

Malmstrom, Jason R. (OIG)

From: Malmstrom, Jason R. (OIG)
Sent: Thursday, March 8, 2018 2:24 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: Letter
Attachments: 2018-02-02 CEG to FBI DOJ (Declassification of Steele Criminal Referral).pdf

Scott, I believe this is the letter.

Jason
202.616.4651

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

KOLAN L. DAVIS, Chief Counsel and Staff Director
JENNIFER DUCK, Democratic Chief Counsel and Staff Director

February 2, 2018

VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable Christopher A. Wray
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20535

The Honorable Rod J. Rosenstein
Deputy Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Director Wray and Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein:

Pursuant to Section 3.5 of Executive Order 13526, I am writing to formally demand a Mandatory Declassification Review of the classified criminal referral Senator Graham and I sent to the FBI and the Justice Department regarding Christopher Steele's potential violations of 18 U.S.C. §1001.¹

On January 4, 2018, Senator Graham and I sent a classified memo to the Justice Department and the FBI. The eight-page memo referred for further investigation materially inconsistent statements reportedly made by Christopher Steele, the author of the anti-Trump dossier funded by the Democratic National Committee and the Clinton campaign during the 2016 Presidential election. On January 19, 2018, an FBI Congressional liaison, Greg Brower, sent a letter claiming that a few of the paragraphs marked as unclassified in our memo contained classified information. A redacted copy of Mr. Brower's letter is attached for reference.

As I explained in a speech on the Senate floor, the FBI's claims mischaracterize and misstate what those paragraphs actually say. Nonetheless, on January 29, I wrote to Director Wray and Inspector General Horowitz, raising my objections to the FBI's classification claims, but attaching a further redacted version of the referral that addressed FBI's concerns. On February 2, 2018, Mr. Brower stated that the FBI had no concerns with the public release of that further redacted version, which is attached to this letter.

Today, the President formally declassified a memorandum drafted by the majority staff of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI).² Much of the information in the declassified HPSCI memorandum overlaps with the information in the criminal referral made by Senator Graham and me. That information has now been declassified and can no longer

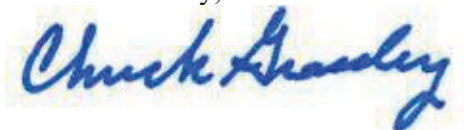
¹ Similarly, pursuant to Section 1.8 of Executive Order 13526, I am, as an authorized holder of the information, also formally challenging the propriety of the classification of the FBI and Justice Department information referenced in the referral.

² https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/memo_and_white_house_letter.pdf

properly be deemed as classified in our criminal referral. Accordingly, I ask that you immediately review the classified referral in light of today's declassification and provide the Committee with the declassified version by no later than February 6, 2018.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter. Please contact Patrick Davis of my staff at (202) 224-5225 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary

Enclosures: As stated.

cc: The Honorable Michael E. Horowitz
Inspector General
United States Department of Justice

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary

Director, Office of Information Policy
United States Department of Justice
1425 New York Ave, NW
Suite 11050
Washington, DC 20530



[REDACTED]

U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535-0001

January 19, 2018

Honorable Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

JUDICIARY - GRASSLEY
OSS-2018-0076, Copy 001
FBI RESPONSE TO REQUEST REGARDING
STEELE MEMORANDUM (U)
COPY 1 OF 2 19 JAN 2018 2 PGS

Dear Mr. Chairman:

(U) The Department of Justice and the FBI appreciate the Senate Judiciary Committee's consultation regarding the potential public release of unclassified portions of its January 5, 2018 classified memorandum regarding Christopher Steele. As referenced in a January 12, 2018 communication with your staff, I am following-up with an official FBI response to your request.

[REDACTED] As previously communicated to your staff via e-mail, the FBI considers some information marked UNCLASSIFIED within the Committee's memo to be classified. This derives from the fact that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]—the FBI has not declassified or publicly acknowledged [REDACTED] As such, the FBI considers [REDACTED] to be classified.

(U//FOUO) In particular, the FBI considers the following portions of the document that are marked UNCLASSIFIED to contain classified information:

1. [REDACTED] Page 1; Paragraphs 2 and 3: [REDACTED] The FBI continues to protect this information at the SECRET//NOFORN level.
2. [REDACTED] Page 4; Paragraph 3: [REDACTED] The FBI continues to protect this information at the SECRET//NOFORN level.
3. [REDACTED] Page 6; Paragraph 4: This paragraph discloses information [REDACTED] that the FBI continues to protect at the SECRET//NOFORN level. Although the underlying source document produced for the Committee *in camera* did not contain classification markings, the FBI has treated the document [REDACTED] as classified.



[REDACTED]

Honorable Charles E. Grassley

[REDACTED] The FBI respects the Committee's commitment to transparency in executing its oversight responsibilities; however the FBI cannot and will not weaken its commitment to protecting [REDACTED] Public reporting about [REDACTED] does not affect the FBI's policy with respect to classification [REDACTED] nor does it diminish our obligations [REDACTED] In particular, we are deeply concerned that granting exceptions to this policy would send a troubling signal to [REDACTED] and may degrade our ability to [REDACTED] in the future.

Sincerely,



Gregory A. Brower
Assistant Director
Office of Congressional Affairs

① Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary
United State Senate
Washington, DC 20510



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

February 24, 2018

The Honorable Devin Nunes
Chairman
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

As directed by the President and in accordance with a letter provided to you on February 9, 2018, Department of Justice (Department) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) personnel have provided technical assistance to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (Committee) with respect to the second classified memorandum written by Committee members.

The enclosed version of that memorandum identifies the redactions that the Department and the FBI believe are necessary to protect information that remains properly classified in accordance with Executive Order 13526. The classification determinations reflected in this document have been made by career professionals taking into account the President's decision to declassify an earlier memorandum, as described in a letter to you dated February 2, 2018.

With the redactions as marked in the enclosed, the document is unclassified.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "S. Boyd".

Stephen E. Boyd
Assistant Attorney General

Enclosure

Cc: The Honorable Adam Schiff
Ranking Member
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

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TO: All Members of the House of Representatives
FROM: HPSCI Minority
DATE: January 29, 2018
RE: Correcting the Record – The Russia Investigations

The HPSCI Majority's move to release to the House of Representatives its allegations against the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Department of Justice (DOJ) is a transparent effort to undermine those agencies, the Special Counsel, and Congress' investigations. It also risks public exposure of sensitive sources and methods for no legitimate purpose.

FBI and DOJ officials did not "abuse" the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) process, omit material information, or subvert this vital tool to spy on the Trump campaign.

In fact, DOJ and the FBI would have been remiss in their duty to protect the country had they not sought a FISA warrant and repeated renewals to conduct temporary surveillance of Carter Page, someone the FBI assessed to be an agent of the Russian government. DOJ met the rigor, transparency, and evidentiary basis needed to meet FISA's probable cause requirement, by demonstrating:

- contemporaneous evidence of Russia's election interference;
- concerning Russian links and outreach to Trump campaign officials;
- Page's history with Russian intelligence; and
- [REDACTED] Page's suspicious activities in 2016, including in Moscow.

The Committee's Minority has therefore prepared this memorandum to correct the record:

- **Christopher Steele's raw intelligence reporting did not inform the FBI's decision to initiate its counterintelligence investigation in late July 2016.** In fact, the FBI's closely-held investigative team only received Steele's reporting in mid-September – more than seven weeks later. The FBI – and, subsequently, the Special Counsel's – investigation into links between the Russian government and Trump campaign associates has been based on troubling law enforcement and intelligence information unrelated to the "dossier."
- **DOJ's October 21, 2016 FISA application and three subsequent renewals carefully outlined for the Court a multi-pronged rationale for surveilling Page**, who, at the time of the first application, was no longer with the Trump campaign. DOJ detailed Page's past relationships with Russian spies and interaction with Russian officials during the 2016 campaign, [REDACTED]. DOJ cited multiple sources to support the case for surveilling Page — but made only narrow use of information from Steele's sources about Page's specific activities in 2016, chiefly his suspected July 2016 meetings in Moscow with Russian officials. [REDACTED]. In fact, the FBI interviewed Page in March 2016 about his contact with Russian intelligence, the very month candidate Donald Trump named him a foreign policy advisor.

As DOJ informed the Court in subsequent renewals, [REDACTED] **Steele's reporting about Page's Moscow meetings** [REDACTED]. DOJ's applications did not otherwise rely on Steele's reporting, including any "salacious" allegations

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about Trump, and the FBI never paid Steele for this reporting. While explaining why the FBI viewed Steele's reporting and sources as reliable and credible, DOJ also disclosed:

- Steele's prior relationship with the FBI;
 - the fact of and reason for his termination as a source; and
 - the assessed political motivation of those who hired him.
- **The Committee Majority's memorandum, which draws selectively on highly sensitive classified information, includes other distortions and misrepresentations that are contradicted by the underlying classified documents, which the vast majority of Members of the Committee and the House have not had the opportunity to review – and which Chairman Nunes chose not to read himself.¹**

Background

On January 18, 2018, the Committee Majority, during an unrelated business meeting, forced a surprise vote to release to the full House a profoundly misleading memorandum alleging serious abuses by the FBI and DOJ. Majority staff drafted the document in secret on behalf of Chairman Devin Nunes (and reportedly with guidance and input from Rep. Trey Gowdy), and then rushed a party-line vote without prior notice.

