauntlet thrown

514 2.47k 6.06k



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Available at: <https://truthtwitter.com/@Kash/110716340985370869>

Materials for the Record

Senator Richard Blumenthal

Senate Judiciary Committee

Nomination Hearing

Kashyap Patel to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

January 30, 2025



Kash Patel ✅

@Kash · Mar 10, 2023

#J6PCJ

"Justice For All" by the J6 Prison Choir and former President Donald Trump. This powerful and moving song raises awareness and support for the political prisoners still locked in jail without trial following the January 6th protest in 2021. J6 Prison Choir consists of individuals who have been incarcerated as a result of their involvement in the January 6, 2021 protest for election integrity. They have sang the anthem every night since being incarcerated- lets help

[too.fm/3zb78aa](https://too.fm/3zb78aa)



🔗 Feature.fm

Justice for All

Choose your preferred music service



42



562



1.51k



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↻ Kash Patel ReTruthed



Kash Patel ✅

@Kash · Mar 8, 2023

[thekashfoundation.com](http://thekashfoundation.com)



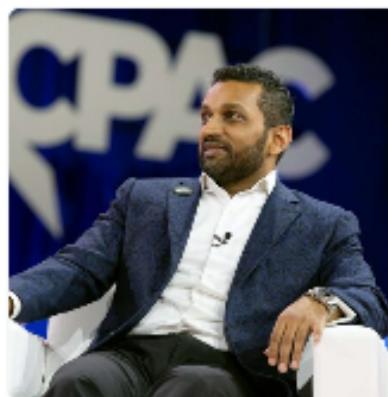
Kash Patel ✅

@Kash · Mar 8, 2023

So proud of the Fight With Kash Trust and The Kash Foundation: you're over the target when the fake news mafia comes after you with only disinfo and innuendo... Thanks ABC for blasting out our charitable work- we will NEVER stop funding whistleblowers, providing for Jan 6 Families, legal funds, military members, law enforcement, education... Come Get Some, join us

Its simply MISSION FIRST #FWK

[abcnews.go.com/US/trump-loyali...](http://abcnews.go.com/US/trump-loyali...)



🔗 [abcnews.go.com](http://abcnews.go.com)

Trump loyalist Kash Patel's tax-exempt charity raises questions, experts say

Trump loyalist Kash Patel has been raising money for a charity he launched called "Fight With Kash" -- but some nonprofit experts say it could raise legal questions.

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<https://truthtsocial.com/@Kash/109989115013293788>



**Kash Patel** ✅

@Kash · Mar 11, 2023

Number 1 song n a Number 1 #J6PC tee- all net proceeds to J6 fams:

[thekashfoundation.shop/product...](https://thekashfoundation.shop/product...)



**Donald J. Trump** ✅

@realDonaldTrump · Mar 11, 2023

[breitbart.com/politics/2023/03...](https://breitbart.com/politics/2023/03...)



🔗 [www.breitbart.com](https://www.breitbart.com)

Donald Trump Tops iTunes Charts,

Beats Miley Cyrus, Morgan Wallen

Donald Trump reached number one on the iTunes chart with his debut single, "Justice For All," beating superstars like Miley Cyrus.



82



772



4.22k



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↻ Kash Patel ReTruthed

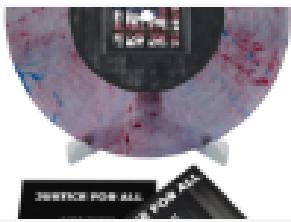


Kash Patel ✅

@Kash · Mar 18, 2023

45 on a 45, limited edition collectors item- get your "Justice For All" Vinyl record... yes we did that. Seems timely to fight against a two tier system of justice, now more than ever... raising money for J6 fams

[j6prisonchoir.com/products/jus...](https://j6prisonchoir.com/products/jus...)



↗ j6prisonchoir.com

Justice For All Vinyl Record (Red, White & Blue)



137



1.47k



4.7k



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<https://truthtwitter.com/@Kash/110044822678895270>



Kash Patel ✅

@Kash

Jan. 6 never an insurrection: cowards in uniform exposed, they broke the chain of command, and violated the law. Warm up the UCMJ bus- you will receive no quarter here...

