



Majority Staff Report on the FBI's Conclusions on the 2017 Congressional Baseball Shooting

House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Chairman Rick Crawford

U.S. House of Representatives



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“On 14 June 2017, domestic extremist James Hodgkinson opened fire on a Republican Congressional softball¹ game practice in Alexandria, Virginia, shooting four people, including two US Capitol Police officers and Congressman Steve Scalise, before being fatally wounded by police. According to open source reporting, Hodgkinson had recently traveled to Washington, DC from Illinois where he had a history of writing “angry” letters to his local newspaper and making phone calls to his local congressman highly critical of the Republican Party, conservative political agendas, and the current administration. Law enforcement also found a piece of paper with a list of Congressional Members containing six Republican names and their office building addresses, according to FBI reporting.”

FBI Internal Executive Analytical Report²

The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (“the Committee”) appreciates the transparency shown by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director Kash Patel in providing a review of the FBI case file. His cooperation is a welcome change from previous FBI leadership, who thwarted Congressional oversight and public accountability at every turn.

However, after reviewing the case file, the Committee could not be more disappointed by the FBI’s incomplete investigation and substandard analysis in 2017. On a matter of significant interest to Congressional Members and staff and the American people, the FBI investigation failed even to conduct substantive interviews of all the shooting victims and other eyewitnesses.

Instead, just seven days into its investigation, the FBI issued a press release titled, *“Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting,”* arriving at a conclusion there was “no nexus to terrorism” by utilizing false statements and manipulation of known facts.³

¹ The FBI erred within this quote. It should read “a Republican Congressional baseball game practice.”

² (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Internal Executive Analytical Report, *Emerging Threat of Domestic Extremist Attacks Inspired by Personalized Ideologies*, (Aug., 22, 2017). (This report was not part of the FBI case file. Rather, a photocopy of the first page of the report appears on page 41 of a PowerPoint briefing that was part of the case file. The briefing was entitled “Domestic Terrorism Attack at Eugene Simpson Field,” presented by Larissa Knapp, Executive Assistant Director of the FBI’s National Security Branch, on 29 July 2022.)

³ Office of Public Affairs, *Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting*, FBI Washington (Jun., 21, 2017), <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/washingtondc/news/press-releases/law-enforcement-shares-findings-of-the-investigation-into-the-june-14-alexandria-virginia-shooting>. (The document is attached as Appendix Two. For an explanation of the false statements and manipulation of known facts, see section titled “The FBI Misled the Public” below.)

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Shortly thereafter, an FBI Executive Intelligence Briefing doubled down on this hasty determination, claiming James Thomas “Tom” Hodgkinson’s “motive to shoot and kill individuals at the congressional baseball practice most aligns with an act of ‘suicide by cop.’”⁴

The FBI then spent the next four years privately guarding the basis for its determinations by impeding Congressional oversight. It was not until the FBI was investigating January 6 protesters and the application of Congressional pressure that the FBI changed course with the following statement to the House Appropriations Committee in 2021:

“The shooter was motivated by a desire to commit an attack on Members of Congress...This conduct is something that we would today characterize as a domestic terrorism event.”⁵

A principal and grave concern of the Committee is the degradation of investigative standards and the Intelligence Community’s (IC’s) analytical integrity and objectivity. While the Committee recognizes that much of this investigation was conducted by non-IC personnel utilizing law enforcement procedures, the case file demonstrates that IC personnel were integral in supporting the FBI’s false narrative.⁶ Time and again in high-profile cases, the IC has violated the objectivity standard that is required by 50 U.S.C. § 3364 and necessary for our Republic.⁷ From Russian collusion to Anomalous Health Incidents, political considerations appear to have been the primary factor in analyzing facts for end-use intelligence products. This high-profile case is no different.

Whatever its political purpose, the FBI’s starting position was that the shooter was suicidal, hoping to die by gunfire with police. It appears to the Committee that investigative efforts and intelligence analysis then attempted to reinforce the “suicide by cop” argument despite the clear and contrary facts of the case.

The FBI case file makes clear this case was a premeditated assassination attempt on Republican congressmen by a radical, left-wing political extremist, who was seeking to affect the conduct of our government.

SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATIVE FILE

The Committee initially reviewed approximately 2,500 pages provided by the FBI on March 26, 2025. Purportedly, this disclosure constituted the FBI’s case file in its entirety. On

⁴ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, Jul.,10, 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

⁵ *Violent Extremism and Domestic Terrorism in America: The Role and Response of DOJ: Hearing Before the H. Comm. on Appropriations*, 117th Cong. (Apr., 29, 2021) (statement of Jill Sanborn, Executive Assistant Director, FBI National Security Branch).

⁶ This Report devotes most of its focus on the FBI Intelligence Briefing found in Appendix Three. The briefing was completed and approved by intelligence analysts who are funded through the National Intelligence Program.

⁷ Intelligence Community Directive 203, 50 U.S.C. § 3364.

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review, however, the Committee noted reference to an “electronic 1A file,” which appeared to contain information not provided. After requesting the remaining documents on April 9, 2025, the FBI produced approximately 1,900 pages on April 17, 2025.⁸ The FBI reasserted all case file records have been produced, an assertion this Report takes at face value.

If there are other documents in the FBI’s possession that were not turned over to the Committee, the following Committee observations on FBI procedures may have been affected: 1) the FBI investigation failed to substantively interview eyewitnesses to the shooting; 2) the FBI investigation failed to develop a comprehensive timeline of events; and, 3) the FBI case file was improperly classified, which may have assisted the FBI in obfuscating its substandard investigative efforts and analysis.

The FBI failed to substantively interview Members of Congress who participated in the June 14, 2017 baseball practice, and other eyewitnesses of the shooting.⁹ Its case file only includes victim identification and contact information identified as “Secondary Victim List.”¹⁰ The list includes comments regarding the victims’ location at the time of the attack, but the case file does contain any indicia of follow-up substantive interviews. Additionally, the “Secondary Victim List” is incomplete and not exhaustive. For example, Congressman Mo Brooks was neither on the list nor interviewed. Yet, he was on the attacker’s handwritten list, was present for the baseball practice, and even received a Medal of Merit from the U.S. Capitol Police for his “bravery in the face of an active shooter.”¹¹

Thorough investigations include a comprehensive timeline and detailed description of events. This FBI case file does not. It does not even describe Hodgkinson’s route that morning as he carried out the attack. Due to the lack of a comprehensive timeline or detailed description of events, the Committee was forced to rely upon the FBI’s June 21, 2017 press release, posted online, for the most holistic statement made by the FBI.¹²

The entire investigative case file is classified at the Secret level.¹³ However, there were only four documents marked as classified. All four appeared to be either unclassified material that was improperly marked or documents that do not belong in an investigative case file.

