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NAME: RICHARD TAUS DIN: 91A1040

Paper

Ruby,

Since you asked about WTC 9/11 Disaster,
Herri Hartley sent me the enclosed diagram
& info about the 9/11 tragedy. I thought you'd
be interested. I could not conjecture
about the 9/11 WTC BUILDINGS. IT seems
plausible.

Best,

Richard Tava

These are still frames I took from two of the videos showing the impact into WTC2. These are two separate videos taken by unknown witnesses.

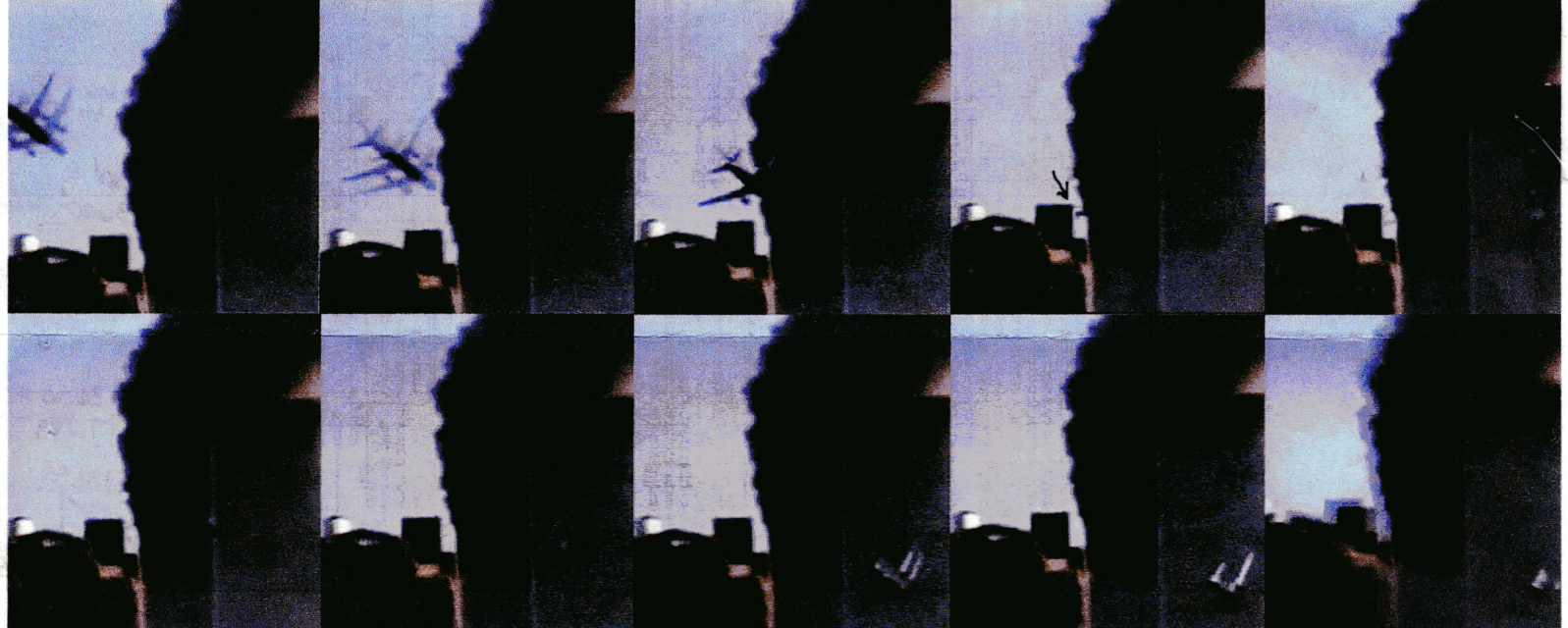
↓ double image

↓ double image

↓ tail glitch

↓ left wing on other side of far building

↓ left wing gone



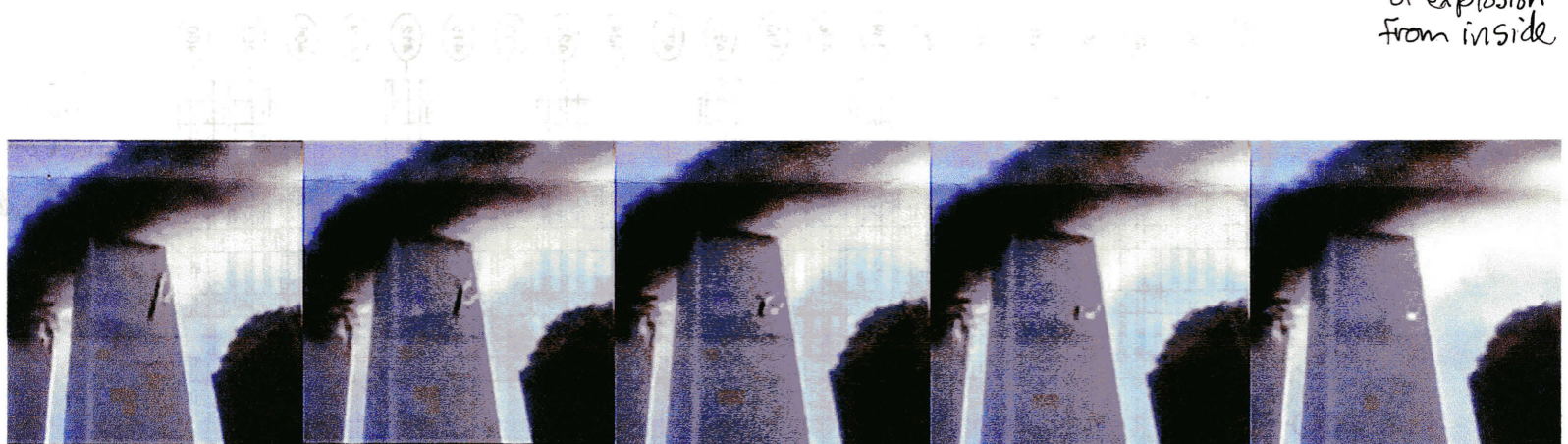
↑ right wing on the other side of tower, tail gone

↑ left wing gone, right wing doubled

↑ doubled right wing, no left wing or tail

↑ still missing left wing and left tail section

↑ in building, no hole, only a puff of smoke from the beginning of explosion from inside



