



The Biden Autopen Presidency

Decline, Delusion, and Deception in the White House



REPORT PREPARED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON
OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM MAJORITY STAFF

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Executive Summary

The Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, led by Chairman James Comer, has investigated the circumstances surrounding President Joe Biden’s diminishing mental and physical capabilities and the implications of that decline.¹ Even more troubling than the president experiencing a decline in mental acuity was President Biden’s inner circle of loyalists attempting to mislead the nation to ignore what people’s eyes plainly showed them. Throughout President Biden’s term, people increasingly questioned if the slurring of words, mistaking of names, visible disorientation, confusion and dependence on aides for basic direction—all of which the public witnessed live—could indicate anything but the serious cognitive decline of President Biden. The Committee has investigated whether senior Biden White House officials possibly exercised the authority of the former president or intentionally concealed President Biden’s rapidly worsening mental and physical state. The Committee has found evidence to indicate they did both.

The Biden Autopen Presidency ranks among the greatest scandals in U.S. history. As President Biden declined, his staff abused the autopen and a lax chain-of-command policy to effect executive actions that lack any documentation of whether they were in fact authorized. While President Biden became progressively less able to do his job—when every measure should have been taken to document and, if ever questioned, *prove* that President Biden had made final decisions—White House staff took shortcuts and ad hoc actions to keep the Biden presidency afloat. The Committee has found that there was, in fact, a cover-up of the president’s cognitive decline and that there is no record demonstrating President Biden himself made all of the executive decisions that were attributed to him.

A June 2024 CBS News/YouGov national survey found that “72% of voters d[id] not believe Biden ha[d] the mental or cognitive health to serve as president, as well as nearly half of his own party.”² Yet, the president’s inner circle—even his own physician—testified that they drew very different conclusions than those reached by a significant majority of Americans. Instead, for the duration of the Biden presidency, his closest advisors recited scripted talking points about President Biden’s incredible mental fitness. Those same advisors continue to hold

¹ During this investigation, Democratic Members and staff have attempted to minimize or outright deny—and have attempted to cajole witnesses to minimize or outright deny—what is now reported as fact: President Biden is in mental decline. *See, e.g.,* Shane Goldmacher & Reid J. Epstein, *What Kamala Harris’s Decision Not to Run for Governor Means for 2028*, N.Y. TIMES (July 30, 2025) (“Ms. Harris, perhaps more than any other Democrat, would have to reckon with her support for Mr. Biden as his acuity deteriorated before the American public.”) (Emphasis added).

This report will not spend words grappling with whether a reported, established fact is anything other than a fact—and an obvious one. President Biden’s cognitive decline was apparent to any person who watched him interact with the press, the public, or world leaders for years as president. Assertions made to the contrary are nothing less than gaslighting. Instead of debating the obvious—and, in so doing, implicitly legitimizing voices that seek to rewrite history—this report will instead provide findings regarding the *extent* of President Biden’s decline and the repercussions and ramifications of that reality.

² Anthony Salvanto, *et al.*, *Increasing numbers of voters don't think Biden should be running after debate with Trump*, CBS NEWS (July 1, 2024).

these beliefs today—denying that President Biden’s cognitive impairment was even a concern for voters.

After the launch of his 2020 campaign, the president’s future communications director, Kate Bedingfield, described questions about then-candidate Biden’s mental acuity as “a disgusting smear tactic,” and a “false misleading conspiracy theory.”³ When asked directly on a podcast if President Biden had dementia, White House Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre replied, “I can’t even believe you are asking me this question. That is an incredibly offensive question,” then rejected the premise of the question and hung up, abruptly ending the interview after just 150 seconds.⁴ President Biden’s first chief of staff, Ron Klain, responded to concerns about President Biden’s age and fitness by stating, “I just think his performance as president is the ultimate test of his ability to be president.”⁵ When in February 2024 Special Counsel Robert Hur released his decision to not charge President Biden for mishandling classified documents due in part to his feeble mental acuity, President Biden’s lawyers dismissed the report as “gratuitous,”⁶ a platitude the American people would hear repeatedly from President Biden’s team and Democratic Party operatives.⁷ Jean-Pierre told the Committee this catchphrase originated with Ian Sams, special assistant to President Biden and senior advisor in the White House Counsel’s Office, and his team.⁸

The Biden White House’s communications strategy to obfuscate the truth was coupled with concerted steps to shield the public from observing reality. Central to this scheme was the former president’s longtime physician, Dr. Kevin O’Connor, who recklessly never conducted a cognitive exam of the president. Dr. O’Connor invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination when the Committee asked if he was told to lie about President Biden’s health and whether President Biden was fit to be President of the United States.⁹ A key figure in the cover-up, Dr. O’Connor propped up the president through grossly misleading medical assessments. His refusal to answer questions about the execution of his duties as physician to the president—combined with testimony indicating that Dr. O’Connor may have succumbed to political pressure from the inner circle, influencing his medical decisions and aiding in the cover-up—legitimizes the public’s concerns that Dr. O’Connor was not forthright in carrying out his ultimate duties to the country. The Committee recommends that the District of Columbia Board of Medicine review the actions taken by Dr. O’Connor while serving as the White House physician to President Biden for any potential wrongdoing in the medical care of the former

³ America’s Newsroom, *Biden campaign spox says questions about his health are ‘a disgusting smear tactic,’* FOX NEWS (Mar. 11, 2020).

⁴ Simon Ateba (@simonateba), X, (Mar. 26, 2024, 4:41 PM) *available at* <https://x.com/simonateba/status/1772725462780796972>.

⁵ Evan Osnos, *Ron Klain Looks Back on Biden’s First Two Years as President*, THE NEW YORKER (Feb. 14, 2023).

⁶ Betsy Swan, *Special counsel passes on charging Biden but paints damning portrait of him*, POLITICO (Feb. 8, 2024).

⁷ Press Briefing Transcript, Press Briefing by Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre and Spokesman for the White House Counsel’s Office Ian Sams, White House (Feb. 9, 2024), *available at* <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2024/02/09/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-karine-jean-pierre-and-spokesman-for-the-white-house-counsels-office-ian-sams-february-9-2024/>; Zolan Kanno-Youngs, *Special Counsel Report ‘Went Off the Rails,’ Biden’s Lawyer Says*, NY TIMES (Feb. 11, 2024).

⁸ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 62:6-11 (Sept. 12, 2025).

⁹ Deposition of Kevin O’Connor, Physician to Former President Biden, at 12:17-13:9 (July 9, 2025).

president—including whether Dr. O’Connor produced false or misleading medical reports to the American people.

Dr. O’Connor—who had business dealings with and financial connections to President Biden’s family—is not the only participant in this scheme with an incentive to cover up the truth. Mike Donilon, senior advisor to President Biden, was responsible for getting accurate polling data to the president. Donilon told the Committee that he stood to make a total of **\$8 million** by keeping President Biden in the presidential race and getting him re-elected.¹⁰ The Committee has found that these incentives, among others, motivated the inner circle to conceal the president’s decline while running the government in his stead. Anita Dunn, longtime political operative and Biden aide who served as a senior advisor to the former president, told the Committee that the former president’s senior advisors reached a consensus that President Biden should *not* undergo a cognitive exam—despite persistent calls from the public to do so.¹¹ This revelation—that the president’s *political* advisors interfered with his healthcare to fuel a cover-up of his condition—was corroborated by President Biden’s second chief of staff, Jeff Zients.¹²

The inner circle’s resistance to any medical examinations that may have hurt President Biden’s chances in the 2024 election was successful, as it was not until President Biden’s disastrous performance in the debate against President Donald J. Trump in June 2024 that *anyone* in President Biden’s orbit considered the need to medically examine the former president’s total fitness for office. Zients specifically called for a “*full* workup” of President Biden following the debate.¹³

The cover-up was facilitated by extremely loyal senior staff, including Annie Tomasini, deputy chief of staff to President Biden, and Anthony Bernal, chief of staff to First Lady Jill Biden—both of whom pleaded the Fifth Amendment before the Committee. Bernal pleaded the Fifth Amendment when asked if any unelected official or family members executed the duties of the president,¹⁴ and Tomasini invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked if anyone in the Biden family or at the White House ever asked her to lie about President Biden’s health.¹⁵ Dr. O’Connor’s, Tomasini’s, and Bernal’s invocations of the Fifth Amendment and refusals to be transparent before the public demonstrate that the cover-up has persisted, even since President Biden has left office. The Committee was unable to determine the totality of actions taken by Bernal and Tomasini to conceal President Biden’s decline, and thus the Committee urges the Department of Justice to further investigate both Bernal and Tomasini to uncover the truth for the American people.

¹⁰ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 88:11, 89:7-90:22 (July 31, 2025).

¹¹ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 121:10-11 (Aug. 7, 2025).

¹² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 45:13-15 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:18 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

¹⁴ Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden, at 12:15-18 (July 16, 2025).

¹⁵ Deposition of Annie Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations to President Biden, at 12:18-14 (July 18, 2025).

The Committee’s investigation revealed that Biden officials—at the behest of the inner circle—went to great lengths to prop up the former president as he began losing the ability to independently function in office. These steps ranged from addressing President Biden’s makeup, clothing, schedule, the number of steps President Biden could walk or climb,¹⁶ the amount of time President Biden needed to read and to spend with his family,¹⁷ working to “meticulously stage-manage” President Biden,¹⁸ limiting the number of events he participated in,¹⁹ lightening the president’s workload,²⁰ making it difficult even for senior Democrats to access the president,²¹ keeping cabinet meetings to a minimum,²² eliciting “direction” from Hollywood on the State of the Union and other events,²³ and using teleprompters even at small, intimate events.²⁴

The investigation revealed holes in the chain of custody of the president’s decision binder, which contained decision memos to be signed or initialed by President Biden when approving or disapproving executive actions,²⁵ as well as numerous instances in which the president’s approval for an executive action or the chief of staff’s approval of signature by autopen was not memorialized.²⁶ Among the most flagrant of these instances are the clemency actions taken in the final days of the Biden presidency, which not only lacked a decision memo,²⁷ but also raised serious concerns from President Biden’s own Department of Justice ethics attorneys about whether “the President was aware of the[] [criminal] backgrounds when making clemency decisions” involving violent convicted criminals.²⁸

Testimony before the Committee confirmed that the pardons signed on January 19, 2025—which included pardons for members of President Biden’s family—were apparently the result of an in-person meeting in the final hours of the presidency, for which there is no

¹⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 30:19-31:6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 24:5-6, 27:17-24, 30:23-24, 31:3-8 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 84:11-12 (July 11, 2025).

¹⁹ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:9-12 (July 31, 2025).

²⁰ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:7-8 (July 31, 2025).

²¹ See e.g., Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 129:23 – 130:1 (Sept. 18, 2025) (confirming that following the 2024 debate, Senator Chuck Schumer had to threaten to “publicly request a meeting” if Zients did not let Senator Schumer meet with the President).

²² Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 69:2-3 (June 24, 2025) (cabinet meetings were “about once a quarter, once every six months”); cf. Jeff Mordock & Mallory Wilson, *Trump’s first three Cabinet meetings feature more press questions and answers than all of Biden’s*, WASH. TIMES (Apr. 10, 2025), (President Trump held 25 Cabinet meetings during his first term, and “answered nearly 100 questions from the press during his first three Cabinet meetings this year — nearly 20 times the number answered by President Biden in the same setting during four years in office” whereas President Biden “answered a total of five press questions over the course of nine Cabinet meetings during his term.”).

²³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 102:5-11; 107:16-22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 52:14-53:6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁵ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 85:22-86:13 (June 24, 2025).

²⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 60:9-61:4 (Sept. 18, 2025); Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X, (Sept. 6, 2025, 9:48 AM) *available at* <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1964324888929337478>.

²⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 71:16-74:22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁸ Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X, (Sept. 6, 2025, 10:08 AM), *available at* <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1964329785510805514>.

contemporaneous documentation.²⁹ Instead of actual documentation, the decision to grant these pardons was allegedly communicated second-hand to a Zients aide, Rosa Po, who then called Zients, who verbally authorized the use of the autopen from home; Zients did not even know who actually used the autopen to apply the signature after his aide, using his email account with his permission, communicated that the autopen was authorized for the clemency actions.³⁰ Zients did so without confirming with President Biden that he had, in fact, granted these pardons after repeatedly telling the American people he would not pardon his son, Hunter, let alone the five other members of the Biden family in the waning hours of his presidency.³¹ Po subsequently sent an email on Zients's behalf stating "I approve the use of the autopen for the execution of all of the following pardons. Thanks, JZ."³² In light of the former president's cognitive deterioration and the cover-up from his inner circle, this "approval" process calls into question the validity of all pardons reportedly granted by President Biden throughout his tenure. The Committee deems void all executive actions signed by the autopen without proper, corresponding, contemporaneous, written approval traceable to the president's own consent.

The investigation's findings, detailed herein, make clear that, as President Biden was losing command of himself throughout his time in office, his executive actions—especially pardons, of which there are many—cannot all be deemed his own. The authority to grant pardons is *not* provided to the president's inner circle. Nor can it be delegated to particular staff when a president's competency is in question. Importantly, even if this authority could be delegated—which it cannot—it would have to be expressly delegated by President Biden himself. The Constitution is clear: "*The President shall . . . have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States.*"³³ And constitutional scholars have explained, "*The history confirms that the Constitution's location of the pardon power is significant. The president must make the decisions, and the courts can hold pardons void if the decisions are made by others.*"³⁴

The Committee recommends the Department of Justice investigate *all* of former President Biden's executive actions, particularly clemency actions, to assess whether legal action must be taken to void any action that the former president did not, in fact, take himself.

²⁹ See e.g., Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 71:16-74:22 (Sept. 18, 2025); see Steven Richards & John Solomon, *Bombshell memos: Biden aides believed he should sign pardons by hand, he outsourced approval to VP*, JUST THE NEWS (Sept. 4, 2025).

³⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 71:16-72:2 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 71:16-74:22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 71:19-72:2 (Sept. 18, 2025); see also Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X, (Sept. 6, 2025, 9:48 AM), available at <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1964324888929337478>.

³³ U.S. Const. Art. II, § 2, Cl. 1 (Emphasis added).

³⁴ Philip Hamburger, *The Personal Pardon Power*, LAW & LIBERTY (June 24, 2025), available at <https://lawliberty.org/the-personal-pardon-power/> (Emphasis added).

Key People

Mr. Andrew Bates [hereinafter “Bates”]
Former Senior Deputy Press Secretary

Mr. Bob Bauer [hereinafter “Bauer”]
Former Personal Attorney of President Biden

Mr. Anthony Bernal [hereinafter “Bernal”]
Former Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to the First Lady

Mr. Hunter Biden [hereinafter “Hunter Biden”]
Son of President Biden

Mr. James Biden [hereinafter “James Biden”]
Second Brother of President Biden

First Lady Jill Biden [hereinafter “Jill Biden”]

President Joe Biden [hereinafter “President Biden”]

Dr. Kevin Cannard [hereinafter “Dr. Cannard”]
Neurologist
Walter Reed National Military Medical Center

Mr. Michael Donilon [hereinafter “Donilon”]
Former Senior Advisor to the President

Ms. Anita Dunn [hereinafter “Dunn”]
Former Senior Advisor for Communications to the President

Vice President Kamala Harris [hereinafter “Vice President Harris”]

Mr. Robert Hur [hereinafter “Special Counsel Hur”]
Special Counsel
United States Department of Justice

Ms. Karine Jean-Pierre [hereinafter “Jean-Pierre”]
Former White House Press Secretary

Mr. Jeffrey Katzenberg [hereinafter “Katzenberg”]
Founding Partner
WndrCo.

Mr. Ronald A. Klain [hereinafter “Klain”]
Former White House Chief of Staff

Dr. Kevin O'Connor [hereinafter "Dr. O'Connor"]
Former Physician to the President

Mr. Bruce Reed [hereinafter "Reed"]
Former Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy

Mr. Steve Ricchetti [hereinafter "Ricchetti"]
Former Counselor to the President

Mr. Ian Sams [hereinafter "Sams"]
Former Spokesman for the President

Mr. Steven Spielberg [hereinafter "Spielberg"]
Chairman
Amblin Entertainment

Ms. Neera Tanden [hereinafter "Tanden"]
Former White House Staff Secretary

Ms. Annie Tomasini [hereinafter "Tomasini"]
Former Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations

Ms. Ashley Williams [hereinafter "Williams"]
Former Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Strategic Outreach

Mr. Jeffrey Zients [hereinafter "Zients"]
Former White House Chief of Staff

List of Transcribed Interviews and Depositions

June 24, 2025:	Ms. Neera Tanden Former White House Staff Secretary
July 9, 2025:	Dr. Kevin O'Connor Former Physician to the President
July 11, 2025:	Ms. Ashley Williams Former Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Strategic Outreach
July 16, 2025:	Mr. Anthony Bernal Former Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to the First Lady
July 18, 2025:	Ms. Annmarie "Annie" Tomasini Former Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations
July 24, 2025:	Mr. Ronald Klain Former White House Chief of Staff
July 30, 2025:	Mr. Steven Ricchetti Former Counselor to the President
July 31, 2025:	Mr. Michael Donilon Former Senior Advisor to the President
August 5, 2025:	Mr. Bruce Reed Former Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy
August 7, 2025:	Ms. Anita Dunn Former Senior Advisor for Communications to the President
August 21, 2025:	Mr. Ian Sams Former Special Assistant to the President
September 5, 2025:	Mr. Andrew Bates Former Senior Deputy Press Secretary
September 12, 2025:	Ms. Karine Jean-Pierre Former White House Press Secretary
September 18, 2025:	Mr. Jeffrey Zients Former White House Chief of Staff

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I. The Medical Cover-Up: President Biden’s Political Advisors Interfered with Medical Care and Dr. O’Connor is Complicit.

President Biden’s own physician, Dr. O’Connor, was complicit in the cover-up of the former president’s physical and mental deterioration—and its interference with the execution of presidential duties. Contrary to the observations of millions of Americans, Dr. O’Connor found as recently as February 2024 that the former president was “a healthy, active, robust 81-year-old male, who remains fit to successfully execute the duties of the Presidency.”³⁵ This conclusion is inexplicable. Yet, it makes sense when considering that Dr. O’Connor had great incentives, including financial, to participate in the scheme to conceal the president’s cognitive decline so that the inner circle could run the government in his stead.³⁶

A. President Biden’s Physician Refused Transparency.

Dr. O’Connor refused to speak voluntarily with Congress.³⁷ When subpoenaed to testify,³⁸ he refused to answer the Committee’s questions, repeatedly stating that he “decline[d] to answer [questions] based upon the physician-patient privilege and in reliance on [his] right under the Fifth Amendment.”³⁹ The physician-patient privilege is inapplicable to a deposition before Congress pursuant to a subpoena.⁴⁰ As the official physician to the president—and personal physician to Joe Biden for more than 15 years⁴¹—Dr. O’Connor frequently provided medical care for President Biden and is in a unique position to offer insight on his physical and cognitive condition during his presidency as well as to address concerns that President Biden’s political advisors interfered with medical care. Dr. O’Connor is also the *only* known person able to credibly speak about what medications the president may have been given to conceal the extent of his mental and physical decline.

The questions Dr. O’Connor refused to answer are notable:

Dr. Kevin O’ Connor (July 9, 2025)

Q. Dr. O’Connor, were you ever told to lie about the President’s health?

³⁵ Memorandum from Kevin O’Connor, Physician to President Biden, to Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, THE WHITE HOUSE (Feb. 28, 2024).

³⁶ See Section II. Who was really running the White House? The Inner Circle Conspired to Cover-Up Biden’s Cognitive Deterioration and Health [hereinafter, “Cover-Up and Inner Circle”].

³⁷ Emily Brooks, *House Oversight Chair Comer subpoenas Biden doctor*, THE HILL (June 5, 2025).

³⁸ Subpoena from James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight and Gov’t Reform, to Dr. Kevin O’Connor (June 5, 2025).

³⁹ Deposition of Dr. Kevin O’Connor, Physician to President Biden, at 7:20-21 (July 9, 2025).

⁴⁰ See *Richbow v. D.C.*, 600 A.2d 1063, 1068 (D.C. 1991); see also *Whalen v. Roe*, 429 U.S. 589, 602 n. 28 (1977) (“The physician-patient evidentiary privilege is unknown to the common law.”); see also *United States v. Bercier*, 848 F.2d 917, 920 (8th Cir. 1988); *Patterson v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, 70 F.3d 503, 506-507 (7th Cir. 1995).

⁴¹ Katie Glueck & Jonathan Martin, *Why Joe Biden’s Age Worries Some Democratic Allies and Voters*, NY TIMES (July 29, 2019).

A. On the advice of counsel, I must respectfully decline to answer based upon physician patient privilege and in reliance on my right under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution. I am not a lawyer, and I must follow my lawyer's advice in this matter.

Q. **Dr. O'Connor, did you ever believe the President was unfit to execute his duties as President?**

A. On the advice of counsel, I must respectfully decline to answer based on the physician patient privilege and in reliance on my right under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution. I am not a lawyer, and I must follow my lawyer's advice in this matter.⁴²



Deposition of Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, YOUTUBE (July 9, 2025), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLePV5-mtGs>.

In the face of legitimate questions from the American people about the implications and extent of a president's cognitive decline, it is shocking that the physician to the president would invoke the Fifth Amendment when asked whether he ever thought the president he served was unfit to execute his duties. Dr. O'Connor took an oath of office "to support and defend the

⁴² Deposition of Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, at 12:17-13:7 (July 9, 2025).

Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.”⁴³ He had an obligation to report the president not being able to serve or fulfill his duties to protect Americans due to physical or mental incapacitation to the vice president, a cabinet official, or a member of congress (or someone who could notify one of these individuals). Yet, Dr. O’Connor chose to participate in the cover-up of the president’s cognitive decline. He did so by refusing to answer questions on the minds of many Americans, declining to perform medically necessary examinations, and repeatedly giving misleading reports that the president was fit to serve.

B. Inner Circle Admitted They Interfered with the President’s Medical Care.

Dr. O’Connor knew President Biden’s political advisors interfered in the president’s medical care as part of an effort to conceal the president’s mental and physical deterioration from the public. Anita Dunn confirmed suspicions that the inner circle meddled in the president’s healthcare in order to maintain political power—regardless of whether the president fully understood what was happening.⁴⁴

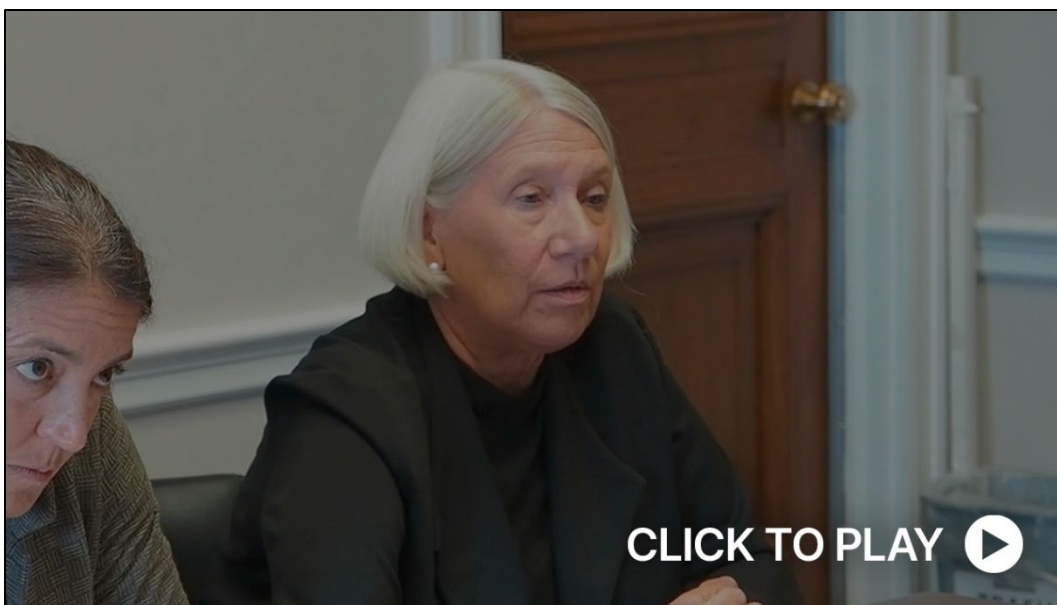
Dunn admitted to the Committee that she and others from the inner circle “had a discussion at the senior advisor level about whether the president should have a cognitive exam.”⁴⁵ Their discussion addressed “the political world” and “whether [the inner circle] thought [a cognitive exam] would help address some of the attacks that [President Biden] was getting” about his age and fitness.⁴⁶

⁴³ U.S. OFF. OF PERS. MGMT., APPOINTMENT AFFIDAVITS (last updated Aug. 2002), *available at* https://www.opm.gov/forms/pdf_fill/sf61.pdf.

⁴⁴ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 121:7-13 (Aug. 7, 2025).

⁴⁵ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 121:10-11 (Aug. 7, 2025).

⁴⁶ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 121:11-13 (Aug. 7, 2025).



Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, YOUTUBE (Aug. 7, 2025), *available at* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qYZtjNd0-Hw>.

Jeff Zients, chief of staff from February 8, 2023 through January 20, 2025, corroborated Dunn's testimony, telling the Committee that Dunn led the communications team in bringing to the table whether the president should undergo a cognitive exam.⁴⁷ Zients told the Committee "I do recall the communications team brought forward, led by Anita, the question of whether the President should have a cognitive test when he did his physical -- which [Dr. O'Connor] had not done, and there had been some coverage around that -- and that came to the table."⁴⁸ Zients explained: "There was discussion of would doing the test help on this perception [of Biden's age] issue, would it actually hurt because people would say, well, that's a very simple test."⁴⁹ Zients was present for this strategic discussion, but unlike other senior advisors to President Biden, he "deferred to Dr. O'Connor" on this medical decision:⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 45:13-15 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 45:13-15 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:2-3 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁵⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 45:23-24 (Sept. 18, 2025).



Source: Selections from Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, YOUTUBE (Sept. 18, 2025), *available at* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WK3japNJxA>.

