



November 1, 2019

MR. JASON LEOPOLD  
BUZZFEED  
C/O MERRICK JASON WAYNE  
MATTHEW TOPIC  
LOEVY & LOEVY  
THIRD FLOOR  
311 N. ABERDEN STREET  
CHICAGO, IL 60607

FOIPA Request No.: 1432673-000  
Civil Action No.: 19-cv-01278  
Subject: All 302's of individuals who were questioned/interviewed by FBI Agents working for the Office of Special Counsel Robert Mueller

Dear Mr. Leopold:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find checked boxes under applicable statutes for the exemptions asserted to protect information exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the processed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely pursuant to applicable exemptions. An Explanation of Exemptions is enclosed to further explain justification for withheld information.

**Section 552**

**Section 552a**

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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(1) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(A) | <input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(2)            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(B) | <input type="checkbox"/> (j)(2) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(3) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(C) | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(1) |
| <u>Federal Rules of</u>                    | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(D)            | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(2) |
| <u>Criminal Procedure 6(e)</u>             | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E) | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(3) |
| <u>50 U.S.C § 3024(i)</u>                  | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(F)            | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(4) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(4)            | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(8)               | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(5) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(5) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(9)               | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(6) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(6) |   | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(7) |

503 pages were reviewed and 266 pages are being released.

- Deletions were made by the Department of Justice/Office of Information Policy . To appeal those denials, please write directly to that agency.

Please see the paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request and the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning, other Government Agency (ies) [OGA].
- This information has been referred to the OGA(s) for review and direct response to you.
- We are consulting with another agency. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is completed.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **“Part 1”** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **“Part 2”** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. **“Part 3”** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Although your request is in litigation, we are required by law to provide you the following information:

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Sixth Floor, 441 G Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA online portal by creating an account on the following website: <https://www.foiaonline.gov/foiaonline/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at [ogis@nara.gov](mailto:ogis@nara.gov); telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing [foipaquestions@fbi.gov](mailto:foipaquestions@fbi.gov). If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Please direct any further inquiries about this case to the Attorney representing the Government in this matter. Please use the FOIPA Request Number and/or Civil Action Number in all correspondence or inquiries concerning your request.

- See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,



David M. Hardy  
Section Chief  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosures

**Additional Information:**

In response to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, enclosed is a processed copy of Bates Stamped documents, FBI (19-cv-1278)-1 through FBI (19-cv-1278)-503. The enclosed documents represent the first interim release of information responsive to your request. To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

## FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum includes information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records. For questions regarding Parts 1, 2, or 3, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under “Contact Us.” Previously mentioned appeal and dispute resolution services are also available at the web address.

### Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010))]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website.
- (ii) **National Security/Intelligence Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of national security and foreign intelligence records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and PA exemption (j)(2) as applicable to requests for records about individuals [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2); 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that national security or foreign intelligence records do or do not exist.

### Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual’s name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

### Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching those systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A reasonable search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled and maintained by the FBI in the course of fulfilling law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization and encompasses the records of FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide and includes Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records. For additional information about our record searches visit [www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records](http://www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records).
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheets. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at [www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks). Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at [www.edo.cjis.gov](http://www.edo.cjis.gov). For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **The National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private citizens cannot request a name check.

## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 FOI/PA  
 DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
 Civil Action No.: 19-cv-1278 / 19-cv-1626  
 FOIA: 1432673-000 / 1433273-000  
 PDF Title: 19-cv-1278 Release 1 Bates 1-503

Total Withheld Pages = 237

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 8	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 41	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 44	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 48	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 79	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 80	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 81	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 84	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 88	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 89	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 93	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 94	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 95	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 97	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 98	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 99	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 101	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 102	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 103	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 104	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 105	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 106	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 107	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 108	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 109	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C

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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 110	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 111	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 112	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 113	b7A; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 114	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 115	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 116	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 117	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 118	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 119	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 120	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 121	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 122	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 123	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 125	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 126	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 128	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 170	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 171	b5 per DOJ/OIP
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FBI(19cv1278) 173	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 174	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 175	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 180	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 181	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 182	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 183	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 184	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 185	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C

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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 187	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 188	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 191	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 192	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 193	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 195	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 196	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 197	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 198	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 213	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 215	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 216	Referral/Consult; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 217	Referral/Consult; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7A per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 218	b6; b7A per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 220	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 236	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 242	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 243	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 245	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 246	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 247	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 248	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 249	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 250	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 255	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C

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FBI(19cv1278) 281	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 282	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 283	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 284	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 285	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 288	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C

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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 289	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 299	Duplicate
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FBI(19cv1278) 301	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 302	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 303	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 304	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 305	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 316	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 317	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 318	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 319	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 320	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 321	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 352	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 353	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 354	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 355	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 356	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 359	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 360	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 361	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 362	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 363	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 364	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 365	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 366	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 367	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 368	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 369	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 370	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C

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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 371	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 372	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 373	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 374	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 376	b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 388	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 390	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 391	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 392	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 393	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 394	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 395	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 396	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 397	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 398	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 399	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 400	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 401	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 402	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 403	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 404	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 405	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 411	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 412	Duplicate

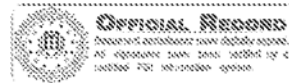
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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
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FBI(19cv1278) 422	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 423	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 457	b5 per DOJ/OIP
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FBI(19cv1278) 461	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
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FBI(19cv1278) 475	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 476	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 477	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 478	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 479	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 480	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 483	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 484	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 485	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 487	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 488	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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FBI(19cv1278) 490	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 492	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 493	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 494	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 495	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 496	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 497	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 498	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 499	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 500	b5 per DOJ/OIP

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/10/2018

Richard Gates, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were SA [Redacted] ASAC [Redacted] [Redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Greg Andres, SASC Jeannie Rhee, SASC Andrew Weissmann, Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and IA [Redacted] After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

Gates began the interview by advising [Redacted] [Redacted] were not happy with Gates's cooperation with the Special Counsel's investigation.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

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Investigation on 04/10/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/24/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E  
b7A

[Redacted]

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b7E  
b7A

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Richard Gates Interview 04/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/10/2018 , Page 2 of 6

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted] [Note: On 06/12/2016, Assange stated he had "upcoming leaks in relation to Hillary Clinton... We have emails pending publication."].

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates said as of May 2016, h

(Gates) was not aware of the source of the hack.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

b7E  
b7A

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Richard Gates Interview 04/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/10/2018 , Page 3 of 6

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Note: On or about 06/27/2016, DNC emails were posted by DCLeaks].

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

b7E  
b7A

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Richard Gates Interview 04/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/10/2018 , Page 4 of 6

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Campaign Response to Hacked Emails

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates said there was also an inside job theory about how the emails were obtained fueled by the death of Seth Rich [Note: Seth Conrad Rich was an employee of the DNC who was fatally shot in Washington, D.C. on 07/10/2016]. Gates said he was never present at any talks suggesting the campaign push the inside job theory. The Trump campaign team also thought the Democrats were pushing the Russia narrative.

Gates said Donald Trump Jr. would ask where the emails were in family meetings. Michael Flynn, Kushner, Manafort, [Redacted] Lewandowski, Jeff Sessions, and Sam Clovis expressed interest in obtaining the emails as well. Gates said the priority focuses of the Trump campaign opposition research team were Clinton's emails and contributions to the Clinton Foundation. Flynn, [Redacted] Sessions, Kushner, and Trump Jr. were all focused on opposition topics.

b6  
b7C

Gates said interest in the emails was ratcheting up in the April/May 2016 timeframe because it was likely the emails could help Trump's campaign.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Trump Jr. never communicated anything about the 06/09/2016 meeting with Gates. After the news broke about the 06/09/2016 meeting, Manafort asked Gates if he (Gates) was there. [Note: The 06/09/2016 meeting is a reference to a meeting that took place at Trump Tower arranged on the

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[Redacted]

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b7E  
b7A

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Richard Gates Interview 04/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/10/2018 , Page 5 of 6

pretense that documents and information that would incriminate Hillary Clinton would be provided to the Trump campaign by a Russian government attorney later identified as Natalia Veselnitskaya]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted] Gates said Trump was interested in the emails but remained composed with a healthy skepticism.

Gates recalled communication with Reince Preibus and [Redacted] The RNC was energized by Assange's announcement on 06/12/2016. Gates indicated that based on a conversation with Manafort, Gates knew the RNC was going to run the Wikileaks issue to ground, they had more resources to commit to this effort. Trump and Kushner were initially skeptical about cooperating with the RNC, but the Wikileaks issue was a turning point.

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates described the campaign response to the report as euphoric.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

Gates said the RNC would put out press releases that would serve to amplify the Wikileaks releases. The RNC also indicated they knew the timing of the upcoming releases, Gates did not specify who at the RNC knew this information. Gates said the only non-public information the RNC had was related to the timing of the releases.

Gates recalled a time on the campaign aircraft when candidate Trump said, "get the emails." Flynn said he could use his intelligence sources to obtain the emails. Flynn was adamant the Russians did not carry out the hack. To support this theory Flynn advised, based on his experience, the United States Intelligence Community (USIC) was not capable of figuring it out. Gates opined that Flynn's assessment of the USIC derived from the negative way in which Flynn departed the USIC. Gates said Flynn had the most Russia contacts of anyone on the campaign and was in the best position to ask for the emails if they were out there.

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REAR  
AW

4/10/2018

R6:

[Redacted]

geth more aggressive

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

6/2/2016: (Passing on...)

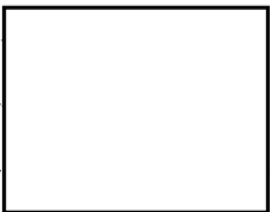
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b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

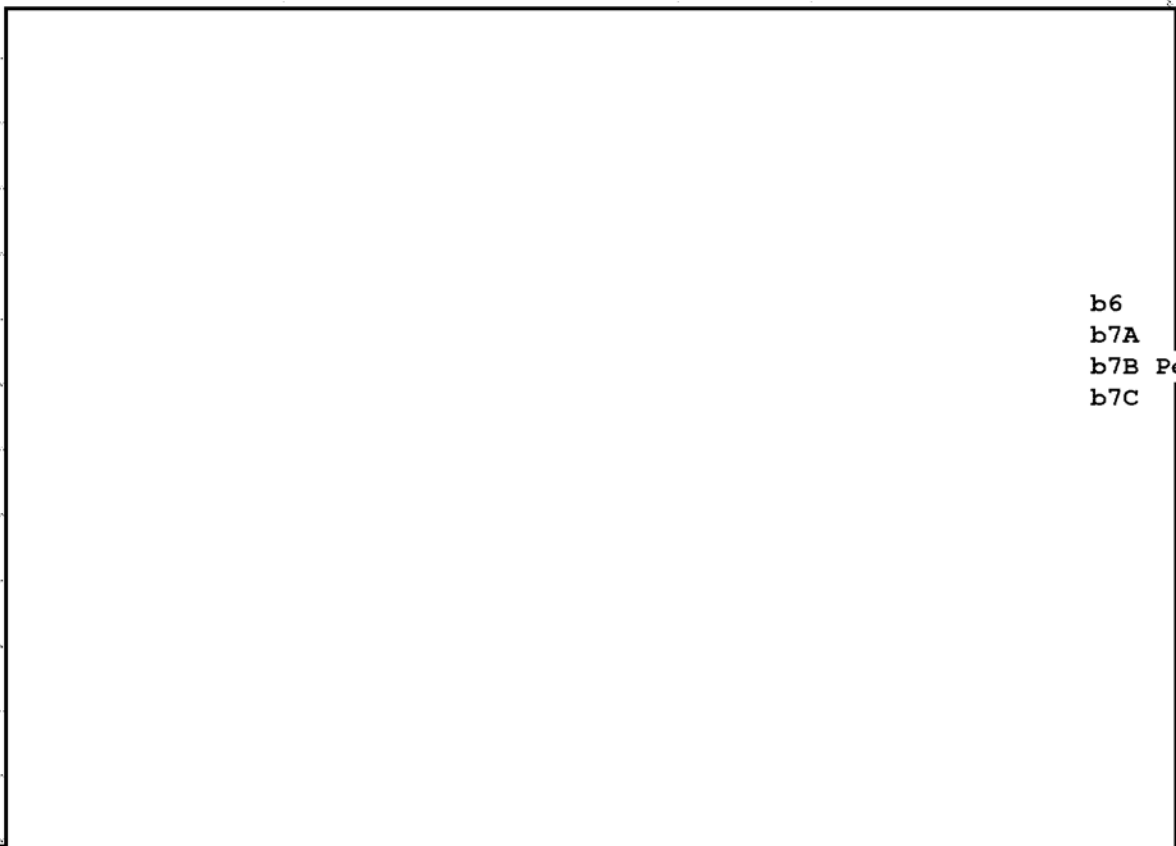
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4/10/2018

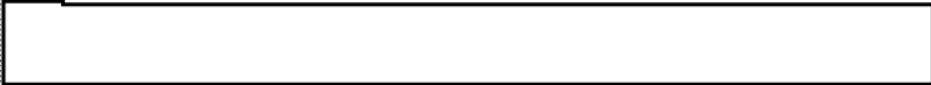


not pleased w. RG cooperation

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b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

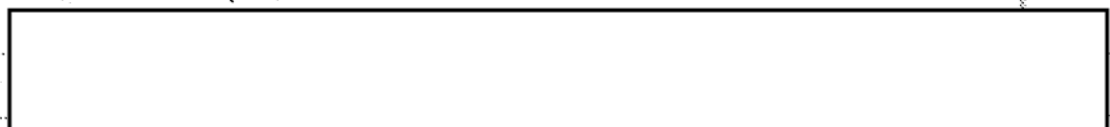


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b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



RG not aware in May 2016 source of hack

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



- Den Jr. would bring up in family meetings, where are the emails?

- Flynn, Kushner, Dan Jr., PM, [redacted] CL, SC, Sessions expressed interest in obtaining emails

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[redacted]

- Sessions: Hopefully we can get the emails
- RG did not hear from GP information re: emails/dirt
- April/May recontacting up of interest bc emails could help campaign

[redacted]

★ Mid/late May Sessions/

[redacted]

★ Was walking the only effort to obtain emails ★

★ Kyrgyzstan realtors claiming to have information. ★

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- Based on business dealings, JK had best China contacts
  - PM & RG had discussion pertaining to JK Chinese contacts
  - Foreign requests to meet DJT once nomination was secured
- Dan Jr had more contacts w/ Russia types, PM as well
  - PM said its probably Ukrainians, not Russians
  - parroted KK's theory
  - KK said it could be Russian operatives in Ukraine

- At some point, speculation Mossad might have emails
- No mention Saudi or UAE might have emails
- Kyrgystan realtor offered info re: foreign contributions to HRC
- PM was skeptical of offers of information

b6  
 b7A  
 b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
 b7C

[Redacted]

- PM's relationship w/ Russians other than Danipaska was minimal
  - contact was primarily w/ Ukrainians

[Redacted]

- KK told PM it wasn't the Russians, RG said PM didn't follow up

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
 b7A  
 b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
 b7C  
 b7E

- Sense of skepticism re: track record of wki

[Redacted]

- Comms w/ Rance Rebus & [Redacted]

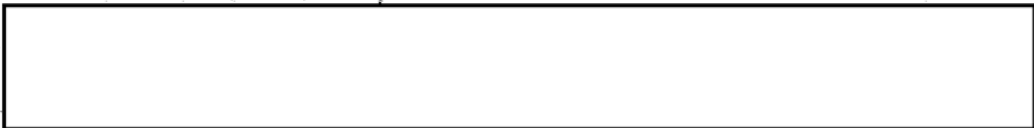
b6  
 b7C

- RNC was energized by June 12 announcement

- RNC was going to run wiki issue to ground, had more resources
  - effort to get emails/materials
  - based on conversation w/ PM
  - DJT & JK skeptical of cooperating w/ RNC, turning point

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Family meetings typically 45 mins - 1 hour



- DJT was interested but composed, healthy skepticism
  - PM presented as a first time RNC could help
- RNC put out press release, amplified wiki releases
- RNC ~~explicitly~~ indicated they know timing of upcoming wiki releases
  - RG got info from PM
  - only non-public info RNC has is timing of releases
- Flynn says "here is what my intel sources are saying" re: emails
  - talking to candidate
  - why? intel community just not that good
  - never a road out of what Flynn may have obtained
- Inside job theory fueled by Seth Rich death and DHS efforts to minimize and cover up problems. Theory was Dem pushing Russia narrative
- DJT, PM talking to Sean Hannity, in office quite a bit
- No talks RG was in that suggested pushing inside job theory

on flight

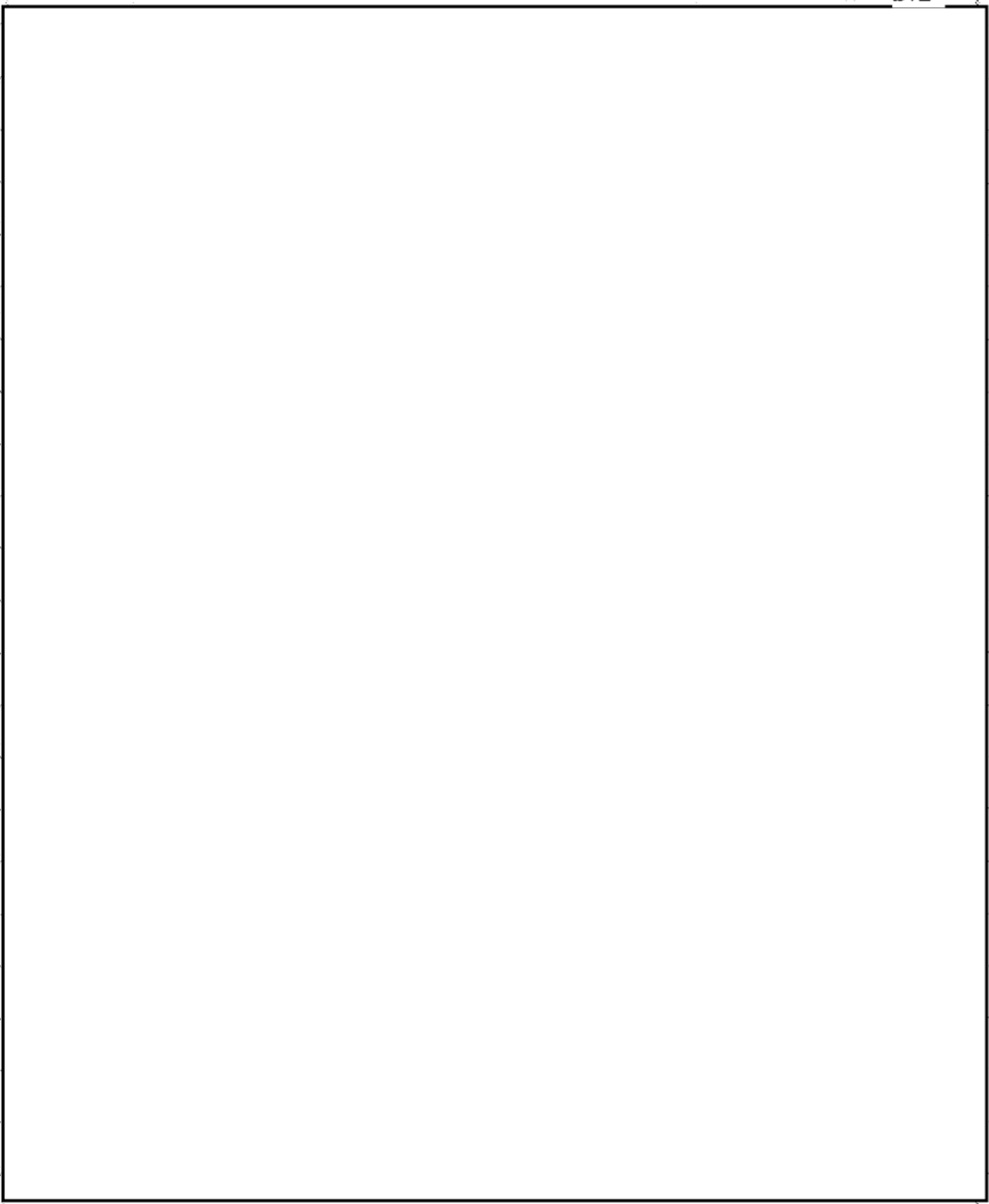
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b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

April 2016

May 18

July 6





- Foreign contrib to CF <sup>campaign</sup> brought up at June 9 meeting
  - Emails & CF contrib focus of what camp could use
  - Priority oppo items

b6  
 b7A  
 b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
 b7C

- Flynn, [redacted], Sessions, JK, Don Jr. all focused on oppo topics
- Don Jr. never communicated anything about June 9 meeting  
PM, JK
- After news broke, PM asked FG if he was in June 9 meeting

~~A~~ [redacted] ~~A~~

[redacted]

June 2016

[redacted]

b6  
 b7A  
 b7B per DOJ/OIP  
 b7C  
 b7E

7

June 15

June 20

June 23

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

8

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

June 27

- DNC emails posted by DCLinker

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~★~~ [Redacted] ~~★~~

[Redacted]

Document ID: 0.7.4249.603642

From: [redacted]  
To: Rick Gates [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Gates  
Date: Wed Jun 15 2016 17:20:55 EDT  
Attachments:

b6  
b7C

Still need to talk to u--R.

From: [redacted]  
To: [redacted]  
Subject: Re: Gates  
Date: Wed, 15 Jun 2016 21:19:43 +0000

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

On Jun 15, 2016, at 5:10 PM, [redacted] wrote:

need Jared e-mail...R

From: [redacted]  
To: [redacted]  
Subject: Re: Gates  
Date: Wed, 15 Jun 2016 20:30:35 +0000

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
Jared  
[redacted]

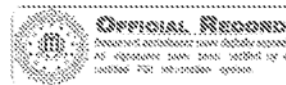
On Jun 15, 2016, at 3:30 PM, [REDACTED] wrote:

b6  
b7C

I need contact info for [REDACTED]

I need contact info for Jared

R.



b7A  
b7E

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/20/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were Senior Special Counsel Attorneys (SASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres, Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, Special Agent [Redacted] [Redacted] and Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] Gates's attorney, Tom Green of Sidley Austin LLP, was also present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates recalled being in a discussion involving [Redacted] Hope Hicks (Hicks), and Manafort. The discussion pertained to the possibility of [Redacted] No one on the Donald Trump (Trump) 2016 Presidential campaign (the campaign) team took action on [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Gates said there were campaign personnel that thought [Redacted] [Redacted] the missing Clinton server emails. The campaign was planning

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

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Investigation on 04/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/16/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]  
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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11

Continuation of FD-302 of [Redacted] /2018 , On 04/11/2018 , Page 2 of 6

press strategy, a communications campaign, and messaging based on the possibility the emails existed.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Gates recalled conversations being held within the campaign about what the campaign could plan for in the way of emails.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Manafort and Gates were focused on mitigating hit pieces against Manafort.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

June 12, 2016 - July 22, 2016

Between 06/12/2016 - 07/22/2016 [Redacted]

[Redacted] Manafort and Gates [Redacted] asking when the releases would happen. Trump was frustrated the releases weren't happening. Gates said [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]  
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/11/2018 , Page 3 of 6

[REDACTED] b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[REDACTED]

Gates said there was a messaging strategy being built around the possible content of an upcoming release.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Gates indicated there was disagreement on where the information came from within the campaign. Gates does not recall Manafort asking Konstantin Kilimnik (Kilimnik) to reach out to his Russian contacts on the issue, nor did Manafort ask Gates to call Kilimnik. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates said there was also talk about how to clean up Manafort's lawsuit with Oleg Deripaska (Deripaska) and clean up his image in the media. Gates said Jared Kushner (Kushner) supported Manafort and that Manafort would not have lasted without it.

July 22, 2016

Gates said the campaign was very happy about the release by WikiLeaks on 07/22/2016. Trump was advised not to react to the releases and let it play out. Gates indicated [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and Manafort expressing excitement [REDACTED] b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

there would be additional information coming, however, Gates later said he did not recall [REDACTED] saying there would be more [REDACTED]

Gates said after the WikiLeaks release on 07/22/2016, there was a pivot to "how do we use the released information" [REDACTED] Gates reiterated that he did not believe [REDACTED] b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Gates initially said he did not have [REDACTED] b7C  
conversations with [REDACTED] after 07/22/2016 about additional information becoming available, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] after the 07/22 /2016 release.

Late July - 08/19/2016

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~



[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11 /2018

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 04/11/2018, Page 4 of 6

[Redacted]

[Redacted] [Agent Note: Manafort resigned from the campaign on 08/19/2016]. [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates said the campaign was trying to work with the RNC opposition research team.

Gates said Trump's comment "Russia if you're listening" on 07/27/2016 was ad lib.

Gates and Manafort spoke about obtaining the missing emails and Gates understood Manafort [Redacted] Gates recalled staff meeting conversations about "someone out there has to have the missing emails."

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

August 2, 2016

Gates recalled that on or about 08/02/2016, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

August 2, 2016 - August 21, 2016

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]  
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/11/2018 , Page 5 of 6

[Redacted] There was still a more general focus on Clinton's missing emails amongst the campaign team. Gates said no one used land lines because there were no walls. Everyone used cell phones.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

September 2016

Gates said during September [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted] the upcoming information narrative. Gates's involvement with the campaign became limited during this timeframe and he began to work with the "digital folks."

October 4, 2016

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

October 7, 2016

Gates was not aware of conversations regarding the timing of WikiLeaks releases approximately 45 minutes after the Access Hollywood tape hit the media [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Rest of October 2016

Gates said the RNC was looking through the releases. The campaign would pull press releases together based on RNC research and media research. There was still a pursuit of the missing emails by the campaign.

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]  
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11  
/2018

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 04/11/2018, Page 6 of 6

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

04/11/2018

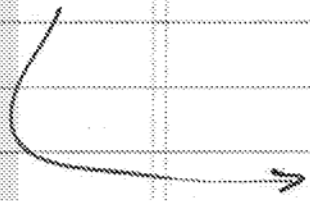
b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

2<sup>nd</sup> statement

1<sup>st</sup> statement

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted] HH, RG, PM discussion of poss. [Redacted]

Nobody on campaign took action on [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Kyrgyzstan coalition group  
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Campaign personnel thought [Redacted]

Planning a press strategy, camera campaign, messaging based on emails

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Conversations, what can we plan for in way of emails

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- PM/RG focused on mitigating hit pieces on PM

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

End July - 8/19

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Late July - 6/19

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- Camp trying to work w/ RNC opp res team
- Didn't focus on Super PAC contrib, more camp contrib

[Redacted]

[Redacted] was aware of foreign contrib to HRC camp

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

July 22

- Campaign very happy about release
- DJT is advised to not react to releases, let it play out

[Redacted] PM, excitement [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] said there would be additional information

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

June 12 - July 22

[Redacted]

• FM [Redacted] when release

• RG [Redacted] when release

• DJT was frustrated releases weren't happening

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

June 12 - July 22

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

- messaging strategy being built around press release/content

[Redacted]

- disagreement on where info came from on camp

• Does not recall PM asking KK to reach out to Russia contacts

• PM did not ask RG to call KK

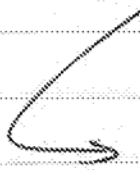
b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

• How to clean up low cost w/ Deripaska, clean up image in media

- position PM to work w/ pro-west group in Ukraine



• Financial damages

• Bad PR, Penches, relationship w/ Deripaska

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

July 22

• PM [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- does not recall [Redacted] saying more would come out

July 22

- Pivot to 'how do we use released info' - [redacted]
- RG doesn't believe [redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted] (part 7/22)

- Comment by DJT on 7/27 was ad lib "Russia, if you're listening"
- No conversation [redacted] post 7/22 about additional information available

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

(post 7/22)

- R/PM speaks about obtaining missing emails, PM to talk about obtaining [redacted]
- Staff meeting comes about 'someone out there has to have missing emails'

[redacted]

August 2

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Aug 2 - Aug 21

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]



[Redacted]

• Focus still on missing emails

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

• RG said no one used landlines bc there were no walls  
- everyone used cell phones

Oct 4

[Redacted]

SEPT

• RG [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

• [Redacted]

• [Redacted] upcoming info narrative

• RG was limited in Sept, work becomes w/ digital filters

Oct 7

• RG not aware of convos re timing of release 45 mins after AH tape

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

• [Redacted]

Oct 2016

- RNC was looking through releases
- Camp would pull press releases together hand on RNC ver and media ver
- Still pursuit of ~~some~~ missing emails by camp

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Caputo

[Redacted]

"

"

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

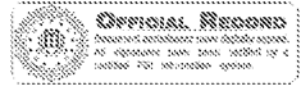
b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

6/20 Caputo fired

- Projects related to Caputo's current work
- Post 6/20, other side projects

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



b7E  
b7A

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/09/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed at the offices of Sidley Austin LLP located at 1501 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20005. Present for the interview were Senior Special Counsel Attorneys (SASC) Andrew Weissmann and Jeannie Rhee, Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and Special Agents [Redacted]. Gates's attorney, Tom Green of Sidley Austin LLP, was also present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

June 12, 2016 to July 22, 2016

[Agent Note: According to open sources, on 06/12/2016, Julian Assange (Assange) said during an interview on British television channel ITV that "we have upcoming leaks in relation to Hillary Clinton... we have emails pending publication, that is correct." Assange did not specify when or how many emails would be published.]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A

b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Trump was generally frustrated Clinton's missing emails had not been found. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

Investigation on 10/25/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/25/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E  
b7A

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of [Redacted] /2018 - [Redacted], On 10/25/2018, Page 2 of 8

Manafort was having Gates periodically call [Redacted] to check in on where the information was and when it would be coming.

Gates recalled a conversation with [Redacted] prior to 07/22

[Redacted] told Gates WikiLeaks would be dropping information [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates said the Russia theory was in contradiction to the "inside job" theory that was floated later.

Gates said a messaging strategy was being built in the June/July 2016 timeframe surrounding the upcoming release of information. [Redacted]

[Redacted] was building this strategy with Manafort also involved. [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Clinton's trustworthiness at this time was low.

[Redacted]

Post July 22, 2016 WikiLeaks Releases

Gates said the campaign was very happy about the WikiLeaks Democratic National Committee (DNC) releases on 07/22/2016. [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Manafort, [Redacted] were happy from a communications team perspective because it offered a mode of deflection for the campaign after a sink in polling numbers following Trump's comments about Ted Cruz's

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[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - [Redacted], On 10/25/2018, Page 3 of 8

father at the end of the Republican National Convention (RNC) [Agent Note: The 2016 Republican National Convention took place in Cleveland, Ohio from 07/18/2016 - 07/21/2016].

[Redacted]

Gates said that at the time of the 07/22/2016 WikiLeaks releases, there were public indications that Russia was behind them.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - [Redacted], On 10/25/2018, Page 4 of 8

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Gates said that after the Democratic National Convention in late July 2016 [Agent Note: The 2016 Democratic National Convention was held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania from 07/25/2016 - 07/28/2016] or in early August 2016, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Trump and Gates were in a car transiting from Trump Tower to LaGuardia Airport (LGA). [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted] Gates gathered that during this phone call [Redacted] there would be additional leaks coming. Gates thought this because shortly after boarding the plane Trump stated that more leaks were coming. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Manafort was getting pressure regarding [Redacted] information,

[Redacted]

Manafort instructed Gates [Redacted] status updates on upcoming information.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - [Redacted], On 10/25/2018, Page 5 of 8

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates said around this time Kellyanne Conway (Conway) and Stephen Bannon (Bannon) were appointed to the campaign and there were conversations behind the scenes about bringing people on to bolster Manafort.

Gates said there was a strategy to defend Manafort by attacking Podesta. The idea was that Podesta had baggage as well. Gates said it was unfortunate the information did not come out in time to defend Manafort from his ultimate departure from the campaign [Agent Note: On 08/19/2016, Manafort resigned from the campaign].

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

October 4, 2016

[Redacted]

October 7, 2016

Gates said that on 10/07/2016 he was not in New York and was likely in Richmond, VA or Washington, D.C. Gates's primary contacts on the campaign at this time were [Redacted] and Brad Parscale (Parscale).

b6  
b7C

Gates advised he wasn't given a heads up on the Access Hollywood tape (the tape), but subsequently talked to members of the campaign, specifically Parscale, about it. Gates recalled the Parscale conversation being retrospective occurring on or about 10/08/2016. Parscale had told Gates he was in the room when the tape was outed. Parscale described this as a difficult time. Gates said a reporter had reached out to [Redacted] to give a heads up that the tape would be made public. Gates said there was a

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - [Redacted], On 10/25/2018, Page 6 of 8

very short period of time between the heads up and when the story broke.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates said there was no prior discussion about the tape before the heads up to the campaign.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~



[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - [Redacted], On 10/25/2018, Page 7 of 8

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Gates recalls discussions about content of the Podesta emails after their release. Gates said there were discussions about how many WikiLeaks would drop each day of the 30,000 they had.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C  
b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//FOUO) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - [Redacted], On 10/25/2018, Page 8 of 8

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

\*\* Gates was shown an email [Redacted] containing the subject line "Trump adviser: Wikileaks plotting email dump to derail Hillary" \*\*

Gates did not recall receiving the aforementioned email.