↑ missing left wing + tail

↑ still missing left wing & tail

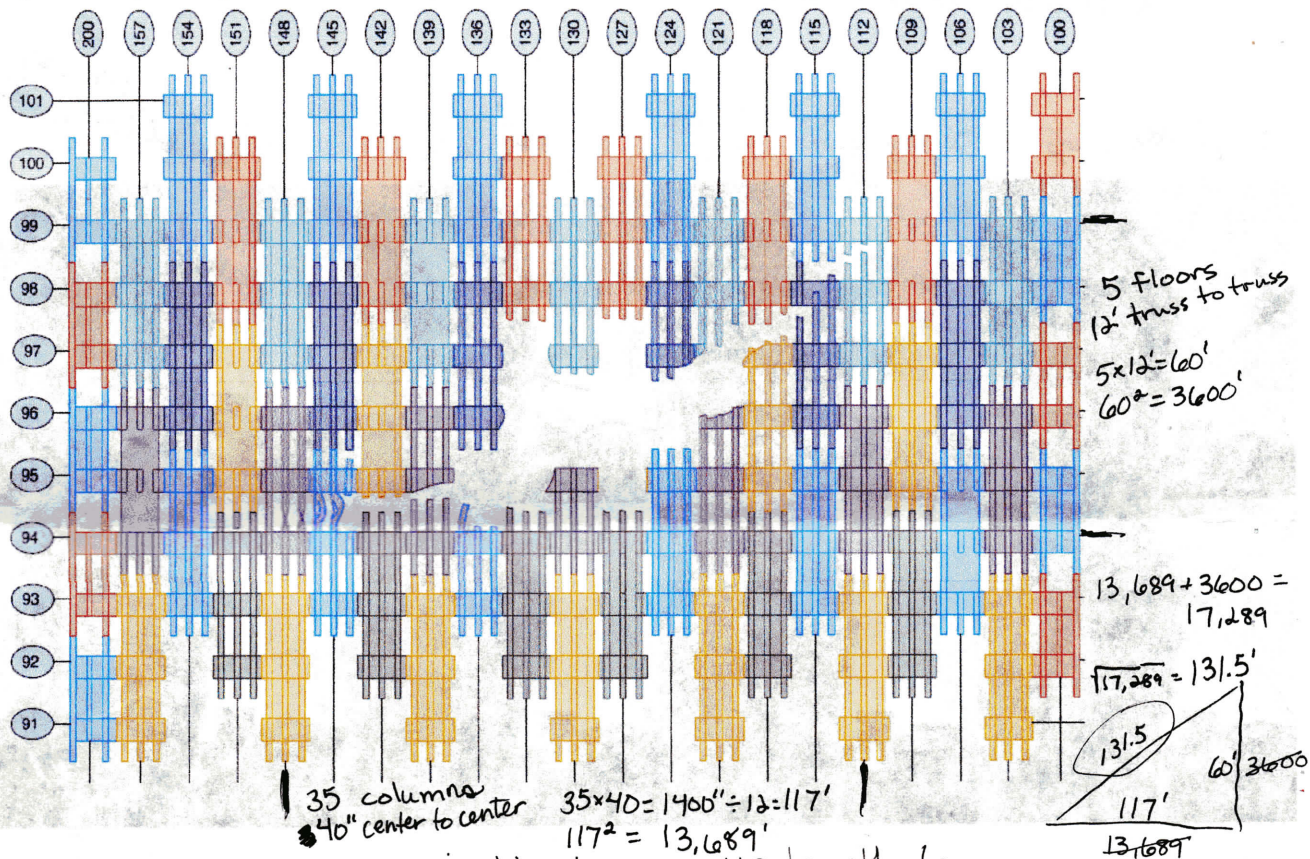
↑ over half way inside but still no hole

↑ only the end of plane sticking out but still missing tail sections

↑ all the way in, no entry hole, only the beginning of explosion again.

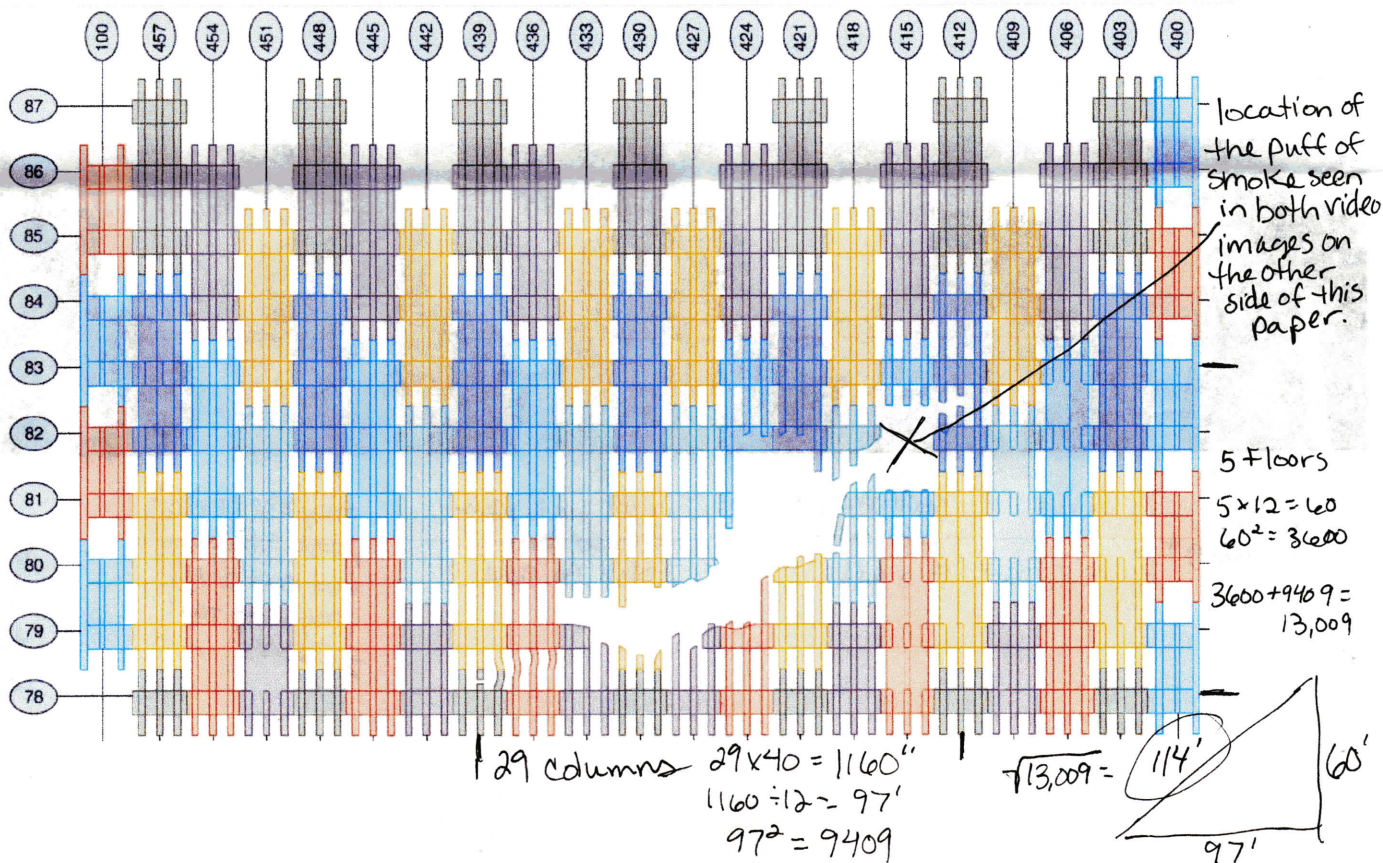
These are two of the diagrams that NIST used to show the damage to the exterior columns of the towers from the plane impacts.