This was by design. The overwhelming majority of Committee Members never received DOJ authorization to access the underlying classified information, and therefore could not judge the veracity of Chairman Nunes' claims. Due to sensitive sources and methods, DOJ provided access only to the Committee's Chair and Ranking Member (or respective designees), and limited staff, to facilitate the Committee's investigation into Russia's covert campaign to influence the 2016 U.S. elections.² As DOJ has confirmed publicly, it did not authorize the broader release of this information within Congress or to the public, and Chairman Nunes refused to allow DOJ and the FBI to review his document until he permitted the FBI Director to see it for the first time in HPSCI's secure spaces late on Sunday, January 28 – 10 days after disclosure to the House.³

FBI's Counterintelligence Investigation

In its October 2016 FISA application and subsequent renewals, DOJ accurately informed the Court that the FBI initiated its counterintelligence investigation on July 31, 2016, after receiving information [REDACTED]. George Papadopoulos revealed [REDACTED] that individuals linked to Russia, who took interest in Papadopoulos as a Trump campaign foreign policy adviser, informed him in late April 2016 that Russia [REDACTED].⁴ Papadopoulos's disclosure, moreover, occurred against the backdrop of Russia's aggressive covert campaign to influence our elections, which the FBI was already monitoring. We would later learn in Papadopoulos's plea that that the information the Russians could assist by anonymously releasing were thousands of Hillary Clinton's emails.⁵

DOJ told the Court the truth. Its representation was consistent with the FBI's underlying investigative record, which current and former senior officials later corroborated in extensive

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Committee testimony. Christopher Steele's reporting, which he began to share with an FBI agent [REDACTED] through the end of October 2016, **played no role** in launching the FBI's counterintelligence investigation into Russian interference and links to the Trump campaign. In fact, Steele's reporting did not reach the counterintelligence team investigating Russia at FBI headquarters until mid-September 2016, more than seven weeks after the FBI opened its investigation, because the probe's existence was so closely held within the FBI.⁶ By then, the FBI had already opened sub-inquiries into [REDACTED] individuals linked to the Trump campaign:

[REDACTED] and former campaign foreign policy advisor Carter Page.

As Committee testimony bears out, the FBI would have continued its investigation, including against [REDACTED] individuals, even if it had never received information from Steele, never applied for a FISA warrant against Page, or if the FISC had rejected the application.⁷

DOJ's FISA Application and Renewals

The initial warrant application and subsequent renewals received independent scrutiny and approval by four different federal judges, ²three of whom were appointed by President George W. Bush and one by President Ronald Reagan. DOJ first applied to the FISC on October 21, 2016 for a warrant to permit the FBI to initiate electronic surveillance and physical search of Page for 90 days, consistent with FISA requirements. The Court approved three renewals – in early January 2017, early April 2017, and late June 2017 – which authorized the FBI to maintain surveillance on Page until late September 2017. Senior DOJ and FBI officials appointed by the Obama and Trump Administrations, including acting Attorney General Dana Boente and Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, certified the applications with the Court.

one by George H.W. Bush

FISA was not used to spy on Trump or his campaign. As the Trump campaign and Page have acknowledged, Page ended his formal affiliation with the campaign months before DOJ applied for a warrant. DOJ, moreover, submitted the initial application less than three weeks before the election, even though the FBI's investigation had been ongoing since the end of July 2016.

DOJ's warrant request was based on compelling evidence and probable cause to believe Page was knowingly assisting clandestine Russian intelligence activities in the U.S.:

- **Page's Connections to Russian Government and Intelligence Officials:** The FBI had an independent basis for investigating Page's motivations and actions during the campaign, transition, and following the inauguration. As DOJ described in detail to the Court, Page had an extensive record as [REDACTED] [REDACTED]⁸ prior to joining the Trump campaign. He resided in Moscow from 2004-2007 and pursued business deals with Russia's state-owned energy company Gazprom— [REDACTED]⁹ As early as [REDACTED], a Russian intelligence officer [REDACTED] targeted Page for recruitment. Page showed [REDACTED].

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Page remained on the radar of Russian intelligence and the FBI. In 2013, prosecutors indicted three other Russian spies, two of whom targeted Page for recruitment. The FBI also interviewed Page multiple times about his Russian intelligence contacts, including in March 2016.¹⁰ The FBI's concern about and knowledge of Page's activities therefore long predate the FBI's receipt of Steele's information.

- **Page's Suspicious Activity During the 2016 Campaign:** The FISA applications also detail Page's suspicious activity after joining the Trump campaign in March 2016. [REDACTED] Page traveled to Moscow in July 2016, during which he gave a university commencement address – an honor usually reserved for well-known luminaries.
 - **It is in this specific sub-section of the applications that DOJ refers to Steele's reporting on Page and his alleged coordination with Russian officials.** Steele's information about Page was consistent with the FBI's assessment of Russian intelligence efforts to recruit him and his connections to Russian persons of interest.
 - In particular, Steele's sources reported that Page met separately while in Russia with Igor Sechin, a close associate of Vladimir Putin and executive chairman of Rosneft, Russia's state-owned oil company, and Igor Divyekin, a senior Kremlin official. Sechin allegedly discussed the prospect of future U.S.-Russia energy cooperation and "an associated move to lift Ukraine-related western sanctions against Russia." Divyekin allegedly disclosed to Page that the Kremlin possessed compromising information on Clinton ("kompromat") and noted "the possibility of its being released to Candidate #1's campaign."¹¹ [Note: "Candidate #1" refers to candidate Trump.] This closely tracks what other Russian contacts were informing another Trump foreign policy advisor, George Papadopoulos.
- In subsequent FISA renewals, **DOJ provided additional information obtained through multiple independent sources that corroborated Steele's reporting.**
 - [REDACTED]¹²
 - [REDACTED]
 - Page's [REDACTED] in Moscow with [REDACTED] senior Russian officials [REDACTED] as well as meetings with Russian officials [REDACTED]¹³

This information contradicts Page's November 2, 2017 testimony to the Committee, in which he initially denied any such meetings and then was forced to admit speaking with

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Dvorkovich and meeting with Rosneft's Sechin-tied investor relations chief, Andrey Baranov.

- **The Court-approved surveillance of Page allowed FBI to collect valuable intelligence.** The FISA renewals demonstrate that the FBI collected important investigative information and leads by conducting Court-approved surveillance. For instance, [REDACTED]

DOJ also documented evidence that Page [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], anticipated [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and repeatedly contacted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in an effort to present himself as [REDACTED]

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Page's efforts to [REDACTED] also contradict his sworn testimony to our Committee.

DOJ's Transparency about Christopher Steele

Far from "omitting" material facts about Steele, as the Majority claims,¹⁷ DOJ repeatedly informed the Court about Steele's background, credibility, and potential bias. DOJ explained in detail Steele's prior relationship with and compensation from the FBI; his credibility, reporting history, and source network; the fact of and reason for his termination as a source in late October 2016; and the likely political motivations of those who hired Steele.

- **DOJ was transparent with Court about Steele's sourcing:** The Committee Majority, which had earlier accused Obama Administration officials of improper "unmasking," faults DOJ for not revealing the names of specific U.S. persons and entities in the FISA application and subsequent renewals. In fact, DOJ appropriately upheld its longstanding practice of protecting U.S. citizen information by purposefully not "unmasking" U.S. person and entity names, unless they were themselves the subject of a counterintelligence investigation. DOJ instead used generic identifiers that provided the Court with more than sufficient information to understand the political context of Steele's research. In an extensive explanation to the Court, DOJ discloses that Steele

"was approached by an identified U.S. Person,¹⁸ who indicated to Source #1[Steele]¹⁹ that a U.S.-based law firm²⁰ had hired the identified U.S. Person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's²¹ ties to Russia. (The identified U.S. Person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship.) The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. Person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. Person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign."²²

Contrary to the Majority's assertion that DOJ fails to mention that Steele's research was commissioned by "political actors" to "obtain derogatory information on Donald Trump's ties to Russia,"²³ DOJ in fact informed the Court accurately that Steele was hired by

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politically-motivated U.S. persons and entities and that his research appeared intended for use “to discredit” Trump’s campaign.

- **DOJ explained the FBI’s reasonable basis for finding Steele credible:** The applications correctly described Steele as [REDACTED]. The applications also reviewed Steele’s multi-year history of credible reporting on Russia and other matters, including information DOJ used in criminal proceedings.²⁴ Senior FBI and DOJ officials have repeatedly affirmed to the Committee the reliability and credibility of Steele’s reporting, an assessment also reflected in the FBI’s underlying source documents.²⁵ The FBI has undertaken a rigorous process to vet allegations from Steele’s reporting, including with regard to Page.²⁶
- **The FBI properly notified the FISC after it terminated Steele as a source for making unauthorized disclosures to the media.** The Majority cites no evidence that the FBI, prior to filing its initial October 21, 2016 application, actually knew or should have known of any allegedly inappropriate media contacts by Steele. Nor do they cite evidence that Steele disclosed to *Yahoo!* details included in the FISA warrant, since the British Court filings to which they refer do not address what Steele may have said to *Yahoo!*.

DOJ informed the Court in its renewals that the FBI acted promptly to terminate Steele after learning from him (after DOJ filed the first warrant application) that he had discussed his work with a media outlet in late October. The January 2018 renewal further explained to the Court that Steele told the FBI that he made his unauthorized media disclosure because of his frustration at Director Comey’s public announcement shortly before the election that the FBI reopened its investigation into candidate Clinton’s email use.