[Redacted]

\*\* Gates was shown an email [Redacted] containing the subject line "Russia? Look who's really in bed with Moscow -- Podesta & Clinton Foundation money-laundering with Russia" \*\*

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

1

AW, [ ] JR, AZ, [ ]  
RG, [ ]

10/25/18

b6  
b7C

10/7 RG met in NY, Richmond or DC

Primary contacts [ ] Brad Thorsen

No leads up this page, subsequently talked to campaign about it

Talked to BP

BP in room w/ DJT when [ ]  
- Retrospective w/8 camera  
[ ] had reached any to [ ] gave leads up

Very small leads up before story took

[ ]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

No prior discussion about page, [ ]

Talked to BP on 10/8 about page

[ ]

[ ]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[ ]

[ ]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Discussion about amount of awards after the fact

Discussion about how much they would drop each day about <sup>of the 30,000</sup> they had

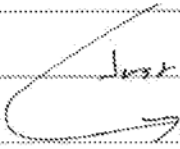
July 22

Camp was very happy about WL release

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Just finished conversation



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

PJM:

[Redacted] was happy from a common perspective, after that deflation for camp

after strike in polls at last moment of case. PJT comment about Ted Cruz's father

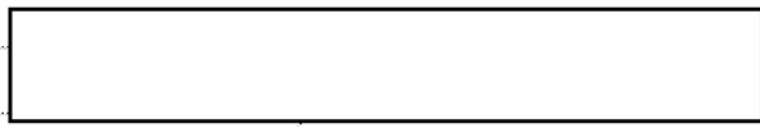
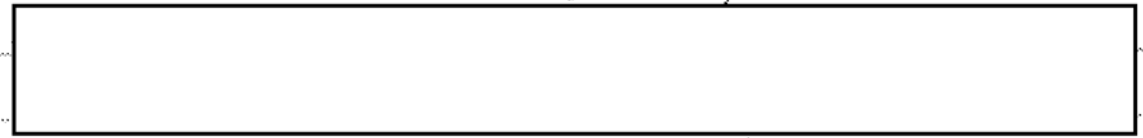
[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

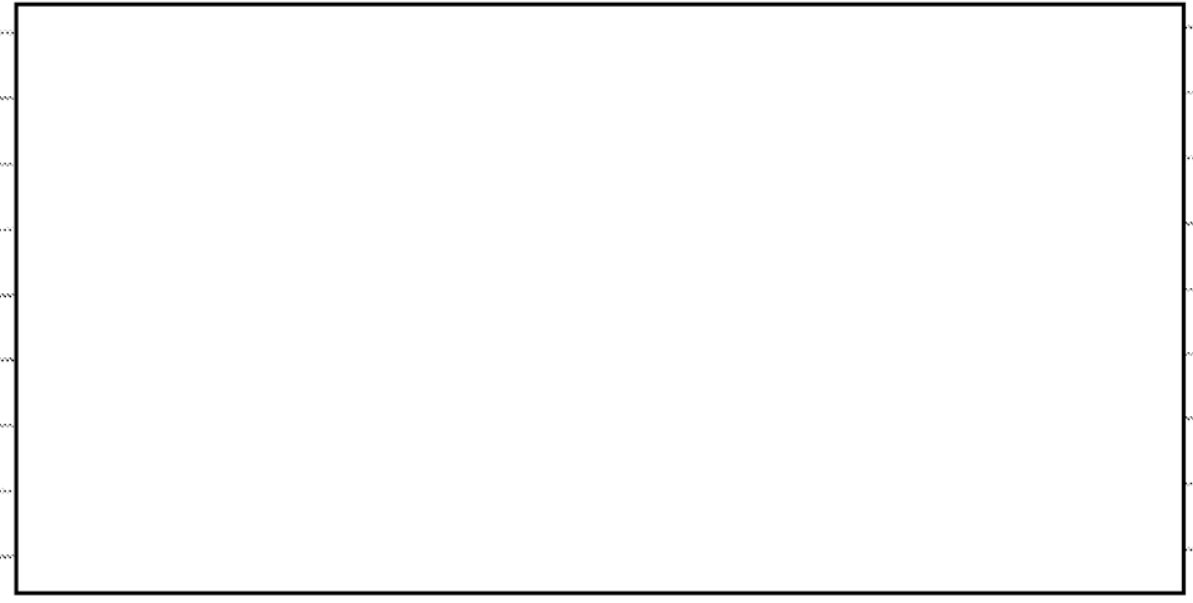
*Public indications Russia was behind it*



*- In combination to inside job Henry Ford at the time later*



b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



6

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

August 2

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

TT → LGA,

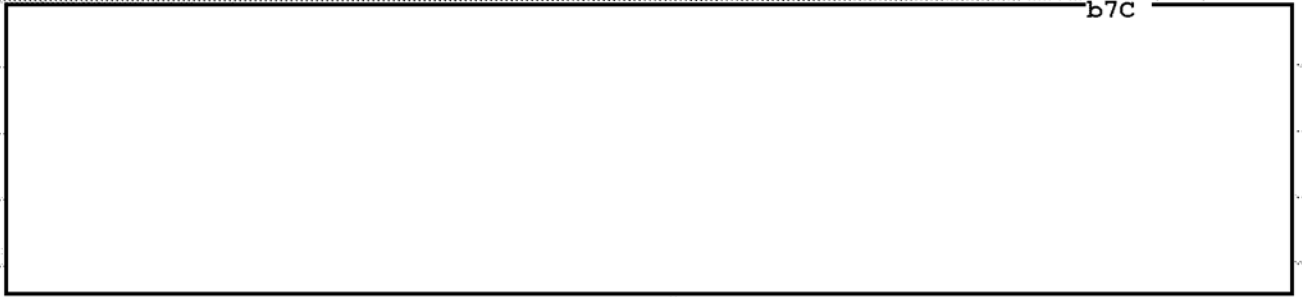
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

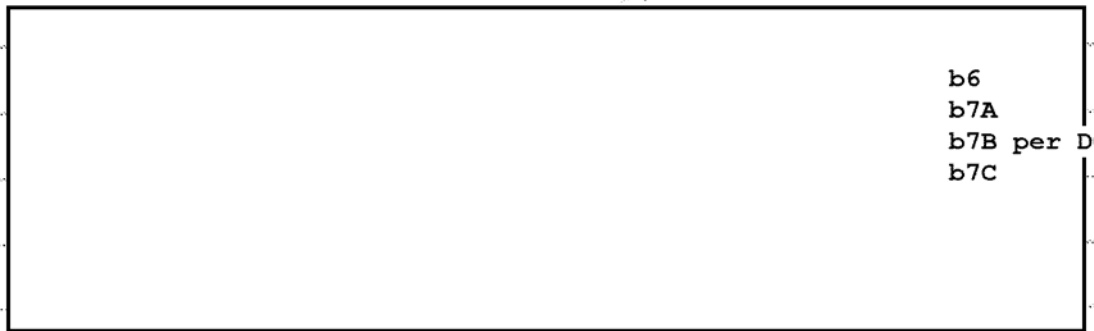
b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

7

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



Strategy to defend PJM, by attacking Edosta  
idea was Edosta had baggage as well



b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

KC & SB had been organized, carriers liked the  
scenario about bringing people on to believe PJM



b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

10/4

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

6/12

JA announcement, pending national vsi HEC, pending publication

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

DIT facilitated the missing records had not been found

[Redacted]

Marketing Strategy June-July surrounding opening release of info

[Redacted]

building strategy, PJM involved

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

\* RG reads article from [Redacted] email \*

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

\* RG shows email from 10/7 \*

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

From:  
Sent:  
To:  
CC:

Subject: Trump adviser: Wikileaks plotting email dump to derail Hillary

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

<http://www.wnd.com/2016/09/trump-adviser-wikileaks-plotting-email-dump-to-derail-hillary/>

## TRUMP ADVISER: WIKILEAKS PLOTTING EMAIL DUMP TO DERAIL HILLARY



Hillary Clinton (Photo: Twitter)

NEW YORK — A top Trump adviser says his computer and personal bank accounts were hacked in retaliation for declaring publicly he believes Julian Assange of Wikileaks has a complete set of Hillary Clinton's 30,000 scrubbed "private emails" and is preparing to release them to derail the Democratic Party nominee's presidential campaign.

Roger Stone, co-author of the bestselling book "The Clintons: War on Women" and a longtime friend of Trump, told WND in an interview that he has communicated directly with Assange.

"In the next series of emails Assange plans to release, I have reason to believe the Clinton Foundation scandals will surface to keep Bill and Hillary from returning to the White House," he said.

The Clintons scheme to monopolize the White House for personal profit is exposed in "Partners in Crime." Order it now at the WND Superstore!

Stone notes: Assange's release of DNC-hacked emails just before the start of the party's Philadelphia presidential nominating convention caused Debbie Wasserman Schultz to resign as DNC chairman for her favoring Clinton over challenger Bernie Sanders.

The next batch, Stone said, include Clinton's communications with State Department aides Cheryl Mills and Huma Abedin.

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# TRUMP ADVISER: WIKILEAKS PLOTTING EMAIL DUMP TO DERAIL HILLARY

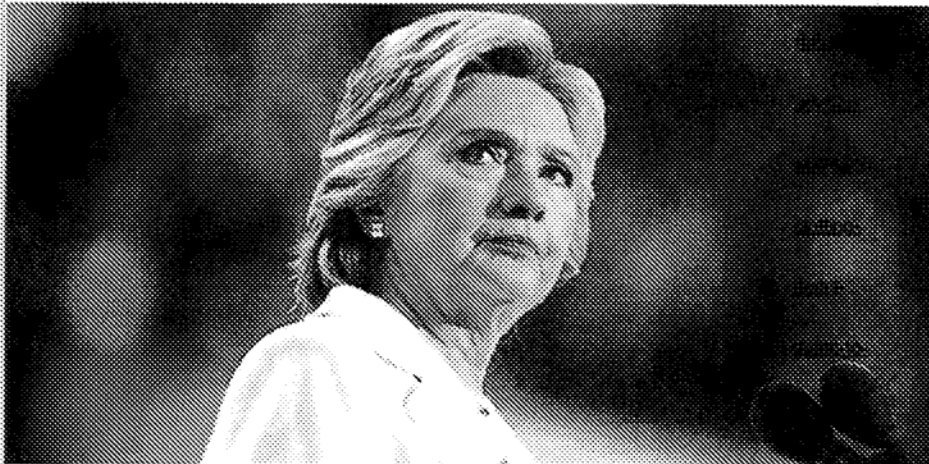
Claims he was hacked after disclosing what Assange told him

Published: 08/15/2016 at 7:36 PM



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Hillary Clinton (Photo: Twitter)

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NEW YORK – A top Trump adviser says his computer and personal bank accounts were hacked in retaliation for declaring publicly he believes Julian Assange of Wikileaks has a complete set of Hillary Clinton's 30,000 scrubbed "private emails" and is preparing to release them to derail the Democratic Party nominee's presidential campaign.

Roger Stone, co-author of the bestselling book "The Clinton War on Women" and a longtime friend of Trump, told WND in an interview that he has communicated directly with Assange.

"In the next series of emails Assange plans to release, I have no reason to believe the Clinton Foundation scandals will surface to keep Bill and Hillary from returning to the White House," he said.

*The Clintons' scheme to monopolize the White House for a personal fortune is exposed in "Partners in Crime." Order it now at the WND Superstore! (<http://superstore.wnd.com/Partners-in-Crime-Hardcover-Jerome-Corsi>)*

Stone noted Assange's release of DNC-hacked emails just before the start of the party's Philadelphia presidential nominating convention caused Debbie Wasserman Schultz to resign as DNC chairman for her favoring Clinton over challenger Bernie Sanders.

The next batch, Stone said, include Clinton's communications with State Department aides Cheryl Mills and Huma Abedin.

He said the hackers who penetrated his personal bank accounts managed to establish an online portal through which they began stealing money before they were detected and stopped.

"Major portions of the hard drive on my computer system were destroyed, erasing maybe permanently decades of email contacts and various writing projects that were yet in progress," he said.

Stone told WND that while he has hired a team of computer experts to determine if his lost computer files can be recovered, he believes much of the damage is permanent, forcing him to move into a more highly secured computer environment.

In a speech Southwest Broward Republican Organization in Florida, published Aug. 9 by David Brock's left-wing website Media Matters (<https://mediamatters.org/video/2016/08/09/roger-stone-confirms-hes-communication-julian-assange/212261>), Stone said he had "communicated with Assange."

"I believe the next tranche of his documents pertain to the Clinton Foundation, but there is no telling what the October surprise may be," he said.

Stone told WND that Assange "plans to drop at various strategic points in the presidential campaigns Hillary Clinton emails involving the Clinton Foundation that have yet to surface publically."

"Assange claims the emails contain enough damaging information to put Hillary Clinton in jail for selling State Department 'official acts' in exchange for contributions to the Clinton Foundation and as a reward for Clinton Foundation donors becoming clients of Teneo, the consulting firm established by Bill Clinton's White House 'body man' Doug Band," he said.

"The Democrats are right to fear Assange's next email drops will be devastating to Hillary."

Stone, in an Info Wars interview last Friday with Alex Jones (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQKHmvgMIFc>), first disclosed his computer and bank accounts had been hacked.

#### **Clinton Foundation conflicts of interest**

In May 2013, Politico broke the story (<http://www.politico.com/story/2013/05/huma-abedin-consultant-state-091503>) that longtime Hillary Clinton aide Huma Abedin spent her final months at the State Department working as a "special government employee" in a part-time consultancy, beginning during her pregnancy in the summer of 2012, while she worked second job as a part-time consultant to Teneo.

The New York Post in September 2013 (<https://nypost.com/2013/09/25/state-dept-sued-over-huma-abedin-pay-deal/>) reported Abedin was being paid \$355,000 as a consultant to Teneo while receiving \$135,000 in government pay as a part-time consultant for Hillary Clinton.

The Washington Post revealed in an article published Aug. 27, 2015 ([https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-huma-abedin-operated-at-the-center-of-the-clinton-universe/2015/08/27/cd099eee-4b32-11e5-902f-39e9219e574b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-huma-abedin-operated-at-the-center-of-the-clinton-universe/2015/08/27/cd099eee-4b32-11e5-902f-39e9219e574b_story.html)) that Abedin actually held four different jobs simultaneously, being paid also by the Clinton Foundation, where she was a contractor preparing for Hillary Clinton's eventual transition from the State Department to the charity.

Last Thursday, CNN reported (<https://www.cnn.com/2016/08/11/politics/hillary-clinton-cgi-cheny-mills/>) Mills, on June 19, 2012, while serving as chief of staff for Secretary of State Clinton, traveled to New York to interview candidates for top jobs in the Clinton Foundation.

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Last September, Citizens United published three Freedom of Information Act email releases (<http://www.citizensunited.org/press-releases.aspx?article=10113>) that yielded dozens of Hillary Clinton emails that documented Mills and Abedin had been in regular contact with both the Clinton Foundation and with Doug Band via his email at his consulting firm, Teneo.

The decision by Citizens United to publish the emails in their entirety triggered a firestorm of criticism in the media. David Bossie, founder of Citizens United, said the emails show the "tangled web that is the State Department, Teneo, and the Clinton Foundation."

([https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-huma-abedin-operated-at-the-center-of-the-clinton-universe/2015/08/27/cd099eee-4b32-11e5-902f-39e9219e574b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-huma-abedin-operated-at-the-center-of-the-clinton-universe/2015/08/27/cd099eee-4b32-11e5-902f-39e9219e574b_story.html))

"The Clinton Foundation had a direct line to Hillary Clinton's former chief of staff at the State Department, seeking her advice on lucrative speaking invitations for former President Bill Clinton outside of the department's normal ethics process, according to emails that surfaced in a federal lawsuit," reporter Rachael Bade wrote in Politico on Sept. 30, 2015, in an article titled "Clinton's chief of staff gave advice to Clinton Foundation."

"Foundation officials sought guidance from Cheryl Mills, a longtime Clinton lawyer and friend, on whether the former president should accept paid speaking gigs in countries that could have presented public relations problems, including a North Korea appearance that the nonprofit said Hillary Clinton's brother was pushing, the emails show," Bade continued.

Noting that Mills sat on the Clinton Foundation board before becoming the State Department's No. 2 employee, Bade commented that "Mills' involvement with some of the most sensitive speaking requests shows that top foundation officials felt comfortable seeking advice directly from Hillary Clinton's closest adviser and consulted her privately on speaking requests involving hundreds of thousands of dollars."

Bade also reported that the attorney for Mills, Beth Wilkinson, a partner at Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP, argued that her client simply gave advice and did not officially approve the arrangements, insisting no State Department rules had been broken.

"A member of Hillary Clinton's staff at the Department of State emailed classified information about the government in Congo to a staffer at the Clinton Foundation in 2012," wrote Alana Goodman in a September 2015 Washington Free Beacon article commenting on one of the emails Citizens United published. (<http://freebeacon.com/politics/clinton-aide-shared-classified-information-with-foundation-email-shows/>)

Goodman reported Mills sent the email to the Clinton Foundation foreign policy director, Amitabh Desai, on July 12, 2012, commenting that the FOIA-released email had been partially redacted because it included "foreign government information" that has been classified as "Confidential" by the State Department.

"The message could add to concerns from congressional and FBI investigators about whether former Secretary Clinton and her aides mishandled classified information while at the State Department," Goodman reported. "The email, which discussed the relationship between the governments in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, was originally drafted by Johnnie Carson, the State Department's assistant secretary for African affairs, who sent it to Mills' State Department email address."

Goodman further reported that Mills later forwarded the full message to Desai along with "talking points" for former President Bill Clinton shortly before he was scheduled to visit the region.

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## Russia? Look who's really in bed with Moscow

Hillary campaign chief, Clinton Foundation, in deep on international money-laundering

Published: 15 hours ago

**ELECTION 2016**

ELECTION 2016

# RUSSIA? LOOK WHO'S REALLY IN BED WITH MOSCOW

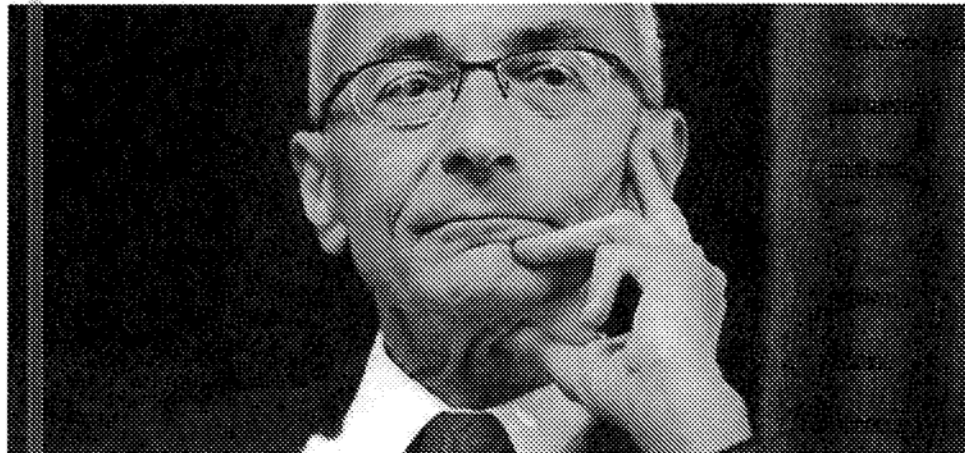
Hillary campaign chief, Clinton Foundation, in deep on international money-laundering

Published: 10/06/2016 at 8:27 PM



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(/files/2013/12/podesta.jpg)

John Podesta

(https://www.wnd.com/)

NEW YORK – Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign manager, John Podesta, was on the executive board of a client of the Panamanian law firm Mossack Fonseca, which is at the heart of the the Panama Papers (<https://panamapapers.icj.org/>) investigation into massive global offshore money-laundering.

The company for which Podesta served as a board member, Joule, also received \$35 million from a Putin-connected Russian government fund at the same time then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton spearheaded the transfer of U.S. advanced technology, some with military uses, as part of her "reset" strategy with Russia, according to a report titled "From Russia With Money," (<http://www.g-a-i.org/u/2016/08/Report-Skolkovo-08012016.pdf>) released in August by the Government Accountability Institute (<http://www.g-a-i.org/about/>). "Clinton Cash" author Peter Schweizer is president of GAI, and Steve Bannon, the CEO of the Trump campaign, is a director.

*[The Clintons' corruption is exposed in Jerome Corsi's "Partners in Crime: The Clintons' Scheme to Monetize the White House for Personal Profit," available at the WND Superstore! \(http://superstore.wnd.com/Partners-in-Crime-Hardcover-Bulk?promocode=STORY\)](http://superstore.wnd.com/Partners-in-Crime-Hardcover-Bulk?promocode=STORY)*

The Russian entities that funneled money to Joule and its related companies, and ultimately to Podesta, include a controversial Russian investor with ties to the Russian government, Viktor Vekselberg, and his Renova Group, a Russian conglomerate with interests in oil, energy and telecommunication.

Vekselberg is a board member of Rusnano (<http://search.en.rusnano.com/default.aspx?k=Renova>), the Russian State Investment Fund, as well as president of the Skolkovo Foundation, named for Russia's version of Silicon Valley.

The Government Accountability Institute report noted Joule was a new company, founded in 2007, pioneering a technology based on harnessing solar energy. Podesta consulted for a foundation run by one of the investors in Joule Energy, Hansjoerg Wyss, who in turn was a major Clinton Foundation donor.

The report documented the Wyss Foundation has given from \$1 million to \$5 million to the Clinton Foundation. Podesta was paid \$87,000 by the Wyss Foundation in 2013, according to federal tax records.

In his 2014 federal government disclosure filing, Podesta declared he divested stock options from Joule, but the disclosure does not cover the years 2011-2012.

Joule Global Stichting was established in Amsterdam on March 14, 2011.

Podesta joined the company's executive board on June 25, 2011. Joule Stichting is a foundation, but it's not strictly a foundation in the charitable sense. A foundation of this type, a Dutch Stichting, is a popular means for reducing one's tax burden, as noted on the website of the Panamanian law firm Mossack Fonseca.

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The Government Accountability Institute concluded that although Podesta is listed on the corporate records, he failed to disclose his membership on the board of Joule Stichting in his federal financial disclosure forms when he joined the Obama White House as a senior adviser.

### Russian government invests

Two months after Podesta joined the board, the Russian government investment fund Rusnano, the Russian Corporation of Nanotechnologies, founded by Vladimir Putin in 2007, announced it would invest up to \$35 million in Joule Unlimited.

On Aug. 1, Bannon and Schweizer co-authored a [Breitbart.com article titled "Report: Hillary Clinton's Campaign Manager John Podesta Sat on Board of Company that Bagged \\$35 million from Putin-Connected Russian Government Fund."](http://www.breitbart.com/2016-presidential-race/2016/08/01/report-hillary-clintons-campaign-mgr-john-podesta-sat-board-company-bagged-35-million-putin-connected-russian-govt-fund-2/) (<http://www.breitbart.com/2016-presidential-race/2016/08/01/report-hillary-clintons-campaign-mgr-john-podesta-sat-board-company-bagged-35-million-putin-connected-russian-govt-fund-2/>)

"The GAI investigative report says it's unclear how much, if any, money Podesta made. The reason: Podesta was on the board of three Joule entities, but only listed two on his disclosure; the most important entity, Joule Stichting, he did not list," Bannon and Schweizer noted. "Why Podesta failed to reveal, as required by law on his federal financial disclosures, his membership on the board of this offshore company is presently unknown."

Bannon and Schweizer further reported flows of funds from Russia during the "reset" to Podesta-connected entities apparently didn't end with Joule Energy, as Podesta's far-left think tank, Center for American Progress, CAP, took in \$5.25 million from the Sea Change Foundation between 2010 and 2013. The Sea Change Foundation, it turns out, ties into various entities specifically named and investigated in the Panama Papers, including Klein Ltd. and Troika Dialog Ltd.

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## Do This Immediately to Get Rid of Nail Fungus (It's Genius!)

(//trends.revcontent.com/click.php?  
d=2uRx6ml4S3%2FpWfQH4nGFiloP2QL8Vp%2FEZ1d8JQgWvYXrcrn53PN9fhB6AQprsDUDcFzkusuJfgRR2A;  
Fungus Clean

### Feed

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d=uYheNj2P9WFKLS0q%2BRV26Mir04TkqOXLbBFmVb5apnjCLPnHM6miOoYRYeYWqQ%2FCiq2R9f

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Wars in Middle East - Conservative View

### Look who's 'desperate' for American cash

The Palestinian Authority is 'desperate' for American cash to survive, yet when the U.S. cut off funding, it reacted by threatening violence, explains a new report in Joseph Farah's *C2 Bulletin*...

///[feed.engage.im/click.php?](https://feed.engage.im/click.php?d=75CjsHvdC9MMNMqXB2jTboQg9q4wX%2FPkpx)

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**MALE TEACHER ORDERED  
TO OBSERVE TEEN GIRL...**

**STEPHEN**  
15h

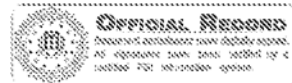
The school  
psychologist, and th...

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[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/09/2018

(U) On 09/18/2018 Special Agents (SA) [Redacted] [Redacted] Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson, Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein and SASC Jeannie Rhee interviewed MICHAEL DEAN COHEN (COHEN) at his attorney's offices at 655 3rd Ave, New York, NY. Present were COHEN's legal counsel, Guy Petrillo, Amy Lester, and Philip Pilmar. Additionally, Assistant United States Attorney [Redacted] and SA [Redacted] from SDNY and FBI NY attended. In the presence of his attorney, COHEN reviewed and executed two proffer agreements, one from the Special Counsel's Office, attached, and one from SDNY, which was retained by SDNY. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing SAs and the purpose of the interview, COHEN provided the following:

b6  
b7C

(U) [Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] The TRUMP ORG wanted to terminate any deals that had to [Redacted] of the Presidential Inauguration. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

(U) COHEN found [Redacted] TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW [Redacted] on the list. [Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Investigation on 09/18/2018 at New York, New York, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 09/24/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 2 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 3 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) The use of the TRUMP ORG's "party line" with respect to Russia went earlier than the closing of TRUMP TOWER BATUMI and TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW.

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

(U) COHEN spoke to TRUMP about TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW and Russia as soon as news reports started to come out. The conversations with TRUMP were earlier than the February 2017

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 4 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) TRUMP asked COHEN in March or April 2016 if anything was happening with Russia.

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) TRUMP's July [27], 2016 statement was untrue. In July, COHEN spoke to TRUMP about the statement. TRUMP told COHEN they have no deals in Russia.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 5 of 15

COHEN thought TRUMP justified saying this because TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW was not a deal yet. TRUMP said, "Why mention it if it is not a deal?" **b5 Per DOJ/OIP**

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

**b5 Per DOJ/OIP**

(U) MEGAN TWOHEY - New York Times

(U) COHEN met MEGAN TWOHEY, a new reporter at the *New York Times*, thinking it was a friendly meeting for the two to get to know each other and not a sit down interview. They met at [Redacted] COHEN recalled MEGAN TWOHEY [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

**b5 Per DOJ/OIP**

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

**b5 Per DOJ/OIP**

COHEN told TWOHEY the project ended in January 2016 and was not feasible.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

**b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C**

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 6 of 15

was part of the script TRUMP, HICKS, and KELLYANNE CONWAY (CONWAY) came up with months before. It was the party line to dismiss the notion.

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] COHEN previously talked about this script with TRUMP. COHEN did not tell TRUMP he thought the script was untrue because TRUMP already knew it was untrue. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 7 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) The source for the August 2017 *Washington Post* article about TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW sounded like it came from COHEN. COHEN was holding to the script that it was abandoned in January 2016.

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) It was not COHEN's idea to write a letter to congress about TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW. The statement was put out to piggyback off of JARED KUSHNER putting out a statement before. The release was to shape the narrative and to let other people who might be witnesses know what COHEN was saying to keep the same message. This was KUSHNER's approach to public messaging.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 8 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) COHEN learned the message to have the Russia investigations end early from discussions with TRUMP, SEKULOW, [Redacted] The discussions occurred shortly after, in the days or weeks following, the appointment of the Special Counsel. It would have been May or June [2017]. The discussion was to not worry, the investigation would not last and would be over by August -- August became December and the House and Senate investigations had not

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 9 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6

b7A

b7B per DOJ/OIP

b7C

(U)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 10 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) COHEN had a second conversation with TRUMP [Redacted] in TRUMP's office very soon after Friday, July 22, 2016. TRUMP said to COHEN, [Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 11 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) In preparation for his Congressional testimony, COHEN's message had several components. COHEN had to keep TRUMP out of the messaging related to Russia and keep TRUMP out of the Russia conversation. One of these points to keep TRUMP out of was this UNGA TRUMP-Putin meeting, because he had discussed it on the HANNITY SHOW.

(U) In advance of testifying, there was a specific conversation about keeping TRUMP out of the UNGA narrative. COHEN was trying to be loyal. The investigation was not supposed to have taken us to where we are today. COHEN was told if he stayed on message, the President had his back, the President loves you.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 12 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 13 of 15

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 14 of 15

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A

b7B per DOJ/OIP

b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6

b7A

b7B per DOJ/OIP

b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 09/18/2018 , Page 15 of 15

[Large Redacted Area]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Andan Goldstein

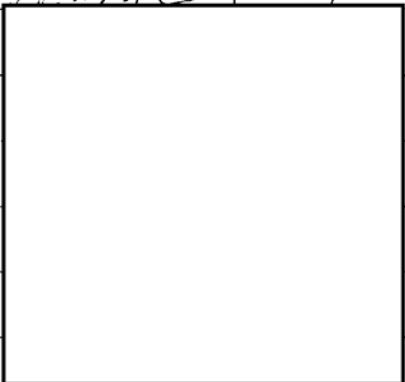
9/10/2018

Russ Atkinson

By Retalio

Jessie Pless

By Lesta



Phil [unclear]

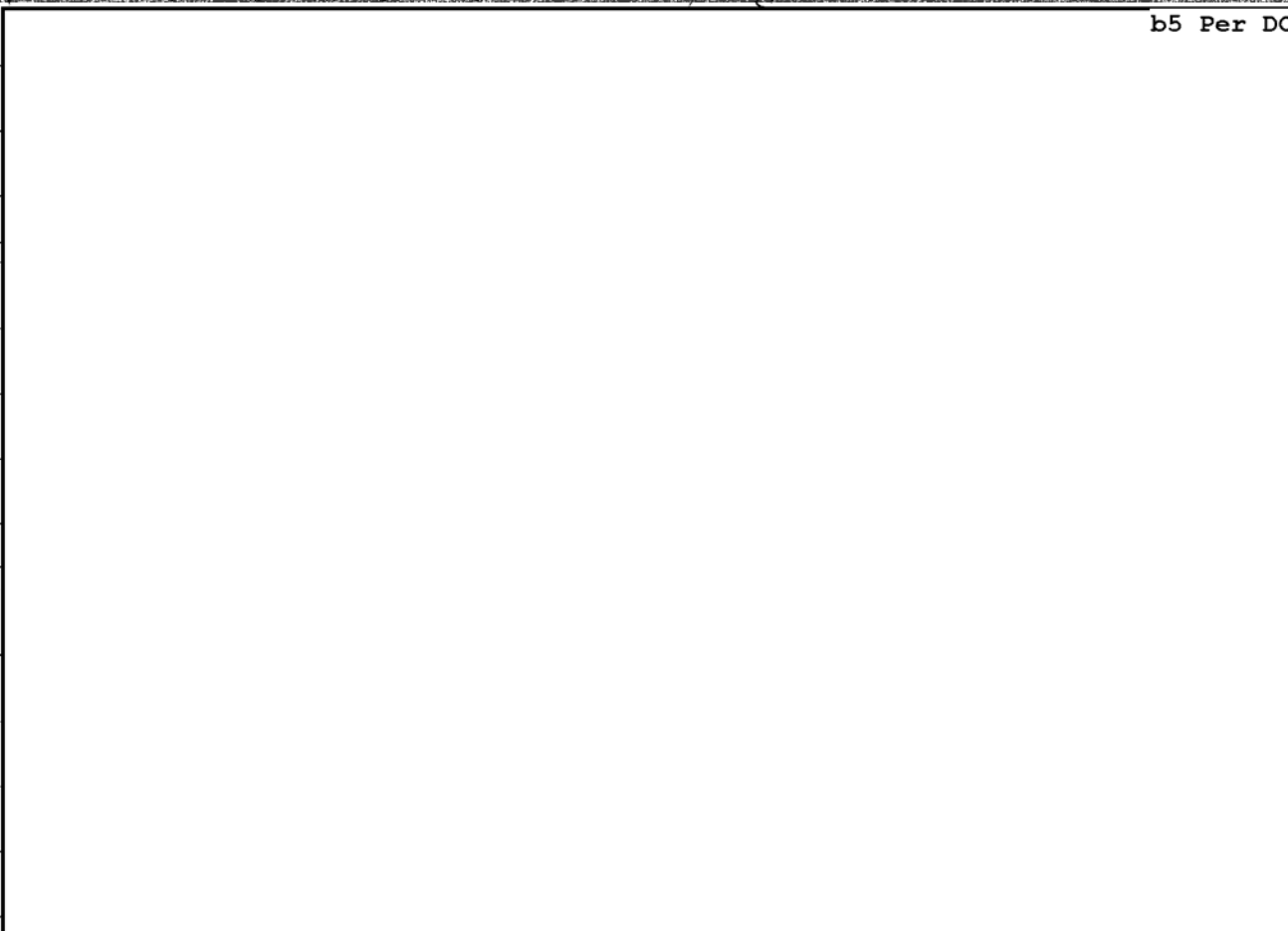
Michael Cohen

b6  
b7C

Proffer - SCO - Initial of [unclear]

- SDNY - Initial of [unclear]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

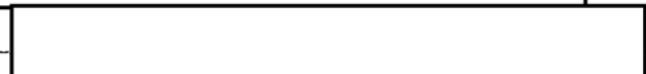
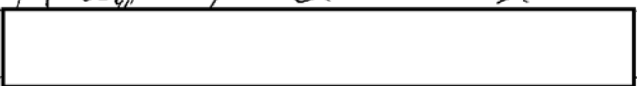


MC

b6  
b7C

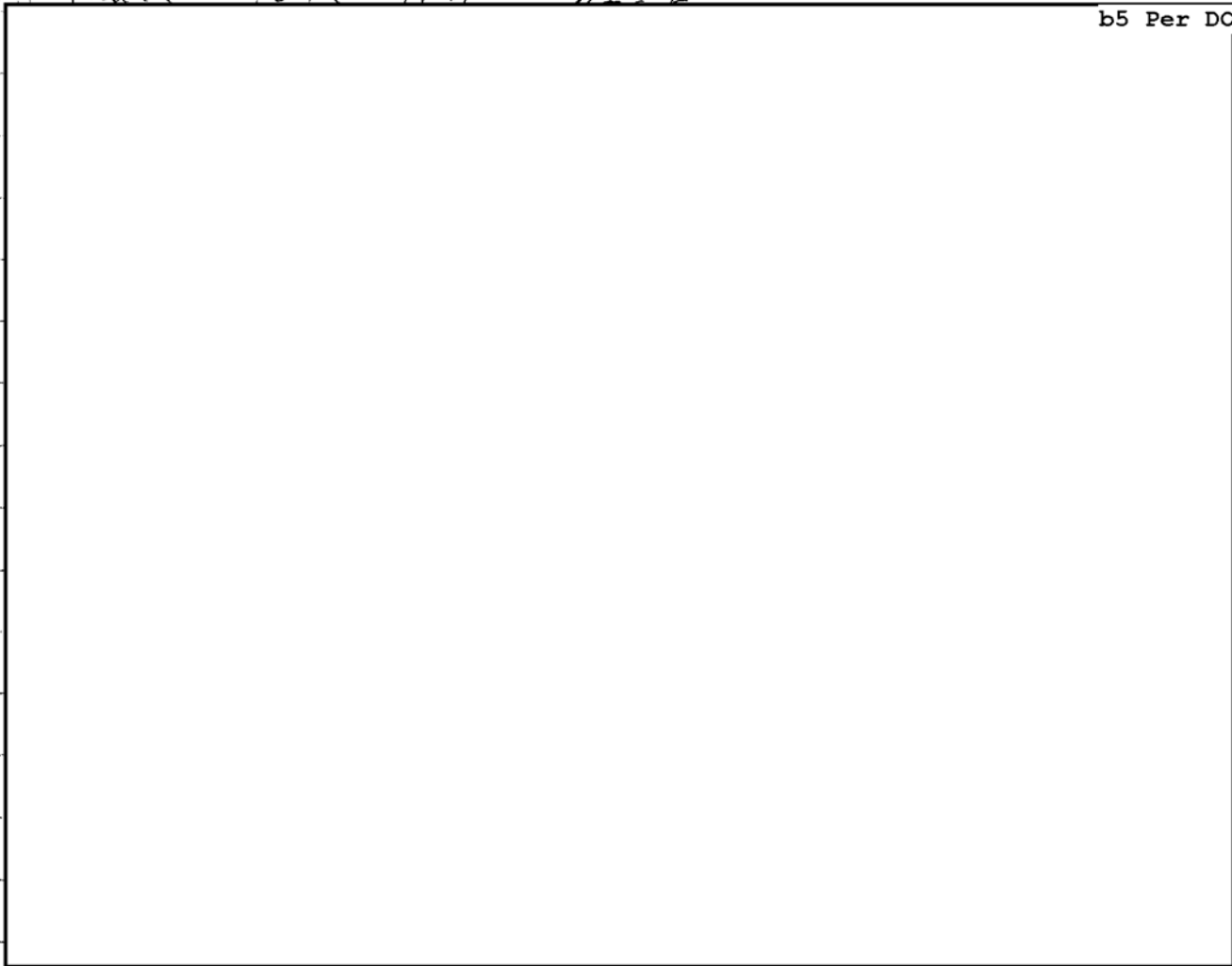
By

Trans [unclear] [unclear]



APC - Trace Parts in bank

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



b6  
b7C

APC - Russia + TTU - when specific to PJT  
MC - as early as newspaper were coming  
out. - forgot that earliest article was

APC - 1st Article - Febra 2017 -

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



b6  
b7C



[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

ADG

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

- ask n Nov 4 & April

any the happen w/ Russia -

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

APC

[Redacted]