Figure 2-15 Impact damage to the north face of WTC 1



Using $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$, I calculated the wingtip to wingtip length to be roughly 131.5ft. for WTC1, and 114ft. for WTC2. A Boeing 767 has a wing span of 156ft.

WTC 2



Richard Taus, 91A1040
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May 8, 2018

Dear Rudy,

It was good speaking with you this past weekend. Since I may not get an opportunity to call you during this week, I am sending you a copy of this week's TIME magazine (May 14, 2018).

Just from the front cover showing the FBI badge, "The FBI In Crisis," it has always been in crisis. With inadequate resources and equipment, duplicit and/or complacent personnel, evil politicians (denying funding, short-circuiting important investigations, etc.), the FBI has always had a tarnished image, but an unreported one since few journalists wanted to take on the secretive society involved in corruption-in-government.

When I entered the FBI back in March 12, 1978, there were about 6,500 agents and limited equipment and resources. Today, there are some 14,000 agents and, still, the Bureau has problems with advanced technologies, including its computers. The TIME's article only covers more recent cases and investigations, leaving out the years when I was investigating serious high-profile cases that were quickly closed or compromised to protect important and bad people in prominent positions. President Trump has exploited the Bureau's problems, often with some embellishments or, frankly, lies. This was easy to do; and yet, the American Public is still unaware of the other more serious problems in this nation that the FBI should be involved with. I was, during my FBI career trying to expose, arrest and convict many important persons who abused their offices, were involved with organized crimes and/or profited from evil gains and false convictions.

It was nothing less than a political assassination of me, organized by corrupt officials and powers designed to discredit me, remove me from my official duties and silence me by this excessive imprisonment.

I just received your May 1st letter, noting that you record and publish all prisoners' calls. I would like to know who is in the audience that you share this information with. Obviously

(SEE REVERSE SIDE)

from my books, you know that there are audiences that read such works, such as true American Patriots who served this nation in wartime and peacetime, often disappointed by the societal problems and corruption. Many former law enforcement dutiful agents/officials, military veterans, and the interested public are aware of my plight. I would appreciate knowing to whom you share any recording and publications. Frankly, many others such as I noted above, republish portions from my books and articles.

Well let me close for now. I just wanted to send you this TIME's article.

God bless you.

In Christ's Love and Service,

Richard Tano

Encls: TIME's article May 14, 2018.