⁸ Approximately three-quarters of the new, “electronic 1A file” production content was duplicative, contained in the FBI’s initial submission. In total and without duplicates, the Committee estimates the FBI file is 3,000 pages.

⁹ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

¹⁰ FBI Case File’s Secondary Victim List (reviewed by the Committee).

¹¹ Paul Gattis, *Rep. Mo Brooks Honored for ‘Bravery’ in 2017 Shooting*, Alabama Media Group, (Jun., 12 2019), <https://www.al.com/news/2019/06/rep-mo-brooks-honored-for-bravery-in-2017-shooting.html>.

¹² Office of Public Affairs, *Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting*, FBI Washington (Jun., 21, 2017), <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/washingtondc/news/press-releases/law-enforcement-shares-findings-of-the-investigation-into-the-june-14-alexandria-virginia-shooting>. The document is attached as Appendix Two.

¹³ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

ILLOGIC OF “SUICIDE BY COP” DETERMINATION

While the FBI does not define “suicide by cop” or explain their determination that Hodgkinson’s motive most aligns with an act of suicide by cop, the Committee finds the FBI’s conclusion to be inconsistent with the facts and evidence. To commit suicide by cop, the perpetrator needs to demonstrate hostile intent in the presence of police. In this case, there were no observable police officers present. Hodgkinson began shooting at his targets on the baseball field at 7:09am.¹⁴ Dressed in plain clothes, Capitol Police officers engaged Hodgkinson soon thereafter, but the uniformed officers of the Alexandria Police Department did not arrive at the scene until 7:12am.¹⁵ Since there were no uniformed police officers present at the time of the attack and Hodgkinson had no reason to believe there were police present, the suicide by cop determination does not make sense.

In addition, Hodgkinson took several actions that may indicate he hoped to survive the firefight. Eyewitness accounts obtained by the press state that Hodgkinson concealed himself behind a storage building while he was firing at the baseball field.¹⁶ Also, the night before the shooting, Hodgkinson searched Google for directions from his current location in Alexandria, Virginia to his home in Belleville, Illinois.¹⁷ That same night, Hodgkinson texted his wife that he was returning home.¹⁸

Regardless of whether Hodgkinson intended to die that day, suicide is not mutually exclusive with domestic terrorism. Both can be true. This fact is obvious to Americans familiar with the attacks on September 11, 2001. Members of al-Queda, who were both suicidal and terrorists, flew commercial airliners into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Suicide bombs are a routine tactic of terrorism. Consider the Hezbollah’s bombing of the U.S. embassy in 1983, the Tamil Tigers use of the tactic during the Sri Lankan civil war, and the many suicide bombings committed by Hamas, Islamic Jihad, al-Shabaab, Iraqi insurgents, and other Islamic extremists throughout the Middle East. The FBI’s unsupportable determination that Hodgkinson’s motives were suicide by cop should not have precluded the FBI from considering the vast evidence within its case file that supports a conclusion that Hodgkinson was a domestic terrorist.¹⁹

Domestic terrorism is defined by 18 U.S.C. §2331(5) as activities that (A) involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; (B) appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a

¹⁴ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

¹⁵ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

¹⁶ Luke Mullins, *The Terrifying Story of the Congressional Baseball Shooting*, Washingtonian, (May, 28, 2018), <https://www.washingtonian.com/2018/05/28/terrifying-story-of-the-congressional-baseball-shooting-steve-scalise/>.

¹⁷ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

¹⁸ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

¹⁹ The FBI later changed its determination in 2021. See below.

government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping; and (C) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.

This Committee report demonstrates (in the “Other Evidence of Domestic Terrorism” section below) that FBI’s case file includes fact after fact indicating Hodgkinson was carrying out a plan to impact government policy or the political system by targeting Republicans. That was Hodgkinson’s motive, not simply to die by a cop’s bullet. After all, chronologically, Hodgkinson was upset with President Trump’s election, took a concealed carry firearms class, told friends and family they may not see him again, left his wife in Illinois, drove with his firearms to Washington, D.C. “to protest,” cased the Eugene Simpsons Park baseball field for two months, and then confirmed the presence of Republican congressmen before using his firearms to shoot more than 70 rounds at Republican congressmen and staff.²⁰

FBI MISLED THE PUBLIC

On June 21, 2017, just one week after the shooting, Andrew Vale and Timothy Slater represented the FBI and led a joint press conference, titled “*Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting.*”²¹ The FBI’s bottom line – “the FBI does not believe there is a nexus to terrorism” – was based upon falsehoods, half-truths and manipulations of the known facts.²²

The FBI stated that Hodgkinson “told a family member that he was traveling to Washington, D.C., but he did not provide any additional information on his travel.”²³ At the time of this press conference, the FBI had interviewed not one, but five family members, all of whom provided considerable additional information.²⁴ The FBI’s statement appears to be intentionally misleading. Even the family member statement that FBI quoted above was truncated to exclude the clause “...but suggested he might protest and attend rallies.” The FBI also knew at the time that Hodgkinson told family members they may not see him again.

The FBI stated that “items found on Hodgkinson included a piece of paper that contained the names of six Members of Congress. No context was included...”²⁵ As shown below, the list contained more than names. It also included a physical description, which was important

²⁰ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

²¹ Andrew Vale was the Assistant Director in charge, FBI Washington Field Office. Timothy Slater was Special Agent in charge, FBI Washington Field Office Criminal Division.