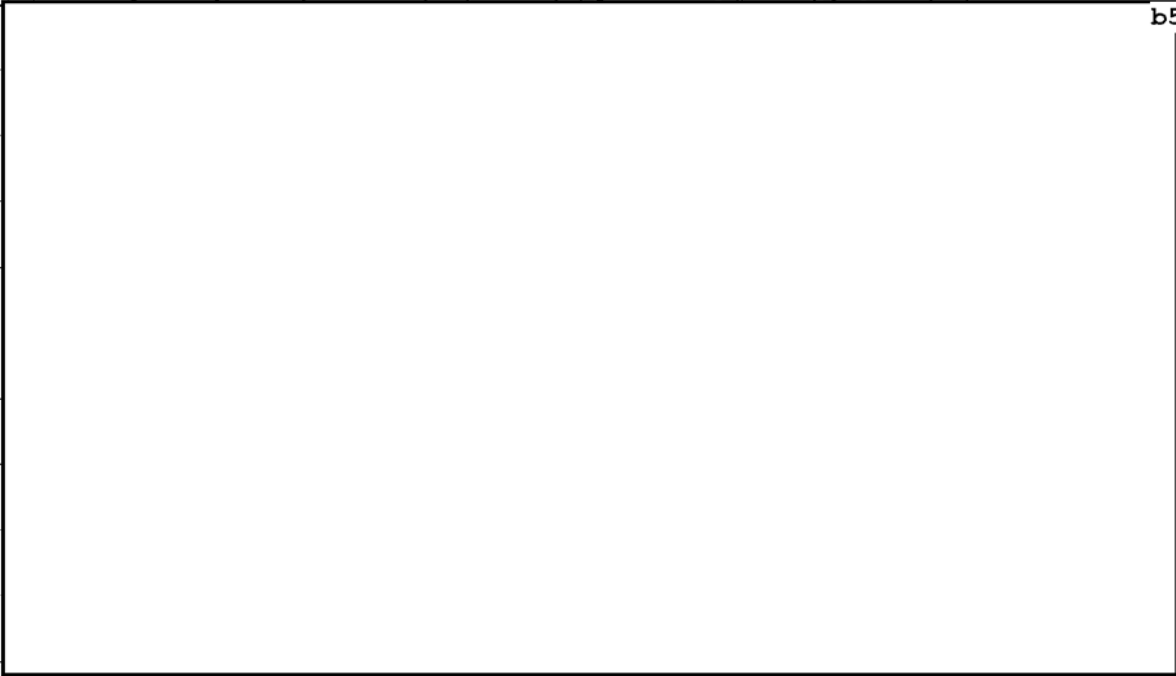
MC

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



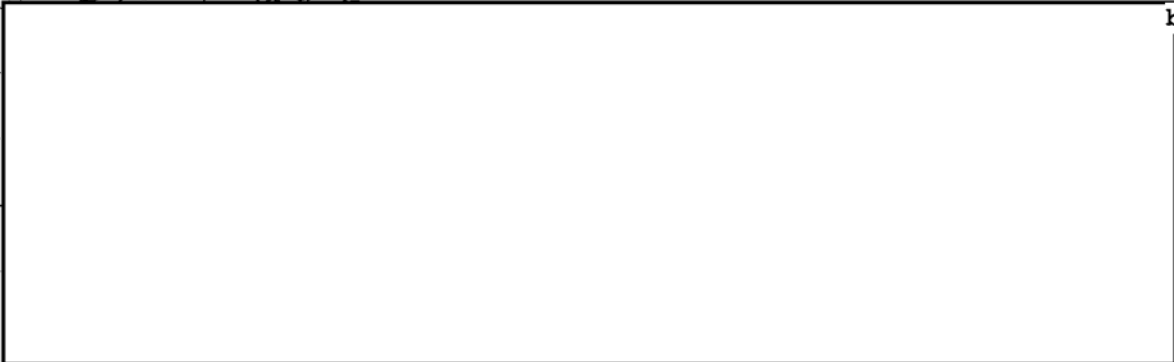
ADD DST's statement in July - mention  
MC - spoke to DST about statement was  
in relation to roscow - DST we have no clue  
if it happens - when it happens - why  
mention it if it is not actual

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



ADD - ~~Person~~ ~~Thru~~

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



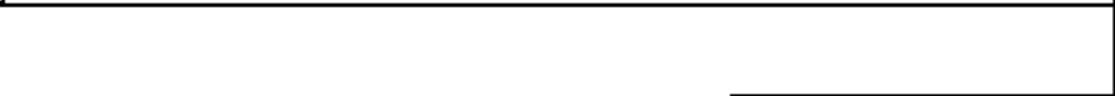
b6  
b7C

*Therapy*



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

*ADG read reports*

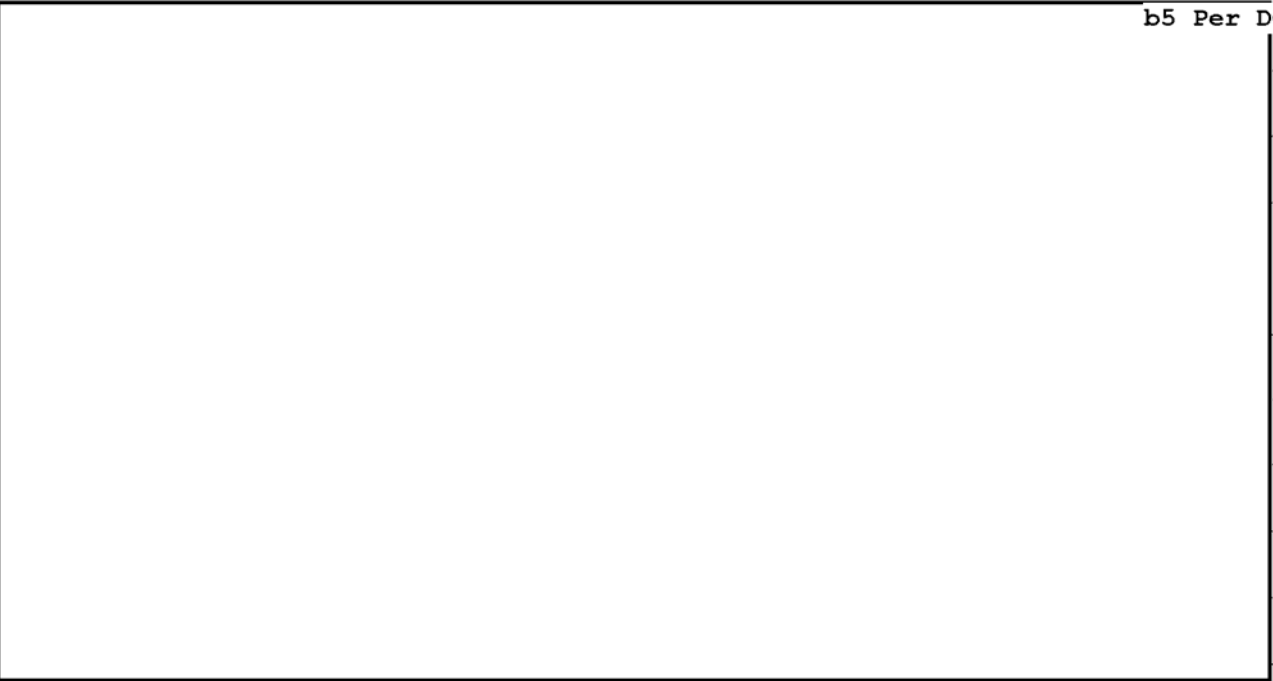


b5 Per DOJ/OIP

*ADG read reports*



*ADG*



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

*MC*

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

to DST, Hays, Conway

This is the [Redacted] - [Redacted] notice -

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

APG

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- talk about this script of DST

APG script is fake - talk about DST what is true

WLC - DOJ - he already knew it.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

APG

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

APG

[Redacted]

APG

P.W.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

APG - EPT + 28 - newstays get 11M

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

APG - wa post says abduction by Jan  
- me sounds like world come from me

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Excerpt - abduction Jan 2016

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

APG

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

JSR -

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

JSR -

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

MC -

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

JSR -

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

APU -

Yes or No @

Idea to write letter to Congress about TTAC?

MC - No

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Guy - Stuart Pat act - Pigglywinkie at Jared Kusler's <sup>Buff out</sup> <sub>Chick</sub>

JSR - even if recalled - your idea?

MC - <sup>no</sup> not, not his idea -

JSR -

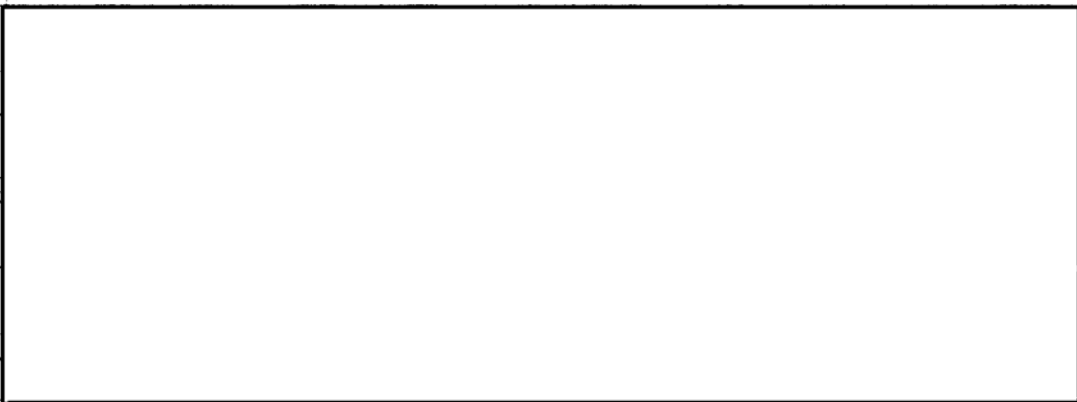
[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

MC - stage narrative, let other people also report to witness to let them know what he was saying - keep narrative to stage message.

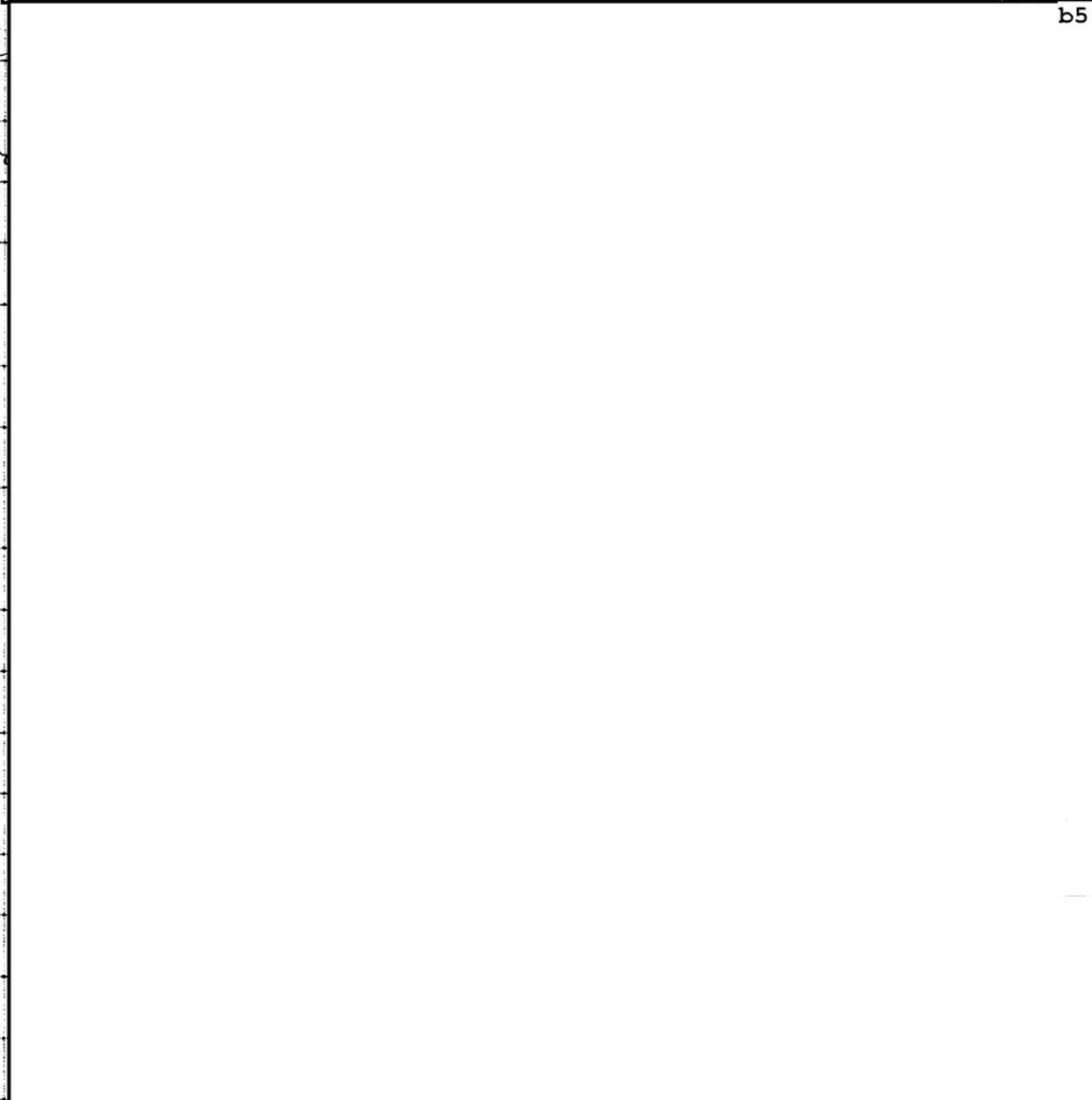
JSR - JK approach - public message?  
MC - yes, Malana

MC  
JK



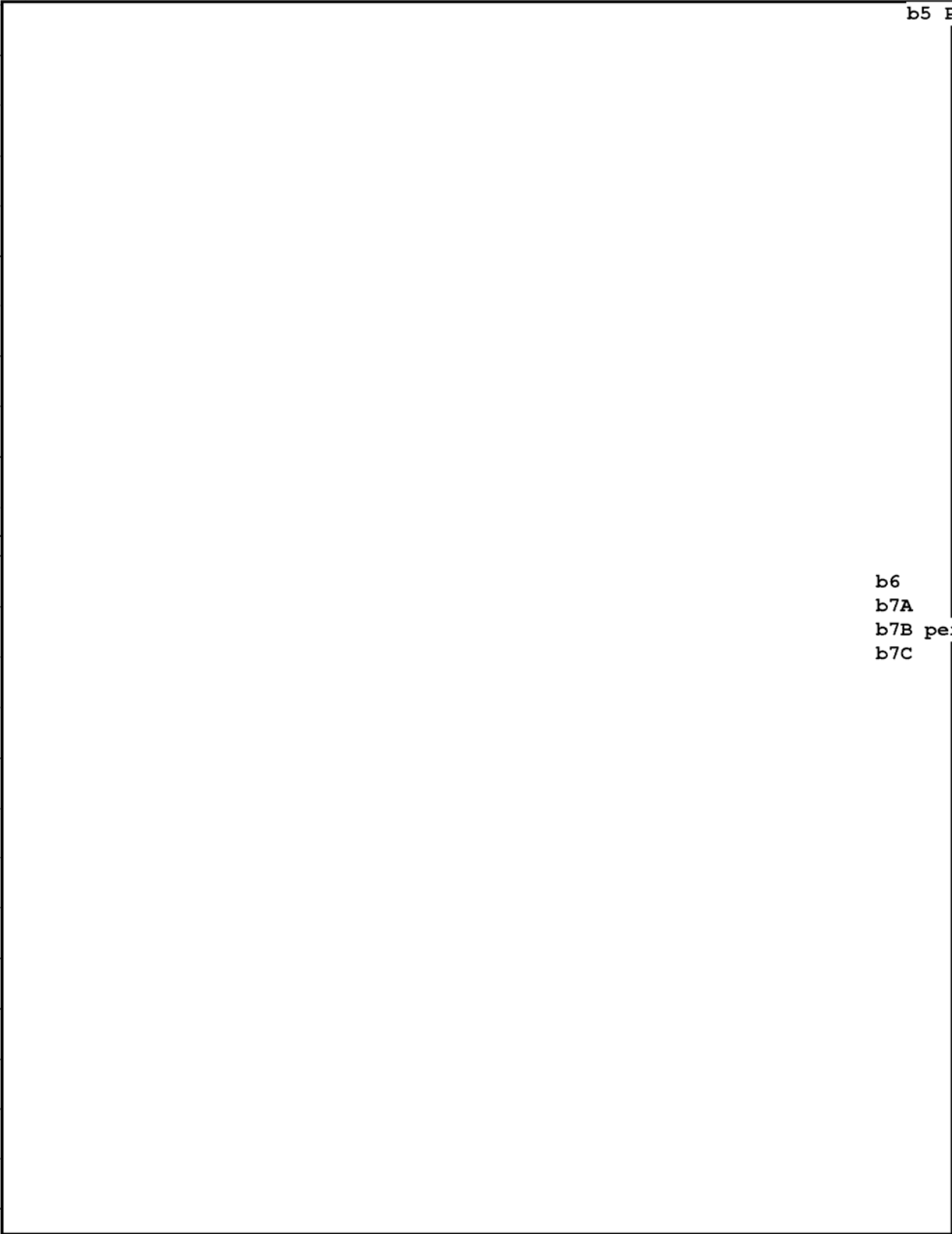
b5 Per DOJ/OIP

MC  
JK



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

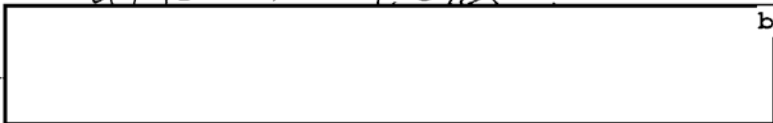
b5 Per DOJ/OIP



mc

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

2nd Court a + w release  
22nd - Friday - after the 22nd  
DJT said



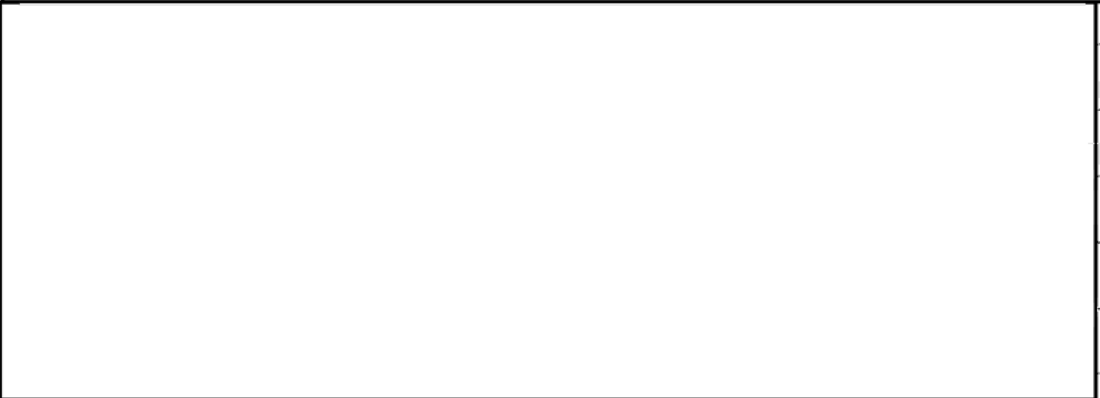
b5 Per DOJ/OIP

LPA



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

ADG



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

ADG

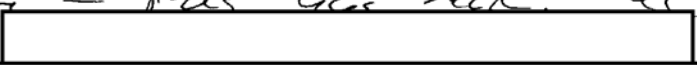
Go by the congressional testimony - (over?)  
me - message had several components  
keep Trump out of message, Russia  
Keep out of Russia issues.

Decided - the points was Trump later  
meeting - re Hannity.

ADG

is advice of testimony is correct.  
Specific issues about being Trump out  
of this episode, try to be loyal/  
investigate was not supposed to take  
us to where we are today.

stay on message - Pres has been back. Pres



b6  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



b5 Per DOJ/OIP





**U.S. Department of Justice**  
*The Special Counsel's Office*

*Washington, D.C. 20530*

August 6, 2018

Guy Petrillo  
Petrillo Klein & Boxer LLP  
655 Third Ave.  
22nd Floor  
New York, NY 10017

Re: Michael D. Cohen

Dear Counsel:

You have indicated that your client Michael D. Cohen (hereinafter "Client"), is interested in providing information to the government.

With respect to the meeting between the government, Client and yourself on August 7, 2018 (hereinafter "the meeting"), the government will be represented by individuals from the Special Counsel's Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The terms of this letter do not bind any office or component of the U.S. Department of Justice other than those identified in the preceding sentence. The following terms and conditions apply to the meeting:

(1) **THIS IS NOT A COOPERATION AGREEMENT.** Client has agreed to provide information to the government, and to respond to questions truthfully and completely. By receiving Client's proffer, the government does not agree to make any motion on Client's behalf or to enter into a cooperation agreement, plea agreement, immunity agreement or non-prosecution agreement with Client. The government makes no representation about the likelihood that any such agreement will be reached in connection with this meeting.

(2) Should Client be prosecuted, no statements made by Client during the meeting will be used against Client in the government's case-in-chief at trial or for purposes of sentencing, except as provided below.

(3) The government may use any statement made or information provided by Client, or on Client's behalf, in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. The government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Client failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting, and, accordingly: (a) that under the United States Sentencing Guidelines, Client is not entitled to a downward adjustment for acceptance of

responsibility pursuant to Section 3E1.1, or should receive an upward adjustment for obstruction of justice pursuant to Section 3C1.1; and (b) that Client's conduct at the meeting is a relevant factor under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

(4) The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Client during the meeting. Therefore, the government may pursue any investigative leads obtained directly or indirectly from such statements and information and may use the evidence or information subsequently obtained therefrom against Client in any manner and in any proceeding.

(5) In any proceeding, including sentencing, the government may use Client's statements and any information provided by Client during or in connection with the meeting to cross-examine Client, to rebut any evidence or arguments offered on Client's behalf, or to address any issues or questions raised by a court on its own initiative.

(6) Neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions. In the event this agreement or the meeting is later construed to constitute a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions, Client knowingly and voluntarily waives any right Client might have under Fed. R. Evid. 410, Fed. R. Crim. P. 11(f), or otherwise, to prohibit the use against Client of statements made or information provided during the meeting.

(7) The government reserves the right to argue that neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes the timely provision of complete information to the government concerning Client's involvement in an offense, within the meaning of Section 3E1.1(b) of the Sentencing Guidelines.

(8) If and when required to do so by a court, the government may disclose to the Probation Office or the court any statements and information provided by Client during the meeting.

(9) The government may disclose the fact of the meeting or the information provided by Client during the meeting to the extent the government determines in its sole discretion that disclosure would be in furtherance of its discharge of its duties and responsibilities or is otherwise required by law. Such disclosure includes disclosure to a local, state, federal, or foreign government office or agency, including but not limited to another prosecutor's office, if the recipient of the information agrees to abide by the relevant terms of this agreement.

(10) The terms and conditions set forth in this agreement extend, if applicable, to the continuation of the meeting on the dates that appear below.

(11) It is understood that this agreement is limited to the statements made by Client at the meeting and does not apply to any oral, written or recorded statements made by Client at any other time.

(12) This document embodies the entirety of the agreement between the government and Client to provide information and evidence. No other promises, agreements or understandings exist between Client and the government regarding Client's provision of information or evidence

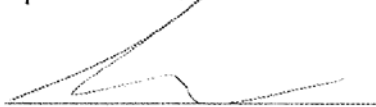
to the government.

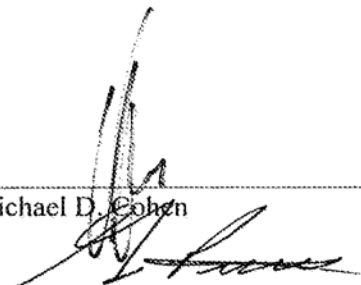
(13) Client and Client's attorney acknowledge that they have read, fully discussed and understand every paragraph and clause in this document and the consequences thereof.

Dated: August 7, 2018

At: Washington, DC

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III  
Special Counsel

By:   
L. Rush Atkinson  
Assistant Special Counsel  
The Special Counsel's Office


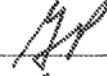

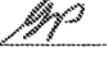
  
Michael D. Cohen

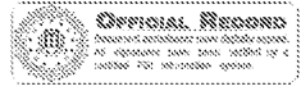
Guy Petrillo  
Attorney for Client

Dates of Continuation

9/12/2018  
9/18/2018  
9

Initials of counsel, Client and government attorney

LRA    
LRA    
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/26/2018

Stephen K. Bannon was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at Patriots Plaza I, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Bannon was accompanied by his attorneys [Redacted] Present for the interview were Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] SA [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben, Senior Assistant Special Counselor Andrew Goldstein, Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky, and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Bannon provided the following information:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/14/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/26/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 2), On 02/14/2018, Page 4 of 37

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

After Sessions recused, Trump screamed at McGahn about how weak Sessions was.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Trump was as mad as Bannon had ever seen him.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon told Trump Sessions' recusal was not a surprise. He said they had talked about it back in December.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Trump wanted a lawyer like Roy Cohn. He wanted an Attorney General like Bobby Kennedy. He thought of them as people who really protected their President. Trump thought Holder always stood up for Obama and said Holder even took a contempt charge for Obama and that Bobby Kennedy always had JFK's back.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 2) , On 02/14/2018 , Page 6 of 37

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

winner, [Redacted] Trump thought he was a  
got things done. [Redacted] he was a fixer, someone who

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Bannon heard

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 2) , On 02/14/2018 , Page 10 of 37

about conflicts with the Special Counsel from Trump. Trump told him there were issues involving Mueller and Trump's golf course in Northern Virginia, because Mueller had been an equity member at the club but moved and wanted to be cashed out; Mueller was former law partners with [Redacted] and Mueller was the first person they talked to about serving as the FBI Director. Bannon thought those issues were raised soon after Mueller was named Special Counsel. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

**June 2016 Trump Tower Meeting**

Bannon had no knowledge of the June 2016 Trump Tower meeting at the time it happened. It was before his time on the campaign. He thought he heard about it from Mark Corallo on a Saturday morning when Trump was en route back to the United States from an overseas trip, or possibly even a day or two before. He heard about it in relation to a media story. Bannon added that before Trump left on the trip, Corallo was in good standing with Trump and Bannon had considered making him Communications Director.

Bannon heard there was an email from Corallo, who mentioned in passing "the lawyers" had an email, or possibly that Marc Kasowitz had gotten an

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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email from a server. Bannon did not go to the G-20 with Trump. He stayed back to work on the outside law firm. He eventually learned not just their lawyers had the email but instead "everyone" had it.

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP



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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB\_00006329. The Guardian and the Financial Times did articles at the same time linking Felix Sater and Kushner. Bannon knew [Special Counsel prosecutor] Andrew Weissman had put Sater away previously for money laundering.

Bannon knew Kushner was on vacation off the coast of Croatia with a Russian billionaire when Bannon took over the campaign. Kushner was with Wendy Deng, the Russian billionaire, and the Russian's girlfriend. Bannon said his friends in the intelligence community said the girlfriend was "questionable." Bannon called Kushner and told him to come back from vacation. They had 85 days to go, no money and they needed Kushner to come back and fire Paul Manafort.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon first met Trump in August of 2010. Their first meeting was approximately 2 hours long. David Bossie was present and said that Trump was thinking of running for president in 2012. Bannon said "for what country?" It was a 2 hour presentation on a possible presidential run in

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day  
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2012. After that, Trump went on Bannon's radio show and did some things for Breitbart. Bannon had spent approximately 30 minutes combined with Trump outside of Bannon's radio show approximately 3-4 times.

In 2015 Bannon got to know some of the "outsiders" in the 2016 presidential race, and at that time he got to know [REDACTED] and began to talk with him quite a bit. Bannon never spoke to [REDACTED] one on one, just over the phone. At one point Bannon had spoken to [REDACTED] for approximately 5 minutes, close to June 2016, on a topic related to immigration or something similar. Bannon eventually became more in touch with the presidential campaigns of Ted Cruz, Ben Carson, and Trump. Bannon did have some conversations over the phone with Corey Lewindowski. Bannon's news organization was anti-establishment, so they interacted with that brand of candidate.

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When the presidential primaries ended, Bannon had the same type of relationship with Trump. Bannon and Trump rarely spoke besides setting up an interview or Trump coming onto Bannon's show. Bannon was interacting with populist, anti-establishment camps such as Cruz.

Bannon had read a NYTimes article describing the Trump campaign being in disarray, so he started to make a few phone calls. At the time, Trump was 12-16 points down, there was talk of the Republican National Committee (RNC) cutting Trump loose, and the Republicans were talking about distancing themselves from Trump for fear of losing control of the House of Representatives. Bannon called [REDACTED] and there was worries that if Bannon became involved in the Trump campaign, Breitbart could be blamed if Trump lost. Bannon had previously talked to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] back in June 2016 in an effort for them to make peace with Trump. The [REDACTED] had a Super PAC that was anti-Hillary Clinton and the [REDACTED] asked how they could help. Bannon wanted to bring KellyAnne Conway and David Bossie in to help as well. Bannon flew out to Woody Johnson's house and talked to Trump that night when he arrived. Bannon told Trump he would take the position as Campaign Chief Executive.

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At the time Trump was 16 points down, the campaign had no organization, no money, 75% of the population thought the country was in decline, they were working with the "deplorables," and Bannon had a 100% certitude that they would win. Bannon believed the big task was to give people permission to vote for Trump as commander in chief.

The next day Bannon met with Manafort, which was the same time that the news about the "Black Ledger" was breaking. Bannon was at campaign headquarters when Manafort told Bannon to come up to Trump Tower. When Bannon arrived, Manafort showed him something about a NY Times story about the "Black Ledger" and \$15 million dollars from the Ukraine. Bannon asked

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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when this story was coming out. Manafort replied that he had known about the story coming out for approximately 2 months and had not gotten involved in it. Bannon subsequently told Trump to keep Manafort, to not fire him, and to keep him around for a couple of weeks. Bannon called Kushner, and asked him to get back in order to do something publicity wise to counteract the negative press surrounding the story. Trump had asked Bannon at one time about "what was this thing with Manafort out of the Ukraine," and they talked for approximately 15 minutes on it. Trump was never linked with other Russian news stories at the time, and he believed Manafort was a promoter. Trump was more worried about how they story made them look. Bannon believed that Trump talked with Manafort about the story.

Bannon was involved in all aspects of Trump's debate preparation. Bannon helped Trump talk and think through various topics related to national security and foreign policy. The idea of working with Russia to fight ISIS was "thrown out there". Flynn or Keith Kellogg might have come up with the idea, with the reasoning that since Russia was dealing with similar problems in Chechnya, they might be an ally to help. Bannon never specifically remembered hearing the phrase "knock the hell out of ISIS," but that could have become a catch phrase. Overall, Trump had a non-interventionist stance. During the campaign they were mainly trying to play defense, it was a very basic strategy, and they were trying to get Trump to not say something "insane." Flynn might have brought up the idea of partnering with Russia on fighting ISIS, but not on a geo-strategic level. Trump's stance was more or less that Russia did not have to be an enemy.

[REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon first met Erik Prince 8 to 9 years ago. Bannon made a film about Fallujah and he asked Prince to be involved. Bannon wanted to show the film to Prince for accuracy. The next time Bannon spoke to Prince was when he came out with a book, "Warrior something." It was approximately 2014-2015 and Prince had started coming onto Bannon's show.

Bannon and Prince would talk about Islamic radical terrorism. Prince knew the Middle East, Asia, and sub-Sahara Africa. Prince was a former Navy SEAL, contractor for the government, and ran his own mercenary company. Bannon described Prince as a "smart guy." Bannon never really had a foreign policy talk with Prince for the Trump Campaign, but Prince was not shy about sharing his ideas.

Bannon was shown Document #1, email dated 9/8/2015 from Prince to Bannon, subject "Talking Points, second attempt". Bannon stated that he did not remember passing it along, but it sounded like something he would do. Bannon was in daily contact with [REDACTED] until he was let go in August. After that, Bannon would contact Lewandowski nearly every day. Bannon did not remember discussing the memorandum attached to the email, but said he would have sent something forward like it.

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Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB-00018818. Bannon stated he did not remember the email, but it would be something he could have done. Bannon could not remember if Prince briefed the candidate, but Bannon did put Prince in contact with Flynn.

Bannon was not in regular contact with Prince. Bannon spoke with Prince a couple times a month by phone. Prior to Bannon joining the campaign, he spoke with Prince infrequently. Bannon estimated it to be once a week to once every couple of weeks. Bannon and Prince would generally talk about international affairs.

Bannon was shown Document #3, email dated 12/12/2015 from [REDACTED] to Bannon with [REDACTED] cc'd, subject "Re: Breitbart News." Bannon stated that [REDACTED] was Breitbart's [REDACTED] Bannon introduced [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] in order for [REDACTED] to be a source for the article referenced in the email about data collection.

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Bannon was shown Document #4, email dated 1/14/2016 from Bannon to Prince, subject [REDACTED] Bannon explained that Prince said he knew people from his new company. Bannon knew a quality guy from [REDACTED] and he [REDACTED] Bannon thought that if Bannon could connect him to some security guys, this guy might be of help. Prince

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[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day  
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had connections in the intelligence community that might be looking for his talents. Bannon did not think that Prince followed up on it.

Bannon was shown Document #5, email dated 3/17/2016 from Prince to Bannon, subject "Re." From this email, Bannon did not remember if Prince actually came on his show. Prince was "on the right" and was a highly thought of guy.

Bannon was shown Document #6, email dated 5/23/2016 from Prince to Bannon, [REDACTED] cc'd, subject "Fwd: Recommended meeting." Bannon did not remember the email exchange. Bannon doesn't remember meeting with Oleg. Prince viewed Bannon as someone with a good relationship with Trump.

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Bannon was shown Document #7, email dated 10/18/2016 from Prince to Bannon, subject "Russia/US election." Bannon did not remember this email or whether he prepared a speech as referenced in the email. Bannon stated that Prince was not short on ideas. Bannon though the email was more in reference to Clinton than the Russian influence issue. Bannon thought the email might be on changing the narrative to Clinton as an alternative to the stories in the news about Russian election influence. Bannon did not remember talking to Prince about the email or about talking to Prince about Russian influence.

Bannon described the 14<sup>th</sup> floor as "loosy goosy" and Prince might have come through from August to the Election Day, but he was not certain. Prince would often have ideas on how he could help them with the debates. Bannon did not specifically remember how many times he met with Prince at Trump Tower during the campaign, but estimated it to be a couple of times. A couple of times Prince would email his ideas to Bannon. Bannon might have asked for Prince's ideas on a certain issues. Prince knew Conway, Bossie, [REDACTED] Bannon did not know if Prince provided advice for any of them. Prince was a known entity in the campaign and might have walked around and met people and have come through the 14<sup>th</sup> floor. Once someone was on the 14<sup>th</sup> floor they could walk around freely. Prince could contact [REDACTED] or someone in security in order to gain access.

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Bannon was shown Document #8, email dated 11/16/2016 from Prince to Bannon, subject "Fwd: Bannon." Bannon didn't remember this email. Bannon did not know whether Prince was in touch with Mark Corallo. Prince had just offered his help.

After the election, during the transition timeframe, Bannon continued to interact with Prince. Prince had come by to speak with Flynn and Bossie approximately 3 to 4 times. Prince came to New York approximately 5 to 6

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day  
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times to speak to people other than Bannon such as Flynn, K.T. McFarland, Bossie, Kellogg, Conway, [REDACTED] Sebastian Gorka and [REDACTED] Bannon remembered walking by and seeing Prince in the "war room" with [REDACTED] Prince would tell Bannon who he was seeing. Prince would not officially schedule meetings with them. Flynn, Kellogg, Bossie, and Conway had known Prince before then. Prince would come in and sit down and talk about foreign policy. Prince would suggest people they should be getting on board and people to include in the administration. Bannon would bounce ideas off of Prince and talk about such people as Mike Pompeo. The things Prince said were not too crazy and people respected him. Prince had other contacts within the intelligence community. Bannon, Flynn, Bossie and Kellogg had spoken of Prince. Bannon and Flynn had talked with each other about Prince saying he was a good guy.

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Prince came by to see Bannon approximately 3 to 6 times. Prince would come by and talk to one of Bannon's assistants in order to get in. Security at Trump Tower was not overbearing. When they talked, Bannon did talk to Prince about ISIS. Bannon did not particularly remember talking to Prince about Russia in regard to ISIS, but would not be surprised if it came up. Prince did not meet with then candidate Trump, but Bannon thought Prince was close to Eric Trump and Trump Jr. Bannon remembered Prince stopped by during the campaign and asked if Trump Jr was there. Bannon knew Prince would go hunting with Eric Trump and Trump Jr. During the campaign, Prince might have met with Trump Jr, and Bannon remembered that one time Trump Jr might have walked Prince down. Prince met with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] during the campaign as well. Prince always had ideas on what was going on, but Bannon did not remember any of Prince's policy papers making it to Eric Trump or Trump Jr.

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Bannon stated he didn't know Rick Gerson.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon was involved in the September 2016 meetings with Abdel Fattah El-Sisi and Benjamin Netanyahu. It was Kushner's idea to work toward a summit with Egypt, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia and that Trump would go to this summit in the 1<sup>st</sup> 6 months of his presidency. MBZ came over as a way to



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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get to know the incoming administration. It was obvious to Bannon that Kushner was told of the meeting prior and had helped set it up. Kushner had talked to MBZ's guys in the U.S. in order to set it up. They met with approximately 25 of the UAE attendees in the lobby, including UAE Ambassador to the U.S. Yousef Al Otaiba, and after approximately 6 to 7 minutes they went up to the penthouse of the Four Seasons. When Bannon walked into the penthouse, he saw another 15 UAE attendees already in the room. Bannon wondered what this meeting could be about. Bannon saw a guy who looked like Sean Connery and realized it was MBZ. MBZ was in jeans and a t-shirt, dressed in casual attire. It was apparent to Bannon that Kushner knew Otaiba and that it wasn't the first time they had met. Bannon believed that the Obama administration had disengaged from the Middle East, which is similar to what El-Sisi and Netanyahu had said. During the meeting with MBZ they discussed the ISIS threat to the area. Bannon did not remember if they discussed Russia, but if they did, it was targeted to the Persian Gulf area. Bannon remembered they talked about Persian expansion, Iran, Baghdad, Beirut, and Hezbollah. The meeting was approximately 2 hours long. Bannon thought that Nader was one of the group of 15 or 25 guys they met as MBZ "held court" for a couple hours. If Nader was there, Bannon believed they just introduced themselves, and shook hands.