PLUS Rise of the Global Strongman By Ian Bremmer



THE FBI IN CRISIS

IT'S WORSE THAN
YOU THINK

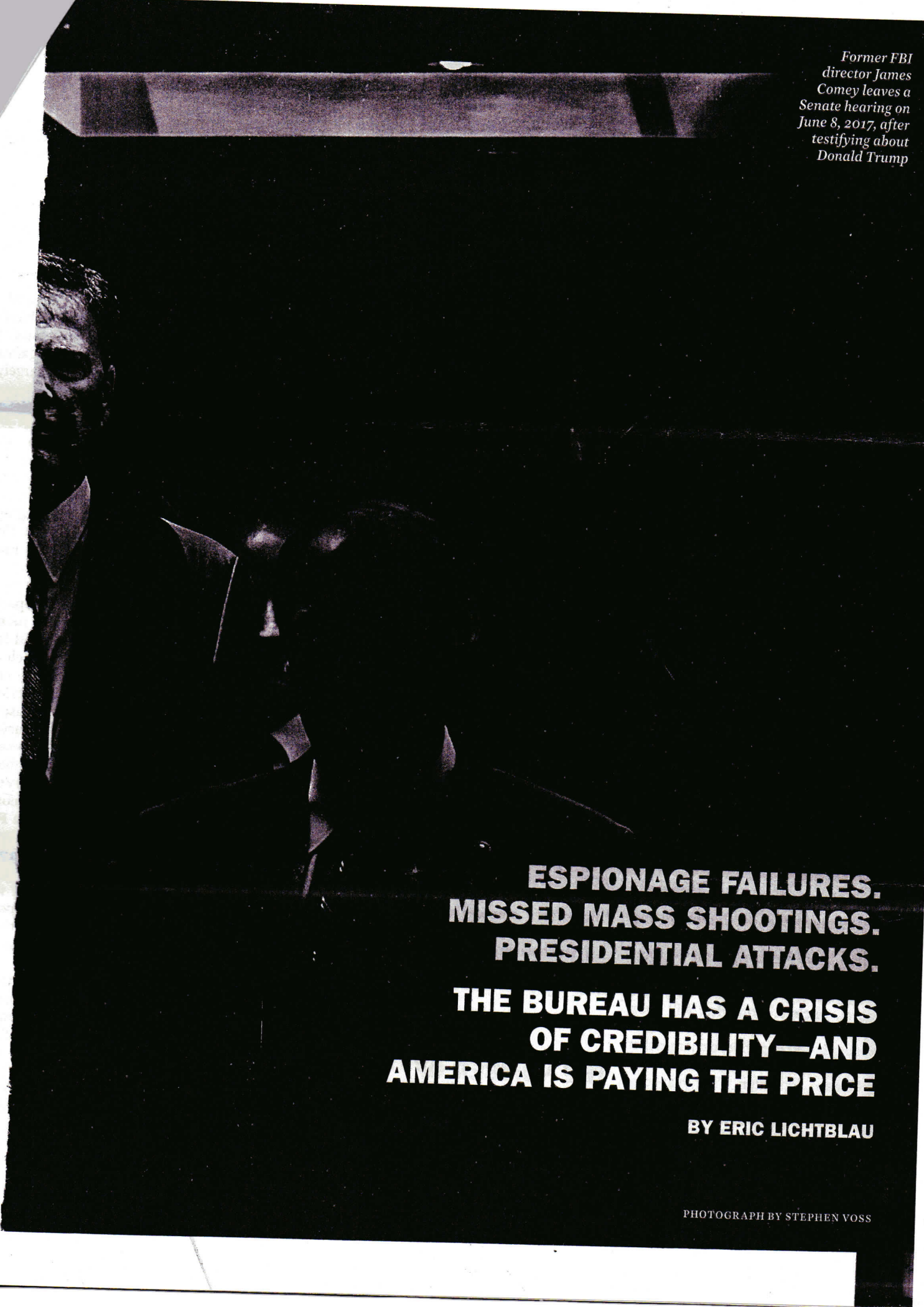
BY ERIC LICHTBLAU

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Nation

THE FBI ON TRIAL





*Former FBI
director James
Comey leaves a
Senate hearing on
June 8, 2017, after
testifying about
Donald Trump*

**ESPIONAGE FAILURES.
MISSED MASS SHOOTINGS.
PRESIDENTIAL ATTACKS.
THE BUREAU HAS A CRISIS
OF CREDIBILITY—AND
AMERICA IS PAYING THE PRICE**

BY ERIC LICHTBLAU

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN VOSS

IN NORMAL TIMES, THE TELEVISIONS ARE HUMMING

at the FBI's 56 field offices nationwide, piping in the latest news as agents work their investigations. But these days, some agents say, the TVs are often off to avoid the crush of bad stories about the FBI itself. The bureau, which is used to making headlines for nabbing crooks, has been grabbing the spotlight for unwanted reasons: fired leaders, texts between lovers and, most of all, attacks by President Trump. "I don't care what channel it's on," says Tom O'Connor, a veteran investigator in Washington who leads the FBI Agents Association. "All you hear is negative stuff about the FBI ... It gets depressing."

Many view Trump's attacks as self-serving: he has called the renowned agency an "embarrassment to our country" and its investigations of his business and political dealings a "witch hunt." But as much as the bureau's roughly 14,000 special agents might like to tune out the news, internal and external reports have found lapses throughout the agency, and longtime observers, looking past the partisan haze, see a troubling picture: something really is wrong at the FBI.

The Justice Department's Inspector General, Michael Horowitz, will soon release a much-anticipated assessment of Democratic and Republican charges that officials at the FBI interfered in the 2016 presidential campaign. That year-long probe, sources familiar with it tell TIME, is expected to come down particularly hard on former FBI director James Comey, who is currently on a high-profile book tour. It will likely find that Comey breached Justice Department protocols

in a July 5, 2016, press conference when he criticized Hillary Clinton for using a private email server as Secretary of State even as he cleared her of any crimes, the sources say. The report is expected to also hit Comey for the way he reopened the Clinton email probe less than two weeks before the election, the sources say.

The report closely follows an earlier one in April by Horowitz, which showed that the ousted deputy director of the FBI, Andrew McCabe, had lied to the bureau's internal investigations branch to cover up a leak he orchestrated about Clinton's family foundation less than two weeks before the election. (The case has since been referred to the U.S. Attorney's office in Washington, D.C., for potential prosecution.) Another IG report in March found that FBI retaliation against internal whistle-blowers was continuing despite years of bureau pledges to fix the problem. Last fall, Horowitz found that the FBI wasn't adequately investigating "high-risk" employees who failed polygraph tests.

There have been other painful, more public failures as well: missed opportunities to prevent mass shootings that go

beyond the much-publicized overlooked warnings in the Parkland, Fla., school killings; an anguishing delay in the sexual-molestation probe into Olympic gymnastics doctor Larry Nassar; and evidence of misconduct by agents in the aftermath of standoffs with armed militias in Nevada and Oregon. FBI agents are facing criminal charges ranging from obstruction to leaking classified material. And then there's potentially the widest-reaching failure of all: the FBI's miss of the Russian influence operation against the 2016 election, which went largely undetected for more than two years.

In the course of two dozen interviews for this story, agents and others expressed concern that the tumult is threatening the cooperation of informants, local and state police officials, and allies overseas. Even those who lived through past crises say the current one is more damaging. "We've seen ups and downs, but I've never seen anything like this," says Robert Anderson, a senior official at the FBI who retired in 2015.

The FBI's crisis of credibility appears to have seeped into the jury room. The number of convictions in FBI-led investigations has declined in each of the last five years, dropping nearly 11% over that period, according to a TIME analysis of data obtained from the Justice Department by researchers at Syracuse University. "We've already seen where the bad guys and witnesses look at those FBI credentials, and it might not carry the same weight anymore," says O'Connor.

Indeed, public support for the FBI has plunged. A PBS *NewsHour* survey in April showed a 10-point drop—from 71% to 61%—in the prior two months among Americans who thought the FBI was "just trying to do its job" and an 8-point jump—from 23% to 31%—among those who thought it was "biased against the Trump Administration."

The FBI, of course, continues to do good work. On April 25, local authorities in Sacramento and the FBI announced the dramatic arrest of the Golden State Killer. That same day it helped bust 39 people in Pennsylvania in a cocaine-trafficking investigation, 14 prison employees in South Carolina in a bribery case and two men in New Jersey in a \$5.3 million tax-evasion probe. Assistant FBI Director William F. Sweeney Jr.,

THE NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS IN FBI-LED PROBES HAS DECLINED IN EACH OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS

who runs the New York field office and oversaw the April 9 raid against Trump's personal lawyer Michael Cohen, says his agents' response to the turmoil has been to "double down and [say], 'Hey, we're gonna keep on moving.'"