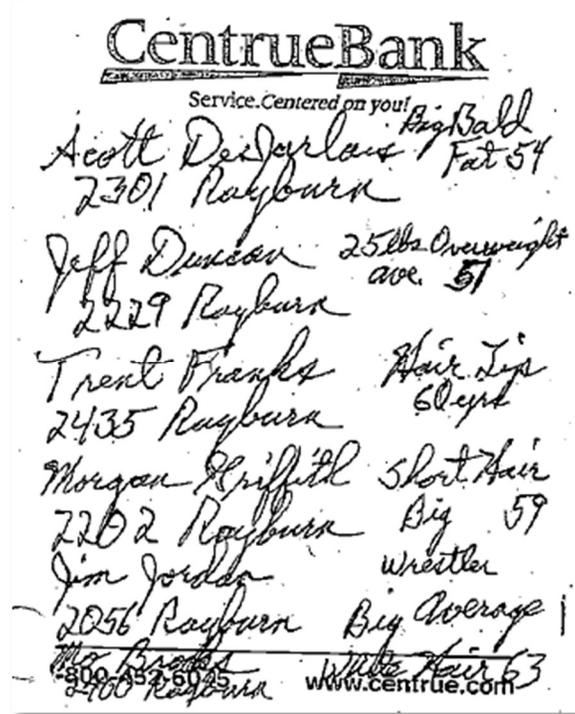
²² Office of Public Affairs, *Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting*, FBI Washington (Jun., 21, 2017), <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/washingtondc/news/press-releases/law-enforcement-shares-findings-of-the-investigation-into-the-june-14-alexandria-virginia-shooting>. The document is attached as Appendix Two.

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

²⁵ Office of Public Affairs, *Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting*, FBI Washington (Jun., 21, 2017), <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/washingtondc/news/press-releases/law-enforcement-shares-findings-of-the-investigation-into-the-june-14-alexandria-virginia-shooting>. The document is attached as Appendix Two.

context. In addition, the handwritten note included the names of two Republican Congressional baseball teammates, Representatives Jeff Duncan and Mo Brooks, who were both present at the baseball practice that morning.²⁶



The FBI then stated Hodgkinson had “a second document with a rough sketch of several streets in Washington, D.C.”²⁷ The FBI did not disclose anything about Hodgkinson’s more relevant evidentiary documents in its possession. Without disclosing the overall number of documents, the FBI’s use of “a second document” may have misled the public into thinking there were only two. It is unclear why the FBI would not disclose Hodgkinson’s pages of handwritten notes (provided in Appendix 1 of this Committee report) demonstrating his political thoughts and motivations. These include “A man realizes the political scene has changed drastically over the last 35 years and wants to show the people how to win back the power of the people.” Of course, disclosure of this information would not have supported the FBI’s hasty conclusion that there was no nexus to terrorism.

Finally, the FBI noted that Hodgkinson had taken “multiple” photographs of Eugene Simpson Stadium Park, the shooting location. The statement went on to say the FBI did “not believe that

²⁶ Matthew Trunko, *Who’s Playing in the 2017 Congressional Baseball Game?* Washington Examiner, (Jun., 15, 2017), <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/989532/whos-playing-in-the-2017-congressional-baseball-game/>.

²⁷ Office of Public Affairs, *Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting*, FBI Washington (Jun., 21, 2017), <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/washingtondc/news/press-releases/law-enforcement-shares-findings-of-the-investigation-into-the-june-14-alexandria-virginia-shooting>. The document is attached as Appendix Two.

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these photographs represented surveillance of intended targets.”²⁸ This statement to the public was grossly misleading. First, the actual number of photographs was fifteen.²⁹ More importantly, the case file shows that the FBI did assess Hodgkinson’s photos, which were taken two months prior to the attack, may indicate possible probing or casing. According to its June 16, 2017, *Intelligence Situational Report Update #6*:

*On 4/15/2017, Hodgkinson took 15 photos of Eugene Simpson Park in Alexandria, VA. FBI assesses photos may indicate possible probing/casing, as they are taken from multiple angles of the field, behind the bleachers, crouching about 10 feet back from fence behind home plate, and around the rest of the field taken at various angles. The photos include a picture of the Eugene Simpsons Park sign and a photo of an aerial map of Eugene Simpson Park.*³⁰

FBI’S EXECUTIVE INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

One month after the shooting, FBI Supervisory Intelligence Analysts approved an Executive Intelligence Briefing entitled, “*FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting.*” Attached in its entirety as Appendix Three below, the briefing states:

The FBI has examined the activities and communications of James T. Hodgkinson preceding the 14 June 2017 mass shooting at the congressional baseball practice in Alexandria, VA. The FBI has determined this mass shooting constitutes a purely criminal matter as an assassination of a Member of Congress and murder or attempted murder of other individuals, and does not meet the threshold to be classified as an act of domestic terrorism.

*The FBI has determined Hodgkinson’s motive to shoot and kill individuals at the congressional baseball practice most aligns with an act of “suicide by cop.” This determination was based upon analysis of his communications, activities, and behavior and associations.*³¹

The FBI’s intelligence analysis of Hodgkinson’s communications, activities, and behaviors and associations is strained and logically flawed. This Committee report addresses each in turn.³²

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

³⁰ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

³¹ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

³² Quotations from the intelligence briefing are **bold** and *italicized* in this section to distinguish intelligence briefing quotations from those in other portions of the FBI case file.

Communications

The FBI intelligence briefing provided two Hodgkinson communications suggestive of an intent to die. First, ***“Hodgkinson mailed two ‘goodbye’ letters post-marked in Alexandria, VA.”***³³ Second, prior to leaving for Washington, D.C., Hodgkinson gave away some possessions and made statements such as ***“you may not see me again.”***³⁴ Without considering context, neither of the two statements differentiate between Hodgkinson being a domestic terrorist aware he might die as opposed to simply being suicidal. However, the second statement put into context – specifically that Hodgkinson was preparing to depart for a mission that may lead to death – contradicts the suicide conclusion. If he was suicidal, or wanted to commit suicide by cop, Hodgkinson did not need to leave Illinois to achieve that objective.

“Hodgkinson’s brother believed Hodgkinson chose to commit ‘suicide by cop’...”³⁵ First, this is not a “communication.” There was nothing in the brother’s statement that indicated Hodgkinson had any discussion with his brother regarding suicidal intent. Second, Hodgkinson’s brother based this opinion on Hodgkinson’s poor marksmanship during the attack, specifically that Hodgkinson took dozens of shots and failed to fatally wound anyone. His brother’s opinion carries no more weight than anyone else’s opinion. The Committee notes that the brother’s statement is the only evidence within the case file suggesting the possibility of suicide by cop, and expresses grave concern if this was the impetus to the FBI’s conclusion.

“Hodgkinson had written statements such as ‘I was getting older and wanted to make a statement in my life before the end,’ according to materials found in his possession.”³⁶ This statement contradicts the conclusion of suicide by cop. Rather, when associated with Hodgkinson’s final act, this suggests he saw himself as a martyr for his political cause. Of the many statements in Hodgkinson’s hand-written notes, the FBI selected the only one that might support their suicide by cop conclusion. This cherry-picking demonstrates a lack of analytic integrity and objectivity. Statements that failed to fit the narrative were excluded, such as, “A man realizes the political scene has changed drastically over the last 35 years and wants to show the people how to win back the power of the people.”³⁷

Activities

“Hodgkinson engaged United States Capitol Police and Alexandria Police Department officers, moving toward their gunfire, never attempting to flee the shooting scene.”³⁸ It is

³³ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, 10 Jul. 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ FBI Interview of James Hodgkinson’s Brother (reviewed by the Committee).