[Redacted]

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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b5 per DOJ/OIP Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

[Redacted] had at one time come to Bannon and said he wanted to do something  
[Redacted] Bannon asked [Redacted] if [Redacted] was a  
good guy, [Redacted] Bannon wanted to  
know if [Redacted] Bannon  
asked [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] Bannon later found out  
that [Redacted]

[Redacted] Bannon did not recall [Redacted] talking about [Redacted] then. Bannon  
discussed [Redacted] was going to go over to  
meet with [Redacted]

[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

Bannon had been working on a proposal to move the Israeli capital to  
Jerusalem, the Christian right movement, putting money into a 501(c)(4)  
using UAE money or "those guys" which didn't end up happening, and putting  
together a security conference over in the Middle East in the Spring  
/Summer of 2017. Bannon last saw Nader 2 to 3 months ago. Bannon had too  
much going on with the C4 and life in general. Bannon had seen that the  
Special Counsel's Office had called Nader to the Grand Jury, but Nader had  
not reached out to Bannon.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

When shown a photo of Rick Gerson, Bannon stated that this was the college roommate of Kushner, and that he was pretty sure he was the hedge fund guy he referenced earlier. Gerson had a hedge fund on Madison Ave in New York City at Barneys Tower. His office was 2 blocks from Trump Tower on 60<sup>th</sup> and Madison Ave. Gerson knew a lot about the Middle East and said many intelligent things about it. b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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b7C  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon thought he heard that Nader was being called into the Grand Jury for the Special Counsel's Office in the newspaper, but then said that he could be wrong.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b7A Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of

2)

, On

02/14/2018

, Page

26 of 37

b7A Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b3  
Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 2) , On 02/14/2018 , Page 27 of 37

b3  
Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

Michael Cohen was one of the lawyers on Trump's staff. Bannon described Cohen as a fixer and a problem solver. In 2010, Cohen came down to the first meeting Bannon had with Trump and introduced himself as a political advisor. When Bannon was on the Trump Campaign, Bannon did not want Cohen wandering around the Trump Campaign organization. Bannon thought it could get them in a lot of trouble since Cohen goes off "halfcocked" a lot. Cohen kept trying to get involved in the Trump Campaign. Bannon described Cohen as the kind of guy who thought it would be a good idea to send \$130,000 to Stormy Daniels.

Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB-00013127. Bannon was told "zero" deals involving Russia and the Trump Organization. Candidate Trump would say he didn't know any Russians and there was no collusion. This came up during the campaign a couple of times. Bannon never asked Trump about any Russian business deals. In regard to the emails reference to Felix Sater, Bannon stated that this went back to the House Intelligence Committee, that they had a signed term sheet in December 2015 on Trump Tower Moscow. This was a big deal to Bannon, and Bannon described it as a "big reveal."

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of 2), On 02/14/2018, Page 28 of 37

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Bannon was not aware of any financial agreements to Daniels, other accusers, or other relationships of Trump. Bannon talked to Breitbart guys about the \$130,000 payment, but not to anyone in the administration. Bannon was not aware of any other payments made. When asked to speculate about the \$130,000 payment Bannon thought it might be David Pecker, since he did not think anyone around "Trump.org" would be dumb enough, and they would have worried about the impact to the election.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon never heard of Cohen arranging for Trump to give a speech on an online platform or talk about Cohen's concepts for "Trump.org". Bannon had

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 2) , On 02/14/2018 , Page 29 of 37

read a New York Times article about business dealings with Russia and the candidate/"Trump.org". Bannon was aware of the article before he became involved in the Trump campaign. When Bannon was on the Trump campaign, he never discussed the stories that came out involving then candidate Trump during March/April of 2016. During the later stages of the campaign, when the story broke about Trump's house in Palm Beach, Bannon discussed it with Trump and Trump had a plausible explanation. The story never gained any traction. Bannon never talked with Trump on how he thought all these stories on his business dealings with Russia was absurd. The story about Cohen reaching out to Putin's office in January 2016 in order to ask for help on Trump Tower Moscow was a big deal to Bannon and it countered what Bannon heard about Sater by candidate Trump. Bannon did some inquiries about it with his contacts at the Intercept, Fox, the Guardian and ABC News. There was no further information on this, which did not surprise Bannon.

Bannon was shown an email dated 9/28/2016 from Bannon to Cohen with Conway, Kushner, [Redacted] Stephen Miller, and [Redacted] cc'd, subject "Re: request from the ft." Bannon did not remember getting an email from Cohen about Sergei Millian, and doesn't remember any conversations about Millian. Bannon never had any conversations with the campaign on the Millian issue.

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB-00018384. Bannon did not think this email referenced Cambridge Analytica. Bannon stated that as a private citizen, and lead of Breitbart, he was interested in finding Clinton's



[REDACTED]

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33,000 missing emails. The Government Accountability Institute (GAI) analysis was that the 33,000 missing emails were tied directly to the influence peddling of the State Department. Barbara Leeden knew someone who could work on finding the 33,000 and they had a half a dozen meetings on how to find them. They ascertained that if they would be able to find the emails, they still would not be able to validate their authenticity. They never obtained any emails or any samples and stopped the search. The 33,000 was related to the Clinton Cash book and the pay for play scheme.

Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB-00018418. The green light referenced in the email was for a data operation for voter targeting. There was a presentation about it given to Lewandowski but the data operation people were not retained. Cambridge Analytica then became involved after Ted Cruz officially withdrew in May 2016. In June 2016, [REDACTED] offered an introduction for Bannon to Jared Kushner and Ivanka Trump. Bannon agreed and that was the first time he met Kushner and Ivanka.

b6  
b7C

Bannon was shown Document #14, email dated 6/12/2016 from Bannon to [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] cc'd, subject "Re: Defeat Crooked Hillary | [REDACTED] Bannon did not remember sending the email and he never went to the United Kingdom. Bannon did not remember talking to [REDACTED] about meeting with [REDACTED] in general. Bannon would not characterize his response in the email, "Love it," as an approval to [REDACTED] suggestion to meet with [REDACTED] Bannon did not know if [REDACTED] or anyone from Cambridge Analytica, ever reached out to [REDACTED] Bannon thought they probably dropped the idea. Bannon had no idea where [REDACTED] of Cambridge Analytica and he was focused on getting their data business growing in the U.S. [REDACTED] had a lot of "James Bond" ideas like this idea on [REDACTED] and characterized it as [REDACTED] saying he "knows a guy, who knows a guy."

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

George Papadopoulos had emailed Bannon during the campaign in an effort to setup a meeting with Egypt. The campaign had decided to take a couple days off during a visit to the U.N. in order to meet with foreign leaders. Bannon was initially against it. Bannon thought Trump's biggest challenge was selling the public that Trump could be Commander in Chief, so therefore he decided to do it and limit the meetings to a few key leaders such as Egypt, Israel, and maybe a couple of others. Kushner wanted a meeting with Israel, and Bannon and Flynn were pushing for a meeting with Egypt. Bannon never worked with Papadopoulos on setting up the meetings despite Papadopoulos's offers through email. Bannon would generally blow off Papadopoulos and thought to himself "I don't need this guy." Flynn would be on the hook for the meetings Papadopoulos was suggesting, and Bannon did not need Papadopoulos. Papadopoulos never told Bannon about the

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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Russians having dirt on Clinton, and Bannon never heard Papadopoulos tell anyone else in the campaign, such as Sam Clovis, that the Russians had dirt on Clinton. Bannon had all the dirt he needed from Clinton Cash and Uranium One, he didn't need any more dirt. Bannon didn't need any more dirt from "clowns" like Papadopoulos and Clovis.

b6  
b7A

Bannon first met [Redacted] by email or by phone in 2013-2014 while he was working for Breitbart. [Redacted]

b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] At the time, [Redacted] was running the campaign, and Bannon described it as a "one man band." Bannon thought [Redacted] had done "a damn good job." Bannon thought

[Redacted]

b6

Bannon was shown Document #15, email dated 1/7/2016 from [Redacted] to Bannon, [Redacted] subject "Data Guy in Trump Tower." Bannon thought [Redacted] got the wrong name in the email, [Redacted] who they got rid of. Giles Parscale had a little data center on the 15<sup>th</sup> floor. Bannon was introduced to a "data guy" there in January 2016, but Bannon didn't remember the name. Bannon speculated that maybe [Redacted] had some ideas about it, but Bannon did not think it was [Redacted] who was involved.

b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Bannon was shown Document #16, email dated [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Bannon was shown Document #17, email dated [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

In August 2016, Kushner was in charge of the digital campaign and fundraising. Bannon was the CFO of the campaign with Jeff Dewit. The campaign had almost no cash and they were receiving only a small amount from online contributions. The campaign was losing cash at the time and they were down by a double digit lead with the 1<sup>st</sup> debate coming. They needed \$50 million from Trump, which eventually became \$10 million. Afterwards, they were still down by 3 1/2 points.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Bannon was shown an email dated 4/20/2016 from [Redacted] to Bannon and [Redacted] cc'd, subject "Re: Cambridge Analytica." Bannon did not remember this email.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Bannon was shown an email dated 5/04/2016 from [Redacted] to Bannon, subject "[No Subject]." Bannon though this looked like [Redacted] from the email in Document #17. Cambridge Analytica claimed they could help micro-target voters on Facebook. [Redacted] it might have been for a project for Cambridge Analytica.

Bannon was shown Document #18, email dated [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Bannon was shown Document #19, email dated [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Bannon was shown Document #20, email dated 8/26/2016 from Bannon to [Redacted] no subject. Bannon stated that [Redacted] Bannon did not remember what the ideas were that he wanted to talk to [Redacted] about referenced in the email. Bannon described [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Bannon was shown Document #21, email dated 8/30/2016 from Ted Malloch to Bannon with [Redacted] cc'd, subject "The debate." In reference to the email, Bannon stated he had no contact [Redacted]

[Redacted] Malloch was a writer and professor at a faculty in London. Bannon knew him from Breitbart London. Bannon did not meet with [Redacted] personally during the campaign, and Bannon felt if he ever would have needed to sit down with [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Bannon was shown Document #22, email dated [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 2) , On 02/14/2018 , Page 33 of 37

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Bannon was shown Document #22 again, the email dated

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Bannon was always interested in the missing 33,000 emails, but was not interested in the John Podesta information since he believed it was not going to impact the election. Bannon clarified that he was talking to

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted] Bannon was interested in the verified missing 33,000 emails and how it related to Uranium One. Bannon might have talked with [Redacted] at one time, about the 33,000 emails. Bannon did talk to Candidate Trump about the 33,000 missing emails. After Bannon came onto the campaign, it got into Candidate Trump's "head" that the 33,000 emails might be important. Trump was focused on "crooked Hillary" and the Uranium One story, and thought the 33,000 missing emails might unlock it. They never discussed that the Russians might have them. Bannon thought that

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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some hackers in Bulgaria might have them. There was not much of a response from Trump and every now and then he would bring up the 33,000 emails. One time when the Podesta emails were released, Trump asked if it was a big deal. Bannon [Redacted] with Trump. Flynn or Kellogg might have had a disc on finding the 33,000 emails. Bannon thought Flyb6 might have had an idea about using an outside company and finding the b7A 33,000 missing emails. If it was anything cyber related, Bannon would b7B per DOJ/OIP always refer them to Parscale and the Cyber guys. Bannon did not think the b7C WikiLeaks releases were that big of a deal, the important information was the 33,000 missing emails. Kellogg thought the same thing, and he was not a cyber guy. Priebus and Miller had talked about the 33,000 missing emails.

After the Billy Bush story broke, one hour later the Podesta emails were released. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Bannon never thought the Podesta releases were a big deal and they would not have a big impact on the campaign. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Bannon knew [Redacted] had sent some emails to Bannon. Bannon described [Redacted] Bannon didn't take any action in relation to [Redacted] emails. Bannon did not remember talking to [Redacted] while he was on the campaign.

[Redacted]

Bannon was shown Document #23, email dated [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Bannon was shown Document #25, email dated [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Bannon was shown Document #26, email dated [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Bannon was shown Document #27, email dated 10/22/2016 from Bannon to [Redacted] and [Redacted] no subject. Bannon talked to [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Prince was going to have fundraiser for Trump and considered it his commitment to the campaign. Bannon did not remember introducing [Redacted] to any other donors. Bannon did not remember helping any other find funding besides [Redacted] Bannon was weary of involving himself with [Redacted] and was only helping out [Redacted] because he did not want to be "lit up" by [Redacted] Bannon did not see it as a potential coordination issue working with [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP

Bannon was shown Document #29, email dated 9/21/2016 from Trump Jr to Bannon, Conway, Kushner, Bossie, and [Redacted] subject "Wikileaks." Bannon did not remember receiving this message, but it was during the campaign timeframe. Bannon did not remember anyone else in contact with WikiLeaks or trying to get in contact with WikiLeaks. There was discussion during the campaign on how WikiLeaks would impact the race. Bannon did not think anyone had any ideas on where WikiLeaks had got their information. Bannon did not remember anyone reaching out to [Redacted] WikiLeaks, or any other intermediary to see what information might be coming.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Bannon was shown Document #32, email dated 11/5/2016 from Bannon to Kushner and Bossie, subject "Re; Securing the Victory." Bannon stated that Manafort had zero involvement in the campaign after he left. Bannon thought if they responded to this email from Manafort, Manafort would be telling that to everyone. Bannon was not aware of any instances of Manafort advising, or being involved in the campaign after his ouster. Hicks said he was not involved, and she would have a sense on who Trump talked to. Candidate Trump never said to Bannon that he was in contact with [REDACTED] or Manafort. Bannon knew they were going to win, and in this email he wanted to avoid Manafort because Bannon believed that if people could link them to Manafort, they could then try to link them to Russia.

Bannon had three cell phones. He did not use the campaign issued phone or the "secure phone." The iPad he was issued in the campaign he did not use much. Bannon was not aware that his cell phone was set up to not archive text messages, and someone else had setup his phone for him. It was a surprise to Bannon that his text messages were not archived. During the campaign and transition timeframe Bannon did not use secure apps. When Bannon got close to leaving the administration, he got ProtonMail and Signal. [REDACTED] helped him set up the ProtonMail which Bannon believed provided increased security. Bannon did not use ProtonMail to send or receive email from people in the administration. Bannon did not have a Slack channel and never used Slack. Breitbart used Slack, but they were trying to shut that down. Bannon setup a Wickr account after he left the administration after Prince talked to him about it being more secure. Prince talked with Bannon about using Wickr Pro for Breitbart. Bannon used Wickr with Prince and Signal with [REDACTED]. Bannon only started using Wickr and Signal after he left the administration. While Bannon was in the administration, he never heard of anyone using 3<sup>rd</sup> party apps. They received a briefing on how their communications needed to be kept for federal records. Bannon was not sure if his text messages were supposed to be kept under the federal records act. Bannon did not remember using his personal phone for White House business. Bannon did not remember using texting on his government devices, although he might have. Bannon did not remember any discussion of how his text messages should be saved, or his personal device texts should be saved. Bannon primarily used the white house email while he was in the administration. If Bannon received an email to his "arc-ent" email while he was in the White House, he would respond to it from the "arc-ent" account. He gave full access to his "arc-ent" email account to [REDACTED] in order for her to send them to the White House account to be archived. [REDACTED] might have helped with that as well.

**Administrative:**

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

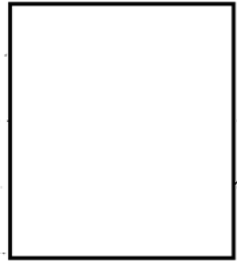
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The agent notes and documents shown to Bannon will be maintained in the 1A section of the case file.



2/14/18

Bannon

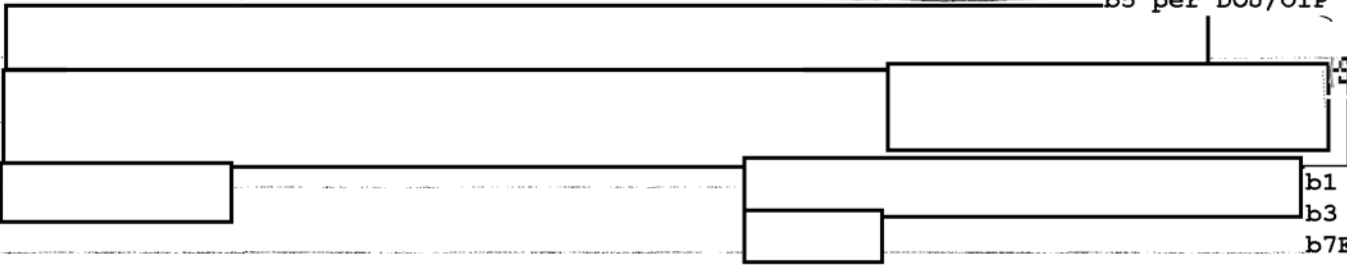


Dreeben  
Prelogar

Quarles  
Goldstein  
Zelinsky

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

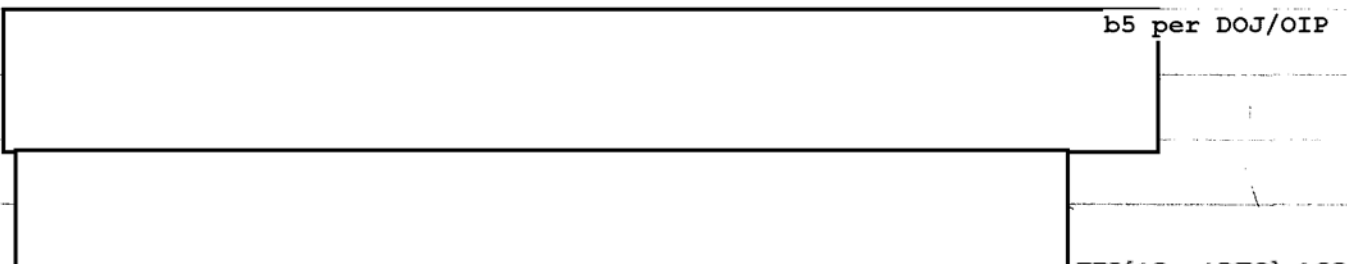
b5 per DOJ/OIP



b1  
b3  
b7E

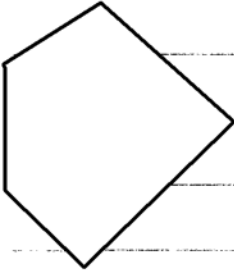
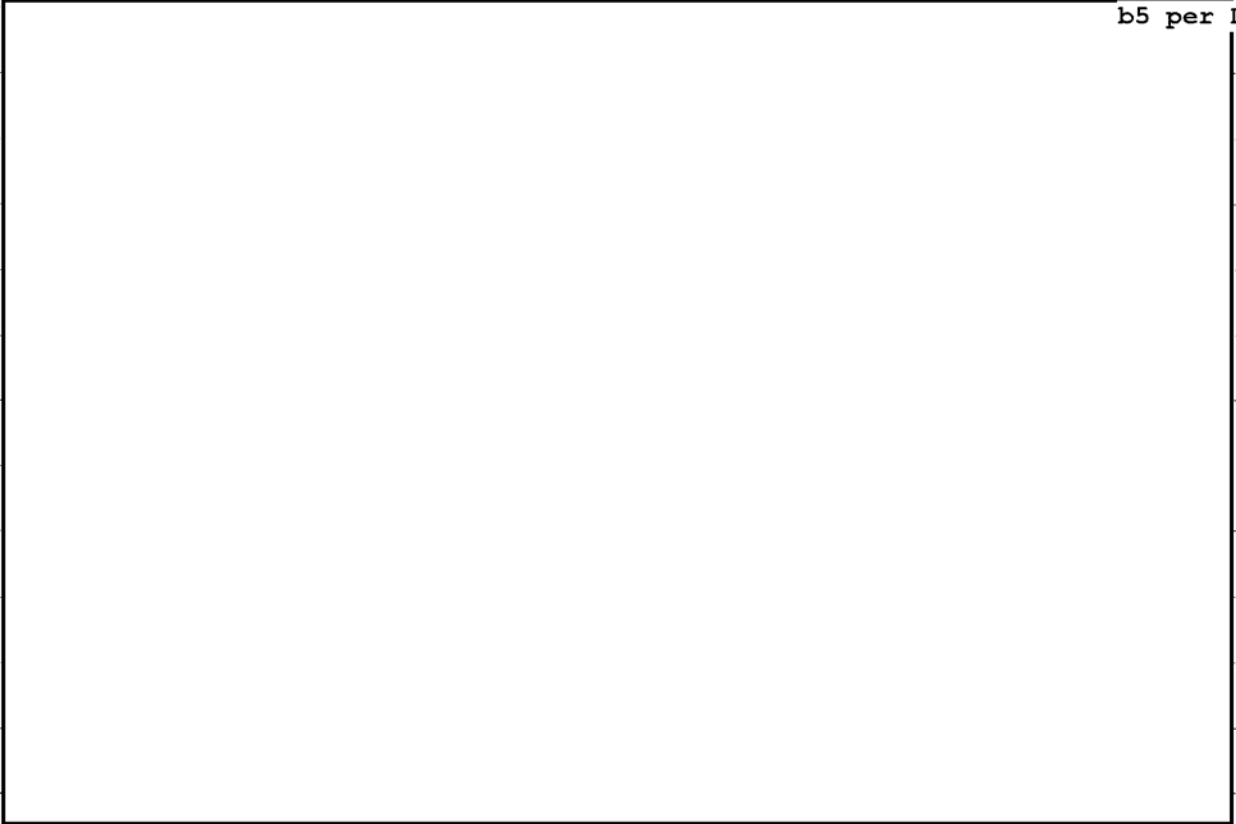


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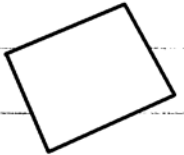


b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

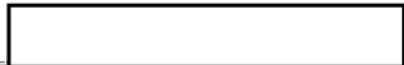


b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP

After refusal, P screaming at McG about how weak Sessions was.



b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP



He's as

mad as I've ever seen him.



FBI(19cv1278)-176

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

SKB; not a surprise. we talked about this, back in December.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

9: wanted in a lawyer - Roy Cohn.

wanted in an AG - Bobby Kennedy.

[Redacted]

People that protected

b5 per DOJ/OIP

their President. Thought Holder was

Always standing up for Obama. Took contempt charge for D.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Bobby K ideal AG. Had JFK's back.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

but a fixer, a manner, got things

done.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

conflicts w/ Moller - heard about it from P.  
some situation w/ golf course in Nova. <sup>1</sup> Equity partner, <sup>RSM</sup>  
moved, wanted cashed out. <sup>2</sup> Moller was former  
partner w/ [Redacted]. <sup>3</sup> first guy talked  
to for FBI director.

b6  
b7c

think as soon as named, or shortly thereafter.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

June 9, 2016 mtg. no knowledge at time.

When did you learn? Think I heard about it from Corallo on a Sat morning when they were flying back, maybe a day or two before. Heard about it in relation to a story.

Before they left Corallo in good standing w/p. Thought about making him Comms director

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

recall anything re: email? Heard it from Corallo. mentioned in passing the lawyers have some email didn't go to G-20. needed to work on outside law firm

← Kasowitz pulled something down from server.

Not just our lawyers. Fremone's got it.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]



[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

July 24 SB, 00006329. Guardian has done an article, FT article  
Same time. Jared, Felix Sater, Andrew W. [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

JK on vacation off coast of Croatia w/ Russian billionaire  
when I took over. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] I called him and told him to come back.

w/ Wendy Lana, Russian guy and gf [Redacted]

Intel say questionable

b6  
b7C

85 days,  
no moment,  
got back &  
five Manafort.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

2/14/2018

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Jim Q.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7c

Elizabeth

Aaron Z.

Andrew G.

[Redacted]

met Trump Aug. 2010, 2 hours, Dave Bruce said  
Trump taking it running for pres., SB went  
country, 2 hr. pre-inauguration pres. in 2012  
- Trump on radio show, did some stuff  
for Breitbart

- 30 mins combined

outside radio show, 3-4 times

- 2015, Outsiders Can

- Know <sup>got to</sup> Sam Nunberg, → talk more, quackba

↳ had Trump on show a bunch of times  
↳ never one on one, phone

- never make sure Trump got interviewed

don't remember one on one conv.

Smth's closer to June,

Immigration similar

- Cruz + Trump, Carson = became more, mutual,

SB news org., anti-establishment, on phone with Corey

- primaries over = some relationship, rarely

spoke possible setting up an interview with his  
kids, or coming on his show

- populist anti-establishment

Camps, Cruz

↓

✓

①

- bolt out of the blue, tie every event to Melania, Melania is the real world,

- NYT, front page article, campaign in disarray, SB = start making some phone calls, 17-16 points down, RNC cutting him loose, loose House, SB → call [redacted] Breitbart will be blamed. Talked about it, try to have [redacted] make peace with Trump back in June, Super PAC, anti-Hillary [redacted] how to help, SB bring Kellianne, bossie in, flew out to work, Johnson's house → talked to Trump, Trump → SB would do it, talked to Trump that night

- SB - 16 down, no org, no money, 100% certainty you'll win, 75% think country is in decline, deplorables, give permission to vote for Trump as Commander in Chief

- SB → not Manafort next day, news on Black ledger, SB at campaign HQ, Manafort tells SB to come up to T.T, SB shows up, Manafort shows something, NYT story 15 million from Ukraine, get it SB → what is this coming out? Manafort known for 2 months, at the end don't get involved, SB → tell Trump, Manafort not get fired, stay for a couple of weeks, do what you got to do, Manafort → think he saw D.T. SB called JK, get back, do something for publicity

- Trump = what's this thing, with Manafort, out of [redacted]

b6  
b7c

- never <sup>Trump</sup> linked with other Russian news stories. Trump's manager is a promoter, coming into his office.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]. Trump more worried about the stories and what it made them look

- SB → involved in all of the debate prep, all debate prep

- national security & foreign policy, SB helped DST talk & think through it.

- working with Russia to fight ISIS, thrown out there, non-interventionist, Flynn or Kellogg might have come up, could be an asset to ally to help, Chechnya,

- never remembered using "knock them out of ISIS", could become a catch phrase  
- campaign → playing defense, DST not saying something insane, very basic stuff, Flynn <sup>might</sup> partner on fighting ISIS, but not on geo-strategy, Russia doesn't have to be an enemy

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

~ 1st met EP 8-9 years ago, SB made a film about Gullujan, asked EP to be involved, Shows  
- next day, he came out with a book, <sup>accus</sup>  
warrior something, started coming on the show,  
14-15

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(4)

- EP & SB
- would talk Islamic radical terrorism,
- EP - he knows the A.F., asia, sub-saharan africa, knows the region, Navy Seal, contractor mercenary company, smart guy
- not really had foreign policy talk with EP for Trump Campaign, EP not shy about sharing ideas

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Doc 1

[Redacted]

- don't remember passing along, something he would do C.L. [Redacted] → let go in Aug 4 St, S New York
- daily contact, then contacted C.L. everyday
- don't remember discussing this memorandum, but said would have sent forward.
- something like this

b6  
b7c

Doc. 2

- don't recall remember, something SB could have done, don't remember if EP brief the candidate, did put him in contact with Flynn
- not regular contact with EP
  - couple times a month by phone
  - prior to Trump's campaign, infrequently, once a week → once every couple of weeks
  - talk about international affairs, globally,



(5)

[Handwritten signature]

Doc. 3

- introduce [redacted] for Breitbart, info for a source for that article, data collection → same as referenced

b6  
b7C

Doc. 4

- EP said he knew people through new company quality guy from [redacted] connect to security guys, could be of help, EP had connections in intel comm, looking for talent, low think followed

b6  
b7C

Doc. 5

- Don't remember if it took place, EP was on the night, highly distrust of guy

Doc. 6

- not remember this exchange, don't remember meeting him, EP → would SB as someone with a good relationship for trump

Doc. 7

- Don't remember if he prepared a speech, EP not stuck on idea →

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- 14th floor, doozy goosy, EP might have for Aug → election day, not certain, [redacted] ideas he could help trump with on debate →

6

- SB don't totally remember, maybe a couple of times. EP would email a couple of times, HP's idea. St might have asked for how ideas on certain issues.

- Brought policy guys from <sup>up</sup> EP

Knew Kellyanne

[redacted] EP is a known entity, in campaign, might have walked around, met people, he might have come through 14th floor, he poked his head in on Kellyanne, Bossie, don't know if he provide advice for them, remember him wandering around talking to bosses, once on 14th floor = could walk around freely.

- 14th floor, - got through Trump security

14th floor, EP contact [redacted] or secretary

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Doc. 7

- don't remember this email, don't SB → think ~~the~~ email is about Hillary Clinton.

- don't think it is regarding Russian influence issue, SB → about Hillary Clinton, maybe as an alternative to Russian Election influence.

- don't remember EP talking about this, maybe. Don't remember talking to EP about Russian influence.

Doc. 8 - don't remember



## Transition

- after election, continue to interact with EP →  
Came by to talk to Flynn, people to introduce
- EP = see Flynn, Bossie, 3-4 times
- coming to New York

[redacted], Kelly, Flynn, SB, Kellymen, Dave Bossie, EP would say he would be security team, not officially schedule

b6  
b7c

- Flynn, Kelly, Bossie, Kellymen knew him before

- someone is free, EP care

As it down, talk about foreign policy, people here should be getting on board, people in the administration

- SB's bounce ideas off of EP or Pompeo, stuff wasn't too crazy, people respected him, other contacts in intelligence

- Flynn + SB, Bossie, Kelly asked about EP

EP might have interacted with him, guys & ideas

- saw with Bossie, Kt in Ireland

- no one else he can think of,

- EP - 3-6 times coming by

- came → talk to SB's assistant [redacted] or [redacted] to get in, security wasn't overbearing

b6  
b7c

docs

- don't talk with EP & ISSS, Russian in regards to DSPS, not particularly, but wouldn't be surprised if it came up. EP

- don't know if EP was in touch with Mark Corallo

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] EP just offered help.

- EP didn't meet with the candidate, close to Eric & Don Jr., campaign, → EP seeing if Don Jr was there, hung together <sup>SB thought he was</sup>

- Kellyanne, Bossie, MF, [redacted]

[redacted] K & met. Seth Gorkha, Eric, Don Jr. - ~~at~~ walk by & see EP, in car room with [redacted]

- campaign, might have met with Don Jr. [redacted] Don Jr. might have walked EP down.

- EP is always has ideas on what is going on. Don't remember either way EP → policy papers to the boys

- don't know Rick Gerson  
↓ don't remember ↓

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SB, involved in Septs meetings with Sisi + Ben. Net. JK idea to work through a Summit with Egypt, UAE, Saudi, Trump would go to, in 1st 6 months → related to this. Walked over. MBZ was coming over as a get to know us, basic, JK on way, or before obvious JK told, setup, not # of people, 1 was guys JK talked to MBZ's guys in U.S. to setup. Some of 25 net in Bobby, Yoysch, 6-7 meet, took up to penthouse. Walk in and see another 15 guys, SB - what's this, see a guy looks like Sean Connery → was MBZ, everyone in jeans or casual attire. JK knew yourself, JK = didn't feel like first person meet, chief executive officer

- middle east, Obama admin disengaged,  
some guys Sisi + Begin met. Kyaid, discussion of  
ISIS threat to the area. no don't know, 2 discuss  
Russia, it so tangential, gulf, SB only talk  
about Persian expansion, Iran, basing, Beirut  
Hezbollah, 2 hrs. long.

- think GN more of 25/15 guys stay  
net MBZ "held court" for a couple hours, just  
shook hands with SB. Not 100% he was there,  
just introduced themselves.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6

b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

- GIN mentioned [Redacted] came to SB wanted to do something [Redacted]  
SB asked [Redacted] later, was he as good a guy he came across [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

- 4 seasons = mid-December - 2016  
- after [Redacted] called SB everything knew about

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

- do not recall [Redacted] talking about

b6  
b7C

[Redacted] then, [Redacted]  
[Redacted], bus. in past, bus. in future.

↓ ↓

mid 2  
- Dec 13 - Feb meetings

- don't remember interacting with anyone from the UAE, JK/MP things, SB's working on  
↳ don't remember asking about any trump officials

- ~~had~~ talked about having a better relationship UAE with people in the U.S.

- move capital to Jerusalem Christian right movement, talked about putting money into CPTC4, UAE money or those guys, didn't end up happening, longer term plan tie to a security conference over there, build people between populati

- 2-3 months ago - last talked to GW, too much going on with CH, life generally saw SCO called GW to grand jury, we never reached out

- discussed [redacted] with [redacted] on [redacted] going over, meeting with [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- approx. 10 minute breaf

photo -

College roommate of JK, recognized him, pretty sure his name is

- guy has hedge fund, madison ave, lower tower, JK came by early, Tony Blair, MF, photo, Nov/December 16, didn't know it was his office, 2 blocks from TT, 60th + Madison Ave.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

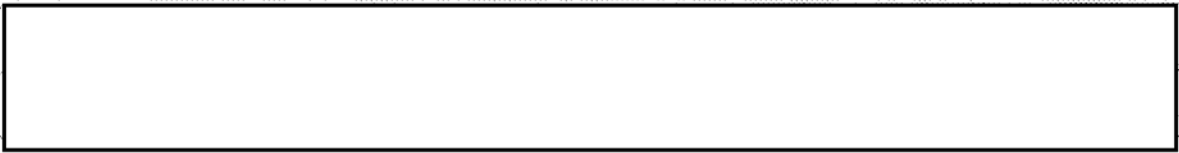
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

19

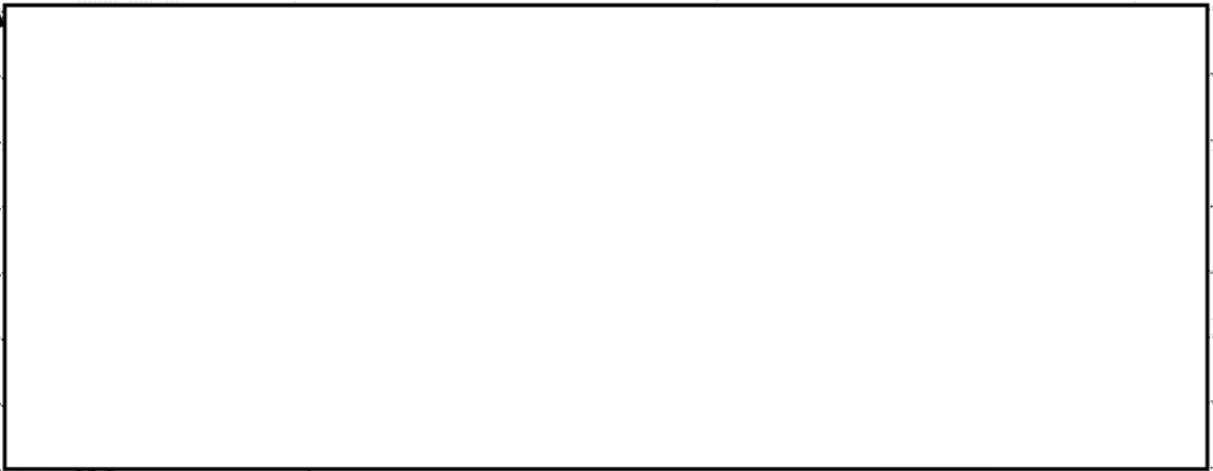
b5 per DOJ/OIP



- GN → GO, <sup>SB</sup> though he read it in the paper, SB thought he said it in paper, could be wrong



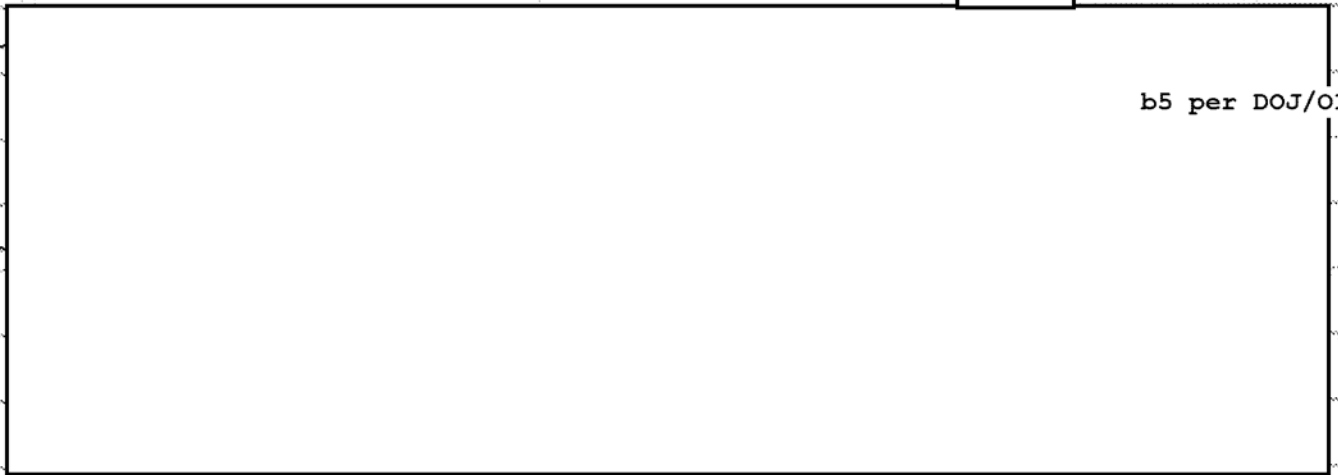
b5 per DOJ/OIP



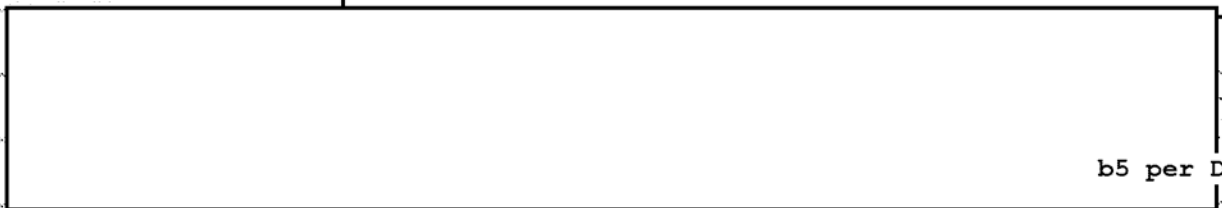
b6  
b7C



b6  
b7C



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP





- MC - One of the lawyers on Trumps Staff,
  - MC = a fixer, thought he was a problem solver
  - ~~2018~~ <sup>2010</sup>, came down to 1st meeting, introduced as a political advisor
  - MC in Campaign, Monday came down to SB's office, SB = in Trump Org., can't be windows, around org/camp. SB said MC could get you a lot of trouble, MC goes off half cockala lot, MC trying to get involved in campaign, the knolof guy thinking it a good idea to to send \$130,000 to Storm Daniels

DOC 10

- told zero deals around Russia + Trump Org,
  - Candrate = know no russians, know how coll & working
  - Came up during campaign a couple times →
  - SB → never asked about any Russian bus. deals
  - Felix Suter - SB → this goes back to the house intel, that they had a signed term sheet in Dec 15 on Trump Power Mexico, big deal to SB, ↓ in T.D., b7C reveal to SB

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(17)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

SB - ~~not~~ aware of any financial agreement,  
to Stormy Daniels, accusers, or relationships  
of DJT

- SB talked to Breitbart guys about 130k  
payments, not to administration

- not aware of any other payments  
made

- 130k speculate, SB thought ~~it~~ it must  
be David Pecker → ~~earliest~~, didn't think  
anyone around Trump org. would be done enough,  
to impact the election.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(21)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- never heard of M.C. arranging for DJT to arrange for - spend on an online platform, M.C. talk about concepts for Trump Org.
- SB → NYT about bus. dealings with Fusion + Trump Org. / candidate

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

22



Pelipe Suter was treble p in that, SB was aware of before becoming involved

SD didn't discuss when was a campaign

Stages came & went March April 2016,

- later stages of campaign, house in Palm Beach, didn't get any traction. Never discussed with Candidate on Palm Beach house, had a plausible explanation.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

8.

