

WHISTLEBLOWER REPORT

FAILURES OF THE UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE IN CONNECTION WITH THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF FORMER PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP

Report from the Office of

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U.S. Senator for Missouri
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On July 13, 2024, former President Donald J. Trump was nearly killed by an assassin's bullet while hosting a rally in Butler, Pennsylvania, and the U.S. Secret Service failed to prevent it. It was the most stunning breakdown in presidential security since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan.

Following this catastrophic failure, the Secret Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and Department of Homeland Security (DHS) have all tried to evade real accountability. These agencies and their leaders have slow-walked congressional investigations, misled the American people, and shirked responsibility. In response, Senator Hawley personally visited the Butler, Pennsylvania rally site to interview whistleblowers, opened up a whistleblower tip line, and encouraged those with relevant information to tell their stories. Since then, many individuals have come forward with information regarding the events of July 13—from the Secret Service, DHS, and local law enforcement, as well as private citizens.

The resulting findings are highly damaging to the credibility of the Secret Service and DHS. They reveal a compounding pattern of negligence, sloppiness, and gross incompetence that goes back years, all of which culminated in an assassination attempt that came inches from succeeding. Chief among them are:

- The Secret Service's Counter Surveillance Division, which performs threat assessments of event sites, did not perform a typical evaluation of the Butler site and was not present on the day of the rally.
- Secret Service personnel declined multiple offers from a local law enforcement partner to deploy drone technology, despite the fact that the would-be assassin used a drone to survey the rally site mere hours before the attempted assassination.
- The Secret Service's Office of Protective Operations-Manpower told agents in charge of security for the Butler rally not to request additional security resources because they would be denied.
- On July 13, law enforcement personnel abandoned the rooftop of American Glass Research Building 6—the roof from which Thomas Crooks attempted to assassinate the former president—because of hot weather.
- The Secret Service's lead site agent on July 13—the agent with specific responsibility for the security of the rally site, including line-of-sight concerns—was known to be incompetent. That incompetence led to the placement of items like flags around the Butler stage and catwalk, impairing visibility.
- Supplementary Department of Homeland Security personnel were used to fill in shortages of Secret Service personnel on July 13. Some DHS agents were pulled off child exploitation cases for this purpose, and the "training" they received was merely a poor-quality, two-hour webinar.

These findings, which were published by Senator Hawley in a series of letters to executive branch officials, have been cited by Members of Congress and news outlets and have enhanced the public's understanding of what transpired on July 13 in Butler. In multiple cases, executive branch agencies have confirmed or corroborated whistleblower testimony. The findings have highlighted the need for swift and aggressive oversight action by the President and both Houses of Congress. Executive branch agencies so far have not denied any of these allegations. What is more, on July 30, Senator Hawley directly questioned Acting Director Rowe about whistleblower allegations in a hearing jointly held by the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee and Senate Judiciary Committee.

In addition, Senator Hawley is revealing several new findings from whistleblowers that have not yet been reported:

- The lead agent responsible for the entire Butler visit, including the rally, failed a key examination during their federal law enforcement training to become a Secret Service agent.
- Secret Service intelligence units—teams of Secret Service agents paired with state and local law enforcement to handle reports of suspicious persons—were absent from the Butler rally.
- The hospital site where former President Trump received treatment after the shooting was poorly secured, and the hospital site agent could not answer basic questions about site security.

To date, Secret Service and DHS have provided virtually no answers, and there remain many outstanding questions. These include:

- Who, within the Secret Service or DHS, made the decision to deny counter sniper coverage to the rooftop from which Thomas Crooks shot former President Trump on July 13?
- When will Secret Service or DHS publicly name the lead site agent for the rally and the lead agent for the Butler visit?
- Did the Acting Secret Service Director ever deny resources to the Trump campaign, or USSS counter sniper teams, as has been reported in the press?

Senator Hawley has consistently demanded accountability—calling on former Secret Service Director Kimberly Cheatle to resign, and demanding that Acting Director Rowe terminate those responsible for the security failures—and will continue to do so in the months to come. He has also written letters to Secretary of Homeland Security Alejandro Mayorkas and called on the DHS Inspector General to investigate the department's failures.