³⁶ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, 10 Jul. 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

³⁷ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

³⁸ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, 10 Jul. 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

unclear from where the FBI derived this story, as they did not conduct substantive eyewitness interviews. However, the story seems inconsistent with the facts contained in the investigative case file. The two U.S. Capitol Police (USCP) officers present were dressed in plain clothes, not in uniform. At the time Hodgkinson began shooting, there were no Alexandria Police Department officers present.³⁹ According to the FBI press release (though not documented in the FBI investigation), the Alexandria Police Department responded to the scene and arrived at 7:12 a.m.⁴⁰ In addition, eyewitnesses who spoke to the press stated that Hodgkinson was concealing his position while engaging in a firefight with USCP officers.

“Hodgkinson’s list of six congressmen found in his vehicle does not appear to be a ‘hit list.’”⁴¹ The FBI’s sole basis for this opinion rests on its initial examination of Hodgkinson’s internet browsing history, which the FBI emphasized “only” included two of the six possible targets and included websites deemed not for targeting purposes. The Committee finds the FBI’s opinion is based upon one erroneous factual conclusion and two false premises. This was factually incorrect, because the case file shows that, on May 1, 2017, Hodgkinson did conduct an online search of all six congressmen on the list.⁴² The first logical flaw is concluding that all hit lists are created by an online search of each target. There are other means to prepare a hit list, such as physical surveillance. After all, the FBI thought Hodgkinson had not researched four congressmen on the internet, yet they do not explain how Hodgkinson was able to include them on a list with a detailed physical description, including estimated size or weight. Second, it is a false premise to say that every website visited by terrorists contains a target.

The FBI’s cherry-picking on what to disclose or not to disclose to substantiate a conclusion is concerning, and demonstrates politicization and lack of objectivity that the Committee has observed in other IC analytic products for high-profile cases. For example, the FBI does not state that the handwritten note of the six Republican congressmen included the names of two members of the baseball team, Jeff Duncan and Mo Brooks, both of whom were at the baseball practice that morning.⁴³

Other than the list of six Republicans itself, the most probative fact may be that the list contained a physical descriptor of each congressman, because an alternative explanation for Hodgkinson’s including the description is not readily apparent. For example, Hodgkinson’s note included, “Jeff Duncan, 25 lbs overweight, age 51, 2229 Rayburn.”⁴⁴ The FBI’s failure to disclose that Hodgkinson’s list included the congressmen’s physical descriptions and to analyze “why” is inconsistent with the statutory analytic standards for intelligence assessments in 50 U.S.C §3364 and grossly unprofessional.

³⁹ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁴⁰ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁴¹ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, Jul.,10, 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

⁴² FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁴³ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁴⁴ Hodgkinson’s Handwritten Notes (reviewed by the Committee).

“Hodgkinson’s prior statements, online activities, and political views were consistent with 1st Amendment-protected actions and viewpoints.”⁴⁵ Translated, Hodgkinson’s extremism had not previously crossed the bounds of criminality. Past criminality is not an element of a domestic terrorism offense, so the probative value of this fact to support the FBI’s suicide by cop determination is tenuous at best.

This political narrative was not the first instinct of investigators; the FBI case file includes a summary dated June 14, 2017, the day of the attack, stating “It is possible that this is politically motivated. This is based on the Facebook and Twitter postings.”⁴⁶ However, FBI intelligence analysts produced an “Investigative Tactical Report” that same day stating, “a review of Hodgkinson’s identified Twitter and Facebook pages returned no identifiable extremist or derogatory results. Hodgkinson espouses anti-Republican, anti-Trump rhetoric on many of his social media posts, but a review of posts thus far returned no threats or statements outside of First Amendment protected speech.”⁴⁷

Behavior and Associations

“Hodgkinson was facing many personal difficulties.”⁴⁸ These factors support the argument that Hodgkinson was willing to die. However, they do not distinguish between whether Hodgkinson was a domestic terrorist or simply suicidal. Both categories of individuals are willing to die.

“Hodgkinson was not a member of any extremist organization and did not have contact with individuals who were affiliated with extremist organizations.”⁴⁹ This subjective statement contains political bias. A fact ignored by the FBI from its investigative case file is that Hodgkinson was a member of a Facebook group called “Terminate The Republican Party.”⁵⁰ Even if the FBI subjectively interpreted that as a non-extremist organization, they are again cherry-picking by excluding information problematic to the FBI’s determinations.

“The shooting incident appears to be opportunistic.”⁵¹ This opinion is simply not supported by the facts of the case. After all, chronologically, Hodgkinson was upset with President Trump’s election, took a concealed carry class, told friends and family they may not see him again, left his wife behind in Illinois, relocated with his firearms to Washington, D.C. to protest, cased the baseball field for two months, and then confirmed the presence of Republican congressmen

⁴⁵ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, Jul.,10, 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

⁴⁶ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁴⁷ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁴⁸ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, Jul.,10, 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ FBI Public Access Line Unit Tip (reviewed by the Committee).

⁵¹ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, Jul.,10, 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

before using his firearms to shoot more than 70 rounds at the politicians and staff.⁵² Moreover, an individual wishing to commit suicide by cop need only to draw the attention of a police officer, not to be opportunistic. In this case, if there was an opportunity for Hodgkinson, it was that his political enemies were on the baseball field. It was not an opportunity to commit suicide by cop, as there were no observable police officers.

“FBI found no information to indicate Hodgkinson chose to act to impact government policy or the political system, a required element for an act of domestic terrorism.”⁵³ As evidenced by the fact that the FBI changed their determination in 2021, this statement is equally absurd as their opportunism claim.⁵⁴ Before leaving Illinois with his weapons, Hodgkinson stated he was going to Washington, D.C. to protest government policy.⁵⁵ His handwritten political thoughts and motivations contained a statement, “a man realizes the political scene has changed drastically over the last 35 years and wants to show the people how to win back the power of the people.”⁵⁶ His targets were all Republicans.

OTHER EVIDENCE OF DOMESTIC TERRORISM

In addition to the points raised above, other evidence within the FBI case file supports a conclusion that Hodgkinson was a domestic terrorist.