- **DOJ never paid Steele for the “dossier”:** The Majority asserts that the FBI had “separately authorized payment” to Steele for his research on Trump but neglects to mention that payment was cancelled and never made. As the FBI’s records and Committee testimony confirms, although the FBI initially considered compensation [REDACTED], Steele ultimately never received payment from the FBI for any “dossier”-related information.²⁷ DOJ accurately informed the Court that Steele had been an FBI confidential human source since [REDACTED], for which he was “compensated [REDACTED] by the FBI” – payment for previously-shared information of value unrelated to the FBI’s Russia investigation.²⁸

Additional Omissions, Errors, and Distortions in the Majority’s Memorandum

- **DOJ appropriately provided the Court with a comprehensive explanation of Russia’s election interference, including evidence that Russia courted another Trump campaign advisor, Papadopoulos, and that Russian agents previewed their hack and dissemination of stolen emails.** In claiming that there is “no evidence of any cooperation or conspiracy between Page and Papadopoulos,”²⁹ the Majority misstates the reason why DOJ specifically explained Russia’s courting of Papadopoulos. Papadopoulos’s interaction with Russian agents, coupled with real-time evidence of Russian election interference, provided the Court with a broader context in which to evaluate Russia’s clandestine activities and Page’s history and alleged contact with Russian officials. Moreover, since only Page [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED], no evidence of a separate conspiracy between him and Papadopoulos was required. **DOJ would have been negligent in omitting vital information about Papadopoulos and Russia's concerted efforts.**

- **In its Court filings, DOJ made proper use of news coverage.** The Majority falsely claims that the FISA materials “relied heavily” on a September 23, 2016 *Yahoo!* News article by Michael Isikoff and that this article “does not corroborate the Steele Dossier because it is derived from information leaked by Steele himself.”³⁰ In fact, DOJ referenced Isikoff’s article, alongside another article the Majority fails to mention, not to provide separate corroboration for Steele’s reporting, but instead to inform the Court of Page’s public denial of his suspected meetings in Moscow, which Page also echoed in a September 25, 2016 letter to FBI Director Comey. [REDACTED]

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- **The Majority’s reference to Bruce Ohr is misleading.** The Majority mischaracterizes Bruce Ohr’s role, overstates the significance of his interactions with Steele, and misleads about the timeframe of Ohr’s communication with the FBI. In late November 2016, Ohr informed the FBI of his prior professional relationship with Steele and information that Steele shared with him (including Steele’s concern about Trump being compromised by Russia). He also described his wife’s contract work with Fusion GPS, the firm that hired Steele separately. This occurred weeks after the election and more than a month after the Court approved the initial FISA application. The Majority describes Bruce Ohr as a senior DOJ official who “worked closely with the Deputy Attorney General, Yates and later Rosenstein,” in order to imply that Ohr was somehow involved in the FISA process, but there is no indication this is the case.

Bruce Ohr is a well-respected career professional whose portfolio is drugs and organized crime, not counterintelligence. There is no evidence that he would have known about the Page FISA applications and their contents. The Majority’s assertions, moreover, are irrelevant in determining the veracity of Steele’s reporting. By the time Ohr debriefs with the FBI, it had already terminated Steele as a source and was independently corroborating Steele’s reporting about Page’s activities. Bruce Ohr took the initiative to inform the FBI of what he knew, and the Majority does him a grave disservice by suggesting he is part of some malign conspiracy.

- **Finally, Peter Strzok and Lisa Page’s text messages are irrelevant to the FISA application.** The Majority gratuitously includes reference to Strzok and Page at the end of their memorandum, in an effort to imply that political bias infected the FBI’s investigation and DOJ’s FISA applications. In fact, neither Strzok nor Page served as affiants on the applications, which were the product of extensive and senior DOJ and FBI review.³² In demonizing both career professionals, the Majority accuses them of “orchestrating leaks to the media” – a serious charge; omits inconvenient text messages, in which they critiqued a wide range of other officials and candidates from both parties; does not disclose that FBI Deputy Director McCabe testified to the Committee that he had no idea what Page and Strzok were referring to in their “insurance policy” texts;³³ and ignores Strzok’s acknowledged role in preparing a public declaration, by then Director Comey, about former Secretary Clinton’s “extreme carelessness” in handling classified information—which greatly damaged Clinton’s public reputation in the days just prior to the presidential election.

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¹ Letter to HPSCI Chairman Devin Nunes, Assistant Attorney General Stephen Boyd, Department of Justice, January 24, 2018.

² Letter to HPSCI Chairman Devin Nunes, Assistant Attorney General Stephen Boyd, Department of Justice, January 24, 2018. DOJ also confirmed in writing to Minority Staff DOJ and FBI's terms of review:

the Department has accommodated HPSCI's oversight request by allowing repeated in camera reviews of the material in an appropriate secure facility under the general stipulations that (1) **the Chair (or his delegate) and the Ranking Member (or his delegate) and two staff each, with appropriate security clearances, be allowed to review on behalf of the Committee,** (2) that the review take place in a reading room set up at the Department, and (3) that the documents not leave the physical control of the Department, and (5) that the review opportunities be bipartisan in nature. Though we originally requested that no notes be taken, in acknowledgment of a request by the Committee and recognizing that the volume of documents had increased with time, the Department eventually allowed notes to be taken to facilitate HPSCI's review. Also, initial reviews of the material include [sic] short briefings by Department officials to put the material in context and to provide some additional information.

Email from Stephen Boyd to HPSCI Minority Staff, January 18, 2018 (emphasis supplied).

³ Letter to HPSCI Chairman Devin Nunes, Assistant Attorney General Stephen Boyd, Department of Justice, January 24, 2018.

⁴ [REDACTED]

⁵ Papadopoulos's October 5, 2017 guilty plea adds further texture to this initial tip, by clarifying that a Russian agent told Papadopoulos that "They [the Russians] have dirt on her"; "the Russians had emails of Clinton"; "they have thousands of emails." *U.S. v. George Papadopoulos* (1:17-cr-182, District of Columbia), p. 7.

⁶ [REDACTED]

⁷ Under the Special Counsel's direction, Flynn and Papadopoulos have both pleaded guilty to lying to federal investigators and are cooperating with the Special Counsel's investigation, while Manafort and his long-time aide, former Trump deputy campaign manager Rick Gates, have been indicted on multiple counts and are awaiting trial. See *U.S. v. Michael T. Flynn* (1:17-cr-232, District of Columbia); *U.S. v. Paul J. Manafort, Jr., and Richard W. Gates III* (1:17-cr-201, District of Columbia); *U.S. v. George Papadopoulos* (1:17-cr-182, District of Columbia).

⁸ [REDACTED]

⁹ [REDACTED]

¹⁰ [REDACTED] See also, *U.S. v. Evgeny Buryakov, a/k/a "Zhenya," Igor Sporyshev, and Victor Podobnyy*, U.S. Southern District of New York, January 23, 2015.

¹¹ Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, October 21, 2016, p.18. Repeated in subsequent renewal applications

¹² Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, June 29, 2017, pp. 20-21.

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14 [REDACTED] the FBI and broader Intelligence Community's high confidence assessment that the Russian government was engaged in a covert interference campaign to influence the 2016 election, including that Russian intelligence actors "compromised the DNC" and WikiLeaks subsequently leaked in July 2016 "a trove" of DNC emails. Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, October 21, 2016, pp. 6-7. Repeated and updated with new information in subsequent renewal applications. Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, June 29, 2017, pp. 20-21.

15 Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, June 29, 2017, pp. 36, 46, 48.

16 Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, June 29, 2017, p. 56.

17 HPSCI Majority Memorandum, *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Abuses at the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation*, January 18, 2018, pp. 2-3 (enumerating "omissions" of fact, regarding Steele and his activities, from the Page FISA applications).

18 Glenn Simpson.

19 Christopher Steele.

20 Perkins Coie LLP.

21 Donald Trump.

22 Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, October 21, 2016, pp. 15-16, n. 8. Repeated in subsequent renewal applications.

23 HPSCI Majority Memorandum, *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Abuses at the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation*, January 18, 2018, p. 2.

24 Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, October 21, 2016, p. 15, footnote 8. Repeated in subsequent renewal applications.

25 Interview of Andrew McCabe (FBI Deputy Director), House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 19, 2017, p. 46, 100; Interview of Sally Yates (former Deputy Attorney General), House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, November 3, 2017, p. 16; Interview with John Carlin (former Assistant Attorney General for National Security), House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, July, 2017, p. 35.

26 Interview of Andrew McCabe (FBI Deputy Director), House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 19, 2017, p. 100-101, 115.

27 Interview of FBI Agent, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 20, 2017, p. 112.

28 Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, October 21, 2016, pp. 15-16, n. 8. Repeated in subsequent renewal applications.

29 HPSCI Majority Memorandum, *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Abuses at the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation*, January 18, 2018, p. 4 ("The Page FISA application also mentions information regarding fellow Trump campaign advisor George Papadopoulos, but there is no evidence of any cooperation or conspiracy between Page and Papadopoulos.")

30 HPSCI Majority Memorandum, *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Abuses at the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation*, January 18, 2018, p. 2. Neither Isikoff nor *Yahoo!* are specifically identified in the FISA Materials, in keeping with the FBI's general practice of not identifying U.S. persons.

31 Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, October 21, 2016, p. 25; Department of Justice, Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court Application, January 12, 2017, p. 31; Carter Page, Letter to FBI Director James Comey, September 25, 2016.


~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~

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~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~

32


³³ Interview of Andrew McCabe (FBI Deputy Director), House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 19, 2017, p. 157.

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~

UNCLASSIFIED

Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)

From: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, February 6, 2018 3:15 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Lasseter, David F. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: FW:
Attachments: F-SJC_Cover_Grassley_0206.docx

And this is the DRAFT cover letter that will accompany the redacted memo.