Whistleblowers are encouraged to contact Senator Hawley's office by email at <u>tips@hawley.senate.gov</u> or by phone at (202) 224-6154. Whistleblower identities will be protected against disclosure. All communications are entitled to protection afforded by whistleblower laws.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. BAC	CKGROUND	4
A.	TIMELINE OF EVENTS.	4
B.	MAP OF BUTLER RALLY SITE	
II. WI	IISTLEBLOWER ALLEGATIONS	5
A.	JULY 19: THE BUTLER RALLY WAS TREATED AS A "LOOSE" SECURITY EVENT	6
1	. Allegations	6
2	1 1	
В.	JULY 22: LAW ENFORCEMENT ABANDONED THE ROOF BECAUSE IT WAS TOO HOT	7
1	8	
2	1 1	8
C.	JULY 25: SECRET SERVICE DECLINED DRONE COVERAGE	
1		
2		9
D.	AUGUST 1: COUNTER SURVEILLANCE DIVISION WAS NOT PRESENT AT BUTLER RALLY	
1		
2		10
E.	AUGUST 5: BUTLER RALLY SITE AGENT WAS KNOWN TO LACK COMPETENCE	
1	8	
_ 2		11
F.	AUGUST 23: SECRET SERVICE HEADQUARTERS DENIED ADDITIONAL MANPOWER RESOURCES.	12
1	6	
2		12
G.	SEPTEMBER 3: DHS AGENTS ASSIGNED TO BUTLER RALLY RECEIVED INADEQUATE TRAINING.	
1		
2 H.	1 1	
	NEW WHISTLEBLOWER ALLEGATIONS	
III. O	UTSTANDING QUESTIONS	14
A.	RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY	14
B.	SECURITY AT THE AGR BUILDING COMPLEX	15
C.	REQUESTS FOR ADDITIONAL RESOURCES	15
D.	MOTIVE	15
IV. CO	DNCLUSION	16
APPE	NDIX 1: TIMELINE OF INVESTIGATIVE ACTIONS BY SENATOR HAWLEY	17
APPE	NDIX 2: SENATOR HAWLEY VISITS RUTLER PENNSYLVANIA	19

I. BACKGROUND

On July 13, 2024, Thomas Matthew Crooks took up a shooting position on the top of American Glass Research (AGR) Building 6 in Butler, Pennsylvania. The building had a direct line of sight to former President Donald J. Trump as he addressed a large crowd of supporters at the Butler Farm Show Grounds.

From roughly 400 feet away, Crooks fired eight rounds from his AR-15-style rifle. President Trump was struck by gunfire and immediately evacuated for medical treatment at Butler Memorial Hospital, but not before pausing to reassure the crowd that he was still alive. Crooks's bullets also took the life of Corey Comperatore, who was shot in the head while shielding his family. Two others were shot and critically injured.

Congress created the U.S. Secret Service (USSS) with the mission to protect the president, vice president, former presidents, and other important government officials. 18 U.S.C. § 3056(a). In fiscal year 2023, Congress appropriated roughly \$3 billion to the Secret Service. Yet despite these vast resources, the Secret Service failed to protect former President Trump from a 20-year-old would-be assassin, who appears to have single-handedly outwitted the world's most famous protective service. This level of incompetence demands an explanation.

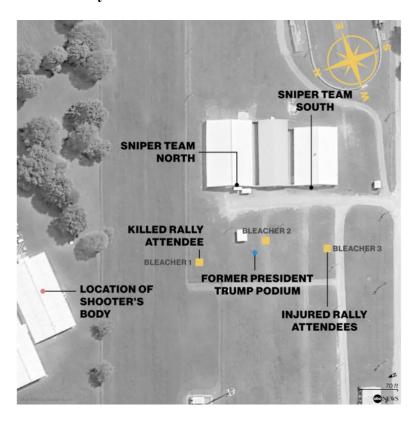
Senator Josh Hawley is a Member of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee (HSGAC) and Senate Judiciary Committee (SJC), which share jurisdiction over the Secret Service. He is the only Republican Senator who serves on both committees. On July 13, the same day as the attempted assassination, Senator Hawley called on HSGAC to conduct a full investigation into the events of that day. On July 14, Senator Hawley formally wrote to the HSGAC Chairman calling for a committee investigation and on July 15 joined other Republican Senators calling on SJC Chairman Durbin to do the same.

A. Timeline of Events

Time	Event
Morning	Crooks takes father's AR-15 rifle, buys 50 rounds of ammunition and ladder, drives
	to rally.
4:26pm	Local counter sniper texts colleagues about someone who "snuck in and parked by
	our cars."
5:06pm	Crooks videotaped outside secured perimeter by member of public.
5:10pm	State or local law enforcement identify Crooks as a suspicious person.
5:32pm	State or local law enforcement observe Crooks browsing news on his cell phone and
	in possession of a <i>rangefinder</i> .
5:38pm	Photos of Crooks shared in law enforcement group chat. State or local law enforcement
	discuss Crooks with rangefinder. "I did see him with a range finder looking towards
	stage. FYI. If you wanna notify SS snipers to look out. I lost sight of him."
5:46pm	Local law enforcement notifies Secret Service counter snipers via text that there was
	a suspicious person.
5:51pm	Local law enforcement notifies Secret Service that Crooks was observed with a
	<u>rangefinder</u> .
6:02pm	Crooks is observed between the American Glass Research (AGR) buildings.