- ~~SD~~ <sup>SD</sup> - never remember getting email, don't remember any conv. about S.M., no discussion with Campaign on S.M. issue.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

23

→ ~~say~~ reaching + putting office in Pan. 16, help, reveal

- MC was a big deal to SB, countered what heard about F.S. by the candidate
- SB did some inquiries, the intercom, for, the quarters, abc news, → they trying to track down.
- Know info, so not surprised anyway.

- breake, approx 15 mins

- CA, May 2015

- vice Chairman + owned 2% of, upto 5 options
- didn't speak to [ ] or infreq, in that time period.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Dec 12

- think this <sup>is not</sup> ~~is not~~ CA, Barbara Laleen

- Clinton Cash May 15, FOIA request comes

through, 33,000 missing, <sup>GAE</sup> analysis,

33,000 → tie directly to influence peddling at State Department, SB open to finding a

private citizen & head of Breitbart, Barbara → knows a guy, 12 dozen meetings to how get 33,000 emails, ascertain can get, not validate, didn't get any or samples, stopped search.

related to 3,300 → Clinton Cash, pay for day book

Dec 13

- green light = data operation for water targeting, Corey presentation, was not <sup>people</sup> retained, To Corey

- CA involved, after Cruz officially withdraws

- around June, offers into [redacted] do

David + Ivanka, 1st time SB met David + Ivanka, said fine, present pro

- no

Doc: 14

- Don't remember sending it, never went to US,

or with [redacted] Don't remember talking to [redacted] about it,

wouldn't characterize as an approval, Don't know if [redacted] reached out

- June = not familiar with CA trying to get in touch with [redacted]

- probably dropped

- No idea where [redacted]

- [redacted] CA, focus on getting a lot of bus, in U.S., all a little bit fantasist, like James Bond, → ideas like this on [redacted] knows a guy who knows a guy

- GP - during transit, not remember talking about Egypt campaign → GP wants to get involved in setting up the meetings

- Campaign, made a decision, to take a couple days off during U.N. visit + meet foreign leaders, SB was against, in C.I.C, Sel, H.C. Committed to A, limit it to Egypt, Israel, maybe a couple others. JK → Israel, SB/MF, (S)

- Not worth pushing GP out  
- Committee in March 16, called G.L., why put  
13 out, nobody knows GP → point out,  
sessions, sch... model. U.N.  
Wanted S.C.

- GP email chain, <sup>SB</sup> thought GP was  
George Gigast, SB → gently blowing GP off,  
SB → I don't need this guy, MR will be on the  
hook for it, don't need GP

- GP - never told SB about Russians having  
dirty on Clinton, or anyone else in campaign,  
or skin clots.

- SB - had all the dirty <sup>from</sup> Clinton cash,  
wanted one, ~~we~~ didn't need any more  
clowns like ~~GP~~ + SC, that's real dirt  
GP

- didn't hear anyone talk about

- [redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- 1st met [redacted]

- by email or phone, 13, 14, on brief bars,

[redacted]

[redacted]

(29)

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- S. Muberg = ran the thing, one <sup>camp.</sup> man haul, did a damn good job,

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Doct's

- think he has the wrong name there, [Redacted] who they got rid of, ParScale, → little data center on 15<sup>th</sup> floor,

- introduce to data guy, don't remember, Jan 16, maybe [Redacted] had some ideas about it

- ~~add~~ not sure, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]





b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

- Aug 2016

- money situation = JK was in charge of digital and fundraising, SB → CFO of campaign Sunday Debt Dewitt

night meetings, had almost no cash, only small from online, losing cash, close by double digit, 1st debate coming, need \$50 million from Trump becomes \$10 million from Trump, was still down, 3/4 down.

email into [Redacted]  
- don't remember this

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

email [Redacted] text received from [Redacted]

- looks like [Redacted] CIA. Can help mid target on Facebook [Redacted] might be a project for CIA.  
Project

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(28)

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

Dec 20

[Redacted]

Don't remember ideas

wanted to talk with him.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- <sup>m</sup> Malloch - says he's a writer, breitbart/leada, professor on faculty in London, later

Dec 21

- No contact with

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- didn't meet personally with [Redacted] during campaign  
SIP - need to SD down [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

29

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

*← break 10-15 minutes*  
*email - 1st in line*

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

70

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SP-9 always

interested about 37,000, not interested in protests  
not going to impact

- ~~mass to mass~~

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- ~~was belief~~

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

may have told SP-9 → Aug Parking Company  
not at [Redacted]

31

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- SB → interest in verified 33,000 emails related to uranium one  
- 33,000, talked to ~~candidate~~ candidates

Manufact story Bruce went right to Clinton cash + uranium one. SB → still it was way too late

- after came on campaign, got into WS need 33,000 emails important + Steven Miller, DST was focused on cracked Hillary and uranium one, 33,000 might not unlock it. Didn't think get in that timeframe, never discussed that Russian could have had it, SB → spent some time, hackers in <sup>Bulgarix</sup> hackers nightmare, might have it

DST → not much of a response, every now then he would bring up 33,000. One time Podesta emails released = is this a big deal

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- No attempts to get 33,000 during campaign (32) unverifiable

- might have had DSC on finding 33,000 emails, MF, Kelley

↳ don't remember, might have

- SB - releases, not that big of a deal, important 33,000 emails

- Kelley = same stff, not a cyber guy

Rehee, [redacted] talked about

b6  
b7C

- email - much ado about nothing

Campaign  
at labor  
day,

think MF might have an idea/company, not sure emails, something about cyber, SB →  
~~talk~~ talk to ParScale/cyber guys  
said

- digital guys, talk to them

- brought Anasco, by on 13th,

meeting with MF maybe someone else, ParScale, small ParScale digital office, don't know if anything came out of it.

[redacted] b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted]

- Billy Bush, 1 hour later Podesta emails came out, tape  
SB → thought built up to Podesta

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted] ↓  
[redacted]

(35)

[redacted]  
- [redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted]

- 55 mins, 3-call, 4-came out Billy Bush  
+ PE, called w/ush post, SB give us audio,  
we can verify on Monday,  
- got transcript Mc Gahn called  
general counsel, was quick

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted]

- Knows [redacted]

b6  
b7C

July 25/  
2016

- send email to SB

[redacted]

[redacted]

- don't take any action related to this  
- don't remember telling to [redacted] on campaign

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

↓

34

DOT

- Likait talk with DOT Russ, & have 33,000  
enwits release candidate -  
- if they come out would have an interest

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

L K

33



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

DOC 27

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

SB → asked

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- FR was going to have a fund raiser for Trump → his Commencement

don't know a [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- don't remember introducing [Redacted] to any other donors, maybe [Redacted]

- don't think [Redacted] ever met with him

- don't remember helping others with funds besides [Redacted], didn't want to be tied up, remote chances

SB → [Redacted]

(37)

- SB- didn't see it as a potential coordination  
Issue with [redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- try to slow enough respect

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

Doc 29

- Don't remember receiving his message, Camp Puz,  
don't know if anyone else in contact  
with WikiLeaks or trying to get in contact  
or trying

- discussion on WikiLeaks = how this  
will impact or whatever, in Campaign

- don't think anyone had any idea on  
where they came from, how they got  
> B or [redacted] or  
interacted. - don't remember reaching out to [redacted] or  
Wiki, or internally to see what information  
might be coming.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Doc 33

- Manafort had zero involvement in Campaign

- if response to this, that PM will be  
telling everyone

- not aware PM was advising involved in  
Campaign after his ouster

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

- HA said were not, sense who he  
talked to, Cardozo - nothing said about  
contact with [redacted] or PM

↓  
32

- SB- knew they were going to him,  
wasn't making a direct connection  
maybe, line to Manafort, could be linked  
to Russia worked to

- 3 phones

- just those 3

- campaign n phone, secure phone

- the ipad = didn't use much, dredge

- prevent surveillance phone setup so not archive  
text or text messages, not aware, guy who  
setup, was a surprise

- Campaign

- no secure apps,

- transition

- NO, Slack, WhatsApp, iMessage

- got close to leaving administrators

- Setup Proton mail, Signal

↳

[Redacted]

- Proton mail, increased security,

not from people in admin, didn't use or

- Slack, did not have a Slack channel,

never used Slack, Breitbart used = trying to shut down

- Wickr - EP talking about secure,

Setup after left admin,

- Signal

Signal

based on  
Security

↳ EP → Wickr,

[Redacted]

- Not a lot of people  
[Redacted] only former

- Not used at (receive,  
with simulator)  
no admin  
customers

Not used  
in admin  
customers

b6  
b7c

b6  
b7c

39

- in admin - not know of anyone using 3rd party
- briefing federal records, keep these,
- text messengers = don't remember should keep and Federal record > ~~act~~ act
- personal & white house email's
- don't remember using personal phone text for w.h. business >
- don't remember text on gov't devices, text on personal device, might have don't remember, never heard text messages should be saved discussion,
- or personal device texts should be saved

8/20/2017

- ED → wicker pro for Breitbart

- primarily used the white house email in administration
- sent, new people on white house,
- acc-out if got them, to respond, on account gave to ~~office~~ official to assistant to send to

[redacted]

b6  
b7c

- white house account for archived
- didn't think about text <sup>personal</sup> messages, → to be archived,
- didn't think about, don't remember if text messages qualified under federal records act

(40)

- phone remember [redacted] or [redacted] to look at

SB's emails to archive,

- [redacted] had access to arc-ent em's,

SB give her full access

From: [redacted] Breitbart  
Sent: Mon 7/24/2017 5:05 PM (GMT-04:00)  
To: Steve Bannon  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Re: Jared Kushner sealed real estate deal with oligarch's firm cited in money-laundering case | US news | The Guardian

b6  
b7C

How do we prove that

That's game set match

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 24, 2017, at 5:01 PM, Steve Bannon [redacted] wrote:

b6  
b7C

Dude !!!

On Jul 24, 2017, at 4:30 PM, [redacted] Breitbart [redacted] wrote:

Wtf!!!!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 24, 2017, at 4:26 PM, Steve Bannon [redacted] wrote:

He was on 'vacation' off the coast of Croatia with a Russian billionaire when I took over campaign

On Jul 24, 2017, at 4:23 PM, [redacted] Breitbart [redacted] wrote:

b6  
b7C

A progressive activist w ties to pelosi told me that

Don't know if true

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 24, 2017, at 4:21 PM, Steve Bannon [redacted] wrote:

WTF

On Jul 24, 2017, at 3:04 PM, [redacted] Breitbart [redacted] wrote:

I heard he had a meeting w WIKILEAKS in Europe last year. Nothing to verify yet but I heard it happened from a fairly reliable source. Just FYI.

Sent from my iPhone

FBI(19cv1278)-286

On Jul 24, 2017, at 3:01 PM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

b6  
b7c

All and everything

On Jul 24, 2017, at 2:59 PM, [redacted] wrote:

k this is big though isn't it? It's the ball game...

Thanks

[redacted] Breitbart News

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

From: "Steve Bannon" [redacted]

Sent: Monday, July 24, 2017 2:49pm

To: [redacted]

Subject: Jared Kushner sealed real estate deal with oligarch's firm cited in money-laundering case | US news | The Guardian

<https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/24/jared-kushner-new-york-russia-money-laundering>

Don't touch yet

FBI(19cv1278)-287

---

From: Erik Prince [redacted]  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc: [redacted]  
Subject: Talking Points, second attempt  
Date: Tue Sep 08 2015 00:59:37 EDT  
Attachments: Talking Points.pdf  
Untitled attachment 37411.txt

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## MEMORANDUM

FROM ERIK PRINCE  
TO: TRUMP CAMPAIGN  
VIA: STEVE BANNON  
SUBJECT: Defense and Foreign policy talking points

### IRAN

It is important to note that the "Arab Spring" actually started in Persia in June of 2009, long before protests in elsewhere. Throughout Iran there were at least 2 million people in the streets protesting the Regime and demanding political economic and social freedoms. All the people on the streets needed was a little verbal encouragement from the West but none was forthcoming, Total Silence from Washington. The Iranian regime was so in peril that they didn't even trust their own Iranian forces to come in and crack down on the protests but instead imported Lebanese Hezbollah surrogates to come in and break up the protests, murdering, arresting and hanging their way to success.

The Middle East is now experiencing a full on Sunni vs. Shia war. KSA (Saudis) are threatened as the "capital" of Sunni Islam and defender of the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. The Iranian/ Persian military dictatorship is fully engaged to dominate and enjoy hegemony over the entire region in a way not experienced since the Persian empires of the 7th and 8 Centuries. Persia was originally "islamized" by the Arabs and the Sunni vs Shia contest has simmered or boiled since then. We are now in an intense period of boiling, only to be exacerbated by the horrible Nuclear Deal negotiated or actually capitulated by the Obama Administration. The goal of Iran from the beginning is to drive the US from the Middle East and dominate the vacuum remaining. With nuclear weapons and the considerable bonus of the released Sanction funds the Iranian Regime will be well primed to continue their strategy. They are a very deliberate people. This is a society that places up to a thousand stitches in a square inch of a Persian rug. **They have been focused on a path to regional dominance and they are winning.**

Since the 1979 Iranian Revolution the Iranians have been building and exercising their unconventional warfare capabilities. **Qassem Sulimani** runs the Quds force which is the Special Forces Unit of the **Iranian Revolutionary Guards Force**. The IRGC is really the military dictatorship of Iran. They dominate the entire Iranian society and Armed Forces just like the SS dominated the entire society and Wehrmacht (German Army) of Hitler's Third Reich. Qasem Soleimani is the Heinrich Himmler of the Iranian State. He is the muscle that keeps the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khameni of Iran in power. The 12 man Guardian Council is their inner circle and effectively chooses any candidates for power. Rouhani may be the President of Iran but the real power is the Supreme leader and the Guardian Council. Soleimani is their muscle.

**The Quds Force** is the worldwide special operations arm that's very effective at its asymmetric and surrogate warfare mission. It is how the Iranians dominate Lebanon (and threaten the north of Israel) through their Shia proxy Hezbollah( Hizb Allah- Party of God, leader **Hassan Nasrallah**). Hamas (Leader: **Khaled Meshaal**) in the Gaza Strip is their Palestinian Proxy and who fires all the rockets and sends suicide bombers to Israeli civilian targets. (Hamas is Sunni but still their hate tool against Israel). It is also how the Iranians dictate/support Iraq through Shia Militias, and the Houthis (also a Shia minority group in Yemen).

The Quds Force has been killing Americans from the very beginning. Their sponsored major terror acts include blowing up the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon, the Marine Barracks bombing in 1983 (241 USMC killed in action), kidnaping torture and murder of CIA Station chief Buckley ( they even sent the torture tape to Langley), numerous other kidnappings and bombings against American and Israeli targets. Of late it is the Quds Force that supplied Iraqi Shia extremists with a extremely dangerous Improvised Explosive Device IED (road side bomb) called an EFP- Explosive Formed Penetrator which slices through almost all US armor and causes hideous injuries and death to the vehicle occupants. The Iranians have killed and maimed thousands of Americans in Iraq and Afghanistan. That Soleimani and his ilk are not already DEAD is a national disgrace for America.

### **SYRIA**

It is via a combination of Lebanese Hezbollah and IRGC troops that Iran supports Bashar Assad directly in Syria. Iran supports Assad in Syria because Syria was the logistics bridge by which Iran has flowed all the weaponry into Lebanon over the last 35 years. It is also a matter of Shia Solidarity. The Hafez Assad Bath Party Regime took power in 1970 by force. It is an aberration in Syrian history since The Assad family is Alawite, a Sect of Shia Islam. Alawites represent only 12% of the population and were long persecuted by the majority urban Sunnis. It would be like a Dalit/Untouchable becoming President of India. The Sunnis in turn for the last 45 years were persecuted and kept in check by force. When Hafez Assad died, his son Bashar was not in the family dictatorship business at all. He was a dentist living in London and leading a normal life with an attractive, western dressing wife. He quite reluctantly returned to run the country and actually made a number of entreaties to the U.S. wanting to improve relations. As the Arab Spring chaos spread to Syria the Sunnis leapt at the chance to resist. The Alawite dominated army backed by Soviet/Russian weapons tried to crush all resistance with conventional power of armor/artillery and carpet bombing causing massive carnage and starting the largest refugee crisis in Europe since WWII. There have been massive casualties suffered on both sides. It is estimated that 1 of every 3 Alawite males of military age have already been killed in the fighting. It is a blood and religious feud without any chance of peaceful resolution while ISIS or other radical Sunni forces exist. Assad cannot capitulate because if he leaves or loses it is a war of Tribal Extinction. The coastal living Alawites of Syria would be en masse slaughtered. The solution for Syria is inextricably linked to Iraq.

### **IRAQ**

Iraq was dominated for decades by another Bath Party member, in this case a Sunni named Saddam Hussein. His removal caused great hope for the Shia majority in the south, the persecuted Kurds in the north and wariness among the Sunnis in the middle and west of the country. Democratic elections in the country were ill advised as they were bought and paid for by Quds Force money and intimidation throughout the Shia south especially. The Mahdi Army and Badr Corps became the lead surrogates among the many Shia militias in Iraq. They quickly became more organized and formidable than the Viet Cong ever were in Vietnam. They were the tool used to infiltrate and dominate the levers of power in Iraq. They effectively purged Sunnis from Baghdad and from the spectrum of security organizations. The premature pullout of US forces unleashed Shia extremism and caused the beleaguered Sunnis of Iraq to make the Faustian bargain to cooperate with ISIS who promised to protect them from Shia aggression. When ISIS rolled into northern Iraq they captured 5 heavy divisions of Iraqi army equipment and

3 major logistics bases stocked with US made ordnance, supplied and funded by the U.S. Taxpayers.

ISIS is a very adaptive and clever foe. The recent U.S. Drone strike is the first of its kind against a computer hacker. That the USG needs to marshal its forces to kill their hacker is indicative of their growing and not receding capabilities.

They flow very smoothly from small 2-4 man terror cell teams up to 1,000 man or more conventional fast moving light cavalry operations. Although they have no airpower they still have precision strike capabilities. They utilize an armored vehicle loaded with explosives and a suicide driver to deliver ordnance on call for their commanders, keeping a number of prepped vehicles on call for immediate response to the tempo of combat.

They see exactly how the U.S. playbook reads and they have adapted to it and are largely unfazed by it. They have an unprecedented incoming supply of recruits because for Islamic Extremists, Syria is the Super Bowl of Jihad. Young jihadis showed up to fight in Afghanistan against the USSR then the USA, they came to Iraq for Jihad but Syria is their main event for all eternity. For every loser seeking meaning in their life that's dabbled in Koranic studies, they find all the prophesy they need to support an Isis Caliphate. Isis provides them with training, equipment, income and a steady supply of the spoils of war to fulfill their sickest fantasies. **Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi**, is a serious player and has taken an Al Qaeda business model to the next generation. He's an Islamic scholar thats quite adept at building an organization that governs, recruits and advances its goals. While AQ was a dispersed terror organ, ISIS is a terror state with increasingly global reach that also holds a large amount of terrain, equipment and ongoing revenue streams ranging from crude oil, kidnapping and extortion. They derive legitimacy by surviving in the face of the feckless efforts to defeat them. Their lean and dispersed command structure allows for rapid decision making and limits damage caused by the occasional successful USG drone strike. They have a world class communications and social media outreach that serves to promote their brand and aid in recruiting. Their monthly online newsletter Dabiq is widely enough consumed across the worlds 1.5 billion Muslim population to cause a worrying stream of incoming recruits.

The newsletter is named for a city north east of Aleppo in Syria. There are numerous Koranic end time prophesies about the last great battle that will occur in Dabiq where the armies of Jihad defeat the army of the north (Christendom). A bold move by the Next President would be to give them the fight they so desperately seek. Moving a couple thousand US marines nearby Dabiq, in a position to threaten the city would be a bait that ISIS couldn't resist, like flies to a lantern. The U.S. is frankly lousy at counterinsurgency but does industrial level war very well. Let the small American force hold out defensively for a few months while ISIS moves more into the area and then unload on them with everything non nuclear we have. (24/7 B-52's, Fuel Air Explosives, artillery, rockets, cluster bombs, etcetera). Kill everything in every grid square surrounding those Marines, while also flattening Dresden style their Caliphate capital of Raqqa Syria. Nothing will be as demotivating for their recruiting efforts as well publicized video of total destruction of their forces. As gruesome as that may sound, they think with medieval perspective and you must give them a pounding they will understand.

The long term solution is to adjust the map of the Levant. When the U.S. pulled out of Iraq the country was still intact. The absence of US presence unleashed the Shia extremism instigated by Quds forces. The Iraqi PM Malaki fired countless competent Sunnis from the Intel Service,

Army and Interior Ministry. This truly disenfranchised the Sunnis who found themselves without jobs, income, electricity or protection. When Isis was active across the border, the Sunni tribes made the Faustian bargain to cooperate with Isis since the Shia were treating them horribly already. The Sunni mistake is obvious and they will never ever reconcile with Shia run Baghdad. Neither will the Kurds who are consistently deprived of weapons and oil funds they are due, ever want to stay part of Iran/Shia dominated Iraq.

Assad in Syria has already indicated he's willing to have a power sharing agreement. It is time to undo the WWI era Sykes-Picot agreement drafted by the French and British. That map was drawn for their colonial interest and not based on any tribal or cultural logic. The USA should provide real leadership and support the redrawing of the Levant borders once and for all. Accept that Syria and Iraq are done even though it's theoretically possible to rebuild a shattered glass vase, the expense in blood and treasure has already been far too high.

A free and independent Kurdistan is the first place to start. The Kurds could unify the northern part of existing Syria all the way to the Mediterranean sea. Kurds are already halfway there by already taking Khobani Syria. Nineveh province would become a long needed Christian homeland adjacent to Kurdistan. A unified Sunni nation consisting of western Iraq and eastern Syria. Arming the Kurds and the Sunni tribes in their own homelands would eliminate the sanctuaries where Isis can exist and thrive. Isis can be destroyed with conventional combat power either fielded by the U.S. and Arab allies or it can all be rented from private contracted forces to fight alongside Arab neighbors and the indigenous civilized populations. Once the large scale conventional Isis capabilities are annihilated, the isolation and elimination will be simpler among unfriendly populations defending their lands.

Finally, Lebanon has been a battered state since WWI, enduring a famine induced by the Turks that killed over 200,000 and wars, assassinations and non stop strife. Lebanon is effectively a rump state where the Iranian sponsored and heavily armed Hezbollah militia hold complete sway over the impotent government. (Hezbollah are the guys that fought the Israeli Defense Force to a standstill in 2006). Let the Shia parts of Lebanon go with Assad and the Alawites along the coast.

Sadly it's necessary to reorganize the troubled neighborhood that is the Middle East. Absent some clear actions, the world will be dealing with second and third order metastasis from a Caliphate growing stronger every month

As one considers how the country defends itself going forward, some perspective how we got here as a nation is needed. The tools of warfare have advanced rapidly and some mistake that changes in Tech mean the old facts of war: deceit, fear, casualties and annihilation are past. They aren't. Some brief history:

#### **Generations of War**

First Gen: Moves at the speed of foot/horse, no electronic communications. Linear war.  
American Rev and Napoleonic Wars

Second Gen: Trench warfare, Little maneuver. Industrial slaughter. Begin automatic weapons  
(American Civil war and WW1)

Third Gen Warfare: Blitzkrieg, maneuver on sea air and land. ( carrier battle groups, strategic nuclear triad and Combined Air land battle doctrine) What the USG trained and equipped for the entire Cold War and what the entire military industrial complex still wants to fight. Very high cost and exhausting, cannot be sustained for long periods. (Gulf War 1, 2003 Iraq Invasion)

Fourth Gen Warfare: Non state actors organize the proliferation of commercial Technology that just 20 years ago was highly classified. (Using Google earth to plan base mortar and rocket attacks, more computing power in an iPhone than aboard Apollo 11) The 9/11 attacks utilized the most cost effective weapon system in history, box cutter knives and suicide fanatics. A \$500k attack has cost the U.S. taxpayer trillions and surrendered liberty. The USG is still fighting its current challenges of surrogate warfare with all its 3rd gen warfare gear, tactics and mindset.

The USG has mastered the most expensive ways to wage war. The defense and intel budgets consume more funds than the next seventeen countries combined. **We effectively try to mow the lawn with a brand new Rolls Royce.**

Examples: the Lockheed Martin F-35 is the most expensive weapon system in the history (\$1.4 Trillion for program duration) of the world. Read the article it will explain how badly politicized the acquisitions process has become. The F-35 is built in 45 of 50 states but despite its bright claims its way behind where it should be. There was a recent dogfight fly off between a 30 year old F-16 carrying two large drop fuel tanks vs. a clean configured new F-35. Result: old F-16 spanked the shiny new F-35. All these shiny expensive tools have no role fighting a 4th Gen foe.

<http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2013/09/joint-strike-fighter-lockheed-martin>

I can bore you with examples if you want to read further...

What this means is that trying to fight a 4th Gen war with our 3rd Gen Military is exhaustingly expensive and ineffective since it prevents the adaptation needed to out innovate the 4th Gen foe. We have bureaucratized warfare to an unparalleled level and the cost exhaustion and failures in Iraq and Afghanistan bear witness. We still have more Admirals than Navy ships. We have allowed lawyers to second guess every decision made by field commander. If troops need Close Air Support while fighting in Afghanistan, they shouldn't need to ask permission from a U.S. lawyer sitting in Qatar.

There are a host of ways to fight 4th Gen wars better and ways to cut massive amounts of fat out of the defense budget but we can wait till after the election for that. More defense spending isn't needed, better leaders and smarter spending is. When you have a failing investment, any smart investor doesn't throw more money at the problem. Instead you change leadership and the business plan. All of Washington will tell you to spend spend more, we all know how consistently wrong their paradigm is...

Why does Russia care about Syria and Iran?

Syria and Iran have remained the most consistent client states of Russia since Assad took over in 1970 and the Iranian Revolution in 1979. They are significant weapons customers and the Syrian Port of Tartuz provides Russia their Mediterranean Navy Port.

A little known fact is that the Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khameni attended the Patrice Lumumba Univ. In 1983 in Moscow which was the primary recruiting ground of the KGB. He's had a closeness to the Russian Security service ever since. The recent deployment of Russian troops were primarily Forces from Eastern Ukraine that sided with Russia when Putin started his surrogate war. Now that the abuse of all Ukraine has continued those troops loyalty to Russia is suspect so he solved two problems sending them to Syria.

**Afghanistan:** The country is consistently failing further and further. The U.S. and allies have created a completely welfare nation. The Afghans have no ability to generate sufficient revenues to provide any level of government service, let alone their expensive military built in the image of the U.S. Army. The list of failures and errors are too long to catalogue here. It is salvageable but with a low cost approach more in keeping with the British East India Company and not how the U.S. Military has blown through a Trillion dollars over 14 years with little to show. The private model to Afghan security may be too much for people to handle but at least budgetary discipline must be imbued to the field decision makers just like authority and responsibility must be pushed down to the lowest possible level.

#### **China**

As a country the PRC has a real problem with Islamic terrorism. It is an area we can be working closely with them as they have problems that leak into China from Afghanistan. In the northwest province of Xinjiang which borders Afghanistan lives a non ethnic Chinese minority's called the Uighurs (pronounced: We -Wers). They consistently have committed some large acts of terrorism from truck bombs, driving fast through a market with a truck, a multi attacker knife fight in a train station that killed 29 people etc. the government responds with a very heavy hand. Also there's been controversy about the PRC claiming entire regions of the South China Sea as territorial waters including waters belonging to their neighbors. They stake their claim by building dredged islands with ports and airfields on the newly created land. Much of this provocation causes internal strife between the party and the PLA. These unnecessary moves are easily thwarted if America used its intelligence services properly.

**Russia:** Vladimir Putin is a former KGB officer who understands how to wield power. That's been his entire life's work. He sees himself as the next Peter the Great and as someone who will reassemble the grandness of the Soviet Empire. He is hell bent to destroy NATO and demonstrate it to be an empty feckless vessel. He's well on his way with the invasions of Georgia, a massive hybrid war ongoing in Ukraine. You should look to him to provide some major provocations in the remaining time of the Obama Administration. He's restarting the Cold War in every way, even now building 40 new state of the art Mobile nuclear missiles, each carrying four warheads. Think of that, 160 American cities vulnerable to extinction from brand new weaponry. Putin has no real opposition and his propaganda goes not only unchecked but even unanswered by America and the west as the U.S. Govt has downsized or cancelled much of its VOA World service. People that live in oppressed areas really do listen, and they listen even harder when their host government tried to jam the signals. Putin can be managed but the full spectrum of statecraft must be unleashed on him. Russia is a far greater threat than China.

As one studies the continuum of options for a policy maker to respond on a national security or prevent a diplomatic incident, the options currently range from diplomats and press conferences "strenuously denouncing" some unwanted national behavior to quickly giving way to air strikes

and predator drones. In the middle of this continuum there should exist a whole other tool kit of options to draw on long before uniformed soldiers and jet bombers arrive on scene. For the \$80 billion spent on the intel community now we are missing that tool kit of Political and Surrogate warfare, covert action, sabotage, information war, propaganda etc. Yes those actions are difficult and come with risk but they are entirely indispensable at crucial junctions in a nations conduct. We are missing these dark arts now. Our Intel services are risk averse to the point of impotency. Many of the brush fires consuming the Middle East, Africa and SE Asia could have been solved by timely Covert Actions. Specific problems and solutions sets can be addressed in person.

**Veterans Administration** : The Federal Government has no business running health care systems. There are a reported still 600,000 and even up to 1,000,000 vets are still waiting for health care. An IG report found 300,000 deceased Vets still on the rosters for receiving care. Clearly government medicine is never going to get it done. Scrape the VA off and unleash the finest private healthcare system in the world. Vouchers work for broken public schools, use the same paradigm for our Wounded Vets. They can use a Tri-care like access ( like any retired military veteran) for private healthcare. Privatize the VA hospitals and turn over their administration to some of the successful not for profit health care networks in America today. The easiest way to do this is to offer Vouchers for the Vets so they can opt out of a failing system. No one can criticize you for throwing the ones that are waiting an immediate lifeline. They will all end up opting out and the system will contract and fold as it should.

Thanks for your time.  
I can be reached at

[REDACTED]

Keep fighting.

b6  
b7c

From: steve bannon [redacted]  
To: corey r lewandowski  
[redacted]; corey r. lewandowski  
[redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Talking Points.pdf  
Date: Tue Sep 08 2015 04:07:00 EDT  
Attachments: Talking Points.pdf.PDF

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From : Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Sent : 9/8/2015 4:07:46 AM  
To : Corey R Lewandowski [redacted]; Corey R. Lewandowski  
[redacted]  
Subject : Talking Points.pdf  
Attachments : Talking Points.pdf

[redacted] worked this up for u guys

b6  
b7c



From: Steve Bannon  
Sent: Sat 9/12/2015 2:01 PM (GMT-04:00)  
To: Corey Lewandowski  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Re: [redacted]

b6  
b7c

Smart

Does DJT want a telephonic briefing from prince?...can set that up for 6pm today

From: Corey R Lewandowski <[redacted]>  
Sent: Saturday, September 12, 2015 1:59:29 PM  
To: Steve Bannon  
Subject: Re: [redacted]

Yes. Good. We are meeting with Flynn on Monday

- > On Sep 12, 2015, at 12:58 PM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
- >
- >
- > Just got off the phone w/ him
- >
- > Did u get a chance to review his briefing memo?

3

From: [redacted]  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Cc: [redacted]  
Bcc:  
Subject: Re: Breitbart News  
Date: Sat Dec 12 2015 14:20:52 EST  
Attachments:

b6  
b7c

Hey want to talk with you about the things we need to do regarding data collection

Thanks,

[redacted] Breitbart News

b6  
b7c

Sent from my Verizon Wireless 4G LTE DROID

Steve Bannon [redacted] wrote:

[redacted] is our [redacted] and working on a story about the rubio/christie versus cruz/rand fight over NSA and the approval of the post-patriot act surveillance

From: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
To: [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: [redacted]  
Date: Thu Jan 14 2016 19:59:07 EST  
Attachments:

---

There is a guy I know very well currently living in india [redacted]  
[redacted] --smart guy [redacted] ...he is  
muslim and could be a great asset to intel community

Do u have anybody in india who could meet w/ him and check him out

5

b6  
b7c

From: EP [redacted]  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Re:  
Date: Thu Mar 17 2016 03:55:48 EDT  
Attachments:

---

Yes and yes!

Erik Prince

- > On Mar 17, 2016, at 08:53, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
- >
- > Can I get u on the show on monday???
- >
- > R u still up for meeting trump?