Hodgkinson was a radical, left-wing political extremist, seeking to affect the conduct of government by assassinating Republican congressmen. His handwritten notes were found in Hodgkinson’s van; the fact they were not disclosed by the FBI until now is a grave concern to the Committee. Hodgkinson’s statements indicating an intent to affect government policy or the political system include:

- *“A man realizes the political scene has changed drastically over the last 35 years and wants to show the people how to win back the power of the people”*⁵⁷
- *“I was getting older and wanted to make a statement in my life before the end.”*⁵⁸
- *“Congress passed Citizens United which let the rich put unlimited amounts of money into the election process. The rich had taken over the Republican party”*⁵⁹

⁵² FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁵³ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation Executive Intelligence Briefing, *FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting*, Jul.,10, 2017 (Approved by the A/SSA and SIA. The names of these individuals were provided to Director Patel.)

⁵⁴ Rebecca Beitsch, *FBI Reclassifies 2017 Baseball Field Shooting as Domestic Terror*, The Hill, (May, 17, 2021), <https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/553958-fbi-reclassifies-2017-baseball-field-shooting-as-domestic-terror/>.

⁵⁵ FBI Case File (reviewed by the Committee).

⁵⁶ Hodgkinson’s Handwritten Notes (reviewed by the Committee).

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *Id.*

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- *“They’re truly un-American Against the poor and middle class As long as the rich get richer They have done they’re task. These are the elected congressmen of the republican party We should treat them w/ the despicable hatred That they [stir] in us For this great country will never be good again Till they are all out of office”*⁶⁰
- *“How the Republican party has duped the under educated, the religious fanatics, the backwoods, the racists, and the gungho war mongers in to following them.”*⁶¹
- *“Must have a hero Fighting the big corp and billionaires Must take action to teach and convince Show how media are all part of the 1%.”*⁶²

Hodgkinson was also a member and frequent commenter in a Facebook group titled, “Terminate The Republican Party.”⁶³ Following the attack, members of the group praised his actions by posting a photo that said, “one, two, three shots you’re out at the old ball game!!!”⁶⁴

Papers found in Hodgkinson’s van include an article titled, *“A liberal is the opposite of what?”* that states “Conservatives believe the tax burden should be shifted from the rich to the middle class, from capital to labor. They would create a polarized generation: a small aristocracy and a large underclass – a lost generation. Conservatism is a crime against Nature.”⁶⁵

Firsthand accounts of Hodgkinson’s disposition toward Republicans

Hodgkinson’s wife was late to work on the morning of June 14, 2017, because she was watching the news regarding the shooting of congressmen in Washington D.C. She “hoped to herself that it was not Tom” because “he was impulsive,” “he was hot tempered and politically radical,” and she knew he was “unstable when he didn’t take his diabetes medication.”⁶⁶ Her other interview statements included:

- *“After Donald Trump was elected president, Tom was very unhappy. He incessantly posted on social media criticizing Trump. He spent hours every day on his computer. Tom hated President Trump.”*⁶⁷
- *“Bernie Sanders was Tom’s idol, and he hated Republicans. Tom said that he wanted to go to Washington DC to ‘talk about taxes.’”*⁶⁸

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ FBI Public Access Line Unit Tip (reviewed by the Committee).

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ A Liberal is the Opposite of What? (reviewed by the Committee).

⁶⁶ FBI Interview of Hodgkinson’s Wife (reviewed by the Committee).

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ Steven Rattner, *Trump’s Tax Cuts May Be More Damaging Than Reagan’s*, The New York Times, (May, 1, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/01/opinion/trumps-tax-cuts-may-be-more-damaging-than-reagans.html>.

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- *“Tom was always complaining about rich people, and having to pay taxes.”*⁶⁹
- *“Tom had made prior statements that he hated the police and had even said that he wanted to shoot them.”*⁷⁰

Hodgkinson’s brother told FBI agents that Hodgkinson said he was moving to Washington D.C. to “protest.”⁷¹ Hodgkinson’s brother assumed that meant Hodgkinson was going to protest President Trump and to support the “99 percent” movement, which he had heard Hodgkinson previously speak about. In his handwritten notes, Hodgkinson described the Republican party as the “1%.”⁷²

Hodgkinson’s sister told FBI agents that “Hodgkinson was planning on traveling to the Washington D.C. area and that he did not really have a plan on what he was going to do when he got there. She often asked him why he wanted to go there and that she thought the area was not great. Hodgkinson stated he did not know what he was going to do, but suggested he might protest and attend rallies. While she didn’t know exactly what Hodgkinson’s plan was, she knew he was traveling to DC with the intent to influence policy.”⁷³

Hodgkinson’s childhood friend told FBI agents that he doesn’t believe that Hodgkinson went to Washington D.C. to commit suicide.⁷⁴ Consistent with Hodgkinson’s handwritten notes about being at the end of his life and needing to “make a statement,” his friend believes Hodgkinson did the shooting to make a point.

One of Hodgkinson’s health care professionals told FBI agents, “six to eight months before the election, the attacker was more focused on the Republican party and Trump. He did not like them at all. He was not pro Democratic Party. He hated Trump and loved Bernie Sanders.”⁷⁵

One Alexandria YMCA employee said that Hodgkinson had previously taken notice of the congressmen practicing baseball.⁷⁶ And finally, during a job interview on May 5, 2017, Hodgkinson was asked why he moved to the D.C. area. Hodgkinson replied: “To protest everything, I hate Republicans, they are ruining the world.”⁷⁷

⁶⁹ FBI Interview of Hodgkinson’s Wife (reviewed by the Committee).

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ FBI Interview of Hodgkinson’s Brother (reviewed by the Committee).

⁷² Hodgkinson’s Handwritten Notes (reviewed by the Committee).

⁷³ FBI Interview of Hodgkinson’s Sister (reviewed by the Committee).

⁷⁴ FBI Interview of Hodgkinson’s Friend (reviewed by the Committee).

⁷⁵ FBI Interview of Health Care Employee (reviewed by the Committee).

⁷⁶ FBI Interview of YMCA Employee (reviewed by the Committee). For months, Hodgkinson was living in his van in the YMCA parking lot, which was adjacent to Eugene Simpson Field.

⁷⁷ FBI Interview of Home Repair Company (reviewed by the Committee).