I plan to email both to chair and ranking at no later than 4pm.

thx

Gregory A. Brower
Assistant Director
FBI Congressional Affairs
(Direct) (b)(6), (b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(E)
(Mobile) (b)(6), (b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(E)

-----Original Message-----

From: (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, February 06, 2018 3:07 PM
To: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI) (b)(6), (b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(E)
Subject:

Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)

From: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, February 6, 2018 2:51 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Lasseter, David F. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Cc: Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) (CD) (FBI)
Subject: Chair Grassley request
Attachments: image_0206.pdf

Attached, please find (b)(5)

This is what we plan to provide to SJC by COB today. As you will see, (b)(5)

Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)

From: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)
Sent: Sunday, February 4, 2018 4:35 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Lasseter, David F. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: Politico: House Intel members: Release the FISA application

House Intel members: Release the FISA application

Politico

Rebecca Morin

February 4, 2018 – 10:24 AM

<https://www.politico.com/story/2018/02/04/congressmen-release-fisa-application-nunes-memo-389088>

A bipartisan pair of congressmen on the House Intelligence Committee on Sunday urged the release of the FISA application that prompted surveillance that opened a federal probe on whether Russia was involved with President Donald Trump's campaign.

Reps. Jim Himes (D-Conn.) and Brad Wenstrup (R-Ohio) agreed that the FISA application should be opened. Parts of the application have come under scrutiny following the release of a memo that was orchestrated by Rep. Devin Nunes (R-Calif.).

Himes said on CNN's "State of the Union" that he supports the release of the FISA application, "if it could be redacted in such a way as to not be damaging," to be released. He said a problem with the process is that conclusions and allegations are being drawn based off the application — which only Reps. Trey Gowdy and Adam Schiff have seen.

"What Americans would see but they would see dozens and dozens of pages citing all sorts of facts, you would see a very comprehensive project that gets put together by 10, 12 people at the FBI, then presented to a federal judge," the Connecticut Republican said. "I would certainly support that release because then the American people would see how comprehensive the FISA application process is rather than the way it's being characterized as secret, dark, behind closed doors."

FISA is an acronym for the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. That 1978 law created a court that allows for law-enforcement agencies to seek warrants for surveillance. The memo, which was released Friday, claims the FBI obtained and renewed surveillance warrants against former Trump campaign adviser Carter Page relying heavily on a dossier compiled by former British spy Christopher Steele.

Democrats have argued that the memo aims to discredit special counsel Robert Mueller's probe into whether Russia colluded with Trump's campaign.

Wenstrup agreed with Himes, adding: "We want to have our eyes on more."

Wenstrup said the intelligence committee currently receives weekly briefs on the application.

"Open it up. This is what I keep talking about. Let's shed light on what's going on with the agencies that the taxpayers pay for, by the way," the Ohio Republican said.

On ABC's "This Week," Rep. Will Hurd (R-Texas) said he doesn't believe that the GOP memo "is an attack "on Bob Mueller, I don't believe this is an attack on the men and women in the FBI."

"What this is about is ... should unverified information be able to be used to spy on an American," said Hurd, who is also a member of the House Intelligence Committee.

He added that he doesn't agree that the memo vindicated Trump in the Russia investigation and believes Mueller, the special counsel, should continue with his probe.

"I want to stress, Bob Mueller should be allowed to turn over every rock, pursue every lead so that we can have trust in knowing what actually the Russians did or did not do," he said.

Lasseter, David F. (OLA)

From: Lasseter, David F. (OLA)
Sent: Sunday, February 4, 2018 11:30 AM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)
Cc: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Johnson, Joanne E. (OLA); (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) (DO) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: 2018-02-02 CEG to FBI DOJ (Declassification of Steele Criminal Referral)
Attachments: 2018-02-02 CEG to FBI DOJ (Declassification of Steele Criminal Referral).pdf; ATT00001.htm; Unclassified CEG LG memo to DOJ FBI (Steele Referral).pdf; ATT00002.htm; 2018-01-19 FBI to CEG (Classification objections to Steele Referral).pdf; ATT00003.htm

Scott—FYSA below and attached. Letter from Grassley to DAG and Director regarding the declassification of their referral memo. They want a response by 6 Feb. (b)(5)

Greg—(b)(5)

dfi

David F. Lasseter

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Davis, Patrick (Judiciary-Rep)" <Patrick.Davis@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>
To: "Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)" (b)(6), "Lasseter, David F. (OLA)" <dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov>, "Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)" (b)(7)(E)
Cc: "CEG (Judiciary-Rep)" <CEG@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>, "Foster, Jason (Judiciary-Rep)" <Jason.Foster@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>, "Holmes, Lee (Judiciary-Rep)" (b)(6), "Sawyer, Heather (Judiciary-Dem)" (b)(6), "Privor, Brian (Judiciary-Dem)" (b)(6)
Subject: 2018-02-02 CEG to FBI DOJ (Declassification of Steele Criminal Referral)

Greg, David, and Stephen:

Attached is a letter from Chairman Grassley to Director Wray and Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein. Please confirm receipt and please send all formal follow-up correspondence to CEG@judiciary-rep.senate.gov, Jason.Foster@judiciary-rep.senate.gov, and me.

Thanks,

-Patrick



[REDACTED]

U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535-0001

January 19, 2018

Honorable Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

JUDICIARY - GRASSLEY
OSS-2018-0076, Copy 001
FBI RESPONSE TO REQUEST REGARDING
STEELE MEMORANDUM (U)
COPY 1 OF 2 19 JAN 2018 2 PGS

Dear Mr. Chairman:

(U) The Department of Justice and the FBI appreciate the Senate Judiciary Committee's consultation regarding the potential public release of unclassified portions of its January 5, 2018 classified memorandum regarding Christopher Steele. As referenced in a January 12, 2018 communication with your staff, I am following-up with an official FBI response to your request.

[REDACTED] As previously communicated to your staff via e-mail, the FBI considers some information marked UNCLASSIFIED within the Committee's memo to be classified. This derives from the fact that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]—the FBI has not declassified or publicly acknowledged [REDACTED] As such, the FBI considers [REDACTED] to be classified.

(U//FOUO) In particular, the FBI considers the following portions of the document that are marked UNCLASSIFIED to contain classified information:

1. [REDACTED] Page 1; Paragraphs 2 and 3: [REDACTED] The FBI continues to protect this information at the SECRET//NOFORN level.
2. [REDACTED] Page 4; Paragraph 3: [REDACTED] The FBI continues to protect this information at the SECRET//NOFORN level.
3. [REDACTED] Page 6; Paragraph 4: This paragraph discloses information [REDACTED] that the FBI continues to protect at the SECRET//NOFORN level. Although the underlying source document produced for the Committee *in camera* did not contain classification markings, the FBI has treated the document [REDACTED] as classified.



[REDACTED]

Honorable Charles E. Grassley

[REDACTED] The FBI respects the Committee's commitment to transparency in executing its oversight responsibilities; however the FBI cannot and will not weaken its commitment to protecting [REDACTED] Public reporting about [REDACTED] does not affect the FBI's policy with respect to classification [REDACTED] nor does it diminish our obligations [REDACTED] In particular, we are deeply concerned that granting exceptions to this policy would send a troubling signal to [REDACTED] and may degrade our ability to [REDACTED] in the future.

Sincerely,



Gregory A. Brower
Assistant Director
Office of Congressional Affairs

① Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary
United State Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)

From: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)
Sent: Saturday, February 03, 2018 4:24 PM
To: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI); Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG); Lassetter, David F. (OLA)
Subject: Fwd: Strictly FYI
Attachments: FINAL DRAFT -- Dear Colleague on Nunes Memo.pdf; ATT00001.htm

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Williams, Pete (NBCUniversal)" <pete.williams@nbcuni.com>
Date: February 3, 2018 at 2:30:13 PM EST
To: "Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA) (Sarah.Isgur.Flores@usdoj.gov)"
<Sarah.Isgur.Flores@usdoj.gov>, "Prior, Ian (OPA) (Ian.Prior@usdoj.gov)"
<Ian.Prior@usdoj.gov>
Subject: Strictly FYI

This letter from Rep. Jerry Nadler is going to House Democrats today.

February 3, 2018

Dear Democratic Colleague:

On Friday, House Republicans released the so-called “Nunes memo,” a set of deeply misleading talking points drafted by the Republican staff of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. House Republicans did so over the objections of the Department of Justice, the Director of the FBI, the Director of National Intelligence, and several Senate Republicans, among others.

You may have heard President Trump describe the allegations in the Nunes memo as a “disgrace.” He thinks “a lot of people should be ashamed.” President Trump is right, in his way. This embarrassingly flawed memo is a disgrace. House Republicans should be ashamed.

Although I have had the benefit of reading the materials that form the basis for the Nunes memo, most members have not—including, reportedly, Chairman Nunes. Accordingly, I am forwarding the legal analysis below for use by your office based on my review the Nunes memo and on outside sources.

I. The FISA court found probable cause to believe that Carter Page is an agent of a foreign power. Nothing in the Nunes memo rules out the possibility that considerable evidence beyond the Steele dossier helped the court reach that conclusion.

We should not lose sight of a critical and undisputed fact: the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court found probable cause to believe that Carter Page—a member of the Trump campaign’s foreign policy team—was an agent of the Russian government.

The Nunes memo states that, “[o]n October 21, 2016, DOJ and FBI sought and received a FISA probable cause order . . . authorizing electronic surveillance on Carter Page.” To obtain an order to conduct surveillance under Title I of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, the government must provide “a statement of the facts and circumstances” demonstrating probable cause that “the target of the electronic surveillance is . . . an agent of a foreign power.”

The central allegation of the Nunes memo is that the government committed a fraud when it obtained an order to conduct surveillance of Carter Page, a member of President Trump’s foreign policy team during the campaign. The memo claims that “[t]he ‘dossier’ compiled by Christopher Steele . . . formed an essential part of the Carter Page FISA application,” but that the

government failed to disclose “the role of the DNC, Clinton campaign, or any party/campaign in funding Steele’s efforts.”