6

b6  
b7C

From: EP [redacted]  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Cc: [redacted]  
Bcc:  
Subject: Fwd: Recommended meeting  
Date: Mon May 23 2016 15:04:44 EDT  
Attachments: FullSizeRender.jpg

Resend with  included.

Erik Prince

Begin forwarded message:

From: EP [redacted]  
Date: May 23, 2016 at 23:02:37 GMT+4  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Subject: Recommended meeting

b6  
b7C

Steve [redacted] Russia's actions in the Ukraine, the Middle East and their more aggressive posture of late are certainly issues that Mr Trump needs to understand fluently. Please consider meeting with Oleg to hear the perspective of a nation on the receiving end... He's the Nat Sec Adviser of Ukraine. He will be in DC from Tuesday to Friday this week.

Oleg is being escorted by my good friend [redacted] from LA. He's in the aerospace business.

Once you have any approvals needed we can sort the meeting logistics.

Best  
Erik Prince

Owner: EP [redacted]  
Filename: FullSizeRender.jpg  
Last Modified: Mon May 23 15:04:44 EDT 2016

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b6  
b7c

**Hladkovskyy Oleg Vladimirovich**  
First Deputy Secretary of the National  
Security and Defense Council of Ukraine



7

b6  
b7c

From: EP [redacted]  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Russia/US election  
Date: Tue Oct 18 2016 19:30:00 EDT  
Attachments:

RUSSIAN ELECTION INFLUENCE ISSUE:

Mr. T should introduce an alternative narrative on this issue. Consider this response:

It's unclear to me if Russia is directly involved in attempting to influence the US election. That said, its safe to say they are keenly interested, and likely using surrogates to poke into the US election process. Who does the Kremlin want to see in the White House? Ms. Clinton. They know her, well. Putin and his Foreign Minister Lavarov are skilled interlocutors. Professional, successful diplomat with some interesting postings in his career. Was he a real foreign ministry officer or an intelligence officer serving under cover on his multiple tours? The briefings I currently get don't provide this type of information. Whatever his status, Mr. Lavarov has a first person assessment of Ms. Clinton. He and Putin know her personality; they know her decision making processes. They know her inner circle members, all their weaknesses and vulnerabilities. They know Ms. Clinton's, personal and systemic weaknesses in the way she ran the State Department and how she responds to pressure and crisis. There is much to learn by analyzing Benghazi, Syria, Iraq and Iran policy development and implementation. All these major policy issues have failed to produce success or acceptable outcomes for the United States. It has always been clear in personnel performance evaluations that the best predictor of future performance is past performance. Ms. Clinton has a history of poor decision making, poor performance, and failure. One could ask, who does the Kremlin prefer in this election? Its crystal clear to me, YOU Ms. Clinton, they know you. They know your weaknesses and your penchant for recklessness, ignoring rules and regulation which has provided a treasure trove of sensitive information while you were Secretary of State. In a phrase, You are predictable. They prefer to deal with predictability and known deficiencies with a clear track record of bad decisions and failure.

I am largely an unknown. Unknowns carry risk for our opponents.

Sent from my iPad



8

From: Erik [redacted]  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Fwd: Bannon  
Date: Wed Nov 16 2016 16:34:50 EST  
Attachments:

b6  
b7C

We are getting you more PR help. FYI.

Begin forwarded message:

From: Mark Corallo [redacted]  
Date: November 16, 2016 at 22:32:52 GMT+1  
To: [redacted]  
Subject: Fwd: Bannon

b6  
b7C

I spoke to her last night. Then she emailed this morning and I told her I was available. She still hasn't called back. But seen below that I sent to her.

Sent from my iPhone.

Begin forwarded message:

From: Mark Corallo [redacted]  
Date: November 16, 2016 at 3:47:16 PM EST  
To: [redacted]  
Subject: Bannon

b6  
b7C

This is the key to winning. This is who he is. This is the message every reporter who is doing a "profile" of Bannon should receive. They should be told that everything they need to know about him and his worldview is right here. It's fantastic.

And I'd suggest calling me at some point when you have a chance to discuss a great opportunity with VF which could happen tomorrow.

[https://www.buzzfeed.com/lesterfeder/this-is-how-steve-bannon-sees-the-entire-world?utm\\_term=.jqMQVJLMb#ixGBQKgDA](https://www.buzzfeed.com/lesterfeder/this-is-how-steve-bannon-sees-the-entire-world?utm_term=.jqMQVJLMb#ixGBQKgDA)

And so he'll know he and I are of like mind, read this (and show it to him if you'd like).

<http://www.nationalreview.com/article/225904/can-i-bailcut-bailout-mark-corallo>

Mark

Corallo Media Strategies

520 North Washington Street

Alexandria, VA 22314

703-838-9705

[www.corallomediastrategies.com](http://www.corallomediastrategies.com)

From: Steve Bannon  
Sent: Mon 6/08/2015 1:07 PM (GMT-04:00)  
To: Steve Bannon  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Fw: Fwd: CONFIDENTIAL PROPOSAL  
Attachments: CLINTON FOUNDATION BRIEFING AND EMAIL VECTOR PROPOSAL 05 17 2018.doc; ATT00001.htm

---

From: [redacted]  
Sent: Friday, June 5, 2015 8:24:10 PM  
To: Steve Bannon  
Subject: Fwd: CONFIDENTIAL PROPOSAL  
privileged and confidential

b6  
b7c

Begin forwarded message:

From: Barbara Ledeen [redacted]  
Subject: CONFIDENTIAL PROPOSAL  
Date: June 5, 2015 at 5:22:43 PM PDT  
To: [redacted]

Dear [redacted]

Thank you for calling me so promptly. Here is the proposal. I hope we can finally work together!  
Best-  
Barbara

## PROPOSAL FOR INVESTIGATIVE SERVICES

### Executive Summary

This is a proposal for obtaining and then providing multi-level forensic analysis of the emails of certain accounts linked to the former Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, as well as other members of the William, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton Foundation because of its known acceptance of foreign money from organizations, institutions, individuals and cut-outs of dubious distinction.

Hillary Clinton created a private domain server to host her personal email account, and this account was also used for Official U.S. Government business. It is the intent and spirit of the law that high-level officials use only Government domains when conducting official business.

Preliminary research shows that millions of dollars were accepted by the Foundation at or around the time that the donors received a *quid pro quo* from the U.S. Government generally or the U.S. State Department specifically.

How the donations were characterized or washed before they landed at the Foundation in an effort to conceal the true owner is classic money laundering.

Key to any opposition research is to overlay advanced analytics performed by high-quality intelligence analysts using integrated visual analytic products that highlight connections, links, associations and relationships onto the databases: In other words to highlight that which is otherwise hidden in plain sight.

The issue is not whether data exists, but rather, sorting through the quantity of obtainable data and distilling from it the type of information that opposition research analysts use.

Opposition research also includes behavior and predictive profiling and it is highly dependent upon quality intelligence from a multiplicity of disparate database sources.

There is no email address within a private domain service (such as what Mrs. Clinton did here) or a public email domain service that cannot be penetrated using enough brute force intrusion or forensic tools. In the private sector, many tools exist that are legal and proper and often are capable of recovering seemingly deleted emails, but which are later found in the Deep Web, the Dark Web, the Peer-to-Peer and on private, but leaking domain servers of the recipients or re-senders.

Our view is that the private Clinton email domain server was, in all likelihood, breached long ago. The Chinese Intelligence Services, together with the Russian and Iranian cyber intelligence forces co-equally or alone could re-assemble the server's email content and easily transection it to contributions, lobby funds, travel records and the like, for Pres. Clinton and former Secretary Clinton.

From an operational security perspective alone, what Mrs. Clinton and her advisers did by creating a private email domain server displayed a level of recklessness that is unsurpassed by any Cabinet official in the history of email communications.

Our opinion is that before anyone touched the suspect emails, the server had to have been imaged by a highly qualified lab that the Clinton law firm would have carefully selected.

We opine that a time line study analysis would most likely show that the Clinton claims that the server was deleted after a thorough analysis of it was done, is not plausible, and therefore, untruthful.

We opine that the entire email data mass from the Clinton private domain server does exist somewhere. Whether the content is in the hands of malevolent forces, such as certain foreign services, or whether they have benignly fallen into the Deep Web, the Dark Web, or Peer-to-Peer spheres remains to be seen.

We recommend: 1. That we search the open-source information sphere first, using the most advanced recovery tools in the marketplace, which our company does possess. Such a study can be done in less than 30 days. The cost would be approximately \$22,000 and would be a worldwide search. 2. Next, we would see whether the content of the server fell into or was the subject of an attempted hacking event. It would take considerable study to see what could be recovered. The study would take 30-45 days and cost about \$45,000. 3. We would check and see whether (a) the server was penetrated and recovered by specialized units within the Services and (b) the content of the server was transferred and (c) if any emails could be obtained. If even a single email were recovered and the providence of that email was a foreign service, it would prove catastrophic to the Clinton campaign and to the Foundation's work. This type of work requires travel and intermediary work. It would take 90-120 days, and cost somewhere between \$290,000 to \$350,000.

#### *Summary and Overview*

This is a proposal for providing multi-level forensic email study of certain accounts linked to the former Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, as well as other members of the William, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton Foundation because of its known acceptance of foreign money from organizations, institutions, individuals and cut-outs of dubious distinction.

Preliminary research shows that millions of dollars were accepted by the Foundation at or around the time that the donors received a *quid pro quo* from United States Government generally or the U.S. State Department specifically.

Perhaps more egregious is how the donations were characterized or washed before they landed at the Foundation. Under normal circumstances, the re-classification and washing of funds in an effort to conceal the true owner is classic money laundering. This, combined with a number of other circumventions that the Clinton family is known to have engaged in during their 30 years in office, speaks volumes about the candidate's character and her willingness to live outside the boundaries of normal legalities.

### *Methodology and Process*

Because the Clinton Foundation as well as the Candidate have huge digital fingerprints, key to any opposition research is to overlay advanced analytics performed by high-quality intelligence analysts using integrated visual analytic products that highlight connections, links, associations and relationships onto the databases. In other words, to highlight that which is otherwise hidden in plain sight.

The issue is not whether data exists, but rather, sorting through the quantity of obtainable data and distilling from it the type of information that oppositional research analysts use.

While opposition research generally is defined as derogatory, negative, or adverse information -- it also includes behavior and predictive profiling. It is highly dependent upon quality intelligence from a multiplicity of disparate database sources.

### *Missing Email Recovery Project*

Vast media reports show that Hillary Clinton created a private domain server to host her personal email account, and that this account was also used for Official US Government business. It is the intent and spirit of the law that high level officials use only Government domains when conducting official business.

There are a number of compelling reasons that such figures should never use a private email domain, to include Gmail, Hot Mail, Yahoo, etc. None accord the user absolute protection against intrusion by foreign intelligence services. In the main, there is no email address within a private domain service (such as what Mrs. Clinton did here) or a public email domain service that cannot be penetrated using enough brute force intrusion or forensic tools. In the private sector, many tools exist that are legal and proper and often are capable of recovering seemingly deleted emails, but which are later found in the Deep Web, the Dark Web, the Peer-to-Peer and on private, but leaking domain servers of the recipients or re-senders.

In the public sector, foreign intelligence services have a vast array of tools at their disposal that can penetrate any private email account, and many that are even U.S. Government protected systems.

The Clinton Foundation did not consider the upkeep and maintenance of a private email domain service, to include the most advanced firewalls, malware, and resistant fortress sonic wall software that is available in the market place. Such upkeep must be done proactively and on a second-by-second basis, as new and even more aggressive viruses are created each and every second by malevolent forces around the world.

Our view is that the private Clinton email domain server was, in all likelihood breached long ago. One of the dangers of handing over the entire server to an independent forensic data scientist is that the residue of such a breach could be found and highlighted and in some cases, even traced back to the offender. Such a report over a breach of this type would be political suicide for the former Secretary of State, who held one of the most sensitive positions in the US Government.

Second, the Chinese Intelligence Services, together with the Russia and Iranian Cyber Intelligence Forces co-equally or alone could re-assemble the server's email content and easily transact it to contributions, lobbying funds, travel records, and the like for President Clinton

and former Secretary Clinton. In short, they could do what the U.S. conservative media and its supporters are trying to do today. However, they would have two distinct advantages that nobody in the private media enjoy:

- a. They would have the emails, both the originals, headers, footers, attachments, and the communication vectors of the benefactors seeking patronage with the Clintons and the Foundation. All of this would be in original, pristine, and undeleted condition for them to cross section against open source data.
- b. The Services would also have not only extremely experienced HUMINT analysts, but advanced analytical software that could transection contribution of dollars against emails and their timing; as well as other disparate data to assemble a mosaic of political pay-to-play story. The Services could then seek to blackmail members of the Foundation, its staff, or even the Clinton's themselves. If they did not cooperate, the Services could selectively leak pieces of their analytic findings such as what was done on the Russian uranium story.

Thus, from an operational security perspective alone, what Mrs. Clinton and her advisors did by creating a private email domain server displayed a level of recklessness that is unsurpassed by any Cabinet official in the history of email communications.

#### *Deletion of Email Server Content – Implausibility*

One of the issues that has not been well-briefed in the media is the forensic methodology of email deletion and recovery, making the story behind what the Clinton Foundation and Mrs. Clinton specifically, a total fantasy.

First, when an email domain server has content that is going to be "parsed" for deletion of select data, such as personal emails versus government business email it must be done in a very precise and logical manner.

No expert would ever, under any circumstances whatsoever, work with the virgin or original source email server. Any reputable forensic expert would make an "image copy" of the domain server first, and moreover, do a sector-by-sector image copy (the most invidious and thorough method possible) and work from the image to do qualitative or quantitative deletion of the "unneded emails". Nobody would ever risk the potential of the original content server being corrupted, accidentally deleted, or suffer some sort of catastrophic failure<sup>1</sup> because it would be devastating politically to try and "message" that kind of event.

Thus, our opinion is that Williams and Connolly would hire a reputable forensic shop which would advise that the domain server to be examined for specific content be imaged, and at least once.

Second, it is not plausible that a human decision-making process was used to manually review every single email, either on the server (or an image of the server) and cull out only those that were non-personal. It is implausible as to the amount of time such an endeavor would take, as well as the thoroughness of such a process. According to media reports, the suspect server had

<sup>1</sup> Not to reference history, but the modern day version of the Rose Mary Wood 18 minute tape gap that occurred upon the infamous Watergate Tapes episode, made more implausible by the forensically enhanced sound engineers who showed repeated re-deletes of the same tape sectors



approximately 60,000 emails, of which approximately 32,000 were allegedly personal and were deleted.

It is not clear how this was done, according to these same media reports. Logically, there are only three ways:

- a. **Review, print and decide.** The first method is for a human analyst to sit and review each email manually on a computer that had been loaded with the .ost or .pst file that contained the email. For those that were "business", the analyst printed a copy in paper format and laid the email on the side. For those emails that had attachments, this too would be printed and attached to the printed email. However, one must consider the human and mechanical time elements to go through 60,000 emails in order to complete such a task, and do it using only one machine, one printer, and one analyst.<sup>2</sup>
- b. **Key Word Searching.** Here again, assuming that the legal team prohibited an image copy, the analyst would go through the .pst with inherently loaded key word searching software (and this assumes such software was natively on the domain email server to accomplish such a task) and formulate the compliant search terms to distinguish what was or was not a US Government business email.

Some possible key words would be domain server extensions that would be commonly used by US Government personnel, such as .mil, .gov, .State, etc. However, even key word searching to try and cull out the potential government emails from the total data mass would not be a definitive solution. Moreover, to go through thousands of potential hits and cull out only those that would be relevant by a single analyst (Again, hypothetically, no image copy was done) would take an enormous amount of time.

- c. **Load COTS analytic or key word software.** No forensic analyst would risk loading any type of software onto the native machine or domain server in an effort to identify possible relevant emails.

Most likely, they would image the domain server, and then load the COTS software onto the machine and see whether it could be configured to work with the Clinton domain server. Domain servers and operating systems all have their own unique idiosyncrasies which must be accommodated when selecting a particular COTS software to do email recovery based on key words.

For example, the leading COTS email key word recovery software for Microsoft Outlook email was XOBNI (it was developed and engineered by the creators and original coders of MS-Outlook and later sold to Yahoo) but trying to load this product or its Yahoo successor equivalent onto certain domain servers can cause not only a crash, but destruction of files. The reason is that all email key word search tool products require "indexing" of the entire mass to be successful.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> As stated, this hypothetical scenario assumes that the original was not imaged, and therefore only one person could work on the file at a time.

<sup>3</sup> "Indexing" by its very nature means to pulverize the .pst, .ost or equivalent file on the domain server, and then to parse it in such a way so that the searcher can type into the program a key word, date, time, reference, citation, or Boolean-logic scripted term and bring back a result which would contain the framed "phrase". "Indexing" is inherently a very complex data process that can damage a file if done by a program that does not accommodate different operating systems.

Whether Google Desk Top or other popular COTS programs, the data mass involved must be completely indexed, front-to-back. Depending on the type of operating system within the Clinton domain server, and moreover, the kinds of emails and attachments from around the world that she was sending and receiving, defines how well the indexing will work, and moreover, whether it will damage or destroy the native, original file.

For all of these and other technical and esoteric reasons, logic and normal forensic methodology demands that before anyone touched the suspect emails, the server had to have been imaged and done by a highly qualified lab that the Clinton law firm (David Kendall, Esq., and Williams and Connolly) would have carefully selected.

Assuming our hypothetical -- that at least one image was done -- next would be the process used to select, segregate, and decide what to do with each of over 60,000 emails over a compressed period of time.

One of the issues that the media has overlooked is the forensic process for "decisioning" emails for segregation and the amount of time it would take to cull out of a data mass select emails of relevance within 60,000 emails.

For these reasons, the customer here needs to create a plausibility time line to show the Clinton claims unfeasible. To create such a time line, certain assumptions need to be evaluated or at a minimum, made. For example:

1. When was the domain server created?
2. What was the last date in which it was used?
3. When was it shut down and no longer capable of sending or receiving traffic?
4. When was the domain server deemed a "problem" that legal counsel had to consider?
5. When could the domain server been removed from the Clinton residence or wherever it was being hosted and then moved to either Williams and Connolly offices in Washington, or to the lab that they elected.
6. When did the first emails that were considered US Government trickle over to the State Department of some other agency to be considered for release?

The point here is that to process, decision, and output 60,000 emails, we speculate that it could not have been done in a matter of weeks or even months. To prove our assumption, one need only do a time study analysis (TSA) upon those emails that were produced (those that the customer currently does possess or have access to) and conduct an alpha-omega study of how long such emails as contained in a like domain server would take to identify, isolate, read, analyze, decision, print, and stack -- and do all of this on a single non-imaged hard drive that purports to be the original content server; and be done by a single human analyst.

At the end of the day, we opine that such a time line study analysis would most likely show that the Clinton claims that the server was deleted after a thorough analysis of it was done is not plausible and therefore, untruthful.

#### *Recovery of Emails Deleted From Third Party Sources*

We opine that the entire email data mass from the Clinton private domain server does exist somewhere. Whether the content is in the hands of malevolent forces, such as certain foreign services, or whether they have benignly fallen into the Deep Web, Dark Web, or Peer-to-Peer spheres remains to be seen.

### *Multi-Phase Email Recovery Approach*

1. We recommend that the customer start with a search of the open source sphere first, using the most advanced recovery tools in the marketplace, which our company does possess and can do. The critical search term is the email server MX codes, the headers or footers of the email server, or at a minimum, the domain server name which is fairly unique.

Such a study could be done in less than 30 days, the cost would be approximately \$22,000 and would be a worldwide search. For this small amount, if we are lucky and the tools used are able to troll the open source sphere well, we could actually bring back the content of sent or received emails.

2. Next, it is possible that through intermediary sources and methods, we could try and see whether the content of the server fell into or was the subject of an attempted hacking event. To do this, we would need to do a careful study of the domain server residue that can be recovered via open source sources as the forensic structure of the domain server as it last existed, would still be in the Internet sphere, but would take considerable study to see what could be recovered. The study would take 30 to 45 days and cost about \$45,000.00
3. Finally, we could check with our own HUMINT sources that have access through liaison work with various foreign services and see whether (a) the server was penetrated and recovered by specialized units within the Services (b) the content of the server was transferred and (c) if any emails could be obtained. Even if a single email was recovered and the providence of that email was a foreign service, it would prove catastrophic to the Clinton campaign and moreover, to the Foundation's work. However, to do this type of work, much travel and intermediary work is needed. It would take about 90 to 120 days, cost somewhere between \$290,000 to \$350,000.

***Clinton Foundation Proposal  
Introduction and Overview***

The Clinton Foundation, the organization that the client seeks to obtain specific information upon, would involve significant research using both public, private, proprietary and restricted access database systems that we are licensed to subscribe to. At present, many media experts are trolling sources and working this landscape furiously. What is missing is the key determinator and that is the email contents and the date of each. These, transected against the Clinton Foundation contributors defines whether this was a pay-to-play organization.

There is historical precedence in Presidential campaigns using nefarious devices and vehicles to accord benefactors' opportunity to "pay and play". Indeed, Hilary Clinton herself was intimately involved in this.

Some initial tests of the data sources that we need to access revealed that it is complex searching, requiring professionals who have substantial experience in different kinds of sophisticated search methodology, not normally done by generalists.

***Task 1 – Foundation Project***

1. Conduct a full financial on the Foundation that would include accessing all banking accounts, assets, credit, financial holdings and investments (domestic & overseas) of the Subject. Determine funds deposited and identify names of foreign and domestic donors from 2009 to the present.

***Task 2 – Foundation Project***

1. Determine whether subject may have any hidden interests in the companies or persons directly or through proxies or through other arms distance donors.
2. Identify Subject's "Top 10 Donors" list and obtain searchable terms, (known as "the entity" or "entities") to include names of people associated with cited companies; or names of companies associated with cited names, and then run those names, addresses, and other identifiers against both State and Federal Campaign records, as well as published and non-published Political Action Committee
3. Identify the names of contributors, their addresses, and telephone numbers and compare against a database of successful contracts and attempted bids filed in the State Department between 2009-2013.
4. Determine any personal dealings (quid pro quo) between the subject and the top donors between 2009-2013.
5. International or other unusual financial activities including political donations. Confirm that the subject has previously disclosed all international financial transactions or donations that might be construed as international in sourcing. If international transactions exist, we will identify them and recommend potential secondary courses of action including, but limited to, identification of the sources.

### *Costs*

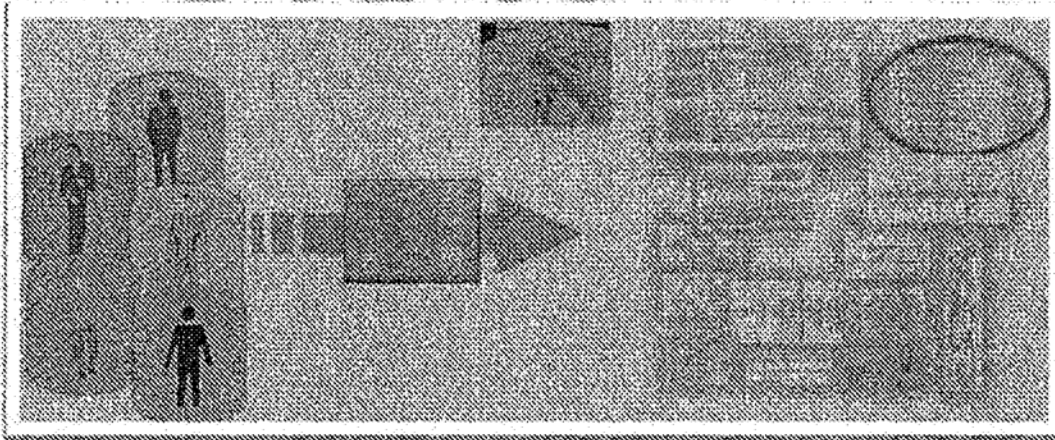
The searches for the Foundation study are costly owing to the fact that the funds of interest came from outside of the United States, and therefore international resources must be used to gain access to the needed accounts that were used to send funds. The initial feasibility study to see what the weight and amount of data that exists is \$24,900. The probably cost to do a full search, assuming that we can document the claims made by the current sources probably will range somewhere between \$230,000 and \$300,000.

### *Personal Background Searches -- How Data Is Catalogued and Accessed*

The customer may also be interested in doing our GlobalScan searches, which are the deepest, and most in-depth scans that are available in the commercial database world today. Reports can range from 800 to 4000 pages long, when including exhibits. Our GlobalScans can be done on any person in the world, and costs depend on the name, address, age and other identifiers for the person. To date, our firm has processed over 20,000 GlobalScans since our inception in 1978. After 1996, the GlobalScan always included digital media data, usually from the original source so that they could be used in a legal proceeding.

In real terms, every person today has a data fingerprint, much like their own fingerprint. As they operate in the e-commerce world, the "Data DNA" of their digital fingerprint leaves an indelible mark that is rarely able to be deleted. Spending patterns, financial transactions, telephone call pattern analysis, credit card transactions, travel habits, subscriptions to magazines and online computer behavior cannot be altered. While people often try to conceal or obfuscate their tracks, computer forensics can be employed to detect their connection.

Humans today translate into digital images, both structured and unstructured. Whether data, pictures, sounds, cyber visits -- all of it compose a person's data DNA that is unique to that person. It looks something like the illustration below:



Advanced analytics are used to do data extraction, recognizing that:

- ◆ 80% of the world's digital content is *unstructured or semi-structured*, to include:
  - Newspapers data sources
  - Financial statements contained deep within web sites

- Government reports that are both open and closed
- Press releases on the surface Web
- Websites, both open and closed
- Emails that are dumped into the public domain

◆ **Semantic extraction is typically used to**

- Discover entities and identify their structural ownership and links
- Discover relationships between entities
- Discover events
- Taxonomy generation
- Categorize documents

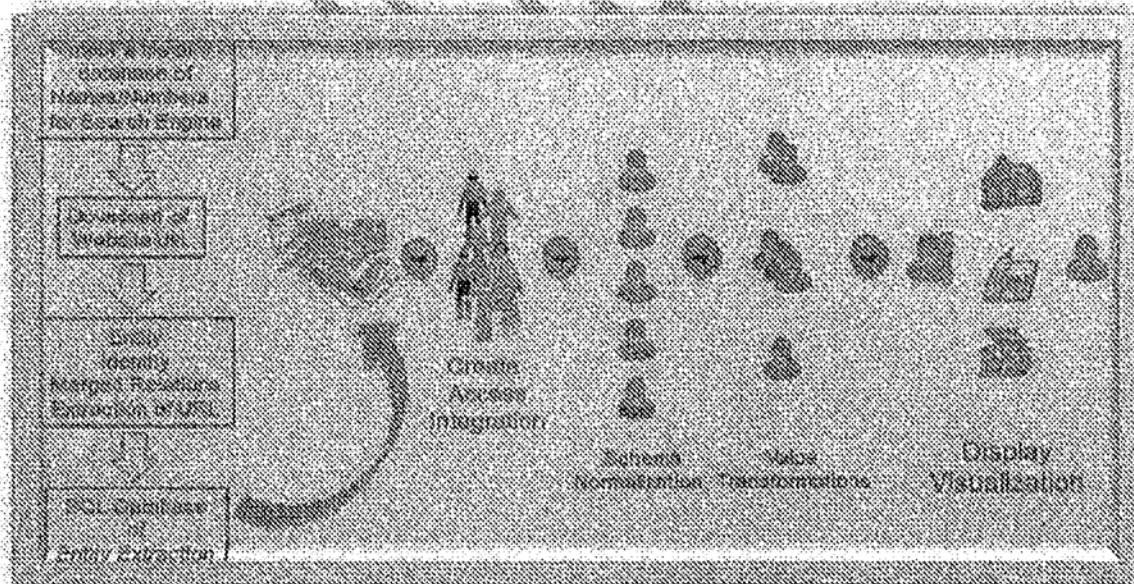
◆ **A high-performance data-extraction system that consists of**

- A design-time *compiler*
- A run-time *engine*
- A powerful *Integrated Development Environment (IDE)*
- Several utility programs

◆ **Semantic extraction is typically used to**

- Discover entities
- Discover relationships between entities
- Discover events
- Categorize documents

Technically, entity extraction operates somewhat in this manner:



As stated at the outset, this investigation should be a phased inquiry, starting with the Global Scan® first, and once the results are obtained, we can probe the leads deeper and trace back related information, if any, to the original source.

ICI specializes in complex investigations that involve databases and electronic sources. It is our experience that the only effective way to conduct such a study is to conduct a Global Scan® on each person or company under investigation.

We assume permissible purpose exists for conducting all appropriate database searches. This matter is confidential and privileged and done pursuant to the privileged communications doctrine and the attorney work-product doctrine. Typically, Investigative Consultants is engaged through a client's law firm.

For further information regarding compliance with our Terms of Engagement, please see our web site at <http://www.icioffshore.com><sup>4</sup>

Normally, all searches start with a basic scan of our systems, which we define as a *Global Scan®*. This search permits us to cite the costs for obtaining all other information within each "information corridor" that may be identified during the initial scan.

It also enables the ultimate client to maintain control of the scope, direction, and cost of a more extensive investigation. Each proposed search item is listed at the end of initial report.

For example, a Global Scan® will cite the name and address of a bank; an account number, the signatures on the account, and when it was opened, but will not provide information regarding balances or activity. However, the Global Scan® will cite the exact cost for obtaining that next level of information.

Normally, GlobalScan® always includes the following categories of data:

1. Banking, financial and credit relationships, including addresses and names of institutions.
2. Real estate holdings, real estate trusts, and real property conveyances.
3. Corporate affiliations, executive associations, and self-confessed employment.
4. Credit reports and personal financial scans.
5. Litigation, including criminal arrests in their areas of residence.
6. Newspaper, magazine, trade journal, and wire service reports.

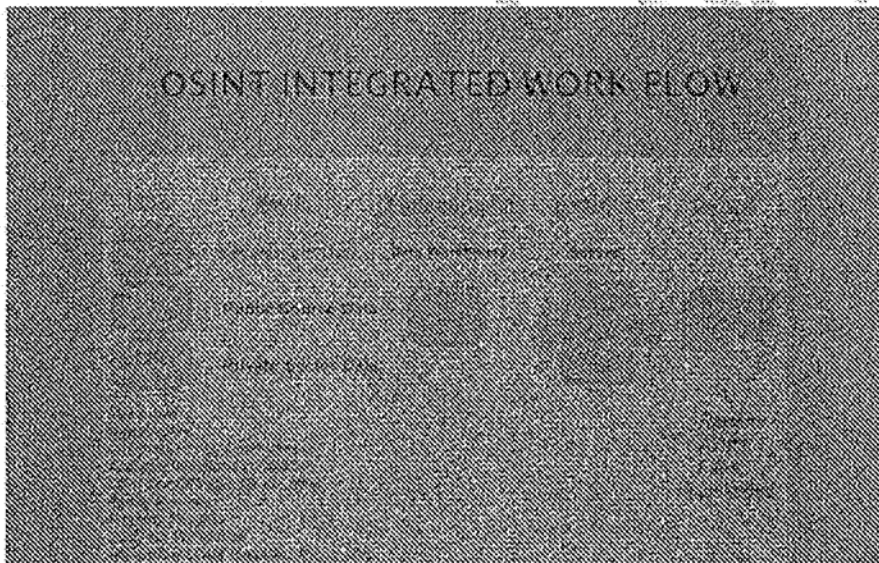
---

<sup>4</sup> Please note that some searches require a permissible purpose as defined under the Federal Fair Credit Reporting Act, Title 15, USC 1681, et. seq., as well as other local, state, federal and international laws. You are required to certify to ICI that any search is in compliance with both FCRA, as well as the 1999 Graham-Leach Bank Privacy Act. By placing any order with ICI, the client represents that the client has fully complied with all local, state, federal and international laws and assumes all responsibility. ICI assumes no responsibility for determining whether the client is in compliance with these laws.

We are not a Consumer Credit Reporting Agency and all of our reports are done as an agent to counsel under the Attorney Work Product Doctrine. For further information, please see our Terms and Conditions, found at <http://www.icioffshore.com/terms.html>, which are incorporated into this proposal by reference.

7. Known associates, family members and close personal friends who may be used to transfer or convey assets.
8. Vehicles, boats, mechanized equipment, and recreational devices traced to merchant's name, address or SSN.
9. UCC filings recorded in the name of the merchant, based upon a scan of the person's name, SSN, or past addresses, a triple secured search. Included is both debtor and secured party searches.
10. Identification of trade creditors, credit card companies, utility companies, banks, or other entities that the target would be paying with some type of instrument. These searches do not include identification of the bank that a check is drawn upon, or the account number, just the bill that is being paid.
11. Identification of telephone numbers, cellular numbers, and mobile telephone numbers; together with long distance carriers. This search does not include a detail of the numbers dialed, or the subscribers to the numbers dialed, which can only be obtained at the next level of searching.
12. All past addresses, historic use of addresses, names of relatives, names of persons traced to addresses used by the merchant, names of relatives and the statistical identifiers of those that reside in the same household as the merchant.

In actuality, the data flow appears something like that which is depicted below:



Global Scan® is conducted on a flat fee basis only, and is marketed that way because clients seek to have a guaranteed fee structure cited in advance. Moreover, before any Global Scan® can be prepared, ICI requires that all cited fees and expense surcharges be paid in advance.

ICI does not bill by the hour for its services nor use "general price lists". Rather, it uses the "bundled billing" approach. In short, the fee is guaranteed and includes all research time, computer data downloads, analysis, report preparation and delivery. We may consult with counsel by telephone or email following transmission of our report, should there be a need to



clarify a few points in our report. This approach guarantees the client all available information for a pre-cited charge without regard to the amount of information obtained.

### *Specialized In-Depth Searches*

ICI also can conduct deeper probes, depending on the requirements of counsel, the permissible purpose to obtain the information, etc. In addition to the above mentioned eight categories of data, ICI can, under certain circumstances provide a more in-depth report and other kinds of advanced searching. The cost for each depends on the nature of the request. Some of the in-depth scans include:

1. Social Security Numbers and DOB Search;
2. Social Security Trace for all addresses, verify date of issuance, state of issuance and whether used regarding banking, financial or credit transaction;
3. Date of Birth Records;
4. Death Records;
5. Change Of Name Records;
6. Marriage and divorce Records;
7. Criminal Records State or federal sealed or unsealed felony or misdemeanor;
8. Warrants of Arrest;
9. Order of Protection, domestic violence offender scans;
10. Probation Records, special offender searches, including sex-offender registries, or habitual offender status;
11. Property Tax Records;
12. Utility Bill Records;
13. Current Address;
14. Drivers License Information;
15. Car Insurance Records;
16. U.S. Postal Service Forwarding Address Records;
17. True owner of U.S. Postal Service PO BOX Records;
18. Magazines or Newsletters that you are the owner of, (Postal Records);
19. Bulk Mail Permit records (US Postal Service);
20. Magazines that someone may subscribe to;
21. Books that are obtained from a library;
22. Junk Mail/Catalogs register;
23. Credit Card Records;
24. Credit Records;
25. Banking, financial and credit relationships that include name and address of bank;
26. MVR Reports;

27. TAG & VIN Traces;
28. License Plates (Name and address can be found by doing a license plate search);
29. Full Driving Records, including searches of National Major Offender Database;
30. Military Records Search, including discharge status, branch job and rating, dates of Enlistment, Reasons for Discharge;
31. List of Hospital admissions and possible diagnosis codes;
32. Telephone Number Historical Index ;
33. Cell Phone Trace;
34. Unlisted Phone Numbers Decodes;
35. Illegal Alien Database Scan;
36. Government Job Registration Scan;
37. Worker's Compensation Settlement or Claim Scans;
38. Automobile and Personal Injury Insurance Fraud Database;
39. Real Estate, Co-Op and Full Title Search scan for 50 years;
40. Leads for identifying hidden or secreted assets that are in the form of t-bills, bonds, stocks, "offshore" bank accounts, or funds in tax haven countries;
41. College Records Search, verification of college attendance, degrees conveyed and special awards;
42. Terrorist or Cult Member Dossiers;
43. Professional Certification by various professional trade associations;
44. Business Conduct Searches through databases such as Better Business Bureau;
45. Federal Bankruptcy Database Scans, including whether cited in an adversarial proceeding, or as a claimant in any bankruptcy action by others;
46. Catalogs, Mailing Lists, and Department Store searches;
47. Employment Searches for a period of 20 years, including job titles and descriptions, addresses, and possible level of compensation;
48. All Professional Licenses Scan;
49. Business licenses, motor vehicle licenses, pilot licenses;
50. Evictions and Tenant/Landlord Database Scan;
51. Voter Registration Database and scan of historic voting record;
52. Email tracing service and complete Web Site Domain.