CONCLUSION

The FBI used false statements, manipulation of known facts, and biased and butchered analysis to support a narrative that Hodgkinson committed suicide by cop without any nexus to domestic terrorism. Then, based upon no new information or evidence gathering, the FBI changed its previous decision that this case was a purely criminal matter involving suicide by cop. In testimony to the House Appropriations Committee on April 29, 2021, the FBI first expressed its change position: “The shooter was motivated by a desire to commit an attack on Members of Congress... This conduct is something that we would today characterize as a *domestic terrorism event*.”⁷⁸ The next month, the FBI stated, “14 June 2017 in Alexandria, Virginia an individual with a personalized violent ideology targeted and shot Republican Members of Congress at a baseball field and wounded five people. The subject died as a result of engagement with law enforcement. This was categorized as a Domestic Violent Extremist (DVE).”⁷⁹

The FBI arrived at the obvious conclusion four years too late. Unfortunately, the timing of the changed position indicates politics rather than Fidelity, Bravery and Integrity by an agency that should be guided by an apolitical commitment to uphold the Constitution. The 2017 decision to ignore the facts and to categorize and investigate this case as suicide likely led to less investigative process and no public understanding. It was an injustice to Hodgkinson’s many victims and the American people.

With new leadership, the FBI has an opportunity to relocate true north. The Committee calls on Director Patel to return the FBI to its core values and to ensure its investigators and intelligence analysts exercise the analytical integrity required by law.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

1) Director Patel should initiate a swift review to determine how the FBI arrived at its 2017 decision to categorize Hodgkinson’s act as suicide by cop. We must understand whether the decision was directed from the top down, by then Acting Director Andrew McCabe or other senior leaders, or whether the determination was the result of substandard analysis from the special agents and intelligence analysts who were closest to the case.

⁷⁸ *Violent Extremism and Domestic Terrorism in America: The Role and Response of DOJ: Hearing Before the H. Comm. on Appropriations*, 117th Cong. (Apr., 29, 2021) (statement of Jill Sanborn, Executive Assistant Director, FBI National Security Branch).

⁷⁹ (U) Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Intelligence Assessment and Data on Domestic Terrorism*, (May, 2021).

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- 2) The Committee should consider legislation that establishes criminal liability for the politicization of intelligence analysis. First, elected officials, political appointees and other senior agency officials who direct the civil service intelligence analysts to violate analytic standards should be held to account. Also, civil service intelligence analysts who manipulate raw intelligence to achieve a corrupt or political purpose should also be held accountable. Intelligence is as critical to our national security as evidence is to the judicial system and the rule of law.
- 3) Director Patel should initiate a swift review that addresses why the FBI chose not to conduct substantive interviews of all the victims and other eyewitnesses.
- 4) Director Patel should utilize facts established by the reviews or inquiries to take actions necessary to achieve accountability for any misconduct and to address any procedural deficiencies.
- 5) Director Patel should use his authorities to assess whether domestic extremists are increasingly radicalizing and willing to resort to political violence. If so, he should propose any legislative solutions that help address this problem and fully protect the freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment.

MINORITY VIEWS

HPSCI Minority concurs with the finding of the Majority's report that the 2017 Congressional baseball practice shooting was a domestic terror attack motivated at least in part by political animus. The Minority also agrees that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was too slow to publicly make that determination. The shooting was a horrific attack that could have been much worse if not for the heroic actions of Capitol Police officers, local law enforcement, and the members and staff who were present.

Since 2021, HPSCI has undertaken bipartisan efforts to obtain additional information from the FBI about the shooting and its assessment of the perpetrator's motive. Recently, the Committee received a large volume of relevant documents from the FBI, which are described in the Majority's report.

While the Minority agrees with many of the report's findings, there are two areas where we have significant differences:

- First, the report identifies no evidence that political considerations played a role in the delayed determination to classify the attack as domestic terrorism. Indeed, the decision to publicly attribute the attack to domestic terrorism was taken only after the change of administration in 2021.
- Second, the Minority strongly disagrees with the recommendation to consider criminal charges against intelligence analysts. Nothing in the report or in the record provides any predicate for such a proposal, and even the discussion threatens to chill objective analysis and candid assessments.

APPENDIX ONE

1B15

He didn't like what he saw.

Bob saw what the political parties had mangled into and had to do something about it. He was 66 years old now & had ~~lived~~ a fairly good life. He wanted to make his mark in life while he still could. He was slowing down due to his age & the fact that he has Diabetes & is also 20 lbs overweight, but who's counting. He wanted to correct the wrongs that had occurred when and by this he wanted to better Mankind. Congress passed Citizens United, which let the Rich put unlimited amounts of money into the Election Process. He ~~was~~ Rich had taken over the Republican party.

1815

or Mo saved quite a few lives

I was getting older I wanted to make a statement in my life before the end. ~~I had been a~~

My life started in a middle class family of a middle class neighborhood in a middle class town of southern Illinois.

I had a good childhood & enjoyed sports. We played baseball & softball in the summer that sometimes would last for four or end. I recall leaving the house in mid morning & not returning until supper time of 5:30 or 6 PM in the evening.

Being that both my mother & father worked full time, I had to get outside & enjoy the sunshine. We didn't watch much TV when I was young. This was the late 1950s & early 1960s. TV was still in its infancy.

1315

They lie, cheat, and steal
They're on the Take

They're the worst kind of friend
They're two faced

They're Truly Un-American
Against the poor and Middle Class

As long as the Rich get Richer,
They have done their Task

These are the elected Congressmen
Of the Republican Party

We should treat them w/ the ^{Disrespect} Hatred
That they stir in us

For this Great Country Will ^{be lost} ~~never~~ again
Till they are all out of office

1815

Bill at Y Desk Nice Lady at Desk

Bill at Y to major Computer + Phone

Break at Lib.

Jean at Lib. + 2 guys + 4 more girls

Jim (Chippy) at Lib.

John (Old Peter) at Lib.

Everybody walks jogs, bicycles, constantly

Roads rough w/ pot holes

Speed bumps galore & mainly popular Sidest.

Guy on Metro

Guy in Library

Guy in the YMCA 8-10

Map of West Virginia Herpers Ferry

Inside Job Movie

(11821)
 I now realize the Political scene has
 changed drastically over the last 35 yrs, and
 wants to show the people how to win back
 the power of the people.

or
 How the Republican Party has duped, the under-
 educated, the religious fanatics, the backwoods,
 the racists, and the gung-ho war mongers, into
 following them.

Must Have a Hero
 Fighting the Big Corps, & Billionaires
 Must take action to teach & convince
 Show how Media are all part of 1%
 Character change from beginning w/ weaknesses to
 the change at hand.