Zients also gave the Committee the impression that Dr. O'Connor was involved in broader strategic discussions with Biden senior advisors—in addition to the particular strategy meetings surrounding the cognitive exam—about how to respond to press inquiries about the former president's cognitive decline.⁵¹ When asked “[w]as Dr. O'Connor ever part of conversations regarding the public's perception of President Biden's age or health?[,]” Zients responded “[y]eah, I think,” adding that he did not believe conversations with Dr. O'Connor were “direct,” noting, for example, that Dr. O'Connor did not attend the daily 8:15 a.m. senior staff meeting.⁵²

In addition, Bruce Reed, former Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, confirmed to the Committee that members of the inner circle discussed the president's healthcare with Dr. O'Connor. For example, Reed testified that he “heard Doc O'Connor say [cognitive exams] are meaningless.”⁵³ While, reportedly, “[Dr.] O'Connor had long pushed back on political advisers interfering in his medical evaluations,”⁵⁴ his unwillingness to discuss the president's condition and treatment raises questions about the veracity of his reported claim that he pushed back on political interference in his medical care.

The inner circle's apparent campaign to resist any medical examinations that may have hurt President Biden's chances in the 2024 election were successful; it was not until President Biden's disastrous performance in the debate against President Trump in June 2024 that *anyone* seriously considered the need to examine the former president's total fitness for office. Zients

⁵¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 45:24-25 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁵² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 45:11-12 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁵³ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 96:24 (Aug. 5, 2025).

⁵⁴ JAKE TAPPER & ALEX THOMPSON, ORIGINAL SIN, at 146 (2025).

specifically called for a “full workup” of President Biden following the debate.⁵⁵ Zients stated the following to the Committee:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

I do recall post-debate having a discussion with Dr. O’Connor where *I thought that it was important for the President to get a full workup* as -- in response to the debate, and Dr. O’Connor took that on board.⁵⁶

When asked how Dr. O’Connor responded, Zients told the Committee “[h]e took it on board as he clearly was thinking about it and made his own decision.”⁵⁷ When Committee investigators asked if Zients specifically mentioned a cognitive exam to Dr. O’Connor, Zients responded “I don’t believe I did, but a full workup is a full workup.”⁵⁸ Inexplicably, Zients’s request appears to be the first and only time anyone in President Biden’s inner circle—or amongst his healthcare providers in the White House Medical Unit—expressed any honest recognition of what the American people saw in their president: rapid cognitive and physical deterioration.

Reed’s testimony that he heard Dr. O’Connor say cognitive exams are “meaningless”⁵⁹ raises further questions about Dr. O’Connor’s medical judgment. Medicare’s Annual Wellness Visit requires an assessment of cognitive impairment:

Detecting cognitive impairment is a required element of Medicare’s Annual Wellness Visit (AWV). You can also detect cognitive impairment as part of a routine visit through direct observation or by considering information from the patient, family, friends, caregivers, and others about changes in memory, judgment, decision-making, medication adherence or errors. You may also use a brief cognitive test and evaluate health disparities, chronic conditions, and other factors that contribute to increased risk of cognitive impairment.

If you detect cognitive impairment at an AWV or other routine visit, you may perform a more detailed cognitive assessment and develop a care plan during a separate visit. This additional evaluation may be helpful to diagnose a person with dementia, including

⁵⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:10-12 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁵⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:10-12 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

⁵⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:15-16 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁵⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:18 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁵⁹ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 96:21 (Aug. 5, 2025).

Alzheimer's disease, and identify treatable causes or co-occurring conditions such as depression or anxiety.⁶⁰

Yet none of the annual exam reports compiled by Dr. O'Connor mention any form of testing President Biden's cognitive abilities. Dr. O'Connor performed multiple neurological exams to see if physical movements signaled a deeper disorder such as Parkinson's, stroke, multiple sclerosis, ascending lateral sclerosis, or cervical myelopathy.⁶¹ Yet, Dr. O'Connor failed to conduct the one test that would provide some assurance to the American people that the president was not in mental decline.

Dr. O'Connor also refused to answer questions about what the American people witnessed: the president becoming frequently confused, forgetting the names of people he had known for years, and appearing progressively slower and more feeble. A June 2024 poll conducted by CBS News/YouGov found that 72% of voters and nearly half of registered Democrats did not believe President Biden had the "mental and cognitive health to serve as president."⁶² Yet, apparently, the former president's own physician did not bother to consider his forgetfulness, difficulty with familiar tasks, disorientation, trouble with language, and personality changes—all of which indicated the need for a cognitive exam and further testing. Even President Barack Obama's physician, Dr. Jeffrey Kuhlman, stated that President Biden should have received cognitive assessments during his presidency.⁶³

The American people not only witnessed President Biden increasingly displaying signs of confusion, disorientation, and cognitive decline, they also saw President Biden fall, trip, or stumble in public *throughout* his presidency. On March 19, 2021, President Biden tripped or fell three times in the span of three seconds while boarding Air Force One.⁶⁴ On June 18, 2022, President Biden fell off his bike while riding in Delaware.⁶⁵ On February 22, 2023, President

⁶⁰ *Cognitive Assessment & Care Plan Services*, CTRS. FOR MEDICARE & MEDICAID SERVS. (last updated July 9, 2025), available at [https://www.cms.gov/medicare/payment/fee-schedules/physician/cognitive-assessment?utm_source=\(Under+How+Do+I+get+Started?\)](https://www.cms.gov/medicare/payment/fee-schedules/physician/cognitive-assessment?utm_source=(Under+How+Do+I+get+Started?)) (Emphasis added).

⁶¹ Memorandum from Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, to Jen Psaki, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, *President Biden's current health summary* (Nov. 19, 2021); Memorandum from Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to the President, to Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, *President Biden's current health summary* (Feb. 16, 2023); Memorandum from Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, to Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, *President Biden's current health summary* (Feb. 28, 2024); Memorandum from Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, to Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, *President Biden's current health summary* (July 8, 2024).

⁶² Anthony Salvanto, *et al.*, *Increasing numbers of voters don't think Biden should be running after debate with Trump*, CBS NEWS (July 1, 2024).

⁶³ Paige Cunningham, *Biden's doctor failed to properly assess fitness for office, Obama's doctor says*, THE WASH. POST (June 7, 2025).

⁶⁴ Justin Gomez, *Biden 'just fine' after tripping 3 times jogging up steps to Air Force One*, ABC NEWS (Mar. 19, 2021).

⁶⁵ Aamer Madhani, *Biden takes spill while getting off bike after beach ride*, ASSOCIATED PRESS (June 18, 2022).

Biden stumbled while boarding Air Force One leaving Poland.⁶⁶ On June 1, 2023, President Biden fell on stage at the Air Force Academy graduation ceremony.⁶⁷

Annie Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff of Operations, was present at this most recent fall⁶⁸ but invoked the Fifth Amendment when deposed in this investigation, and the Committee was unable to ask about this and related incidents.⁶⁹ As such, questions remain as to whether Tomasini urged Dr. O'Connor to refrain from providing medical assistance to President Biden that would be *visible* to the public. It has been reported that Dr. O'Connor "privately said that if [President Biden] had another bad fall, a wheelchair might be necessary for what could be a difficult recovery."⁷⁰ Reportedly, there were "internal discussions about putting the president in a wheelchair, *but they couldn't do so until after the election.*"⁷¹ Ashley Williams, Deputy Assistant to the President, told the Committee she could not recall if such a discussion occurred.⁷²

White House Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre played a central role in concealing the president's health issues from the public.⁷³ Neurologist Dr. Kevin Cannard visited the executive mansion eight times in eight months between 2023 and 2024.⁷⁴ Dr. O'Connor sent a memo to Jean-Pierre on July 8, 2024 to "share . . . background on why Dr. Kevin Cannard visited the White House."⁷⁵ The memo describes President Biden meeting with a team of specialists as part of his annual physical and notes that the neurological exam did not show signs of stroke, multiple sclerosis, Parkinsons, or other conditions.⁷⁶ The memo makes no mention of an assessment of the president's mental acuity or cognition. Apparently believing it necessary to continue the cover-up, even after President Biden has left office, when Committee investigators asked Jean-Pierre what prompted the neurologist's visits, she offered no explanation and simply referred the Committee to Dr. O'Connor's memo.⁷⁷

⁶⁶ Samuel Chamberlain, *Biden stumbles up Air Force One stairs again leaving Poland*, NY POST (Feb. 22, 2023).

⁶⁷ Stefan Becket, *Biden falls onstage after tripping at Air Force Academy commencement ceremony*, CBS NEWS (June 2, 2023).

⁶⁸ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 93:25 (Aug. 5, 2025).

⁶⁹ Press Release, H. Comm on Oversight and Gov't Reform, Oversight Committee Releases Annie Tomasini's Deposition Video (July 18, 2025).

⁷⁰ JAKE TAPPER & ALEX THOMPSON, ORIGINAL SIN, at 145 (2025).

⁷¹ *Id.* (Emphasis added).

⁷² Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 87:16-21 (July 11, 2025).

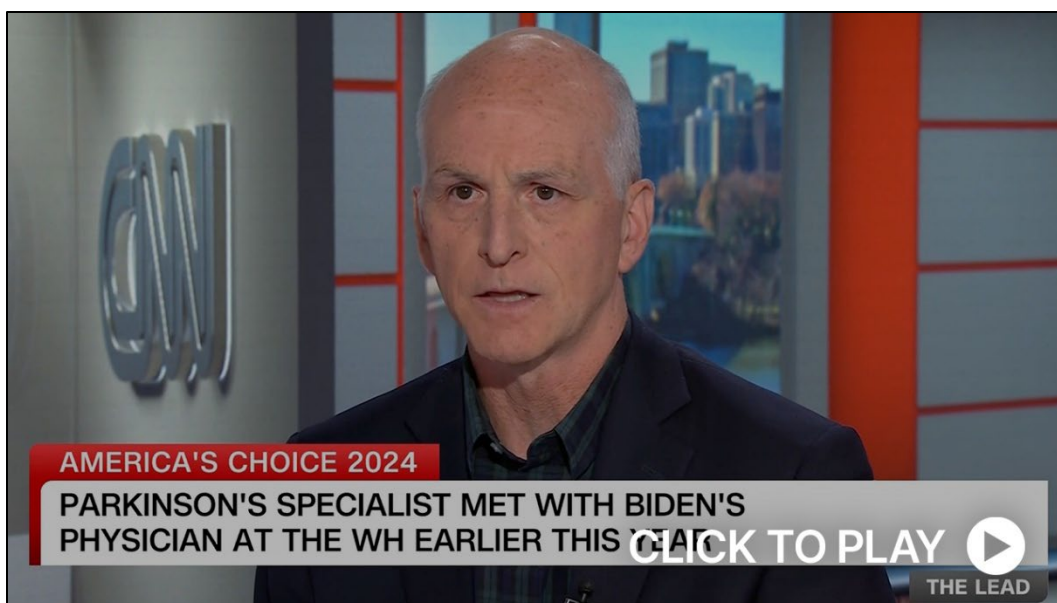
⁷³ See also Section II. Cover-Up.

⁷⁴ Josh Christenson & Steven Nelson, *White House refuses to explain Parkinson's expert's visits, press secretary accuses reporters of 'personal attacks' during tense briefing*, NY POST (July 8, 2024).

⁷⁵ Memorandum from Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, to Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, *President Biden's current health summary* (July 8, 2024), available at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/letter-from-physician-the-president-dr-kevin-oconnor>

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 67:10-68:5 (Sept. 12, 2025).



Source: Selections from The Lead with Jake Tapper, CNN (July 8, 2024), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aqyNaQnsWqE&t=1s>.

Amidst press inquiries about the repeated neurologist visits in a short window of time, on July 8, 2024, Democratic Representative Adam Smith, Ranking Member on the House Armed Services Committee, called for President Biden to withdraw from the presidential race.⁷⁸ Representative Smith specifically stated that his opinion was not based entirely on the president's poor performance at the 2024 debate.⁷⁹ Notably, early in Biden's term, Representative Smith found President Biden "unusually hard to reach . . . when [Representative Smith] tried to share his concerns with the president ahead of the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021."⁸⁰ Given Representative Smith's frustration and difficulty reaching the president about one of the worst days in U.S. history, it is not surprising that he later called for President Biden's withdrawal from the 2024 race. In explaining his reasoning, Representative Smith noted that "there were concerns leading up to [the debate] in terms of [President Biden's ability to deliver a message] and it hasn't gotten better since the debate."⁸¹ Representative Smith addressed voter concerns about President Biden's cognitive abilities and fitness for office: "[a]nd then there are the healthcare concerns [about President Biden] and look, a lot of Democrats are saying, let's move on. Let's stop talking about it...[o]ur constituents are bringing it up. The country is bringing it up. And the White House, sorry campaign, strategy of 'be quiet, fall in line, and let's ignore it' simply isn't working right now."⁸²

⁷⁸ The Lead with Jake Tapper, *Democratic lawmaker on why he's calling for Biden to drop out of race*, CNN (July 8, 2024); see also Section IV, *The Cover-Up Persisted Throughout the 2024 Campaign—From the Decision to Run Through Withdrawal*.

⁷⁹ *Id.*

⁸⁰ Annie Linskey, et al., *How the White House functioned With a Diminished Biden in Charge*, WALL ST. J. (Dec. 19, 2024).

⁸¹ The Lead with Jake Tapper, *Democratic lawmaker on why he's calling for Biden to drop out of race*, CNN (July 8, 2024).

⁸² The Lead with Jake Tapper, *Democratic lawmaker on why he's calling for Biden to drop out of race*, CNN (July 8, 2024).

Similarly, Democratic Senator Chris Murphy more recently stated that “there’s ‘no doubt’ that former President Joe Biden suffered cognitive decline in office.”⁸³ Senator Murphy and Representative Smith acknowledged what was incontrovertible to most Americans—but still denied by Dr. O’Connor, the inner circle, and those complicit in the medical cover-up. These examples of Jean-Pierre and Dunn going well beyond their roles as White House staffers and encroaching on Dr. O’Connor’s decisions about President Biden’s healthcare actively facilitated the cover-up of the former president’s cognitive and physical deterioration.

C. Dr. O’Connor Propped Up President Biden Through Grossly Misleading Assessments.

When assessing whether President Biden was mentally and physically fit for office, the American people had only their eyes and the annual assessments of Dr. O’Connor, the physician responsible for determining the fitness of a president for office, to consider. Without a cognitive exam, Dr. O’Connor’s annual assessments of the former president are incomplete and grossly misleading. For example, Dr. O’Connor concluded in his 2021 assessment that “President Biden remains a healthy, vigorous, 78-year-old male, who is fit to successfully execute the duties of the Presidency.”⁸⁴ At that time, just 46 percent of American voters surveyed by *Politico* and *Morning Consult* believed that President Biden was “mentally fit” to serve as president.⁸⁵ Yet, the former president’s own physician could not detect what was plain to the entire country.

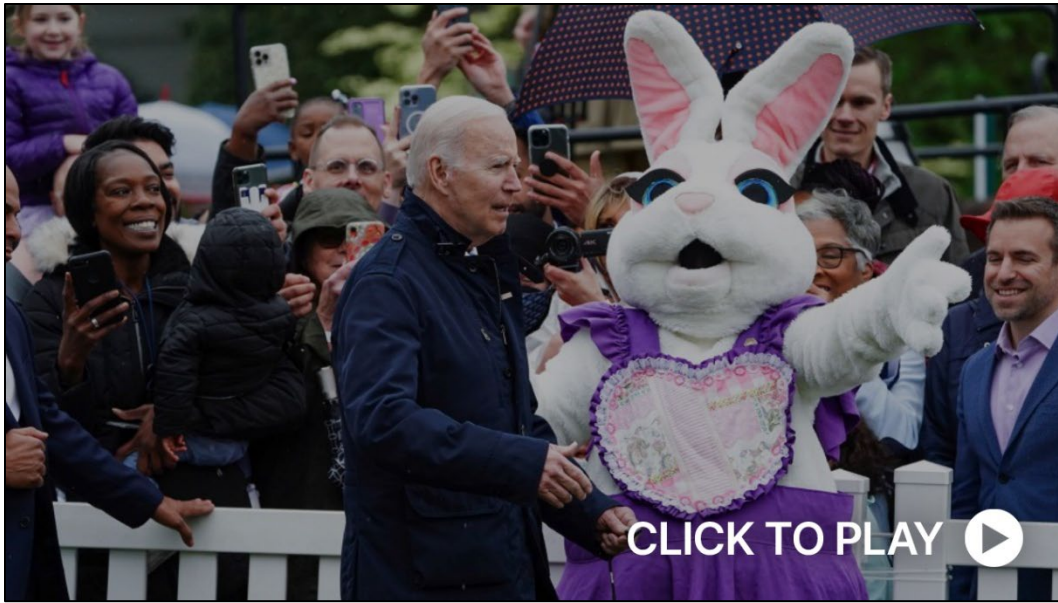
Less than six months after Dr. O’Connor’s ringing endorsement of President Biden’s health and fitness, the American people witnessed a viral moment where Special Assistant to the President Megan Hays, dressed in a full body costume as the Easter Bunny, interrupted the President and ushered him away from reporters in a seeming attempt to avoid unscripted communications:⁸⁶

⁸³ Holly Otterbein, *Murphy says ‘no doubt’ Biden suffered cognitive decline while in office*, POLITICO (May 14, 2025).

⁸⁴ Memorandum from Kevin O’Connor, Physician to President Biden, to Jen Psaki, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, THE WHITE HOUSE, (Nov. 19, 2021).

⁸⁵ Marc Caputo, *Poll: Voters’ doubts rising about Biden’s health, mental fitness*, POLITICO (Nov. 17, 2021).

⁸⁶ Fox Business, *Easter bunny stops Biden from answering questions*, FOX NEWS (Apr. 19, 2022), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OARVosrEQpY>.



Fox Business, *Easter bunny stops Biden from answering questions*, FOX NEWS (Apr. 19, 2022), full video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OARVosrEQpY>.

During President Biden’s State of the Union address in 2024, he managed to appear more alert and cogent, unlike the 2024 Presidential Debate. While at this point in his presidency, Joe Biden was known for his weak voice, low energy, and frequent disorientation, his passable State of the Union performance revealed how Joe Biden had good days and bad days in presenting his cognitive abilities. What has become clear to the Committee, however, is how President Biden’s inner circle worked tirelessly and creatively to conceal the president’s bad days—whether it was through Hollywood filmmakers or aides disguised as the Easter Bunny.

The admission that the inner circle meddled in President Biden’s healthcare, combined with Dr. O’Connor’s refusal to answer questions from Congress, heightens concerns about whether Dr. O’Connor—at the direction of the Biden family or the inner circle—administered any performance enhancing drugs to help Biden get through this speech and carry out other responsibilities as President of the United States.

As detailed further below,⁸⁷ the inner circle went to extraordinary lengths to conceal the former president’s condition from the American public. They not only did so with Dr. O’Connor’s assistance, but they also, for example, elicited help from Hollywood for the State of the Union stage of the cover-up. Zients told the Committee that director Steven Spielberg and producer Jeffrey Katzenberg both helped President Biden prepare for the address in March 2024.⁸⁸ They offered direction “around delivery and language.”⁸⁹ Katzenberg was concerned about the “strength” of the president’s voice, and that the former president “wasn’t loud enough”

⁸⁷ See Section II. Cover-Up and Inner Circle.

⁸⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 107:16-18 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁸⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 107:20-22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

to deliver the speech.⁹⁰ Zients believed that while President Biden had a “strong” performance at the State of the Union, he acknowledged that it did not put to bed the issue of “age” for voters, which Zients said was “out there [a]s the number one or number two issue the whole time.”⁹¹

That President Biden’s 2024 State of the Union address is an anomaly in the Biden presidency is evident when contrasted with any ordinary day that President Biden was in public—though, of course he held fewer press conferences than any of the last seven presidents.⁹² Reed described to the Committee another suspect story of Biden apparently presenting with vigor and energy, uncharacteristic of him at this stage of his presidency—and *surpassing* that of his senior staff.⁹³ Reed’s experience simply cannot be reconciled with what the public witnessed for the duration of the Biden presidency, and raises additional questions about Dr. O’Connor’s drug regimen for President Biden—something the Committee was unable to address with Dr. O’Connor since he refused to answer questions from investigators.⁹⁴ Reed told the Committee: “I flew back with [President Biden] from a NATO conference in Brussels. We’d been traveling for 4 or 5 days, working nonstop. We did a press conference that went late into the evening. Then we got on the plane to fly back to the States, you know, in the wee hours. And [President Biden] was so excited about the meetings that he had, that he came to the . . . senior staff cabin in Air Force One.”⁹⁵ According to Reed’s account, Mike Donilon, Jake Sullivan, Tony Blinken and Reed “were all completely exhausted, and the President would not stop talking about the meetings he’d had.”⁹⁶ The staff had to “[take] turns staying awake to listen to his stories, and he talked the entire way home across the Atlantic.”⁹⁷

As discussed below,⁹⁸ just a few months after the president delivered the 2024 State of the Union address, President Biden demonstrated just how significant his cognitive decline had become in a hugely consequential debate with President Trump. His performance—which unmistakably displayed the former president’s cognitive deterioration, confusion and disorientation—was so shocking that his former chief of staff, Ron Klain, exclaimed during the debate, something to the effect of “we’re f*cked.”⁹⁹ Hunter Biden recently alleged on a podcast that “they g[a]ve [President Biden] Ambien to be able to sleep,” which resulted in Biden “get[ting] up on stage and . . . look[ing] like he’s a deer in the headlights”¹⁰⁰ at the debate. Since Hunter Biden made this allegation about unidentified people giving the former president

⁹⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 107:2-22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁹¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 108:16-25 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁹² Stef Knight, *Biden’s media evasion*, AXIOS (July 3, 2024).

⁹³ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 50:1-11 (Aug. 5, 2025) (Emphasis added).

⁹⁴ See generally Deposition of Dr. Kevin O’Connor, Physician to President Biden (July 9, 2025).

⁹⁵ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 49:25-50:5 (Aug. 5, 2025).

⁹⁶ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 50:8-9 (Aug. 5, 2025).

⁹⁷ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 50:10-11 (Aug. 5, 2025).

⁹⁸ See Section III. President Biden’s Inner Circle was Delusional about the President’s Cognitive Health and the American People’s Concern about it [hereinafter “Delusion of the Inner Circle”].

⁹⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 62:13-17 (July 24, 2025).

¹⁰⁰ *Hunter Biden Interview*, CHANNEL 5 WITH ANDREW CALLAGHAN (July 21, 2025), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XBbkt2vYC4M&t=9026s>.

Ambien, every White House or campaign employee interviewed by the Committee of President Biden's denied the veracity of Hunter Biden's allegation.¹⁰¹

D. Findings

- Dr. O'Connor is complicit in a medical cover-up of President Biden's mental and cognitive deterioration. He facilitated this concealment by presenting incomplete annual exams, neglecting to conduct the cognitive exam warranted (and required by Medicare), and refusing to communicate transparently about his medical care of the president and the role President Biden's political advisors played in it.
- President Biden's inner circle, especially Anita Dunn, interfered with the president's medical care, including by deciding that President Biden should not undergo a cognitive exam for political reasons.
- Zients is the only member of the inner circle to demonstrate honest recognition of what the American people saw in President Biden: rapid cognitive and physical deterioration. Zients's request that Dr. O'Connor conduct a "full work-up" after President Biden's disastrous debate performance in June 2024 was too little and far too late as the country had already suffered years of the Biden presidency with uncertainty as to who executed the duties of the highest office.
- Dr. O'Connor's annual medical assessments of President Biden are incomplete and misleading as they do not include cognitive examinations or mention a neurologist visiting the executive mansion eight times in eight months between 2023 and 2024 during the Biden presidency. Jean-Pierre aided the cover-up by refusing to answer questions from the press and from the Committee about the neurologist's visits.
- The admission that the inner circle meddled in President Biden's healthcare, combined with Dr. O'Connor's invocation of the Fifth Amendment, heightens concerns about whether Dr. O'Connor—at the direction of the Biden family or the inner circle—administered drugs or medications to give the former president the stamina needed to deliver his 2024 State of the Union speech, which lasted over one hour, and to carry out other responsibilities as president.

¹⁰¹ See e.g. Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 28:3-17 (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 232:2-6 (July 30, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 37:21-38:5 (July 31, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 63:2-25 (Aug. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 75:4-9 (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 80:15-22 (Sept. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 93:12-16 (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 32:23-33:4 (Sept. 18, 2025).

II. Who was Really Running the White House? The Inner Circle Conspired to Cover-Up President Biden’s Cognitive Deterioration and Health.

President Joe Biden’s White House was heavily staffed with loyalists to the First Family. While there are often many reasons for employees to be loyal to their principal, the upper echelons of the Biden Administration were glued to what they knew best—Joe and Jill Biden. The inner circle’s loyalty to the Bidens created an ecosystem that concealed the former president’s cognitive deterioration and allowed the aides to run the White House while President Biden did not have the capacity to do so.

Members of the White House senior staff had plenty of incentives to conceal President Biden. One advisor joined the 2024 campaign and stood to make millions of dollars if President Biden won reelection. Other members of the inner circle were incentivized to not relinquish their power—making key decisions on their own volition—and simultaneously implementing tactics to keep junior staffers in the dark as to the true happenings of President Biden. Some were merely long-time loyalists, taking any action to ensure no one saw the real President Biden, including using Hollywood tricks, relaxed schedules, and minimizing how far the president had to walk and how many steps he had to use. In any event, the inner-most circle, or cocoon, of the White House senior staff organized one of the largest scandals in American history—hiding a cognitively failing president and refusing any means of confirmation of such demise.

Senior advisors close to President Biden include Mike Donilon, Steve Ricchetti, Bruce Reed, and Anita Dunn—in addition to both chiefs of staff, Ron Klain and Jeff Zients. The Committee’s investigation has made clear that additional staffers with close insights into President Biden’s health included Anthony Bernal, Ashley Williams, and Annie Tomasini.

A. \$8 Million and Other Incentives to Conceal President Biden’s Increasing Loss of His Faculties.

President Biden’s senior staff were willing to conceal the president’s cognitive deterioration as they all stood to gain significantly—financially, politically, and professionally—by continuing to operate the presidency from behind the scenes.