If not for this misrepresentation to the court, the story goes, there never would have been a Russia investigation. **This claim is deliberately misleading and deeply wrong on the law.**

First, the Nunes memo appears to concede that the investigation into the Trump campaign’s ties to the Russian government was well underway before the government applied for an order to conduct surveillance of Carter Page. In its final paragraph, the Nunes memo states: “[t]he Papadopoulos information triggered the opening of an FBI counterintelligence investigation in late July 2016.” The statement refers to George Papadopoulos, another member of the Trump campaign’s foreign policy team. There is no reason to dispute the Nunes memo’s assertion that the FBI was actively investigating the Trump campaign months before they approached the court about Carter Page.

Second, there is already a well-established body of law dealing with allegations that “material and relevant information was omitted” from the application to the court and, in the case of Carter Page, that law appears to fall almost entirely on the side of the government. In *Franks v. Delaware* (1978), the U.S. Supreme Court held that a court may only void a search warrant if the government “knowingly and intentionally, or with reckless disregard for the truth,” included false information or excluded true information that was or would have been critical to the court’s determination of probable cause. **The Nunes memo alleges nothing that would even come close to meeting this standard.** Indeed, we have every indication that the government made its application to the court in good faith.

So, to be clear: Carter Page was, more likely than not, an agent of a foreign power. The Department of Justice thought so. A federal judge agreed. That consensus, supported by the facts, forms the basis for the warrant issued by the FISA court. The Russian government waged a massive campaign to discredit our election. Carter Page appears to have played a role in that effort. The FBI has a responsibility to follow these facts where they lead. The Nunes memo would have us sweep this all under the rug. And for what, exactly?

II. Christopher Steele is a recognized expert on Russia and organized crime.

Through several acts of willful omission, the Nunes memo alleges the FISA application is tainted because Christopher Steele “was a longtime FBI source who was paid over \$160,000 by the DNC and the Clinton campaign . . . to obtain derogatory information on Donald Trump’s ties to Russia.” The Nunes memo would have us believe the Russia investigation was a Democratic plot from the outset. That is simply ridiculous.

The Nunes memo does not show that the government relied solely, or even substantially, on the information provided to the FBI by Christopher Steele when it made its application to the court. It does not show that Steele's work was compromised by the source of funding. It does not show that Fusion GPS—the firm that hired Steele to do this work—was any more or less diligent when it worked for Democratic clients than when it worked for Republicans. And, amazingly, **the Nunes memo does not provide a single shred of evidence that any aspect of the Steele dossier is false or inaccurate in any way.**

We have no idea if Christopher Steele even knew the source of his funding when Fusion GPS first hired him to research Donald Trump's connections to the Russian government. In fact, Fusion GPS initiated the project on behalf of the conservative *Washington Free Beacon*, not the DNC. The firm's task was to provide credible research, and they hired an expert for the job—a retired British intelligence officer, experienced in Russian affairs and well-known to the FBI as a useful source of valuable intelligence in earlier investigations.

Nothing about the source of Steele's funding or his later opinions about Donald Trump speak to the credibility of his work, or its inclusion in the FISA application. The Nunes memo gives us no reason to doubt the court's determination of probable cause to believe that Carter Page was an agent of the Russian government—particularly given Page's later admissions to the press about his interactions with Russian officials.

And nothing about the payment from the DNC is unethical or improper. Christopher Steele is one of the world's leading experts on Russian organized crime. His job was to uncover the facts. Many feared during the election that the Trump campaign had been compromised by the Russian government. Two guilty pleas and two indictments later, those fears seem well justified.

III. The Nunes memo provides no credible basis whatsoever for removing Rod Rosenstein as Deputy Attorney General.

The Nunes memo makes a point of stating that a number of officials, including Deputy Attorney General, “signed one or more FISA applications on behalf of DOJ.” Because Attorney General Jeff Sessions is recused from any investigation related to the 2016 campaigns, Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein directly oversees the Special Counsel's investigation. The Deputy Attorney General has become a target for those attempting to interfere with that investigation. President Trump has refused to rule out using the Nunes Memo as pretext for dismissing the DAG. “You figure that one out,” he said when asked about the Deputy Attorney General on Friday.

Whatever one thinks of the merits of the Nunes memo and it is clearly not a serious document the memo provides no basis whatsoever to justify the removal of Rod Rosenstein as Deputy Attorney General from his critical and trusted position. The Nunes memo focuses largely on process that transpired before the Deputy Attorney General took office. There is no reason to believe that he reviewed or approved any FISA application for submission to the court except according to normal process and procedures.

The Nunes memo leaves out a critical point in this area as well. Under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, when seeking a renewal of a surveillance order, the government is required to provide the court “a statement of the facts concerning all previous applications . . . involving any of the persons, facilities, or places specified in the application.” That requirement includes a description of the intelligence received so far and its value to the underlying case. Although he was not involved in the initial application, the Deputy Attorney General could not have signed an application to renew surveillance on Carter Page if the government was unable to show that it had already gathered valuable evidence under existing orders and expected that collection to continue. Under these circumstances, any decision *not* to approve the renewal would have appeared to have been politically motivated.

If the President is looking to fire Mr. Rosenstein, he will have to look outside the Nunes memo for his pretext.

IV. The Nunes memo shows that House Republicans are now part and parcel to an organized effort to obstruct the Special Counsel’s investigation.

On January 24, 2018, the Department of Justice wrote to warn the House Intelligence Committee that releasing the memo would be “extraordinarily reckless.” On January 29, the FBI issued a statement citing “grave concerns” with inaccuracies and omissions in that document. On January 30, the Majority twice blocked our request to move the House Judiciary Committee into closed session, where we would have been free to discuss our own concerns with the plan to make this information public without context, without meaningful input from the FBI, and without providing Members with access to the source materials. On February 1, I wrote to Chairman Goodlatte asking for him to call the FBI Director and other officials from the Department of Justice to brief us on an emergency basis before the Nunes memo was made public but my request was again ignored.

House Republicans do not speak up when President Trump attacks the press, smears career investigators by name, or demands loyalty from the leadership of the Department of Justice and the FBI. They have taken no significant steps to understand how the Russian

government worked to undermine our last election. They show little interest in protecting our next election from foreign attack even though President Trump's hand-picked intelligence chiefs warn us that the threat is very real.

Until now, we could only really accuse House Republicans of ignoring the President's open attempts to block the Russia investigation.

But with the release of the Nunes memo a backhanded attempt to cast doubt on the origins of the Special Counsel's investigation we can only conclude that House Republicans are complicit in the effort to help the President avoid accountability for his actions and for the actions of his campaign.

In the end, who could possibly benefit from the release of this shoddy work?

Only Donald Trump, who will use these half-truths to further interfere with the Special Counsel, and Vladimir Putin, who now has a clear view of how our intelligence community attempted to interrupt his operations in the United States.

Additional Background

Christopher Steele served as an intelligence officer with British intelligence service MI6 from 1987 until his retirement in 2009. From 1990 to 1992, he [worked under diplomatic cover](#) as an MI6 agent in the Embassy of the United Kingdom to Russia. By 2006, Steele headed the Russia Desk at MI6. He remains one of the world's foremost experts on Russia and, in particular, connections between the Russian government and organized crime.

In September 2015, the conservative [Washington Free Beacon](#) retained the services of Fusion GPS to conduct opposition research on Donald Trump. When President Trump emerged as the Republican candidate, the Clinton Campaign and the Democratic National Committee hired Fusion GPS for the same services. As part of this project, Christopher Steel produced what became known as the Steele dossier.

Carter Page was known to the United States government for his [involvement with the Russian government](#) long before he joined the Trump campaign. [Court documents](#) show that Russian intelligence operatives attempted to recruit Page in 2013. One spy thought that Page was "an idiot" who wants to "rise up" and "earn lots of money."

Then-candidate Donald Trump named Page a part of the Trump campaign's [foreign policy team](#) on March 21, 2016. In July 2016, with the [explicit approval](#) of the Trump campaign,

Page traveled to Moscow to give a speech on “the future of the world economy” and to [meet with Russian officials](#). Despite several public accounts of these meetings, Page would later [deny any contact](#) with the Russian government. By August 2016 when it had become apparent that the Russian government was working to [undermine the election](#) the Trump campaign began to [distance itself](#) from Carter Page.

Later reports show that, in testimony before the House Intelligence Committee, Page admitted to meeting with Russian officials and to briefing at least one “[senior person](#)” on the Trump campaign about those meetings.

None of this information relies upon the Steele dossier.

The **relevant legal standard** for evaluating the FISA application is laid out in [Franks v. Delaware](#). “[T]here is, of course, a presumption of validity with respect to the affidavit supporting the search warrant.” 438 U.S. 154, 171.

Ohr, Bruce (CRM)

From: Ohr, Bruce (CRM)
Sent: Tuesday, January 30, 2018 9:45 AM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: RE: Following up on my notes

They are on their way to you now. Thanks.

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Monday, January 29, 2018 6:51 PM
To: Ohr, Bruce (CRM) (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Following up on my notes

Please. Thanks.

From: Ohr, Bruce (CRM)
Sent: Monday, January 29, 2018 3:09 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG) <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: RE: Following up on my notes

Scott –

I realized that I also have some text messages and emails on my personal phone and email of communications with Glen Simpson at Fusion GPS and with Chris Steele. Can I send them to you?

- Bruce

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 2:29 PM
To: Ohr, Bruce (CRM) (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Following up on my notes

Thanks.

From: Ohr, Bruce (CRM)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 2:29 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG) <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: RE: Following up on my notes

Scott –

I put them in the interoffice mail yesterday. Let me know if you don't see them. Thanks!

- Bruce

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Saturday, January 20, 2018 12:43 PM
To: Ohr, Bruce (CRM) (b)(6)

To: OHR, Bruce (CRM) (b)(6)
Subject: RE: Following up on my notes

That would be great. Thanks.