Make a moral choice near the end hero has to make

7 Key steps of Story Structure
 Weakness & Need & Lacking the reach to teach - the Big Corps & Racists
 Desire

Opponent - Mass Media

Plan
 Battle - Words

Self-revelation - 2 forms Psychological & Moral
 Moral Equilibrium

Character, person
 that overcome obstacles
 + sacrifice to become a

1B26

Our country is going down the tubes
The Rich have got us by the Purse
They own all the Politicians you see
Soon we won't have a pot to pee
If only the masses would wake up
And take back the country before the Breakup

There once was a Politician from Hartland
Who put all of his votes in one bucket

Capitalism - Economic system motivated
by individual or corporation

Socialism - System that advocates
joint ownership of capital land, etc.
in the community as a whole

Fascism - Governmental system led by
a Dictator w/ complete power

Communism - System of social organization
based on the holding of all property in common.

Totalitarianism - Absolute control by the
state or governing branch.

Marx - Socialism follows capitalism on way to communism

152976

1B26

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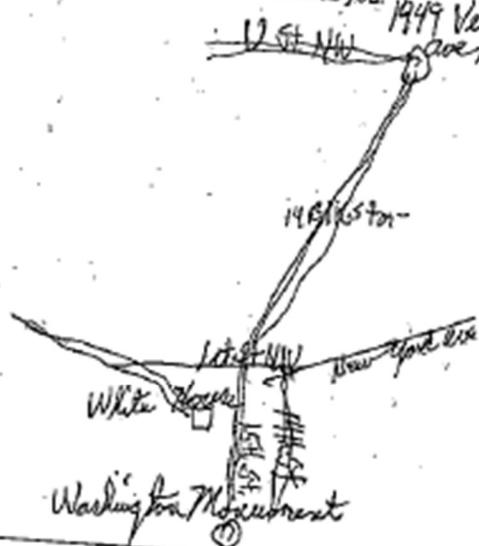
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APPENDIX TWO

FBI Washington
Office of Public Affairs
(202) 278-3519

June 21, 2017

Law Enforcement Shares Findings of the Investigation into the June 14 Alexandria, Virginia Shooting

Today, law enforcement officials shared findings to date of the investigation into the shooting that occurred at the Eugene Simpson Stadium Park on Wednesday, June 14, 2017.

The developments were announced by Andrew Vaio, assistant director in charge, FBI Washington Field Office; Timothy R. Slater, special agent in charge, FBI Washington Field Office Criminal Division; Michael L. Brown, Chief, Alexandria Police Department; Matthew R. Verdrossa, chief, United States Capitol Police; and Michael B. Bowler, special agent in charge, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF) Washington Field Division.

Through information and evidence gathered in ongoing interviews, searches, and other investigative activity, investigators and analysts have gained a greater understanding of the recent movements and activities of deceased shooter James Thomas "Tom" Hodgkinson, 65. The FBI is investigating this shooting as an assault on a member of Congress and an assault on a federal officer. At this point in the investigation, the FBI does not believe there is a nexus to terrorism.

In March 2017, Hodgkinson, of Belleville, Illinois, told a family member that he was traveling to Washington D.C., but he did not provide any additional information on his travel. FBI analysis of Hodgkinson's computers showed a Google search of truck stops, maps, and toll-free routes to the Northern Virginia area. Prior to his travel, local law enforcement in Belleville had been called to Hodgkinson's residence due to complaints of target practice he was conducting on his property. Local law enforcement requested he keep the noise down but determined Hodgkinson was not in violation of any local laws. Hodgkinson's prior criminal record includes a charge of domestic battery in 2008.

Evidence collected thus far indicates Hodgkinson had been in the Alexandria area since March 2017. On the morning of Wednesday, June 14, 2017, Hodgkinson, who was living in his vehicle, which was located in the parking lot of the YMCA on East Monroe Avenue, is believed to have exited his vehicle with two weapons, a 7.62mm caliber SKS rifle and a 9mm handgun, for which he had a holster on his person. He approached the baseball fields where practice for a Congressional charity baseball game was taking place. Acting alone, Hodgkinson shot in the vicinity of the field where members of Congress and staffers were standing. Immediately adjacent to the field were two United States Capitol Police special agents who were detailed to a member of Congress and who engaged Hodgkinson. Alexandria Police Department officers responded to the scene of shots fired and also engaged Hodgkinson who, over police radio, was reported down at 7:14 a.m.

The investigation thus far determined that Hodgkinson purchased his SKS 7.62mm caliber rifle in March 2009 and 9mm handgun in November 2016 legally through federal firearms licenses. The investigation has determined that there were cartridges found to be chambered in the SKS rifle and the FBI's Evidence Response Team found 9mm and 7.62mm shell casings on scene. The SKS rifle was modified to accept a detachable magazine and the original stock was replaced with a folding stock.

The FBI and ATF processed property found in three locations and on Hodgkinson's person. Law enforcement searched Hodgkinson's vehicle at the scene of the shooting; a storage facility that he rented beginning April 16, 2017 in Alexandria, Virginia; and his home in Belleville. Items found on Hodgkinson included a piece of paper that contained the names of six members of Congress. No context was included on this paper, however, a review of Hodgkinson's web searches in the months prior to the shooting revealed only a cursory search of two of those members of Congress. A second document with a rough sketch of several streets in Washington, D.C. was found on Hodgkinson; however, it was not deemed to be of investigative significance.

Through retracing an activity log at the storage facility, it was determined that Hodgkinson visited his unit more than 43 times between April and June, usually in the morning between 6:00 and 7:00 a.m., however, sometimes twice a day. Contents of the storage facility yielded a laptop computer, more than 200 rounds of ammunition, a receipt for a November 2016 gun purchase and additional SKS rifle components.

The FBI seized a laptop computer, a cell phone, and a digital camera in Hodgkinson's vehicle. Analysis of the electronic media items recovered from Hodgkinson's belongings assessed that Hodgkinson did not place any online posts of threats or references to members of Congress or the Congressional baseball game. Hodgkinson made numerous posts on all of his social media accounts espousing anti-Republican views, although all the posts reviewed thus far appear to be First Amendment-protected speech. The morning of the shooting, a witness reported Hodgkinson asking those, "Is this the Republican or Democrat baseball team?" When the witness responded that it was a Republican event, Hodgkinson reportedly remained at the baseball field.