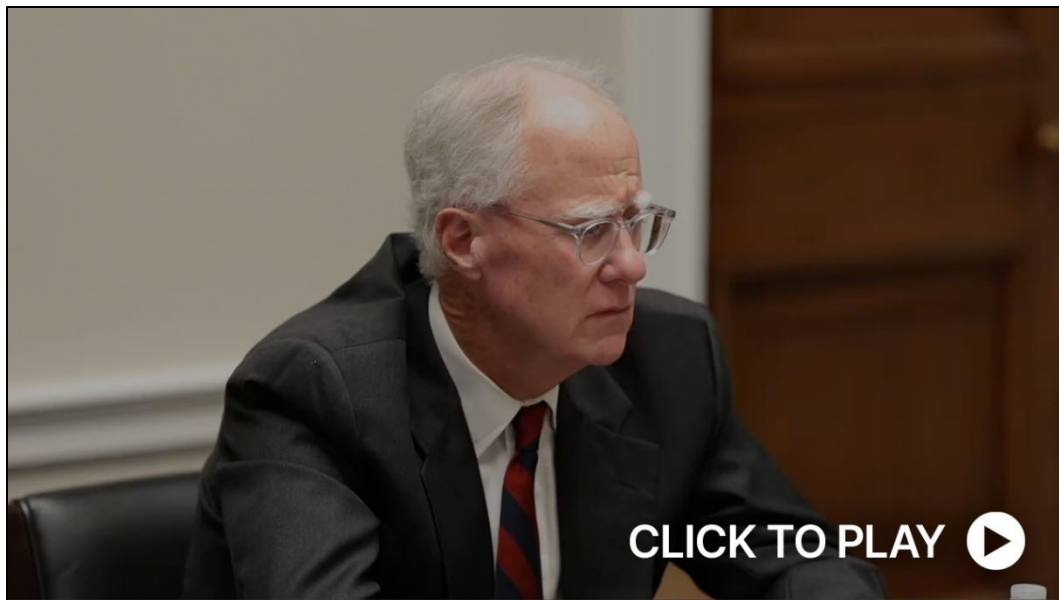
For example, in exchange for serving on President Biden’s 2024 campaign as chief strategist,¹⁰² Mike Donilon, who also served as a longtime senior advisor to President Biden, told the Committee that he received “just a little bit short of \$4 million.”¹⁰³ Further, contingent upon a reelection victory for President Biden in the 2024 general election, Donilon would have received an additional \$4 million.¹⁰⁴ Donilon stood to make \$8 million by keeping President Biden in the

¹⁰² Reid Epstein, *Two Top Biden Aides Are Taking the Reins of His Re-election Campaign*, THE N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 23, 2024).

¹⁰³ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 88:11 (July 31, 2025).

¹⁰⁴ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 89:7-90:22 (July 31, 2025).

race and, because he was paid monthly, just one more month of President Biden’s campaign meant even more money for Donilon.¹⁰⁵



Source: Selections from Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, YOUTUBE (July 31, 2025), *available at* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJyHtkFbdSw>.

This significant financial motivation for Donilon to keep Biden in the race regardless of the president’s cognitive difficulties and Democrats’ calls for him to step down worked. Despite pressure to drop out of the race from congressional leaders, Democratic Party donors, and prominent political operatives, Donilon and Steve Ricchetti, counselor to the president who led congressional affairs for the president, reportedly hid certain dismal polling results from President Biden.¹⁰⁶ It has been reported that Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer informed a surprised President Biden in person that Donilon, and to a lesser extent Ricchetti, had been withholding negative polling data from the President.¹⁰⁷ Klain explained to Committee investigators how “[T]he President didn’t meet with the individual contractors who presented the polls. Those contractors rolled up to Mr. Donilon, Mr. Donilon forwarded them to the President,”¹⁰⁸ adding that “[T]he President would be briefed on polling data by Mike Donilon.”¹⁰⁹ Donilon, while standing to gain millions by keeping Joe Biden in politics, held a tight grip on which polling data President Biden received and how to interpret such data. Both he and Ricchetti denied withholding polling from the president during their interviews with the Committee.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 88:14-17 (July 31, 2025).

¹⁰⁶ JAKE TAPPER & ALEX THOMPSON, ORIGINAL SIN, at 272-73 (2025).

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 56:9-11 (July 24, 2025).

¹⁰⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 53:15 (July 24, 2025).

¹¹⁰ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 158:19-23 (July 30, 2025); *See cf.* Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 30:9-31:3, 91:2-9 (July 31, 2025)

Dr. O'Connor had strong financial and personal incentives to not break rank from the president's inner circle in the cover-up. In Dr. O'Connor's own words, the Biden family and he "became close over the years, and [Dr. O'Connor] ended up being involved in a lot of important family things."¹¹¹ When Joe Biden ended his term as vice president, Dr. O'Connor continued to serve as Biden's doctor while also working as a director of medicine at George Washington University.¹¹² Dr. O'Connor has held close personal ties to other members of the Biden family, sending an email in 2016 to more than a dozen members of the Biden family, including Hunter and James Biden: "You've all been a really important part of my life for the past eight years."¹¹³ In a 2018 deposition, President Biden's sister-in-law, Sara Biden, described how her "friend," Dr. O'Connor, regularly tendered medical advice to multiple members of the Biden family.¹¹⁴

Dr. O'Connor established financial ties with the Biden family beginning as early as 2017, when Dr. O'Connor introduced James Biden, Joe Biden's younger brother, to medical leaders and executives to support James Biden's business relationship with Americore Health LLC.¹¹⁵ In early 2018, Americore Health, hoping to use the Biden name to gain additional funding, transferred \$600,000 in loans to James Biden, \$200,000 of which was sent to James Biden's personal account.¹¹⁶ On March 1, 2018, the same day James Biden received this \$200,000, he sent his brother Joe Biden a check for \$200,000.¹¹⁷ Dr. O'Connor's financial and personal ties to the Biden family demonstrate the incentives he had to conceal President Biden's deterioration from the American people. Additionally, they raise serious questions about Dr. O'Connor's invocation of the Fifth Amendment when the Committee sought transparency from him.¹¹⁸

Anita Dunn and her husband Bob Bauer, President Biden's personal attorney, both stood to advance their careers and gain financially by pushing and facilitating President Biden's campaign and presidency—regardless of the former president's capacity to serve.¹¹⁹ In February during the 2020 Democratic Primary, Dunn was given overall control of his campaign.¹²⁰ Before Joe Biden was named winner of the 2020 presidential election, Dunn was appointed co-chair of the presidential transition team.¹²¹ In 2022, after Dunn had served the Biden White House for at least one year, she released financial disclosures that revealed she and Bauer held between \$16.8 million and \$48.2 million in their investment portfolios, for which Dunn was required to divest

(Donilon did not explicitly deny that he withheld polling data from President Biden during his interview with the Committee as Ricchetti did but instead expressed that he was honest with President Biden about *all polls*.) (Emphasis added).

¹¹¹ Katie Arvia, *Get to know President Joe Biden's personal physician, Kevin O'Connor, DO*, THE DO (Mar. 18, 2024).

¹¹² Molly Nagle, *Biden to replace White House doctor with long-time physician*, ABC NEWS (Jan. 25, 2021).

¹¹³ Ben Schreckinger, *Biden's physician was also a family business associate*, POLITICO (July 8, 2024).

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

¹¹⁵ *Id.*; See Transcribed Interview of James Brian Biden, at 38-39 (Feb. 21, 2024).

¹¹⁶ *Carol Fox v. James Biden (In Re Americore Holdings LLC, et al)*, No. 19-61608, Complaint to Recover Fraudulent Transfer and for Turnover at 3-4, (Bankr. E.D. Ky. 2022).

¹¹⁷ Letter from James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight and Gov't Reform, to Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to the President (July 7, 2024).

¹¹⁸ Deposition of Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, at 7:21-22 (July 9, 2025).

¹¹⁹ See Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden (Aug. 7, 2025).

¹²⁰ Katie Glueck & Jonathan Martin, *Joe Biden Shakes Up Campaign Leadership, Elevating Anita Dunn*, N.Y. TIMES (Feb. 7, 2020).

¹²¹ Press Release, Biden-Harris Transition team, Cindy McCain Joins Biden-Harris Transition Team's Advisory Board (Sept. 28, 2020).

various positions due to conflicts of interest with her White House role.¹²² As the Dunn-Bauer fortune was built in part from Bauer's D.C. legal practice and Dunn's public affairs client relationships through SKDK, the consulting company she helped found,¹²³ both had financial incentives to uphold the status quo and assist in the cover-up. Bauer and Dunn were also "at the center of Biden's strategy for handling the discovery of classified documents among his papers for past jobs . . . [and] that strategy kept the story hidden from the public for more than two months."¹²⁴ Dunn and Bauer therefore had significant incentives to help keep Joe Biden's cognitive decline quiet.

Donilon, Ricchetti, Dr. O'Connor, Dunn, and Bauer were not the only Biden Administration officials who stood to gain from propping up the President as if he were in control of his presidency. President Biden's entire senior staff held strong incentives to cover up the former president's mental condition and operate the White House in his stead. Thus, the inner circle had both the motive and opportunity to take advantage of President Biden as he aged and increasingly lost control of his faculties. Their proximity to, and influence over, President Biden gave them great political power, status, and influence.

B. An Inner Circle that Controls Every Step.

A loyal cadre of staffers to President Biden was in total and tight control of every aspect of the president's movements, decisions, access, and appearance in unusual ways for public office. Many of the closest advisors to President Biden were staples in his career or Washington politics for decades, with their loyal service yielding them unparalleled decision-making authority. This inner circle was often referred to as the "pooh-bahs"¹²⁵ or "politburo,"¹²⁶ with "five people running the country, and Joe Biden was at best a senior member of the board."¹²⁷

The inner circle was led by President Biden's right-hand man, Ron Klain. Klain led the closest advisors for the first two years of the Biden Administration. Klain was so close to the Biden family that he later donated thousands of dollars to Hunter Biden's legal defense fund after talking to Hunter's lawyer, Abbe Lowell.¹²⁸ Klain provided the Committee a clear example of how advisors around President Biden screened which information made it to the president's desk. For example, during the 2020 and 2024 election cycles, polling data collected by contracted pollsters would have their work screened by Mike Donilon, senior advisor and longtime Biden aide, who then presented what he thought the best data was to President Biden.¹²⁹

¹²² Brian Schwartz, *Biden senior advisor Anita Dunn has to divest investment portfolio worth between \$16.8 million and \$48.2 million to avoid conflicts*, CNBC (Aug. 12, 2022).

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ Natasha Korecki & Jonathan Allen, *The power couple at the center of Biden's political universe*, NBC NEWS (Jan. 29, 2023).

¹²⁵ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, page 85:20-86:3 (July 30, 2025); See also Ryan King, *Here are the 'politburo' members who were really running the Biden White House, according to 'Original Sin' authors*, N.Y. POST (May 25, 2025).

¹²⁶ See Ryan King, *Here are the 'politburo' members who were really running the Biden White House, according to 'Original Sin' authors*, N.Y. POST (May 25, 2025).

¹²⁷ *Id.*

¹²⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 90:24-91:4 (July 24, 2025).

¹²⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 56:9-11 (July 24, 2025).

Jeff Zients served as President Biden’s chief of staff for the remainder of the administration following Klain’s midway departure. Zients explained to the Committee the various practices the inner circle engaged in to assist with what he described as “the perception of age” issue faced by President Biden during his presidency and the 2024 campaign.¹³⁰ Zients told Committee investigators about the numerous considerations and steps taken by the inner circle to address the perceptions voters had about President Biden’s “age” that contributed to the cover-up of President Biden’s mental decline. These considerations and adjustments pertained to the president’s makeup, clothing, schedule, the number of steps Biden could walk or climb, and the amount of time President Biden needed with his family.¹³¹

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. Did you ever speak with Ms. Tomasini about any kind of physical accommodations that could be made to account for President Biden’s physical aging?

A. . . . And so *how do you reduce the number of steps and things of that nature*. So that’s been reported on publicly, so that jogs my memory. But *Annie was point for the President*, so she was always thinking about his well-being and making sure he got his exercise sessions in and all the rest.¹³²

Accounts of President Biden struggling to complete sentences or taking *long* pauses over his thoughts have emerged,¹³³ and Zients testified that President Biden began needing an additional meeting to make decisions as leader of the free world:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. Mr. Zients, I want to just return to the long list that we were talking about in the last hour. I believe we left off with conversations with Mr. Sullivan regarding the President’s health, age, or ability to be President. Can you describe the nature of those conversations?

A. . . . There was conversations -- I don’t think I’ve mentioned this yet -- one thing that I do think happened across the time that I’ve worked with President Biden is sometimes you

¹³⁰ See e.g., Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 33:13-18, 35:16-19, 38:6-12, 45:9-18, 56:18-21, 57:12-18 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹³¹ See generally Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹³² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 30:19-31:1-2 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

¹³³ See, e.g., Giselle Ewing & Ali Bianco, *Audio of Hur interview reveals Biden’s apparent memory stumbles, sparking renewed scrutiny*, POLITICO (May 17, 2025).

need to -- if a meeting topic was on a three, hypothetically, *three-meeting scenario to get to a decision, you might need a fourth meeting, whereas maybe at the beginning of the administration it would have been three.*¹³⁴

President Biden regularly and increasingly became confused and disoriented and would stumble over and forget words, which ultimately led many Americans to believe the president was losing grasp of his mental faculties. Millions of Americans tuned into a debate between President Biden and President Trump and witnessed President Biden lose his train of thought, stumble over incorrect words, and appear visibly disoriented and confused.¹³⁵ While the 2024 debate is discussed in detail later in this report,¹³⁶ Zients told Committee investigators that over sixteen years of knowing the former president, Joe Biden's ability to remember dates "has always been a challenge . . . [Biden] might have that challenge more than others."¹³⁷ The Committee then asked Zients if he witnessed President Biden struggle with name recall as well; Zients replied, "For sure. Again, I think on names also it's never been an area of strength for [Joe Biden], but I think it [has] probably gotten more difficult across time."¹³⁸ The inner circle continued its attempt to explain away obvious forgetfulness, blunders, and gaffes, while simultaneously admitting President Biden's memory had turned for the worse.

Zients discussed President Biden's "age" issues with senior aides who pleaded the Fifth Amendment for the entirety of their depositions in this investigation. Tomasini discussed with Zients tailoring a substantial portion of President Biden's schedule due to his age-related issues. The Committee was told Tomasini was the "point person" for Joe Biden's schedule and "[she] knew [downtime] was important."¹³⁹ Zients explained further:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. You answered in the affirmative to my question regarding health, age, or ability to be President for Ms. Annie Tomasini. What was the nature of those conversations?

A. It's the age part of that, and it was around the topics that we've been talking about. How do we get him more time to do his reading? How do we make sure that he has appropriate family time? How do we make sure that when

¹³⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 38:2-17 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

¹³⁵ Aila Slisco, *Joe Biden Stumbles During Debate: Six Moments That Hurt the President*, NEWSWEEK (June 28, 2024).

¹³⁶ See Section IV. The Cover-Up Persisted Throughout the 2024 Campaign—From the Decision to Run Through Withdrawal [hereinafter "2024 Campaign"].

¹³⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 23:5-6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹³⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 23:9-10 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹³⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 25:3-4 (Sept. 18, 2025).

he's in public he's presenting, clothing and other things, at the very, very best? Things of that nature.¹⁴⁰

When Committee investigators followed up with Zients about his conversations with Tomasini about what physical accommodations could be made to address the former president's health issues, Zients mentioned President Biden's "stumble or fall" and considerations about "how do you reduce the number of steps and things of that nature."¹⁴¹ The Committee asked Zients whether, in addition to ensuring the president had fewer steps to climb, White House staff also considered reducing the distance President Biden had to walk.¹⁴² Zients replied, "I think that was part of the same conversations, just minimizing steps as we talked about."¹⁴³ Again, Tomasini was the "point for the president"¹⁴⁴ and thus would manage the president by adjusting his schedule and "minimizing [his] steps."¹⁴⁵ In executing the cover-up, Tomasini was often aided by Williams, who reported to Tomasini. Williams, like Tomasini, would "meticulously stage-manage" Joe Biden for his day-to-day in the White House.¹⁴⁶ Tomasini, however, evaded voluntary testimony with the Committee and opted to plead the Fifth Amendment,¹⁴⁷ as discussed in further detail below.

Zients told Committee investigators that he also discussed President Biden's "age" issues with Anthony Bernal, who served as chief of staff for First Lady Jill Biden and assistant to the president, and who also invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination in his deposition with the Committee.¹⁴⁸ When pressed by Committee investigators, Zients confirmed that Bernal's thoughts on issues often represented the first lady's "whether he'd spoken to her or not."¹⁴⁹ The inner-most circle of the Biden Administration and, by extension, the Oval Office ran through senior leaders of the first lady's office. For example, Zients testified that Bernal "th[ought] through settings [and] frequency of interactions" for the former president.¹⁵⁰

The role that Bernal, a member of the first lady's team, played in making key decisions regarding the president and Jill Biden's policy roles in the White House are deeply concerning considering the first lady and the Biden family were well positioned to unlawfully carry out President Biden's duties as he increasingly lost his mental and physical faculties. For example, at a September 20, 2024 cabinet meeting, the first lady started the meeting in the West Wing by

¹⁴⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 30:12-18 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁴¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 30:23-24 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁴² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 30:19-31:6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁴³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 31:3-8 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁴⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 30:25-31:1 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁴⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 31:1-7 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁴⁶ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 84:11-12 (July 11, 2025).

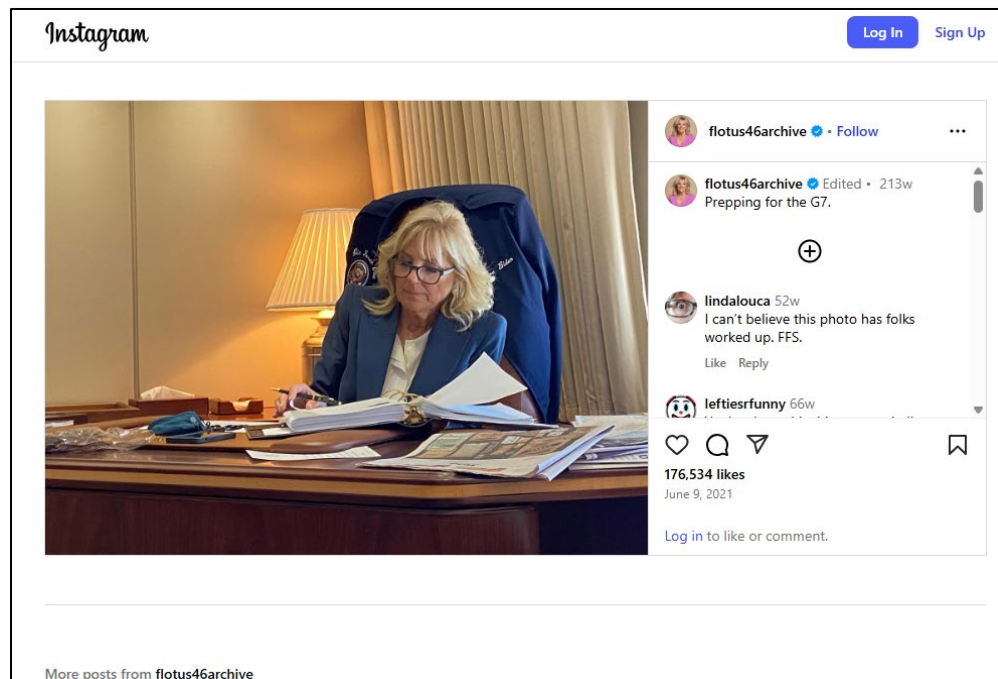
¹⁴⁷ John Parkinson, *Another Biden aide invokes Fifth Amendment in deposition before House panel*, ABC NEWS (July 18, 2025).

¹⁴⁸ *See generally* Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden (July 16, 2025).

¹⁴⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 43:21-44:1 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁵⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 44:7-9 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

offering substantial remarks before the president’s cabinet.¹⁵¹ The first lady performed additional roles historically reserved for the president, raising questions about whether she was doing so in the former president’s stead because he was physically and mentally struggling to fulfill these duties. Jill Biden posted the below photo with the caption “Prepping for the G7,” while in what appears to be the president’s suite on Air Force One:



First Lady Jill Biden Archived (@flotus46archive), Instagram, (June 9, 2021).

The Committee had extensive questions to ask Bernal on precisely how involved Jill Biden and other Biden family members were in orchestrating the Biden presidency as the former president became increasingly incapable of doing so. Yet, Bernal refused to voluntarily testify to the Committee.¹⁵² When subpoenaed to testify,¹⁵³ he refused to answer the Committee’s questions, repeatedly stating that he “decline[d] to answer the question pursuant to [his] Fifth Amendment rights under the constitution.”¹⁵⁴ The significance of Bernal pleading the Fifth Amendment as a vital member of President Biden’s inner circle is discussed further at the end of this section.

¹⁵¹ Biden White House Archives, *Remarks by President Biden and First Lady Jill Biden Before Cabinet Meeting* (Sept. 20, 2024), available at <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/09/20/remarks-by-president-biden-and-first-lady-jill-biden-before-cabinet-meeting/>.

¹⁵² Matt Brown, *Jill Biden aide invokes Fifth to decline testimony in Republican investigation*, AP NEWS (July 16, 2025).

¹⁵³ Subpoena from James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight and Gov’t Reform, to Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden (June 26, 2025).

¹⁵⁴ Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden, at 11 (July 16, 2025).

As previously discussed, President Biden’s inner circle discussed certain medical decisions amongst themselves, influencing the actions of Dr. O’Connor.¹⁵⁵ Zients and Dunn discussed the possible need to have the president undergo a cognitive exam and Zients specifically requested a full medical work-up of President Biden following the debate.¹⁵⁶ Other members of the inner circle—at least those who agreed to answer questions from the Committee—could not recall any additional discussions about President Biden’s medical treatment aside from when he had colds or Covid, which they recalled quite specifically.¹⁵⁷

Hollywood professionals were also solicited to aid a diminishing President Biden. As mentioned above,¹⁵⁸ Zients told the Committee that Spielberg and Katzenberg both helped President Biden prepare for the State of the Union address in March 2024.¹⁵⁹ They offered direction on “delivery and language”¹⁶⁰ as they were concerned about the strength of the president’s voice.¹⁶¹ Additionally, they offered President Biden direction beyond the State of the Union. For example, Spielberg and Katzenberg advised President Biden to take his tie off at casual events.¹⁶² In addition to Zients’s testimony of Hollywood producers’ involvement in speeches such as the State of the Union, Reed told Committee investigators of their involvement in 2024 debate preparations, which is discussed later in this report.¹⁶³

C. Worried the President was Tired, Political Advisors Focused on Lightening President Biden’s Schedule and Ensuring He Participated in Fewer Events.

¹⁵⁵ See Section I. The Medical Cover-Up: President Biden’s Political Advisors Interfered with Medical Care and Dr. O’Connor is Complicit [hereinafter “Medical Cover-Up”].

¹⁵⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:10-13 (Sept. 18, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 121:10-11 (Aug. 7, 2025).

¹⁵⁷ See generally: Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, (June 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 11, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, (July 30, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 31, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, (Aug. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, (Aug. 21, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden (Sept. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (Sept. 18, 2025); Deposition of Dr. Kevin O’Connor, Physician to President Biden, (July 9, 2025); Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden, (July 16, 2025); Deposition of Annie Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations to President Biden, (July 18, 2025).

¹⁵⁸ See Section I. Medical Cover-Up.

¹⁵⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 107:16-18 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁶⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 107:21-22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁶¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 108:8-9 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁶² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 108:11-12 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁶³ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 72:8-12 (Aug. 5, 2025).

Dr. O'Connor reportedly "quipped that Biden's staff were trying to kill him, while he was trying to keep him alive."¹⁶⁴ Dr. O'Connor "privately expressed worry about the toll [the stresses of the presidency were] taking" on President Biden and "fought other Biden officials on scheduling to try to get Biden more rest."¹⁶⁵ Dr. O'Connor refused to provide any clarity about this to the Committee,¹⁶⁶ but he was not alone in his concern about the former president's capacity to handle the stress and schedule demanded of the presidency. Donilon told the Committee that when the president was tired, Donilon had "a particular focus on trying to cut back his schedule. To me, that was the *biggest* issue."¹⁶⁷ Donilon continued, "the *best* approach for us would be to have lightened his schedule load."¹⁶⁸

Donilon's concerns led him to take steps that helped prop up the president when he was no longer fit to fulfill his duties. "[H]ow much we were asking him to do" was the "*primary* thing" Donilon thought about.¹⁶⁹ Sometimes this would require the President to participate in "fewer events in a day."¹⁷⁰ Donilon commented that having the president fly from "Italy to Los Angeles" is "a lot to ask."¹⁷¹ He expressed concern about the president having to do "two big, tough speeches in the middle of a lot of travel" when he spoke on D-Day in France, then again at Pointe du Hoc the next day.¹⁷² Donilon was so concerned that he had a number of conversations with staff about needing to give the president a break.¹⁷³ Donilon specifically recalled speaking with Chief of Staff Jeff Zients about lightening the president's load.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁴ JAKE TAPPER & ALEX THOMPSON, ORIGINAL SIN, at 48 (2025).

¹⁶⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶⁶ See generally Deposition of Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden (July 9, 2025).

¹⁶⁷ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 54:25-55:1 (July 31, 2025) (Emphasis added).

¹⁶⁸ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:7-8 (July 31, 2025) (Emphasis added).

¹⁶⁹ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:4-5 (July 31, 2025) (Emphasis added).

¹⁷⁰ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:11-12 (July 31, 2025).

¹⁷¹ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:13-16 (July 31, 2025).

¹⁷² Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:19-20 (July 31, 2025).

¹⁷³ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 56:15 (July 31, 2025).

¹⁷⁴ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 55:7-8 (July 31, 2025).



Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, YOUTUBE (July 31, 2025), *available at* <https://youtu.be/4ewAX8huL90>.

Zients confirmed Donilon's testimony that the schedule was becoming too much for the president. For example, Zients told the Committee that one of his first meetings upon becoming chief of staff was with First Lady Jill Biden.¹⁷⁵ Zients told the Committee, "[Jill Biden] want[ed] to continue to make sure the president ha[d] enough time to himself, that he's not overscheduled."¹⁷⁶ Zients also confirmed to the Committee that Tomasini "was really the point person for the president's schedule, [and] knew that was important," because Joe Biden "wanted to have more ability to read and think."¹⁷⁷ Tomasini refused to answer questions from the Committee,¹⁷⁸ leaving serious concerns about the role she played in orchestrating a cover-up of the cognitive decline of the president.

The first lady, Tomasini, Donilon, and Zients were all involved in lightening the president's load and schedule, because, as has been apparent to the American people, President Biden's cognition was faltering throughout his presidency, and he became unable to fully handle the duties of the presidency.

