

(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		people, the fools and the haters, they said "Oh, Trump doesn't want to protect you." I would prefer that we be able to continue, but if we are not going to be reasonably reimbursed for the tremendous cost of protecting these massive nations with tremendous wealth." ⁸²
(U) 2016/95 *Jul/Aug 16 **9/19/16	(U) "Intelligence network being used against CLINTON comprised three elements. Firstly there were agents/facilitators within the Democratic Party structure itself; secondly Russian émigré and associated offensive cyber operators based in the U.S; and thirdly, state-sponsored cyber operatives working in Russia."	(U) State-sponsored cyber operatives and the evidence suggesting Russia had knowledge and operational input. ⁸³ (U) Open source reporting indicates that the hacking done by Guccifer 2.0 was done in consistency to the Russian interests and activities concerning the United States. ⁸⁴
(U) 2016/95 *Jul/Aug 16 **9/19/16	(U) "Unlike in Russia, [CHINA] these were substantial and involved the payment of large bribes and kickbacks which, were they to become public, would be potentially very damaging to their campaign"	(U) While there is no reporting of bribery and kickbacks to China, the references below demonstrate how the Trump campaign discussed and interacted with China during the campaign: (U) "On June 28 during a speech in Pennsylvania, U.S., GOP presidential candidate Donald Trump brought forward his plan to bring jobs back to the United States. He attacked Hillary Clinton and criticized China, vowing to start an unrelenting offensive against Chinese economic practices." ⁸⁵ (U) As of 24 October 2016, according to a Telegraph investigation, "Donald Trump's presidential campaign is facing a fundraising scandal after a Telegraph investigation exposed how key supporters were prepared to accept illicit donations from foreign backers. Senior figures involved with the Great America PAC, one of the leading "independent" groups organizing television advertisements and grassroots support for the Republican nominee, sought to channel \$2 million from a Chinese donor into the campaign to elect the billionaire despite laws prohibiting donations from foreigners." ⁸⁶ (U) As of 14 November 2016, Xi Jinping calls to congratulate Donald Trump. Trump is quoted as saying "China is a great and important country, and China's development is remarkable...The US and China can

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		achieve mutual benefits and win-win results. I would love to work with you to enhance the cooperation between US and China”⁸⁷ (U) As of November 2016, on the Donald Trump Official website, there is an outline of a 7 Point Plan on American Economy: “5. Instruct the Treasury Secretary to label China a currency manipulator. 6. Instruct the U.S Trade Representative to bring trade cases against China, both in this country and at the WTO...7. Use every lawful presidential power to remedy trade disputes if China does not stop its illegal activities, including theft of American Trade secrets...”⁸⁸ (U) There were several open source articles published in the months leading up to 30 July 2016. Key open source articles linking Russia and the Trump team were published on the 30 March 2016, 4 April 2016, 18 April 2016, 26 April 2016, 20 July 2016, 21 July 2016, and 25 July 2016.⁸⁹
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) “Kremlin concerned that political fallout from DNC email hacking operation is spiraling out of control”	
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) “Extreme nervousness among Trump’s associates as result of negative media attention/accusations”	FISC ordered Sequestered (U) There were several open source articles published in the months leading up to 30 July 2016. Key open source articles linking Russia and the Trump team were published on the 30 March 2016, 4 April 2016, 18 April 2016, 26 April 2016, 20 July 2016, 21 July 2016, and 25 July 2016.⁹⁰
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) “Russians meanwhile keen to cool situation and maintain ‘plausible deniability’ of existing/ongoing pro-Trump and anti-Clinton operations. Therefore unlikely to be any ratcheting up offensive plays in immediate future”	
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) “Source [REDACTED] confirms regular exchange with Kremlin has existed for at least 8 years, including intelligence fed to Russia on oligarchs’ activities in US”	(U) On 10 November 2016, Russian Deputy Foreign minister Sergei Rybokeev stated that Russia has been in contact with Trump’s campaign and will continue these contacts into the administration.⁹¹ (U) There is open source reporting indicating that Trump traveled to Russia in 1987 and that his son Donald Jr. traveled to Moscow in 2008.

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		Trump also attended the Miss Universe Pageant in Moscow in 2013.⁹² In 2013, Trump hosted a pageant in Moscow, and according to the Washington Post, Aras Agalarov served as a liaison between Trump and Putin. At the pageant and its after party, Trump claimed, "Almost all of the oligarchs were in the room." In the same article the Washington Post reported that in 2008, Donald Trump, Jr., claimed, "Russians make up a disproportionate cross-section of a lot of our assets."⁹³ (U//) Trump's connections to oligarchs may include Dmitry Rybolovlev, who purchased mansion from Trump in Miami in July 2014 through a broker named Daniel Tzinker PII who may be connected to several Russian oligarchs.⁹⁴ (U) Dmitry Rybolovlev is a Russian billionaire who lives in Monaco. He owns real-estate and a portion of the AS Monaco Football Club.⁹⁵ §C ordered Sequestered
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) "1. [REDACTED] high level of anxiety within the Trump team as a result of various accusations leveled against them and indications from the Kremlin that President Putin and others in the leadership thought things had gone too far now and risked spiraling out of control."	(U//) No relevant reporting found RE "gone too far" information as of 14 November 2016.
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) "2. [REDACTED] Kremlin wanted the situation to calm but for 'plausible deniability' to be maintained concerning its (extensive) pro-Trump and anti-Clinton operations [REDACTED]"	
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) "3. [REDACTED] confirmed that an intelligence exchange had been running between them for at least 8 years. Within this context Putin's priority requirement had been for intelligence on the activities, business and otherwise, in the US of leading Russian oligarchs and their families. Trump and his associates duly had obtained and supplied the Kremlin with this information."	This information was provided by to [REDACTED] only had a single, 10-15 minute phone call with an individual who didn't identify himself but who, given the context, [REDACTED] still believes to have been [REDACTED] [ANALYST NOTE: [REDACTED]]

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		(U) On 10 November 2016, Russian Deputy Foreign minister Sergei Rybokev stated that Russia has been in contact with Trump's campaign and will continue these contacts into the administration.⁹⁶ (U//) Trump's connections to oligarchs may include: (U) Dmitriy Rybolovlev, who purchased mansion from Trump in Miami in July 2014 through a broker named Daniel Tzinker (PII), who may be connected to several Russian oligarchs.⁹⁷ (U) In 2013, Trump hosted a pageant in Moscow, and according to the Washington Post, Aras Agalarov served as a liaison between Trump and Putin. At the pageant and its after party, Trump claimed, "Almost all of the oligarchs were in the room." In the same article the Washington Post reported that in 2008, Donald Trump, Jr., claimed, "Russians make up a disproportionate cross-section of a lot of our assets."⁹⁸
(U) 2016/97 *7/30/16	(U) "4. [REDACTED] As far as 'kompromat' (compromising information) on Trump were concerned, although there was plenty of this, he understood the Kremlin had given its word that it would not be deployed against the Republican presidential candidate given how helpful and cooperative his team had been over several years, and particularly of late." (U) "Head of PA Ivanov laments Russian intervention in US presidential election and black PR against Clinton and the DNC. Vows not to supply intelligence to Kremlin PR operatives again. Advocates now sitting tight and denying everything"	The secondary sub-source has been identified as . This information was provided by a secondary sub-source.
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16		(U//) In August 2016, Kremlin chief of staff or Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration Sergey Ivanov,⁹⁹ an ally and fellow former KGB officer who had held several key posts in Putin's Russia, was replaced with Anton Vaino, a little-known deputy presidential administration chief in charge of protocol.¹⁰⁰
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Presidential spokesman Peskov the main protagonist in Kremlin campaign to aid Trump and damage Clinton. He is now scared and fears being made scapegoat by leadership for	This information was provided by a secondary sub-source. The secondary sub-source has been identified as .

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	backlash in US. Problem compounded by his botched intervention in recent Turkish crisis”	(U) Dimitri Peskov has been the Press Secretary for Vladimir Putin since 2012. He speaks fluent Turkish, and often is quoted in Turkish press as the Russian spokesmen. During the Turkish crisis, Peskov did several interviews in July 2016 but always on behalf of the Russian government.¹⁰¹ (U) On 10 August 2016, Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdogan met to discuss restoring relationship between Russia and Turkey.¹⁰²
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16	(U) “Premier Medvedev’s office furious over DNC hacking and associated anti-Russian publicity. Want good relations with US and ability to travel there. Refusing to support or help cover up after Peskov”	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [REDACTED].
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16	(U) “Talk now in Kremlin of Trump withdrawing from presidential race altogether, but this still largely wishful thinking by more liberal elements in Moscow”	(U) There has been media speculation that Medvedev and Putin have a strained relationship, but this might have started before this alleged operation. ¹⁰³
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16	(U) “1. Speaking in early August 2016, two well-placed and established Kremlin sources outlined the divisions and backlash in Moscow arising from the leaking of Democratic National Committee (DNC) emails and the wider pro-Trump operation being conducted in the US. Head of Presidential Administration, Sergei Ivanov, was angry at the recent turn of events. He believed the Kremlin ‘team’ involved, led by presidential spokesman Dmitriy Peskov, had gone too far in interfering in foreign affairs with their ‘elephant in a china shop black PR.’ Ivanov claimed always to have opposed the handling and exploitation of intelligence by this PR ‘team.’ Following the backlash against such foreign interference in US politics, Ivanov	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [REDACTED]. (U) On 28 July 2016, Peskov reported the following to RIA Novosti: “We do not deal with hackers. We have nothing to do with this activity. As for any direct or indirect accusations against the Kremlin or Russia in general alleging that they can somehow be involved in some cyber-attacks, this is totally absurd and is a vivid example of the use of Russophobia and whipping up Russophobia for election campaign purposes in the USA. This is so absurd that it borders on total idiocy.”¹⁰⁴

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	was advocating that the only sensible course of action now for Russian leadership was to 'sit tight and deny everything.'"	(U// [REDACTED] In August 2016, Kremlin chief of staff Sergei Ivanov, an ally and fellow former KGB officer who had held several key posts in Putin's Russia, was replaced with Anton Vaino, a little-known deputy presidential administration chief in charge of protocol.¹⁰⁵ (U) On 1 August 2016, Ivanov, who was referenced as the head of the SVR press bureau, stated, "We will not comment on such statements by a US presidential candidate." This statement was made to Interfax in response to Clinton's allegations that the Russians were involved with the computer intrusion of the DNC.¹⁰⁶
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16	(U) "2. Continuing on this theme the source close to Ivanov reported that Peskov now was "scared shitless" that he would be scapegoated by Putin and the Kremlin and held responsible for the backlash against Russian political interference in the US election. Ivanov was determined to stop Peskov playing an independent role in relation to the US going forward and the source fully expected the presidential spokesman now to lay low. Peskov's position was not helped by a botched attempt by him also to interfere in the recent failed coup in Turkey from a government relations (GR) perspective (no further details)."	[REDACTED] This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [REDACTED]. (U) On 28 July 2016, Peskov reported the following to RIA Novosti: "We do not deal with hackers. We have nothing to do with this activity. As for any direct or indirect accusations against the Kremlin or Russia in general alleging that they can somehow be involved in some cyber-attacks, this is totally absurd and is a vivid example of the use of Russophobia and whipping up Russophobia for election campaign purposes in the USA. This is so absurd that it borders on total idiocy."¹⁰⁷ (U) Dimitri Peskov has been the Press Secretary for Vladimir Putin since 2012. He speaks fluent Turkish, and often is quoted in Turkish press as the Russian spokesmen. During the Turkish crisis, Peskov did several interviews in July 2016 but always on behalf of the Russian government.¹⁰⁸
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16	(U) "3. The extent of disquiet and division within Moscow caused by the backlash against Russian interference in the US election was underlined by a second source, close to premier Dmitry Medvedev (DAM). S/he said the Russian prime minister	[REDACTED] This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [REDACTED].

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	and his colleagues wanted to have good relations with the US, regardless of who was in power there, and not least so as to be able to travel there in future, either officially or privately. They were openly refusing to cover up for Peskov and others involved in the DNC/Trump operations or to support his counter-attack of allegations against the USG for its alleged hacking of the Russian government and state agencies."	[REDACTED] (U) There has been media speculation that Medvedev and Putin have a strained relationship, but this might have started before this alleged operation.¹⁰⁹
(U) 2016/100 *8/5/16 **9/19/16	(U) "4. According to the first source, close to Ivanov, there had been talk in the Kremlin of Trump being forced to withdraw from the presidential race altogether as a result of recent events, ostensibly on grounds of his psychological state and unsuitability for high office. This might not be so bad for Russia in the circumstances but in the view of the source, it remained largely wishful thinking on the part of those in the regime opposed to Peskov and his "botched" operations, at least for the time being."	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [REDACTED] (U) On 3 August 2016, the Huffington Post released a blog post titled "The Psychopathology of Donald Trump," which the author examines his psychological state and potential impact if he were to become president.¹¹⁰
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Head of PA Ivanov assesses the Kremlin intervention in US presidential election and outlines leadership thinking on operational way forward"	
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "No new leaks envisaged, as too politically risky, but rather further exploitation of (WikiLeaks) material already disseminated to exacerbate divisions"	(U) [REDACTED] On 7 October 2016, Wikileaks began dumping John Podesta's e-mails. ¹¹¹ No reporting was found which would indicate that the Kremlin was aware of or involved with the release of this material.
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Educated US youth to be targeted as protest (against Clinton) and swing vote in attempt to turn them over to Trump"	
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Russian leadership, including Putin, celebrating perceived success to date splitting US hawks and elite"	
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Kremlin engaging with several high profile US players, including Stein, Page and (former DIA Director Michael Flynn), and funding their recent visits to Moscow"	(U) Page admitted to the Washington Post in September 2016 that he briefly spoke with Deputy Prime Minister Arkady Dvorkovich as part of a New Economic School graduation ceremony, where Page was a speaker. ¹¹²

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		FISC ordered Sequestered [REDACTED]¹¹³ (U) In December 2015 Flynn and Stein were seated at the same table as Putin at RT's 10th anniversary celebration in Moscow. In an interview with <i>The Washington Post</i> in August 2016, Flynn admitted that the invitation and payment for his trip came from his speaker's bureau.¹¹⁴ [REDACTED] Flynn's trip to Moscow in December 2015 was his second trip to the country. It was the first trip after leaving U.S. government service. Speaking with the FBI, Flynn described receiving a request from Leading Authorities (LAI) to speak on Middle East Issues at RT's 10 Anniversary reception in Moscow. He stated that LAI paid him for the speech and that he did not know from whom LAI received the payment.¹¹⁵ (U) On 16 March 2017, <i>CNN</i> published information obtained from the House Oversight Committee detailing a RT's payment to LAI for Flynn's December 2015 speaking engagement in Moscow. The payment covered LAI's fee, LAI's visa expenses, and \$33,750 for Flynn's compensation.¹¹⁶ (U) Since the House Oversight Committee obtained documents and an email exchange detailing RT's payment to LAI, other payments to Flynn for speaking engagements have come under media scrutiny. These payments include \$11,250 from Volga Dnepr and \$11,250 from Kaspersky.^{117, 118} (U) Additionally, news outlets have covered a review of Flynn's financial disclosure submitted on 11 February 2017 and an amended financial

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(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "1. Speaking in confidence to a close colleague in early August 2016, Head of the Russian Presidential Administration (PA), Sergei Ivanov, assessed the impact and results of Kremlin intervention in the US presidential election to date. Although most commentators believed that the Kremlin was behind the leaked DNC/Clinton emails, this remained technically deniable. Therefore the Russians would not risk their position for the time being with the new leaked material, even to a third party like WikiLeaks. Rather the tactics would be to spread rumors and misinformation about the content of what already had been leaked and make up new content."	disclosure submitted on 31 March 2017. Media reporters also allude to the House Oversight Committee's inquiry into Flynn's SF-86s. ^{119, 120}
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "2. Continuing on this theme, Ivanov said that the audience to be targeted by such operations was the educated youth in America as the PA assessed that there was still a chance they could be persuaded to vote for Republican candidate Donald Trump as a protest against the Washington establishment (in the form of Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton). The hope was that even if she won, as a result of this Clinton in power would be bogged down in working for internal reconciliation in the US, rather than being able to focus on foreign policy which would damage Russia's interests. This also should give President Putin more room for maneuver in the run-up to Russia's own presidential election in 2018."	This information was provided by [redacted] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [redacted]. (U// [redacted]) In October 2016, Sputnik misattributed a quote from an article to a leaked Wikileaks e-mail from Sidney Blumenthal's account. Sputnik attempted to report that the quote was incriminating in reference to Clinton's time as Secretary of State and her campaign. ¹²¹ (U// [redacted]) On 7 October 2016, Wikileaks began dumping John Podesta's e-mails. ¹²² No reporting was found which would indicate that the Kremlin was aware of or involved with the release of this material.
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "3. Ivanov reported that although the Kremlin had underestimated the strength of US media and liberal reaction to the DNC hack and Trump's links to Russia, Putin was	This information was provided by [redacted] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [redacted].

