



House of Representatives
Judiciary Committee
Ranking Member Doug Collins

Understanding Horowitz's FISA report on the illegal surveillance of an American citizen

Why does FISA abuse matter to everyday Americans?

A U.S. citizen, Carter Page, was improperly surveilled by the FBI. His life was upended when this secret surveillance warrant was illegally, publicly divulged.

- Inspector General Horowitz's testimony puts this offense against an American citizen in stark terms.
 - Carter Page was surveilled based on an FBI lawyer's false assertions that Page had been an intelligence asset of another government agency.
 - Horowitz in his testimony said, "The FBI, at the end of these FISAs, told us that they had found no evidence to corroborate the allegations in the Steele dossier related to him."
 - The Steele dossier lied by purporting to show that Carter Page was a Russian agent.
- An FBI lawyer in charge of renewing the FISA warrant actively altered an email, a fraudulent action that directly led to the renewal of the FISA warrant to spy on Carter Page.
- Former FBI Director James Comey claimed the FBI engaged in "sloppiness" on the Carter Page FISA, but this goes beyond sloppiness.
- To date, no one has been held accountable for leaking the Page FISA application to the Washington Post.

Horowitz didn't exonerate anyone at the FBI.

- Sen. Kennedy: "Does your report vindicate Mr. Comey?"
- Horowitz: "**It doesn't vindicate anyone** at the FBI who touched this, **including the leadership.**"
- Sen. Kennedy: "Does it vindicate Mr. McCabe?"
- Horowitz: "Same answer."

Horowitz could not rule out bias in how the case was conducted or opened, particularly concerning the FISA order on Carter Page.

- Horowitz testified to Chairman Graham that the FBI failed to produce exculpatory information to the FISA Court.
- The Horowitz report goes out of its way to state that, in opening a counterintelligence case, the FBI must only meet a "low threshold" of predication.

Horowitz was unable to answer whether President Obama or anyone in his Administration knew about the counterintelligence investigation on the Trump campaign. U.S. Attorney General Durham's investigation may shed light on this.

Horowitz's report outlines the FBI's clear failures and moments of blatant partisanship.

- There were clear issues with the Carter Page FISA application.
 - **51 factual assertions** related to the application and renewals either:
 - Did not have supporting documentation,
 - The supporting document didn't state the fact, or
 - The supporting document showed the factual assertion is inaccurate.
- There were **17 separate inaccuracies or wrongful omissions** in the four FISA applications, including **seven repeated in all**, and **10** that did not occur in the original application but occurred **in the three renewal applications**.
- The FBI omitted evidence cutting against probable cause. For example:
 - Carter Page said he had nothing to do with Paul Manafort.
 - George Papadopolous denied that the Trump campaign was collaborating with Russia or Wikileaks or otherwise involved in the DNC server hack.
- The FBI's decision to defensively brief then-candidate Hillary Clinton but failure to brief then-candidate Donald Trump is a blatant example of the FBI's disparate treatment of the two campaigns and the FBI's possible bias.
 - Rather than provide a defensive briefing to President Trump on Russian concerns connected to his campaign, the FBI instead sent an agent of the Crossfire Hurricane team to a general counterintelligence briefing where the agent collected information on General Flynn, a subject of the FBI's investigation.
- The FBI failed to disclose Bruce Ohr's information that Steele's reporting was funneled directly to the Clinton campaign.
- The FBI overstated Christopher Steele's previous work with the FBI.
- The FBI was not fully candid about Christopher Steele's sharing information leading to Yahoo's September 2016 article about "ties between Trump advisor and Kremlin."
- The FBI did not disclose the lack of reliability of Steele's subsource.
- The FBI knew Carter Page was a U.S. intelligence asset who had assisted in cases involving Russian intelligence, but the FBI hid that fact from DOJ during development of the FISA application.
- Peter Strzok, who was seemingly fired for his apparent bias against then-candidate Trump, was at the very center of the FBI's investigation into the Trump campaign.
 - Strzok flew overseas to interview the confidential human source who provided the FBI with information on George Papdopolous.
 - This type of action should have been coordinated with DOJ, but it wasn't.
- There was a clear breakdown of information sharing between the FBI and DOJ.
 - The FBI failed to consult with DOJ on running confidential human sources.
 - The FBI failed to inform DOJ of critical information that would have undercut the Carter Page FISA application.
- There was a clear breakdown of trust within the intelligence community.
 - The FBI used an information briefing at the Office of the Director of National Intelligence as an opportunity to gather information on Michael Flynn.
 - DOJ and FBI leadership were not receiving complete information from line-level personnel at the FBI.