Some question whether the FBI has gotten too big and has been asked to do too many things. After 9/11, then FBI director Robert Mueller, who is now the special counsel leading the Russia probe, made massive new investments in counterterrorism and intelligence, shifting resources and investigative focus from white collar crime and bank robberies.

Many of the bureau's woes developed on Comey's 3½-year watch. They extend beyond the most visible controversies, like the Clinton email and Russia investigations, to his costly confrontation with Apple over unlocking an iPhone used by one of the terrorists in the San Bernardino, Calif., shooting in 2015, and beyond. Critics say Comey's penchant for high-profile moral fights has, ironically, undermined the bureau's reputation. Trump himself has used that line of argument to challenge the FBI.

Democrats have questioned the integrity of the bureau as well, with Clinton and her aides claiming Comey and the FBI helped tip the election to Trump. But the biggest difference between past crises and the current one, according to virtually everyone interviewed for this article, is the President. Trump has continually attacked the integrity of the institution and its leaders, alleging not just incompetence but bad faith in the commission of justice. Ronald Hosko, who retired in 2014 after 30 years at the bureau, compares the moment to a wildfire, saying Trump "is either the spark that creates the flames, or he's standing there with a can of gas to stoke the flames."

The bureau's current director, Christopher Wray, recently said his first priority is to "try to bring a sense of calm and stability back to the bureau." But the FBI is facing one of the greatest tests of its 110 years. In the coming months, it must fix a litany of internal problems, fend off outside attacks on its trustworthiness and pursue investigations touching on a sitting President, at the same time a growing number of Americans are asking themselves: Can we trust the FBI?

THE WATCHDOG REPORTS

The Justice Department Inspector General's office has long exposed problems at the FBI, uncovering counterterrorism and other abuses after 9/11, when Robert Mueller was director. Since he took over in 2012, IG Michael Horowitz has often targeted FBI misconduct.

1. During the post-test phase of a polygraph examination, an FBI Information Technology (IT) Specialist admitted to using FBI equipment to view and print photographs of scantily clad adult women, some of which the employee stated depicted partially naked women. Following this admission, the AIU initiated an investigation in part to review the IT Specialist's potential misuse of FBI computer systems. During an

SEPT. 26, 2017

Horowitz identified possible "systemic" problems in the FBI's lax treatment of employees who posed "high-risk security concerns." One computer specialist with top-secret clearance admitted to viewing pornography on his work computer and conversing secretly with a "foreign national" for months but faced no discipline or follow-up investigation.

MARCH 14, 2018

The IG urged better training for FBI supervisors on laws protecting whistle-blowers from retaliation after unidentified supervisors threatened a technician who had reported misconduct. Two earlier investigations in 2016 also documented retaliation against whistle-blowers, which has been a long-standing problem.

on May 9, 2017, year 5-year personnel security

We concluded that McCabe lacked candor during an INSD interview under oath on May 9, 2017, when he falsely told the agents that he had not authorized the disclosure to the WSJ and did not know who did.

Two INSD investigators

MARCH 27, 2018

After the 2015 San Bernardino shooting, then director Comey confronted Apple in testimony and got a court order to force de-encryption of the perpetrator's iPhone. A two-year probe by the IG found that the FBI had "only just begun" looking for its own solutions when it filed the court order. The bureau ultimately cracked the phone without Apple.

APRIL 13, 2018

A scathing report found that former FBI deputy director Andrew McCabe authorized a leak about an FBI investigation into the Clinton Foundation less than two weeks before the 2016 election, then lied repeatedly in sworn statements, denying it. Attorney General Jeff Sessions fired McCabe on March 16, barely a day before he was set to retire.

During the investigation, the OIG also found that the SA divulged law enforcement sensitive information to unauthorized individuals; misused his government issued electronic devices; provided misleading testimony during a related civil deposition; mishandled classified information; misused his position during contacts with local law enforcement officers; and provided false information to the OIG. Criminal prosecution of the SA was declined.

APRIL 30, 2018

An investigation found evidence that an unidentified agent had tried to tamper with witnesses in a criminal case, gave "misleading testimony" in a civil case, mishandled classified information and gave confidential law-enforcement information to people who shouldn't have had it. Yet criminal charges were "declined," the IG said.

MAY 2018

The IG is expected to release a much-awaited report scrutinizing the FBI's actions during the 2016 presidential campaign. Sources say the report will sharply rebuke then director Comey's unorthodox handling of the Hillary Clinton email investigation that went against normal protocols.

MISSES AND MISSTEPS

The FBI has erred in a number of recent investigations. Those errors, experts say, have diminished the bureau's credibility.

LAST MAY, McCabe, then the FBI's deputy director, sat down at the table in his seventh-floor office for a meeting with two agents from the inspections division. The agents had some questions about the Clinton Foundation leak just before the election. It was a quick meeting. McCabe, an FBI veteran who rose through the ranks over a 21-year career, told them he had "no idea" where the leak came from. The agents left after just five minutes or so, according to the Inspector General's April 13 report.

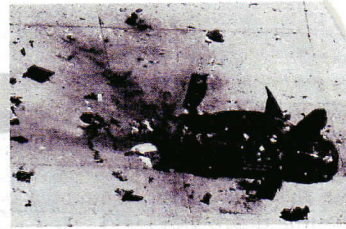
McCabe had offered that same basic assurance months earlier to his boss, then director Comey, investigators said, and had angrily lit into FBI officials under him, suggesting the Clinton leak had come from their offices and telling one senior agent in Washington to "get his house in order." But as it turned out, McCabe knew exactly where the leak had come from. He personally authorized it, Horowitz's investigators found, to counter charges that he favored Clinton. (His wife received \$467,500 from the PAC of a Clinton ally, then Virginia governor Terry McAuliffe, in a failed 2015 bid for state office.)