D. Scripting Biden at Events Big and Small.

The communications and press team of the White House employed tactics aimed to give the appearance of a coherent President Biden, fully in control of his faculties. These tactics included scripting the president during events with extremely detailed cards (even for purposes of discussing his own son), increasing reliance on teleprompters to the point where Democratic donors expressed concerns, issuing talking points without direct discussion with the president,

¹⁷⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 24:16-17 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁷⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 24:18-19 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁷⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 25:2-5 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁷⁸ See *generally* Deposition of Annie Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations to President Biden (July 18, 2025).

and keeping Democrats and cabinet members from holding meetings with the president. These tactics aided the inner circle in the cover-up of President Biden’s cognitive decline during his time in office.

Americans witnessed the former president’s lackluster performances at various press events, and were shocked to see scripted news cards indicating which reporters Biden should call on, directions on where to walk or who to shake hands with, and very specific talking points.¹⁷⁹ On some occasions, the cards appeared to dictate which questions would be asked from the “free-press” in a specified order, thus raising concerns that President Biden was no longer able to speak independently at press events.¹⁸⁰ The use of scripts, orders for which questions would be asked by which reporter,¹⁸¹ and simple instructions throughout the Biden presidency further demonstrate that the inner circle actively managed the decline of President Biden to conceal it from the American people.

President Biden’s reliance on the teleprompter increased later in his presidency. Zients told the Committee he received a call from a prominent donor, expressing concern over President Biden’s condition due to President Biden’s poor performance and use of a teleprompter at a small, intimate fundraiser.¹⁸² President Biden’s struggles with speeches became so problematic that he required the use of teleprompters for short speeches—still unable to quell concerns of frequent donors.¹⁸³

E. The Inner Circle and the Communications Cover-Up.

The communications team was largely controlled by the inner circle, with senior advisors like Dunn leading the communications strategy. Communications ran through Dunn and Jean-Pierre (during Jean-Pierre’s tenure). Dunn was “deeply involved”¹⁸⁴ in daily messaging of the Biden Administration and often had a say in communications team hires.¹⁸⁵ Dunn was responsible for hiring two of the most public facing defenders of President Biden, Andrew Bates and Ian Sams.¹⁸⁶ Dunn often had the final say on which media interviews to decline or cancel.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁹ Lindsay Kornick, *Biden spotted holding a note card with reporters’ photos and names to call on at joint presser*, FOX NEWS (Oct. 27, 2023).

¹⁸⁰ Kenneth Garger, *New photos show cheat sheets used by Biden during his first press conference*, N.Y. POST (Mar. 25, 2021).

¹⁸¹ Josh Christenson, *Biden cheat sheet shows he had advance knowledge of journalist’s question*, N.Y. POST (Apr. 26, 2023).

¹⁸² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 52:14-53:6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁸³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 52:14-53:6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁸⁴ JOSH DAWSEY, TYLER PAGER & ISAAC ARNSDORF, 2024: HOW TRUMP RETOOK THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE DEMOCRATS LOST AMERICA, at 91 (2025).

¹⁸⁵ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 123:2-7 (Aug. 7, 2025).

¹⁸⁶ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 123:2-7 (Aug. 7, 2025).

¹⁸⁷ CHRIS WHIPPLE, UNCHARTED: HOW TRUMP BEAT BIDEN, HARRIS, AND THE ODDS IN THE WILDEST CAMPAIGN IN HISTORY, at 42 (2025).

When pressed by journalists and Committee investigators, Jean-Pierre resisted offering any transparency into President Biden’s cognitive decline. As discussed earlier,¹⁸⁸ neurologist Dr. Kevin Cannard visited the executive mansion eight times in eight months from 2023 to 2024.¹⁸⁹ Missing from the White House Medical Unit’s memorandum to Jean-Pierre was mention of the president’s mental acuity or cognitive issues.¹⁹⁰ When asked by the press, Jean-Pierre refused to provide details to the public, citing to unexplained “security concerns.”¹⁹¹ When the Committee inquired, Jean-Pierre could not recall what the alleged “security concerns” were, and referred investigators to Dr. O’Connor’s memorandum.¹⁹² Jean-Pierre refused to acknowledge that the leader of the free world losing command of his cognition posed grave security risks to the nation.

Jean-Pierre also informed the Committee of her lack of control over talking points in her briefing room binder, including those related to President Biden’s health. According to Jean-Pierre, talking points related to the health of the president were often provided by the White House communications team and senior advisors—especially Dunn.¹⁹³ Jean-Pierre publicly used the term “cheap fakes” during White House press briefings in response to questions posed by the media about President Biden appearing to be “confused” and “freezing at times.”¹⁹⁴ When pressed by the Committee, Jean-Pierre admitted that the term “cheap fake” was a “prepared” talking point, but could not recall who drafted it for her briefing binder.¹⁹⁵ It is interesting that Jean-Pierre relied on anonymously drafted talking points or went to senior political advisors for information about the president’s health rather than the president’s doctor:

Karine Jean-Pierre (September 12, 2025)

Q. So if you were getting a question from the press about President Biden’s health and you looked in your book and there was a talking point, a suggested talking point on that topic, was it denoted in some way who had prepared that talking point, or how would you know who had prepared that talking point?

¹⁸⁸ See Section I. Medical Cover-Up.

¹⁸⁹ Josh Christenson & Steven Nelson, *White House refuses to explain Parkinson’s expert’s visits, press secretary accuses reporters of ‘personal attacks’ during tense briefing*, N.Y. POST (July 8, 2024).

¹⁹⁰ Memorandum from Kevin O’Connor, Physician to the President, to Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden (July 8, 2024), available at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/letter-from-physician-the-president-dr-kevin-oconnor>.

¹⁹¹ Josh Christenson & Steven Nelson, *White House refuses to explain Parkinson’s expert’s visits, press secretary accuses reporters of ‘personal attacks’ during tense briefing*, N.Y. POST (July 8, 2024).

¹⁹² Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 68:1-5 (Sept. 12, 2025).

¹⁹³ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 33:2-17 (Sept. 12, 2025).

¹⁹⁴ Forbes Breaking News, *Fox Reporter Confronts KJP About ‘Cheap Fakes’ Accusation After Biden’s Poor Debate Performance*, YOUTUBE (July 2, 2024) available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42ehOMonTos&t=12s>.

¹⁹⁵ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 63:15–64:4 (Sept. 12, 2025).

A. So in -- nowhere in the book did that exist.¹⁹⁶

Karine Jean-Pierre (September 12, 2025)

Q. [I]f you had a question that you were trying to get an answer for about the President's health, who would you go to?

A. The press team, the comms team, senior advisors, depending on the question.¹⁹⁷

Zients discussed with the Committee how the communications team, without running talking points by him, largely controlled the talking points about President Biden's pardon of his son, Hunter Biden.¹⁹⁸ When Committee investigators pressed Zients about the former president's need for talking points about the pardon of his son, the decision of which was made merely days earlier, Zients claimed that substantive, complete talking points on the pardon decision were standard and "[he] wouldn't read into it at all."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 60:20-24 (Sept. 12, 2025).

¹⁹⁷ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 33:2-4 (Sept. 12, 2025).

¹⁹⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 99:4-100:6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

¹⁹⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 100:6 (Sept. 18, 2025); *see also* Section V. Who Made Presidential Decisions and Operated the Autopen [hereinafter "Executive Actions and the Autopen"].



Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X (Sept. 8, 2025, 6:56 PM), *available at* <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1965187610294513970> (Emphasis added) (“A detail that didn’t make the story. Here’s Biden’s talking points card post-Hunter pardon.”).

Similarly, Jean-Pierre told the Committee the note cards on Hunter Biden’s pardon were common practice, yet she admitted she played no role in the card and was not aware of who did—however it made it to the president’s hands.²⁰⁰ It is striking that President Biden needed any notecards or talking points to talk about his son, especially about a decision recently made about him. It is notable that the origin of these talking points was unknown to the chief of staff and the press secretary—especially after the press secretary repeatedly and vehemently denied the pardon of Hunter Biden would ever happen.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 104:19-105:11 (Sept. 12, 2025).

²⁰¹ Forbes Breaking News, *KJP Repeatedly Says That Biden Won’t Pardon Hunter-Which POTUS Just Did*, YOUTUBE (Dec. 1, 2024), *available at* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UBR40UfoVH0>; *See also* Lindsay Kornick, *Six times Karine Jean-Pierre said President Biden wouldn’t pardon his son Hunter*, FOX NEWS (Dec. 1, 2024).

F. Extreme Gatekeeping: Inner Circle Hiding President Biden from Outer Circle Aides and His Own Party's Leaders.

The inner circle used Ian Sams to execute a scheme to control the media narrative around President Biden. Sams, lauded by liberal media, spoke frequently and authoritatively to the press about President Biden's mental fitness, age, and ability to handle the job of president. Sams rarely interacted with President Biden although he was the steadfast defender of stories attacking the former president's age. Sams told Committee investigators that he had only four meetings with President Biden, describing his meetings with the president as "very infrequent."²⁰²

Sams fought Special Counsel Hur's characterizations of President Biden, memorialized in what is now known as the Hur Report.²⁰³ In another example of the inner circle orchestrating the legacy media spin machines, the White House sent Sams out to defend President Biden's position on the Hur Report, but when the Committee asked if Sams met with the President to get his views on the matter, Sams replied, "I did not."²⁰⁴

Similar to Sams, Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy White House Press Secretary, claimed the Hur Report was "gratuitous," yet never listened to Hur's interview of the former president.²⁰⁵ Bates pressured reporters asking questions about the President's age.²⁰⁶ Bates met with upwards of twenty individuals to discuss the President's functioning in order to address press questions about Biden's age, health, and decline.²⁰⁷ Bates told the Committee these meetings were with members of the cabinet—including Dennis McDunough, Tom Vilsack, and Antony Blinken—members of the inner circle, Dr. O'Connor, the staff of Speaker Nancy Pelosi, the staff of Leader Schumer, staff of Leader Jeffries, and others.²⁰⁸ However, when asked by the Committee how frequently he met with Joe Biden, Bates replied, "[a]s far as formal meetings, not very frequently."²⁰⁹ The main spokesmen responsible for articulating the President's position *rarely* met the president.

This extreme interpretation of what is typically referred to as gatekeeping effectively limited access to the president, by design, to sequester Biden from all but the inner circle. Aides relied on a cocoon of senior staff for updates and direction with little to no direct knowledge or insight into Biden when it came to highly visible issues.²¹⁰ The most visible, ardent speakers for

²⁰² Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 11:12-13 (Aug. 21, 2025).

²⁰³ Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 45:18-25 (Aug. 21, 2025).

²⁰⁴ Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 43:19 (Aug. 21, 2025).

²⁰⁵ Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 73:8 (Sept. 5, 2025).

²⁰⁶ Steven Nelson, *Ex-Biden aide Andrew Bates stone-faced arriving at Capitol for health coverup questions*, N.Y. POST (last updated Sept. 6, 2025).

²⁰⁷ Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 9:9-37:20 (Sept. 5, 2025).

²⁰⁸ Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 9:9-37:20 (Sept. 5, 2025).

²⁰⁹ Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 56:16-17 (Sept. 5, 2025).

²¹⁰ Annie Linseky, *et al.*, *How the White House Functioned With a Diminished Biden in Charge*, WALL ST. J. (Dec. 19, 2024).

Joe Biden rarely met or saw their boss across President Biden's four-year term. Additionally, prominent Democrats from the House, Senate, and the cabinet were unable to meet with the president—including Leader Schumer who threatened a public request to secure his meeting.²¹¹ Investigators probed Williams about access to or meetings with the President, to which she offered incredible testimony: “*any staff* who needed to see [Biden] had the ability to do so.”²¹² The Committee intended to ask Tomasini about the sequestration of Biden (as she was Williams's supervisor), but Tomasini pleaded the Fifth Amendment.²¹³

G. Spin and Delusion about Special Counsel Finding Biden an “Elderly Man with a Poor Memory”

A truly shocking example of the cover-up is that its reach extended to a criminal investigation of the leader of the free world. Following the discovery of voluminous classified documents at the Biden family's Delaware home and the Penn Biden Center, U.S. Attorney for the District of Maryland Robert Hur was appointed Special Counsel to the U.S. Department of Justice's (DOJ) investigation.²¹⁴ After more than one year of investigation, on February 5, 2024, Special Counsel Robert Hur declined to bring charges of unauthorized removal and retention of classified documents against President Biden.²¹⁵ While some may have believed this to be a vindication of Joe Biden's conduct, Special Counsel Hur's decision to not charge the President was largely predicated upon Hur's judgment that Joe Biden would “present himself to the jury, as he did during his interview with [Hur's] office, as a sympathetic, well-meaning, elderly man with a poor memory,” adding that “it would be difficult to convince a jury they should convict him of a serious felony that requires a mental state of willfulness.”²¹⁶ These words, the report's rationale for not charging President Biden with a crime, sent shockwaves around the country, as the American people were confounded at how someone deemed too elderly and lacking of “a mental state of willfulness” to be charged with a crime could serve as president, much less another four years as president.

With the shocking revelation of the Hur Report, the inner circle attempted to change the narrative. In the end, they decided to condemn the report. Jean-Pierre told the Committee that Ian Sams, Anita Dunn, and the White House counsel team decided that the White House response would be to generally label Special Counsel Hur's rationale for not charging the president as “gratuitous.”²¹⁷ In a press conference on February 9, 2024, Ian Sams described Special Counsel

²¹¹ JAKE TAPPER & ALEX THOMPSON, ORIGINAL SIN, at 147, 148, and 263 (2025).

²¹² Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 37:14 (July 11, 2025) (Emphasis added).

²¹³ John Parkinson, *Another Biden aide invokes Fifth Amendment in deposition before House panel*, ABC NEWS (July 18, 2025).

²¹⁴ Press Release, U.S. Dep't of Justice, Appointment of a Special Counsel (Jan. 12, 2023), available at <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/appointment-special-counsel-1>.

²¹⁵ U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, SPECIAL COUNSEL'S OFFICE, REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COUNSEL ON THE INVESTIGATION INTO UNAUTHORIZED REMOVAL, RETENTION, AND DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS DISCOVERED AT LOCATIONS INCLUDING THE PENN BIDEN CENTER AND THE DELAWARE PRIVATE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., at 6, 26 (Feb. 5, 2024).

²¹⁶ *Id.*, at 219-220.

²¹⁷ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden at 62:6-11 (Sept. 12, 2025).

Hur's remarks as "gratuitous," "inappropriate," or "beyond the remit of a prosecutor."²¹⁸ Vice President Harris appeared to have received nearly identical instructions, as she also referred to Special Counsel Hur's comments on the president's memory as "gratuitous, inaccurate and inappropriate."²¹⁹

Chairman Comer sought to obtain the complete audio, video, and relevant documents of the Biden-Hur interview and investigation from October 2023 to shed light on this piece of the cover-up of the former president's cognitive decline.²²⁰ While the Biden DOJ fought to keep the audio from the public eye,²²¹ the audio recording was eventually released in 2025, after President Biden had left office.²²² Special Counsel Hur asked President Biden: "Where would documents be stored at the Naval Observatory?"²²³ For twelve minutes, President Biden discussed the following topics—in a long-winded, confusing, and convoluted way—without answering the Special Counsel's basic question:

- The Violence Against Women Act
- Agriculture in the Delmarva peninsula
- The International Moot Court competition
- Moving to Idaho
- Working at a law firm
- The Wilmington Club
- The DuPont family
- The Civil Rights Movement
- Reforming the Democratic Party in the South
- Biden's first time running for office²²⁴

All but confirming President Biden's rapid mental deterioration, the hours-long interview with Special Counsel Hur also revealed a president forgetting basic details such as when his son passed away, when his term as vice president concluded, and even why he had classified documents in the first place.²²⁵ Committee investigators played the Hur Report audio or discussed the report's conclusion with several White House aides interviewed in the course of

²¹⁸ White House Briefing Room, *Press Briefing by Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre and Spokesman for the White House Counsel's Office Ian Sams, February 9, 2024*, THE WHITE HOUSE (Feb. 9, 2024), available at <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2024/02/09/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-karine-jean-pierre-and-spokesman-for-the-white-house-counsels-office-ian-sams-february-9-2024/>.

²¹⁹ *VP Harris on Special Counsel's Comments on President's Memory*, C-SPAN (Feb. 9, 2024), available at <https://www.c-span.org/video/?c5105873/vp-harris-special-counsels-comments-presidents-memory-gratuitous-inaccurate-inappropriate>.

²²⁰ Letter from James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm on Oversight and Gov't Reform, to Merrick Garland, Attorney General, U.S. Dep't of Justice (Feb. 12, 2024).

²²¹ Ryan Reilly, *et al.*, *Biden moves to block release of audio of his classified documents interview with special counsel Hur*, NBC NEWS (May 16, 2024).

²²² Marc Caputo & Alex Thompson, *Exclusive: Prosecutor's audio shows Biden's memory lapses*, AXIOS (May 16, 2025).

²²³ *Full Biden-Hur Special Counsel Interview on Classified Documents*, AXIOS (May 17, 2025) at 1:06:05 to 1:18:20, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GNjKE_tDZts.

²²⁴ *Id.*

²²⁵ Marc Caputo & Alex Thompson, *Exclusive: Prosecutor's audio shows Biden's memory lapses*, AXIOS (May 16, 2025).

the investigation. Most witnesses outright rejected the age and cognition rationale of Special Counsel Hur's decision to not charge President Biden.²²⁶

Yet, Dunn admitted to the Committee that the communications team tried to prevent President Biden from giving a traditional pre-Super Bowl interview with Fox due to the potential of the Hur Report becoming the driving issue.²²⁷ She explained the rationale in the following clip:



Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, YOUTUBE (Aug. 7, 2025), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IrBJeTGohcg&t=16s>.

Sams even told Committee investigators that he *never* once spoke to the president about President Biden's view on the Hur Report before condemning and dismissing Special Counsel Hur's comments as "gratuitous."²²⁸ It appears that the inner circle orchestrated this component of the cover-up. As mentioned, Sams had little access to the former president,²²⁹ and he and Dunn were the two staffers responsible for the response to Hur Report.²³⁰

²²⁶ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 83:3-13 (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 78:21-79:3 (Sept. 18, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 77:14-78:1 (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 63:7-13 (Aug. 21, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 126:1-7 (July 11, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 149:13-24 (July 30, 2025).

²²⁷ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 117:10-118:6; (Aug. 7, 2025).

²²⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 43:16-19 (Aug. 21, 2025).

²²⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 11:2-13 (Aug. 21, 2025).

²³⁰ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 61:25-62:11 (Sept. 12, 2025).

H. Cover-Up Post White House: Inner Circle Aides Evade Questions and Plead the Fifth Amendment

The politburo, or inner circle, of individuals controlling President Biden maintained the utmost control over his appearances, schedule, and clothing, among others, while sheltering the president from other members of White House staff. It is notable that the witnesses who invoked the Fifth Amendment in this investigation were particularly close to President Biden and his family and had vital information relevant to the cover-up and execution of presidential duties in President Biden's stead.

Reed told the Committee that Tomasini was “the master of [President Biden's] schedule,” yet she suspiciously evaded transparency.²³¹ Tomasini invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked if anyone in the Biden family or at the White House ever asked her to lie about President Biden's health:

Annie Tomasini (July 18, 2025)

Q. Ms. Tomasini, did Joe Biden, a member of his family, or anyone at the White House ever instruct you to lie regarding his health at any time, including but not limited to in your testimony to Congress today?

A. On the advice of counsel, I respectfully decline to answer the question pursuant to my Fifth Amendment rights under the Constitution.²³²

²³¹ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 45:4-7 (Aug. 5, 2025).

²³² Deposition of Annie Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations to President Biden, at 12:8-12 (July 18, 2025).



Deposition of Annie Tomasini, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff to President Biden, YOUTUBE (July 18, 2025), *available at* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=otb7sKuKGpo>.

Bernal pleaded the Fifth Amendment when asked if any unelected official or family members executed the duties of the President:

Anthony Bernal (July 16, 2025)

Q Mr. Bernal, was President Joe Biden fit to exercise the duties of the President?

A On the advice of counsel, I respectfully decline to answer the question pursuant to my Fifth Amendment rights under the Constitution.²³³

Q Mr. Bernal, did any unelected official or family member of President Joe Biden execute the duties of the Presidency?

A On the advice of counsel, I respectfully decline to answer the question pursuant to my Fifth Amendment rights under the Constitution.²³⁴

²³³ Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden, at 12:4-7 (July 16, 2025).

²³⁴ Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden, at 12:15-18 (July 16, 2025).



Source: Selections from Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden, YOUTUBE (July 16, 2025), *available at* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KnLIrWUApo0>.

Dr. O'Connor, as mentioned earlier, pleaded the Fifth Amendment when asked if he was instructed to lie about the president's health.²³⁵

Notably, when Ashley Williams did testify to the Committee, she stated that she did not know, could not recall, could not speak to, or did not recall approximately two hundred times over the course of her interview.²³⁶

The testimony of Tomasini, Bernal, Dr. O'Connor, and Williams are vital to answering the ultimate question of this Committee's investigation: who was really in charge of the Oval Office and making decisions on behalf of President Biden as he cognitively deteriorated and was no longer fit for office?

I. Findings

- President Biden's senior staff were willing to conceal the president's cognitive deterioration as many stood to gain significantly—financially, politically, and professionally—by continuing to operate the presidency from behind the scenes as if President Biden were in charge. For example, Mike Donilon stood to gain over \$8 million dollars, and Dr. O'Connor had longstanding business and personal ties to multiple

²³⁵ Deposition of Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, at 12:17-20 (July 9, 2025).

²³⁶ *See generally* Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden (July 11, 2025).

members of the Biden family which constituted an incentive to participate in the cover-up.

- Worried that President Biden was tired and thinking that they were asking “a lot” of the president, his political advisors, including Mike Donilon, Jeff Zients, and Jill Biden, worked to lighten his schedule and ensure that he participated in fewer events as president.
- The inner circle used multiple available methods to counter and distort Americans’ “perception” of the president’s age, including using Hollywood movie producers, makeup, clothing, the number of steps President Biden walked or climbed, and other effects.
- Staffers such as Annie Tomasini, Ashley Williams, Anthony Bernal, and Dr. Kevin O’Connor—who had the most direct knowledge of the president’s health, the cover-up, and the execution of executive duties—evaded oversight by directly invoking the Fifth Amendment, or in Williams’s case, effectively invoking the Fifth—to prevent transparency and accountability.
- Biden aides who were not in the inner circle blindly followed talking points, and policy positions relayed to them by the inner circle—thus, effectively eliminating the opportunity to expose the president’s true condition, the cover-up, and who pulled the strings when it came to executive actions throughout the Biden presidency.

III. President Biden's Inner Circle was Delusional about the President's Cognitive Health and the American People's Concern about it.

Throughout the Committee's investigation, senior Biden White House aides presented a perspective of President Biden's cognitive health completely disconnected from that of the American public. Not one of the Committee's 14 witnesses was willing to admit that they ever had a concern about President Biden being in cognitive decline.²³⁷ In fact, numerous witnesses could not recall having a single conversation about President Biden's cognitive health with anyone inside or outside of the White House.²³⁸

A. In a Striking Display of Cognitive Dissonance, Biden Aides Testified about the Former President's Concerning Behavior, Yet None Would Admit Concerns that He was Cognitively Declining and No Longer Fit for Office.

The Committee's investigation included 11 transcribed interviews and three depositions between June 24, 2025, and September 18, 2025. All three deposed witnesses invoked their Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination and refused to answer any questions.²³⁹ Of the 11 witnesses who answered questions, none were willing to admit that they ever had a concern that President Biden was experiencing signs or symptoms of cognitive decline.²⁴⁰ Straining credulity,

²³⁷ See generally, Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, (June 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 11, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, (July 30, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 31, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, (Aug. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, (Aug. 21, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden (Sept. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (Sept. 18, 2025); Deposition of Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, (July 9, 2025); Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden, (July 16, 2025); Deposition of Annie Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations to President Biden, (July 18, 2025).

²³⁸ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 39:16-22 (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 12:8-15 (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 76:21-22 (July 11, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 17:8-15 (Aug. 21, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 154:2-4 (July 24, 2025).

²³⁹ See Deposition of Dr. Kevin O'Connor, Physician to President Biden, (July 9, 2025); Deposition of Anthony Bernal, Chief of Staff to First Lady Jill Biden and Assistant to the President to President Biden, (July 16, 2025); Deposition of Annie Tomasini, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations to President Biden, (July 18, 2025).

²⁴⁰ See generally, Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, (June 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 11, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, (July 30, 2025); Transcribed

numerous witnesses testified that they never even had one conversation about whether President Biden was experiencing cognitive decline.²⁴¹ The following reflect a few examples:

Ashley Williams (July 11, 2025)

Q. Do you recall discussing former President Biden's cognitive abilities with anyone?

A. Again, in my experience, President Biden was in command and fully executed his duties as President of the United States.

Q. Did you ever discuss President Biden's cognitive abilities with anyone?

A. In my experience, no.²⁴²

Karine Jean-Pierre (September 12, 2025)

Q. Did you ever have outreach from friends or people you knew that were concerned that President Biden was struggling with his health or cognitive abilities?

A. Not that I recall. Not specific conversations.

Q. Did you ever have a conversation with anyone in the White House?

A. In the White House?

Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 31, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, (Aug. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, (Aug. 21, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, (Sept. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁴¹ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 39:16-20 (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 12:8-15 (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 76:21-22 (July 11, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ian Sams, Spokesman for President Biden, at 17:8-15 (Aug. 21, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 154:2-4 (July 24, 2025).

²⁴² Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 76:17-22 (July 11, 2025).

Q. Where you or they were concerned about President Biden's health or cognitive abilities?

A. I've never spoken to anybody in the White House about that.²⁴³

Anita Dunn (August 7, 2025)

Q. So you don't remember any conversations with somebody from outside of the White House talking to you with concerns that President Biden was in cognitive decline?

A. I don't remember any conversations of that kind.

Q. During his Presidency, did you ever hear concerns about President Biden's cognitive decline from inside of the White House, from White House staff?

A. No, I do not remember hearing any conversations about cognitive decline within the White House staff.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 39:16-22 (Sept. 12, 2025).

²⁴⁴ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 12:8-15 (Aug. 7, 2025).



Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 11, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Advisor to President Biden, (Aug. 7, 2025); YOUTUBE, *Compilation available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71IHDDPON7A>*.

Yet, multiple witnesses identified concerning changes in President Biden over the years, such as diminished ability to recall dates and names, an increase in verbal stumbles, the reemergence of his childhood stutter, and more signs of cognitive decline. For further discussion of these topics, refer to subsection C.