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	generally satisfied with the progress of the anti-Clinton operation to date. He recently had had a drink with Putin to mark this. In Ivanov's view, the US had tried to divide the Russian elite with sanctions but failed, whilst they, by contrast, had succeeded in splitting the US hawks inimical to Russia and the Washington elite more generally, half of whom had refused to endorse any presidential candidate as a result of Russian intervention."	[REDACTED]
(U) 2016/101 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "4. Speaking separately, also in early August 2016, a Kremlin official involved in US relations commented on aspects of the Russian operation to date. Its goals had been threefold- asking sympathetic US actors how Moscow could help them; gathering relevant intelligence; and creating and disseminating compromising information ('kompromat'). This had involved the Kremlin supporting various US political figures, including funding indirectly their recent visits to Moscow. S/he named a delegation from Lyndon LaRouche; presidential candidate Jill Stein of the Green Party; Trump foreign policy adviser Carter Page; and former DIA Director Michael Flynn, in this regard and as successful in terms of perceived outcomes."	(U) Page admitted to the Washington Post in September 2016 that he briefly spoke with Deputy Prime Minister Arkady Dvorkovich as part of a New Economic School graduation ceremony, where Page was a speaker.¹²³ [REDACTED] FISC ordered Sequestered [REDACTED]¹²⁴ (U) In December 2015 Flynn and Stein were seated at the same table as Putin in an RT 10th anniversary celebration in Moscow. In an interview in 2016, Flynn admitted that his speaking engagements were funded.¹²⁵ (U) Lyndon LaRouche has a close relationship with Sergey Glazyev since 1994. Glazyev is now a prominent advisor to President Vladimir Putin. Glazyev and LaRouche were connected further through their work with the Duma hearings in June 2001.¹²⁶ (U) In December 2015 Flynn and Stein were seated at the same table as Putin at RT's 10th anniversary celebration in Moscow. In an interview with <i>The Washington Post</i> in August 2016, Flynn admitted that the invitation and payment for his trip came from his speaker's bureau.¹²⁷

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		█████ Flynn's trip to Moscow in December 2015 was his second trip to the country. It was the first trip after leaving U.S. government service. Speaking with the FBI, Flynn described receiving a request from Leading Authorities (LAI) to speak on Middle East Issues at RT's 10 Anniversary reception in Moscow. He stated that LAI paid him for the speech and that he did not know from whom LAI received the payment.¹²⁸ (U) On 16 March 2017, <i>CNN</i> published information obtained from the House Oversight Committee detailing a RT's payment to LAI for Flynn's December 2015 speaking engagement in Moscow. The payment covered LAI's fee, LAI's visa expenses, and \$33,750 for Flynn's compensation.¹²⁹ (U) Since the House Oversight Committee obtained documents and an email exchange detailing RT's payment to LAI, other payments to Flynn for speaking engagements have come under media scrutiny. These payments include \$11,250 from Volgna Dnepr and \$11,250 from Kaspersky.^{130, 131} (U) Additionally, news outlets have covered a review of Flynn's financial disclosure submitted on 11 February 2017 and an amended financial disclosure submitted on 31 March 2017. Media reporters also allude to the House Oversight Committee's inquiry into Flynn's SF-86s.^{132, 133}
(U) 2016/102 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Trump campaign insider reports recent DNC email leaks were aimed at switching Sanders (protest) voters away from Clinton and over to Trump"	
(U) 2016/102 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Admits Republican campaign underestimated resulting negative reaction from US liberals, elite, and media and forced to change course as result"	
(U) 2016/102 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "Need now to turn tables on Clinton's use of Putin as bogeyman in election, although some resentment at Russian president's perceived attempt to undermine USG and system over and above swinging presidential election"	(U) █████ As of late July 2016, reports of Democrats and Clinton using the "Russia Card" began after the DNC hacking and e-mail leak in mainstream U.S media. ¹³⁴

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(U) 2016/102 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "1. Speaking in confidence on 9 August 2016, an ethnic Russian associate of Republican US presidential candidate Donald Trump discussed the reaction inside his camp, and revised tactics therein resulting from recent negative publicity concerning Moscow's clandestine involvement in the campaign. Trump's associate reported that the aim of leaking DNC emails to WikiLeaks during the Democratic National Convention had been to swing supporters of Bernie Sanders away from Hillary Clinton and across to Trump. These voters were perceived as activist and anti-status quo and anti-establishment and in that regard sharing many features with the Trump campaign, including a visceral dislike of Hillary Clinton. This objective had been conceived and promoted, inter alia, by Trump's foreign policy adviser Carter Page who had discussed it directly with the ethnic Russian associate."	(U//) As of September 2016, reports begin in Sputnik about Hillary Clinton using the "Russia Card" against Trump. ¹³⁵
(U) 2016/102 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "2. Continuing on this theme, the ethnic Russian associate of Trump assessed that the problem was that the Trump campaign had underestimated the strength of the negative reaction from liberals and especially the conservative elite to Russian interference. This was forcing a rethink and a likely change of tactics. The main objective in the short term was to check Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton's successful exploitation of the Putin as bogeyman/Russian interference story to tarnish Trump and bolster her own (patriotic) credentials. The Trump campaign was focusing on tapping into support in the American television media to achieve this, as they reckoned this resource had been underused by them to date."	(U//) As of late July 2016, reports of Democrats and Clinton using the "Russia Card" began after the DNC hacking and e-mail leak in mainstream U.S media. ¹³⁶ (U//) As of September 2016, reports begin in Sputnik about Hillary Clinton using the "Russia Card" against Trump. ¹³⁷
(U) 2016/102 *8/10/16 **9/19/16	(U) "3. However, Trump's associate also admitted that there was a fair amount of anger and resentment within the Republican candidate's team at what was perceived by Putin as going beyond the objective of weakening Clinton and bolstering	

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	Trump, by attempting to exploit the situation to undermine the US government and democratic system more generally. It was unclear at present how this aspect of the situation would play out in the weeks to come.	
(U) 2016/105 *8/22/16	(U) "Ex-Ukrainian President YANUKOVYCH confides directly to Putin that he authorized kick-back payments to Manafort, as alleged in western media. Assures Russian President however there is no documentary evidence/trail"	(U) The first story referencing secret payments discovered on a ledger in Ukraine that shows that Manafort was owed \$12 million by the Ukraine government was the New York Times on 14 August 2016. ¹³⁸ [REDACTED] ¹³⁹ [REDACTED] ¹⁴⁰
(U) 2016/105 *8/22/16	(U) "Putin and Russian leadership remain worried however and skeptical that Yanukovych has fully covered the traces of these payments to Trump's former campaign manager"	[REDACTED] ¹⁴¹ (U) [REDACTED] This applies to mindset and is unable to be verified without Kremlin intercepts. The evidence shows that Russian leadership had reason to worry as of 11/15/2016.
(U) 2016/105 *8/22/16	(U) "[REDACTED] recent meetings between President Putin and ex-President Yanukovych of Ukraine. This had been held in secret on 15 August near Volgograd, Russia and the western media revelations about Manafort and Ukraine had featured prominently on the agenda."	(U) [REDACTED] Unable to verify meeting between Putin and Yanukovych or the date/place of meeting as of 11/14/2016. (U) Erdogan and Putin Meeting – 09 August 2016 (St. Petersburg, Russia) Azeri and Iranian Leaders Meeting – 08 August 2016 (Baku, Azerbaijan)
(U) 2016/105 *8/22/16	(U) "Yanukovych had confided in Putin that he did authorize and order substantial kick-back payments to Manafort as alleged but sought to reassure him that there was no documentary trail left behind which could provide clear evidence of this."	(U) No relevant information found regarding search terms "Yanukovich" and "Volgograd." (U) The first story referencing secret payments discovered on a ledger in Ukraine that shows that Manafort was owed \$12 million by the Ukraine government was the New York Times on 14 August 2016. ¹⁴² [REDACTED] ¹⁴³

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(U) 2016/105 *8/22/16	(U) "Given Yanukovych's (unimpressive) record in covering up his own corrupt tracks in the past, Putin and others in the Russian leadership were skeptical about the ex-Ukrainian president's reassurance on this as relating to Manafort. They therefore still feared the scandal had legs, especially as Manafort had been commercially active in Ukraine right up to the time (in March 2016) when he joined Trump's campaign team. For them it therefore remained a point of potentially political vulnerability and embarrassment."	(U) The first story referencing secret payments discovered on a ledger in Ukraine that shows that Manafort was owed \$12 million by the Ukraine government was the New York Times on 14 August 2016. ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "Kremlin orders senior staff to remain silent in media and private on allegations of Russian interference in US presidential campaign"	(U// OGA Kremlin officials making statement about the United States primarily focused on the topic of Syria and worsening relations between the two countries. ¹⁴⁸ No information was found regarding a Kremlin official discussing the US election in September. ¹⁴⁹
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] Ivanov sacked as Head of Administration on account of giving Putin poor advice on issue."	(U) A program summary of Rossiya 1 TV indicates that Ivanov was sacked as Head of Administration on 12 August 2016, one month and two days after crown reporting. ¹⁵⁰ (U) Kremlin.ru reporting shows a dialogue between Putin, Ivanov, and Vaino, with Putin thanking Ivanov for his excellent service. Putin then tells Ivanov that Putin granted Ivanov's wish to be in the position no longer than four years. Putin then tells Vaino that Ivanov recommended Vaino and that Putin agreed. Vaino thanks both of them. Ivanov then praises Vaino for the work he did for Ivanov. ¹⁵¹

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[REDACTED]

(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		OGA [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "Vaino selected as his replacement partly because he was not involved in pro-Trump, anti-Clinton operation/s"	OGA [REDACTED] ¹⁵³ (U) Kremlin.ru reporting shows a dialogue between Putin, Ivanov, and Vaino, with Putin thanking Ivanov for his excellent service. Putin then tells Ivanov that Putin granted Ivanov Ivanov's wish to be in the position no longer than four years. Putin then tells Vaino that Ivanov recommended Vaino and that Putin agreed. Vaino thanks both of them. Ivanov then praises Vaino for the work he did for Ivanov. ¹⁵⁴ OGA [REDACTED]

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "Russians do have further 'kompromat' on Clinton (e-mails) and considering disseminating it after Duma (legislative elections) in late September. Presidential spokesman Peskov continues to lead on this"	OGA 155
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "However, equally important is Kremlin objective to shift policy consensus favorably to Russia in US post-Obama whoever wins."	OGA 156
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "Both presidential candidates' opposition to TPP and TTIP viewed as a result in this respect"	(U) It is unclear whether the Russians had further kompromat on Clinton, although Wikileaks disseminated emails both before and after the Duma elections with the Podesta emails starting on 7 October 2016. It is also unclear if Peskov has the lead on any dissemination. (U) In Putin's Valdai speech on 27 October 2016, he specifically says that Russia is not interfering with the US election and has "no intention of attacking anyone" despite evidence on the contrary. He also states that "I would like to have such a propaganda machine here in Russia... of the likes of CNN, BBC, and others. We simply do not have this capability yet." (U) In a 16 October 2016 speech in India, Putin addressed reporters and said that Moscow would welcome any US leader who is willing to work with Russia. ¹⁵⁷
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16		(U) Trump TPP 22 April 2015 – Tweet "The TPP is an attack on America's businesses" ¹⁶⁹ May 2015 – Daily Caller Criticism of TPP ¹⁷⁰ 05 October 2015 – Tweet "TPP is a terrible deal" ¹⁷¹
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16		OGA 155
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16		OGA 156
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16		(U) Trump TPP 22 April 2015 – Tweet "The TPP is an attack on America's businesses" ¹⁶⁹ May 2015 – Daily Caller Criticism of TPP ¹⁷⁰ 05 October 2015 – Tweet "TPP is a terrible deal" ¹⁷¹
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16		(U) Clinton TPP 08 September 2010 – CFR Speech "We're pursuing a regional agreement with the nations of the Trans-Pacific Partnership..." ¹⁵⁸ 09 March 2011 – APEC Forum "The US is also making important progress on the TPP..." ¹⁵⁹

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		08 July 2012 – Conversation with a Japanese Official “The US welcomes Japan’s interest in the TPP...”¹⁶⁰ 05 November 2012 – Remarks in Australia “This TPP sets the gold standard in trade agreements”¹⁶¹ 13 November 2013 – Wikileaks released TPP Intellectual Property Rights Chapter¹⁶² July 2014 – Hard Choices Memoir “become the economic pillar of our strategy in Asia”¹⁶³ 22 May 2015 – NH Press Conference “I want to judge this when I see exactly what exactly is in it and whether or not I think it meets my standards”¹⁶⁴ 08 October 2015 – “I am not in favor of what I have learned about it”¹⁶⁵ October 2016 – Wikileaks released Podesta emails showing Clinton support for TPP in June 2015¹⁶⁶ 10 November 2015 – Debate “The TPP is a horrible deal”¹⁷² 14 March 2016 – op-ed “TPP is the biggest betrayal in a long line of betrayals were politicians have sold out U.S. workers.”¹⁷³ 28 June 2016 – “The TPP is another disaster done and pushed by special interests”¹⁷⁴ TTIP Neither candidate has issued a concrete stance on TTIP, although with their opposition, it is assumed they are also critical of TTIP.¹⁷⁵

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		23 October 2016 – Leaked memo from Wikileaks shows Soros and his Open Society Foundation as coming out against the TPP and criticizing the Obama administration for undermining democracy in Malaysia.¹⁶⁷ TTIP Neither candidate has issued a concrete stance on TTIP, although with their opposition, it is assumed they are also critical of TTIP.¹⁶⁸ (U// [REDACTED] According to Wikileaks emails, the shift in Clinton's support was due to getting support from unions.¹⁷⁶
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "Senior Russian diplomat withdrawn from Washington embassy on account of potential exposure in US presidential election operation/s"	(U// [REDACTED] It is believed a misspelling of Mikhail Aleksandrovich Kalugin, a Russian diplomat. [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] Putin had been receiving conflicting advice on interfering from three separate and expert groups." (U) "On one side had been the Russian ambassador to the US, Sergei Kislyak, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, together with an independent and informal network run by presidential foreign policy advisor, Yuri Ushakov (Kislyak's predecessor in Washington) who had urged caution and the potential negative impact on Russia from the operation/s."	OGA [REDACTED] OGA