The McCabe findings have shaken the FBI. The bureau has massive power, and as a result, it has strict rules. Lying to investigators is considered a dire breach in an organization built on trust. The referral to the U.S. Attorney's office, which emerged a week after the report was released, could result in charges against McCabe of making a false sworn statement. He has challenged the findings, disputing even the most basic elements, like how many people were in the room. The IG said it did not find many of his objections credible, with some elements contradicted by notes taken contemporaneously by an agent. McCabe previously called his firing part of a "war



LAND-RIGHTS STANDOFFS

Confrontations with anti-public lands militias in Nevada and Oregon led to accusations in court of misconduct by FBI agents, with one agent in Oregon now facing criminal charges for having allegedly lied about firing his weapon.



TEXAS TERRORIST ATTACK

In court, the FBI admitted that one of its undercover agents was present at a 2015 terrorist attack at a "Draw Mohammed" event and had previously told one of the ISIS-inspired attackers that he should "tear up Texas."

on the FBI" and the Russia investigation. But viewed against the backdrop of other Horowitz reports, McCabe's alleged rule-breaking looks like part of a much larger problem.

In September, Horowitz found that bureau investigators had allowed employees with dubious polygraph results to keep their top-secret clearances for months or even years, posing "potential risks to U.S. national security." In one instance, an FBI IT specialist with top-secret security clearance failed four polygraph tests and admitted to having created a fictitious Facebook account to communicate with a foreign national, but received no disciplinary action for that. In late 2016, Horowitz found that the FBI was getting information it shouldn't have had access to when it used controversial parts of the Patriot Act to obtain business records in terrorism and counterintelligence cases.

Just as troubling are recent FBI missteps not yet under the IG's microscope. At 2:31 p.m. on Jan. 5, the FBI's round-the-clock tip center in West Virginia received a chilling phone call. The caller gave her name and said she was close to the family of an 18-year-old in Parkland, Fla., named Nikolas Cruz. Over 13 minutes, she said Cruz had posted photos of rifles he owned and animals he mutilated and that he wanted "to kill people." She listed his Instagram accounts and suggested the FBI check for itself, saying she was

worried about the thought of his "getting into a school and just shooting the place up," according to a transcript of the call.

The FBI specialist checked Cruz's name against a database and found that another tipster had reported 3½ months earlier that a "Nikolas Cruz" posted a comment on his YouTube channel saying, "I'm going to be a professional school shooter." But neither tip was passed on to the FBI field agents in Miami or local officials in Parkland. After Cruz allegedly killed 17 people with an AR-15 rifle at his old school just six weeks later, the bureau admitted that it had dropped the ball and ordered a full review. "You look at this and say, 'You've got to be kidding me,'" says Anderson, the former FBI official.

The Parkland shooting was only the latest in a string of devastating misses. After Omar Mateen shot and killed 49 people at the nightclub Pulse in Orlando in June 2016, the FBI said it had investigated him twice before on terrorism suspicions, but shut the inquiries for lack of evidence. The year before, after Dylann Roof shot to death nine African-American parishioners at a South Carolina church, the FBI acknowledged that lapses in its gun background-check system allowed him to illegally buy the .45-caliber handgun he used in the massacre. And in 2011, the FBI received a tip from Russian intelligence that one of the Boston Marathon bombers had become radicalized and was planning an overseas trip to join radical Islamic groups. The FBI in Boston investigated him but found no "nexus" to terrorism.

The Orlando shooting provoked more second-guessing in late March, when the shooter's widow, Noor Salman, was acquitted on charges of aiding and abetting him and obstructing justice. The jury foreman pointed to inconsistencies in the FBI's accounts of the disputed

'YOU LOOK AT THIS AND SAY, "YOU'VE GOT TO BE KIDDING ME."'

—Robert Anderson, former FBI official



ROGUE TRANSLATOR

The FBI said one of its translators on a counterterrorism squad fell in love with a top ISIS propagandist she was tracking (Denis Cuspert, above), sneaked off to Syria to marry him and told him he was under investigation.



LARRY NASSAR

The FBI has opened an internal investigation to determine why reports of the Olympic gymnastics doctor's sexual abuse languished in three different bureau field offices for more than a year.



PARKLAND SHOOTING

Two different tipsters warned the FBI in the months ahead of the February 2018 shooting in Parkland, Fla., that the perpetrator might have been planning to shoot up a school. Seventeen people died in the attack.

admissions that agents said Salman had made, according to the Orlando *Sentinel*. The judge also scolded the government after an FBI agent contradicted the government's earlier claims that Salman and Mateen had cased the club.

THE CONCERNS about FBI testimony in a major terrorist prosecution underscore a larger question: Are people less likely to believe what the bureau says these days? In January, a federal judge threw out all the criminal charges against renegade Nevada cattleman Cliven Bundy, his two sons and a supporter who had been in an armed standoff over unpaid grazing fees. Judge Gloria Navarro accused the government of "outrageous" and "flagrant" misconduct, citing failures by both prosecutors and the FBI to produce at least 1,000 pages of required documents. The judge said the FBI misplaced—or "perhaps hid"—a thumb drive revealing the existence of snipers and a surveillance camera at the site of the standoff.

A related case in Oregon, growing out of the 2016 takeover of a wildlife refuge by Bundy's sons and their followers, has not gone well for the FBI either. An agent at the scene, W. Joseph Astarita, is now charged with five criminal counts after prosecutors say he falsely denied shooting twice at an occupation leader who was fatally shot by police, who said he appeared to be reaching for his handgun during a roadside encounter. The Bundy sons and five supporters who helped in the takeover were found not guilty of conspiracy and weapons charges, in another jarring setback for the government.

Some legal experts and defense advocates see the string of recent not guilty verdicts as a sign that jurors and judges are less inclined to take what the FBI says in court at face value. Data examined by

TIME support that conclusion. The number of convictions in FBI-led investigations dropped last year for the fifth consecutive year—from 11,461 in 2012 to 10,232, according to Syracuse University data, which was obtained under Freedom of Information Act requests.

Moreover, TIME's analysis shows a surprisingly low rate of success for the thousands of cases the FBI investigates and sends to the Justice Department for possible prosecution. Over that same time period, the Justice Department has ultimately won convictions in fewer than half the cases the FBI referred for prosecution, with a conviction rate of 47% last year, the data showed. That fell well below the average of 72% for all agencies. Prosecutors themselves have rejected many of the FBI's referrals before they ever got to court. The bureau's low success rate in these cases has remained largely unchanged in recent years.