B. Biden Aides Dismissed the American People’s Genuine Concerns about President Biden’s Cognitive Health.

Worse than being unwilling to acknowledge President Biden’s cognitive decline for themselves, many senior Biden aides dismissed the American people’s genuine concerns about the former president’s mental state. For example, Williams discounted the American people’s concerns as “[p]ublic speculation” which was “inaccurate and ill informed.”²⁴⁵ In an explicit rejection of the facts, Ricchetti disagreed that President Biden’s disastrous debate performance led people to believe he was cognitively struggling:

Steve Ricchetti (July 30, 2025)

Q. To be fair, when lay people around the country watched the debate, I don’t think they were thinking President Biden has a bad cough. They were thinking he seems to be cognitively struggling. You didn’t see that?

²⁴⁵ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 44:6-8 (July 11, 2025).

Witness Counsel: When you say lay people around the country, what in the world are you basing that on? People you know? Is there polling? Tell us. I don't understand that question.

A. It isn't how the country perceived it. That just isn't true.²⁴⁶

Though some other aides were less explicit than Ricchetti, they also rejected suggestions that the American people believed President Biden to be in cognitive decline. These Biden aides instead blamed the media, accused the Committee of cherry-picking polls, used euphemisms and double-speak to avoid talking about the former president losing command of himself, and made numerous dubious excuses for concerning behavior from the leader of the free world.

B.1 Biden advisors blamed everything and everyone—except President Biden's visible cognitive decline—for voter concerns about this deterioration.

During transcribed interviews with the Committee, multiple Biden advisors blamed voters' concerns about President Biden's cognitive health on the media, "right-wing actors," social media, and pundits. For example, Andrew Bates argued that voters' concerns that President Biden was cognitively unfit to serve as president could be attributed to the media and to "right-wing actors."²⁴⁷ Dunn argued that these concerns were the result of "significant social media attacks on his age," and implied that conservative media outlets "spent a disproportionate amount of time covering the President's age and perceived issues around that, as opposed to other things."²⁴⁸ Similarly, when Committee investigators asked Counselor to President Biden Steve Ricchetti about the reaction to President Biden's 2024 debate performance, he argued that the "punditry or chattering class" overreacted, and that the public "didn't see it the same way or they didn't react to it . . . as extravagantly."²⁴⁹

B.2 Biden aides refused to acknowledge that when Americans expressed concerns about President Biden's age, they were concerned about his cognitive capacity and fitness for office.

Confusingly, throughout multiple interviews, numerous Biden aides responded to Committee investigators' questions about President Biden's *cognitive health*, with answers about his *age*.²⁵⁰ For example:

²⁴⁶ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 234:7-12 (July 30, 2025).

²⁴⁷ Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 50:11-16 (Sept. 5, 2025).

²⁴⁸ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 113:2-13, 114:5-6 (Aug. 7, 2025).

²⁴⁹ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 174:22-175:3 (July 30, 2025).

²⁵⁰ See e.g., Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden for Communications to President Biden, at 13:25-14:4 (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 76:13-21 (Sept. 12, 2025).

Anita Dunn (August 7, 2025)

Q. Do you think voters were concerned that President Biden was mentally or cognitively unfit to serve as President?

A. What we saw in the public polling and what we saw in the private polling was that age was a concern for voters, as it was in 2020. But, again, he was -- he had served with distinction. He had a record to run on. He had the wisdom and experience to do the job. And that's what he was taking to the American people.²⁵¹

When Committee investigators pressed Dunn to answer the question about his cognitive state rather than his age, she continued to avoid acknowledging that the American people were concerned about President Biden's cognitive fitness:

Anita Dunn (August 7, 2025)

Q. You know, I understand what you're saying about age. To me, I think age and mental or mentally or cognitively unfit are two separate issues, right? People age differently. And, of course, President Biden, he was the oldest President at that point. Is that correct?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. So concerns about age and concerns about his mental or cognitive state are related, but they can be looked at separately. Is that right?

A. Oh, I think so. And there were voters who had concerns around his age who did not have concerns around his ability to do the job.

Q. So do you not think that voters were concerned about his ability to do the job in terms of his cognitive abilities?

A. No. You're asking me to mind read a lot of voters in this country. I can tell you that in our data, we saw that his age was certainly an issue for voters but that voters also saw him as someone who was doing the job as President.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 13:25-14:7 (Aug. 7, 2025).

²⁵² Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 14:8-14:21 (Aug. 7, 2025).

Jean-Pierre also avoided acknowledging the American people's concerns about President Biden's cognitive health:

Karine Jean-Pierre (September 12, 2025)

Q. I'm not asking you to speak for every American. But do you think that a significant group -- you can characterize the grouping if you'd like. But were the American people concerned about President Biden's cognitive or mental health?

A. Again, I didn't -- obviously, you read me one poll, right, that I was asked about. I cannot -- I cannot do a broad brush and talk about "the American people," right? I cannot -- it's not something that I can do.

What I can tell you is my experience, my observation, and things that we have talked about in the briefing room. The President's talked about his age. This is not something that we did not talk about directly or engage on directly.²⁵³

Klain told the Committee that the reason he supported the decision to hold the June 27, 2024, presidential debate so early was to "abate" the concerns about President Bidens "age" in the wake of Special Counsel Hur's report, which he believed to be President Biden's number one campaign issue.²⁵⁴ When Committee investigators pressed Klain about how holding the debate a couple of months earlier could possibly abate concerns about the president's age, Klain admitted that "age" was a "surrogate for [President Biden's] capabilities to serve another 4 years."²⁵⁵

Ron Klain (July 24, 2025)

Q. How would an early debate change voters' view of his age? He wouldn't be younger because there was a debate earlier, right? I mean, a couple days, a couple weeks, but -- I'm not following. Could you explain?

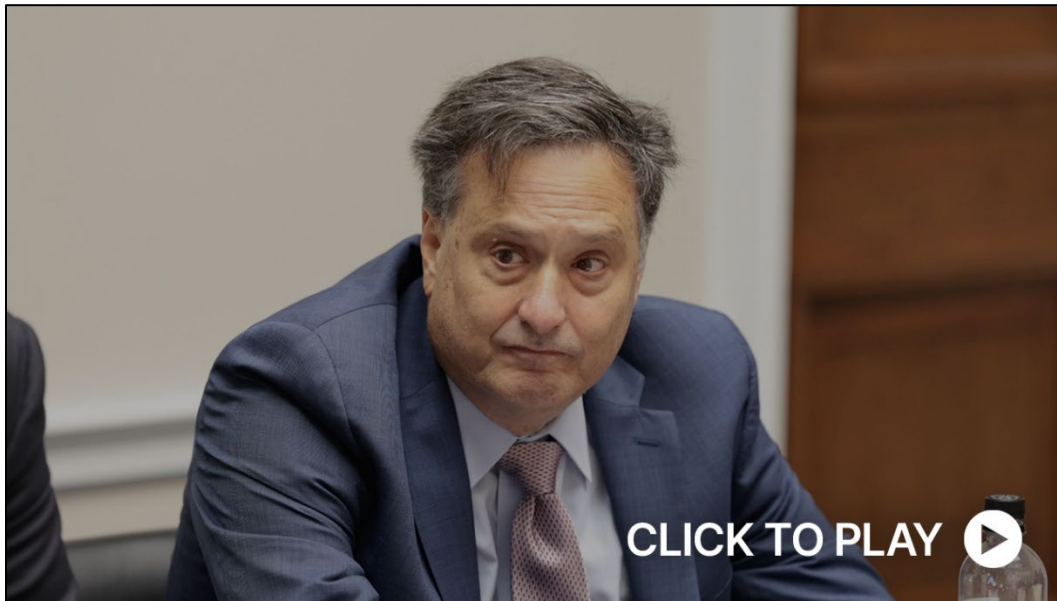
A. Yes. I think that his age became a bit of a surrogate for his capabilities to serve another 4 years. And I thought that him performing robustly against Mr. Trump in a debate would

²⁵³ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 76:13-21 (Sept. 12, 2025).

²⁵⁴ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 17:6-25 (July 24, 2025).

²⁵⁵ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 18:1-7 (July 24, 2025).

show voters that he had the fight and feist to continue to serve as President for 4 more years.²⁵⁶



Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, YOUTUBE (July 24, 2025), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k1Ry6eOBXcQ>.

It is unclear whether these Biden aides were attempting to be deceptively euphemistic about President Biden's cognitive decline, or whether they had so deceived themselves that they actually believed there to be a meaningful distinction that the American people were simply worried that President Biden was old, not that he was in cognitive decline. In either case, this demonstrates these advisors' complete disconnect from reality and the views of the American people.

It is true that age and cognitive health are separate (though related) issues, and that the process of aging does not occur the same way for all people.²⁵⁷ In fact, some studies have demonstrated that “the oldest olds are actually less frequently affected by dementia than the younger elderly.”²⁵⁸ Regardless, the reality is that numerous polls found that the American people indeed had serious concerns about President Biden's cognitive abilities.²⁵⁹

B.3 The American public had serious concerns about President Biden's cognitive health and fitness to serve as president.

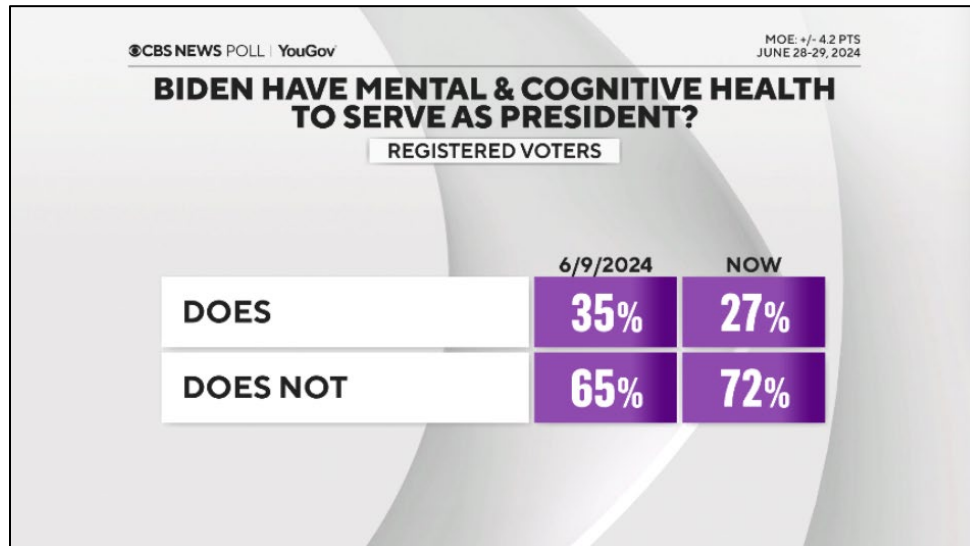
²⁵⁶ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 18:1-7 (July 24, 2025).

²⁵⁷ See e.g., Robert Wilson, *et al.*, *Individual differences in rates of change in cognitive abilities of older persons*, PSYCHOL. AGING (June 2002) (“The results suggest that change in cognitive function in old age primarily reflects person-specific factors rather than an inevitable developmental process.”).

²⁵⁸ Orso Bugiani, *The puzzle of preserved cognition in the oldest old*, SPRINGER NATURE (Nov. 12, 2019).

²⁵⁹ See e.g., Anthony Salvanto, *et al.*, *Increasing numbers of voters don't think Biden should be running after debate with Trump*, CBS NEWS (July 1, 2024); Maeve Reston, *et al.*, *Biden's mental sharpness and physical health doubted, Post-ABC poll shows*, WASH. POST (May 7, 2023).

While some polls focused on voters' *perception* of President Biden's age, others explicitly showed that a significant portion of the American people believed the former president was cognitively unfit to serve. For example, a June 2024 poll conducted by CBS News/YouGov found that 72% of voters and nearly half of registered Democrats did not believe Biden had the "mental and cognitive health to serve as president."²⁶⁰ These concerns also existed before Biden's 2024 debate disaster, with an earlier June 9, 2024 CBS News/YouGov poll finding the percentage to be 65%.²⁶¹



Anthony Salvanto, *et al.*, *Increasing numbers of voters don't think Biden should be running after debate with Trump*, CBS NEWS (July 1, 2024).

An even earlier May 2023 Washington Post-ABC poll found that just 32% of Americans believed President Biden had the mental sharpness to be effective in the White House.²⁶²

C. Biden Aides Repeatedly Dismissed Instances where President Biden's Cognitive Impairment was Evident.

It is impossible to catalogue the myriad gaffes, physical and verbal stumbles, issues with memory, and apparent confusion on the part of President Biden. However, witnesses interviewed by the Committee discussed some of the most critical instances. For example, Jean-Pierre admitted that President Biden contradicted his own administration's policy on Taiwan when he appeared to inadvertently say that the United States would respond militarily to defend

²⁶⁰ Anthony Salvanto, *et al.*, *Increasing numbers of voters don't think Biden should be running after debate with Trump*, CBS NEWS (July 1, 2024).

²⁶¹ *Id.*

²⁶² Maeve Reston, *et al.*, *Biden's mental sharpness and physical health doubted, Post-ABC poll shows*, WASH. POST (May 7, 2023).

Taiwan.²⁶³ Jean-Pierre also admitted that President Biden contradicted his administration's own policy on China when he called President Xi Jinping a "dictator" at a fundraiser in California.²⁶⁴ Yet, despite Jean-Pierre's admissions about President Biden's apparent confusion about American foreign policy, she bizarrely stuck with her assertion that "[t]here was never a moment where [she] doubted his abilities or judgment."²⁶⁵

When asked about President Biden calling President Xi a dictator, Zients took it a step further than Jean-Pierre and admitted that President Biden's statement was "a mistake," that "the President messed up in that setting," and that he "wasn't disciplined in his word choice."²⁶⁶ Zients made additional admissions about President Biden's waning cognitive abilities. Specifically, Zients told the Committee that he saw President Biden's struggles with stumbling over words, and with remembering dates and names become "more common across time."²⁶⁷

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. Do you -- looking back over the 16 years that you've known him -- do you think that President Biden's ability to remember dates has changed at all?

A. I think it's always been a challenge, as it can be for a lot of busy people. He might have that challenge more than others. And I would say like the stumbling over words, I'd say there's been some trend of that being more common across time.

Q. Same with names?

A. For sure. Again, I think on names also it's never been an area of strength for him, but I think it's probably gotten more difficult across time.²⁶⁸

Though Williams did not herself acknowledge President Biden's issues with memory, she made one of the more puzzling assertions on the topic, saying: "I wouldn't characterize having a good

²⁶³ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 51:8-17 (Sept. 12, 2025); Kevin Liptak, *et al.*, *Biden says US would respond 'militarily' if China attacked Taiwan, but White House insists there's no policy change*, CNN (last updated: May 23, 2022).

²⁶⁴ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 53:2-10 (Sept. 12, 2025); Trevor Hunnicutt & Jeff Mason, *Biden called Xi a dictator after carefully planned summit*, REUTERS (Nov. 16, 2023).

²⁶⁵ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary to President Biden, at 44:24, 52:8-23 (Sept. 12, 2025).

²⁶⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 84:16-24, 86:8-11 (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁶⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 23:3-10 (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁶⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 23:3-10 (Sept. 18, 2025).

memory as something that is important for working in the White House.”²⁶⁹

Zients also acknowledged that President Biden’s decision-making slowed over the course of his presidency, saying that decisions that previously required three meetings at the beginning of the administration, eventually began requiring four.²⁷⁰ However, despite admitting that he witnessed these concerning trends, Zients stuck to the party line that he “had no reservations about [Biden’s] ability to do the job.”²⁷¹

Similarly, Klain told the Committee he thought President Biden’s “political and presentation skills had declined since the 2020 election,” but that he “found his cognitive skills still quite acute.”²⁷² Klain also noticed that “the President would swap proper nouns for other proper nouns,” that “he often would confuse names,” and that these issues got worse over the time Klain knew him.²⁷³

C.1 President Biden’s childhood stutter “reappeared” as he aged and was used as an excuse for his waning cognitive abilities.

Dunn acknowledged that President Biden had noticeably aged since she met him in the 1980s and specifically noted that she “thought his voice was softer and that his childhood stutter reappeared.”²⁷⁴

Anita Dunn (August 7, 2025)

Q. Of course, President Biden has literally gotten older, but have you noticed signs of his aging since you first met him?

A. I first met President Biden when he was a U.S. Senator and I was a Senate staffer, and that was during the ‘80s. So, yes, I have seen him age over those years.

Q. And what are the signs of aging that you’ve seen in President Biden?

A. As is the case with many Presidents with all Presidents he aged in the job. But I would say that, primarily while he was

²⁶⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 95:23-96:1 (July 11, 2025).

²⁷⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 38:13-17 (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁷¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 26:23 (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁷² Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 95:25-96:3 (July 24, 2025).

²⁷³ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 21:17-22:6 (July 24, 2025).

²⁷⁴ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 11:10-12 (Aug. 7, 2025).

President, I thought his voice was softer and that his childhood stutter reappeared.²⁷⁵

Subsequently, Dunn further explained that she did not even know that President Biden had a stutter until she began working on his 2020 presidential campaign, and that over the course of his presidency the stutter became “more pronounced at times.”²⁷⁶ Dunn also said that she “[didn’t] think a stutter is generally seen as a symptom of cognitive decline,” though she acknowledged that she is not a medical doctor.²⁷⁷

President Biden has publicly discussed overcoming his childhood struggle with stuttering since at least 1987, during his first campaign for president.²⁷⁸ Specifically, then-Senator Biden told reporters that he had “beaten” his stutter during his 1961 high school commencement speech.²⁷⁹ The topic of his childhood stutter gained new attention after a profile on Joe Biden published in the January/February 2020 issue of *The Atlantic* argued that “[Biden’s] verbal stumbles have voters worried about his mental fitness,” but that “[m]aybe they’d be more understanding if they knew he’s still fighting a stutter.”²⁸⁰

In the aftermath of the June 2024 presidential debate, the narrative that President Biden’s stutter was to blame for cognitive difficulties got traction again amongst those complicit in the cover-up. For example, on June 30, 2024, Representative James Clyburn, a staunch Biden supporter, went on CNN and blamed President Biden’s disastrous debate performance on his “history of stuttering.”²⁸¹

Joe Biden has a history of stuttering . . . He did that as a child. All of us know how stutterers operate. I went to school with one. So, when you have trouble getting out a word, that is what comes from stuttering. But when he expressed opinions, he was on the money with the opinions. He may not have gotten the word out, but the thoughts were great.²⁸²

Similarly, during his transcribed interview, Reed attributed President Biden’s disastrous 2024 debate performance partially to his stutter.²⁸³

²⁷⁵ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 11:10-12 (Aug. 7, 2025).

²⁷⁶ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 11:13-16 (Aug. 7, 2025).

²⁷⁷ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 12:2-4 (Aug. 7, 2025).

²⁷⁸ Joseph Simonson, *Biden’s Stutter Is Core to His Identity. His Account of the Moment He Overcame It Doesn’t Add Up.*, WASH. FREE BEACON (Apr. 15, 2024).

²⁷⁹ *Id.*

²⁸⁰ John Hendrickson, *What Joe Biden Can’t Bring Himself to Say*, THE ATLANTIC (January/February 2020 Issue).

²⁸¹ Andrew Perez, *Biden Ally Blames Poor Debate Performance on ‘Preparation Overload,’ Stutter*, ROLLING STONE (June 30, 2024).

²⁸² *Id.*

²⁸³ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 75:11-76:2 (Aug. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 44:2-46:4 (Aug. 7, 2025).

Some witnesses occasionally bristled at questions about President Biden’s stutter.²⁸⁴ After admitting that she could not recall a single instance of President Biden stuttering, Jean-Pierre seemingly implied that the Committee’s questions indicated a belief that if a person has a stutter that means they “can’t perform at a high level.”²⁸⁵ To be clear, President Biden having a stutter as a child does not indicate anything about his cognitive abilities. However, the fact that this childhood stutter apparently returned when he was 78 years old, and that it was used as an excuse for his devastating debate performance, raises further questions about the lengths President Biden’s inner circle went to cover up his health issues bearing on fitness for office.

Notably, the cover-up playbook persists today amongst Democrats on the Committee. Representative Jasmine Crockett parroted these same talking points after attending the deposition of Dr. O’Connor as part of this investigation. After the deposition, when Representative Crockett was asked if she had any concerns about President Biden’s mental fitness, she told reporters “[n]o, I had none,” and argued that his stutter was the reason for his frequent verbal gaffes, saying that “[President Biden] may get fumbled by words, but that’s not anything new, and it’s not anything that came with age,” “[w]e know that this is someone that was born with a stutter that ultimately had to get over it.”²⁸⁶

D. Findings

- Despite discussing concerning behavior by President Biden, no Biden advisors admitted they or anyone they knew had any concerns about his cognitive fitness to serve in office.
- Biden aides were unwilling to acknowledge that the American people had genuine concerns about President Biden’s cognitive state and fitness.
- Biden aides blamed everyone except the president’s cognitive decline for allegations that he was deteriorating. Some blamed media, the “punditry or chattering class,”²⁸⁷ and “right-wing actors.”²⁸⁸
- Biden advisors repeatedly responded to Committee investigators’ questions about the former president’s “cognitive decline” with answers about “age.” This obfuscation of the reality behind Americans concerns about their president is either the result of intentional deception, or a reflection of their own cognitive dissonance.

²⁸⁴ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary for President Biden, at 38:13-19 (Sept. 12, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 44:13-46:4 (Aug. 7, 2025).

²⁸⁵ Transcribed Interview of Karine Jean-Pierre, White House Press Secretary for President Biden, at 38:13-19 (Sept. 12, 2025).

²⁸⁶ Elizabeth Elkind, *Jasmine Crockett says she had zero concerns about Biden’s mental fitness, blames stutter*, N.Y. POST (July 9, 2025).

²⁸⁷ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 174: 25 (July 30, 2025).

²⁸⁸ Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 50:11-16 (Sept. 5, 2025).

- The American people had valid and serious concerns about President Biden's cognitive health and fitness to serve as president, not just his age.
- Biden aides repeatedly dismissed concerning instances where President Biden's cognitive impairment was evident.
- President Biden's childhood stutter "reappeared" as he aged and his advisors used this reappearance to dismiss concerns about his waning cognitive abilities instead of seeing this as a potential sign of neurological issues.

IV. The Cover-Up Persisted Throughout the 2024 Campaign—from the Decision to Run Through Withdrawal.

Many Americans assumed President Biden would not run for re-election in 2024 given his apparent mental and physical deterioration throughout his first term. Despite these concerns, President Biden announced he had decided to run again in the spring of 2023.²⁸⁹ Fourteen interviews or depositions of former Biden White House staff have revealed that senior staff largely supported the reelection campaign,²⁹⁰ and they worked diligently to maintain appearances as President Biden’s cognitive decline worsened. The cover-up throughout the 2024 campaign is particularly alarming as at that point, President Biden’s mental difficulties were impossible to ignore.

To counter what Dunn, Ricchetti, Zients, and Klain described as “perceptions” of President Biden’s “age” in the heat of the election cycle, President Biden and his team decided to conduct *the earliest presidential debate in history*.²⁹¹ Leading up to the debate, the former president appeared underprepared and exceedingly exhausted—yet his senior staff gave differing opinions on his preparedness.²⁹² Americans then witnessed a nearly incoherent debate performance by President Biden as he debated President Trump. The debate performance solidified Americans’ concerns about Biden’s fitness for office, and the consequences of the debate culminated with President Biden withdrawing from the race by letter in late July 2024.²⁹³

A. Despite Mixed Feelings about the 2024 Reelection, the Inner Circle Continued the Cover-Up as Biden Decided to Run.

Biden’s 2024 reelection campaign put the former president’s cognitive decline on full display. When asked about Biden’s decision to run for reelection, Klain stated, “it was a decision the president made,”²⁹⁴ and Klain’s job was to “advance the decision.”²⁹⁵ Klain cited the 2022 midterm election results being better than expected as the catalyst for President Biden to seek a

²⁸⁹ Zeke Miller, *Biden announces 2024 reelection bid: ‘Let’s finish this job,’* AP NEWS (Apr. 25, 2023).

²⁹⁰ See generally, Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, (July 30, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 31, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, (Aug. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (Sept. 18, 2025).

²⁹¹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 15:2-5 (July 24, 2025); see also Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 73:11-22 (Aug. 7, 2025); See also Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 19:15-20 (Sept. 18, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 165:14-19 (July 30, 2025).

²⁹² Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 19:2-4 (July 24, 2025); see also Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 169:13-14 (July 30, 2025); see also Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 38:20-21 (July 31, 2025); see also Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 69:3-8 (Aug. 5, 2025).

²⁹³ Joe Biden (@JoeBiden), X, (July 21, 2024) available at <https://x.com/JoeBiden/status/1815080881981190320?lang=en>.

²⁹⁴ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 49:16-21 (July 24, 2025).

²⁹⁵ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 49:16-21 (July 24, 2025).

second term.²⁹⁶ Other members of the senior staff varied between having reservations about a second term and pushing President Biden toward reelection.

Zients and Dunn had reservations about President Biden's ability to win, yet they kept those concerns to themselves.²⁹⁷ Interestingly, President Biden considered himself a "bridge" candidate,²⁹⁸ but some members of his senior staff never took that to mean he expected to be a one-term president.²⁹⁹ Zients told the Committee that by the time he became chief of staff (around the time of President Biden's reelection announcement), the decision to run for a second term had already been made.³⁰⁰ Zients said he would have liked to "kick the tires a little bit more on the decision," or at least "been a part of the process" on deciding to run for reelection—given the "perception" of President Biden's age.³⁰¹ However, when investigators asked Reed if any members of senior staff had reservations about a second term, he could not recall any.³⁰²

Ricchetti told the Committee that prior to the midterms, the assumption was always that President Biden would run for reelection.³⁰³ He added that Republican lawmakers' comments about President Biden's push for a progressive agenda "affirmed...the presidency in a positive way,"³⁰⁴ and his advice to President Biden was to run again.³⁰⁵ Most members of senior staff interviewed by the Committee testified that they were in favor of President Biden running again, and they told the former president exactly that.

The inner circle's support for President Biden's re-election is indefensible given the state of the president's mental acuity throughout his presidency. Unlike the inner circle, Democratic Senator Chris Murphy reportedly understood this reality. Senator Murphy stated to *Politico* this year that "there's 'no doubt' that President Joe Biden suffered cognitive decline in office and that it would have been better for the party if he hadn't run for reelection."³⁰⁶

²⁹⁶ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 53:9-12 (July 24, 2025).

²⁹⁷ JOSH DAWSEY, TYLER PAGER & ISAAC ARNSDORF, 2024: HOW TRUMP RETOOK THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE DEMOCRATS LOST AMERICA, at 59 (2025).