Time	Event
6:03pm	Former President Trump takes the stage.
6:08pm	State or local law enforcement observes Crooks on the AGR building.
~6:10pm	Butler Township police officer attempts to climb roof, hoisted by another officer,
	Crooks aims rifle, officer releases grip and falls 8 feet, injuring ankle. Secret Service
	says they were aware locals were "working an issue."
~6:11pm	Approximately 24 seconds later, Crooks begins firing his AR-15-style rifle. FBI
	assesses he fired 8 rounds total.

B. Map of Butler Rally Site



II. WHISTLEBLOWER ALLEGATIONS

Since July 13, many credible whistleblowers have approached Senator Hawley with pertinent information. Senator Hawley has published these allegations in a series of letters addressed to Department of Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas and USSS Acting Director Ronald Rowe. This section details the various allegations reported to Senator Hawley and the responses from executive branch agencies—or lack thereof.

A. July 19: The Butler Rally Was Treated as a "Loose" Security Event

On July 19, 2024, Senator Hawley wrote a letter to Secretary Mayorkas regarding credible allegations from a whistleblower with direct knowledge of the Butler event.¹

1. Allegations

The whistleblower alleged that the July 13 rally was considered to be a "loose" security event. Specifically, they alleged the following:

- Detection canines were not deployed to monitor entry and detect threats in the usual manner for outdoor campaign rallies.
- Individuals without proper designations were able to gain access to backstage areas.
- DHS personnel failed to properly police the 5-foot security buffer near the stage and allowed people to move barricades around the buffer.
- DHS personnel were not stationed at regular intervals around the security perimeter.

The whistleblower further alleged that the majority of DHS personnel working the rally were agents with the Department's Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) team. They alleged that the HSI agents were unfamiliar with standard security protocols used at campaign events.

2. Information Requested and Response

In his July 19 letter, Senator Hawley requested the following information:

- How did DHS determine to staff the event, including any decision to rely on state or local officers?
- What percentage of the DHS agents at the event were from HSI rather than USSS? Were a majority of officers at the event drawn from HSI or other DHS components, rather than USSS? If so, why?
- Were HSI agents properly trained in staffing these types of events?
- Did gaps exist in the security perimeter, and were the usual protocols followed for the use of canines and magnetometers?
- Were agents not appropriately stationed around the podium?
- Were the standard protocols followed for issuing designated pins to vetted personnel that are allowed backstage?

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Hawley-Letter-to-Mayorkas-on-whistleblowers-reassassination-attempt-on-Trump.pdf

• How long did agents physically spend on the ground surveying the site before the event? Did any paperwork obligations prevent a longer and more robust site survey?

DHS has thus far failed to provide responsive answers to Senator Hawley's request.

B. July 22: Law Enforcement Abandoned the Roof Because It Was Too Hot

On July 22, 2024, Senator Hawley wrote a letter to Secretary Mayorkas regarding credible allegations from a whistleblower with knowledge of Secret Service planning for the Butler event.²

1. Allegations

The whistleblower alleged that there was supposed to be a law enforcement presence on the roof of AGR Building 6—the roof from which Thomas Crooks attempted to assassinate the former president. They alleged that at least one individual was posted to the roof of AGR Building 6 for the duration of the rally, but the post was abandoned because of the hot weather.

The whistleblower further alleged that concerns over the heat prompted law enforcement to station personnel inside Building 6, rather than on patrol around the building.

At the July 30, 2024 Senate hearing, Senator Hawley directly questioned Acting Director Rowe regarding this whistleblower report. Rowe acknowledged that he heard the same report and stated that law enforcement "posted up inside." He added "I think moving forward ... we're going to ensure that state and local counter snipers are on roofs." Senator Hawley continued to press for a direct answer on whether law enforcement abandoned their post on the roof, and Rowe said he did "not know that to be a fact." Senator Hawley continued to press Rowe as to why he did not know. Rowe asserted "we are looking at this."

Now-former Director Cheatle previously testified before the House Committee on Oversight and Accountability that "[t]he roof [of AGR Building 6] was not covered with an individual on it because there was overwatch provided." This answer contradicted her previously public statements that the decision not to place law enforcement on the roof of AGR Building 6 was because the roof was too "sloped."

Local law enforcement has disputed the whistleblower's report that law enforcement abandoned the post on the roof, stating that they were assigned to be "inside the building at windows to begin with." But on August 8, 2024, a *Wall Street Journal* report suggested that there was miscommunication between the Secret Service and local law enforcement regarding security plans for AGR Building 6, and that the heat did factor into the decisions regarding the roof:

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 $^{{}^2 \}quad \underline{https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Hawley-Letter-to-DHS-re-Updated-Whistleblower-Allegations.pdf}$

³ https://x.com/susancrabtree/status/1816511013040083289

About 10 minutes after the shooting, another officer, arriving at the warehouse, said to a fellow officer, "I thought you guys were on the roof. I thought it was you. I thought it was you."