Analysis of Hodgkinson's laptop computers show online activity the night before the shooting; however, no Internet searches were discovered the morning of the shooting. The Internet searches Hodgkinson performed the night before the shooting included a Google map search from Alexandria to his home in Belleville and a Google search of the "2017 Republican Convention." While online, he also accessed a financial account and one of his Facebook accounts, where he visited a news website to look up news highlights. Through witness accounts, Hodgkinson was reported to frequent the local libraries in Alexandria where he could obtain free Wi-Fi; however, he was unable to use the Alexandria Library computers as he was a non-resident and therefore not eligible for a local library card.

Analysis of Hodgkinson's phone shows that he checked e-mail and utilized text messaging. In a witness interview, a family member of Hodgkinson reported to have received a message from him on June 12 seeking to return home to Illinois. Analysis of Hodgkinson's phone and e-mail accounts are ongoing.

Content found on Hodgkinson's phone shows photographs and videos between April 11 and April 26. Hodgkinson took photographs at various sites on the National Mall and at various monuments, including the east front plaza of the U.S. Capitol, inside the visitor's entrance of the Dirksen Senate Office Building, the front entrance of the Library of Congress, the west side of the Supreme Court, the front entrance of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, and the Washington Monument. On April 15, Hodgkinson took multiple photographs of Eugene Simpson Stadium Park. At this point in the investigation, the FBI does not believe that these photographs represented surveillance of intended targets; however, we continue to learn more about Hodgkinson's recent activities.

While announcing these developments in this ongoing joint investigation, Assistant Director Vaio, Special Agent in Charge Slater, Chief Brown, Chief Verdrossa, and Special Agent in Charge Badar continue to wish those who sustained injuries and were affected by the shooting a speedy recovery. We commend the work of the first responders who came on scene while it was still dangerous to provide medical assistance and transport the injured, including Alexandria Fire & EMS, Arlington County EMS, and United States Park Police. We also commend the extensive support of partner agencies in the immediate hours and days following the shooting including the Alexandria Sheriff's Office, Virginia State Police, Arlington Police, and Metro Transit Police. The FBI's Springfield, Kansas City, and St. Louis Divisions provided extensive assistance in this ongoing investigation and appreciate the support of the St. Clair Sheriff's Department. These partner responding agencies have allowed investigators and analysts to continue to conduct a complete and thorough investigation into the shooting at the Eugene Simpson Stadium Park.

Resources

- Joint Statement Update on Status of Shooting in Alexandria, Virginia
- Joint Statement Update on Status of Shooting in Alexandria, Virginia
- Joint Statement Update on Status of Shooting in Alexandria, Virginia
- Joint Statement on Shooting in Alexandria, Virginia

APPENDIX THREE

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EXECUTIVE INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING

FBI Washington Field Office, ID [REDACTED]/CR [REDACTED]

10 July 2017

88A-WF [REDACTED]

(U) FBI Findings Regarding the Alexandria Congressional Shooting

(U/[REDACTED]) The FBI has examined the activities and communications of James T. Hodgkinson preceding the 14 June 2017 mass shooting at the congressional baseball practice in Alexandria, VA. The FBI has determined this mass shooting constitutes a purely criminal matter as an assassination of a member of Congress and murder or attempted murder of other individuals, and does not meet the threshold to be classified as an act of domestic terrorism.

(U/[REDACTED]) The FBI has determined Hodgkinson's motive to shoot and kill individuals at the congressional baseball practice most aligns with an act of "suicide by cop." This determination was based upon analysis of his communications, activities, and behavior and associations.

(U/[REDACTED]) Background

(U/[REDACTED]) On 14 June 2017 at approximately 7:09am, James T. Hodgkinson fired numerous shots at the congressional baseball practice held in Alexandria, VA. Hodgkinson was immediately engaged by United States Capitol Police officers and Alexandria Police Department officers, was wounded at the scene, and succumbed to his wounds a short time later at George Washington Hospital.

(U) Communications

- (U/[REDACTED]) Hodgkinson mailed two 'goodbye' letters post-marked in Alexandria, VA. Two days after the shooting, Hodgkinson's wife received the letters, one addressed to her and a second addressed to Hodgkinson's grandchildren.
- (U/[REDACTED]) Hodgkinson's brother believed Hodgkinson chose to commit "suicide by cop," according to statements in an FBI interview.
- (U/[REDACTED]) Hodgkinson began giving away his possessions as well as making statements such as "you may not see me again" prior to his departure from Belleville, IL to Alexandria, VA.
- (U/[REDACTED]) Hodgkinson had written statements such as "I was getting older and wanted to make a statement in my life before the end," according to materials found in his possession.

(U) Activities

- (U/[REDACTED]) Hodgkinson engaged United States Capitol Police officers and Alexandria Police Department officers, moving toward their gunfire, never attempting to flee the shooting scene.

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- (U//) The FBI determined that Hodgkinson's list of six congressmen^a found in his vehicle does not appear to be a "hit list." Analysis of Hodgkinson's internet activity determined he only researched two of the six congressmen by name. Hodgkinson also viewed the websites of several Republican and Democrat Congressional members by surfing House of Representatives sites, including Republican Congressional members who were not Freedom Caucus members.
- (U//) Hodgkinson's statements, online activities, and political views were consistent with 1st Amendment-protected actions and viewpoints.

(U) Behavior and Associations

- (U//) According to a comprehensive review of FBI information, Hodgkinson was facing many personal difficulties. Hodgkinson's business had failed, his health was declining, and his marriage was in extreme distress.
- (U//) Hodgkinson was not a member of any extremist organization and did not have contact with individuals who were affiliated with extremist organizations.
- (U//) The shooting incident appears to have been opportunistic.
- (U//) The FBI found no information to indicate Hodgkinson chose to act to impact government policy or the political system, a required element for an act of domestic terrorism.

(U) **Consumer:** ADIC WFO
SAC Criminal Division
SAC Counterterrorism Division
SSIA Branch III
ASAC Criminal Branch I
ASAC Counterterrorism Division
SSA CR-

(U) **Approval:** SIA ID-
SIA ID-

(U) This Executive Briefing was prepared by the FBI Washington Field Office.

^a (U) Rep. Scott DesJarlais, Rep. Jeff Duncan, Rep. Trent Franks, Rep. Morgan Griffith, Rep. Jim Jordan, and Rep. Mo Brooks, all of whom were members of the Freedom Caucus and work in the Rayburn Building. Rep. Brooks and Rep. Duncan were the only members present at the baseball practice on 14 June 2017.

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