²⁹⁸ Eric Bradner & Sarah Mucha, *Biden says he's a 'bridge' to new 'generation of leaders' while campaigning with Harris, Booker, Whitmer*, CNN (Mar. 9, 2020).

²⁹⁹ *See generally*: Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, (July 30, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, (July 31, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, (Aug. 5, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, (Aug. 7, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁰⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 58:3-10 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁰¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 57:17, 58:5-6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁰² Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 64:10-12 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³⁰³ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 153:2-24 (July 30, 2025).

³⁰⁴ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 153:4-6, 154:11-17 (July 30, 2025).

³⁰⁵ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 156:4 (July 30, 2025).

³⁰⁶ Holly Otterbein, *Murphy says 'no doubt' Biden suffered cognitive decline while in office*, POLITICO (May 14, 2025).

B. The 2024 Debate was Scheduled Early to Counter the “Perception” of President Biden’s Age (i.e., Voter Concerns About Cognitive Deterioration).

The June 27, 2024, debate between President Trump and President Biden was the earliest presidential debate in history.³⁰⁷ The inner circle scheduling the debate in a hurry is a dangerous example of President Biden’s advisors working to conceal the truth about the former president’s condition from the American people. Senior advisors thought how “voters’ view [Biden’s] age”³⁰⁸ was paramount to the reelection campaign.³⁰⁹ As such, the rationale for the earlier debate in the election calendar was purely due to President Biden’s age. Of course, President Biden would be literally older, as anyone is older with each passing minute, but, effectively, President Biden would have no age difference between the end of June and the end of October, when the debate would have traditionally been held.

“Age” became a surrogate for the cognitive and physical ailments suffered by President Biden.³¹⁰ Klain acknowledged this to investigators. When directly asked how an early debate would make Joe Biden younger, Klain replied:

Ron Klain (July 24, 2025)

Q **How would an early debate change voters’ view of his age? He wouldn’t be younger because there was a debate earlier, right? I mean, a couple days, a couple weeks, but – I’m not following. Could you explain?**

A Yes. *I think that his age became a bit of a surrogate for his capabilities to serve another 4 years.* And I thought that him performing robustly against Mr. Trump in a debate would show voters that he had the fight and feist to continue to serve as President for 4 more years.³¹¹

According to Klain, none of the other senior advisors were pushing back on the idea of an earlier debate or a debate at all.³¹² Klain’s thesis was that “the more people who saw [] President [Biden], the more those concerns [about age] would be abated.”³¹³

Notably, Zients had conversations with Bill Daley, Chief of Staff to President Obama, about the possibility of a debate around the time a decision was being made on when the debate would take place.³¹⁴ Zients told Committee investigators that Daley’s position was that President

³⁰⁷ *Presidential Candidates Debates (1960-2024)*, THE AM. PRESIDENCY PROJECT, UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA SANTA BARBARA (last visited Oct. 1, 2025), available at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-guidebook/presidential-campaigns-debates-and-endorsements-0>.

³⁰⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 18:1 (July 24, 2025).

³⁰⁹ See e.g., Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 18:4-13 (July 24, 2025).

³¹⁰ See Section III. Delusion of the Inner Circle.

³¹¹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 18:1-7 (July 24, 2025).

³¹² Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 17:12-15 (July 24, 2025).

³¹³ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 15:2-5 (July 24, 2025).

³¹⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 35:10-13 (Sept. 18, 2025).

Biden should not debate at all.³¹⁵ Furthermore, when the Committee pressed Zients on Daley's position, he testified to concerns Daley had after seeing the president:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q But President Biden had previously debated President Trump, so why did — what had changed?

A Bill had — I think the primary — this is my recollection — the primary issue was what I just said. *I think Bill, if I am recalling correctly, had also seen President Biden recently and thought that the idea of him spending his time that way, in that kind of setting, would not help with this perception of age.*³¹⁶

This rationale for an early debate was commonplace among the former president's senior staff. The Committee asked the same or similar questions to all decision-makers interviewed in the investigation.³¹⁷ Ricchetti had the same rationale as Zients and Klain:

Steve Ricchetti (July 30, 2025)

Q Was a rationale for the early debate to attempt to dispel voters['] concerns regarding President Biden's age?

A It was — the consideration of the challenges around his age were — existed throughout the period of time when we were looking at the race.³¹⁸

A So the answer with respect to age was — and one of the arguments for doing it was that this — you know, the President doing a — an effective job in the debate would help, you know, set aside or to help people see that age wasn't a consideration with respect to the President and his benefit.³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 35:8-9 (Sept 18, 2025).

³¹⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 35:14-19 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

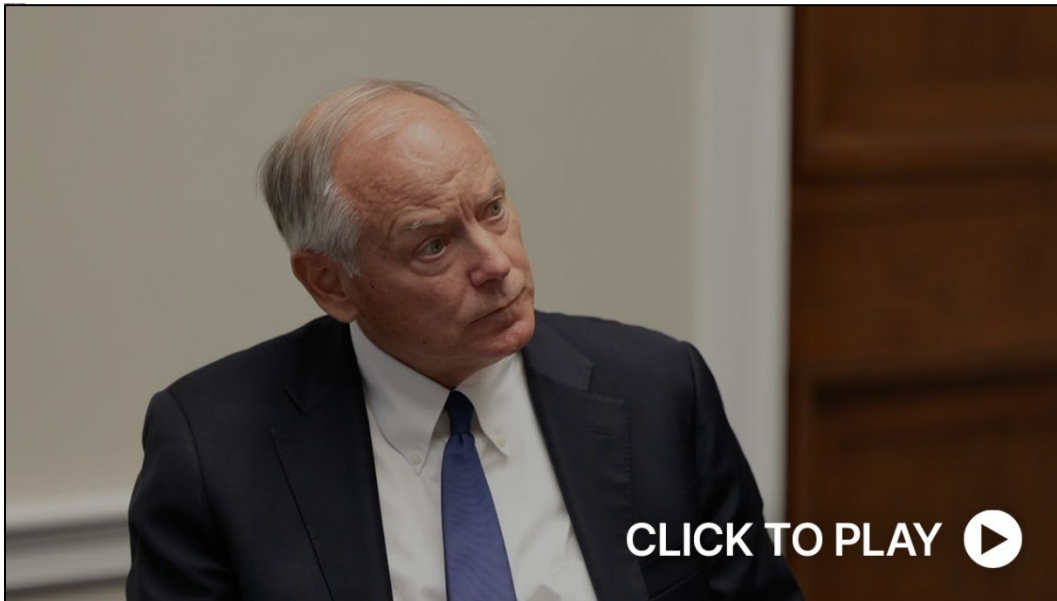
³¹⁷ See e.g., Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 14:15-18:13 (July 24, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 163:1-165:21 (July 30, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 82:18-25 (July 31, 2025); Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 66:1-67:8, 73:6-22 (Aug. 7, 2025).

³¹⁸ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 163:20-23 (July 30, 2025).

³¹⁹ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 164:2-5 (July 30, 2025).

As the Committee continued to question Ricchetti on how performing well at an early debate would change President Biden's age, he again answered, "It doesn't. It's just the perception of his age and whether people felt like he was—whether age was interfering with his ability to do the job or in winning a debate."³²⁰

Investigators, again, pressed Ricchetti about whether age or the perception thereof was merely a euphemism for the lost train of thoughts, mixing up of words, or forgetting of names that President Biden had done throughout his term. Ricchetti replied, "I don't think so, age was the consideration."³²¹



Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, YOUTUBE (July 30, 2025), available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xrt_1Qvw5Lo.

Dunn, like other senior advisors, remained on script for her justification of an early debate. Dunn cited President Biden's "success" at the 2024 State of the Union address and that "[senior advisors] felt that the best *reassurance* to voters about Joe Biden was for them to hear and see Joe Biden."³²² Dunn also admitted to Committee investigators the importance and relevance of the Hur Report which concluded, "Mr. Biden would likely present himself to a jury, as he did during our interview of him, as a sympathetic, well-meaning, elderly man *with a poor memory*."³²³ Dunn stated:

³²⁰ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 165:15-16 (July 30, 2025).

³²¹ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 165:21 (July 30, 2025).

³²² Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 66:3-4 (Aug. 7, 2025) (Emphasis added).

³²³ U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, SPECIAL COUNSEL'S OFFICE, REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COUNSEL ON THE INVESTIGATION INTO UNAUTHORIZED REMOVAL, RETENTION, AND DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS DISCOVERED AT LOCATIONS INCLUDING THE PENN BIDEN CENTER AND THE DELAWARE PRIVATE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., at 6 (Feb. 5, 2024) (Emphasis added).

Anita Dunn (August 7, 2025)

Q Did the release of Special Counsel Hur’s report have any effect on your opinion about having a debate at all or having it earlier?

A No. As I recall, it certainly made me feel that having a debate and having it earlier made sense.

Q So the release of the report did play some role in your calculations?

A. As I recall, it did play some role, yes.³²⁴

Dunn, when asked about voters’ concerns with President Biden’s memory, claimed, “I cannot speak, again, for the American voters out there. But the concerns that we heard and that we were really addressing with the early debate were around his age.”³²⁵

Surprisingly, Reed, who often traveled with the former president, was the only senior advisor to claim differently. Reed claimed, “As I said, the reason we did and we agreed to early debates was because of how it fit with the election calendar”—completely denying age as any factor whatsoever.³²⁶ While most witnesses testified that age was merely a political issue, Reed blamed the decision to have an early debate purely on the way the election calendar worked out that cycle.³²⁷

In the course of the interviews with Biden White House senior advisors, most grasped at any justification for holding an unprecedented, earlier debate other than what was plain: the former president was rapidly declining and the sooner the debate was held, the more likely the usual cover-up tactics would succeed in concealing President Biden’s cognitive deterioration.

C. Except for Klain, the Inner Circle Blamed Biden’s Poor Debate Prep on the President’s Recent Travel and Having a Cold.

The main senior advisors—Klain, Reed, Donilon, Ricchetti, Dunn, and to a lesser extent Zients—were all a part of debate prep at Camp David leading up to the 2024 debate. Testimony

³²⁴ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 67:2-10 (Aug. 7, 2025).

³²⁵ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 73:8-10 (Aug. 7, 2025).

³²⁶ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 66:3-4 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³²⁷ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 66:3-4 (Aug. 5, 2025).

before the Committee demonstrated that the senior advisors perceived the success or concerns about debate prep vastly differently. Yet, obvious cognitive issues remained that were brushed aside by the senior team.

Klain admitted that practice sessions for the debate—albeit not as disastrous as the debate itself—were poor.³²⁸ He told Committee investigators that, based on Klain’s observations of Biden’s typical review process, it was apparent that President Biden had not reviewed his debate prep materials and the president was not “fluent in the arguments of the campaign.”³²⁹ After the debate practice sessions, Klain did not think President Biden would have a successful debate,³³⁰ and expressed concern to Reed—which Reed blamed on President Biden’s recent travels.³³¹

Ricchetti and Donilon did not voice the same concern as Klain. Ricchetti testified that he felt President Biden was prepared for the debate.³³² Similarly, Donilon did “not believe lack of preparation to be a factor.”³³³ Reed testified to the Committee in a similar vein, that President Biden was prepared because “[President Biden] did the work [] . . . rewrote [cards], scribble[d] on the page . . . and revised [notes] multiple times over the course of [their] time at Camp David.”³³⁴ Zients agreed and added that President Biden looked “under the weather.”³³⁵ Dunn also concurred, noting that President Biden was coming down with a cold,³³⁶ and that “[Biden] was in better shape than [she] had expected” during the mock debates.³³⁷

After the debate, it was clear that President Biden suffered from more than just a cold and lack of preparation. After almost a week at Camp David, President Biden forgot facts, figures, achievements, lost his train of thought, and mixed-up proper nouns³³⁸—all in a disoriented and confused manner, demonstrative of cognitive deterioration.³³⁹

D. Amidst Excuses and Cover-Up from the Inner Circle, Klain Reacted to the 2024 Debate by Saying “We’re F**ked” When Biden Told America “We Finally Beat Medicare.”

³²⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 19:2-4 (July 24, 2025).

³²⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 19:3-4 (July 24, 2025).

³³⁰ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 57:7-9 (July 24, 2025).

³³¹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 58:9-15 (July 24, 2025).

³³² Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 169:13-14 (July 30, 2025).

³³³ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 38:20-21 (July 31, 2025).

³³⁴ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 69:5-18 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³³⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 111:11–111:22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

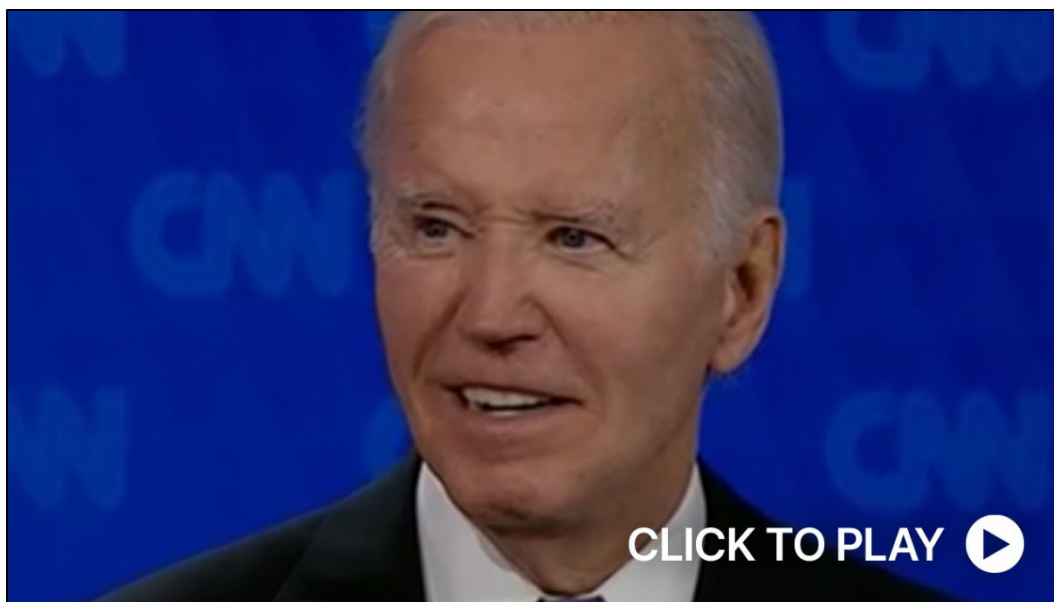
³³⁶ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 74:20-25 (Aug. 7, 2025).

³³⁷ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 76:20-21 (Aug. 7, 2025).

³³⁸ See CNN Staff, *Biden-Trump debate transcript*, CNN (June 28, 2024), available at <https://www.cnn.com/2024/06/27/politics/read-biden-trump-debate-rush-transcript>.

³³⁹ *Id.*

On June 27, 2024, the earliest presidential debate in history took place between President Biden and President Trump.³⁴⁰ Twelve minutes and fifteen seconds into the debate, President Biden, lost in his train of thought, and appearing visibly disoriented, exclaimed, “we beat Medicare!”³⁴¹



2024 CNN Presidential Debate, C-SPAN (June 27, 2024), available at <https://www.c-span.org/program/presidential-debates/simulcast-cnn-presidential-debate/643632>.

Klain reportedly—and later partially confirmed to the Committee—stood up and announced, “We’re f**ked.”³⁴² “I certainly knew that we had a big political problem as a result of that answer,” Klain testified.³⁴³

The Committee asked Klain why he thought President Biden’s answer created a “big political problem”:

Ron Klain (July 24, 2025)

Q Why did you think you had a political problem?

A Because I thought the President’s answer on that question had been halting. He had *stopped in the middle and paused*

³⁴⁰ *Presidential Candidates Debates (1960-2024)*, THE AM. PRESIDENCY PROJECT, UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA SANTA BARBARA (last visited Oct. 1, 2025), available at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-guidebook/presidential-campaigns-debates-and-endorsements-0>.

³⁴¹ 2024 CNN Presidential Debate, C-SPAN (June 27, 2024), available at <https://www.c-span.org/program/presidential-debates/simulcast-cnn-presidential-debate/643632>.

³⁴² Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 62:13-17 (July 24, 2025).

³⁴³ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 62:15-16 (July 24, 2025).

*inexplicably and then had delivered that sentence that made no sense.*³⁴⁴

Klain admitted that President Biden “did freeze up or lost his train of thought, whatever – however you want to describe that.”³⁴⁵ When members of the Biden family tried to explain the errors due to overpreparation on the president’s part, Klain explained that he “disagree[s] quite forcefully with that characterization.”³⁴⁶ However, even with these gaffes, blunders, and freezes, Klain believed it was merely a bad night and that President Biden could win reelection.³⁴⁷

It is difficult to reconcile how the former president’s disorientation, freezes, confusion, gaffes, and blunders were simply “a bad night.” In fact, following the debate, actor George Clooney wrote a guest essay in the *New York Times*, calling for the president to drop out of the 2024 election. Clooney stated that the Joe Biden he saw at a fundraiser in the weeks leading up to the debate—where President Biden did not remember Clooney, a friend of his for decades—“was the same man we all witnessed at the debate.”³⁴⁸ Clooney opined that “our party leaders need to stop telling us that 51 million people didn’t see what we just saw [at the debate].”³⁴⁹ Even longtime Democrat George Clooney admitted what other Democrats have yet to come to grips with: the 2024 debate was far more than “one bad night.”

With the exception of Klain, most senior advisors sought to minimize the aftermath and analyses of President Biden’s debate performance. Ricchetti testified that President Biden did not perform as well as expected,³⁵⁰ before ultimately blaming the “punditry or chattering class” that “reacted . . . extravagantly.”³⁵¹

³⁴⁴ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 62:18-21 (July 24, 2025) (Emphasis added).

³⁴⁵ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 64:5-6 (July 24, 2025).

³⁴⁶ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 64:21 (July 24, 2025).

³⁴⁷ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 75:10-25 (July 24, 2025).

³⁴⁸ George Clooney, *George Clooney: I Love Joe Biden. But We Need a New Nominee*, N.Y. TIMES (July 10, 2024).

³⁴⁹ *Id.*

³⁵⁰ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 173:4-5 (July 30, 2025).

³⁵¹ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 174:25-175:2 (July 30, 2025).



Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, YOUTUBE (July 30, 2025), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xPUkwp1WYHY>.

Ricchetti then shifted the blame to President Trump saying, “It was a mistake on [President Biden’s] part, just like the dozens of mistakes that Donald Trump made in the same debate,”³⁵² and:

Steve Ricchetti (July 30, 2025)

Q He made a couple of -- I'll characterize them how you did -- mistakes. At one point said, “We finally beat Medicare.”

A Uh-huh.

Q What – what did that mean?

A But, again, it’s just -- I think it’s a cheap shot to like point out two things the President did wrong. I could -- as you know, I could spend an hour here of the time that you’re being polite about letting me revise and extend my own things to tear apart everything that Donald Trump has done.³⁵³

³⁵² Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 173:10-11 (July 30, 2025).

³⁵³ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 173:6-21 (July 30, 2025).

Donilon, on the other hand, thought “President Biden had pretty good answers. Stylistically, I was worried about his voice.”³⁵⁴ Donilon also claimed the debate was merely a bad night and that “[he did] not believe with the voters that it produced a substantial change in the horse race.”³⁵⁵ Reed excused the president’s disorientation and bizarre gaffe, with the same script repeated in the media, telling Committee investigators, “we all knew he was trying to say we finally beat big pharma.”³⁵⁶ He then claimed President Biden’s performance—specifically the Medicare gaffe—was attributable to the president’s childhood stutter by claiming, “the phrase, ‘we finally beat Medicare,’ was in my view, because he got stuck and was trying to proceed, because I’ve heard him say that phrase hundreds of times.”³⁵⁷

Dunn, like others, told the Committee that President Biden simply had a bad night.³⁵⁸ When pressed by Committee investigators on the characterization that President Biden would freeze-up or lose his train of thought, Dunn would not concede that he did so—instead simply claiming it was not a good debate.³⁵⁹ Bates, too, told investigators that concerns over President Biden’s debate performance were “overblown.”³⁶⁰

Zients, by comparison, conceded President Biden suffered from pauses previously.³⁶¹ Zients confirmed that he previously witnessed pauses and gaffes from President Biden, but claimed that what he saw on debate night was unlike anything he had seen.³⁶² Zients’s assessment that President Biden was fine during his term and had “one bad night” is inconsistent with what Americans had come to believe by watching President Biden carry out his duties. If President Biden’s debate performance represented only a single bad night, it is difficult to understand why Zients called for a full medical work-up on the president following the debate³⁶³ and soon after concluded that the president should withdraw from the presidential race following the debate.³⁶⁴

Senior aides to President Biden stuck to the White House mantras that would follow after the debate, which characterized concerns about the former president’s historically bad national debate blunders as overblown. Those aides would compare the “overblown” concerns of

³⁵⁴ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 81:1-2 (July 31, 2025).

³⁵⁵ Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 83:13-15 (July 31, 2025).

³⁵⁶ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 74:7-8 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³⁵⁷ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 75:11-13 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³⁵⁸ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 85:16-18 (Aug. 7, 2025).

³⁵⁹ Transcribed Interview of Anita Dunn, Senior Advisor for Communications to President Biden, at 86:10 (Aug. 7, 2025).

³⁶⁰ Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 85:20-21 (Sept. 5, 2025).

³⁶¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 114:21-24 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁶² Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 114:23-25 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁶³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 46:9-19 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁶⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 134:5-13 (Sept. 18, 2025).

President Biden’s performance to the debate performances of President Obama,³⁶⁵ President Bill Clinton,³⁶⁶ and President Ronald Reagan³⁶⁷—all of whom won their respective races.

President Biden’s debate against President Trump in June 2024 was an unmitigated disaster. Yet, inexplicably, a majority of staffers interviewed by the Committee would only concede President Biden had a bad night and was fully prepared to debate President Trump—except for having some tiredness from work travel and a cold. The senior staff tried to tell the American people—and then the Committee—not to believe what they saw with their own eyes: that President Biden was clearly suffering as his mental faculties deteriorated. Inexplicably, at the senior staff meetings immediately following the debate weekend, no discussion of the disastrous debate transpired other than one brief discussion by Dunn and Zients—which Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary to President Biden, told the Committee included a single comment about the “not [...] great” debate, then moving on to discussions about President Biden’s next event.³⁶⁸ The White House acted as if it did not happen.

E. Biden Dropped Out After Democrats Called for Biden to Withdraw—Despite the Inner Circle Doubling Down on its Cover-Up.

The pressure for President Biden to drop out of his reelection campaign intensified following the disastrous debate performance in June 2024. Zients told the Committee that “within a few days after the debate [President Biden] was aware of my view that I thought it was prudent to consider getting out of the [presidential] race.”³⁶⁹ Zients also informed the Committee that Jake Sullivan, National Security Advisor to President Biden, believed the president should drop out shortly after the debate.³⁷⁰ Others—Donilon, Reed, Ricchetti, Dunn, and Klain—all believed Joe Biden still had a realistic chance at reelection.³⁷¹ While Americans, including many Democrats,³⁷² thought President Biden should drop out, many in the senior staff were stuck in their own echo chambers until the day President Biden dropped out.

Zients was one of few senior White House aides who told the president to consider dropping out.³⁷³ As more Americans questioned President Biden’s decision to continue with

³⁶⁵ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 67:15-25 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³⁶⁶ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 60:20–61:8 (July 30, 2025).

³⁶⁷ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 60:25–61:1 (July 30, 2025).

³⁶⁸ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 130:2-11 (June 24, 2025).

³⁶⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 125:7-8 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁷⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 39:13-14 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁷¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 39:17–41:20 (Sept. 18, 2025); *see also* Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 78:10-20 (Aug. 5, 2025); *see also* Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 99:18-25 (July 24, 2025); *see also* Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 178:3-10 (July 30, 2025); *see also* Transcribed Interview of Mike Donilon, Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 87:20 (July 31, 2025).

³⁷² Darlene Superville, *et al.*, *Nearly two-thirds of Democrats want Biden to withdraw, new AP-NORC poll finds*, AP NEWS (July 17, 2024).

³⁷³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 125:1-8 (Sept. 18, 2025).

reelection, Reed considered the pundits' and elected officials' concerns to be overreactions.³⁷⁴ However, polling was unfavorable, the debate was a disaster, and support from the Democratic caucus was fleeing. Zients agreed, citing those reasons to the Committee:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q If the debate was one bad night and you had never seen President Biden appear the way he did that night, why did you think that he should drop out after the debate?

A Because I thought that this issue that had been front and center for months of “is the President too old to be a second-term President,” the whole purpose -- not the whole purpose, *a goal of moving the debate forward was to show that that was not the case.* And, unfortunately, he had a bad night, and it was just the opposite. So I thought that, at that point, *given the polling, concern around the President and his age, these calls from leadership on the Hill, the Caucus, that his likelihood of being reelected had diminished quite a bit* and that he was better off letting someone else do that.³⁷⁵

Zients, Sullivan, and the Democratic caucus were not the only key figures to recognize that President Biden's 2024 race faced challenges due to the president's “age.” Klain recalled one “prominent” donor in New York called him to say “there would be no more donations for the president, that [Biden] should drop out of the race” following the debate.³⁷⁶ Another donor called Zients to express their “concern” following a small fundraiser with President Biden, after the president used a teleprompter, because “[the donor's] perception at that fundraiser was that [Biden] wasn't able to put those [age] perception issues to rest.”³⁷⁷

The calls for President Biden to drop out of the race were not limited to donors, the caucus, Zients, or Sullivan. Cabinet members also expressed concern. Gina Raimondo, Denis McDonough, and Antony Blinken all had concerns with President Biden continuing his reelection campaign and expressed those concerns to Zients.³⁷⁸ The fact of the matter was that President Biden was under water across his administration, the caucus, donors, and the American people.

Even now, many Democrats are unwilling to concede that President Biden suffered any cognitive issues—maintaining that any voter concerns were merely about age, not about

³⁷⁴ Transcribed Interview of Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 81:17-24 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³⁷⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 134:5-13 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

³⁷⁶ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 68:22–69:5 (July 24, 2025).

³⁷⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 52:18–53:6 (Sept. 18, 2025).