"No," came the reply, with an explanation that no officers were on the roof.

"What the f—," the officer replied in frustration. "Why were we not on the roof? Why weren't we?"

Federal law-enforcement officials have said the Secret Service thought local law-enforcement officers, including snipers from the Butler County Emergency Services Unit, were supposed to secure the building where Crooks fired.

However, a local law-enforcement official involved in the event planning previously said the tactical team's heads told the Secret Service during the walk-through that its snipers would be inside the building on its second floor.

Butler's team didn't want the snipers on the roof because they would have been exposed to temperatures over 90 degrees throughout the day, the official said.⁴

Relatedly, on July 23, 2024, the Commissioner of the Pennsylvania State Police, Colonel Christopher Paris, testified before the House Homeland Security Committee that there were at least two law enforcement officers in the second-floor window overlooking the roof of AGR Building 6, but those officers left that post to track down the shooter. The Butler County district attorney has disputed this claim, calling it "misstatement." He asserted that only one counter sniper briefly left the building to search for Crooks, but returned to his post. The Pennsylvania State Police has stated that it stands by Col. Paris's testimony.

2. Information Requested and Response

In his July 22 letter, Senator Hawley requested the following information:

- If the whistleblower's allegations are accurate, when did the individual abandon the post?
- Which law enforcement units were assigned to the roof? Please provide all security plans indicating which units were assigned to the roof and the building.
- Did any law enforcement personnel fail to report to their assigned stations that day?

DHS has thus far failed to provide responsive answers to Senator Hawley's request.

⁴ https://www.wsj.com/us-news/videos-show-police-at-trump-rally-airing-frustration-with-secret-service-47c62e12

https://www.cbsnews.com/pittsburgh/news/butler-county-district-attorney-contradicts-pennsylvania-state-police-testimony/

C. July 25: Secret Service Declined Drone Coverage

On July 25, 2024, Senator Hawley wrote a letter to Secretary Mayorkas regarding credible allegations from a whistleblower with knowledge of security planning for the Butler event.⁶

1. Allegations

The whistleblower alleged that the night before the rally, Secret Service personnel repeatedly denied offers from a local law enforcement partner to utilize drone technology to secure the rally. According to the whistleblower, the drones that were offered to the Secret Service could not only identify active shooters but also help neutralize them. The whistleblower further alleged that after the shooting took place, Secret Service personnel changed course and asked the local partner to deploy the drone technology to surveil the site in the aftermath of the attack.

The day before Senator Hawley published these allegations, FBI Christopher Wray confirmed in his testimony before the House Judiciary Committee that Thomas Crooks used a drone to survey the site in preparation for his attack. In fact, Wray confirmed that the shooter was operating the drone approximately two hours before President Trump took the stage. Senator Hawley wrote that it was "hard to understand" why Secret Service personnel declined the drones offered to them, particularly in light of Wray's testimony.

At the July 30, 2024 Senate hearing, Senator Hawley directly questioned Acting Director Rowe regarding this whistleblower report. Rowe confirmed that "there was an offer to fly a drone on that day." Senator Hawley asked why the offer was denied. Rowe replied "I think the ability of local law enforcement to provide an asset, we probably should have taken them up on it if ... it was offered."

2. Information Requested and Response

In his July 25 letter, Senator Hawley requested all records and communications concerning the availability or use of drones at the July 13 rally. DHS has thus far failed to provide the requested records.

D. August 1: Counter Surveillance Division Was Not Present at Butler Rally

On August 1, 2024, Senator Hawley wrote a letter to Acting Director Rowe regarding credible allegations from a whistleblower.⁷

1. Allegations

The whistleblower alleged that the Secret Service's Counter Surveillance Division (CSD)—the unit that performs threat assessment of event sites before the event occurs—did not perform its

⁶ https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Hawley-Letter-to-DHS-re-Drone-Whistleblower.pdf

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Hawley-Whistleblower-Letter-to-Acting-Secret-Service-Director-Rowe.pdf

typical evaluation of the Butler site and was not present on the day of the rally. The whistleblower stated that if personnel from CSD had been present at the rally, the gunman would have been handcuffed in the parking lot after being spotted with a rangefinder.

The whistleblower further alleged that Acting Director Rowe personally directed significant cuts to CSD, up to and including reducing the division's manpower by twenty percent. Acting Director Rowe did not mention this in his July 30 Senate testimony when asked directly to explain manpower reductions.

The whistleblower also alleged retaliation against those within the Secret Service who expressed concern about the security at President Trump's events. The whistleblower claimed that following an event with the former President at a golf tournament in August of last year, Secret Service personnel expressed serious concern that local law enforcement used for event security were not properly trained or otherwise prepared to execute the tasks assigned to them. Further, Secret Service personnel expressed alarm that individuals were admitted to the event without vetting. The whistleblower alleged that those who raised such concerns faced retaliation.