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[REDACTED]

(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		OGA [REDACTED] 179
		OGA [REDACTED] 180
		OGA [REDACTED] 181
		OGA [REDACTED] 182
		[REDACTED] 183
		[REDACTED] 184
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "On the other side was former PA Head, Sergei Ivanov, backed by Russian Foreign Intelligence (SVR) , who had advised Putin that the pro-Trump, anti-Clinton operation/s would be both effective and plausibly deniable with little blowback."	OGA [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "The first group/s had been proven right and this had been the catalyst in Putin's decision to sack Ivanov (unexpectedly) as PA Head in August."	(U) Kremlin.ru reporting shows a dialogue between Putin, Ivanov, and Vaino, with Putin thanking Ivanov for his excellent service. Putin then tells Ivanov that Putin granted Ivanov Ivanov's wish to be in the position no longer than four years. Putin then tells Vaino that Ivanov recommended Vaino and that Putin agreed. Vaino thanks both of them. Ivanov then praises Vaino for the work he did for Ivanov. ¹⁸⁵ OGA [REDACTED] ¹⁸⁶
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "His successor, Anton Vaino, had been selected for the job partly because he had not been involved in the US presidential election operation/s."	(U) Kremlin.ru reporting shows a dialogue between Putin, Ivanov, and Vaino, with Putin thanking Ivanov for his excellent service. Putin then tells Ivanov that Putin granted Ivanov Ivanov's wish to be in the position no longer than four years. Putin then tells Vaino that Ivanov recommended Vaino and that Putin agreed. Vaino thanks both of them. Ivanov then praises Vaino for the work he did for Ivanov. ¹⁸⁷ OGA [REDACTED]

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		OGA [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] Kremlin had further 'kompromat' on candidate Clinton and had been considering releasing this via 'plausibly deniable' channels"	(U) A twitter feed search revealed that on 7 October 2016 Wikileaks began publishing Podesta's emails ¹⁸⁹ (U// [REDACTED]) If referring to Wikileaks, this would be confirmed as of 14 November 2016.
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "after the Duma (legislative) elections were out of the way in mid-September."	(U// [REDACTED]) The Duma elections occurred on 18 September 2016 and saw the ruling pro-Kremlin party United Russia win 343 out of 450 seats in the new State Duma. ¹⁹⁰
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "There was however a growing train of thought and associated lobby, arguing that the Russian could still make candidate Clinton look 'weak and stupid' by provoking her into railing against Putin and Russia without the need to release more of her e-mails."	(U// [REDACTED]) As of late July 2016, reports of Democrats and Clinton using the "Russia Card" began after the DNC hacking and e-mail leak in mainstream U.S media. ¹⁹¹
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "Presidential Spokesman, Dmitry Peskov remained a key figure in the operation, although any final decision on dissemination of further material would be taken by Putin himself."	(U// [REDACTED]) As of September 2016, reports begin in Sputnik about Hillary Clinton using the "Russia Card" against Trump. ¹⁹² OGA [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] Moscow's intervention in the US presidential election campaign was the objective of shifting the US political consensus in Russia's perceived interests regardless of who won. It basically comprised of pushing candidate Clinton away from President Obama's policies"	(U) In a 16 October 2016 speech in India, Putin addressed reporters and said that Moscow would welcome any US leader who is willing to work with Russia. ¹⁹⁴

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes	
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "The best example of this was that both candidates now openly opposed the draft trade agreements, TPP and TTIP, which were assessed by Moscow as detrimental to Russian interests."	(U) Clinton TPP 08 September 2010 – CFR Speech "We're pursuing a regional agreement with the nations of the Trans-Pacific Partnership..."¹⁹⁵ 09 March 2011 – APEC Forum "The US is also making important progress on the TPP..."¹⁹⁶ 08 July 2012 – Conversation with a Japanese Official "The US welcomes Japan's interest in the TPP..."¹⁹⁷ 05 November 2012 – Remarks in Australia "This TPP sets the gold standard in trade agreements" ¹⁹⁸ 13 November 2013 – Wikileaks released TPP Intellectual Property Rights Chapter¹⁹⁹ July 2014 – Hard Choices Memoir "become the economic pillar of our strategy in Asia" ²⁰⁰ 22 May 2015 – NH Press Conference "I want to judge this when I see exactly what exactly	(U) Trump TPP 22 April 2015 – Tweet "The TPP is an attack on America's businesses"²⁰⁶ May 2015 – Daily Caller Criticism of TPP²⁰⁷ 05 October 2015 – Tweet "TPP is a terrible deal"²⁰⁸ 10 November 2015 – Debate "The TPP is a horrible deal"²⁰⁹ 14 March 2016 – op-ed "TPP is the biggest betrayal in a long line of betrayals were politicians have sold out U.S. workers." ²¹⁰ 28 June 2016 – "The TPP is another disaster done and pushed by special interests"²¹¹ TTIP Neither candidate has issued a concrete stance on TTIP, although with their opposition, it is assumed they are also critical of TTIP.²¹²

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		is in it and whether or not I think it meets my standards" ²⁰¹ 08 October 2015 – "I am not in favor of what I have learned about it" ²⁰² October 2016 – Wikileaks released Podesta emails showing Clinton support for TPP in June 2015 ²⁰³ 23 October 2016 – Leaked memo from Wikileaks shows Soros and his Open Society Foundation as coming out against the TPP and criticizing the Obama administration for undermining democracy in Malaysia. ²⁰⁴ TTIP Neither candidate has issued a concrete stance on TTIP, although with their opposition, it is assumed they are also critical of TTIP. ²⁰⁵ (U//) According to Wikileaks emails, the shift in Clinton's support was due to getting support from unions. ²¹³
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "Other issues where the Kremlin was looking to shift the US policy consensus were Ukraine and Syria. Overall however, the presidential election was considering still to be too close to call."	
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] a leading Russian diplomat, Mikhail Kulagin, [redacted] withdrawn from Washington at short notice because	This information was provided by Igor Danchenko. [REDACTED] Danchenko, a Washington, DC-based consultant employed by Orbis

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	Moscow feared his heavy involvement in the US presidential election operation, including the so-called veterans' pensions ruse (reported previously), would be exposed in the media there."	Business Intelligence (through Target Labs, a Virginia-based contract vehicle). Danchenko served as FBI CHS CROWN's primary sub-source for reports CROWN put together about Russian Government influence on the 2016 US presidential election. Danchenko collected the information he provided to CROWN from his own social network of friends and associates. (U// [REDACTED] It is believed a misspelling of Mikhail Aleksandrovich Kalugin, a Russian diplomat. [REDACTED] 214
(U) 2016/111 *9/14/16	(U) "His replacement, Andrei Bondarev however was clean in this regard."	(U) [REDACTED] 215 [REDACTED] 216
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] Significant favors continue to be done in both directions and Fridman and Aven still giving informal advice to Putin, especially on the US"	(U) According to Sydney's Morning Herald, Fridman, Russia's second richest man employs Pyotr Aven, an economist who worked with Putin in St. Petersburg. Aven helped Putin beat corruption charges and Aven and Fridman have been known to be in "Moscow's corridors of power". 217

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U) The man who authored Trump's first big foreign policy speech, Richard Burt, sits on Alfa's (Fridman's company) senior advisory board.²¹⁸ (U) An Interfax article September 2016 and Fridman and Aven's names show's an Interfax article about the removal of board member Slobodin.²¹⁹ OGA [REDACTED]²²⁰ OGA [REDACTED]²²¹ (U// [REDACTED]) While there is history, there does not seem to be any concrete, current information as of 14 November 2016.
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "Key intermediary in Putin-Alpha relationship identified as Oleg Govorun, currently head of a presidential administration department but throughout the 1990s, the Alpha executive who delivered illicit cash directly to Putin"	(U) Govorun was vice-president of Alfa-Bank and deputy head of the bank's directorate for communications with state bodies. ²²²
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "Putin personally unbothered about Alpha's current lack of investment in Russia but under pressure from colleagues over this and able to exploit it as lever over Alpha interlocutors"	(U// [REDACTED]) As of 09 September 2016, Govorun was the head of the Directorate for Social and Economic Relations, with the Commonwealth of Independent States, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia.²²³ (U) On 25 November 2014, Putin signed a law that cracks down on offshore tax sheltering, which would impact Alfa Group Consortium.²²⁴ (U) On 06 February 2015, Sputnik published "Everyone's a winner as Russian Banks and European Savers team up." The public sentiment does not seem to be against Alfa.²²⁵

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] although they had had their ups and downs, the leading figures in Alpha currently [redacted] on very good terms with Putin."	OGA [REDACTED] 226
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "Significant favors continued to be done in both directions, primarily political ones for Putin and business/legal ones for Alfa." (U) "Also, Fridman and Aven continued to give informal advice to Putin on foreign policy, and especially about the US where he distrusted advice being given to him by officials."	(U) According to [REDACTED] reporting from 14 September 2016, Russian corruption cases were being used to target (among others) Fridman. ²²⁷ OGA [REDACTED] 228
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "Although Fridman recently had met directly with Putin in Russia, much of the dialogue and business between them was mediated through a senior presidential administration official, Oleg Govorun, who currently headed the department therein responsible for Social Co-operation with the CIS."	OGA [REDACTED] 229 [REDACTED] 230
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "Govorun was trusted by Putin and recently had accompanied him to Uzbekistan to pay respects at the tomb of former president Karimov. [REDACTED] during the 1990s Govorun had been Head of Government Relations at Alpha Group and in reality, the "driver" and "bag carrier" used by	(U) [REDACTED] Govorun was formerly Vice President of the Joint-Stock Company. ²³¹ (U) Govorun was reprimanded by Putin personally in October 2012 and resigned from his post as Regional Development Minister. ²³² (U) According to Sputnik, a busy schedule precluded Putin's visit to Memorial Service for Karimov on 03 September 2016. ²³³

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	Fridman and Aven to deliver large amounts of illicit cash to the Russian president, at that time deputy Mayor of St. Petersburg."	(U) According to India Express, Putin laid flowers at Karimov's grave on 06 September 2016. ²³⁴
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "Given that the continuing sensitivity of the Putin-Alpha relationship, and need for plausible deniability, much of the contact between them was now indirect and entrusted to the relatively low profile Govorun."	(U) No information about Govorun's role in the 90's could be found outside of his role as VP of Alfa Bank. ²³⁵
(U) 2016/112 *9/14/16	(U) "[REDACTED] Alfa held 'kompromat' on Putin and his corrupt business activities form the 1990s whilst although not personally overly bothered by Alpha's failure to reinvest the proceeds of its TNK oil company sale into the Russian economy since, the Russian president was able to use pressure on this count from senior Kremlin colleagues as a lever on Fridman and Aven to make them do his political bidding."	(U) According to Sputnik, a consortium of Alfa Access, and Renova made \$28 billion dollars on the deal that was signed on 12 December 2012. No open source criticism was found of Alfa regarding the TNK deal. ²³⁷
2016/113 *09/14/16	1. Speaking to a trusted compatriot in September 2016, two well-placed sources based in St Petersburg, one in the political/business elite and the other involved in the local services and tourist industry, commented on Republican US presidential candidate Donald TRUMP's prior activities in the city.	
2016/113 *09/14/16	2. Both knew TRUMP had visited St Petersburg on several occasions in the past and had been interested in doing business deals there involving real estate. The local business/political elite figure reported that TRUMP had paid bribes there to further his interests but very discreetly and only through affiliated companies, making it very hard to prove. The local services industry source reported that TRUMP had participated in sex parties in the city too, but that all direct witnesses to this recently had been "silenced" i.e. bribed or coerced to disappear.	This information was provided by [Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED] This information could have also been provided by another Danchenko sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]

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2016/113 *09/14/16	3. The two St Petersburg figures cited believed an Azeri business figure, Araz AGALAROV (with offices in Baku and London) had been closely involved with TRUMP in Russia and would know most of the details of what the Republican presidential candidate had got up to there.	This information was provided by [redacted] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [redacted]
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "...a military wing of the GRU was overseeing [a] hacking operation in the [United States]."	This information could have also been provided by another Danchenko sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [redacted]
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "...a division of the FSB [of which the FSB interlocutor is part] that thinks the existence of a 'pervasive' and 'sophisticated' intelligence operation focusing on pivotal US personalities is widely known, specifically the Donald Trump operation."	(U// [redacted]) The GRU role in hacking has been established in open source reporting; however this is the only report that mentions the GRU overseeing the hacking operation.
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "...a division of the FSB [of which the FSB interlocutor is part] that thinks the existence of a 'pervasive' and 'sophisticated' intelligence operation focusing on pivotal US personalities is widely known, specifically the Donald Trump operation."	OGA [redacted] Other than open source speculation, the only reporting that mentions this is the Crown Reporting from 5 July 2016 and 2 August 2016.]

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "...the Trump operation was an 'open secret' in Putin's government circles."	OGA [REDACTED] ⁴⁰ There is no reference to "open secret" in previous reporting, however the prior Crown reporting from 5 and 25 July 2016, 29 August 2016, and 19 October 2016 indicated several individuals in the Russian government were aware of the operation. (U) The pageant took place on 9 November 2013 in Moscow, Russia. ²⁴¹
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "... Trump was filmed twice in Moscow in November 2013 during the Miss Universe pageant."	[REDACTED] ⁴²
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[one of the filming] occurred in the Presidential Suite of the Ritz Carlton Hotel."	[REDACTED] ⁴³ On 14 January 2017, a CHS reported to FBI [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] was attempting to provide information about a [REDACTED] claimed to have compromising tapes on President Donald Trump. ²⁴⁴ [Analyst Note: It is unknown if the tapes mentioned in this reporting are the same tapes mentioned in report 80. The only similar information is the use of "tapes" [REDACTED]

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		(U) There is no confirmation that Trump stayed here. There is no "Presidential Suite" currently listed, though they do have the Moscow Suite, Ritz-Carlton Suite, Carlton Suite, Teverskaya Suite, and the Executive Suite.²⁴⁵ There is mention of the Presidential suite in a press release from 2015.²⁴⁶ (U) In 2009 President Obama stayed in the Presidential suite at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Moscow which is described as a five room kremlin view luxury suite with huge panoramic windows.²⁴⁷ OGA [REDACTED]²⁴⁸
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[one of the filming took place] at the Crocus shopping mall where the pageant was held"	(U) The pageant was held at the Crocus International Exhibition Center which does have shops and is attached to a hotel (Aquarium Hotel). ²⁴⁹
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "...there is a special complex for distinguished guests in the Crocus Complex with all the amenities including a pool..."	[REDACTED]⁵⁰ [REDACTED]⁵¹ (U) The Crocus Group has several buildings in Moscow, including the Crocus International Exhibition Center, and The Crocus City Hall (concert venue), and the Aquarium Hotel. Both venues are large and appear to have several amenities; however, neither a pool nor a "special complex for distinguished guests" is listed.²⁵²