³⁷⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 51:10–52:3 (Sept. 18, 2025).

cognition and mental faculties. On September 26, 2025, Democratic Senator Jon Ossoff said as much on “Pod Save America.” When asked, “Do you think there was something preventing more honest conversation about [Biden’s] prospects in the Democratic Party?”—given the data showing voters thought Biden was too old to be president³⁷⁹—Ossoff replied:

[W]hen you’re facing the specter of Donald Trump potentially being reelected to the presidency and, you have, in the sitting president, the presumptive nominee, it’s understandable that you’re not going to be inclined to do or say things that might weaken that presumptive nominee against Trump, given the threat that he posed and poses.³⁸⁰

Senator Ossoff is at least one senator able to admit, after the fact, that questions regarding the cognitive decline of President Biden were out-of-bounds due solely to Democrats’ desperation to beat President Trump in 2024. Senator Ossoff acknowledged that Democrats “did not have a powerful voice communicating and leading for much of the latter half of that term and that certainly contributed to the defeat in the election” and stated that “the lack of a strong presidential voice for an extended period there took a toll.”³⁸¹

President Biden eventually dropped out of the 2024 campaign via a letter posted on X on July 21, 2024.³⁸² The letter, the Committee was told, was written by Donilon and Ricchetti in Rehoboth Beach, Delaware the night before the official announcement.³⁸³ President Biden made calls to Vice President Harris, Zients, and the rest of senior staff shortly before the withdrawal letter was posted on X.³⁸⁴ Many close staff members learned of the announcement via X themselves.³⁸⁵

The inner circle ignored concerns about President Biden’s health and cognitive deterioration when initiating the former president’s run for a second term in office. As the president became more public facing throughout 2024, his difficulties became even more apparent. The sheltering put in place by staff over the preceding years could not work during a presidential campaign occurring in a post-Covid world. When the truth of the former president’s cognitive deterioration became impossible to fully conceal—even with a willing physician and Hollywood at the inner circle’s disposal—Democratic donors, representatives, senators, and pundits were forced to reevaluate the decision of President Biden and his senior team. President Biden waited until approximately 107 days before the election to drop out.

³⁷⁹ Pod Save America, *Pod Save America: Trump Has James Comey Indicted*, YOUTUBE (Sept. 26, 2025), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1gZKqNL2VEs>, at 1:41:15–1:42:05.

³⁸⁰ *Id.* at 1:42:11–1:43:55.

³⁸¹ *Id.* at 1:43:15–1:43:55.

³⁸² Joe Biden (@JoeBiden), X, (July 21, 2024) available at <https://x.com/JoeBiden/status/1815080881981190320?lang=en>.

³⁸³ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 228:24–229:7 (July 30, 2025).

³⁸⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 132:14–18 (Sept. 18, 2025); *see also* Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 229:6–13 (July 30, 2025).

³⁸⁵ Transcribed Interview of Steve Ricchetti, Counselor to President Biden, at 230:3–7 (July 30, 2025); *see also* Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 132:11–12 (July 11, 2025); *see also* Transcribed Interview of Andrew Bates, Senior Deputy Press Secretary to President Biden, at 91:10 (Sept. 5, 2025).

F. Findings

- Most of the inner circle, including Reed, Ricchetti, Donilon, Klain, and Dunn, supported President Biden's re-election campaign. Their support is indefensible given the former president's cognitive decline, which was apparent to millions of Americans, including Democratic leaders.
- Regardless of their personal opinions about whether President Biden should run for reelection in 2024, President Biden's inner circle persisted in its cover-up and gaslighting scheme to conceal the president's mental state and deterioration from the American people throughout the 2024 campaign.
- As a dangerous example of President Biden's advisors attempting to conceal the truth about the president's condition from the American people, President Biden's political advisors pushed for the earliest debate in campaign history in an attempt to assuage voter concerns about the "perception" of President Biden's age. These same political advisors failed to openly recognize that the heart of voter concerns was President Biden's cognitive deterioration, calling into question his fitness to serve as president.
- President Biden's inner circle blamed the "one bad night" at the debate on many different, conflicting factors. Some aides blamed a mild cold, others contended that President Biden was underprepared, and some blamed the president's robust travel schedule during the month of June. The inner circle looked for any justification except the one clearly in front of their faces: President Biden was suffering from cognitive deterioration.
- Key figures within the Democratic party—including the Democratic caucus, donors, Zients, and cabinet secretaries—expressed concerns about President Biden following his debate performance.

V. Who Made Presidential Decisions and Operated the Autopen?

Following former Vice President Kamala Harris’s decision not to enter the 2028 California governor’s race, the *New York Times* highlighted President Biden’s mental decline. This piece—which is notably not in the opinion section of the newspaper—assumed the fact that President Biden’s “acuity deteriorated before the American public.”³⁸⁶

Ms. Harris, perhaps more than any other Democrat, would have to *reckon with her support for Mr. Biden as his acuity deteriorated before the American public*. She did not allow any daylight between herself and Mr. Biden while he was still running for re-election. Then, when she became the party’s nominee, she said in an interview on “The View” that there was nothing she could think of that she would have done differently from him.³⁸⁷

Though the senior Biden aides interviewed by the Committee were unwilling to acknowledge the reality of the former president’s cognitive deterioration,³⁸⁸ some Democratic politicians have been willing to do so. In an interview with *Politico*, Democratic Senator Chris Murphy said, “there’s ‘no doubt’ that President Biden suffered cognitive decline in office,” but that “[t]he debate is *whether it was enough that it compromised his ability to act as chief executive*.”³⁸⁹ The Committee’s investigation into that very topic shows that President Biden’s decline did compromise his ability to be president.

As described above, several members of the White House staff conspired to form a cocoon around President Biden, thereby limiting his time spent with outer circle aides and Democratic party leaders.³⁹⁰ The Committee’s investigation revealed that while there was a loose process in place to get briefing books, decision memos, and decision cards (hereinafter “decision materials”) to the president and back to the staff secretary, there was no chain of custody, no log of who handled them, and decisions allegedly made by the president were sometimes transmitted verbally or by email from a member of the White House staff on behalf of the president. While the nation was questioning the president’s ability to do his job, the staff around President Biden did not establish any process or documentation to demonstrate he was the ultimate decisionmaker.

A. The Biden White House Decision Approval “Process” was Ripe for Exploitation.

Throughout the Committee’s investigation, witnesses testified about the process by which decision materials got to President Biden for review and approval—as well as the process by

³⁸⁶ Shane Goldmacher & Reid J. Epstein, *What Kamala Harris’s Decision Not to Run for Governor Means for 2028*, THE N.Y. TIMES (July 30, 2025).

³⁸⁷ *Id.*

³⁸⁸ See Section III. Delusion of the Inner Circle.

³⁸⁹ Holly Otterbein, *Murphy says ‘no doubt’ Biden suffered cognitive decline while in office*, POLITICO (May 14, 2025) (Emphasis added).

³⁹⁰ See Section II. Cover-Up and the Inner Circle.

which the president's decisions were communicated to the appropriate staff for signature and execution. Testimony throughout the investigation shows holes in the chain of custody.

Reed testified that the Biden White House's practice for memorializing presidential decisions was the same as in the previous administrations in which he served:

Bruce Reed (August 5, 2025)

At times, I sat with President Biden while he reviewed his decision book and decided whether to accept, reject, or amend his team's recommendations. The President's signed decision memos went back to the staff secretary, who was responsible for ensuring his decisions were documented and memorialized. This practice is like the two prior administrations in which I served, where the staff secretary was responsible for ensuring that the President's decisions were documented, memorialized, and executed.³⁹¹

However, additional testimony demonstrated the lack of a set protocol or processes for handling the decision materials or ensuring that the president signed the decision memos and decision cards, which would indicate his approval, disapproval, or request for additional information. In October 2021, Tanden assumed the position of staff secretary while retaining the title of senior advisor.³⁹² In this role, she managed the decision materials and handed them off to Oval Office Operations.³⁹³ Tanden only saw the president approximately once every six to eight weeks.³⁹⁴

Tanden's limited interaction with President Biden stands in stark contrast with current Staff Secretary Will Scharf's interactions with President Trump. As staff secretary, Scharf is highly visible and routinely engages with President Trump, face-to-face, to communicate about the documents the president is signing and to get the president's hand-signature. Photographs abound online of Scharf presenting documents for President Trump's approval. For example, the below photo shows Scharf carrying the One Big Beautiful Bill back to the West Wing after President Trump signed the bill into law on July 4, 2025.

³⁹¹ Transcribed Interview Bruce Reed, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy to President Biden, at 34:3-8 (Aug. 5, 2025).

³⁹² Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 20:16-18 (June 24, 2025).

³⁹³ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 52:1-5 (June 24, 2025).

³⁹⁴ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 97:22-98:5 (June 24, 2025).



Will Scharf on Instagram: "Carrying One Big Beautiful Bill back into the West Wing after President Trump signed it.", available at <https://www.instagram.com/willscharf/p/DLvxR-RMubK/?hl=en>.

Additionally, the below photo shows Scharf handing President Trump the executive order banning federal use of paper straws for signature in the Oval Office on February 10, 2025.



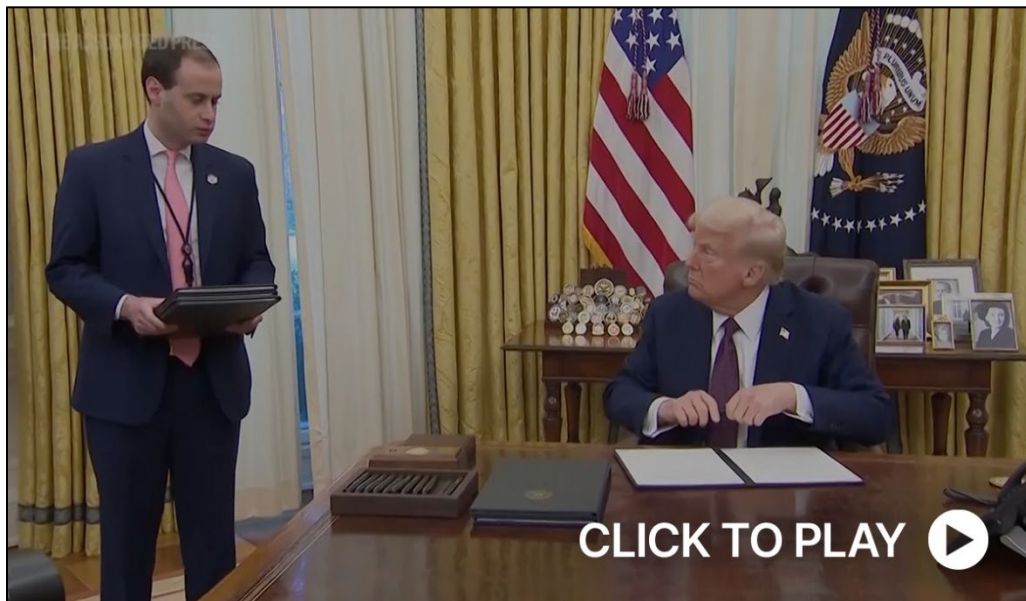
David Cifarelli, *How does Trump's ban on paper straws impact Mass.? Here's what to know*, Masslive (Feb. 11, 2025), available at <https://www.masslive.com/politics/2025/02/how-does-trumps-ban-on-paper-straws-impact-mass-heres-what-to-know.html>.

The below photo shows Scharf handing President Trump a stack of executive orders for signature at the Presidential Inauguration parade event on January 20, 2025.



Kermit Miller & Jennifer Weiser, St. Louis attorney Will Scharf returns to White House as legal advisor, CBS 13 KRCG (Jan. 22, 2025), available at <https://krcgtv.com/news/local/gallery/st-louis-attorney-will-scharf-returns-to-white-house-as-legal-advisor?photo=4>.

Finally, the following video from the *Associated Press* introduces Scharf and describes his duties as staff secretary, including that he “provides a running narration on what Trump is signing”:



Associated Press, *Who is the guy handing Trump those binders of executive orders? Meet Will Scharf*, YOUTUBE (Jan. 24, 2025), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vxqv6BK2szU>.

When understood in the context of President Biden's cognitive decline, Tanden's comparatively diminished role in the presidential decision process is notable.³⁹⁵ The process of ascertaining and documenting the president's informed approval for decisions is important in every presidential administration, but it is critical when the president is operating with diminished faculties. Witness testimony indicates that this process was anything but robust throughout the Biden presidency.

In the Biden Administration, the staff secretary's office was responsible for getting documents to the president for his signature.³⁹⁶ Yet, Tanden's testimony indicates that her role in the process was extremely limited. For example, Tanden could not recall President Biden hand-signing pardons during her tenure, just that the office received a decision for them:

Neera Tanden (June 24, 2025)

Q. So were there pardons where President Biden's signature would appear on them that he did not personally sign those?

A. I don't re--I mean, so I just want to say, as Staff Secretary, I believe I dealt with one group of pardons, maybe two. They were pardons that dealt with people who had marijuana--possession of marijuana or had some, like, equity issue involved. And I remember a decision memo that went up to the President, and I remember getting the decision memo back.

And, you know, we had a protocol for decisions for the President. It was a protocol that was established in previous administrations that I followed, which was, we had a decision memo, which had a box at the top of it. The decision memo described the decision itself, if the President comes (ph), et cetera. It said at the top "agree," "disagree," or "to discuss."

We also had a decision card on top of that which synthesized the decision and also had that card. The President traditionally signed both of those.

I believe there was a decision and a decision card for those pardons. That series of pardons happened, I believe, in something like December 2021.

³⁹⁵ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 47:6-17, 77:21-78:3 (June 24, 2025).

³⁹⁶ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 47:9-11 (June 24, 2025).

Now, I don't --I just don't recall, like, any--like, the President signing anything directly. We just did have a decision.³⁹⁷

Tanden assured the Committee that she reviewed the decision materials when they were returned to her. However, Tanden admitted that she knew nothing about what happened between the time she gave them to the Oval Office operations team, and when the materials came back with the president's signature:

Neera Tanden (June 24, 2025)

Q. So, from the time that the decision book, the decision memo, the decision card leaves you and then comes back to you, it was a bit of a black box. You're not involved in that middle portion very often when the President is reviewing the book, reviewing the card, reviewing the memo.

A. No. But I looked at each memo that I received back to ensure that it had the President's signature.³⁹⁸

Since Tanden had no visibility into this critical part of the process, it is impossible for her to verify that President Biden himself understood, approved, and physically signed each decision.

Williams had *some* visibility into the process for getting decision materials to the president for his review. While the staff secretary's office was responsible for compiling the briefing, Williams (and other Oval Office operations team members) was responsible for delivering the decision materials to the president.³⁹⁹ Yet, Williams said she "[couldn't] speak to a formal process," for how that handoff occurred.⁴⁰⁰ Williams stated there "could be instances" where the decision materials were transported by someone from the White House residence staff, including valets.⁴⁰¹ Williams further admitted that she "d[id] not recall a specific list of people" who were explicitly allowed to transport the decision materials.⁴⁰²

Another vulnerability in the decision process was the procedure for ensuring that the decision materials were reviewed, fully understood, and signed by the cognitively impaired president himself. Like Reed, Williams indicated that she would only sometimes stay with the

³⁹⁷ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 80:6-21 (June 24, 2025).

³⁹⁸ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 119:17-21 (June 24, 2025).

³⁹⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 61:6-8 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰⁰ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 61:11 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰¹ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 61:23-62:3, 68:19-23 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰² Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 69:17-19 (July 11, 2025).

president while he reviewed the decision materials.⁴⁰³ Williams also explained that the president “may sit and go through the [decision materials] . . . with staff on the phone who have relevant information,” but that there was not necessarily any staff member present when he reviewed them.⁴⁰⁴

Witness testimony also indicates that the return journey for decision materials—from President Biden to the staff secretary—was similarly opaque. Williams could not “speak to a set protocol” for how the materials made it back to the Oval Office operations team.⁴⁰⁵ Sometimes President Biden did hand back the materials;⁴⁰⁶ sometimes Tomasini transported them back.⁴⁰⁷ Otherwise, Williams could not recall other specific individuals who returned the materials,⁴⁰⁸ just that they were returned, and either delivered to or picked up by the staff secretary’s team.⁴⁰⁹ Williams also confirmed that there was no log of who handled the decision materials.⁴¹⁰

The Biden White House’s executive decision-making procedures were so lax that the chain of custody for a given decision is difficult or impossible to establish. Documents that were used to predicate executive actions *should* be sufficiently traceable to ensure they reflect the will of the president. Instead, the Biden White House’s flimsy procedure appears to have been extremely vulnerable to abuse.

B. Staff Responsible for Overseeing the Autopen and Getting the President’s Approval of Decisions Could Not Speak to Access to and Operation of the Autopen.

Much like the processes for ascertaining the president’s decision on executive actions, it also appears that the Biden White House’s procedures governing the use of the autopen were lax. The use of a device that replicates the signature of the President of the United States—often on documents carrying the force of law—should be precisely documented and diligently managed. Instead, President Biden’s staff used a laissez faire approach that treated the use of the autopen as a mundane practice.

⁴⁰³ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 64:9-12 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰⁴ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 64:3-7 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰⁵ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 70:4-7 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰⁶ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 69:25–70:2 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰⁷ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 71:9-13 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 70:8–71:8 (July 11, 2025).

⁴⁰⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 70:2-7 (July 11, 2025).

⁴¹⁰ Transcribed Interview of Ashley Williams, Deputy Director of Oval Office Operations and Senior Advisor to President Biden, at 72:9-10 (July 11, 2025).

Tanden stated that she “oversaw the use of the autopen . . . for executive actions” and her deputy “oversaw the use of the autopen only for letters, correspondence,”⁴¹¹ but she did not physically operate the autopen.⁴¹² Tanden explained that she would inform the White House executive clerk, David Kalbaugh, and “he would have his staff actually autopen the document.”⁴¹³ Tanden also admitted that she had never personally witnessed the autopen’s use “until late in [her tenure].”⁴¹⁴ She also testified that decisions about using the autopen would sometimes be made “subject to the President’s schedule, like, whether the issue rose for him to do an event around it.”⁴¹⁵ Like Tanden, Zients stated that whether President Biden signed documents personally or an autopen was used “came down to logistics” and not a set protocol.⁴¹⁶ Zients admitted that he did not even know who within the White House operated the autopen:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. Do you know who the people who were actually -- people or person -- who actually operated the autopen were?

A. I do not. ⁴¹⁷

Tanden and her staff were also responsible for tracking and logging the decision materials and ensuring that all documents that needed the president’s signature had a signature.⁴¹⁸ Tanden’s office did not track whether the documents were signed by autopen or by hand-signature.⁴¹⁹

A recently uncovered document indicates that there may have been a specific set of guidelines that *should* have governed the appropriate use of the autopen. One such document, is a “Decision Memo” on “Autopen Use,” dated February “X”, 2021 (evidently indicating that the memo was in draft form).⁴²⁰ This memo outlines a set of guidelines regarding when it was appropriate to use the autopen versus a hand signature by President Biden.⁴²¹ Apparently drafted by President Biden’s first staff secretary, Jess Hertz, and her deputy, Michael Hochman, the memo was intended to be a “proposed update of prior Autopen guidelines that [President Biden] approved during Transition.”⁴²²

⁴¹¹ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 88:20-21 (June 24, 2025).

⁴¹² Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 89: 11-12 (June 24, 2025).

⁴¹³ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 89:8-10 (June 24, 2025).

⁴¹⁴ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 89:12 (June 24, 2025).

⁴¹⁵ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 95:17-20 (June 24, 2025).

⁴¹⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 67:22 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴¹⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 68:12-14 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴¹⁸ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 104:1-4 (June 24, 2025).

⁴¹⁹ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 104:5-8 (June 24, 2025).

⁴²⁰ Steven Richards & John Solomon, *Bombshell memos: Biden aides believed he should sign pardons by hand. he outsourced approval to VP*, JUST THE NEWS (Sept. 4, 2025).

⁴²¹ *Id.*

⁴²² *Id.*

Decision Memo – Autopen Use

DECISION

APPROVE_____

APPROVE AS AMENDED_____

REJECT_____

DISCUSS_____

DECISION MEMO

February X, 2021

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jess Hertz, Staff Secretary, 202-881-7718

Michael Hochman, Deputy Staff Secretary, 202-881-6236

CC: Ron Klain, Jen O'Malley Dillon, Bruce Reed, Annie Tomasini

SUBJECT: Approval of Routine Documents by Use of the Autopen

Statement of Purpose

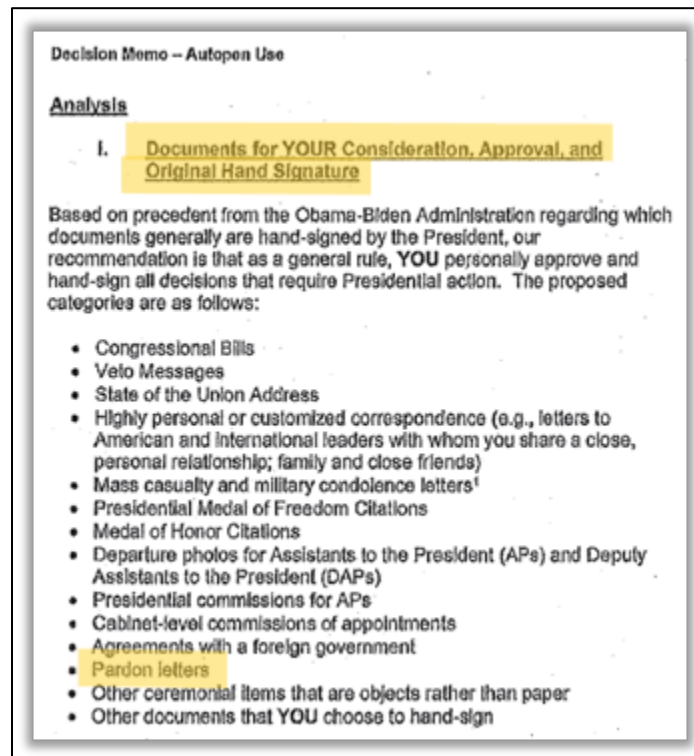
This memorandum proposes general guidelines for which documents should be hand-signed by **YOU** and which documents may have **YOUR** signature affixed by use of the Autopen.

In addition, for documents that we recommend to be signed by Autopen, this memorandum proposes narrow categories of routine, high-volume documents that may be approved by one or more of **YOUR** senior advisors and executed with the Autopen on **YOUR** behalf.

This memorandum provides a proposed update of prior Autopen guidelines that **YOU** approved during Transition. These recommendations are intended to provide a framework for a more efficient signature process for **YOU**.

Source: Steven Richards & John Solomon, Bombshell memos: Biden aides believed he should sign pardons by hand. He outsourced approval to VP, JUST THE NEWS (Sept. 4, 2025), available at <https://justthenews.com/accountability/political-ethics/sweeping-wh-autopen-review-finds-scant-record-bidens-approvals#dig-deeper>.

Notably, the memo specifically denotes a recommendation to *hand-sign* pardon letters:



Steven Richards and John Solomon, *Bombshell memos: Biden aides believed he should sign pardons by hand. He outsourced approval to VP*, JUST THE NEWS (Sept. 4, 2025), available at <https://justthenews.com/accountability/political-ethics/sweeping-wh-autopen-review-finds-scant-record-bidens-approvals#dig-deeper>. (Emphasis added).

During his transcribed interview, Zients testified that he had never seen any decision memo outlining the breakdown of when the president should hand-sign a particular set of documents:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. So have you never seen a decision memo laying out the breakdown of when the President should hand sign a particular set of documents?

A. Not prior to prep. ⁴²³

⁴²³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 67:14-16 (Sept. 18, 2025).

Zients also explained that he simply continued the “process in place that was working,” when he became chief of staff.⁴²⁴

Meanwhile, public reporting and witness testimony both show that contrary to the draft memo recommending “original hand signature” for pardons, President Biden did not hand-sign every pardon.⁴²⁵ Tanden also confirmed that Biden did not hand-sign all executive orders:

Neera Tanden (June 24, 2025)

Q. Did [President Biden] hand-sign all executive orders?

A. He did not. He hand-signed many executive orders, but he did not hand-sign all executive orders.⁴²⁶

The fact that the Biden White House did not have—or did not follow—a set procedure governing the use of the autopen was yet another weak link in the chain of presidential decision-making. This represents another vulnerability which may have been exploited to carry out the duties of the diminished president without his complete understanding or consent. Without sufficient recordkeeping, it is impossible to verify that the autopen was used properly.

C. The Biden Presidential Pardon Game of Telephone Reveals that Some Executive Decisions Were Dubiously Authorized.

To the extent that there even was a set process for getting President Biden’s approval, several senior Biden aides testified that it was sometimes ignored entirely. Specifically, some aides testified that decisions were occasionally verbally or orally authorized by President Biden without any of the previously discussed decision materials bearing the president’s signature. Klain testified that, while there was, in his view, an established process for the president’s signed decision materials to reach the staff secretary to formalize those decisions, the process was not always followed.⁴²⁷ One such example was the decision to authorize Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin to issue a COVID-19 vaccine mandate for members of the Armed Forces:

Ron Klain (July 24, 2025)

Q. To your recollection, were there any situations where you didn’t use this formal process?

A. Yes. There were times when the President made decisions orally, where he’d have members of the Cabinet or his senior

⁴²⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 67:5-8 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴²⁵ See e.g., Charlie Savage & Tyler Pager, *Biden Says He Made the Clemency Decisions That Were Recorded With Autopen*, THE N.Y. TIMES (July 13, 2025); See also Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 107:1-10 (June 24, 2025).

⁴²⁶ Transcribed Interview of Neera Tanden, Staff Secretary for President Biden, at 87:12-13 (June 24, 2025).

⁴²⁷ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 130:7-12 (July 24, 2025).

advisors in the room, and they would brief different options, and the President would say, I want to do X, and that would be the decision.

Q. Would you then document that decision?

A. I think there were times when we documented the decisions; there were times when those decisions were just the decision. I remember a couple in particular.

Q. Which ones?

A. The one I remember specifically was the decision to have a vaccine mandate for the Armed Forces, where Secretary Austin came into the Oval Office and explained why he wanted to be able to issue such a direction, and the President asked him a few questions, and then the President acceded to the Secretary's recommendation.⁴²⁸

Klain also admitted that, while he could not recall other specific instances when President Biden verbally authorized a decision, he was “sure there were others.”⁴²⁹ Indeed, Zients's testimony confirmed that other decisions were made verbally. Zients explained that the procedure was “not a precise system,” and that “there were verbal authorizations of the president's decision that would occur on occasion.”⁴³⁰ Zients explained his belief that these verbal authorizations were memorialized in emails, but that he “couldn't say for certain” if that always happened:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. But the system that you're referencing is not the same system that is memorialized in this document. Is that correct?