In an August 2 press conference, Acting Director Rowe was asked directly about this whistleblower report. Rowe acknowledged that he heard the report and said that the Secret Service would respond to Senator Hawley's letter. He stated that CSD personnel "when requested ... go out and support former [presidents'] details," but did not say whether CSD was present at the Butler rally. When asked in a follow-up question whether he "cut funding personally," Rowe stated that he did not.

2. Information Requested and Response

In his August 1 letter, Senator Hawley requested the following information:

- All responsive records during Rowe's time as Deputy Director in which policy and personnel changes were made to CSD, the Secret Service division that specifically performs advance site threat assessments;
- The nature of Rowe's personal involvement in revising, updating, or otherwise changing Secret Service policies and personnel related to CSD;
- The number of Secret Service agents who have raised concerns about security practices within the Secret Service and are currently facing disciplinary action, as well as the nature of the concerns and the type of disciplinary action; and
- The breakdown of Secret Service personnel at the July 13 rally by division or unit.

In its response to Senator Hawley on August 19, 2024, the Secret Service declined to provide the requested information. DHS has also not provided this information.

E. August 5: Butler Rally Site Agent Was Known to Lack Competence

On August 5, 2024, Senator Hawley wrote to Acting Director Rowe regarding credible allegations from multiple whistleblowers with direct knowledge of the Butler event.⁸

1. Allegations

One whistleblower alleged that the Secret Service's lead site agent—the agent with specific responsibility for the security of the rally site—was known to lack competence and experience in the role. The whistleblower claimed that this agent was responsible for mitigating line-of-sight concerns at the Butler site.

A separate whistleblower alleged that the lead site agent personally made decisions that likely compromised the overall security of the event. For example, campaign material such as flags were permitted to be placed around the stage and catwalk used by the former president, despite the fact that these items were typically prohibited because of how they affected the line-of-sight of those agents responsible for identifying threats. The Secret Service also did not check IDs when issuing credentials that authorize access to restricted areas of the site, contrary to typical practice.

2. Information Requested and Response

In his August 5 letter, Senator Hawley requested the lead site agent's personnel file in addition to the following information:

- Who specifically made the decision to assign this lead site agent to the July 13 rally? On what basis was this decision made?
- Were obstructions on the stage and catwalk permitted to be used without evaluating the impact on the line-of-sight for agents responsible for the president's protection?
- Why were credential pins given out without asking for identification?
- How specifically will the lead site agent be held accountable?

In its response to Senator Hawley on August 19, 2024, the Secret Service declined to provide the requested information. DHS has also not provided this information.

A few days after the Secret Service's response, several Secret Service agents were placed on administrative leave. Whistleblowers report to Senator Hawley's office that the lead site agent was among the agents placed on leave.

https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2024/08/22/secret_service_agents_placed_leave_after_trump_assassination_attempt_151502.html; https://www.foxnews.com/us/multiple-secret-service-agents-put-on-leave-following-trump-assassination-attempt

⁸ https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Hawley-Letter-to-Rowe-re-Lead-Site-Agent.pdf

F. August 23: Secret Service Headquarters Denied Additional Manpower Resources

On August 23, 2024, Senator Hawley wrote a letter to Acting Director Rowe regarding credible allegations from a whistleblower with knowledge of Secret Service planning for the Butler event. ¹⁰

1. Allegations

According to the whistleblower, the lead advance agent for a trip involving protection of a specific individual typically submits a "manpower request" to the local field office. This normally includes the number of personnel and other security assets needed for the event and is submitted to the U.S. Secret Service's Office of Protective Operations-Manpower (OPO-Manpower) for final approval.

The whistleblower alleged that officials within this office preemptively informed the Pittsburgh field office that the Butler rally was not going to receive additional security resources because Trump is a *former* president, and not the incumbent President or Vice President. According to the whistleblower, the manpower request did not include extra security resources because agents on the ground were told not to ask for them in the first place. Importantly, these resources included counter sniper teams and CSD personnel.

When asked during the July 30 Senate hearing whether former President Trump's team had been denied resources, Acting Director Rowe stated: "If you're talking about Butler, Pennsylvania, all assets requested were approved." But according to the whistleblower, CSD personnel, counter sniper teams, and other critical security assets were not included in the manpower request for the Butler trip because Secret Service officials told the requesting agents that they would be denied.

2. Information Requested and Response

In his August 23 letter, Senator Hawley requested a copy of the manpower request submitted to OPO-Manpower for the Butler trip in addition to the following information:

- Who, within OPO-Manpower, informed the Pittsburgh field office and/or the agents in charge not to include additional security assets in the manpower request because they would be denied? Has that individual(s) been disciplined?
- Which specific security assets were left out of the manpower request for the Butler trip at the prompting of Secret Service officials?
- Did Acting Director Rowe have personal knowledge that Secret Service officials had told the Pittsburgh field office to leave out additional security assets from the Butler manpower request when he testified before the Senate?