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "This [Crocus] complex is owned by the Agalarov family"	[REDACTED] ²⁵³ (U) The Crocus Group is owned and controlled by the Agalarov family. ²⁵⁴
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[Trump] was also filmed in St. Petersburg"	[REDACTED] ⁵⁵ (U) Trump was in St. Petersburg in 1987 working on a real-estate deal, and in 2008 Trump claimed to have been to Russia six times in 18 months. Though he did not mention St. Petersburg, the real estate deal he was negotiating included a hotel in St. Petersburg. ^{256,257}
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[The] first FSB-generated payment [\$10 million] to Trump took place in Baku at the presidential palace, which Trump took personally."	[REDACTED] ⁵⁸ (U) There doesn't appear to be any record of Trump visiting Baku or the presidential palace, though he may have traveled there at some point during the negotiations of the Trump Tower project. ²⁵⁹
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[The] next payment...went to [Trump's] daughter Ivanka"	[REDACTED] ²⁶⁰

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "The FSB money was originally passed through Aras Agalarov...who served as a liaison between Trump and Putin"	(U) Ivanka was took the lead on the Trump Tower project in Baku from its inception and she appears to have traveled there in 2014 and 2015. ²⁶¹
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "Anar Mammadov, the son of Azerbaijan Transport Minister Ziya Mammadov, was also involved"	(U) Trump does have a relationship with the Agalarov family, dating back to at least 2013. The Agalarov family has been awarded numerous commercial contracts in Russia and in 2013, Putin himself awarded Aras Agalarov with the Russian medal of honor. ²⁶³
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[They used the presidential palace in Baku] because Aras Agalarov's son, Emin, is married to Leyla Aliyeva, the daughter of Azerbaijan's president Ilham Aliyev."	(U) Anar Mammadov is the billionaire son of Ziya Mammadov, Azerbaijan's transportation minister. ²⁶⁵
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[Emin] got Trump to perform in a music video"	(U) Leyla Aliyeva was married to Emin Agalarov in 2013, however, they divorced in 2015. She is the daughter of the current president of Azerbaijan, who took office in 2003. ^{267, 268}
(U) Winer **10/19/16		

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		269 [REDACTED] (U) On 20 November 2013, Trump appeared in Emin Agalarov's video titled "In Another Life"²⁷⁰
(U) Winer **10/19/16	(U) "[Following acceptance of the \$10 million, which Trump took personally in Baku] Trump promised to support Aliyev politically, and also promised to organize a Congressional trip to Baku."	71 [REDACTED] (U) Trump is not on record for saying positive things about President Aliyev; however he was in negotiations with Anar Mammadov to use the Trump name for a hotel and condo tower in Baku. The Mammadov family is very closely tied to Aliyev.²⁷² (U) There is no record of Trump personally organizing a Congressional Delegation (CODEL) visit to Baku, but there have been at least two CODEL visits came under public scrutiny. The first occurred in 2013, when 10 members of Congress and 32 of their staff visited Baku and the trip was paid for by the State Oil Company of the Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR). This trip included several thousand dollars in illegal gifts, and was ultimately investigated by the Office of Congressional Ethics.²⁷³ (U) The second CODEL visit that was scrutinized was one that occurred on 14 November 2014, when four prominent US Senators and several congressmen attended the Azerbaijan American Alliance third annual gala dinner.²⁷⁴
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	[REDACTED] "...a degree of buyer's remorse was setting in among Russian leaders concerning TRUMP. PUTIN and his colleagues were surprised and disappointed that leaks of Democratic candidate Hillary CLINTON's hacked e-mails had not had great impact on the campaign."	

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...a stream of further hacked CLINTON material already had been injected by the Kremlin into compliant western media outlets like Wikileaks, which remained at least "plausibly deniable", so the stream of these would continue through October and up to the election."	
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...understood that the best material the Russians had already was out and there were no real game-changers to come."	
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...PUTIN was angry at his subordinate's "over-promising" on the Republican presidential candidate, both in terms of his chances and reliability and being able to cover and/or contain the US backlash over Kremlin interference."	
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...Foreign Minister LAVROV could be the next one to go."	
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...Russia needed to upset the liberal international status quo, including on Ukraine-related sanctions, which was seriously disadvantaging the country."	
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "TRUMP was viewed as divisive in disrupting the whole US political system; anti-Establishment; and a pragmatist with whom they could do business."	reporting corroborates that Russia believes Trump would make a good president and that positive relations can be formed with a Trump administration. ^{275, 276}
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "As the TRUMP support operation had gained momentum, control of it had passed from the MFA to the FSB and then into the presidential administration where it remained, a reflection of its growing significance over time."	
(U) 2016/130 *10/12/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "There was still a view in the Kremlin that TRUMP would continue as a (divisive) political force even if he lost the presidency and may run for and be elected to another public office."	
(U) 2016/132 *10/13/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...PUTIN now regretted Moscow's operation to interfere in the US presidential election in favor of Republican candidate Donald TRUMP."	This information was provided by [redacted] sub-source. The sub-source has been identified as [redacted]. ^{277, 278}

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U) There is a school named the Higher School of Economics located in Moscow.²⁸⁴ (U) Via open source articles in July, PAGE gave a commencement speech on 8 July at the New Economic School in Moscow.²⁸⁵
(U) 2016/134 *10/18/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...the Rosneft President was so keen to lift personal and corporate western sanctions imposed on the company, that he offered PAGE/TRUMP's associates the brokerage of up to a 19 per cent (privatized) stake in Rosneft in return."	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]. (U// [REDACTED]) On 09 March 2017, Page was interviewed by FBI NY. Page stated that Glencore received the stake, which is associated to Mark Rich, an associate of the Clintons. Page claimed his was evidence of the Clinton's pay-to-play schemes. Mark Rich was a founder of the Clinton Library.²⁸⁶ (U) In September 2014 interview, Rosneft President Igor Sechin was quoted saying "Neither I nor my company have anything to do with the crisis in Ukraine. As such, there is no foundation for the sanctions against me and Rosneft. They represent a violation of international law."²⁸⁷
(U) 2016/134 *10/18/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "PAGE had expressed interest and confirmed that were TRUMP elected US president, then sanctions on Russia would be lifted."	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]. (U) In open source reporting, Page has discussed the negative implications US sanctions on Russia have had on his own business. He has expressed strong opinions against sanctions, citing it as an "injustice unleashed upon millions of people residing in Russia."^{288, 289}

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) 2016/134 * 10/18/2016 ** 10/19/2016	(S) "...Rosneft President had continued to believe that TRUMP could win the US presidency right up to 17 October, when he assessed this was no longer possible."	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].
(U) 2016/134 * 10/18/2016 ** 10/19/2016	(S) "SECHIN was keen to re-adapt accordingly and put feelers out to other business and political contacts in the US instead."	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].
(U) 2016/134 * 10/18/2016 ** 10/19/2016	(S) "...key role in the secret TRUMP campaign/Kremlin relationship was being played by the Republican candidate's personal lawyer Michael COHEN."	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].
		(U) Cohen currently serves as Special Counsel to Donald Trump and Executive Vice President of the Trump Organization. As Executive Vice President, Cohen also serves as the co-president of Trump Entertainment. He had been the lead negotiator for the Trump Tower project in Batumi, Georgia, and also serves as the Chief Operating Officer of Affliction Entertainment. Prior to beginning work for the Trump Organization in 2007, Cohen was a partner at Phillips Nizer.^{290,291,292,293} (U) Cohen also has some experience in politics. In 1988, he volunteered for the presidential campaign of Michael Dukakis, and later served as a legislative intern for US Congressman John Joseph Moakley. Cohen ran for New York City Council as a Republican in 2003, and briefly ran for the US Senate as a Democrat in 2009. Cohen began meeting with Republican operatives in 2011 to determine the reception of a potential Trump presidential campaign.²⁹⁴

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U) 2016/135 and 2016/136 reference a secret meeting in Prague between Cohen and Kremlin officials in August 2016. (U//) The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA [REDACTED]²⁹⁵
(U) 2016/134 *10/18/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "COHEN had a wife of Russia origin, whose father, Efim SHUSTERMAN, was a leading Moscow property developer."	[REDACTED] This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]. (U) Cohen's wife is Laura Cohen (nee Shusterman), PII [REDACTED]. Her father is Fima – a shortened version of Efim – Shusterman PII [REDACTED]²⁹⁶ [REDACTED] This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].
(U) 2016/134 *10/18/2016 **10/19/2016	(S) "...SHUSTERMAN has a country house (dacha) in the settlement of Barvikha, west of Moscow...village reserved for the residences of the top leadership and their close associates."	(U) Barvikha is a "small town of villas and luxury boutiques" and "home to half a dozen or so deposed leaders and members of their families", including Askar Akayev, the former President of Kyrgyzstan. It is "home to politicians, including President Vladimir Putin, and members of Russia's business elite."²⁹⁷²⁹⁸ (U) <i>Barvikha Luxury Village</i>, located in Barvikha, is a large-scale country project of the Mercury company, featuring the following:

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		• Barvikha Hotel & Spa and Spa Dominique Chenot • Pedestrian street of boutiques, car dealers and banks • Gourmet restaurants and wine collection • Market for environmental products • A unique concert hall. (U) The area totals more than 80,000 sqm and is located in the prestigious district of Moscow region, only 8 kilometers west from Moscow Rublevo Uspenskoye.²⁹⁹
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "Cohen engaged with Russians in trying to cover up a scandal of Manafort and exposure of Page and meets Kremlin officials secretly in the EU in August in pursuit of this goal."	This information was provided by [redacted] sub-source was identified as [redacted]. (U// [redacted]) The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA [redacted]
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "These secret contacts continue but are now farmed out to trusted agents in Kremlin-linked institutes so as to remain 'plausibly deniable' for Russian regime"	
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "Sacking of Ivanov and appointments of Vaino and Kiriyeenko linked to need to cover up Kremlin's Trump support operation."	This information was provided by [redacted] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [redacted]. (U// [redacted]) In August 2016, Kremlin chief of staff or Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration Sergei Ivanov, an ally and fellow former KGB officer who had held several key posts in Putin's Russia, was replaced with Anton Vaino, a little-known deputy presidential administration chief in charge of protocol.³⁰¹

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U) Sergei Ivanov was replaced by Anton Vaino on August 12, 2016.³⁰² (U) Sergei Kiriyeenko was appointed to the first Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration on 12 September 2016.³⁰³ OGA [REDACTED] 304
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "a Kremlin insider highlighted the importance of Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's lawyer, Michael Cohen, in the ongoing secret liaison relationship between the New York tycoon's campaign and the Russian leadership."	[REDACTED] This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]. (U) Cohen currently serves as Special Counsel to Donald Trump and Executive Vice President of the Trump Organization. As Executive Vice President, Cohen also serves as the co-president of Trump Entertainment. He had been the lead negotiator for the Trump Tower project in Batumi, Georgia, and also serves as the Chief Operating Officer of Affliction Entertainment. Prior to beginning work for the Trump Organization in 2007, Cohen was a partner at Phillips Nizer.^{305, 306, 307, 308}

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U) Cohen also has some experience in politics. In 1988, he volunteered for the presidential campaign of Michael Dukakis, and later served as a legislative intern for US Congressman John Joseph Moakley. Cohen ran for New York City Council as a Republican in 2003, and briefly ran for the US Senate as a Democrat in 2009. Cohen began meeting with Republican operatives in 2011 to determine the reception of a potential Trump presidential campaign. ³⁰⁹
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "Cohen's role had grown following the departure of Paul Manafort as Trump's campaign manager in August of 2016"	(U) Paul Manafort resigned from the Trump campaign on 19 August 2016. ³¹⁰
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "Prior to that Manafort had led for the Trump side"	(U) Paul Manafort was chief strategist and campaign chairman for the Donald Trump presidential campaign from 8 May to 19 August 2016. ³¹¹ (U) On May 19, 2016 Manafort was named campaign chairman and chief strategist for the Donald Trump presidential campaign. ³¹² Manafort originally joined the Trump campaign on March 28, 2016 to lead the delegate effort for the Republican National Convention. ³¹³ (U) Manafort moved into a condo in Trump Towers in 2006, but it does not appear that Manafort had prior business dealings with Trump or his enterprises. ³¹⁴
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "Cohen now was heavily engaged in the cover up and damage limitation operation in the attempt to prevent the full details of Trump's relationship with Russia being exposed"	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "In pursuit of this aim, Cohen had met secretly with several Russian Presidential Administration Legal Department officials in the EU country in August 2016"	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U//) The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "The immediate issues had been to contain further scandals involving Manafort's commercial and political role in Russia/Ukraine and to limit the damage arising from exposure of former Trump foreign policy advisor, Carter Page's secret meetings with Russian leadership figures in Moscow the previous month"	(U) On 15 August 2016 several articles were published detailing Manafort's prior dealings with the Pro-Russia Party of Regions in Ukraine, and his potential links to illegal payments.³¹⁵ (U) In 2005 Ukrainian Oligarch Rinat Akhmetov hired Manafort to improve his public image and the image of his companies in Ukraine. Akhmetov introduced Manafort to future Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, and soon after Manafort began consulting for the Party of Regions (POR), the pro-Russian political party in Ukraine. During this period Manafort received payments of 10 million and 17 million dollars from Vega Holdings a company whose ownership could not be determined.^{317, 318} (U) During the 2006 Ukrainian parliamentary election, Manafort consulted for the POR. He received 2.5 million dollars from Antes Management Corp. OST West, a company purportedly owned by the POR.³¹⁹ (U) In 2007 Manafort entered into a business partnership with Russian Oligarch Oleg Deripaska. Manafort and two American business partners, Richard Davis and Richard Gates, created a private equity fund in the Cayman Islands called Pericles Emerging Market Investors. Deripaska invested in this fund through his own Cyprus incorporated firm, B-Invest. Deripaska agreed to pay a two percent fee for Manafort's fund management. The fund purchased stake in a Ukrainian media company in Odessa, Black Sea Cable. As of 2014 Deripaska was in an active law suit with Manafort, Gates, and Davis, claiming that they had taken 19 million dollars from the fund and 7.3 million in fees, with no financial return for Deripaska.^{320, 321}

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U) Beginning in 2008, Manafort began business negotiations with Ukrainian national Dmitry Firtash. Manafort and his American business partners sought to purchase the Drake Hotel, tear it down, and build a luxury apartment building. Firtash created an investment fund for the venture, but the deal never materialized. In December of 2011, former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko filed a lawsuit in New York, claiming that Firtash was investing ill-gotten profits from Ukrainian energy deals. The case was eventually dismissed for lack of evidence, but the lawsuit did mention the 2008 venture with Manafort.^{322, 323} (U) From 2007-2014 it appears that Manafort continued to consult for Viktor Yanukovych and the POR. After Yanukovych fled to Russia in February of 2014, it was reported that Serhiy Lyovochkin, Yanukovych's former chief of staff, put Manafort on retainer for the POR (now called the Opposition Block or Oppo Block).^{324, 325, 326, 327}
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "Things had become even 'hotter' since August on the Trump-Russia track."	(U) There were articles about Paul Manafort's connections to Ukraine and Russia on 4 August, 15 August, 16 August, and 17 August 2016.^{328 329 330 331} (U) As of August 2016 Manafort is the active subject of a money laundering and tax evasion criminal case out of Washington Field Office (WFO).³³² (U) In July of 2016 it was reported that a document was recovered during the investigation of Ukrainian justice official indicating that Manafort had hired the law firm Skadden, Arps, Meaghe & Flom to draft a report defending the prosecution and incarceration of former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.^{333, 334} (U) In August 2016, the Ukrainian National Anti-Corruption Bureau discovered a ledger purportedly belonging to the POR. During investigation of this ledger they claimed that Manafort's name is