From: OHR, Bruce (CRM)
Sent: Friday, January 19, 2018 6:05 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG) <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: Following up on my notes

Scott –

I know you are very busy but I just wanted to let you know that I have gone through my handwritten notes and (b)(5) Let me know if you would like me to send them to you. Thanks!

- Bruce

Lasseter, David F. (OLA)

From: Lasseter, David F. (OLA)
Sent: Monday, January 29, 2018 6:56 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: FW: 2018-01-29 CEG to FBI and DOJ IG (Unclassified Cover Letter on Classification Review of Referral)
Attachments: 2018-01-29 CEG to FBI and DOJ IG (Unclassified Cover Letter on Classification Review of Referral).pdf

FYSA....letter to Director Wray

From: Davis, Patrick (Judiciary-Rep) [mailto:Patrick_Davis@judiciary-rep.senate.gov]
Sent: Monday, January 29, 2018 3:50 PM
To: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI) (b)(7)(E); Sabina, Greg (OIG) <gsabina@OIG.USDOJ.GOV>
Cc: CEG (Judiciary-Rep) <CEG@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>; Foster, Jason (Judiciary-Rep) <Jason_Foster@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>; Holmes, Lee (Judiciary-Rep) (b)(6); [REDACTED]; Sawyer, Heather (Judiciary-Dem) (b)(6); Lasseter, David F. (OLA) <dlasseter@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA) (b)(6)
Subject: 2018-01-29 CEG to FBI and DOJ IG (Unclassified Cover Letter on Classification Review of Referral)

Greg and Greg,

Attached is an unclassified cover letter from Chairman Grassley to Director Wray and Inspector General Horowitz regarding the classification objections the FBI raised about the referral Chairmen Grassley and Graham sent the FBI. The unclassified cover letter and the referenced materials will be delivered via classified courier in the near future. Please confirm receipt and please send all unclassified formal follow-up correspondence electronically in PDF format to CEG@judiciary-rep.senate.gov, [Jason Foster@judiciary-rep.senate.gov](mailto:Jason_Foster@judiciary-rep.senate.gov), and me.

We intend to publicly release an unclassified version of the referral, with additional redactions pursuant to the FBI's January 19, 2018 letter, which raised classification concerns about items in paragraphs we had portion marked as unclassified. We also intend to publicly release an unclassified version of the FBI's January 19, 2018 letter. If, after reviewing our proposed unclassified versions, you have any further classification concerns, please let the Committee know by no later than 3pm Tuesday, January 30, 2018. If we have not heard from you by then, we will take that to mean the FBI has no objections. We plan to then release these unclassified versions, having completed our consultation with you. Thanks for your cooperation.

-Patrick

Patrick D. Davis
Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel
Chairman Charles E. Grassley

UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
224 Dirksen Senate Office Building | Washington, DC 20510
phone: 202.224.5225

TOP SECRET//NOFORN
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachments)

CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA, CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

KOLAN L. DAVIS, Chief Counsel and Staff Director
JENNIFER DUCK, Democratic Chief Counsel and Staff Director

January 29, 2018

VIA CLASSIFIED COURIER

The Honorable Christopher A. Wray
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20535

The Honorable Michael E. Horowitz
Inspector General
United States Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20530

Dear Director Wray and Inspector General Horowitz:

On January 4, 2018, Senator Graham and I sent a classified memo to the Justice Department and the FBI. The eight-page memo referred for further investigation materially inconsistent statements reportedly made by Christopher Steele, the author of the anti-Trump dossier funded by the Democratic National Committee and the Clinton campaign during the 2016 Presidential election.

On January 19, 2018, an FBI Congressional liaison, Greg Brower, sent a letter claiming that a few of the paragraphs marked as unclassified in our memo contained classified information. A copy of Mr. Brower's classified letter is attached for reference. As I explained in a speech on the Senate floor last week, the FBI's claims mischaracterize and misstate what those paragraphs actually say.

I intend to formally challenge the FBI's classification decision with respect to these paragraphs. I also formally request that the entire memo be reviewed and declassified to the greatest extent possible, with minimal redactions if any are necessary to protect information that would legitimately cause harm to national security.

In the meantime, please find attached a redacted copy of the memo intended for public distribution. For now, in an abundance of caution and out of respect for the FBI's equities, Committee staff have redacted portions of those paragraphs identified by Mr. Brower as allegedly containing classified information. In light of these redactions, the remaining portions of the paragraphs are still marked as unclassified. Additionally, all of the paragraphs we originally marked as being derived from classified information provided to the Committee have been redacted as well. In addition, we have created and attached an unclassified version of Mr. Brower's January 19, 2018 letter by redacting the classified portions. Please notify the

TOP SECRET//NOFORN
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachments)

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachments)

Director Wray and Inspector General Horowitz
January 29, 2018
Page 2 of 3

Committee as soon as possible if the FBI has any additional concerns about these unclassified versions of the memo and letter.

As the Justice Department suggested in its letter to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence regarding its classified memo, I am also addressing this request to Inspector General Michael Horowitz and requesting that his office independently oversee, assess, and report to Congress on (1) the FBI's reply regarding the public release of the attached redacted memorandum, (2) the declassification process requested in this letter, (3) the classification challenge that I intend to file at a later date regarding the paragraphs identified in Mr. Brower's January 19, 2018 letter, and (4) the underlying issue raised in the memo.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter. Please contact Patrick Davis of my staff at (202) 224-5225 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary

cc: The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary

The Honorable Richard Burr
Chairman
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Mark Warner
Vice Chairman
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Devin Nunes
Chairman
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachments)

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachments)

Director Wray and Inspector General Horowitz
January 29, 2018
Page 3 of 3

The Honorable Adam Schiff
Ranking Member
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Sheldon Whitehouse
Ranking Member
Subcommittee on Crime and Terrorism
Committee on the Judiciary

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachments)

Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Monday, January 29, 2018 5:52 PM
To: Murphy, Marcia (ODAG); Gamble, Nathaniel (ODAG); Watson, Theresa J. (ODAG)
Cc: Lasseter, David F. (OLA); Hur, Robert (ODAG); Terwilliger, Zachary (ODAG)
Subject: DAG Call with Mark Meadows
Attachments: Letter from MRM to Rosenstein 1.4.2018.pdf

Team ODAG:

Could you please set up a phone call with the DAG and Rep. Mark Meadows later this week?

It relates to the letter attached as well as the FBI "1.2 million production."

I believe his scheduler is Mallory Rasher at 202-225-6401.

Thanks,

Stephen

Stephen E. Boyd
Assistant Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

(b)(6)

MARK MEADOWS
11TH DISTRICT, NORTH CAROLINA

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND
GOVERNMENT REFORM
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION
AND INFRASTRUCTURE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3311

1024 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-6401

200 NORTH GROVE STREET, SUITE 90
HENDERSONVILLE, NC 28792
(828) 693-5660

www.house.gov/meadows

January 4, 2018

The Honorable Rod Rosenstein
Deputy Attorney General
United States Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20530

Dear Mr. Rosenstein:

As you are aware, until recently Bruce Ohr served as Associate Deputy Attorney General, a post that placed him under your supervision at the Department of Justice. On December 13, 2017, you testified before the House Judiciary Committee that Mr. Ohr had “no role” in the investigation of Russian government efforts to influence the 2016 presidential election and related matters.¹

Despite your contention Mr. Ohr had “no role” in the investigation, documents filed in federal court by Glenn Simpson, the founder of the opposition research firm which compiled the Trump-Russia dossier, reveal otherwise. Mr. Simpson, the founder of Fusion GPS, testified he met with Mr. Ohr “at his request, after the November 2016 election to discuss our findings regarding Russia and the election.”² Mr. Simpson also testified Fusion GPS contracted with Mr. Ohr’s wife, Nellie, to help the company “with its research and analysis of Mr. Trump.”³ According to published reports, Mr. Ohr also met with Christopher Steele, the former British intelligence official who compiled the dossier.⁴

The timing of Mr. Ohr’s meetings with Steele and Fusion GPS raises serious concerns. According to published reports, Mr. Ohr met with Christopher Steele to discuss the dossier during and after the campaign and with Glenn Simpson shortly after the election.⁵ However, in testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee in June 2017, former FBI Director Comey described the dossier as “salacious and unverified.”⁶ Logically speaking, if Mr. Comey

¹Laura Jarrett, *Senate Intel to interview Justice Dept. official with Fusion GPS ties*, CNN (December 15, 2017), available at <http://www.cnn.com/2017/12/15/politics/senate-intel-bruce-ohr/index.html>.

² *Declaration of Glenn R. Simpson in Support of Plaintiff’s Notice of Additional Record Evidence*, No. 17-cv-21870RJL, *Bean LLC d/b/a Fusion GPS v. Defendant Bank and Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the US House of Representatives* (D.D.C., December 12, 2017).

³ *Id.*

⁴ Rowan Scarborough, *Justice Dept. lawyer who met with dubious Trump dossier author to be hauled before Congress*, the Washington Times (December 7, 2017), available at <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/dec/7/bruce-ohr-who-met-dossier-author-christopher-steele/>.

⁵ *Id.* See also *Declaration of Glenn R. Simpson in Support of Plaintiff’s Notice of Additional Record Evidence*, supra note 3.

⁶ United States Select Senate Committee on Intelligence, *Open Hearing with Former FBI Director James Comey*, June 7, 2017, 115th Cong. 1st sess. (statement of James Comey, Former Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation).

determined Steele's information unverified in June 2017, it would have been unverified months earlier, at the time of Mr. Ohr's meetings with Steele and Fusion GPS.

Considering this timeline of events, if Mr. Ohr met with Christopher Steele and Fusion GPS before and after the election, why would you testify he had "no role" in the investigation? Either Mr. Ohr lied under oath about these meetings, you did not know one of your subordinates was meeting with third parties to discuss "salacious and unverified" intelligence matters, or you were aware of Mr. Ohr's meetings but nevertheless failed to disclose it in your testimony.