### **Worldwide Deep Web Intelligence Scan**

By way of background, the "Deep Web" ---- a vast reservoir of Internet content that is 500 times larger than known "surface" World Wide Web material. What makes the discovery of the Deep Web so significant is the quality of content found within it. Deep Web searches are intended for cases where historic data (more than four years) needs to be obtained and which otherwise tends to "fall off" current-day data tables.

Searching on the Internet today can be compared to dragging a net across the surface of the ocean. While much can be gathered from the top, there is a wealth of information that lies deeper, and therefore is missed by the average person.

There are hundreds of billions of highly valuable documents hidden in searchable databases that cannot be retrieved by conventional search engines. The reason is simple: basic search methodology and technology has not evolved significantly since the inception of the Internet.

Traditional search engines create their card catalogs by spidering or crawling "surface" Web pages. To be identified, a page must be static and linked to subsequent other pages. Utilized in this manner, standard search engines cannot "see" or retrieve content in the Deep Web and the crawlers used by them cannot probe beneath the surface. The result is that enormous amounts of data remains untapped and effectively "hidden" to the crawler, while in reality, the material is in plain sight.

The discovery of the Deep Web is the result of groundbreaking search technology developed by the Intelligence Community. Private companies have only recently developed search technology capable of identifying, retrieving, qualifying, classifying and organizing "deep" and "surface" content from the World Wide Web.

The Deep Web is qualitatively different from the surface Web. Deep Web sources store their content in searchable databases that only produce results dynamically in response to a direct request. But a direct query is a "one at a time" laborious way to search.

Our search system automates the process of making dozens of direct queries simultaneously using multiple thread technology. It allows searchers to dive deep and explore hidden data simultaneously from multiple sources using directed queries.

Businesses, researchers and consumers now have access to the most valuable and hard-to-find information on the Web and can retrieve it with pinpoint accuracy. If the most coveted commodity of the Information Age is indeed information, then the value of Deep Web content is immeasurable.

When conducting Deep Web intelligence studies on companies or individuals, we access a much different class of documents. Included in the search results are not only the standard information retrieved by conventional search engines but many other possible leads. Some of the highlights of the Deep Web search include:

1. Public information on the Deep Web that is 400 to 550 times larger than the commonly defined World Wide Web;
2. 7,500 terabytes of information, compared to 19 terabytes of information in the surface Web;
3. 550 billion individual documents compared to the 1 billion of the surface Web;
4. Information from an additional 100,000 Deep Web sites;
5. 60 of the largest Deep Web sites collectively contain about 750 terabytes of information --- sufficient by themselves to exceed the size of the surface Web by 40 times;

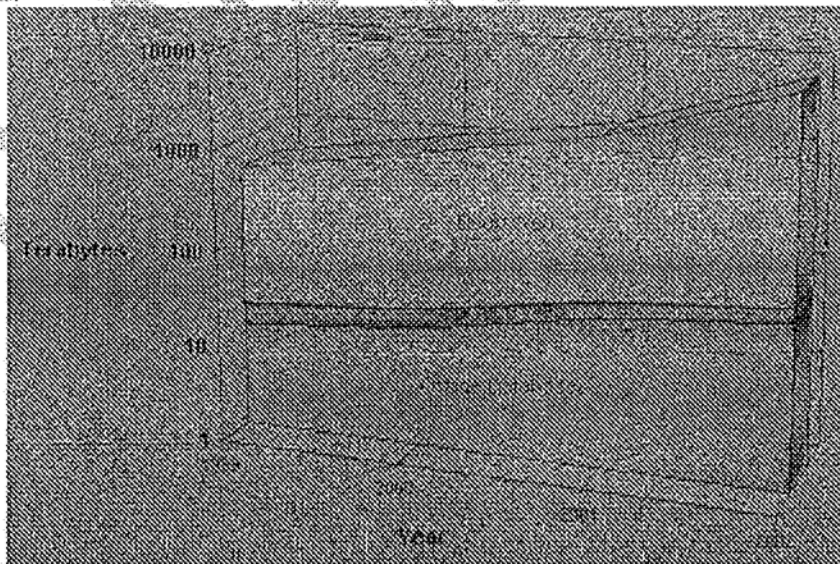
6. On average, Deep Web sites receive about 50% greater monthly traffic than surface sites and are more highly linked to than surface sites; however, the typical (median) Deep Web site is not well known to the Internet search public;
7. The Deep Web is the largest growing category of new information on the Internet;
8. Deep Web sites tend to be narrower with deeper content than conventional surface sites;
9. Total quality content of the deep Web is at least 1,000 to 2,000 times greater than that of the surface Web;
10. Deep Web content is highly relevant to every information need, market and domain. More than half of the deep Web content resides in topic specific databases;
11. A full 95% of the deep Web is publicly accessible information — not subject to fees or subscriptions.

To put these numbers in perspective, we estimate that some of the largest search engines, such as Northern Light, individually index only 16% of the surface Web. Since they are missing the Deep Web, Internet searchers are therefore searching only 0.03% — or one in 3,000 — of the content available to them today.

Clearly, simultaneous searching of multiple surface and Deep Web sources is necessary when comprehensive information retrieval is needed.

We have automated the identification of Deep Web sites and the retrieval process for simultaneous searches. We have also developed a direct-access query engine translatable to about 20,000 sites, already collected, eventually growing to 100,000 sites. Our experience has shown that when the hit scores fall below 65%, they are not deemed reliable and the hits tend to be unrelated to the target of the inquiry.

Graphically, size comparison of the Deep Web compared to the "surface web" looks something like this:

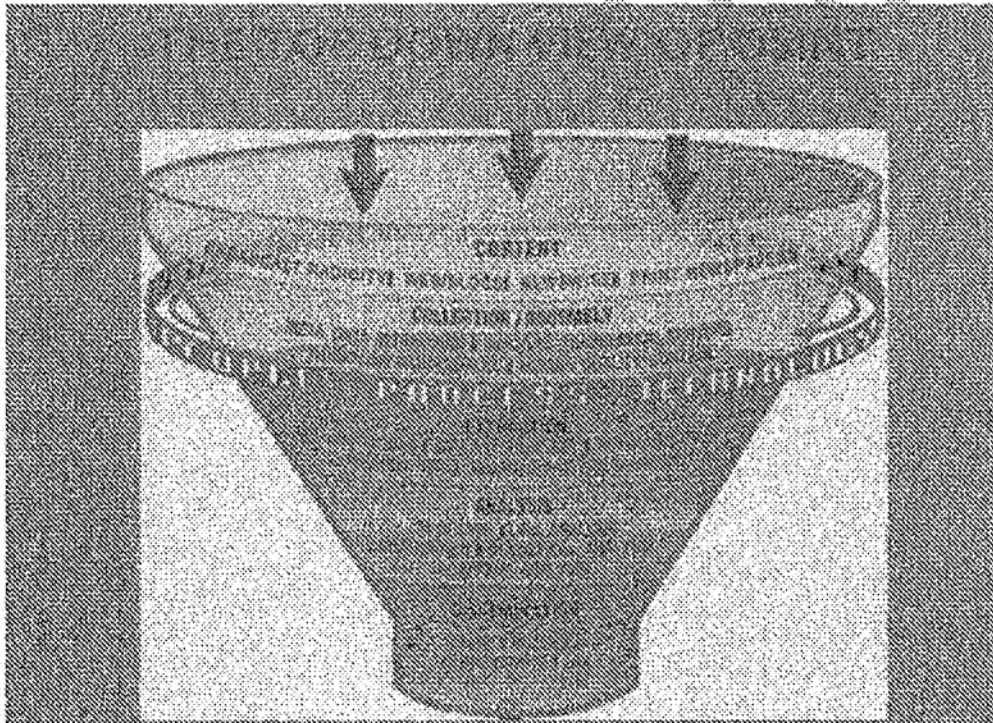


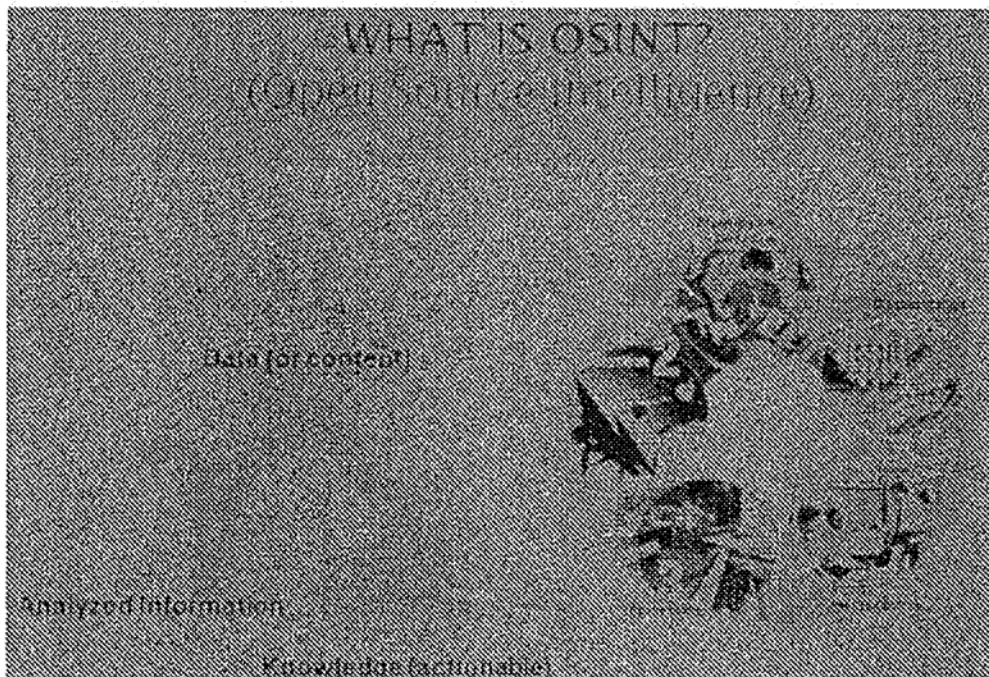
*Dark Space Searching*

During the past several years, the Department of Defense, led by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) has been steadily working on a project called the NOISE database, known as Name Only Index Searching and Exception. The acronym NOISE came from the negative consequence of conventional searching of the Open Source, Web-enabled applications such as:

[www.altavista.com](http://www.altavista.com)  
[www.northernlight.com](http://www.northernlight.com)  
[www.lycos.com](http://www.lycos.com)  
[www.opendirectory.com](http://www.opendirectory.com)  
[www.waybackmachine.org](http://www.waybackmachine.org)  
[www.google.com](http://www.google.com)  
[www.cuil.com](http://www.cuil.com)  
[www.msn.com](http://www.msn.com)

Visually, the process of gathering information on a person or entity looks something like the figure below:





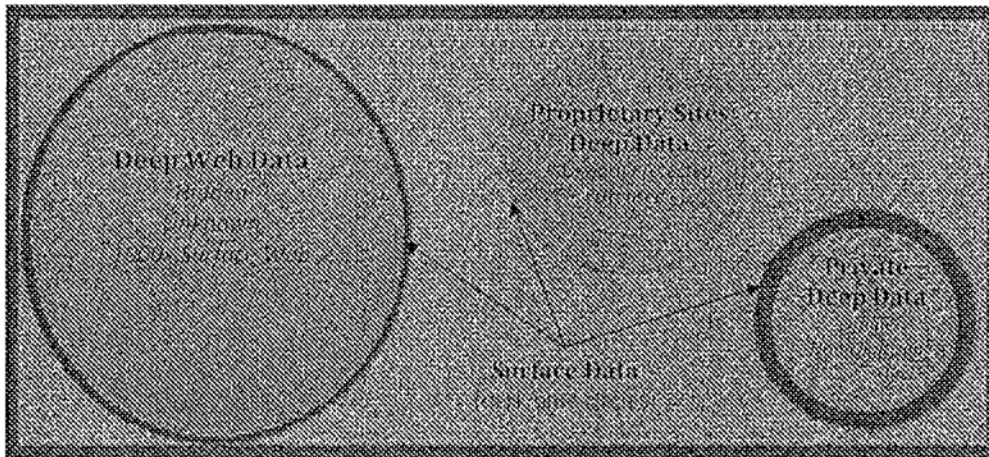
Traditionally, these are "Name Only" or "Business Name only" or "Telephone Number Only" searches that return massive, unrefined results. When the search criteria is common, the return results is often "NOISE" and burdens the analyst with a vast amount of irrelevant information.

In the commercial or legal markets space, the same is true, but the pressure is even greater to obtain results quickly, efficiently, and within a reasonable budget.

The commercial version of the NOISE application is particularly useful in Hedge Fund Defense Litigation and has been used by ICI on numerous occasions to "walk back" information claimed to be gleaned from "insiders", when in reality, it was fished out of the Deep Web and effectively converted for use by Hedge Fund analysts.

For that reason, we suggest that NOISE application and the IdentiChek® data searches be considered here because of the relatively common names of Advantage and the key individuals.

It is the union of the NOISE application and the restricted access data within IdentiChek® that is only available with a permissible purpose that allows for a highly relevant, targeted search approach. It looks something like this:



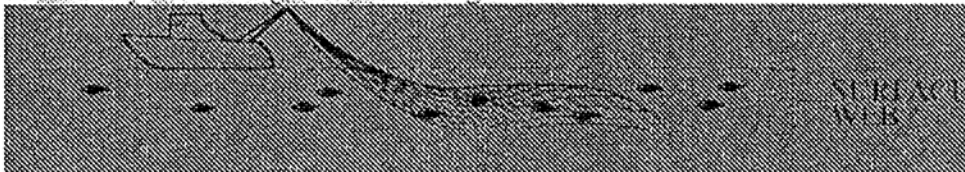
In the DoD contracting space, DARPA was tasked with the order to find a means to take granular data about a person (All known names, dates of birth, ages, past addresses, phone numbers, faxes, email addresses, web site addresses, businesses, names of relatives, etc.) or the so called digital fingerprint of a person, and inject that intelligence into the web-enabled application for a more definitive results.

For common names, the leads are culled down from perhaps 12,000 to 120. Moreover, the data is highly accurate and is considered rifle-shot searching.

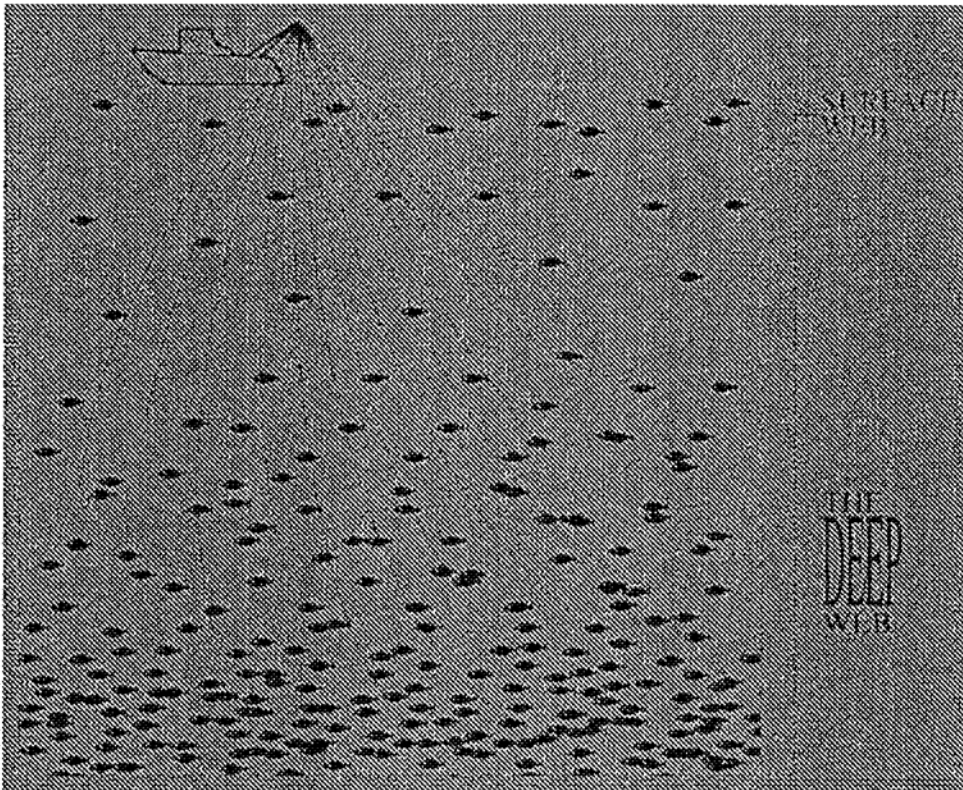
The second compelling reason this new form of search technology was developed is that the Internet and the Deep Web is much larger and vaster than any database source on the planet today. The "Deep Web", sometimes known as the Internet Dark Space or the Deep Web Intelligence Center, is a vast reservoir of content that is 1,000 times larger than the known "surface" World Wide Web. What makes the discovery of the Deep Web so significant is the quality of content found within.

**In a very real way, the Dark Space of the Internet is much like the outer space: Its depth and size is not measureable, indefinable, and endless.**

The old way of searching, looks something like this:



However, the new way, including use of NOISE and ICI IdentiChek data that can be granularized, looks something like this:



This new capability allows searchers to dive deep and explore hidden data from multiple sources simultaneously using directed queries.

When you combine the tools of being able to "Deep Dive" into the Internet, with the ability to access restricted and protected personal data that is mostly available only to law firms or those with a permissible purpose (Name, DOB, Past Addresses, etc.), one can significantly expand not only the searchable data mass, but do so with highly accurate results.

Businesses, researchers and consumers now have access to the most valuable and hard-to-find information on the Web and can retrieve it with pinpoint accuracy. Searching on the Internet today can be compared to dragging a net across the surface of the ocean.

However, there is a wealth of information that is deep, and therefore missed, hence, the Deep Web. The reason is simple: basic search methodology and technology have not evolved significantly since the inception of the Internet. Traditional search engines create their card catalogs by spidering or crawling "surface" Web pages.

To be discovered, the page must be static and linked to other pages. Traditional search engines cannot "see" or retrieve content in the Deep Web. Because traditional search engine crawlers cannot probe beneath the surface, the Deep Web or Dark Space of the Internet has heretofore been hidden in plain sight.

The Deep Web is qualitatively different from the surface Web. Deep Web sources store their content in searchable databases that only produce results dynamically in response to a direct request. But a direct query is a "one at a time" laborious way to search.

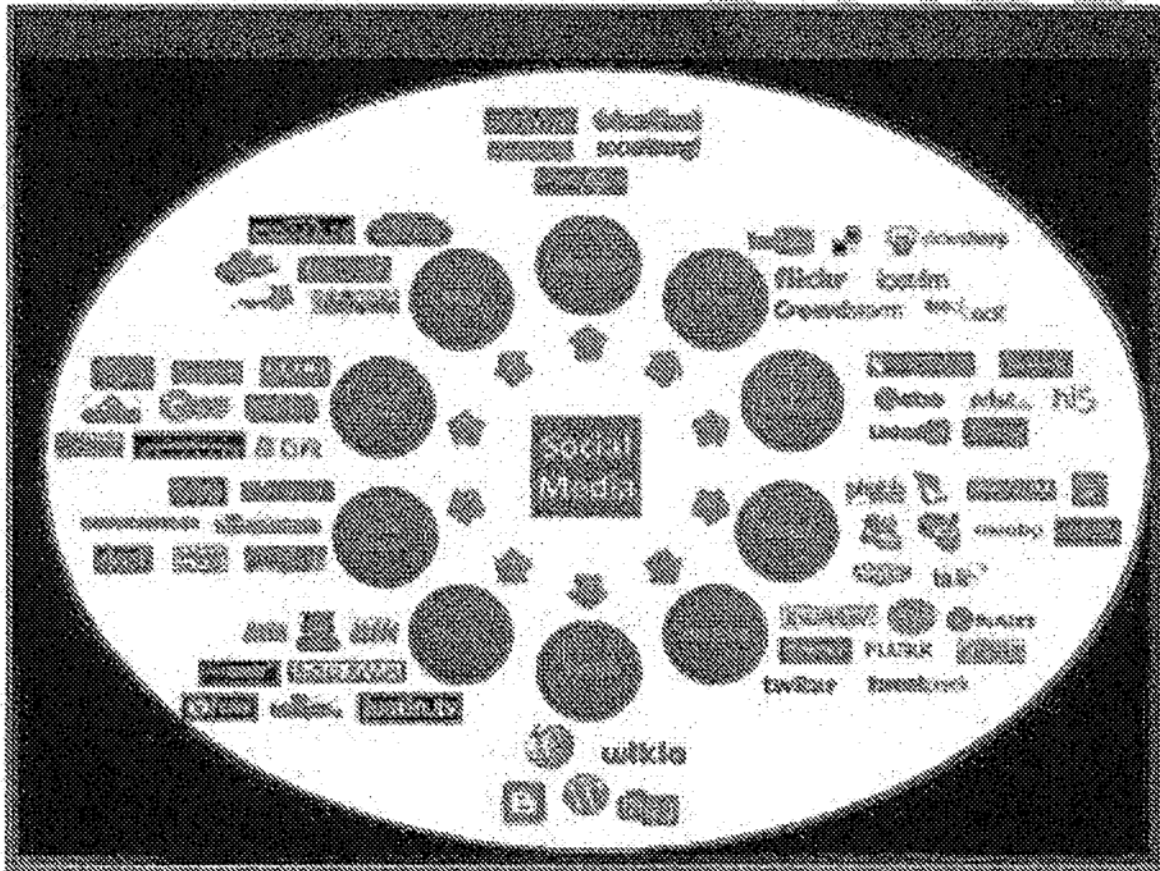


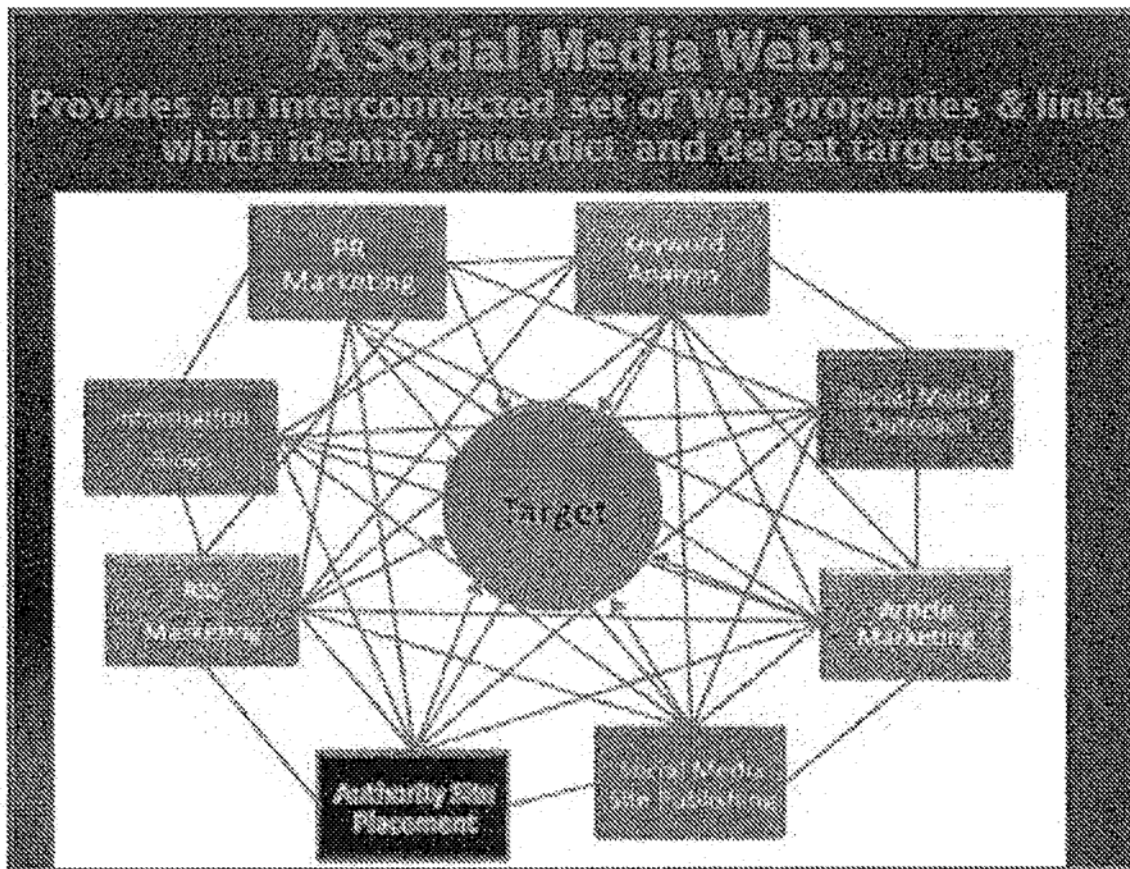
NOISE automates the process of making dozens of direct queries simultaneously using multiple thread technology, and takes private, non-public financial information and pulverizes it for inclusion into the search query. If the most coveted commodity of the Information Age is indeed intelligence, then the value of Deep Web content is immeasurable.

Today, more and more people are "self-confessing" their habits and haunts; their biases and prejudices and their flavors and peccadillos. It is most predominantly done on such Social Media web sites as Facebook, MyLife, LinkedIn, and hundreds of other public and private chat portals. All of these locations are trawled, but the key is the search instrument or vehicle used and the advanced analytics applies.

ICI specializes in the developing of these wide and deep data mining nets and tools, where it is launched upon an endlessly sized ocean of data.

Some of these data sources include:





### *History of ICI's Products and Services*

Investigative Consultants, Inc., (ICI) an Illinois "C" corporation, based in Washington DC, was founded by Donald M. Berlin on December 12, 1978. ICI started its operations as a general investigations firm for attorneys specializing in complex federal litigation and commercial transactions.

Investigative Consultants, Inc. specializes in providing computerized on-line database investigations and intelligence analysis through a worldwide network of computerized on databases that it is licensed to access. Each database has millions of files, and ICI subscribes to over 9,000 database services worldwide. Most of these databases are used to obtain in-depth background information on people, organizations, institutions, and corporations for attorneys and multinational corporations. ICI currently offers its services only to licensed attorneys, law firms, or attorneys that work for multi-national corporations.

Special emphasis is placed on:

- International corporate due-diligence investigations.
- Complex litigation management and strategy services, using databases to conduct difficult investigations quickly and efficiently.
- Venture capital and banking due-diligence investigation on individuals in 122 countries.

- Tracing of assets, banking, financial and credit investigations because of defaults and other losses.
- Estate preservation searches done by trustees to protect erosion of principal by unknown persons.
- High-level pre-employment background searches on executives.

ICI is capable of conducting these and others kinds of inquiries and presenting a highly proprietary report format because of its unique methods and sources.

ICI uses experts in litigation management and administration with 25 years' experience in intelligence gathering, data interpretations, and criminal investigations; professionals in psychology and management-sciences who have testified throughout the country as expert witnesses in complex federal and state litigation; and outside contractors and staff members who have over 25 years of U.S. Foreign Service experience, specializing in overseas investigations and risk-analysis.

These specialists, combined with other experts who focus on the more technical assignments, enable ICI to evaluate large volumes of raw data for well-defined purposes. Thus, for example, it is possible to examine more than 50 categories of background information on prospective jurors, witnesses or experts, and alert counsel to character or personality traits indicated by these factors. Such an evaluation can help in developing trial tactics and in understanding the psychological receptivity of individual jurors to the case presented.

ICI brings together the combined and integrated senior staffs of two complementary organizations involved in data collection, research, and intelligence analysis: Both organizations have vast experience in litigation management, intelligence services and investigative research on a worldwide basis.

It may be necessary to conduct ground investigation in the US or some foreign country. Once the initial searches are done and ICI's intelligence analysis have reviewed them for additional leads, sources can be used to do follow-up investigation. However, ground investigation is not part of a standard proposal process.

ICI's network affiliates are former career Foreign Service officials in the United States and abroad that have worked in the field of counterintelligence, money laundering detection, and international finance.

As an outside purveyor of investigative services, ICI removes the client from direct involvement with sensitive inquiries. That is one reason ICI's client list includes many of America's largest and most prestigious law firms which have their own in-house electronic database capability. Among the advantages it offers, ICI:

- Constructs customized searches depending on the investigative objectives of counsel and the type of information that is needed.
- Conducts all inquiries, electronic and otherwise, on its own authority. The law firm client, and its ultimate client, is not identified with the investigation.
- Keeps abreast of new database sources used in all legal specialties. Furthermore, it constantly uses these sources and knows their capabilities from experience.

- Expands to meet unusually complex or particularly urgent assignments, thus eliminating the need for the law firm client to strain its own staff resources.
- Combines electronic searches with necessary on-site investigations, when necessary. Performs at substantially lower overall cost for large investigations than does the law firm's in-house electronic library.

From 1989 to the present, ICI has researched, developed, and perfected several highly proprietary products and processes that are unique to the computerized on-line database industry. It has used these tools, combined with human assets, to provide corporations and law firms some of the finest intelligence products available in the private sector.

CONFIDENTIAL

From: [redacted]  
Sent: Tue 8/04/2015 11:17 AM (GMT-04:00)  
To: Steve Bannon  
Cc: [redacted]  
Bcc:  
Subject: [No Subject]

Corey just confirmed green light on Trump :-)))

[redacted]

US Cell: [redacted]  
UK Cell: [redacted]  
[redacted]

**CA Cambridge Analytica**  
The News Corp. Building, Suite 2703,  
1211 Avenue of the Americas,  
New York, NY 10036  
Phone: +1 (646) 892-9591  
[www.cambridgeanalytica.org](http://www.cambridgeanalytica.org)

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Please consider the environment before printing this e-mail

14

From: Steve Bannon [redacted] on behalf of Steve Bannon  
Sent: Sunday, June 12, 2016 02:01 PM  
To: [redacted]  
Cc: [redacted]  
Subject: Re: Defeat Crooked Hillary [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Love it

On Jun 12, 2016, at 2:00 PM, [redacted] wrote:

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Hi Steve,

When you are in the UK in the next fortnight, I think that we should meet with [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] and I think that his input could be very valuable for the Super PAC.

If you agree, we will try and connect with him.  
(please remind me when you will be in London)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

US Cell [redacted]  
UK Cell [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

**CA Cambridge Analytica**  
The News Corp. Building, Suite 2703  
1211 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10036  
Phone: +1 (646) 892-9591

1 Wales Alley, Old Town  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: +1 (703) 997-1812

55 New Oxford Street  
London, WC1A 1BS  
Phone: +44 (0)20 3828 7529

<http://cambridgeanalytica.org>

From: [redacted]  
Sent: Sun 6/12/2016 2:00 PM (GMT-04:00)  
To: Steve Bannon  
Cc: [redacted]  
Bcc:  
Subject: Defeat Crooked Hillary | Assange

b6  
b7C

Hi Steve,

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[redacted]  
[redacted] and I think that his input could be very  
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b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

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(please remind me when you will be in London)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

US Cell [redacted]  
UK Cell [redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

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Phone: +1 (703) 997-1812

55 New Oxford Street  
London, WC1A 1BS  
Phone: +44 (0)20 3828 7529

<http://cambridgeanalytica.org>

From: [redacted]  
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Data Guy in Trump Tower  
Date: Thu Jan 07 2016 21:15:04 EST  
Attachments:

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted] has been there six weeks. Does voter lists and call centers.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.



20

From: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
To: [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject:  
Date: Fri Aug 26 2016 13:18:53 EDT  
Attachments:

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Can u talk

Have some ideas

From: Ted Malloch [redacted]  
To: [redacted]  
Cc: [redacted]  
Bcc: [redacted]  
Subject: The Debate  
Date: Tue Aug 30 2016 16:02:37 EDT  
Attachments:

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Steve,

As you well know from all my op-eds (some of which ran in Breitbart) and strategy pieces, I have been labouring non stop for the Trump campaign — even though I am all the way over here in Oxford. Please let me know if you need anything else or if I can be of further service.

I am back in the US speaking in Boston, Maryland, and LA in mid-October. to conservative and business audiences and will keep plugging.

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

I have been in constant touch with the campaign, [redacted]

I have a clever idea for you and Donald for the first debate I wanted to pass along. I know you are in the preparation stage and hopefully will let him be himself, authentic and not overly scripted. Leave that to his inept opponent.

Here is the idea:

In his opening remarks Scene One, in other words—hand Hillary a Writ of Indictment. Have it typed out and actually hand it physically to her.

What is INDICTMENT?

A written accusation of one or more persons of a crime or misdemeanour, presented to, and preferred upon oath or affirmation, by a grand jury legally convoked. Say this and then add, this Indictment is on behalf of all the American people since our Justice Department will not indict you due to crony politics. I present it to you formally here tonight, and serve you on behalf of ALL the American people for you undeniable crimes against America, destruction of evidence in the form of emails, and theft of funds to your own personal benefit and enrichment.

It would steal the show!!! And be the headline we want.

Ted Roosevelt Malloch

From:

[Redacted]

To:

Cc:

Bcc:

Subject: [Redacted] in Vegas

Date: Wed Oct 19 2016 13:30:33 EDT

Attachments:

---

Steve, I am told [Redacted] is in Vegas and willing to play any role in debate activities that is helpful. Any interest in utilizing him? Our friend in FL is working hard on this. Best, [Redacted]

Sent from my iPhone

From: Steve Rannon [redacted]  
To: [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject:  
Date: Sat Oct 22 2016 07:02:02 EDT  
Attachments:

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[redacted] can u arrange for [redacted] to meet with [redacted] soonest in NYC  
He is here today and back mid week

To: [Redacted]  
From: [Redacted]  
Sent: 2016-09-21T07:51:30-05:00  
Importance: Normal  
Subject: Fwd: Wikileaks  
Received: 2016-09-21T07:51:32-05:00

b6  
b7C

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Donald Trump Jr. [Redacted]  
Date: September 21, 2016 at 2:09:34 AM EDT  
To: [Redacted] Steve  
Bannon [Redacted] Jared Kushner  
[Redacted]  
Subject: Wikileaks

b6  
b7C

Guys I got a weird Twitter DM from wikileaks. See below. I tried the password and it works and the about section they reference contains the next pic in terms of who is behind it. Not sure if this is anything but it seems like it's really wikileaks asking me as I follow them and it is a DM. Do you know the people mentioned and what the conspiracy they are looking for could be? These are just screen shots but it's a fully built out page claiming to be a PAC let me know your thoughts and if we want to look into it.

D

-----  
This message is a PRIVATE communication. This message and all attachments are a private communication and may be confidential and/or legally privileged. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, copying, distribution or use of the information contained in or attached to this message is strictly prohibited. Please notify the sender of the delivery error by replying to this message, and then delete it from your system. Thank you.

To: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
From: Jared Kushner  
Sent: 2016-09-28T06:31:25-05:00  
Importance: Normal  
Subject: Re: request from the ft  
Received: 2016-09-28T06:31:24-05:00

b6  
b7C

She is playing commercials about DJT's ties to oligarchs, saying that is why he isn't releasing his taxes

From: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
Date: Wednesday, September 28, 2016 at 7:16 AM  
To: Michael Cohen [redacted]  
Cc: Kellyanne Conway [redacted], Jared [redacted], Stephen Miller [redacted]  
Subject: Re: request from the ft

b6  
b7C

???

On Sep 28, 2016, at 6:09 AM, Michael Cohen [redacted] wrote:

Sergei acknowledges that there has never been a relationship between him and the boss. Heir commercials are bogus and should be debunked.

Sent from my iPhone

Michael D. Cohen  
Executive Vice President and  
Special Counsel to  
Donald J. Trump  
725 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10022  
Phone: [redacted]  
Cellular: [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

Begin forwarded message:

From: Sergio Millian [redacted]  
Date: September 27, 2016 at 2:48:40 PM EDT  
To: Michael Cohen [redacted]  
Subject: Fwd: request from the ft

FYL

----- Forwarded message -----  
From: Sergio Millian [redacted]  
Date: Tue, Sep 27, 2016 at 9:35 PM  
Subject: Re: request from the ft

To: Catherine Belton [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

Catherine,

As I explained to you I have spoken to reporters in the past about Trump and they misquoted me. I work with businesses from all over the world, USA, EU, Africa, Russia, China, Japan, etc. I have a solid reputation with businesses around the world. I am US citizen and do not have and never had Russian citizenship. If you libel or slander my name and it hurts my business, I will consult a lawyer.

Here are the answers to your questions.