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		mentioned twenty two times between the years 2007-2012, with amounts totaling 12.7 million dollars.^{335, 336, 337} (U) On August 17 2016, the Associated Press reported that in 2012 Manafort help route 2.2 million dollars to two separate lobbying firms in Washington DC. The report states that Manafort did this on behalf of the Ukrainian POR, and sought to obscure the source of the funds. Allegedly, Manafort and his deputy Richard Gates used a pro-Yanukovych non-profit, the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine, to hire the firms to lobby on behalf of the POR and the prime minister at the time Viktor Yanukovych.^{338, 339}
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "this had meant that direct contact between the Trump team and Russia had been farmed out by the Kremlin to trusted agents of influence working in pro-government policy institutes like that of Law and Comparative Jurisprudence. Cohen however continued to lead for the Trump team."	The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]. This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. (U) There is an Institute of Legislation and Comparative Jurisprudence in Russia. It appears to be closely tied to the Russian Government.³⁴⁰ (U// [REDACTED]) This is most likely the Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law (sometimes called the Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law under the RF Government) in Moscow. The website is noted as www.izak.ru. [REDACTED] (U// [REDACTED]) This entity goes by multiple names, translated from Russian into English. It can be called the RF State-Law Administration [or Department], the RF Government-Legal Department, the Legal

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		Directorate, or the Legal Administration. According to open source information dated mid-August 2016, the chief of the Kremlin's legal department is Larisa Brycheva, who has served in that capacity for many years.
(U) 2016/135 *10/19/16 **10/19/16	(U) "Referring back to the (surprise) sacking of Sergei Ivanov as head of PA in August 2016, his replacement by Anton Vaino and the appointment of former Russian premier Sergei Kiriyenko to another senior position in the PA, the Kremlin insider repeated that this had been directly connected to the Trump support operation and the need to cover up now that it was being exposed by the USG and in the western media."	This information was provided by [redacted] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [redacted]. (U) [redacted] In August 2016, Kremlin chief of staff or Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration Sergei Ivanov, an ally and fellow former KGB officer who had held several key posts in Putin's Russia, was replaced with Anton Vaino, a little-known deputy presidential administration chief in charge of protocol.³⁴¹ (U) Sergei Ivanov was replaced by Anton Vaino on August 12, 2016.³⁴² (U) Sergei Kiriyenko was appointed to the first Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration on 12 September 2016.³⁴³ OGA [redacted]

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		OGA [REDACTED] 344
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "Kremlin insider reports Trump lawyer Cohen's secret meeting/s with Kremlin officials in August 2016 was/were held in Prague"	This information was provided by [REDACTED] Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "Russian parastatal organization Rossotrudnichestvo used as cover for this liaison and premises in Czech capital may have been used for the meeting"	(U// [REDACTED] 5) The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA [REDACTED] This information was provided by [REDACTED] Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]. According to open source information (cze.rs.gov.ru) dated 2 December 2013, Leonid Anatolyevich Gamza was noted as the Rossotrudnichestvo representative in the Czech Republic. OGA [REDACTED] 346
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "speaking to a compatriot and friend on Oct 19 2016, a Kremlin insider provided further details of reported clandestine meeting/s between Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's lawyer Michael Cohen and Kremlin representatives in August 2016"	This information was provided by [REDACTED] Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED].

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U//) The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "the Kremlin insider clearly indicated to his/her friend that the reported contact/s took place in Prague, Czech Republic"	347 This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "the Kremlin insider highlighted the importance of the Russian parastatal organization, Rossotrudnichestvo, in this contact between Trump campaign representative/s and Kremlin officials."	348 (U//) The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA [REDACTED] This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "Rossotrudnichestvo was being used as cover for this relationship and its office in Prague may well have been used to host the Cohen/Russian Presidential Administration meeting/s."	349 According to open source information (cze.rs.gov.ru) dated 2 December 2013, Leonid Anatolyevich Gamza was noted as the Rossotrudnichestvo representative in the Czech Republic. OGA [REDACTED] This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		According to open source information (cze.rs.gov.ru) dated 2 December 2013, Leonid Anatolyevich Gamza was noted as the Rossotrudnichestvo representative in the Czech Republic. OGA [REDACTED] 350 (U// [REDACTED] The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA [REDACTED] 351
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "It was considered a 'plausibly deniable' vehicle for this, whilst remaining entirely under Kremlin control."	
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "The Kremlin insider went on to identify leading pro-Putin Duma figure, Konstantin Kosachev (Head of Foreign Relations Committee) as an important figure in the Trump campaign-Kremlin liaison operation."	This information was provided by [REDACTED] Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]
		(U) Kosachev was named to the Russian Duma in late December 2014. Upon becoming a Russian senator, he replaced Mikhail Margelov as the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Russia's Federation Council.³⁵² (U) In 2012 Kosachev was named head of Rossotrudnichestvo.³⁵³ [REDACTED] The alleged use of Rossotrudnichestvo in Prague and the source's references to Konstantin Kosachev's involvement makes sense given that Kosachev served as the chief of Rossotrudnichestvo between March 2012 and March 2015 – at which time he was replaced by Lyubov Glebova. Rossotrudnicho's representative in Prague, Leonid Gamza, served in Prague under Kosachev's tenure in

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		Rosotrudnichestvo, so it is very likely that the two of them know one another. OGA OGA 354
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "Kosachev, also 'plausibly deniable' being part of the Russian legislature rather than executive, had facilitated the contact in Prague and by implication, may have attended the meeting/s with Cohen there in August"	This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED] (U) Kosachev was named to the Russian Duma in late December 2014. Upon becoming a Russian senator, he replaced Mikhail Margelov as the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Russia's Federation Council.³⁵⁵ (U) In 2012 Kosachev was named head of Rossotrudnichestvo.³⁵⁶ (U) At this time the CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team is unable to corroborate travel for Kosachev.
(U) 2016/136 *10/20/16 **10/21/16	(U) "According to the Kremlin advisor, these meeting/s were originally scheduled for Cohen in Moscow but shifted to what was considered an operationally 'soft' EU country when it was judged too compromising for him to travel to the Russian capital"	This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED] (U// [REDACTED]) The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE team has been unable to verify travel by Cohen to the Czech Republic in August 2016. OGA

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
(U) 2016/137 *10/14/16 **10/24/16	(U) "Former Trump foreign policy adviser Page's secret Kremlin contact, Diveykin, moved from PA to a senior Duma position following his exposure in Western media"	OGA 357 This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/137 *10/14/16 **10/24/16	(U) "New position gives Diveykin diplomatic immunity if he travels abroad, making it harder for the USG to detain or question him. Move assessed by Kremlin insider as unorthodox, unsanctioned and therefore as part of Kremlin Trump support operation cover-up."	(U) On September 23 rd , 2016 Yahoo News published an article claiming Carter Page was under investigation by the FBI and US Intelligence due to his ties with Russia. This article mentioned Page's alleged meeting with Diveykin. ³⁵⁸ [Analyst Note: There is no open source reporting mentioning Diveykin or his move to the Duma. However it is noted that Diveykin once worked for Volodin's secretariat, it is possible that Diveykin's move to the Duma was to follow his former boss. This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED] (U) Unable to corroborate, there appears to be no press or announcements listing an administrative move for Diveykin.
(U) 2016/137 *10/14/16 **10/24/16	(U) "In mid October 2016, a mini-reshuffle of key staff took place in the Kremlin."	This information was provided by Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED] (U) On 10 October 2016, Putin shuffled positions in leadership, including the Duma. There is no mention of Diveykin, but Vyachaslav Volodin and Sergei Kiriyenko's names are mentioned. ³⁵⁹
	(U) 23 March 2015 – An article in Gazeta.ru detailed the departure of Oleg Morozov, the head of the Russian Presidential Administration's Domestic Policy Administration. Morozov, who had served in the	

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		position since May 2012, was replaced by Tatyana Voronova. In turn, the article named Igor Diveykin, "current leader of [first deputy head of the Presidential Staff Vyacheslav] Volodin's secretariat." ³⁶⁰ (U) Vyachaslav Volodin was voted to be the speaker of the Duma, replacing Sergei Naryshkin, who was named as the new head of the SVR. ³⁶¹ (U) There is no open source reporting mentioning Diveykin or his move to the Duma. However it is noted that Diveykin once worked for Volodin's secretariat, it is possible that Diveykin's move to the Duma was to follow his former boss. [REDACTED] This information was provided by [REDACTED] Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED] (U) Unable to corroborate, there appears to be no press or announcements listing an administrative move for Diveykin.
(U) 2016/137 *10/14/16 **10/24/16	(U) "As part of this reshuffle, the deputy Head of the Presidential Administration Internal Affairs department, Igor Diveykin, was moved from this position to a new one as Charge D'Affaires at the State Duma."	(U) On 23 September 2016, Yahoo News published an article claiming Carter Page was under investigation by the FBI and US Intelligence due to his ties with Russia. This article mentioned Page's alleged meeting with Diveykin. ³⁶² [REDACTED] This information was provided by [REDACTED] Danchenko's sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/137 *10/14/16 **10/24/16	(U) "This move followed Diveykin, a previously low key but senior Russian official, being exposed in the Western media e.g. the Yahoo News story of Sept. 23 2016 as a secret interlocutor of Carter Page."	(U) "The new Duma position however gave him diplomatic immunity, at least in the Russian government's eyes, making it more difficult for the USG or other foreign governments to detain or question Diveykin were he to travel abroad"

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		(U) Unable to corroborate if Diwyekin received a new position.
(U) 2016/137 *10/14/16 **10/24/16	(U) "The Kremlin insider compared the Diwyekin move to the maneuvering of chief Aleksandr Litvinenko murder suspect, Andrei Lugovoy into the Duma as a deputy after he had been exposed as a conspirator by the Western media in 2007. Logovoy's position also gave him diplomatic immunity."	(U) The Charge D' Affaires position is granted diplomatic immunity. ³⁶³ (U) Andrei Lugovoy was suspected of participating in the murder of Aleksandr Litvinenko, and after his potential role was made public, he was given a position in the Russian Duma. ³⁶⁴
(U) 2016/139 *10/27/16 **10/28/16	(U) "...TRUMP campaign Russian émigré figure, Serge MILLIAN..."	(U) On 29 March 2017, <i>The Washington Post</i> published an article describing Millian's comments that he was in touch with a campaign foreign policy advisor, George Papadopoulos, during the campaign and presidential transition. There is mention that Millian and Papadopoulos are friends on Facebook. Open source reporting has established a working relationship between MILLIAN and TRUMP as early as 2007. ^{365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370}
(U) 2016/139 *10/27/16 **10/28/16	(U) "The propaganda campaign, largely funded by Alpha Group business oligarch, Mikhail FRIDMAN, at President PUTIN's request, so as to remain "plausibly deniable", however had run into trouble.	(U) Open source reporting on Alfa Bank, owned by Alfa Group, identifies Mikhail Fridman as one of its key executives. [REDACTED] ³⁷¹
(U) 2016/139 *10/27/16 **10/28/16	(U) "...MILLIAN, had been forced to lie low abroad following his exposure in the western media. [MILLIAN] was currently in South Korea and... was being paid, by implication by the Russian regime, not to return to the US or talk to western journalists."	(U) [REDACTED] OGA (U) [REDACTED] OGA

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(U) Report	(U) Information	(U) Corroboration/Analyst Notes
		(U) OGA [REDACTED]
		(U) OGA [REDACTED]
		OGA [REDACTED]
		(U) OGA [REDACTED]
		(U) Millian has reached out U.S. journalists via the social media platform, Twitter. On 1 April 2017, Millian wrote a message directly to Chuck Ross, also cc'ing the twitter handle for The Daily Caller, Fox News, and Sean Hannity. He also included both Twitter accounts associated with POTUS. On 31 March 2017 Millian wrote a message

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(U) 2016/139 *10/27/16 **10/28/16	(U) "...US national employed by the media organization Sputnik had quoted a tweet which he thought had been put out by Wikileaks. In fact this had been premature as 'it (the tweet) wasn't supposed to be released that early'. As a result of this embarrassing mistake, the Sputnik employee had been sacked immediately and the propaganda programme (temporarily) suspended."	(U) The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) includes the United States, Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and Vietnam. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) is between the EU and the United States. ³⁸² [REDACTED] 383, 384
(U) 2016/139 *10/27/16 **10/28/16	(U) "...all leading Russian journalists knew that a number among them were being given privileged prior access by the Kremlin to Wikileaks material on CLINTON and leading Democratic campaign figures before it appeared on the Internet....they were under 'huge pressure' not to publish anything which questioned the position of or was critical of TRUMP or favourable to Hillary CLINTON."	
(U) 2016/166 *12/13/2016	(U) 1. We reported previously (2016/135 and /136) pm secret meeting/s held in Prague, Czech Republic in August 2016 between then Republican presidential candidate Donald TRUMP's representative, Michael COHEN and his interlocutors from the Kremlin under cover of Russian 'NGO' Rosstrudnichestvo.	[REDACTED] This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]
(U) 2016/166 *12/13/2016	(U) 2. [REDACTED] provided further details of these meeting/s and associated anti-CLINTON/ Democratic Party operations. COHEN had been accompanied to Prague by 3 colleagues and the timing of the visit was either in the last week of August or first week of September. One of their main Russian interlocutors was Oleg SOLODUKHIN operating un Rosstrudnichestvo cover. According to [REDACTED], the agenda-comprised questions on how deniable cash payments	[REDACTED] This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]

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(U) 2016/166 * 12/13/2016	were to be made to hackers who worked in Europe under Kremlin direction against the CLINTON campaign and various contingences for covering up the operations and Moscow's secret liaison with the TRUMP team more generally. (U) 3. [REDACTED] reported that over the period March-September 2016 a company called XBT/Webzilla and its affiliates had been using botnets and porn traffic to transmit viruses, plant bugs, steal data and conduct altering operations against the Democratic Party leadership. Entities linked to one Aleksei GUBAREV were involved and he and another hacking expert, both recruited under duress by the FSB, Seva KAPSUGOVICH were significant players in this operation. In Prague, COHEN agreed contingency plans for various scenarios to protect the operation, but in particular what was to be done in the event that Hilary CLINTON won the presidency. It was important in this event that all cash payments owed were made quickly and discreetly and that cyber and other operators were stood down/ able to go effectively to ground to cover their traces.	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED] (U// [REDACTED] XBT Holding was established in 2005 in Limassol, Cyprus by Aleksei [Aleksei] Gubarev. XBT is a computer networking company that provides business IT services, including global server hosting, shared hosting, cloud-based storage, virtual private networks (VPNs), network and web development, IP address transit, content delivery, and application development. For the consumer, XBT provides basic domain registration and shared hosting. XBT is described as a corporation centered on software development, advertising, and E-commerce. 385,386,387 (U// [REDACTED] According the XBT's official website the main office is located in Luxembourg. XBT also has offices in the United States, Netherlands, Bulgaria, Ukraine, India, and Singapore. XBT also maintains physical data centers in the United States (Dallas), Asia, and Europe with approximately 75,000 servers in operation. Gubarev claims the United States' operation accounts for 40% of business handled over servers and 27% of total revenue for XBT, with estimated revenues of \$50 to \$200 million. 388,389,390
(U) 2016/166 * 12/13/2016	(U) 4. In terms of practical measures to be taken, it was agreed by the two sides in Prague to stand down various "Romanian hackers" (presumably based in their homeland or neighbouring Eastern Europe) and that other operatives should head for a	This information was provided by [REDACTED] sub-source. The sub-source was identified as [REDACTED]

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	bolt-hole in Plovdiv, Bulgaria where they should “lay low”. On payments, IVANOV’s associate said that the operatives involved had been paid by both TRUMP’s team and the Kremlin, though their orders and ultimate loyalty lay with IVANOV, as Head of the PA, and thus ultimately responsible for the operation, and his designated successor/s after he was dismissed by president PUTIN in connection with the anti-CLINTON operation in mid-August.	

