

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.¹ These included foremost the prompt and thorough compliance with congressional oversight requests and the protection of whistleblowers, whom I've spent my career defending.² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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

¹ 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>.

² 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>.

³ 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/>.

⁴ 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.⁵ Whistleblowers also alleged the FBI had disciplined senior officials less severely than their subordinates for this misconduct.⁶ In November 2022, I released internal FBI documents corroborating these disclosures.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ Your Deputy Director, Paul Abbate, also publicly stated the FBI is serious about removing officials for sexual misconduct.¹⁰ 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).¹¹ 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.¹² The report revealed the National Ground Intelligence Center (NGIC) flagged at least 50 Afghan evacuees for the FBI as "potentially significant security concerns."¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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."¹⁵ Since that time, on

⁵ 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.

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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>.

⁹ 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>.

¹⁰ 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-eed5df47a077a9de8e9ec03708be5168>.

¹¹ 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.tofbiupdateonafghanevacueevetting.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.

¹² 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/>.

¹³ *Id.* at 10.

¹⁴ Verified by relevant staff on the Sen. Judiciary Comm.

¹⁵ 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).¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ You've failed to respond to my inquiries on that serious matter as well.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ The same report also noted FBI's refusal to provide USCIS with full access to its National Crime Information Center Interstate Identification Index.²¹ The DHS OIG noted that FBI refused to provide this access because it, "deems immigration and naturalization issues as noncriminal justice matters."²² 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."²³ 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.²⁴ 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."²⁵ 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.²⁶ This record, known as an FD-1023, documented allegations of bribery between and among then-Vice President

¹⁶ *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>.

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

¹⁸ 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; 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.

¹⁹ 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>.

²⁰ *Id.* at 21.

²¹ *Id.* at 12.

²² *Id.* at 12.

²³ *Id.* at 10, 15.

²⁴ 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%20FBI%20\(Comey%20Statement\).pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2017-08-30%20CEG%20+%20LG%20to%20FBI%20(Comey%20Statement).pdf).

²⁵ 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>.

²⁶ 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.

Biden, Hunter Biden, and Ukrainian officials.²⁷ 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."²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.³¹ 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.³² 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.³³ 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.³⁴ This is some of the most egregious, Orwellian conduct I've witnessed in my nearly 50 years in the Congress, and the rightful

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ 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>.

²⁹ 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>; 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>.

³⁰ 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>.

³¹ 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>.

³² 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>.

³³ 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>.

³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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.³⁶

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.³⁷ 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."³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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

³⁵In 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>.

³⁶ *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>.

³⁷ 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>.

³⁸ 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>.

³⁹ Alex Leary, Aruna Viswanatha, and Sadie Gurman, *supra* n. 37.

⁴⁰ Sadie Gurman and Aruna Viswanatha, *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>.

⁴¹ 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-clinton-2019s-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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ I warned you after the Mar-a-Lago raid that it risked the credibility of the FBI, and it has done just that.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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.

⁴² The Hon. Jason Chaffetz, Chairman, House Comm. on Oversight and Gov’t Reform, the Hon. Bob Goodlate, 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>.

⁴³ 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>.

⁴⁴ 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>.

⁴⁵ 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/>.

⁴⁶ 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-grassleydenounce-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-protect-president-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.

⁴⁷ 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-bca5-048b2759a489_story.html.

⁴⁸ 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; 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; 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;

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.⁴⁹ Shortly after a whistleblower disclosed the notorious memo to the public, I requested FBI provide answers, backed up by records.⁵⁰ The FBI in its paltry response deflected on the basis it was conducting an internal investigation of the incident.⁵¹ 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 2024.⁵² 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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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."⁵⁵ 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.

⁴⁹ 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>.

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² 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-%202012.14.23.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.

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

⁵⁴ Emails with FBI Senate Judiciary Committee Liaison on file with staff.

⁵⁵ 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.

couple of sentences in the memo.⁵⁶ 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.”⁵⁷ According to staff present at the FBI’s September 2023 briefing, FBI withheld this information about the production of a second, external memo.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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, 2023.⁶¹ 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.⁶² 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.⁶³ 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

⁵⁶ 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>.

⁵⁷ 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.

⁵⁸ Notes of briefing to Comm. staff on file with staff.

⁵⁹ 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>.

⁶⁰ 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>.

⁶¹ 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; 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>.

⁶² 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; 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>.

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

follow up with my office.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ Again, my simple request on behalf of brave FBI whistleblowers was greeted with deafening silence. President Reagan often said we should, "trust but verify."⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ The FBI took nearly two and a half years to provide a paltry 118-word response.⁷¹ That response failed to provide any information on the raid, yet it asserted the FBI doesn't engage in whistleblower retaliation.⁷² Again, such bland assertions do

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

⁶⁵ Hearing *supra* n. 2.

⁶⁶ 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>.

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ 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>.

⁶⁹ Luke 16:10.

⁷⁰ 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/>.

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² *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.⁷³ The letter focused on Special Agent John Parkinson, who initially made protected disclosures in 2008, and subsequently lost his security clearance.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ The FBI's response failed to address either of these inquiries.⁷⁶

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;⁷⁷ 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;⁷⁸ 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;⁷⁹ 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;⁸⁰ 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;⁸¹ 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;⁸² it's failed to update me on the status of a criminal referral I made to FBI in January

⁷³ 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_suspensions.pdf.

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ 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>.

⁷⁸ 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.

⁷⁹ 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.

⁸⁰ 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.

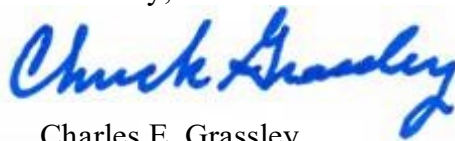
⁸¹ Press Release, Off. of Sen. Charles E. Grassley, *Grassley, Johnson Uncover Obama-Biden State Department's Politically-motivated Obstruction of FBI Law Enforcement Efforts* (May 22, 2024), <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/grassley-johnson-uncover-obama-biden-state-departments-politically-motivated-obstruction-of-fbi-law-enforcement-efforts>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

⁸² 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.

of this year related to likely child trafficking through the Biden-Harris Office of Refugee Resettlement at the Department of Health and Human Services;⁸³ 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;⁸⁴ 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;⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ 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

⁸³ 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>.

⁸⁴ 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.

⁸⁵ 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).

⁸⁶ 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; 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-a804ea3eef88d8670aa19610e6fa8494>; 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-75e466a64e838ab12eae96f6335f3cd>.