A. *I think it's not this precise system, no.* But there were good processes in place and—for example, for chief of staff, the Chief of Staff's Office, Bruce was the—was the lead.

Q. Sorry, I don't know what you mean. Bruce Reed was the lead on—on what?

A. On—oftentimes, the lead on getting approval from the President, policy decisions, and communicating them to the staff secretary, who, in turn, reported to Bruce.

⁴²⁸ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 130:7-20 (July 24, 2025).

⁴²⁹ Transcribed Interview of Ron Klain, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 135:8-11 (July 24, 2025).

⁴³⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 60:11-20 (Sept. 18, 2025).

Q. And, regarding verbal authorizations, this document seems to indicate that, as a matter of course, those would not be -- those should not be provided. Is that the system that you operated under while you were chief of staff?

A. *Generally. Generally, as a matter of course, but there were verbal authorizations of the President's decision that would occur on occasion.* I think—I don't have specific knowledge here because it was handled by Bruce, the staff secretary, the White House Counsel, but I think, you know, it was, in all cases, it was my impression that there would be -- written through email or other communication.

Q. But you would—you would memorialize some of the verbal authorizations that the President gave to you, correct?

A. Correct. But that would, in turn, go, my understanding, most often, if not the vast majority of times, in an email to the staff secretary.

Q. But you don't know if that was always the case?

A. *I can't say for certain.*⁴³¹

Further, recently uncovered documents and witness testimony indicate that even when a verbal decision was “memorialized” in an email, it does not prove that President Biden had made the decision himself.⁴³² Zients confirmed that, in at least one instance, his staff sent an email from his email account under his name to the staff secretary's office authorizing the use of the autopen to sign multiple presidential pardons.⁴³³

⁴³¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 60:9–61:4 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

⁴³² Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X, (Sept. 6, 2025, 9:48 AM), *available at* <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1964324888929337478/photo/1>. (“Late on Jan 19, an email from CoS Jeff Zients approved the use of the autopen for the members of Biden's family.”).

⁴³³ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 71:16–72:2 (Sept. 18, 2025).

From: Zients, Jeffrey D. EOP/WHO
Sent: Sun, 19 Jan 2025 22:31:58 -0500
To: Po, Rosa EOP/WHO
Cc: Byon, Fiona K. EOP/WHO; Siskel, Ed EOP/WHO; Posada, Michael R. EOP/WHO; Feldman, Stefanie G. EOP/WHO; Reed, Bruce N. EOP/WHO
Subject: Re: P decisions on commutations and pardons

I approve the use of the autopen for the execution of all of the following pardons. Thanks, JZ

On Jan 19, 2025, at 10:28 PM, Po, Rosa EOP/WHO <Rosa.Po2@who.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi Stef and Fiona –

On January 19, 2025, POTUS met with Ed, Bruce, Steve, Annie, and Anthony, and the President decided on the following clemency actions:

Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), “Late on Jan 19, an email from CoS Jeff Zients approved the use of the autopen for the members of Biden’s family.” X, (Sept. 6, 2025, (9:48 AM), *available at* <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1964324888929337478/photo/1>.

Zients admitted he did not attend the meeting—either physically or virtually—during which the president allegedly verbally provided his authorization for the pardons. In fact, Rosa Po, the staff member who sent this email on Zients’s behalf, herself did not attend the meeting.⁴³⁴ According to Zients, the presidential pardon game of telephone apparently went as follows:

1. Bruce Reed and White House Counsel Ed Siskel (along with Steve Ricchetti, Annie Tomasini, and Anthony Bernal) attended a meeting with President Biden on January 19, 2025, to discuss pardons;
2. Reed and/or Siskel (Zients “assume[d]”)⁴³⁵ walked back from the meeting and conveyed the details of the president’s decision to Rosa Po;
3. Po called Zients at home and conveyed to him the details she had been told of the president’s apparent decision;
4. Without calling the president, Reed, Siskel, or anyone who was actually in the meeting, Zients authorized Po to send an email from his account, signed with his initials, authorizing the use of the autopen to sign the pardons;
5. Po sent the email on Zients’s behalf—signed “JZ”—approving the use of the autopen;
6. Someone in the staff secretary’s office would then convey that to *someone*⁴³⁶ who would then use the autopen for pardons.⁴³⁷

While it seems no pardon should be authorized through such an absurd game of telephone, it is worth noting that this slate included some of President Biden’s more controversial pardons, such as five Biden family members, Dr. Anthony Fauci, General Mark Milley, and the

⁴³⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 72:10-16 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴³⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 72:10 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴³⁶ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 73:12 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴³⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 69:15–74:4 (Sept. 18, 2025).

members of congress who served on the Select Subcommittee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, and their staff.⁴³⁸ Additionally, recently uncovered documents also indicate that a similarly flawed process for memorializing verbal decisions occurred for other clemency decisions in the final months of the Biden Administration.⁴³⁹

D. A Pattern: Concerning Anomalies in the Biden White House's Clemency Process for Violent Convicted Criminals.

The Committee discovered several other concerning anomalies in the Biden White House's clemency process which raise further questions about whether President Biden's aides fully apprised him of the information necessary to make informed decisions, and if he understood that information, in light of his cognitive state.

On January 17, 2025, the White House issued a statement from President Biden indicating that he was “commuting the sentences of nearly 2,500 people convicted of non-violent drug offenses who are serving disproportionately long sentences . . .”⁴⁴⁰ With this action, President Biden set a record for the most individual pardons and commutations issued in a single day.⁴⁴¹ However, documents show that a senior DOJ ethics attorney, Bradley Weinsheimer, wrote a memo to White House staff raising serious concerns about the process for making these clemency decisions.⁴⁴² Of note, Weinsheimer voiced objections to President Biden's assertion that the clemency applied only to “people convicted of non-violent drug offenses,” and continued:

One other important note - in communication about the commutations, *the White House has described those who received commutations as people convicted of non-violent drug offenses. I think you should stop saying that because it is untrue or at least misleading.* As you know, even with the exceedingly limited review we were permitted to do of the individuals we believed you might be considering for commutation action, we initially identified 19 that were highly problematic. That was based only upon running your initial priority list against the list of those who had submitted clemency petitions (a small percentage of the overall total). Even in that number, *we identified violent offenders, including those who committed acts of violence during the offense of conviction, or who otherwise have a history of violence such that it is misleading to suggest that they are non-violent drug offenders.* 16 of those 19 received grants of clemency from the President. Pardon separately highlighted for you dozens more highly problematic

⁴³⁸ *Pardons Granted by President Joseph Biden (2021-2025)*, OFF. OF THE PARDON ATTORNEY, U.S. Dep't of Just. (last updated July 9, 2025), available at <https://www.justice.gov/pardon/pardons-granted-president-joseph-biden-2021-2025>.

⁴³⁹ Steven Richards & John Solomon, *Bombshell memos: Biden aides believed he should sign pardons by hand. he outsourced approval to VP*, JUST THE NEWS (Sept. 4, 2025).

⁴⁴⁰ Statement from President Joe Biden on Additional Clemency Actions, The White House (Jan. 17, 2025), available at <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2025/01/17/statement-from-president-joe-biden-on-additional-clemency-actions/>.

⁴⁴¹ Will Weissert, *Biden sets record by commuting sentences of nearly 2,500 people convicted of nonviolent drug charges*, AP NEWS (Jan. 17, 2025).

⁴⁴² Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X, (Sept. 6, 2025, 10:08AM), available at <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1964329785510805514>. (“Here is Weinsheimer's full memo.”) (Emphasis added).

candidates; despite the flags raised, most of these individuals also received grants of clemency. There are likely many more problematic cases in the ones we have not yet been able to review. *Unfortunately and despite repeated requests and warnings, we were not afforded a reasonable opportunity to vet and provide input on those you were considering.*⁴⁴³

After detailing the violent backgrounds of several of the supposed “non-violent” commutation recipients, Weinsheimer went on:

I have no idea if the President was aware of these backgrounds when making clemency decisions, the Department was largely excluded from the process, which we otherwise opposed. The President of course has the constitutional power to use his clemency power as he chooses. But I do not think it is close to accurate to describe all the clemency recipients as those convicted of non-violent drug offenses. At minimum, such a statement is highly misleading, based on the history and backgrounds of the few we know about and have highlighted previously and above. For those reasons, I don’t think characterizing clemency grants as relating to non-violent drug offenses should be repeated.⁴⁴⁴

When asked about this memo, Zients told the Committee he had not seen the memo until preparing for his transcribed interview, and that he “[did] not have any specific recollection,” about whether he had heard the criticisms raised in the memo before.⁴⁴⁵

In another curious anomaly, a recently uncovered briefing memo on the “clemency process,” written by Biden White House deputy associate counsel Isa Qasim, indicates that “the Vice President’s approval had been sufficient to obtain [the President’s] approval,” for a clemency package.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴³ *Id.*, (Emphasis added).

⁴⁴⁴ *Id.*, (Emphasis added).

⁴⁴⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 96:14–97:10 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴⁴⁶ Briefing Memo to DeAnna Evans, Associate Counsel, The White House, from Isa Qasim, Deputy Associate Counsel (Feb. 23, 2024), *available at* <https://justthenews.com/accountability/political-ethics/sweeping-wh-autopen-review-finds-scant-record-bidens-approvals#dig-deeper>.

- **Presidential Approval:** Once Staff Sec clears the decision memo and appendix, it is sent to the President for approval.
 - *Note:* Given the President's schedule, it can often take days or weeks for the President to review and approve the clemency package. The Chief of Staff's Office has been helpful in getting the paper in front of him for his review. He has previously asked the White House Counsel to discuss the candidates with him, although in the last round the Vice President's approval was sufficient to obtain his approval.

Steven Richards & John Solomon, *Bombshell memos: Biden aides believed he should sign pardons by hand, he outsourced approval to VP*, JUST THE NEWS (Sept. 4, 2025), available at <https://justthenews.com/accountability/political-ethics/sweeping-wh-autopen-review-finds-scant-record-bidens-approvals#dig-deeper> (emphasis added).

When Committee investigators asked about this memo, Zients said he had “never seen it before,” and dismissed its contents because it appeared to be a draft version with staff comments still in the margins.⁴⁴⁷ Zients also implied that the memo’s author was too “junior” and possibly had “less knowledge and different opinions.”⁴⁴⁸ When pressed about whether he had any knowledge of Vice President Harris giving her approval for pardons in President Biden’s stead, Zients denied it and suggested that “no one would allow for that to happen,” a statement which he apparently based on his trust of White House staff and in “Bruce Reed’s rigor”:

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. Did you ever discuss with Mr. Reed whether the Vice President had given the approval for any pardons in President Biden's stead?

A. No, because it would never happen. *No one would allow for that to happen.* Ever.

Q. But how do you know? Wasn't this Bruce Reed's portfolio, for lack of a better term?

A. I worked with Bruce Reed. *I know Bruce Reed's rigor and that a decision on anything that was Presidential, not made by the President, Bruce would never, ever allow that to happen.*⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 76:22–77:11 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴⁴⁸ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 77:22–25 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴⁴⁹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 78:1–9 (Sept. 18, 2025) (Emphasis added).

Zients offered no credible explanation for the origin of Qasim’s claim that Vice President Harris had previously given her approval of pardons while President Biden was cognitively deteriorating in office.

However, Zients did admit that there was one individual who was inappropriately involved in clemency decisions: President Biden’s son Hunter. According to Zients, Hunter Biden participated in “some of the pardon discussions,” apparently including some discussions about pardoning members of the Biden family.⁴⁵⁰

Jeff Zients (September 18, 2025)

Q. Did you ever raise -- did you ever have any concerns about Hunter Biden being in a meeting, that it was strange to you he was there?

A. I want to be clear, there was never anything in terms of him being anywhere close to national security or classified information.

Somewhat during the final weeks in some of the pardon discussions. It wasn’t inappropriate. The President can have whoever he wants in the room. But it wasn’t -- he also wasn’t a member of my team, which was everyone else who was in the room.

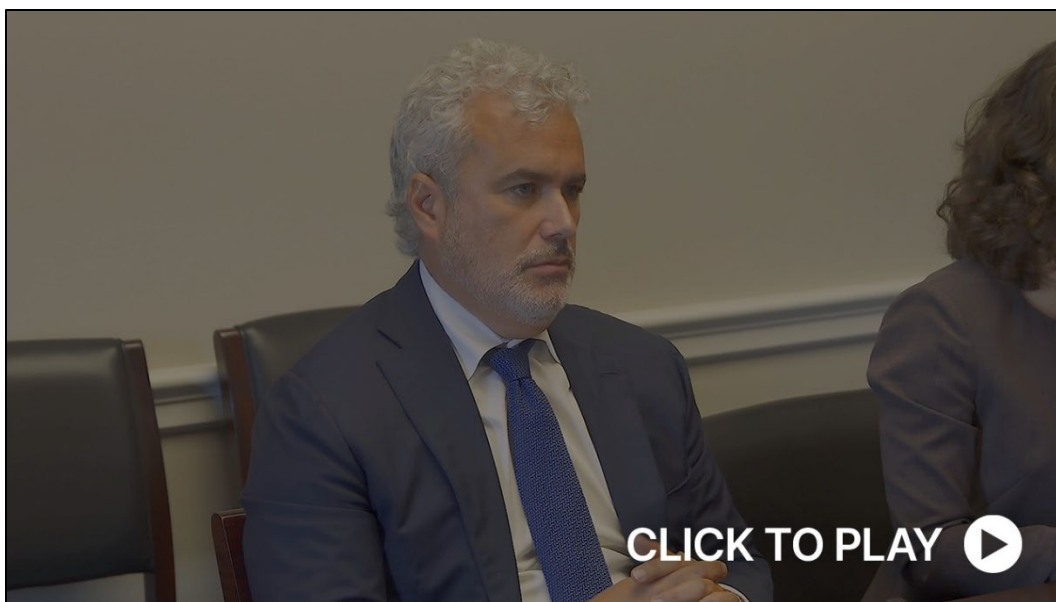
So I don’t want to -- it wasn’t necessarily specific to him, but the idea that someone who is not part of the White House team the President had opted to be in the room.

Q. Which pardon discussions?

A. It was towards the end. What comes to mind is the family discussions. But I don’t know -- that doesn’t mean that was it. It was the pardons towards the end, very end of the administration. And I think it was a few meetings, not many meetings.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 54:4 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴⁵¹ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 53:25-54:12 (Sept. 18, 2025).

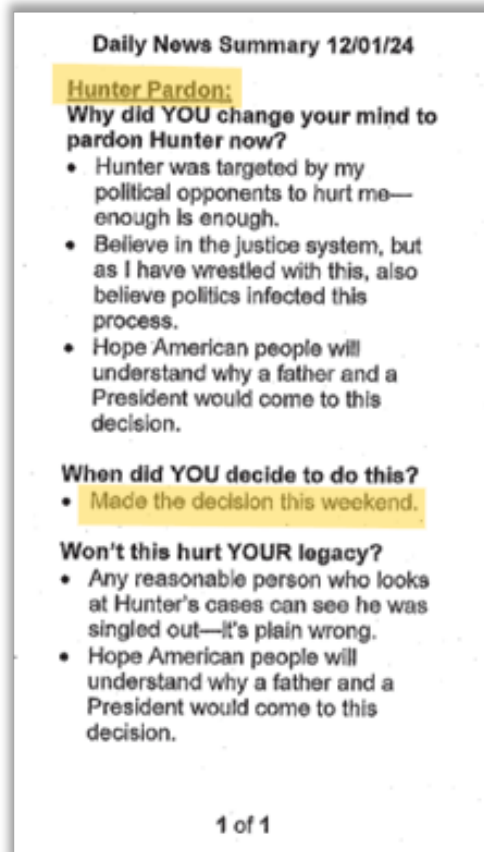


Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, YOUTUBE (Sept. 18, 2024), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YbgWutcpSHM>.

President Biden pardoned Hunter Biden on December 1, 2024, despite repeatedly promising that he would not do so.⁴⁵² A recently uncovered “Daily News Summary” dated December 1, 2024, indicates that White House staff recommended elementary answers to give to reporters on the topic of his son’s pardon. Specifically, the talking points denoted that Biden should answer questions about when he pardoned his son with “[m]ade the decision this weekend.”⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² Carol E. Lee & Sarah Fitzpatrick, *President Biden pardons his son Hunter Biden*, NBC NEWS (updated Dec. 2, 2024).

⁴⁵³ Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X, (Sept. 8, 2025, 6:56 PM), available at <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1965187610294513970>. (“A detail that didn’t make the story. Here's Biden's talking points card post-Hunter pardon.”).



Alex Thompson (@AlexThomp), X, (Sept. 8, 2025, 6:56 PM), *available at* <https://x.com/AlexThomp/status/1965187610294513970>. (“A detail that didn’t make the story. Here’s Biden’s talking points card post-Hunter pardon,”) (emphasis added).

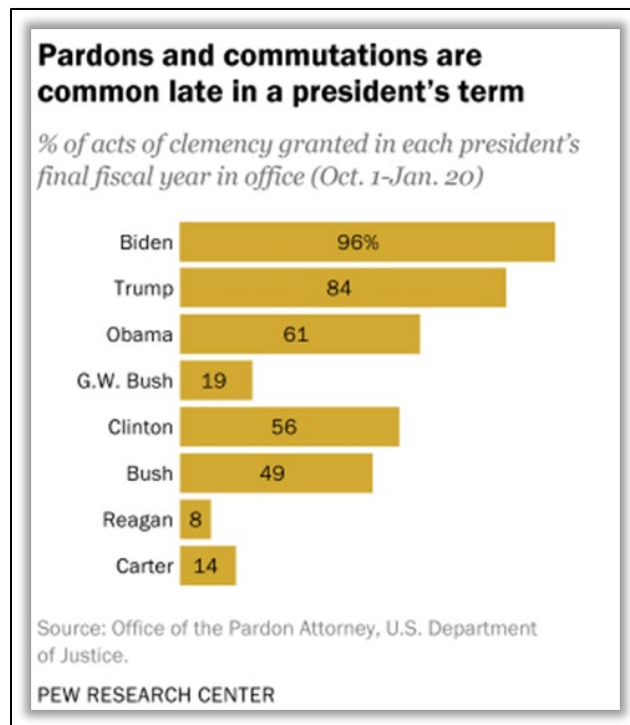
The Committee questioned Zients about why President Biden would need to be reminded of such obvious facts about a uniquely consequential decision he supposedly made just one or two days earlier. However, Zients dismissed these concerns, instead arguing that the talking point “[did not] suggest that the President didn’t know that”⁴⁵⁴ and that it was simply “a form that is created to have the discipline of what are the most likely questions and then what is the succinct answer to each question.”⁴⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the need to prepare the president to “succinct[ly]” answer such an obvious question appears to be either a reflection of President Biden’s diminished cognitive abilities, or that the true answer of when or how the decision was made was more complicated.

⁴⁵⁴ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 100:3 (Sept. 18, 2025).

⁴⁵⁵ Transcribed Interview of Jeff Zients, Chief of Staff to President Biden, at 101:5-7 (Sept. 18, 2025).

E. President Biden’s Executive Decisions, Especially His Clemency Actions and Pardons, Must Be Reviewed to Consider Legal Action.

President Biden granted significantly more acts of clemency than any other president in history.⁴⁵⁶ Specifically, President Biden granted a total of 4,245 acts of clemency, far exceeding the previous record of 3,796 held by Franklin D. Roosevelt.⁴⁵⁷ President Biden also set new records for the quantity of clemency actions taken at the end of his presidency. According to Pew Research Center, “Biden granted 96% of his acts of clemency. . . between Oct. 1, 2024, and his departure from the White House on Jan. 20.”⁴⁵⁸



John Gramlich, *Biden Granted More Acts of Clemency Than Any Prior President*, PEW RSCH. CTR. (Feb. 7, 2025), available at <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2025/02/07/biden-granted-more-acts-of-clemency-than-any-prior-president/>.

Interestingly, the *Oversight Project* found that “[t]he Biden White House used two variations of his signature loaded into an autopen to sign 32 of the 51 clemency warrants issued during his presidency.”⁴⁵⁹ In the absence of sufficient contemporaneous documentation

⁴⁵⁶ John Gramlich, *Biden Granted More Acts of Clemency Than Any Prior President*, PEW RESEARCH CENTER (Feb. 7, 2025).

⁴⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁵⁹ Memorandum from the Oversight Project to the [American] Public, *Autopen and Biden’s Mental Decline*, at 11 (Mar. 17, 2025).

indicating that cognitively deteriorating President Biden himself made a given executive decision, such decisions do not carry the force of law and should be considered void.⁴⁶⁰ The haphazard documentation procedures revealed in the Committee’s investigation and outlined in this report raise serious questions about whether President Biden indeed made each decision. The Department of Justice should immediately conduct a review of all executive actions taken by President Biden between January 20, 2021, and January 19, 2025. Given the patterns and findings detailed herein, this review should focus particularly on all acts of clemency, however it should also include all other types of executive actions.

F. Findings

- There was no proper chain of custody for the documents which predicated President Biden’s executive actions, and a cohort of people, including residence staff, had access to them.
- President Biden allegedly made some executive decisions verbally, and without documentation indicating that they came from the president himself or that he understood the decisions completely.
- Senior White House officials did not know who operated the autopen and its use was not sufficiently controlled or documented to prevent abuse.
- In contrast to President Trump’s staff secretary, Will Scharf—who is highly visible in carrying out his duties to ensure President Trump’s signature makes it on the executive decisions President Trump approves—President Biden’s staff secretary, Neera Tanden, only saw the former president every six to eight weeks.
- Biden White House staff may have ignored internal Biden Administration recommendations that President Biden hand-sign pardons and other documents.
- Zients testified that President Biden included his son, Hunter Biden, in the decision-making process for and meetings about pardons. This apparently included the meeting to discuss the pardons of five Biden family members, Dr. Anthony Fauci, General Mark Milley, and the members of congress who served on the Select Subcommittee to Investigate the January 6th attack on the United States Capitol, and their staff.
- The Biden DOJ’s own attorneys raised serious concerns about the pardon review process and President Biden’s awareness of the violent criminal records of clemency recipients.
- The Biden White House’s process of ascertaining the president’s approval for decisions and use of the autopen was inconsistent, poorly documented, and vulnerable to abuse.

⁴⁶⁰ See e.g., U.S. Const. art. II, § 2, cl. 1.; see also Philip Hamburger, *The Personal Pardon Power*, LAW & LIBERTY (June 24, 2025), available at <https://lawliberty.org/the-personal-pardon-power/>.

- In the absence of sufficiently robust decision-making procedures or documentation to ascertain it, DOJ must investigate all executive actions taken during the Biden Administration to determine if they were properly authorized by President Biden himself.

VI. Conclusion

Faced with the cognitive decline of President Joe Biden, White House aides—at the direction of the inner circle—hid the truth about the former president’s condition and fitness for office. The inner circle propped up the former president throughout his entire term and kept him in the 2024 presidential race despite indisputable evidence (acknowledged even today by only a few Democrats) that the former president was no longer fully in command. Shockingly, as addressed in sections two, three, and four of this report, the inner circle—to this day, over one year after Joe Biden’s 2024 presidential race—continues to deny and dismiss that the American public was concerned about President Biden’s cognitive decline, instead contending the American public’s issue was merely the former president’s *numerical age*.⁴⁶¹

The scripted rhetoric of the cover-up is so ingrained in White House staff that their talking points persisted when testifying to the Committee these past months. Ranking Member Robert Garcia continues to attempt to maintain the illusion as he repeats the same spin following President Biden’s disastrous debate against President Trump.⁴⁶²



Oversight Committee (@GOPoversight), X, (July 9, 2025, 4:56 PM), available at <https://x.com/GOPoversight/status/1943051735670415471>.

⁴⁶¹ See Section II. The Inner Circle and the Cover-up; See also Section III. Delusion of the Inner Circle.

⁴⁶² Oversight Committee (@GOPoversight), X, (July 9, 2025), available at <https://x.com/gopoversight/status/1943051735670415471?s=43>.

Likewise, Democratic staff on the Committee apparently did not think the question of who was running the country for four years was worth further investigation. Democrats—members and staff—only bothered to ask approximately 3 hours and 30 minutes worth of questions throughout nearly 47 hours of depositions and transcribed interviews throughout this investigation.⁴⁶³ When averaged across the 14 transcribed interviews and depositions conducted by the Committee, Democrats spent an average of just 15 minutes for questions per witness.

The cost of the scheme to hide the fallout of President Biden’s diminished physical and mental acuity was great but will likely never be fully calculated. The cover-up put American national security at risk and the nation’s trust in its leaders in jeopardy. Despite aides’ best efforts to conceal President Biden’s cognitive deterioration from the country, the former president’s legacy is clouded with this scandal, as evidenced by President Biden’s eventual withdrawal from the 2024 election.

White House Aides who were instrumental to the cover-up and did not fully testify before the Committee—including Bernal, Tomasini, and Dr. O’Connor—should face further scrutiny for hiding information from the American people. In conjunction with the release of this report, the Committee is transmitting letters to the Department of Justice and the District of Columbia Board of Medicine. The testimony—or lack thereof—indicates that Bernal and Tomasini, essential personnel to President Biden, should, as part of a continuing investigation, answer questions about President Biden’s cognitive decline to bring accountability to the American people.

Additionally, Dr. O’Connor’s role in the cover-up is deeply disturbing. Dr. O’Connor refused to answer the Committee’s questions about President Biden’s health, including the president’s cognitive health. As the White House physician, Dr. O’Connor owed a duty not only to his patient, the president, but also to the American people. If Dr. O’Connor improperly diagnosed or submitted false, misleading reports on President Biden’s health, he should face further investigation—if not sanction. Thus, the Committee urges the District of Columbia Board of Medicine to review the actions taken by Dr. O’Connor during his role as White House physician to President Biden.

Barring evidence of executive actions taken during the Biden presidency showing that President Biden indeed took a particular executive action, the Committee deems those actions taken through use of the autopen as void. The validity of the executive actions allegedly approved and signed (largely by autopen) by President Biden must be reviewed to determine whether legal action is necessary to ameliorate consequences of any illegitimate pardons granted, or executive actions implemented, throughout the Biden Autopen Presidency. The Committee finds numerous executive actions—particularly clemency actions—taken during the Biden Administration were illegitimate. Therefore, the Committee urges the Department of Justice to investigate *all* executive actions attributed to President Joe Biden.

⁴⁶³ See *generally* All Transcribed Interviews and Depositions (as tabulated by Oversight Majority Staff).