¹ (U) Michael Crowley; Politico; “When Donald Trump Brought Miss Universe to Moscow”; 15 May 2016; <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/05/donald-trump-russia-moscow-miss-universe-223173>

² (U) Tom Hamburger, Rosalind S. Helderman, and Michael Birnbaum; Washington Post; “Inside Trump’s Financial ties to Russia and his unusual flattery of Vladimir Putin”; 17 June 2016; <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-trumps-financial-ties-to-russia-and-his-unusual-flattery-of-vladimir-putin/2016/06/17/>

³ (U) Online newspaper article; The Washington Post; “Inside Trump’s financial ties to Russia and his unusual flattery of Vladimir Putin”; 17 June 2016; https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-trumps-financial-ties-to-russia-and-his-unusual-flattery-of-vladimir-putin/2016/06/17/dbdcaac8-31a6-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0_story.html.

⁴ (U) Michael Crowley; Politico; “When Donald Trump Brought Miss Universe to Moscow”; 15 May 2016; <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/05/donald-trump-russia-moscow-miss-universe-223173>

⁵ (U) Tom Hamburger, Rosalind S. Helderman, and Michael Birnbaum; Washington Post; “Inside Trump’s Financial ties to Russia and his unusual flattery of Vladimir Putin”; 17 June 2016; <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-trumps-financial-ties-to-russia-and-his-unusual-flattery-of-vladimir-putin/2016/06/17/>

⁶ (U) Online newspaper article; The Washington Post; “Inside Trump’s financial ties to Russia and his unusual flattery of Vladimir Putin”; 17 June 2016; https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-trumps-financial-ties-to-russia-and-his-unusual-flattery-of-vladimir-putin/2016/06/17/dbdcaac8-31a6-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0_story.html.

⁷ [REDACTED]

⁸ Crown Reporting- 18 October 2016

⁹ (U) [REDACTED] “(U) Australia: Hotline to Moscow bank revealed as FBI probes Kremlin’s five-year Trump [REDACTED] 01 November 2016; UNCLASSIFIED; UNCLASSIFIED.

¹⁰ [REDACTED]

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27 (U) <http://ritzcarlton.com/en/hotels/europe/moscow/hotel-overview/press-releases/renovated-presidential-suite>

28 (U) Pravda, "Barack Obama to stay at 13,000-dollar luxury suite at Moscow's Ritz-Carlton Hotel"; 3 July 2009.

29 [REDACTED]

30 [REDACTED]

31 (U) Online news article. Financial Times. "Carte blanche for FSB's Directorate K"; <https://www.ft.com/content/94390c4c-de23-11e0-9fb7-00144feabdc0>; 13 September 2011.

32 (U) Web site. Department of State Office of the Historian. "Hillary Rodham Clinton"; <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/travels/secreatry/clinton-hillary-rodham>.

33 (U) Web site. Department of State Office of the Historian. "William J. Clinton"; <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/travels/president/clinton-william-j>.

34 [REDACTED]

35 [REDACTED]

36 [REDACTED]

37 [REDACTED]

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39 [REDACTED]

40 [REDACTED]

41 [REDACTED]

42 [REDACTED]

43 [REDACTED]

44 (U//

45 FBI; FD-302; "Interview of Carter Page"; 97F-NY-2067747; 16 March 2017; UNCLASSIFIED; UNCLASSIFIED

46 [REDACTED]

47 [REDACTED]

48 [REDACTED]

49 [REDACTED]

50 [REDACTED]

51 [REDACTED]

52 [REDACTED]

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54 [REDACTED]

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57 [REDACTED]

58 [REDACTED]

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61 [REDACTED]

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 51 [REDACTED]
 52 (U) www.nes.ru/en/people/catalog/m/vmakarov.
 53 (U) Web site; ABCNews.com; "Trump Foreign Policy Adviser Calls for 'Mutual Respect' in Moscow Lecture"; 7 July, 2016;
 54 <http://abcnews.go.com/International/trump-foreign-policy-adviser-calls-mutual-respect-moscow/story?id=40417854>; accessed 8 August 2016; ABC News is a
 55 television and online news source.
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 58 accessed 10 November 2016; The New Times is an online Russian news source.
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 61 [REDACTED]
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 63 [REDACTED]
 64 [REDACTED]
 65 [REDACTED]
 66 (U) Michael Isikov; Yahoo News; "Us Intel officials probe ties between Trump adviser and Kremlin"; 23 September 2016.
 67 (U) Web site; Spiegel Online; "Russia Didn't Initiate the Ukraine Crisis" 02 September 2014; <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/rosneft-head-igor-sechin-speaks-about-sanctions-and-ukraine-a-989267.html>; accessed 21 November 2016; Spiegel Online is a German online media source.
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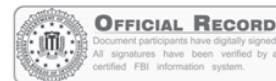
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TAB 8

[REDACTED]
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONDate of entry 05/31/2017

[REDACTED] On January 24, 2017, Deputy Assistant Director (DAD) Peter P. Strzok II and SSA Joe Pientka III, interviewed United States (U.S.) National Security Advisor Michael T. FLYNN, date of birth (DOB) [REDACTED], at his office at the White House. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

[REDACTED] FLYNN's first invitation to Russia occurred when he was the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). FLYNN was the first DIA Director to be invited to GRU headquarters. During that four day trip in 2013, he participated in a leadership development program at GRU (Russian Military Intelligence) headquarters. FLYNN received proper authorization within the U.S. Government prior to conducting the trip. FLYNN could not recall if he met Russia's Ambassador to the United States, Sergey Ivanovich KISLYAK, during this trip. FLYNN described the Russians as very appreciative of his visit. During this trip to Russia as DIA Director, FLYNN first met the then-GRU Director Igor SERGUN. Following the trip, FLYNN and SERGUN continued their relationship on at least one occasion through video teleconference (VTC) and were planning a visit for SERGUN to travel to the United States on February 28, 2014. Russia invaded Crimea in the weeks prior to SERGUN's planned trip, SERGUN's trip was cancelled, and FLYNN had no further contact with the GRU Director. FLYNN described SERGUN as having common ground with FLYNN in that they had similar backgrounds, their sons were the same age, and they had a connection in fighting terrorism. SERGUN had scars from Chechnya and they shared stories about Afghanistan. FLYNN stated he called Ambassador KISLYAK following SERGUN's death in Lebanon early last year to express his condolences. FLYNN described SERGUN as someone the U.S. could work with. FLYNN said he was not really part of the TRUMP campaign at the time of this call to KISLYAK.

Reason: 1.4(b)**Derived From: FBI NSISC-
20090615****Declassify On: 20421231**
[REDACTED]

Investigation on 01/24/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # 97F-WF-2069860 Date drafted 01/24/2017
by Joe Pientka III, STRZOK PETER P II

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 2 of 5

[REDACTED] FLYNN stated his second trip to Russia, after he left U.S. government service, had received so much press attention that "it [was] unbelievable." As background, FLYNN explained that he was never paid directly by media entities, however, he had been a contributor to a variety of media entities including Al Jazeera, Russia Today (RT), Sky, and MSNBC. FLYNN received a request from his speakers bureau, Leading Authorities (LAI), to speak about Middle East issues at the RT 10th Anniversary reception in Moscow. FLYNN was paid for the speech by LAI. FLYNN did not know from whom LAI received payment. FLYNN met with KISLYAK at the Russian Ambassador's residence next to the University Club prior to this trip to Russia. The visit was a courtesy call to the Ambassador prior to his trip, and FLYNN took his son with him to this meeting. The meeting occurred in the mid-afternoon. In addition, FLYNN received a DIA threat briefing prior to the travel.

[REDACTED] Prior to the Presidential inauguration, FLYNN spoke to multiple representatives in each of approximately thirty countries' governments. FLYNN stated the only exception to that practice was Russia, in that FLYNN had substantive conversations only with KISLYAK, and no other members of the Government of Russia. FLYNN's interest in Russia was as a common partner in the war on terror. FLYNN does not know if PUTIN and TRUMP will get along, but it is FLYNN's job to figure out paths to work with Russia to fight terrorism. FLYNN named the primary threats to the U.S. as the "four plus one:" China, Russia, Iran, North Korea and ISIS. FLYNN stated if the U.S. could neutralize one of the four, or even better, leverage their cooperation fighting a common enemy such as terrorism, that would be a success for U.S. national security.

[REDACTED] Sometime prior to Christmas, 2016, the Russian Ambassador to Turkey was assassinated. FLYNN called KISYLAK the next day to say he was sorry and to reinforce that terrorism was our common problem. FLYNN noted that it was a short call, and "that was it." On Christmas Day, a Russian military plane crashed and killed all on board to include what was the equivalent to the "Russian USO;" it was the same Russian choir that sang at the RT event. FLYNN called KISYLAK to pass his condolences, as his intent was to try to keep the relationship with KISLYAK going. FLYNN expanded that he has no particular affinity for Russia, but that KISLYAK was his counterpart, and maintaining trusted relationships within foreign governments is important.

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 3 of 5

[REDACTED] Shortly after Christmas, 2016, FLYNN took a vacation to the Dominican Republic with his wife. On December 28th, KISYLAK sent FLYNN a text stating, "Can you call me?" FLYNN noted cellular reception was poor and he was not checking his phone regularly, and consequently did not see the text until approximately 24 hours later. Upon seeing the text, FLYNN responded that he would call in 15-20 minutes, and he and KISLYAK subsequently spoke. The Dominican Republic was one hour ahead of the time in Washington, D. C. During the call, KISYLAK asked FLYNN to set-up a VTC between President-elect TRUMP and Russian President PUTIN on January 21st. In addition, FLYNN and KISLYAK discussed the U.S. sending an observer to a terrorism conference in Astana, Kazakhstan, that would be attended by Russia, Turkey, Iran and Syrian opposition groups. FLYNN stated he did not respond back to KISYLAK about the conference until probably this week. FLYNN did not make the decision on who would represent the U.S. until the 20th or 21st of January, and finally determined an observer from the U.S. Embassy in Astana would attend. FLYNN noted Russia wanted to take the lead for peace in the Middle East, but the U.S. needed to be the leader, particularly to keep Turkey under the U.S.'s wing. FLYNN added there was a complete lack of engagement from the prior administration.

[REDACTED] The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he had any other text, email, or personal meetings with KISLYAK or other Russians. FLYNN volunteered that after the election, he had a closed door meeting with KISYLAK and Jared KUSHNER at Trump Tower in New York City. KISLYAK was in New York to meet with his diplomats, and the three had a relatively sensitive meeting. FLYNN was a late addition to the meeting and did not participate in setting it up. FLYNN believed the meeting took place before Thanksgiving but was unsure of the date. FLYNN explained that other meetings between the TRUMP team and various foreign countries took place prior to the inauguration, and were sensitive inasmuch as many countries did not want the then-current administration to know about them. There were no personal relationships between the leaders of many countries and the prior administration. FLYNN stated that he and personnel from the incoming administration met with many countries "to set expectations for them, and the expectations were set very high."

[REDACTED] The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any discussions with KISLYAK about a United Nations (UN) vote surrounding the issue of Israeli settlements. FLYNN quickly

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 4 of 5

[REDACTED] responded, "Yes, good reminder." On the 22nd of December, FLYNN called a litany of countries to include Israel, the UK, Senegal, Egypt, maybe France and maybe Russia/KISLYAK. Part of the reason for FLYNN's calls was to conduct an exercise to see how fast the incoming administration could get someone on the line. FLYNN likened it to a battle drill to see who the administration could reach in a crisis. The exercise was conducted at the campaign's GSA transition building on 18th and I Streets N.W., which FLYNN described as a somewhat chaotic environment. FLYNN stated he conducted these calls to attempt to get a sense of where countries stood on the UN vote, specifically, whether they intended to vote or abstain.

[REDACTED] The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he made any request of KISLYAK to vote in a particular way or take any action. FLYNN stated he did not. FLYNN stated he did not believe his calls to the various countries would change anything. FLYNN recalled there needed to be a certain number of abstention votes to alter the outcome, and that having looked at the math at the time, he knew it could not be achieved. FLYNN said 14 countries were voting, and had a recollection of the number of five votes being important. In the end, only the U.S. abstained. FLYNN stated his calls were about asking where countries would stand on a vote, not any requests of, "hey if you do this."

[REDACTED] The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he made any comment to KISLYAK about voting in a certain manner, or slowing down the vote, or if KISLYAK described any Russian response to a request by FLYNN. FLYNN answered, "No." FLYNN stated the conversations were along the lines of where do you stand, and what's your position. FLYNN heard through other channels that Egypt did not like the vote, and believed the Egyptians of their own accord delayed the vote a day. FLYNN again stated that he appreciated the interviewing agents reminding him that he had another conversation with KISLYAK.

[REDACTED] The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK surrounding the expulsion of Russian diplomats or closing of Russian properties in response to Russian hacking activities surrounding the election. FLYNN stated that he did not. FLYNN reiterated his conversation was about the PUTIN /TRUMP VTC and the "Astana thing" (the Kazakhstan conference described earlier). FLYNN noted he was not aware of the then-upcoming actions as he did not have access to television news in

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 5 of 5

the Dominican Republic and his government BlackBerry was not working.

[REDACTED] The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK in which the expulsions were discussed, where FLYNN might have encouraged KISLYAK not to escalate the situation, to keep the Russian response reciprocal, or not to engage in a "tit-for-tat." FLYNN responded, "Not really. I don't remember. It wasn't, 'Don't do anything.'" The U.S. Government's response was a total surprise to FLYNN. FLYNN did not know about the Persona Non-Grata (PNG) action until it was in the media. KISLYAK and FLYNN were starting off on a good footing and FLYNN was looking forward to the relationship. With regard to the scope of the Russians who were expelled, FLYNN said he did not understand it. FLYNN stated he could understand one PNG, but not thirty-five.

[REDACTED] The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK in which KISLYAK told him the Government of Russia had taken into account the incoming administration's position about the expulsions, or where KISLYAK said the Government of Russia had responded, or chosen to modulate their response, in any way to the U.S.'s actions as a result of a request by the incoming administration. FLYNN stated it was possible that he talked to KISLYAK on the issue, but if he did, he did not remember doing so. FLYNN stated he was attempting to start a good relationship with KISLYAK and move forward. FLYNN remembered making four to five calls that day about this issue, but that the Dominican Republic was a difficult place to make a call as he kept having connectivity issues. FLYNN reflected and stated he did not think he would have had a conversation with KISLYAK about the matter, as he did not know the expulsions were coming. FLYNN stated he did not have a long drawn out discussion with KISLYAK where he would have asked him to "don't do something."

TAB 9

[REDACTED]

January 24, 2017

What follows are notes I typed shortly after my conversation with LTG Michael Flynn. While I have quoted directly in a few places, this represents the substance of our conversation.