In its response to Senator Hawley on September 4, 2024, the Secret Service declined to provide the requested information. DHS has also not provided this information.

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 $^{^{10}\,\}underline{\text{https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Hawley-Letter-to-Rowe-re-Lead-Site-Agent.pdf}$

On September 10, 2024, Fox News reported that Secret Service Assistant Director Michael Plati, who led the Office of Protective Operations, had been "encouraged to retire" by agency leadership. 11 Both the Secret Service and Plati's spokesman denied the report. Two days later, Fox News reported that "high-level Secret Service officials who have either direct or indirect connections to the Butler, Pennsylvania security situation are retiring. While the employees are eligible for retirement, they've been encouraged by senior leadership to do so more quickly to avoid lengthy congressional interviews and investigations." 12

G. September 3: DHS Agents Assigned to Butler Rally Received Inadequate Training

On September 3, 2024, Senator Hawley wrote a letter to Acting Director Rowe regarding credible allegations from a whistleblower with knowledge of Secret Service preparations for protective details.¹³

1. Allegations

The whistleblower alleged that the only training received by many HSI agents reassigned to work protective details was a single two-hour webinar on Microsoft Teams featuring pre-recorded videos. According to the whistleblower, these videos were not substantive and their playback was frequently riddled with technical mishaps, leaving the HSI agents ill-prepared for the protective mission to which they were newly assigned. Furthermore, the whistleblower alleged that the Secret Service has not changed, updated, or otherwise improved its webinar trainings since the assassination attempt in Butler, Pennsylvania.

The whistleblower further alleged that HSI agents were pulled off child exploitation cases in order to serve on protective details for which they were unprepared.

Senator Hawley's letter noted previous whistleblower reports that HSI agents outnumbered Secret Service agents at the Butler rally, and that HSI agents at the rally had never worked a protective detail before and did not know proper procedure.

2. Information Requested and Response

In his September 3 letter, Senator Hawley requested copies of materials used for any online training provided to HSI special agents assigned to protective details, in addition to the following information:

• How many HSI agents were present at the Butler rally on July 13?

^{11 &}lt;u>https://www.foxnews.com/politics/usss-assistant-director-encouraged-retire-over-butler-assassination-attempt-trump-source-reveals</u>

 $[\]frac{12}{\text{https://www.foxnews.com/us/acting-secret-service-director-tells-lawmakers-site-trump-assassination-attempt-problematic}$

¹³ https://www.hawley.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Hawley-Letter-to-Rowe-re-Lead-Site-Agent.pdf

- Of the HSI agents present at the rally, how many were trained for work on protective details using webinar training, whether in whole or in part?
- Has the training been revamped in any way since July 13?
- Have HSI agents been reassigned from child exploitation cases to assist on protective details? If so, how many?

In its response to Senator Hawley on September 4, 2024, the Secret Service declined to provide the requested information. DHS has also not provided this information.

H. New Whistleblower Allegations

The above letters encompass the whistleblower allegations that Senator Hawley has made public thus far. In addition, Senator Hawley has received several new whistleblower allegations that have not yet been reported. These include:

- The lead agent responsible for the entire Butler visit, including the rally, failed a key examination during their federal law enforcement training to become a Secret Service agent and was known to be a low-caliber agent.
- Secret Service intelligence units—teams of Secret Service agents paired with state and local law enforcement to handle reports of suspicious persons—were absent from the Butler rally. Deployment of these units would have mitigated poor communication between different law enforcement components, which has emerged as one of the core operational failures of the day.
- The hospital site where former President Trump received treatment after the shooting was poorly secured. The Secret Service site agent responsible for hospital security did not know what was going on and could not answer basic questions about site security.

III. OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS

Senator Hawley's investigation has shed new light on the preparations for Butler rally and details about how the day unfolded. His investigation has also prompted Secret Service officials to explain their actions. Yet there remain many outstanding questions. In addition to the questions posed in Senator Hawley's letters, executive branch agencies still need to explain to the American people the following:

A. Responsibility and Accountability

- 1. Who, within the Secret Service, made the decision to deny counter sniper coverage to the rooftop from which Thomas Crooks shot former President Trump on July 13?
- 2. Who, within the Secret Service, was responsible for approving the communications plan between federal, state, and local law enforcement officers on July 13?
- 3. Who, within the Secret Service, was responsible for supervising the local law enforcement partners at the rally on July 13?