Given the apparent contradiction, I am writing to provide you the opportunity to correct or clarify your testimony.

Sincerely,



Mark R. Meadows
Member of Congress

Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Saturday, January 27, 2018 8:46 AM
To: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)
Cc: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA); Lasseter, David F. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: Re: Chris Geidner Tweet

Ha, fantastic.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 27, 2018, at 7:36 AM, Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI) (b)(7)(E) wrote:

Thanks. BTW, I just now read Strassel's column in yesterday's WSJ. Join the club Stephen.

-

----- Original message -----

From: "Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)" <Sarah.Isgur.Flores@usdoj.gov>
Date: 1/26/18 6:40 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA) (JMD)" (b)(6), "Lasseter, David F. (OLA) (JMD)" <David.F.Lasseter@usdoj.gov>, "Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)" (b)(7)(E), "Schools, Scott (ODAG) (JMD)" <Scott.Schools@usdoj.gov>
Subject: Fwd: Chris Geidner Tweet

I've decided Lasseter and Brower are now subject to my random news updates. Sorry, guys.

Chris Geidner
@chrisgeidner

The Senate Judiciary Committee releases information on Friday at 6:25 p.m. about letters sent on Thursday "regarding Christopher Steele's work on behalf of the Democratic National Committee and Hillary for America."

 Media preview

Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)

From: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)
Sent: Friday, January 26, 2018 6:39 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Lasseter, David F. (OLA); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI); Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: Fwd: Chris Geidner Tweet

I've decided Lasseter and Brower are now subject to my random news updates. Sorry, guys.

Chris Geidner
@chrisgeidner

The Senate Judiciary Committee releases information on Friday at 6:25 p.m. about letters sent on Thursday "regarding Christopher Steele's work on behalf of the Democratic National Committee and Hillary for America."



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, January 26, 2018

Grassley, Graham Send Batch of Letters Related to Potential Political Influence on FBI

WASHINGTON – As part of their ongoing oversight efforts to ensure that the FBI's law enforcement activities are free of improper political influence, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) and Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Terrorism Chairman Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) yesterday sent six letters seeking information and documents regarding Christopher Steele's work on behalf of the Democratic National Committee and Hillary for America. The letters seek information and documents relating to those political organizations' knowledge of and involvement in Mr. Steele's work and his reported interactions with the FBI while he was working on behalf of these political organizations. The letters were sent to:

- [The Democratic National Committee \(DNC\)](#)
- [Hillary for America \(HFA\)](#)
- [Former DNC Chair Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz](#)
- [Former DNC Chair Donna Brazile](#)
- [HFA Chair John Podesta](#)
- [HFA Chief Strategist Joel Benenson](#)

-30-

<https://twitter.com/chrisgeidner/status/957033825137250310>

Schools, Scott (ODAG)

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Wednesday, January 24, 2018 11:11 AM
To: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA); Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Subject: The Flores Letter - Edits - SB - RKH - SNS - SB - SB - WED - END
Attachments: The Flores Letter - Edits - SB - RKH - SNS - SB - SB - WED - END.DOCX

I know this letter has been edited to death, (b)(5)

[REDACTED]

SS

Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Wednesday, January 24, 2018 10:55 AM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI); Lasseter, David F. (OLA);
(b)(6), (b)(7)(C) (DO) (FBI); Hur, Robert (ODAG); Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)
Subject: Letter
Attachments: The Flores Letter - Edits - SB - RKH - SNS - SB - SB - WED - END.DOCX

Proposed final version attached. (b)(5)

Any other 11th hour comments? If not, I'll have OLA prep for signature.

SB

Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)

From: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, January 24, 2018 10:04 AM
To: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) (OGC) (FBI); Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA);
Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: Question
Attachments: Sen Burr and Warner Letter to DAG and FBI Director 1-18-18.pdf

(b)(5)

Hur, Robert (ODAG)

From: Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 8:17 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA) (seboyd@jmd.usdoj.gov)
Cc: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: Nunes letter
Attachments: The Flores Letter - Edits - SB - RKH - SNS.DOCX
Importance: High

[Redline with further edits and one comment attached.](#)

Thanks,
Rob

Robert K. Hur
Principal Associate Deputy Attorney General
Office of the Deputy Attorney General
(202) 514-2105 desk
(b)(6) cell
Robert.Hur@usdoj.gov

Hur, Robert (ODAG)

From: Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 7:15 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA) (seboyd@jmd.usdoj.gov)
Subject: The Flores Letter - Edits - SB - RKH
Attachments: The Flores Letter - Edits - SB - RKH.DOCX

Hur, Robert (ODAG)

From: Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 6:23 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG); Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)
Subject: RE: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes + olc
Attachments: The Flores Letter - Edits - SB - RKH.DOCX

Revised version of the Flores letter attached.

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 6:05 PM
To: Hur, Robert (ODAG) <rhur@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Schools, Scott (ODAG) <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA) <siflores@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: FW: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes + olc

The competing drafts (OLC and Flores) are attached. (b)(5)

I'll walk upstairs to make things easier.

SB

From: Engel, Steven A. (OLC)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 5:18 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA) (b)(6); Hur, Robert (ODAG) <rhur@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Schools, Scott (ODAG) <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Cc: Gannon, Curtis E. (OLC) (b)(6); Colborn, Paul P (OLC) (b)(6)
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes + olc

As discussed, here is OLC's revision of the draft letter. (b)(5)

Best, Steve

Steven A. Engel
Assistant Attorney General
Office of Legal Counsel
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530
Office: (b)(6)
(b)(6)

Hur, Robert (ODAG)

From: Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 5:19 PM
To: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)
Subject: Fwd: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes + olc
Attachments: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes + olc.docx; ATT00001.htm

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Engel, Steven A. (OLC)" (b)(6)
Date: January 23, 2018 at 5:18:28 PM EST
To: "Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)" (b)(6), "Hur, Robert (ODAG)" <rhur@jmd.usdoj.gov>, "Schools, Scott (ODAG)" <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Cc: "Gannon, Curtis E. (OLC)" (b)(6) "Colborn, Paul P (OLC)" (b)(6)
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes + olc

As discussed, here is OLC's revision of the draft letter. (b)(5)

Best, Steve

Steven A. Engel
Assistant Attorney General
Office of Legal Counsel
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530
Office: (b)(6)
(b)(6)

Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 12:03 PM
To: Colborn, Paul P (OLC); Gannon, Curtis E. (OLC)
Cc: Schools, Scott (ODAG); Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH- SB - CD - SB
Attachments: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH- SB - CD - SB.docx

Curtis/Paul:

Could you give this a once-over and let us know if you see any problems and/or have ideas for improvement?

If you need a quick brief on the factual situation, happy to discuss via phone.

Thanks,

SB

Schools, Scott (ODAG)

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 11:43 AM
To: Hur, Robert (ODAG); Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Subject: FW: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH- SB
Attachments: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH- SB - CD.docx

I asked (b)(6) to take a look at the letter, and he had some minor suggestions and comments. (b)(5)

From: (b)(6) (NSD)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 10:12 AM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG) <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: RE: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH- SB

Think this is good. A couple minor suggestions attached for your consideration. (b)(5)

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Tuesday, January 23, 2018 8:04 AM
To: (b)(6) (NSD) (b)(6)
Subject: FW: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH- SB

Let me know what you think of this. Thanks.

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 11:17 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG) <sschools@jmd.usdoj.gov>; Hur, Robert (ODAG) <rhur@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH- SB

Gentlemen:

Incorporated some of the edits in the attached. Thanks for the good input.

A few points left to discuss tomorrow.

(b)(5)

SB

Hur, Robert (ODAG)

From: Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 9:38 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Cc: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA) (b)(6)
Subject: RE: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB
Attachments: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB - RH.docx

Gents,

Some suggested edits and comments in the attached for your consideration.

Thanks,
Rob

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 9:08 PM
To: Hur, Robert (ODAG) <rhur@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB

Rob:

Stephen and I have drafted this letter as I referenced in our earlier meeting. We would value your views.

SS

Schools, Scott (ODAG)

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 9:08 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Subject: FW: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB
Attachments: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB.docx

FYI.

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 9:08 PM
To: Hur, Robert (ODAG) <rhur@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB

Rob:

Stephen and I have drafted this letter as I referenced in our earlier meeting. We would value you views.

SS

Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 8:21 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB
Attachments: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes (003) - SB - SS - SB.docx

An additional round of edits. Take a look, then send to Rob?

Schools, Scott (ODAG)

From: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 7:25 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Subject: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes
Attachments: 2018-01-22 Draft letter to Nunes.docx

For your consideration.

Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2018 2:59 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Cc: Hur, Robert (ODAG); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI); Lasseter, David F. (OLA)
Subject: Document1
Attachments: Document1.docx

See attached for a DRAFT of a potential letter to Nunes re: the Nunes Memo.

Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)

From: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Sent: Friday, January 12, 2018 11:08 AM
To: Lasseter, David F. (OLA); Schools, Scott (ODAG); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI); Hur, Robert (ODAG)
Subject: RE: SJC members want access to Russia investiagtion

(b)(5) See below. SB

From: Lasseter, David F. (OLA)
Sent: Friday, January 12, 2018 11:05 AM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA) <seboyd@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: SJC members want access to Russia investiagtion

(b)(5)

CQ NEWS

Judiciary Members Seek Details on Their Panel's Russia Probe

Jan. 11, 2018 – 12:04 p.m. – By Todd Ruger, CQ

Two Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee voiced frustration Thursday they weren't being kept in the loop on the panel's investigation into Russian meddling in the 2016 election.

Sen. John Kennedy of Louisiana summed up his access to information from the panel investigation this way: "I've seen nothing. Zero. Zilch. Nada."