On Tuesday, 01/24/2017, at 1235, LTG Michael Flynn called via secure phone from [REDACTED] to my office number [REDACTED]. After talking briefly about the security briefing Mike Steinbach and Bill Priestap provided to White House staff on Sunday, I told LTG Flynn that I had a sensitive matter to discuss. I explained that in light of the significant media coverage and public discussion about his recent contacts with Russian representatives, that Director Comey and I felt that we needed to have two of our agents sit down with the General and hear from him the details of those conversations. LTG Flynn asked if I was referring to his contacts with the Russian Ambassador to the United States, and I indicated that I was.

LTG Flynn then explained that he had been trying to "build relationships" with the Russians, and that he had calls in which he "exchanged condolences." He then stated that I probably knew what was said in these calls because, "you listen to everything they say." I reiterated that in light of everything that has been said about these contacts, the important thing now was for us to hear directly from him what he said and how he felt about the conversations.

LTG Flynn questioned how so much information had been made public and asked if we thought it had been leaked. I replied that we were quite concerned about what we perceived as significant leaks and that we were in the process of completing a referral to the Department of Justice requesting authority to initiate a leak investigation. I further indicated that these cases were hard to prove but that we thought the significance of this situation demanded a thorough review.

I explained to LTG Flynn that my desire was to have two of my agents interview him as quickly, quietly and discretely as possible. He agreed and offered to meet with the agents today. We had some discussion about timing and ultimately agreed to conduct the interview at his office in the White House at 1430 this afternoon. I explained that I thought the quickest way to get this done was to have a conversation between him and the agents only. I further stated that if LTG Flynn wished to include anyone else in the meeting, like the White House Counsel for instance, that I would need to involve the Department of Justice. He stated that this would not be necessary and agreed to meet with the agents without any additional participants.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

January 31, 2017

At approximately 6:50 pm I arrived at the White House with AD Bill Priestap for a meeting with Advisor to the President, Steven Bannon. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss a piece of intelligence regarding Eugene Chin Yu, who claimed to be under consideration by Mr. Bannon for a position as Special Envoy to North Korea or the United States Ambassador to South Korea.

We met at Mr. Bannon's office in the West Wing, and he thereafter escorted us to a conference room for our discussion. After introductions, I explained to Mr. Bannon that I mentioned the matter to National Security Advisor to the President, General Michael Flynn last Friday evening and that General Flynn requested I bring it to Mr. Bannon's attention. I made it clear that we wanted Mr. Bannon to have the benefit of reviewing our information before he made any hiring decisions. I then reviewed the intelligence we had about Mr. Yu, and allowed Mr. Bannon to review four talking points I brought to the meeting that more specifically described the intelligence we collected about Mr. Yu. After reviewing the points, Mr. Bannon remarked that Mr. Yu had proposed to Mr. Bannon on several occasions that Mr. Yu should be given a position like Ambassador or Special Envoy.

Mr. Bannon indicated that he had spoken to General Flynn about the matter, and he proceeded to explain his knowledge of Mr. Yu. Mr. Bannon stated that Mr. Yu contacted him at some point during the campaign and claimed to be a "big Trump supporter." Yu provided to Mr. Bannon photographs of Trump campaign booths that he operated at political events, and Mr. Yu claimed to have many connections in the Georgia Republican Party community. Mr. Bannon further stated that after making his own inquiries about Mr. Yu, Mr. Bannon determined that Mr. Yu was a person who "talked a lot but, never wrote a check." Mr. Bannon believes that after the election Mr. Yu travelled to New York to meet people at the Trump campaign offices, but Mr. Bannon did not meet with him at that time. Mr. Bannon's conclusion was that Yu was a self-promoter and that he was not actively considering Yu for any positions with the Trump administration.

Mr. Bannon returned to the topic of Mr. Yu's interest in an envoy or ambassador position. Mr. Bannon explained that many people wanted ambassador positions but that in fact very few were actually given serious consideration by the administration. Mr. Bannon stated that some supporters wanted to be able to say they were considered for the role, so therefore many people were told that they were. Mr. Bannon indicated that there were many of these "big talkers" associated with the campaign when he arrived and that he got rid of most of them. He further stated that many were associated with the campaign when Paul Manafort was working with the campaign, but that he removed them. Mr. Banon did not further identify the people he was referring to.

Mr. Bannon requested that he be given an opportunity to speak to me privately, and Mr. Priestap left the room. Mr. Bannon then mentioned that President Trump told him that he had a positive experience dining with Director Comey last Friday night, and he inquired about whether the Director mentioned it to me. I replied that Director Comey was also very positive about their engagement. Mr. Bannon stated that he thought it was important to put the two men together to find out if Director Comey wished to stay in his position and whether President Trump wanted to retain him.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Mr. Bannon explained that President Trump wished to be very supportive of law enforcement and to the FBI specifically. Mr. Bannon was eager to identify opportunities for President Trump to visit the FBI, or to participate in FBI events, in an effort to publicly support the organization. Mr. Bannon pointed to the President's recent speech at CIA headquarters as an example. He said President Trump would probably be quite interested in seeing the FBI Training Academy at Quantico, Virginia, and possibly could participate in a New Agent's graduation. I told Mr. Bannon that I appreciated his and the President's interest and indicated that I would discuss the matter with Director Comey.

Mr. Bannon and I spoke briefly about the preparations for the President's announcement of the next Supreme Court nominee, which would be taking place at the White House later in the evening. Mr. Bannon did not indicate the identity of the nominee.

[REDACTED]

February 10, 2017

On Friday at 4:30 pm, I went to the White House to provide a basic CI defensive brief to the staff members of the Office of the Vice President. AD Bill Priestap accompanied me.

After the briefing, Bill and I returned to my car, in which SA [REDACTED] was waiting to return us to FBI Headquarters. SA [REDACTED] informed me that the White House Counsel's office had been trying to reach me. Before leaving the White House grounds, I contacted the Sit Room. They informed me that White House Counsel Donald McGahn requested that I meet him in the West Wing to discuss an urgent matter in person.

After being escorted first to McGahn's office, I was redirected to the Vice President's office on the second floor of the West Wing. Present in the office were Vice President Michael Pence, Chief of Staff to the President Reince Priebus, White House Counsel Donald McGahn, and James Burnham, also of the White House Counsel's office. Later we were joined by Chief of Staff to the Vice President Josh Pitcock.

After entering the office, Mr. Priebus informed me that he wanted to review "the transcripts." I understood he was referring to the transcripts of the telephone conversations between National Security Advisor Michael Flynn and Russian Ambassador to the United States Sergei Kislyak that were recently revealed in an article in the Washington Post. He mentioned that he knew the FBI previously allowed John Eisenberg, Legal Advisor to the National Security Staff, to review the transcripts. I indicated to Mr. Priebus and the others that I could have Bill Priestap retrieve the transcripts from FBI HQ so that they could review them. The Vice President asked me to dispatch Bill Priestap so that they could review the materials as soon as possible.

I left the room to call Bill. While outside the office, I also spoke to FBI General Counsel James Baker. I told Mr. Baker with whom I was meeting, the request I had received, and the fact that I was going to facilitate their review. Mr. Baker agreed that the review was permissible and suggested that I remind the reviewers that the materials were classified.

When I returned to the room I received several questions from Mr. Priebus about how the transcripts could have leaked to the media, and whether or not the FBI was investigating the leak. I replied that we did not know how information about the transcripts had been leaked but that we had submitted a referral to the Department of Justice requesting authorization to begin a media leak investigation. I explained that the investigations would include recent and previous revelations in the Washington Post and other news outlets.

Vice President Pence asked if I had read the transcripts and I indicated that I had. He then asked if the articles were correct. I first stated that I could not confirm whether the reporter had access to the transcripts or if they had merely spoken to someone who had such access. I then stated that I thought the article in the Post accurately reflected the substance of the transcripts. The Vice President asked, "Did they talk about the sanctions?" I understood him to be asking whether Mr. Flynn and Mr. Kislyak

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

discussed the US sanctions imposed on Russia at the end of December 2016. I indicated that they did discuss the sanctions in those conversations.

(I was surprised by the Vice President's question, particularly in light of the fact that I knew the former Acting Attorney General Sally Yates informed Mr. McGahn and Mr. Burnham about the content of Mr. Flynn's conversations in two meetings on or about 01/26/2017 and 01/27/2017. In addition, and at the direction of the Department of Justice, we had provided the transcripts for review by Mr. Eisenberg on or about Thursday, 02/02/2017. Finally, I called Mr. Eisenberg on 02/08/2017 to alert him to the fact that I had learned earlier that day that the Washington Post was planning to release an article with specific information about the content of Mr. Flynn's conversations with the Mr. Kislyak.)

The Vice President indicated that he needed to discuss the matter with his staff, so I left the room to wait for Mr. Priestap to return with the transcripts.

At approximately 5:30 pm, Mr. Priestap arrived at the West Wing with the transcripts. We waited in the Situation Room for the others to join us. Shortly thereafter, the same group from the Vice President's office arrived and we convened in a conference room.

I provided the Vice President with transcripts of telephone calls captured on 12/23/2016, 12/29/2016 and 12/31/2016. All three calls were between Mr. Flynn and Mr. Kislyak. I brought the Vice President's attention to the call on 12/29/2016. While reading the first two pages he commented that several items were consistent with what Mr. Flynn previously informed him had been discussed on the call. He requested that Mr. Pitcock get him a transcript of his comments to CBS news and one was produced. He also asked when the Obama administration announced the sanctions against Russia and someone confirmed that the sanctions were made public on 12/29/2016. Upon reading the portion of the transcript that detailed Mr. Flynn's comments about the sanctions, the Vice President appeared frustrated and noted that Mr. Flynn initiated the discussion on that topic. The Vice President and the others compared Mr. Flynn's statements in the transcripts with the Vice President's comments to CBS News, and discussed what Mr. Flynn had told the Vice President about his conversations.

During this time, Mr. Priebus reviewed copies of the same three calls. Mr. McGahn, Mr. Burnham and Mr. Pitcock also reviewed some of the transcripts. Mr. Priebus asked me questions about whether or not the discussions related in the transcripts could constitute a violation of the Logan Act. I replied that he would need to ask the Department of Justice whether or not the calls constituted a violation of the act. I further stated that I was not aware of any prior prosecutions of Logan Act violations. Mr. Priebus asked if previous administrations had similar contacts with foreign representatives prior to taking office officially. I indicated that although I could not speak authoritatively about the actions of previous administrations, I thought it was possible that considerations like that could have been why the act had not been charged in the past. Mr. Priebus indicated that he thought the call dated 12/31/2016 was the "worst call." He said he was not so concerned with Mr. Flynn's comments about the sanctions, but was more concerned about "the other thing." It was not clear to me whether the "other thing" referred to a specific aspect of the 12/31/2016 call or the apparent discrepancy between the transcripts, what Mr. Flynn told the Vice president about the calls, and how the Vice President described the calls publicly.

The Vice president finished reading the transcripts and thanked us for providing them. The entire group left the conference room. Mr. Priestap and I collected all of the copies of the transcripts and returned to FBI HQ.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

February 15, 2017

At 7:30 am I went to the White House for a meeting with Chief of Staff to the President Reince Priebus. FBI Assistant Director for Counterintelligence Bill Priestap accompanied me. We were met by William Evanina, who is an FBI agent currently on detail to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence as the Director of the National Counterintelligence Security Center. The purpose of the meeting was to provide a counterintelligence defensive briefing to Mr. Priebus.

We convened in Mr. Priebus' office on the second floor of the West Wing. Joining us were White House Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations Joe Hagin, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Intelligence Programs Ezra Cohen, and one of Mr. Priebus' briefers from the President's Daily Briefing Staff. Over the course of about 25 minutes, Mr. Priestap provided the briefing and Mr. Evanina contributed details about cyber espionage and other counterintelligence topics. Mr. Priebus related a story about an unidentified Asian woman he was introduced to at an event who recommended he establish an "unconventional line of communication" with the Chinese government. He rebuffed her by stating that he preferred "conventional communications." He asked if we thought this was an approach by someone affiliated with an intelligence agency and we indicated that it might have been.

At about 8:00, the briefing concluded when Mr. Priebus indicated he had another meeting to attend. I asked Mr. Priebus if he had a moment to discuss a sensitive matter privately. He said he did and the other individuals left the room. I informed Mr. Priebus that the article that appeared in the New York Times this morning which purported to detail FBI efforts to investigate contacts between Russian intelligence officers and several individuals associated with the Trump campaign was largely inaccurate. (I was referring to the article authored by Michael S. Schmidt, Mark Mazzetti and Matt Apuzzo.) I further stated that I was aware of only two White House employees who were in contact with the Russian government: Michael Flynn and Hope Hicks. I reminded him that we discussed the substance of Mr. Flynn's contacts on Friday, 02/10/2017. I further stated that the FBI's assessment was that Hope Hicks' contacts were innocuous, within the scope of her duties, and that we had already provided her with a defensive briefing.

Mr. Priebus seemed surprised by my comments and indicated that he also thought the article was false. He indicated that the administration was frustrated by having to spend so much time and effort refuting press stories that the White House perceived to be false. Mr. Priebus asked if the FBI would publicly state that the article was false. I told him that we did not do that sort of thing because when we corrected inaccurate news accounts we might inadvertently telegraph to our adversaries our capabilities and our operational activity. He asked if he could share what I told him with others in the White House, including the President. I told him he could share it with whoever he felt he needed to, as long as they did not share it publicly. He asked "what if I told the President and he inadvertently tweeted it?" I told him that would not be a good thing. He continued to press me to consider how the FBI could issue some sort of statement to address this issue. I told him that I would discuss the matter with Director Comey and then get back to him.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

I departed the White House and returned directly to FBI Headquarters.

[REDACTED]

May 10, 2017

On May 9, 2017, at approximately 5:20 pm, I was pulled out of a meeting and informed that Attorney General Sessions wanted to speak to me in his office at Department of Justice (DOJ) headquarters.

I arrived at DOJ at approximately 5:30. I was accompanied only by my security agent, FBI SA [REDACTED], who did not attend the meeting. I waited about 10 minutes and was then brought back into the AG's private office. Present in the office were the Deputy Attorney General (DAG) Rod Rosenstein and the DAG's Chief of Staff, Jim Crowell. The AG immediately informed me that the President had fired FBI Director James Comey and that I was now the Acting Director of the FBI.

The AG did not specifically explain the reasons for Director Comey's termination. He did explain that the FBI was an outstanding institution and that his desire was to ensure that it continued to perform in an exemplary manner. I assured him that I would do everything necessary to make sure that we continued to pursue our mission. The AG further stated that they might designate an interim director to serve until a permanent director was selected and confirmed. I again assured the AG that I would make sure the FBI continued on its current course and that I would assist the new director, interim or permanent, in any way necessary to help them get off to a good start.

After asking if I had any questions, I said that I should probably send a message to our workforce. The DAG requested that I not do so until we heard, "what the White House has to say." The DAG further requested that I not say anything about the matter, "not even to your wife."

On my return to FBI HQ, I learned that an envelope addressed to the Director had been delivered to SIOC. I asked the Director's secretary to retrieve it. The envelope contained a memo from the DAG, a letter from the AG to the president and a letter from the president to the Director explaining that he had been fired.

At approximately 6:00 pm on Tuesday, May 9, 2017, I returned to my office after meeting with the Attorney General at the Department of Justice. My staff informed me the White House called to request that I come over to meet President Trump. I have never met, or interacted with, the President in any way before this.