- 4. Who, within the Secret Service, was the site agent for the rally on July 13? (Senator Hawley through whistleblowers knows the identity of this agent, but executive branch agencies will neither confirm nor deny the agent's identity publicly.)
 - a. Who specifically made the decision to assign the site agent to the July 13 rally?
 - b. On what basis was this decision made?
- 5. Who, within the Secret Service, was the lead agent for the Butler visit on July 13? (Senator Hawley through whistleblowers knows the identity of this agent, but executive branch agencies will neither confirm nor deny the agent's identity publicly.)
 - a. Who specifically made the decision to assign the lead agent to the Butler visit?
 - b. On what basis was this decision made?
- 6. Who, within the Secret Service, was in charge of determining the security perimeter for the Butler, Pennsylvania rally?
- 7. To date, who within the Secret Service has been fired, suspended, or subject to any discipline for actions related to the rally at Butler, Pennsylvania on July 13, 2024?

B. Security at the AGR Building Complex

- 8. Did any law enforcement agents or counter sniper teams abandon their assigned posts at any AGR building?
- 9. How did Crooks access the roof of AGR Building 6 and smuggle a firearm there without detection by law enforcement?
- 10. Did local law enforcement fire a weapon at Crooks, as has been reported? If so, what was the outcome of that engagement?

C. Requests for Additional Resources

- 11. Were CSD resources requested for the Butler rally on July 13? If so, were they provided? If not, why not?
- 12. Did the Acting Secret Service Director ever deny resources to the Trump campaign, or USSS counter sniper teams, as has been reported in the press?
- 13. Has former President Trump, his organization, his campaign, or any related entity ever requested additional protection from the Secret Service?
 - a. What role, if any, did former Director Cheatle have in reviewing, approving, or denying any such requests?
 - b. What role, if any, did Rowe as Deputy Director or Acting Director have in reviewing, approving, or denying any such requests?

D. Motive

14. What was Crooks's motive for the attempted assassination?

15. What did Crooks use encrypted messaging applications for in his preparation for the assassination attempt?

IV. CONCLUSION

Two months have now elapsed since former President Donald J. Trump was nearly assassinated. And the American people still know far too little about why this happened. The Secret Service, FBI, and Department of Homeland Security have not been forthcoming with the American people. Far from it: they have closed ranks, refused to confirm or deny whistleblower allegations, and resisted meaningful oversight. In fact, sources with direct knowledge of Secret Service's own internal investigation have alleged to Senator Hawley that the Department of Homeland Security is leaning on Secret Service not to comply with document requests from Congress.

Instead, it has been left to courageous whistleblowers to tell the story of what really happened. They have testified to the serious security failures pervading every level of the Butler rally operation. They have highlighted longstanding problems at these security agencies, shedding light on decadent and unserious internal cultures.

Left alone, these agencies will not reform themselves. They will continue to stonewall and obfuscate. Plainly, it is now up to Congress and the President to clean house at these failing agencies at the earliest possible opportunity.

In the months and years to come, Senator Hawley will continue to fight to hold accountable all involved with this tragedy. The American people deserve the truth.

Appendix 1: Timeline of Investigative Actions by Senator Hawley

July 13, 2024: President Trump shot at rally in Butler, PA. Senator Hawley releases statements calling for DOJ to "release the shooter's ID immediately and everything known about him" and demands HSGAC investigate the attempted assassination.¹⁴

July 14, 2024: Senator Hawley writes to HSGAC Chairman Peters, calling on him to launch investigation into attempted assassination. ¹⁵ The next day, Chairman Peters announces bipartisan investigation and schedules a Member briefing and oversight hearing. ¹⁶

July 15, 2024: Senator Hawley writes, along with other Republican Senate Judiciary Committee Members, to Chairman Durbin requesting a hearing.¹⁷

July 17, 2024: Senator Hawley writes to DHS Inspector General requesting documents relating to Secret Service's failure to provide adequate resources to rally and information related to the shooter. ¹⁸ Senator Hawley opens whistleblower tipline to encourage those with information about the events of July 13 to come forward. ¹⁹

July 19, 2024: Senator Hawley visits Butler, Pennsylvania rally grounds and interviews local law enforcement. Senator Hawley writes to DHS Secretary Mayorkas concerning whistleblower allegations about loose security at the event and use of HSI agents instead of Secret Service personnel.²⁰

July 22, 2024: Senator Hawley announces he will introduce a resolution demanding Secret Service Director Cheatle resign.²¹ She resigns the next day. Senator Hawley writes to DHS Secretary Mayorkas concerning new whistleblower allegations that AGR Building 6 was supposed to have a law enforcement presence on the roof that day.²²

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-demands-full-scale-investigation-by-congress-into-attempted-assassination-of-president-trump/

https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/media/reps/paul-and-peters-announce-bipartisan-homeland-security-and-governmental-affairs-committee-investigation-into-security-failures-and-the-assassination-attempt-on-former-president-donald-trump/

https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/press/rep/releases/senate-judiciary-committee-gop-to-chair-durbin-call-secret-service-director-homeland-security-secretary-fbi-director-to-testify-on-assassination-attempt-on-president-trump