Kennedy brought up the issue at the end of an otherwise sedate committee meeting, asking Chairman Charles E. Grassley for a status report on the "various and sundry investigations we have ongoing so we can be brought up to speed."

Texasan John Cornyn, the majority whip, added to that sentiment and said it was important all members get a chance to be informed of what the committee is doing.

"I think members of the committee are finding ourselves reading about the investigation in the press as a result of various stories," Cornyn said.

Grassley and Sen. Dianne Feinstein, the committee's top Democrat, said they would look into such a status report for the panel, which is one of three congressional committees

investigating the Russian influence in the election.

The issue was not on the meeting's agenda, which included 18 judicial nominations. The committee advanced one judicial pick but held the others so new Democratic members of the committee, Sens. Kamala Harris of California and Cory Booker of New Jersey, could get a chance to submit written questions to the nominees before voting on them.

Cornyn specifically mentioned the release Tuesday by Feinstein of the transcript of committee investigators' interview in August with Fusion GPS co-founder Glenn Simpson. The firm hired a subcontractor who authored a dossier of opposition research on Trump. Feinstein drew the ire of Grassley because she released the transcript without his approval. He said such a unilateral release was "confounding" and undermines the integrity of the Judiciary Committee's work.

President Donald Trump weighed in on Twitter, dubbing the Democrat "Sneaky Dianne Feinstein."

"The fact that Sneaky Dianne Feinstein, who has on numerous occasions stated that collusion between Trump/Russia has not been found, would release testimony in such an underhanded and possibly illegal way, totally without authorization, is a disgrace. Must have tough Primary!," Trump wrote.

Feinstein later told reporters she was sorry about how the transcript was released. Grassley, after Thursday's meeting, declined to comment on whether Feinstein had apologized to him but insisted that the panel's investigation on Russia and the election is on track, and that he and Feinstein continue to work together.

- Donald Trump
- Elections 2016
- Judiciary
- Russia

Lasseter, David F. (OLA)

From: Lasseter, David F. (OLA)
Sent: Wednesday, January 10, 2018 10:27 AM
To: Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI); (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) (DO) (FBI)
Cc: Schools, Scott (ODAG); Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Subject: SSCI text message request
Attachments: DAG_Rosenstein_SSCI_121915.pdf

Greg, (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) —good morning. (b)(5)

SS—(b)(5)

Thanks,
David

David F. Lasseter
Deputy Assistant Attorney General
Office of Legislative Affairs
U.S. Department of Justice
(202) 514-1260

RICHARD BURR, NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN
MARK R. WARNER, VIRGINIA, VICE CHAIRMAN

JAMES E. RISCH, IDAHO
MARCO RUBIO, FLORIDA
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ROY BLUNT, MISSOURI
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TOM COTTON, ARKANSAS
JOHN CORNYN, TEXAS

DIANNE FEINSTEIN, CALIFORNIA
RON WYDEN, OREGON
MARTIN HEINRICH, NEW MEXICO
ANGUS S. KING, Jr., MAINE
JOE MANCHIN, WEST VIRGINIA
KAMALA HARRIS, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6475

MITCH MCCONNELL, KENTUCKY, EX OFFICIO
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JACK REED, RHODE ISLAND, EX OFFICIO

CHRISTOPHER A. JOYNER, STAFF DIRECTOR
MICHAEL CASEY, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KELSEY STROUD BAILEY, CHIEF CLERK

December 19, 2017

VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL

The Honorable Rod Rosenstein
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Room 1145
Washington, DC 20530

Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein:

We write to you today concerning FBI Special Agent Peter Stzrok and his recent reassignment after exchanging inappropriate messages with a colleague. We request all messages in the Department's possession that he sent or received concerning Christopher Steele, Michael Flynn, Russian counterintelligence activities, and matters relating to the 2016 U.S. elections. We are not requesting nor are we interested in receiving communications or materials that might be considered personal or salacious, unless they are related to the four topics noted in this letter.

Please respond in writing upon receipt of this letter. If you have any questions about this letter, please contact Committee counsel Vanessa Le at 202-228-6117 or April Doss at 202-224-1737.

Sincerely,



Richard Burr
Chairman



Mark R. Warner
Vice Chairman

COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

Lasseter, David F. (OLA)

From: Lasseter, David F. (OLA)
Sent: Friday, January 5, 2018 3:51 PM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Cc: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: CEG to DOJ OIG (ORCON)
Attachments: CEG to DOJ OIG (ORCON).pdf; ATT00001.htm

Scott—please see attached incoming

David

David F. Lasseter

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Parker, Daniel (Judiciary-Rep)" (b)(6)
Date: January 5, 2018 at 07:35:53 MST
To: "Lasseter, David F. (OLA)" <David.F.Lasseter@usdoj.gov>, "Greg.Sabina@usdoj.gov" <Greg.Sabina@usdoj.gov>
Cc: "CEG (Judiciary-Rep)" <CEG@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>, "Foster, Jason (Judiciary-Rep)" <Jason_Foster@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>, "Davis, Patrick (Judiciary-Rep)" <Patrick_Davis@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>, "Sawyer, Heather (Judiciary-Dem)" (b)(6), "Mary.Blanche.Hankey2@usdoj.gov" <Mary.Blanche.Hankey2@usdoj.gov>, "doj.correspondence@usdoj.gov" <doj.correspondence@usdoj.gov>, (b)(6) - Stephen Boyd (OLA)
Subject: CEG to DOJ OIG (ORCON)

Dear David and Greg,

Please find attached a letter from Chairman Grassley. Please confirm receipt and send all formal follow-up correspondence to the email addresses copied above. Thanks.

Regards,

Daniel Parker
Investigative Assistant
Chairman Charles E. Grassley
U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary
(202) 224-5225

Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)

From: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA)
Sent: Friday, January 5, 2018 1:58 PM
To: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA); Terwilliger, Zachary (ODAG); Schools, Scott (ODAG)
Subject: FW: heads up
Attachments: 2018-01-04 CEG LG to FBI DOJ (unclassified cover letter for classified S.._.pdf)

I have a feeling Boyd is reading this currently. (b)(6)

Can discuss in person.

Sarah Isgur Flores
Director of Public Affairs
202.305.5808

From: Rosenberg, Matthew [mailto:matthew.rosenberg@nytimes.com]
Sent: Friday, January 5, 2018 12:32 PM
To: Flores, Sarah Isgur (OPA) <siflores@jmd.usdoj.gov>
Subject: Fwd: heads up

Here goes ...

----- Forwarded message -----

From: Hartmann, George (Judiciary-Rep) (b)(6)
Date: Fri, Jan 5, 2018 at 10:42 AM
Subject: heads up
To: Nicholas Fandos <nicholas.fandos@nytimes.com>

Please consider the attached document *embargoed until public release or other notice from this office.*

GEORGE HARTMANN
Deputy Press Secretary | Senate Judiciary Committee
Chairman Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa)

--
Nicholas Fandos
The New York Times
Washington Bureau
Office: [202-862-0425](tel:202-862-0425)
Mobile: (b)(6)

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachment)

CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA, CHAIRMAN

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KEVIN L. DAVIS, Chief Counsel and Staff Director
JENNIFER DUCK, Democratic Staff Director

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

January 4, 2018

VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable Rod J. Rosenstein
Deputy Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20530

The Honorable Christopher A. Wray
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20535

Dear Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein and Director Wray:

Attached please find a classified memorandum related to certain communications between Christopher Steele and multiple U.S. news outlets regarding the so-called "Trump dossier" that Mr. Steele compiled on behalf of Fusion GPS for the Clinton Campaign and the Democratic National Committee and also provided to the FBI.

Based on the information contained therein, we are respectfully referring Mr. Steele to you for investigation of potential violations of 18 U.S.C. § 1001, for statements the Committee has reason to believe Mr. Steele made regarding his distribution of information contained in the dossier.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this important matter. If you have any questions, please contact Patrick Davis or DeLisa Lay of Chairman Grassley's staff at (202) 224-5225.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary



Lindsey O. Graham
Chairman
Subcommittee on Crime and Terrorism
Committee on the Judiciary

Enclosure: As stated.

~~TOP SECRET//NOFORN~~
(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachment)

cc: The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Ranking Member
Committee on the Judiciary

The Honorable Richard Burr
Chairman
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Mark Warner
Vice Chairman
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Devin Nunes
Chairman
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Adam Schiff
Ranking Member
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

Lasseter, David F. (OLA)

From: Lasseter, David F. (OLA)
Sent: Friday, January 5, 2018 8:28 AM
To: Schools, Scott (ODAG); Brower, Gregory (DO) (FBI); (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) (DO) (FBI)
Cc: Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)
Subject: Fwd: Letter for Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein
Attachments: CHM ltr to DAG re Memorialization of Call and Subpoena Compliance - 4 Jan 18.pdf; ATT00001.htm

Fysa

David F. Lasseter

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Ciarlante, Nick" (b)(6) Congressional Email
Date: January 4, 2018 at 14:58:48 MST
To: "Boyd, Stephen E. (OLA)" (b)(6), "Lasseter, David F. (OLA)" <David.F.Lasseter@usdoj.gov>
Cc: "Ciarlante, Nick" (b)(6) Congressional Email, "Glabe, Scott" (b)(6) Congressional Email, "Stewart, Mark" (b)(6) Congressional Email, "Patel, Kash" (b)(6) Congressional Email
Subject: Letter for Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein

Good evening,

Attached please find a letter from Chairman Nunes for Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein.

Best,
Nick

Nicholas A. Ciarlante
Chief Clerk
United States House of Representatives
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Capitol Visitor Center, HVC-304
Washington, DC 20515
O: (b)(6)
C: (b)(6)

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