Federal prosecutors still win the bulk of the thousands of cases they choose to bring based on FBI investigations. Justice Department spokesman Ian Prior says a variety of factors could play into the drop in prosecutions and convictions over the last five years, including "de-emphasizing" some crimes under Obama-era policies and cutbacks in prosecutors in recent years. Prior says that "judging the performance of the FBI based on a minuscule sample of cherry-picked cases" ignores its thousands of annual convictions.

Gina Nichols, a nurse in Minnesota, says she never had strong impressions one way or the other about the FBI until her daughter Maggie Nichols, who was a member of the national gymnastics team, reported three years ago that team physician Larry Nassar had molested her. Gina waited anxiously for the FBI

to contact her and interview Maggie. But no one did so for nearly a year as the case languished among different FBI field offices in Indianapolis, Detroit and Los Angeles. Nassar is believed to have molested dozens of additional victims over the course of that year. "It makes you sick," Gina tells TIME. "I have a child who was sexually abused for 2½ years by an Olympic doctor, and the FBI did nothing."

The FBI has opened an internal inquiry to determine why the Nassar investigations appear to have dragged on for so long. John Manly, a Southern California lawyer representing many of the women, says he is angry that no one from the FBI has contacted the victims to explain the delay. "Knowing that the best law-enforcement agency in the world knew exactly what he was up to and did nothing—I can't explain that to them," Manly says. "You've got people who were really hurt here, so fix it," he says.

PERHAPS THE EASIEST problems to address are the internal lapses. Experts say putting assets and management attention back to work on cyber, counterintelligence and traditional crime after Mueller shifted them to counterterrorism would help. "There's an overextension of the mission," says Brian Levin, a professor of criminal justice at California State University, San Bernardino, who has worked with the FBI. Most of Horowitz's reports include measures the FBI can take to address their problems, including stricter rules for investigating polygraph test failures and training to protect whistle-blowers.

A failure of imagination is harder to fix. Mueller's Russia probe has found that Moscow's operation against the 2016 election first got under way in 2014, but the FBI failed to grasp the scope and danger of what was unfolding. The bureau

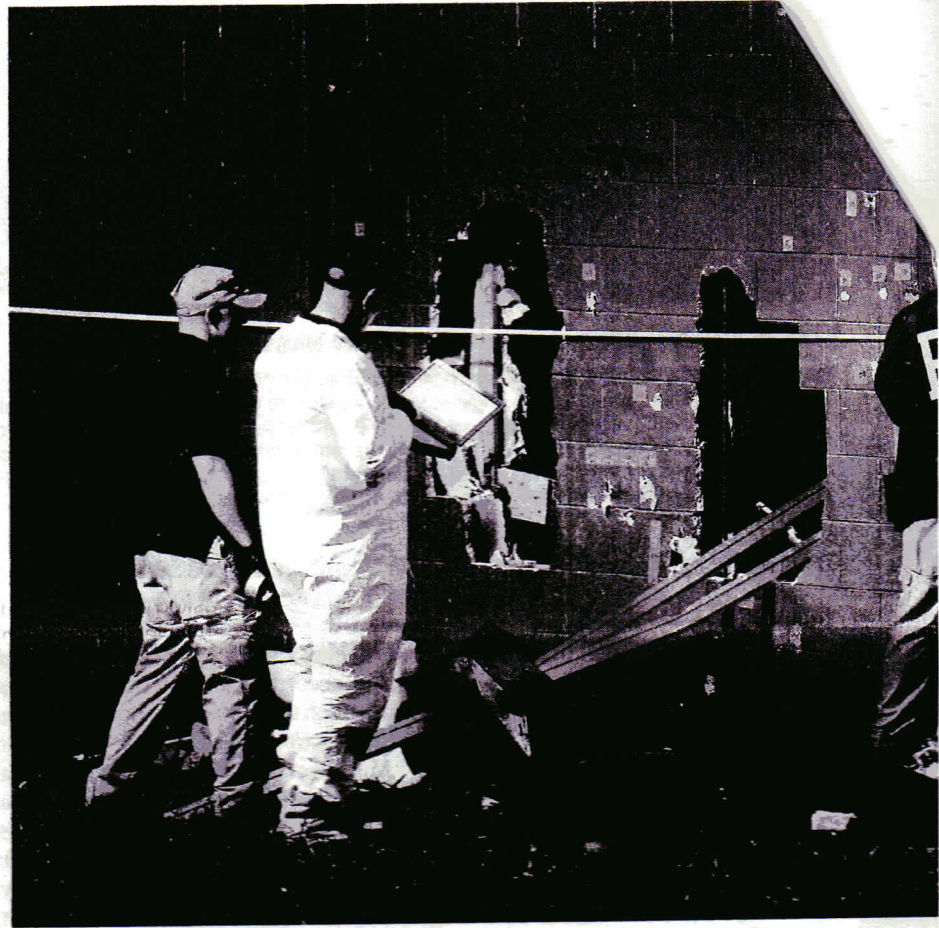
missed the significance of the damaging 2015 hack of the DNC database. And when the Russian operation began to heat up in the summer of 2016, the FBI was always a step behind the Russians, struggling to understand intelligence reports they were getting about possible connections between Moscow and Trump aides. The bureau also sat on the disputed "dossier" prepared by former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele.

A report released on April 27 by Republicans on the House Intelligence Committee found that the FBI was slow to confront the election meddling, especially in its failure to notify U.S. victims of Russian hacking quickly enough. The committee also charged that the bureau's decision to surveil former Trump campaign adviser Carter Page was influenced by politics. At the same time, the GOP has pointed to text messages between FBI special agent Peter Strzok and FBI lawyer Lisa Page, which were critical of Trump—as well as many Democrats—to argue the bureau is fundamentally biased.

FBI Director Wray says the bureau has started "specific activities" to prevent election meddling by Moscow, but outsiders worry that the U.S. remains vulnerable this fall and beyond.

The most important thing the FBI can do to fix itself? Follow its own rules. In his handling of the Clinton email probe ahead of the 2016 election, Comey acted without telling the Justice Department what he planned to do. Comey is expected to come under fire in the upcoming IG report for breaking with Justice Department rules and norms by assuming authority usually held by prosecutors and speaking in public about a case that did not produce criminal charges, sources with knowledge of the report tell TIME. He will likely also be criticized for weighing in so close to the election in a way that could impact the outcome, sources familiar with the investigation say.