[rumble.com/v4tskow-kash-patel-...](https://rumble.com/v4tskow-kash-patel-...)



<https://truthtsocial.com/@Kash/posts/112406183916789450>

# Hiring Freeze Creates Confusion and Concern at F.B.I.

President Trump's directive is supposed to exempt national security and public safety positions, but the F.B.I. has put an immediate hiring freeze in place.



By Adam Goldman

Jan. 26, 2025

The F.B.I. has taken drastic steps to comply with President Trump's hiring freeze, causing deep uncertainty in the bureau's ranks and rattling new employees.

The moves appear at odds with the executive order that the president issued hours after taking office, which specifies that such a freeze would not apply to national security or public safety officials. Given that one of the F.B.I.'s core missions is to safeguard against terrorism and the possibility of other threats, it remains unclear why the bureau would not be exempt.

Regardless the steps are all but certain to hobble the agency's efforts to recruit, retain and train employees.

The bureau's human resources division, in an internal memo issued on Friday, detailed the moves it was taking as a result of the order, including supplying the White House with a list of probationary employees.

Employees' concerns have only been compounded by the deep suspicion and relentless attacks President Trump and his pick to be the agency's director, Kash Patel, have leveled at the bureau over its previous criminal investigations that ensnared Mr. Trump. Mr. Patel has promised to turn F.B.I. headquarters into a museum of the "deep state," dismantle the bureau intelligence cadre and slash the general counsel's office, which provides the director with key legal advice.

Already on edge, current F.B.I. employees wonder whether the directive signals the administration's intent to gut parts of the country's premier law enforcement agency, even as Mr. Trump has pushed to rapidly overhaul the federal bureaucracy.

The F.B.I. declined to comment and referred questions to the Justice Department, which, like other government agencies, has been subject to the hiring freeze. A spokesman for the department did not immediately comment.

Among the moves that have stoked concern at the F.B.I. is a request by the White House for the names of probationary employees, or employees who joined the bureau in the last two years — some of whom are military veterans. The list encompasses nearly 1,000 agents in field offices around the country.

The memo said the bureau had to justify which employees on the list the agency wanted to retain.

"To be clear, our employees on that list are on that list because we hired them to do mission critical jobs," the memo said. "We will do everything that we can to ensure that they stay here at the F.B.I."

Firing new agents would be a considerable blow to the F.B.I., which spends tens of thousands of dollars recruiting, hiring and putting them through 20 weeks of extensive training.

The F.B.I. said that new agent and analyst classes would begin their training at the bureau's facility in Quantico, Va., as planned on Sunday. But future classes, the backbone of the agency's ability to protect the country, appear to be on hold as job offers made to agents and analysts are put on pause.

The field offices, which struggle to keep their squads filled, will have to scramble to make sure investigations and other operations continue to run smoothly if the agents are let go and more cannot be hired to keep pace with retirements.

All recruitment events and activities were also paused. The bureau said that job postings had been removed but that it was trying to seek an exemption for special agents.

The F.B.I., which has about 38,000 employees, was already facing budget cuts before Mr. Trump's hiring freeze.

In June, Christopher A. Wray, who fell out of favor with Mr. Trump and resigned before the inauguration, told a Senate appropriations subcommittee that the agency was already stretched thin from previous budget reductions.

He warned that the threats to the country had never been greater.

"Our adversaries are not scaling back their efforts because of the constrained budget environment," he said. "In fact, threat actors may try to take advantage of federal budget reductions to conduct nefarious activities."

Similar to the Justice Department, the F.B.I. also put its coveted honors interns program on pause for the 2026 fiscal year, the memo said.

**Adam Goldman** writes about the F.B.I. and national security. He has been a journalist for more than two decades. More about Adam Goldman

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A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 10 of the New York edition with the headline: Confusion Over Hiring Freeze at the F.B.I. Puts New Agents in Limbo