 $\frac{18}{\text{https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-requests-more-records-behind-assassination-attempt-on-president-trump-opens-office-whistleblower-tip-line/}$

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-requests-more-records-behind-assassination-attempt-on-president-trump-opens-office-whistleblower-tip-line/

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-reveals-new-whistleblower-allegations-exposing-loose-security-ahead-of-trump-assassination-attempt/

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-announces-resolution-demanding-secret-service-director-cheatles-immediate-resignation/

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/new-whistleblower-allegations-hawley-reveals-law-enforcement-supposed-to-cover-roof-at-butler-pa-trump-rally/

¹⁴ https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-statement-on-attempted-assassination-of-president-trump/

July 25, 2024: Senator Hawley attends an unclassified, closed-door briefing on the assassination attempt. Senator Hawley introduces original legislation requiring the federal government to declassify all information relating to the Secret Service's preparations for July 13 and their response to the attempted assassination of former President Trump. This bill is S.4790, the *Trump* Assassination Attempt Transparency Act. 23 Senator Hawley writes to DHS Secretary Mayorkas concerning new whistleblower allegations concerning the availability of drone technology to secure the July 13 rally.

July 30, 2024: Senator Hawley questions Secret Service Acting Director Rowe at joint HSGAC-Judiciary Committee hearing. ²⁴ At the hearing, Rowe confirms whistleblower allegations that the Secret Service did in fact refuse an offer of drone technology from local law enforcement.

August 1, 2024: Senator Hawley writes to Secret Service Acting Director Rowe concerning new whistleblower claims that Rowe personally directed cuts to the CSD and allegations of retaliation against whistleblowers.²⁵

August 5, 2024: Senator Hawley writes to Secret Service Acting Director Rowe concerning new whistleblower allegations that the lead site agent for the July 13 rally was widely known to be incompetent and inexperienced.²⁶ A separate whistleblower alleges that the lead site agent personally made decisions that likely compromised the overall security of the event.

August 23, 2024: Senator Hawley writes to Secret Service Acting Director Rowe concerning whistleblower allegations that Secret Service headquarters directed agents in charge of the Butler rally not to request additional security assets for the event—contrary to Rowe's testimony to the Senate.²⁷

September 3, 2024: Senator Hawley writes to Secret Service Acting Director Rowe concerning whistleblower allegations that HSI agents staffing the Butler rally were not adequately trained and were pulled off child exploitation cases to work on protective details.²⁸

²³ https://www.hawley.senate.gov/new-hawley-bill-would-declassify-key-docs-on-trump-assassination-attempt/

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/no-one-has-been-fired-hawley-pushes-for-accountability-from-secret-service-ontrump-assassination-attempt/

25 https://www.hawley.senate.gov/hawley-releases-new-whistleblower-claims-alleging-secret-service-directors-role-

in-scaling-back-agencys-manpower-retaliating-against-agents-who-speak-out/

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/breaking-hawley-calls-for-lead-site-agent-at-butler-rally-to-be-suspendedfollowing-new-whistleblower-allegations/

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/new-whistleblower-allegation-secret-service-prevented-extra-security-assets-fortrump-rally/

https://www.hawley.senate.gov/new-whistleblower-allegation-secret-service-failed-to-properly-train-agentsassigned-to-candidate-details-trump-rally/

Appendix 2: Senator Hawley visits Butler, Pennsylvania

Senator Hawley immediately began his own investigation. On July 19, 2024, Senator Hawley personally went to Butler, Pennsylvania to investigate the site and interview local witnesses. Whistleblowers from local law enforcement—whose names are being withheld—said that they were furious that Secret Service and Department of Homeland Security officials were blaming them. Significantly, whistleblowers also alleged that there were multiple communication channels in operation that day, meaning law enforcement personnel were not in sync. Local law enforcement did not necessarily know what Department of Homeland Security or Secret Service agents knew in real time. Furthermore, whistleblowers said that federal law enforcement severely compressed the time to prepare for the event. Activities that typically took several days of planning under normal protocol were compressed into a matter of hours.

Senator Hawley also spoke to agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who denied him access to the site and demanded that he leave.



Figure 1: Senator Hawley standing at the Butler Farm Show Grounds pointing toward AGR Building 6



Figure 2: Ledge where Crooks was photographed by AGR Building



Figure 3: View of AGR Building 6 showing slope of roof

WHISTLEBLOWER TIP LINE

Whistleblowers are encouraged to contact Senator Hawley's office by email at tips@hawley.senate.gov or by phone at (202) 224-6154. Whistleblower identities will be protected against disclosure. Tips from federal employees are protected by the Whistleblower Protection Act, 5 U.S.C. § 2302, which prohibits the federal government from taking any personnel action on the basis of a disclosure of evidence of gross mismanagement, gross waste of funds, abuse of authority, or illegal activity.