At 6:30 pm I arrived at the West Wing and was escorted to the Oval Office. After waiting briefly, I entered the Oval Office and introduced myself to the President, who was sitting behind his desk. Also present was Vice President Michael Pence, Chief of Staff Reince Priebus, White House Counsel Donald McGahn, and one additional male individual who I presumed was also with the White House Counsel's office. We all sat in chairs arranged facing the president's desk.

President Trump informed me that the Director Comey had been fired and he asked me to serve as Acting Director. The President stated that the Director "had to go" because of the decisions he made last summer and for many other reasons. The President asked if I knew that the Director told him three times that he was not under investigation. I told him that I was aware of that, but at the forefront of my mind was the termination letter the President had just sent Director Comey. (At that moment I knew that Director Comey had told the President that he was not under investigation, but I could not remember exactly how many times that had occurred.) He then asked if I was a part of "the resistance" that disagreed with Director Comey's decisions last summer on the Hillary Clinton email investigation. I explained that I worked very closely with Director Comey and that I was a part of all those decisions.

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The President then made several comments about a rebellion inside the FBI, and asked if many people disliked Director Comey. I replied that some people were frustrated with the outcome of the Clinton investigation last summer, but that most people felt positively about the Director. The President asked me about my background in the FBI and I related a brief summary of my assignments.

The President said that he had great hopes for me, thought I would do a good job, and said I would be considered for the permanent position. He said my only negative issue was the "mistake" about my wife's run for office. I understood he was referring to my wife Dr. Jill McCabe's run for a Virginia State Senate seat in 2015. He told me that he said many tough things about my wife in his campaign speeches, and I replied that we heard what he said. I told him that my wife was a wonderful person who spent her life treating children as an ER pediatrician and that she was intelligent and very independent. I told him that when she decided to take a chance to enter public life to serve her community I supported her decision entirely. The president stated that "everyone" told him she was a terrific person and that I was right to support her.

The President wished me well and I assured him I would continue to lead the FBI in the best way possible.

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May 10, 2017

At approximately 10:00 am on May 10, 2017, I received a call from the President on my unclassified office line ([REDACTED]).

The purpose of the call (which we got to about half way through the call) was to ask if I thought the President should come to FBI headquarters to make a speech to our employees. I told him he was welcome to visit FBI headquarters any time he wanted. He asked me to come to the White House later in the day to discuss the possibility of his visit. We agreed to meet at 2:00pm.

The President stated that he thought many FBI employees were happy about Director Comey's termination. He told me that he had received "hundreds" of messages from FBI employees indicating their support for his decision to fire the director. He asked several times if I thought people were happy and what was the general state of mind. I said that many people were surprised but that we were trying to get back to work, and that we had several meetings already this morning. The President opined that most of the FBI likely voted for him, and estimated that at least 80% of the workforce supported him.

The President again asked if I knew that Director Comey told him three times that he was not under investigation. I told him I was aware of that.

The President stated that he did not believe that Director Comey should have taken the FBI plane to return to Virginia from Los Angeles last night. I said that we had checked with our attorneys and were told that there was no problem with the Director returning to Virginia on the plane. I also said that in light of our obligation to continue providing a protection detail, and the fact that the detail was travelling back on the plane, it made sense to have the Director travel with them. The President repeated that he should not have used the plane and he asked me to look into it.

The President asked if Director Comey would be allowed into FBI headquarters to retrieve his personal belongings, and then stated that he did not believe that should be allowed. I told him that we would have the Director's Chief of Staff collect his personal property and we would see that it was returned. The President repeated that he did not want Director Comey in the building.

The President asked how my wife handled losing her campaign for Virginia State Senate in 2015, and stated that the loss must have been tough. I said losing anything is tough, but that she simply returned to her very active schedule of responsibilities as a pediatric emergency room physician and hospital administrator.

The President closed the call by saying that he thought I would do a good job and that he had a lot of faith in me.

On May 10, at 2:00 pm, I arrived at the White House to meet with President Trump in the oval office. Also present for the meeting were Chief of Staff Reince Priebus and White House Counsel Donald McGahn.

The President began by commenting that it had been a great decision to fire Director Comey because so many people hated him. He told me that many people were saying how much they did not like Director Comey, and that that they were saying this to the White House and to the media. He asked if I had seen that and I indicated that I had not. He stated, almost in the form of a leading question, that there was

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great dislike for Director Comey in the FBI, and asked if I thought people were glad he was gone. I said that we there were some folks who were frustrated last summer with the outcome of the Clinton email investigation, and I offered that it was possible that some of them might now be glad the Director had been fired. I suggested this as a possible explanation for what the President claimed to have perceived, but I had no personal evidence of people being happy about the Director's departure.

The President stated that he wanted to come to the FBI to see people and excite them and show them how much he loves the FBI. He asked if I thought he should come over for a visit and I told him that he should come to the FBI whenever he wanted, and that he was always welcome. He pressed me to answer whether I thought it was a good idea for him to come and I said it was always a good idea to visit his people at the FBI. He pressed further by asking specifically if I thought he should come over now, which I understood to mean in the near future. I said, "Sure." He then asked Don McGahn if he thought the President should come to the FBI and McGahn said, "If the Acting Director of the FBI is telling you he thinks it is a good idea for you to visit the FBI, then you should do it." The President looked at me and asked if that was what I was saying, did I think it was a good idea? I said yes. At the time I felt that the President and his staff wanted to schedule a visit, but that they wanted it to be at my invitation. I had great concerns about how the President would be received by the people at FBI Headquarters in light of the still raw emotions surrounding the Director's firing the day before. But in light of the insistence of his questions, and the President's prerogative to visit any Executive Branch entity, I thought it would not be appropriate to tell him not to come.

The President stated that people in the FBI loved him and that they all supported him. He stated that most of the FBI probably voted for him, and then estimated that at least 80% of the FBI voted for him. The President then asked me who I voted for. Not sure how to answer, I stated that I, "always played it right down the middle." I did not share with him that I did not vote in the 2016 presidential election, due to the investigations I was involved in at the time.

The conversation then turned to logistics around the President's visit. We discussed selecting a day for the President's visit, which we agreed would be Friday, May 12. The President asked me to have my staff work with his to coordinate a joint message. He said that he wanted me to promote the visit internally as much as I could. I offered that a speech in the courtyard would hold the largest crowd, and he asked that we make sure it was filled. We shook hands and I was dismissed.

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[REDACTED]

Tuesday, May 16, 2017

At 12:30 pm on 05/16/2017, I met with Deputy Attorney General (DAG) Rod Rosenstein in his office at the Department of Justice. Also present were Tashina Gauhar and Jim Crowell. The following is a contemporaneous recollection of the main topics we discussed.

I began by telling him that today I approved the opening of an investigation of President Donald Trump. I explained that the purpose of the investigation was to investigate allegations of possible collusion between the president and the Russian Government, possible obstruction of justice related to the firing of FBI Director James Comey, and possible conspiracy to obstruct justice. The DAG questioned what I meant by collusion and I explained that I was referring to the investigation of any potential links between the Trump campaign and the Russian government. I explained that counterintelligence investigations of this sort were meant to uncover any the existence of any threat to national security as well as whether or not criminal conduct had occurred. Regarding the obstruction issues, I made clear that our predication was based not only on the president's comments last week to reporter Lester Holt (that he connected the firing of the director to the FBI's Russia investigation), but also on the several concerning comments the president made to Director Comey over the last few months. These comments included the President's requests for assurances of loyalty, statements about the Russia investigation and the investigation of General Michael Flynn. I also informed the DAG that Director Comey preserved his recollection of these interactions in a series of contemporaneously drafted memos. Finally, I informed the DAG that as a result of his role in the matter, I thought he would be a witness in the case.

The DAG then related his experiences at the White House on Monday, 05/08/2017. He began by stating that he had the feeling that the decision to fire the Director had been made before he arrived. At the White House, he first met with White House Counsel Donald McGahn, who told him that the President had drafted a letter to Director Comey that McGahn did not want the President to send. Shortly thereafter they met with the President and Attorney General Jeff Sessions, and possibly others, in the Oval Office. President Trump told the DAG he had written a letter to Director Comey, asked the DAG if he had seen the letter, and instructed McGahn to provide the DAG with a copy. The DAG described the letter to me as being a long list, possibly several pages, of the President's complaints with Director Comey. Among those complaints was a discussion about the FBI's Russia investigation, as well as a paragraph about the FBI Deputy Director. The DAG indicated to me that he retained a copy of the President's letter. The DAG said he told the President that he did not think the President should send the letter he had written. The President then directed the DAG to write a memo explaining the reasoning for Director Comey's termination and that the DAG should include Russia. The DAG said to the President he did not think this was a good idea and that his memo did not need to include Russia. The President replied that he understood, but that he was asking the DAG to include Russia anyway. As our conversation continued the DAG proposed that he could potentially wear a recording device into the Oval Office to collect additional evidence on the President's true intentions. He said he thought this

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

might be possible because he was not searched when he entered the White House. I told him that I would discuss the opportunity with my investigative team and get back to him.

We discussed the issue of appointing a Special Counsel to oversee the FBI's Russia investigation. The DAG said he has two candidates ready, one of whom could start immediately. The DAG and Mr. Crowell indicated that they had made the decision to appoint a Counsel last week, but were thrown off their intended execution by the firing of Director Comey. The DAG said that he left a copy of the delegation with Acting Assistant Attorney General for National Security Dana Boente to execute in the DAG's absence if the DAG were suddenly removed from his position. However, the DAG indicated he now intended to wait a few days before selecting a Special Counsel so he could remain actively involved in providing input regarding the selection of the new Director of the FBI. He anticipated that he may be terminated when he puts the Special Counsel in place, in light of the president's anger with AG Sessions when the AG recused himself from the Russia investigation. The DAG further stated that he was told that others heard the President tell the AG "you were supposed to protect me."

We discussed the President's capacity and the possibility that he could be removed from office under the 25th Amendment. The DAG indicated that he looked into the issue and determined he would need a majority, or eight of 15 cabinet officials and that he might already have two supporters in the AG and Secretary of Homeland Security General John Kelly.

The DAG related to me that on Sunday, 05/14/2017, the AG asked him to participate in the interview of Sec. Kelly for the position of FBI Director. The President had requested that they interview Sec. Kelly. The DAG informed the AG that he did not believe Sec. Kelly would be a good candidate for many reasons and stated that making him FBI Director would be a "strategy of disruption." The DAG told me that if Sec. Kelly were placed in the job, the DAG would request Sec. Kelly's resignation.

The DAG told me that he informed the AG that I should remain in my role as Acting Director until the permanent Director was chosen. The DAG opined that my only "problem" was that some people believe that I was involved in my wife's 2015 campaign for State Senate in Virginia. The DAG said it was a "credibility problem" because after having told him during my May 13 interview that I played no role in her campaign and attended no campaign events, the DAG said a staffer had provided him with a photograph found on the internet of me and my wife wearing Dr. Jill McCabe campaign t-shirts. The DAG suggested that this photograph contradicted my statement that I had not campaigned for my wife. I pointed out to the DAG that the photograph he saw was taken not at a campaign event, but rather at [REDACTED]. I further informed the DAG that I confirmed with my ethics counsel at FBI that the Hatch Act does not prohibit wearing a campaign button or shirt away from the office, and that attending [REDACTED] wearing such a shirt does not constitute proscribed political activity.

[REDACTED]

May 21, 2017

On Friday, May 12, 2017, at 9:30 am, I went to the Department of Justice Command Center to brief the Attorney General (AG) and the Deputy Attorney General (DAG) and others on the President's Daily Briefing materials. We do this every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning.

After the briefing, I asked the DAG to remain for a private discussion regarding some issues we were having with Congress on the Russia investigation. Specifically, the Intelligence Committees were requesting access to personnel and materials that might have an impact on our investigation and future prospects for prosecution. As the Acting AG for this investigation (due to AG Sessions' recusal on the issue), I wanted the DAG and DOJ to take responsibility for negotiating a deconfliction agreement with the Senate Intelligence Committee and others on the Hill.

Once the other personnel left the room the DAG and I began talking. I explained my issue and he told me to direct all such requests from the Committees to DOJ. The DAG began discussing recent developments related to the firing of Director Comey, and became visibly emotional and upset. He indicated that he had been ordered by the President to write the memo justifying the firing. However, he stated that he did not know his memo would be publicly released and used to justify the Director's termination. He said he was shocked when he learned that the White House was making it seem as if the DAG had initiated the firing on his own. The DAG made it clear that he had been instructed to write the memo. I asked if he was ok and how his family was doing. He said that he was not sleeping and that he did not feel that he could talk to anyone.

The DAG stated that he had been thinking about appointing a Special Counsel to oversee the investigation but that he was concerned that such a designation would lead to his termination. The DAG feared what would happen to the Department and the investigation if he were also fired. The DAG asked for my thoughts on whether or not we needed a Special Counsel and I indicated that I thought it would help to preserve the credibility of the investigation. He remarked that he wished he could talk to Director Comey about the situation.

I returned to my office and spent the next few hours thinking about the appointment of a Special Counsel and how that could best be done. I had my staff request a follow up meeting with the DAG.

At approximately 4:30 pm, I returned to DOJ to meet with the DAG in his office. No other people were present. I told the DAG that I recognized the decision to designate a Special Counsel was entirely his, but that I thought he deserved to hear my best formed thoughts on the issue, which I had not had the chance to do earlier in the morning. I explained that I felt strongly that the investigation would be best served by having a Special Counsel. I indicated that had DOJ taken the same step in the early stages of the Clinton email case, it was likely that the FBI would not have felt compelled to announce the results of the investigation the way we did in July 2016. I told him that the possibility that we might someday close the investigation without charging anyone only heightened the need to have a completely impartial, highly credible, independent Special Counsel announcing that result. Finally, I pointed out that DOJ and the FBI were likely to take withering criticism from the Hill and others until the decision was made, and that we stood to lose credibility as those attacks wore on.

The DAG indicated that he had not yet made the decision to appoint a Special Counsel. He believed doing so might cause him to get fired and he was worried about what the Department would do without

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a confirmed DAG, especially in light of the AG's recusal on the Russia issue. In addition, he wanted to remain actively involved in the selection of the next Director of the FBI. We had a brief discussion about the candidates and whether or not the President and the AG would decide to appoint an interim director to serve until the new permanent director was selected and confirmed.

We returned to our discussion from the morning meeting about the DAG's memo and the firing of Director Comey. The DAG stated that based on conversations he had with the AG as early as January 2017, he knew Director Comey was going to get fired. He repeated that although he was asked to write the memo, he did not anticipate that the White House would release it publicly to justify Comey's termination. He stated that someone in the White House requested that he do a press conference to explain his memo and the firing, but he refused to do it.

At the conclusion of our meeting the DAG indicated that he would continue to consider the appointment of a Special Counsel, but he did not believe that he needed to do it quickly.

After returning to my office I received a call from the AG inviting me to meet with him and the DAG on Saturday, May 13, 2017, at 2:00 pm to interview for the FBI Director position. I accepted the invitation and met them for the interview at that time.

On Sunday, May 14, 2017 at approximately 10:00 am, the DAG called me on my cellphone. Using coded language, he asked me that if I had the opportunity to speak to Director Comey, he would be very interested to hear what the Director thought about the Special Counsel issue. I told him I would consider it.

At 3:00 pm later that day, I convened a conference call with James Baker, James Rybicki, and Lisa Page to discuss whether or not I should seek Director Comey's opinion on the special counsel issue. We all concluded that I should not, and that in light of the fact that he was no longer an FBI employee, it would be inappropriate to continue discussing investigative issues with him.

UNCLASSIFIED// [REDACTED]