On his book tour, Comey has defended his decisions as the best way out of a bad situation. Facing what he called "a series of no-win decisions," Comey says he did what he thought was necessary and transparent to protect the integrity of both the FBI and the legal process in such a high-profile case.



AS HE FACES the crises at the FBI, Wray has told his senior aides to "keep calm and tackle hard." Asked if recent misconduct cases concern Wray, FBI spokeswoman Jacqueline Maguire said the bureau's 36,000 employees "are held to the highest standards of conduct—but as in any large organization, there may be occasions when an employee exercises poor judgment or engages in misconduct." While she declined to discuss specific cases, Maguire said claims of misconduct are "taken seriously [and] investigated thoroughly," leading to discipline when needed.

At FBI headquarters, agents and supervisors say they are keeping their heads down and focusing on their investigations. But the building is literally crumbling around them—Comey kept in his office a slab of concrete that had fallen off the side. Designs for a new complex

FBI agents at the damaged rear wall of the nightclub Pulse, where Omar Mateen killed 49 people in June 2016

were scrapped in February. Visible across Pennsylvania Avenue from the main entrance, with J. Edgar Hoover's tarnished name above it, is the gleaming, gold-plated sign on the newly renovated Trump International Hotel.

Trump's attacks on the FBI have been filled with inaccuracies and innuendo, wrongly claiming on Twitter, for instance, that McCabe was in charge of the Clinton email investigation. Trump makes a point of praising rank-and-file agents, but his punches have landed inside the FBI and out. Some worry the damage may take years to repair. "I fear Trump's relentless attacks on the institution are having an effect on the public's confidence in the FBI," says Matthew S. Axelrod, a senior Justice Department official in the Obama Administration.

Mueller may play an outsize role in how his old agency gets through the current crisis. If the special counsel finds that Russia did collude with members of the Trump campaign—the central question in his investigation—and any perpetrators

MANY OF THE BUREAU'S WOES DEVELOPED ON COMEY'S WATCH



JOE RAEDLE—GETTY IMAGES

are charged and found guilty in court, it would rebut Trump's charges of a "witch hunt." If Mueller finds no evidence of collusion, or declines to make it public, it would open the door for Trump and his campaign to paint the FBI as a band of partisan hacks with a reputation, as he has tweeted, "in tatters."

There may be no immediate way to fix a place with as many missions and masters as the FBI. One official, asked what it would take for the FBI to move past all the controversy, paused and said simply, "Time." Many hope that the extraordinary confluence of events that drew the FBI into the 2016 election will prove to be, as Comey called it, "a 500-year flood" that won't repeat itself anytime soon.

Others are doubtful. Jeffrey Danik, a retired FBI agent in Florida who now works with whistle-blowers at the bureau, blames the state of affairs on "a severe lack of leadership" and transparency at headquarters in owning up to recent mistakes. Those damaging failures, he says, "have just about pushed our incredible organization over the brink." For now, everyone inside and out who cares about the reliability of law enforcement in America is left hoping that the bureau has at least started on the road back. □

JUSTICE

James Comey's no-apology tour

By Michael Duffy

Over two short weeks, former FBI director James Comey has sold more than 600,000 copies of his new book, *A Higher Loyalty*, barnstormed the interview circuit and appeared frequently in public without a tie. For a former FBI director, any of these is a dramatic break from the norm.

So what does his book tell us? Chiefly this: that when President Trump asked Comey in February 2017 to "let" one piece of a criminal probe into the Russian influence operation against the prior year's presidential election "go," Comey declined, recorded the substance of the conversation in a memo and then, months later, leaked it to a reporter through a law professor. That move probably guaranteed that the federal probe into connections between Russia and the Trump campaign (and what, if anything, Trump knew about them) would continue.

Comey's book is a fast and timely read. It includes a useful reminder of the impossible national-security choices our leaders faced in the wake of 9/11, and is a rare primer in the many unwritten rules between all those lawyers at the Department of Justice and all those agents at the FBI. Those rules, unwritten or otherwise, were front-page news during and after the 2016 election, when Comey had the task of sorting out whether either or both of the two contenders to be the 45th President had broken the law.

First came Hillary Clinton: it fell to Comey and the FBI in mid-2015 to investigate whether Clinton broke the law in 2009 when she set up a private email system and discussed classified information on that channel while she was Secretary of State. Because Democrats expected him to exonerate her and Republicans expected him to indict her, Comey was probably toast from the get-go. At one point in the summer of 2015, talking to a nearby special agent, he said of his predicament: "Nobody gets out alive."

Comey argues there was no reason to charge Clinton in the email fiasco. Yet when he concluded the probe months later, in July 2016, Comey managed to upset both sides, by not

charging Clinton with a crime but still calling her handling of the classified information "extremely careless." A few months after that, the FBI briefly reopened the case just before the 2016 election. Although Comey again cleared Clinton, the controversy was center stage worldwide just hours before millions prepared to go to the polls. Many Democrats still blame Comey for Clinton's defeat.

IF THE COMEY and Clinton saga seemed like farce, his encounters with Trump were bizarre. Comey first met him during the transition at Trump Tower, where he informed the President-elect, among other things, about the efforts by Moscow to influence the 2016 election. It seemed odd to Comey that, with the top U.S. intelligence officials before him, Trump had no follow-up questions about the Russian threat or Moscow's next moves.

Trump soon upped his courtship of Comey, appearing neurotic about the Democrats, obsessed with the size of his Inauguration Day crowds and worried about allegations that he spent time with Russian prostitutes in 2013. Trump pleaded with Comey to back off Michael Flynn, the National Security Adviser who had been talking with Russian counterparts before Trump took office.

Readers quickly see that Trump can't count on Comey to be his errand boy; they may also conclude that Comey didn't handle his Trump meetings deftly. He should have skipped several of them entirely, and when he did attend, he should have pushed back harder at Trump's inappropriate demands. But it's not easy to speak truth to power, and Comey likely did not want to be fired prematurely; as it happened, he lasted only until early May. A few days later, Comey slipped his memo to a law-professor friend who made sure it found its way to the newspapers.

Mueller took over the Russia probe within days of Comey's firing. Given Mueller's cool and undramatic nature, Trump probably now wishes he had left Comey in place.