I have never said that I worked personally for Mr Trump. I said I was a broker for one of his many real estate projects. There are several brokers who work on such real estate projects. I never represented Mr Trump personally and I am not working with Mr Trump. I've never received a dime from Mr. Trump. I have never been paid by Mr. Trump for any work. I have never consulted Mr Trump on any political topics. I have never met Carter Page. I am shocked to see my name used in press about the totally legal real estate transactions and amounts that are of public knowledge in the USA such as this one <http://money.cnn.com/2016/07/27/news/donald-trump-russian-deal-mansion/>

How often do you speak with Mr. Trump? When was the last time? Eight years ago (2008)

Thank you for honest reporting.

S

Best wishes,

Catherine

On 26 September 2016 at 21:36, Sergio Millian

[REDACTED] wrote:

Hello Catherine,

I saw you called me. I'm currently very busy with my business projects. For some reason over 20 journalists called me during the last 3 days.

Best regards,  
Sergei

b6  
b7c

On 22 September 2016 at 03:13, Sergio Millian

[REDACTED] wrote:

Catherine,

For the record, all of the opinions and views expressed below are my personal views and not official views of the Chamber of Commerce or any of its members, clients or sponsors.

Has there been a slowdown in business deals between Russia and the US in the wake of sanctions and the standoff over Ukraine, or are in fact deals warming up now that there may be a chance of a Trump presidency and a more pro-Russian stance?

Yes, there has been a significant slowdown in NEW business deals between Russia and the US as a result of the sanctions.

What is the role of the Russian American Chamber of Commerce in fostering better ties?

The Russian American Chamber of Commerce in the USA is one of the main business organizations in the USA that assists U.S. companies in Russian and CIS markets entry. We primarily focus on assistance to U.S. manufacturers and exporters. We hosted five Export to Russia Forums with assistance from U.S. Commercial Service in the United States. The Chamber provides market information, practical advice, leads, and referrals to U.S. members of all sizes to facilitate U.S. export, distribution channels, and other forms of business development in Russia and the CIS countries. The Chamber may also assist U.S. members in obtaining visas, legal advice, translations, certifications, exhibition information, office space, HR-services, and offers a cultural program in the CIS. The Chamber facilitates cooperation for U.S. members with American corporations already working in Russia and CIS countries, the Russian Government, Russian Regional Administrations, U.S. Consulates in Russia, Chambers of Commerce in Russia, and corporate leaders from CIS countries.

Business-wise, despite sanctions, the relations between the USA are still quite strong (primarily because of old connections, previously signed contracts and favorable business climate built by President Obama during his first term in the White House when he made a genuine effort to reset the relationship with the Russians). I estimate there are currently more than 10,000 mainly small and medium size businesses in our two countries, employing up to 3 million people.

b6  
b7c



One of the major goals of the United Nations and all peace-loving people is to stop the perpetual world war, which occurs in various forms on our planet for thousands of years, to stop and move in the direction of international cooperation. The only alternative to the global confrontation of civilizations, beliefs, religions, is the mutually beneficial economic cooperation of all countries.

Preventive military aggression, regime change, political pressure and economic war between the two countries and corporations are instruments of politically weak minds. Strong policy minds will create the necessary economic conditions for the prosperity in the United States and abroad.

Today, the world is again at a crossroads. For the hundredth time in human history. Again, as has already happened many times before, the world is experiencing economic, political, religious and psychological shock. It is high time to think again and stop grabbing the biggest piece of the pie. The global pie is huge, the wealth is so tremendous, there will be enough for all, if we exercise a reasonable approach to the planet's resources, and thoughtfully enjoy the benefits that God has given us.

Let's convert the energy of the global warming of the planet to the warming energy in human relations, employing the achievements in medical technology, information technology, construction, clean and efficient energy to the benefit of Mankind. Therefore, I can say that the responsibility for the future of the world rests upon all of us. It depends on scientists and businessmen, journalists and public workers, politicians and military. It entirely depends on us where our efforts will be directed in our daily business. I hope that the future president of the United States will spread her/his influence throughout the world in order to create global prosperity.

Best regards,  
Sergei Millian

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Message

From: Steve Bannon [redacted]  
 Sent: 11/5/2016 10:43:25 PM  
 To: Jared Kushner [redacted]; David Bossie [redacted]  
 Subject: Re: Securing the Victory

b6  
b7C

We need to avoid this guy like the plague

They are going to try and say the Russians worked with wiki leaks to give this victory to us

Paul is nice guy but can't let word get out he is advising us

[Get Outlook for iOS](#)

From: Jared Kushner [redacted]  
 Sent: Saturday, November 5, 2016 5:39:20 PM  
 To: Steve Bannon; David Bossie  
 Subject: FW: Securing the Victory

b6  
b7C

What do u think?

From: Paul Manafort [redacted]  
 Date: Saturday, November 5, 2016 at 11:36 AM  
 To: Jared [redacted]  
 Subject: Securing the Victory

b6  
b7C

Jared  
 Not certain if you are offline but am sending for when you are online again.  
 I am really feeling good about our prospects on Tuesday and focusing on preserving the victory. This memo deals with this concern.  
 I sent this to Reince, and briefed Rick Gates and Hannity.  
 Good luck. We are almost there.  
 Paul

This e-mail and any files transmitted with it are confidential and intended only for the individual named. If you have received this e-mail by mistake, please notify the sender immediately by e-mail. If you are not the named addressee you should not disseminate, distribute or copy this e-mail. Please notify the sender immediately by e-mail if you have received this e-mail by mistake and delete this e-mail from your system. If you are not the named addressee you should not disseminate, distribute or copy this e-mail. Please notify the sender immediately by e-mail if you have received this e-mail by mistake and delete this e-mail from your system. If you are not the named addressee you should not disseminate, distribute or copy this e-mail. Please notify the sender immediately by e-mail if you have received this e-mail by mistake and delete this e-mail from your system.

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From: [REDACTED]  
Sent: Wed 4/20/2016 8:21 PM (GMT-04:00)  
To: Steve Bannon  
Cc: [REDACTED]  
Bcc:  
Subject: Re: Cambridge Analytica

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Hi [REDACTED]  
A pleasure to meet you. Is there a best time to call you tomorrow please?  
[REDACTED]

Sent from my iPhone

> On 20 Apr 2016, at 20:00, Steve Bannon [REDACTED] wrote:  
>  
> [REDACTED] the company

From: [redacted]  
Sent: Wed 5/04/2016 8:13 AM (GMT-04:00)  
To: Steve Bannon  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: [No Subject]

b6  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

TEXT RECEIVED FROM [redacted]

[redacted]

I know [redacted] well - he is a total pretender!  
We worked on our very first pilot program in Virginia with him in 2013

I will connect with him directly.

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

US Cell: [redacted]  
UK Cell: [redacted]  
[redacted]

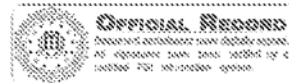
CA Cambridge Analytica  
The News Corp. Building, Suite 2703,  
1211 Avenue of the Americas,  
New York, NY 10036  
Phone: +1 (646) 892-9591

1 Wales Alley, Old Town,  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: +1 (703) 997-1812

1-6 Yarmouth Place, Mayfair,  
London W1J 7BU United Kingdom  
Phone : +44(0)207 930 3500  
[www.cambridgeanalytica.org](http://www.cambridgeanalytica.org)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/06/2018

(U) MICHAEL DEAL COHEN (COHEN), date of birth [Redacted] was interviewed in the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SE, Washington, DC. COHEN was accompanied by his attorneys, Guy Petrilo, Amy Lester, and Philip Pilmar, from the law offices of Petrilo Klein & Boxer LLP, 655 Third Avenue, New York, NY. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] SA [Redacted] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [Redacted] Forensic Accountant (FoA) [Redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Jeannie S. Rhee, SASC Andrew D. Goldstein, and Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson. Pursuant to signing a proffer agreement and after being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents, COHEN provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 08/07/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 08/08/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 2 of 22

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 3 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7C



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 4 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] TRUMP JUNIOR said to TRUMP that he was setting up a meeting in order to get dirt on HILLARY CLINTON. (COHEN did not recall whether TRUMP JUNIOR said "Clinton" or "Hillary.") [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 5 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) Regarding the timing of the meeting, COHEN thought it was prior to June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016 by a couple of days.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

COHEN reviewed a calendar of June 2016 and estimated the conversation he witnessed between TRUMP JUNIOR and TRUMP was Monday, June 6, 2016, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 6 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C  
b7A

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 7 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 8 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted] COHEN heard [Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted] TRUMP said, "oh good, alright."  
[Redacted]

bb5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 9 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

bb5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 10 of 22

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 11 of 22

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 12 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 13 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 14 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 15 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) COHEN did not have discussions with the TRUMP CAMPAIGN about TTM.

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) Nobody from the campaign asked COHEN how TTM was going.

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 16 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 17 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] COHEN knew he was a Russian Olympic Weightlifter. [Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 18 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 19 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 20 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 21 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen , On 08/07/2018 , Page 22 of 22

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(1)

8/7/2018

Michael Cohen

attys: · Guy Patriolo  
· Amy Lester  
· Philp Pilmar

Patrilo Klein &  
Boxer LLP,  
655 Third Ave  
New York, NY

LRA

JSP

ADG

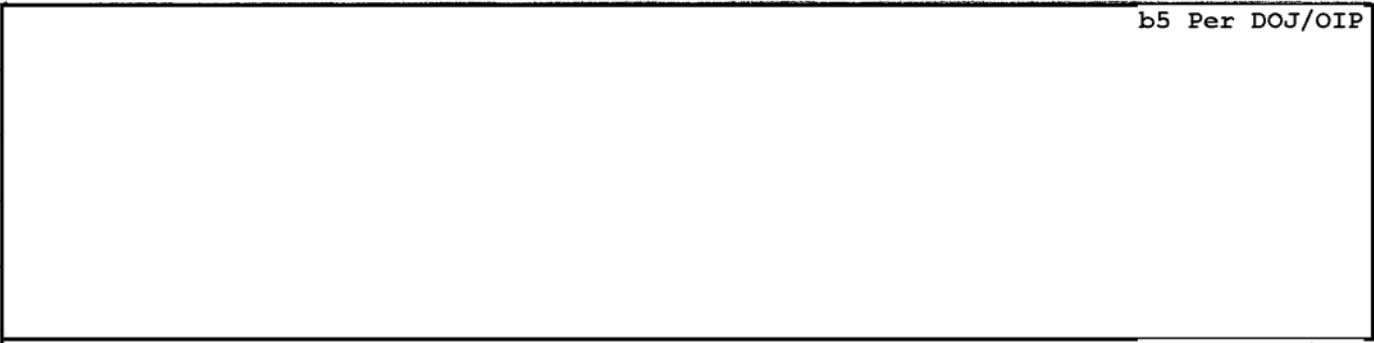


b6  
b7C



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

LRA:

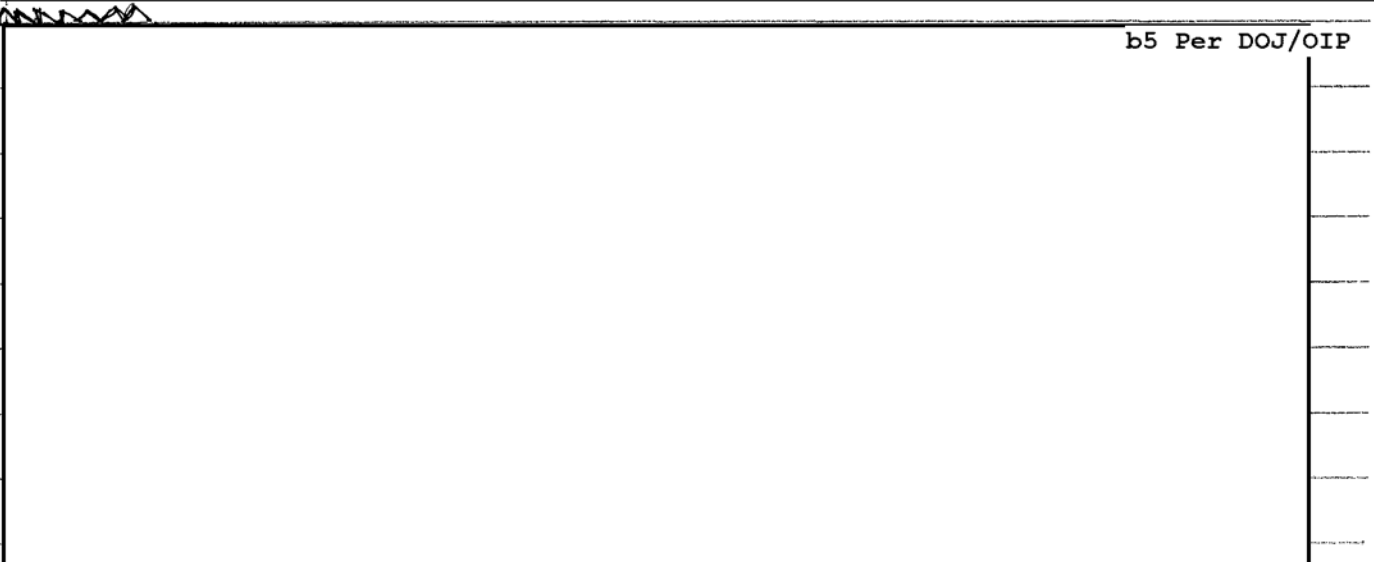


b5 Per DOJ/OIP

LRA



b5 Per DOJ/OIP



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

9

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

DJT Jr: ~~XXXX~~

I have a meeting in order to get dirt  
on Clinton.  
(or "Hillary")

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

prior to June 9 by a couple of days.

Rem. it was kind of the beginning of June

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

*the wall*

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

*DT - oh good about*

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

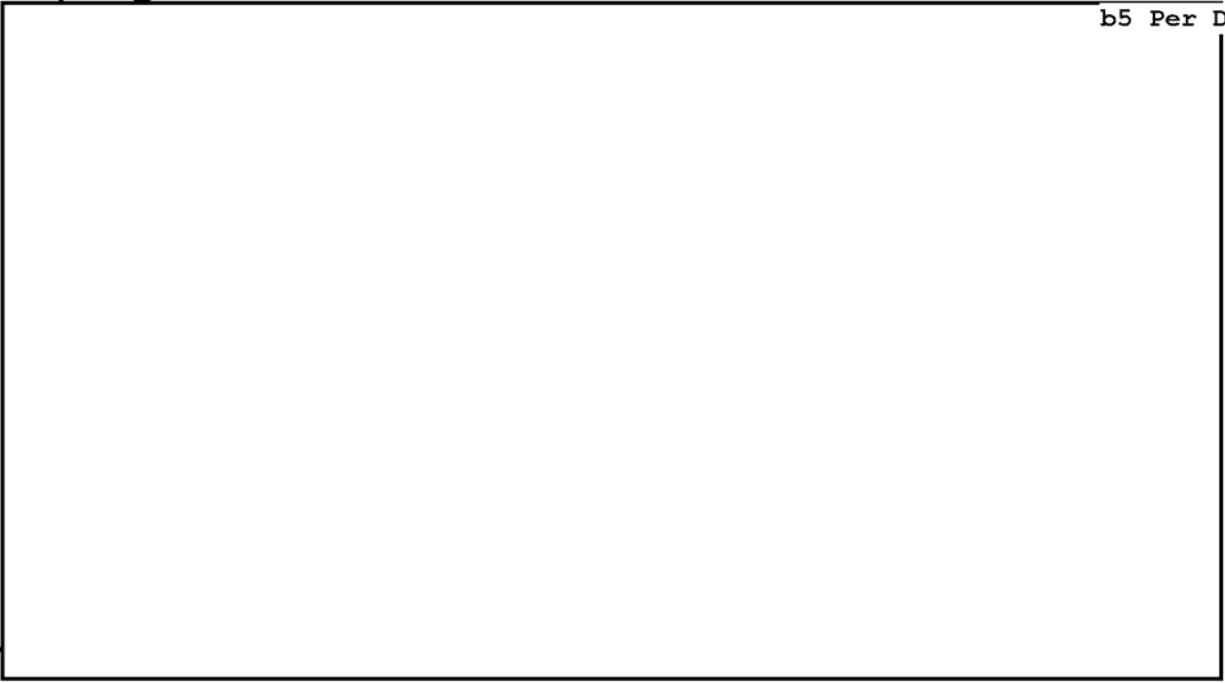


b5 Per DOJ/OIP



b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Any discussion w/ DT org or anyone  
about TTP at same time at company  
NO -



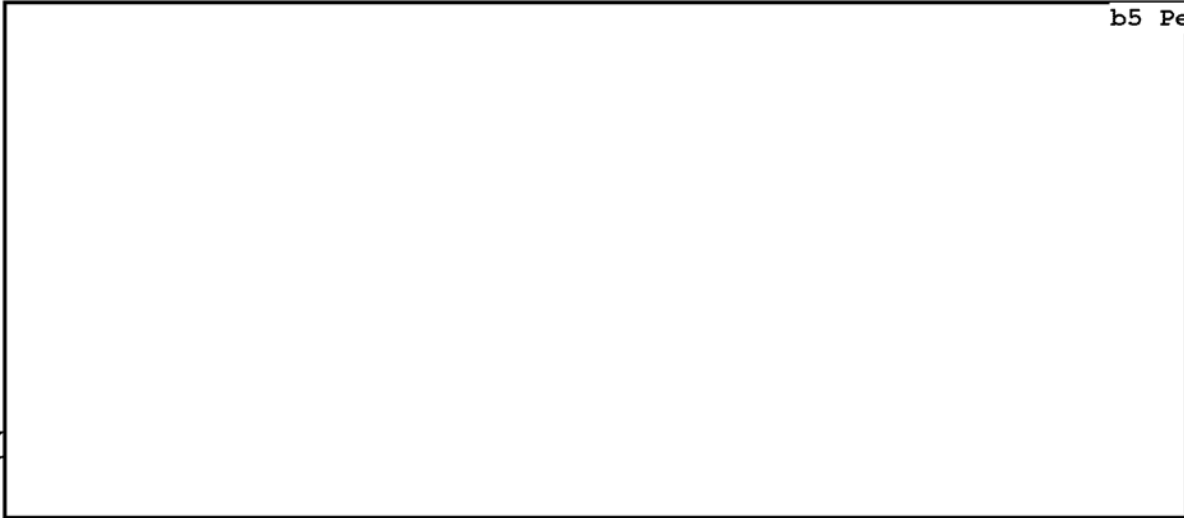
b5 Per DOJ/OIP

LRA



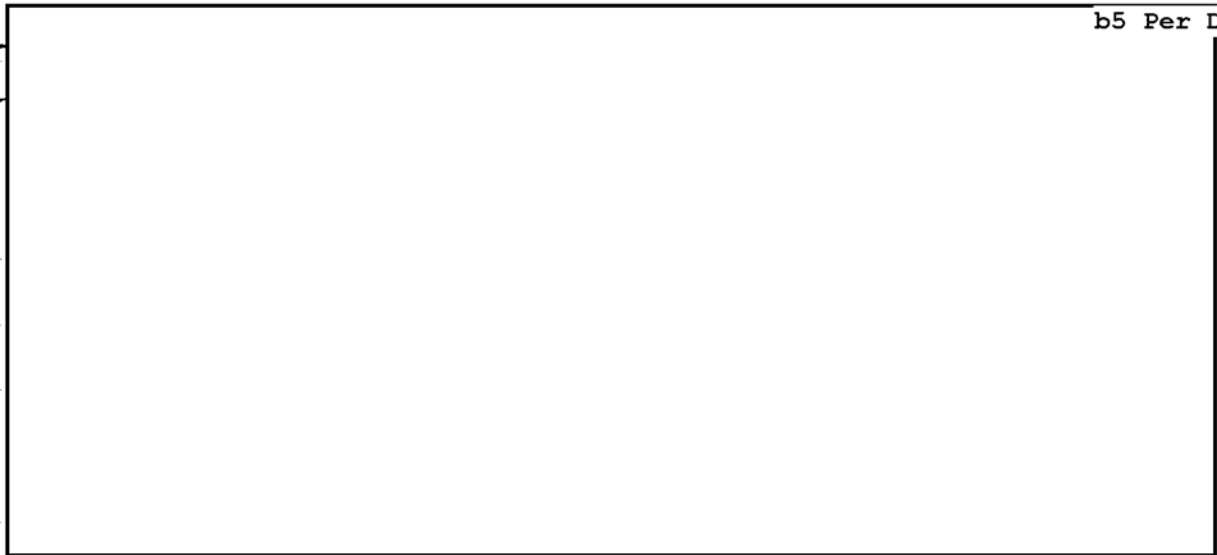
Nobody asked how TIME was doing  
in the context of Campaign.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



MC

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



FS

b5 Per DOJ/OIP



JSP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Klokov -

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

ISSN Olympic weight-lifter

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

ADG  
MC

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

not a  
paralegal



**U.S. Department of Justice**  
*The Special Counsel's Office*

*Washington, D.C. 20530*

August 6, 2018

Guy Petrillo  
Petrillo Klein & Boxer LLP  
655 Third Ave.  
22nd Floor  
New York, NY 10017

Re: Michael D. Cohen

Dear Counsel:

You have indicated that your client Michael D. Cohen (hereinafter "Client"), is interested in providing information to the government.

With respect to the meeting between the government, Client and yourself on August 7, 2018 (hereinafter "the meeting"), the government will be represented by individuals from the Special Counsel's Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The terms of this letter do not bind any office or component of the U.S. Department of Justice other than those identified in the preceding sentence. The following terms and conditions apply to the meeting:

(1) **THIS IS NOT A COOPERATION AGREEMENT.** Client has agreed to provide information to the government, and to respond to questions truthfully and completely. By receiving Client's proffer, the government does not agree to make any motion on Client's behalf or to enter into a cooperation agreement, plea agreement, immunity agreement or non-prosecution agreement with Client. The government makes no representation about the likelihood that any such agreement will be reached in connection with this meeting.

(2) Should Client be prosecuted, no statements made by Client during the meeting will be used against Client in the government's case-in-chief at trial or for purposes of sentencing, except as provided below.

(3) The government may use any statement made or information provided by Client, or on Client's behalf, in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. The government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Client failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting, and, accordingly: (a) that under the United States Sentencing Guidelines, Client is not entitled to a downward adjustment for acceptance of

responsibility pursuant to Section 3E1.1, or should receive an upward adjustment for obstruction of justice pursuant to Section 3C1.1; and (b) that Client's conduct at the meeting is a relevant factor under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

(4) The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Client during the meeting. Therefore, the government may pursue any investigative leads obtained directly or indirectly from such statements and information and may use the evidence or information subsequently obtained therefrom against Client in any manner and in any proceeding.

(5) In any proceeding, including sentencing, the government may use Client's statements and any information provided by Client during or in connection with the meeting to cross-examine Client, to rebut any evidence or arguments offered on Client's behalf, or to address any issues or questions raised by a court on its own initiative.

(6) Neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions. In the event this agreement or the meeting is later construed to constitute a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions, Client knowingly and voluntarily waives any right Client might have under Fed. R. Evid. 410, Fed. R. Crim. P. 11(f), or otherwise, to prohibit the use against Client of statements made or information provided during the meeting.

(7) The government reserves the right to argue that neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes the timely provision of complete information to the government concerning Client's involvement in an offense, within the meaning of Section 3E1.1(b) of the Sentencing Guidelines.

(8) If and when required to do so by a court, the government may disclose to the Probation Office or the court any statements and information provided by Client during the meeting.

(9) The government may disclose the fact of the meeting or the information provided by Client during the meeting to the extent the government determines in its sole discretion that disclosure would be in furtherance of its discharge of its duties and responsibilities or is otherwise required by law. Such disclosure includes disclosure to a local, state, federal, or foreign government office or agency, including but not limited to another prosecutor's office, if the recipient of the information agrees to abide by the relevant terms of this agreement.

(10) The terms and conditions set forth in this agreement extend, if applicable, to the continuation of the meeting on the dates that appear below.

(11) It is understood that this agreement is limited to the statements made by Client at the meeting and does not apply to any oral, written or recorded statements made by Client at any other time.

(12) This document embodies the entirety of the agreement between the government and Client to provide information and evidence. No other promises, agreements or understandings exist between Client and the government regarding Client's provision of information or evidence

to the government.

(13) Client and Client's attorney acknowledge that they have read, fully discussed and understand every paragraph and clause in this document and the consequences thereof.

Dated: August 7, 2018

At: Washington DC

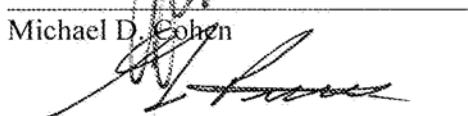
ROBERT S. MUELLER, III  
Special Counsel



By: L. Rush Atkinson  
Assistant Special Counsel  
The Special Counsel's Office



Michael D. Cohen



Guy Petrillo  
Attorney for Client

Dates of Continuation

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Initials of counsel, Client and government attorney

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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December 2, 2019

MR. JASON LEOPOLD  
BUZZFEED NEWS  
7<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR  
1630 CONNECTICUT AVENUE NW  
WASHINGTON, DC 20009

FOIPA Request No.: 1432673-000  
Civil Action No.: 19-cv-01278  
Subject: All 302's of individuals who were questioned/interviewed by FBI Agents working for the Office of Special Counsel Robert Mueller

Dear Mr. Leopold:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find checked boxes under applicable statutes for the exemptions asserted to protect information exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the processed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely pursuant to applicable exemptions. An Explanation of Exemptions is enclosed to further explain justification for withheld information.

<b>Section 552</b>		<b>Section 552a</b>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(A)	<input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5)
<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(B)	<input type="checkbox"/> (j)(2)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(3)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(C)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(1)
<u>Federal Rules of</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(D)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(2)
<u>Criminal Procedure 6(e)</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(3)
<u>50 U.S.C § 3024(i)</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(F)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(4)
<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(8)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(5)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(9)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(6)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(6)		<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(7)

506 pages were reviewed and 231 pages are being released.

- Deletions were made by the Department of Justice/Office of Information Policy . To appeal those denials, please write directly to that agency.

Please see the paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request and the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning, other Government Agency (ies) [OGA].
  - This information has been referred to the OGA(s) for review and direct response to you.
  - We are consulting with another agency. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is completed.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. "Part 1" of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. "Part 2" includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. "Part 3" includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Although your request is in litigation, we are required by law to provide you the following information:

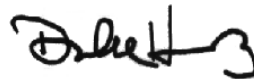
You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Sixth Floor, 441 G Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA online portal by creating an account on the following website: <https://www.foiaonline.gov/foiaonline/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at [ogis@nara.gov](mailto:ogis@nara.gov); telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing [foipaquestions@fbi.gov](mailto:foipaquestions@fbi.gov). If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Please direct any further inquiries about this case to the Attorney representing the Government in this matter. Please use the FOIPA Request Number and/or Civil Action Number in all correspondence or inquiries concerning your request.

See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,



David M. Hardy  
Section Chief  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosures

**Additional Information:**

In response to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, enclosed is a processed copy of Bates Stamped documents, FBI (19-cv-1278)-504 through FBI (19-cv-1278)-1009. The enclosed documents represent the second interim release of information responsive to your request. To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

Additionally, included in this release are 50 pages of previously processed material. This material is being provided to you per a court order. This material consists of Flynn 302's Bates 17-cv-397-1 through 17-cv-397-10, Comey 302's FBI 18-cv-00932-1 through FBI 18-cv-00932-6, and Ohr 302's FBI(18cv2107)-1 through FBI(18cv2107)-34.



## FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum includes information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records. For questions regarding Parts 1, 2, or 3, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under “Contact Us.” Previously mentioned appeal and dispute resolution services are also available at the web address.

### Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010))]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website.
- (ii) **National Security/Intelligence Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of national security and foreign intelligence records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and PA exemption (j)(2) as applicable to requests for records about individuals [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2); 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that national security or foreign intelligence records do or do not exist.

### Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual’s name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

### Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching those systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A reasonable search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled and maintained by the FBI in the course of fulfilling law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization and encompasses the records of FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide and includes Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records. For additional information about our record searches visit [www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records](http://www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records).
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheets. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at [www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks). Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at [www.edo.cjis.gov](http://www.edo.cjis.gov). For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **The National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private citizens cannot request a name check.

## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 FOI/PA  
 DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
 Civil Action No.: 19-cv-1278 / 19-cv-1626  
 FOIA: 1432673-000 / 1433273-000  
 PDF Title: 19-cv-1278 Release 2 Bates 504-1009

Total Withheld Pages = 275

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 555	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 556	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 557	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 558	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 559	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 562	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 563	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 591	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 594	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 598	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 600	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 603	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 605	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 607	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 608	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 609	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 610	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 611	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 612	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 614	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 615	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 617	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 620	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 623	b3; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 624	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C; b7E

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FBI(19cv1278) 625	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 626	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 627	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 628	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 629	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 630	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 631	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 632	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 633	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 637	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 638	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 639	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 640	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 641	b3; b6; b7A; b7B per DOJ/OIP; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 642	b3; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 687	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 688	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 689	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 690	Duplicate
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FBI(19cv1278) 707	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 708	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 709	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 710	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 711	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 712	b3; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 713	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 714	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 715	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 716	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 719	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 724	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 727	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 728	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 730	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 731	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 733	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 735	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 736	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E

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<b>Bates Page Reference</b>	<b>Reason for Withholding</b> (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 737	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 739	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 740	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 742	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 750	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 752	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7A; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 753	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7A; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 754	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7A; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 755	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 756	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 757	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 758	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 759	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 760	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 761	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 762	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 763	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 764	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 765	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 766	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 767	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E

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<b>Bates Page Reference</b>	<b>Reason for Withholding</b> (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 768	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 769	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 770	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 771	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 772	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 773	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 774	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 775	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 776	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 777	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 778	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 779	b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 780	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 781	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 782	b1; b3; b5 per DOJ/OIP; b7E
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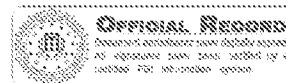
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[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/12/2018

Richard Gates was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. in the presence of his attorney, Tom Green. Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [Redacted] Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, and SASC Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

After the 2016 Presidential election, Gates spent November 10 - November 13, 2016 at Trump Tower. On November 13, Gates became the Deputy Chairman for the Inauguration and went to Washington, D.C. to work on the presidential inauguration.

In the transition period, Gates had less contact with Flynn than he had during the campaign period. Gates estimated he had a handful of calls with Flynn and that they discussed potential cabinet officials, special assistant positions, how many people Flynn wanted to invite to the inauguration, and other logistics matters.

Gates had a little more contact with KT McFarland than he did with Flynn. He had gotten to know her on the campaign and thought they had good chemistry. Gates thought of McFarland as one of a few people capable of breaking down things so that [then-candidate] Donald Trump could understand. McFarland sat through a lot of personnel decisions and interviews.

[Large Redacted Area]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Investigation on 04/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/15/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7A  
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 04/18/2018 , Page 2 of 5

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates did not recall hearing about a November 20, 2016 meeting involving Kushner, Flynn, and Kislyak.

Gates was not aware of a December 13, 2016 meeting between Kushner and Gorkov.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates did not talk about Russia with Flynn. Gates did not hear about Flynn's communications with Kislyak until after the fact.

Gates was surprised when Flynn was fired. He thought Flynn had a good relationship with Trump and that Trump had not wanted to fire Flynn but felt like he had no choice. The National Security Advisor cannot lie to the Vice President and not have anything happen to him because of it. Gates said Pence went to Trump about firing Flynn and he thought it was one of the few times Pence pushed Trump hard like that.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 04/18/2018 , Page 3 of 5

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Gates heard that after Sessions recused himself from the Russia investigation, Trump was "on the warpath" and said he would fire Sessions, but that Trump did not follow through. Gates heard that the recusal had been done by Don McGahn and Sessions and Trump had not been consulted. Gates heard about Trump's reaction from [Redacted] Rick Dearborn, and [Redacted]. Gates said some people thought Trump would have been okay with the recusal if he had been notified in advance.

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Prior to Sessions' recusal, Gates had not had conversations with anyone about recusal issues. After the recusal, he recalled conversations where people offered their opinion that had Rudy Giuliani been Attorney General, he would not have recused himself. Gates knew Giuliani had been the first choice for Attorney General, but turned it down because he wanted to be Secretary of State instead.

Gates had no firsthand awareness of Trump's views on James Comey. Neither Gates [Redacted] had conversations with Trump about Comey's termination. Gates was surprised Trump actually fired Comey, since Gates did not think Trump followed through with firing people. Gates thought Trump was frustrated with a lot of agencies, not just the Department of Justice and FBI. [Redacted] told Gates he heard from [Redacted] and Priebus that Trump said things needed to be fair and equal and it was not fair no one was looking at Hillary Clinton.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

In general, Trump's view of the Russia investigation was that it attacked the legitimacy of his win.

[Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

**Discussions of Pardons:**

The possibility of pardons came up a couple of months after Gates' indictment. There were stories about the FBI and DOJ being corrupt and Manafort said he was having conversations with [then Counsel to the President] John Dowd, as was Manafort's lawyer.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates, On 04/18/2018, Page 4 of 5

In October or November of 2017, Gates and Manafort had a conversation in which Manafort indicated they would "get through it," that the charges were trumped up and "BS" and they would figure it out and there was more to come. Gates had the sense Manafort was saying to Gates not to plead. Manafort told Gates the Nunes report would come out soon and there would be some bombshells in it. Manafort said he talked to Dowd and they had talked about starting a legal defense fund. Manafort did not say whether Dowd brought up Nunes.

In January 2018, CNN leaked that a plea agreement had been reached, and Manafort told Gates people were worried it was true. Gates called Manafort and told him it was not true. Manafort told Gates that he (Manafort) had called Dowd and also told Dowd it was not true that Gates had reached a plea agreement. Manafort said something like, "I talked to Dowd. I've covered you at the White House" and added that a legal defense fund was coming and they were going to "take care of us." Manafort told Gates there were two funds out there. The first was called "Patriot Defense Funds" and it covered White House staff. The other fund would cover anyone outside of the White House and Manafort and Gates would be "#1 and #2 on that list."

Manafort told Gates it was stupid to plead and that he would get a better deal down the road. Manafort said he had been in touch with Dowd and repeated they should "sit tight" and "we'll be taken care of." Manafort never explicitly mentioned pardons. Gates asked Manafort outright if anyone mentioned pardons and Manafort said no one used that word.

In February 2018, the day before Gates entered his plea, Manafort called Gates and his tone was that Gates should "stick to your guns, we'll get through this." Manafort told Gates that he had been on the phone with Dowd and his attorney when Trump apparently walked into the room with Dowd and said to Manafort words to the effect of "stay strong." Manafort told Gates that Kushner had sent him emails of support and that he could show the emails to Gates if they were together. Gates had the sense the emails Manafort mentioned were recent. Gates had no basis to trust Manafort and thought the conversation was designed to convince Gates not to plead guilty. By then, Gates had already made his decision. Gates added that Manafort talked a big game, but Gates had no confidence what he said was true. Gates thought [REDACTED] [REDACTED] listened to the telephone call between Manafort and Gates. Gates did not tell Manafort others listened to the call.

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The day of Gates' plea, Manafort called again and went through a last minute appeal that Gates not plea. Manafort mentioned the legal defense fund in that call as well. That was the last time Gates spoke to Manafort, but they have communicated by text; Manafort sent Gates a text message congratulating him for getting rid of his GPS monitor at one point.

In one of the calls with Manafort, Manafort told Gates that Trump was "watching their case." Gates also noted that the media asked Trump about Gates at one point and Trump had no response. Gates thought that was surprising and that Trump would have gone after him.

FBI(19cv1278)-507



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates, On 04/18/2018, Page 5 of 5

Gates was not sure the source of the reporting on his plea arrangements. Gates had told [REDACTED] about it. Manafort did not know; Gates got no indication from Manafort that Manafort knew Gates planned to plead when he did. Gates knew [REDACTED] had a friend at CNN, but [REDACTED] did not have enough detail to be the source.

b6  
b7C

April 18, 2018

RICK GATES

Tom Green - atty

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

transition - role.

11/10 - 11/13 @ Trump Tower

11/13 - dep. Chairman for inauguration. went to DC to work on inauguration.

Mike Flynn - less contact than during campaign. handful of calls. cabinet-rank, special assistants, how many ppl @ inauguration. logistics.

KT McFarland - a little more contact. got to know on campaign. good chemistry b/c one of few ppl that could break things down for Trump. general convos. sat through a lot of personnel decisions/interviews.

foreign leader meetings? no during transition.

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Kushner, Flynn, Kislyak mtg, Nov 30. don't recall hearing about it. [redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

12/13/19 Kushner, Gorkov. Aware @ time or after?  
No. Was in DC.

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Flynn - didn't talk about Russia. 3-4 times, just about inaugural issues.

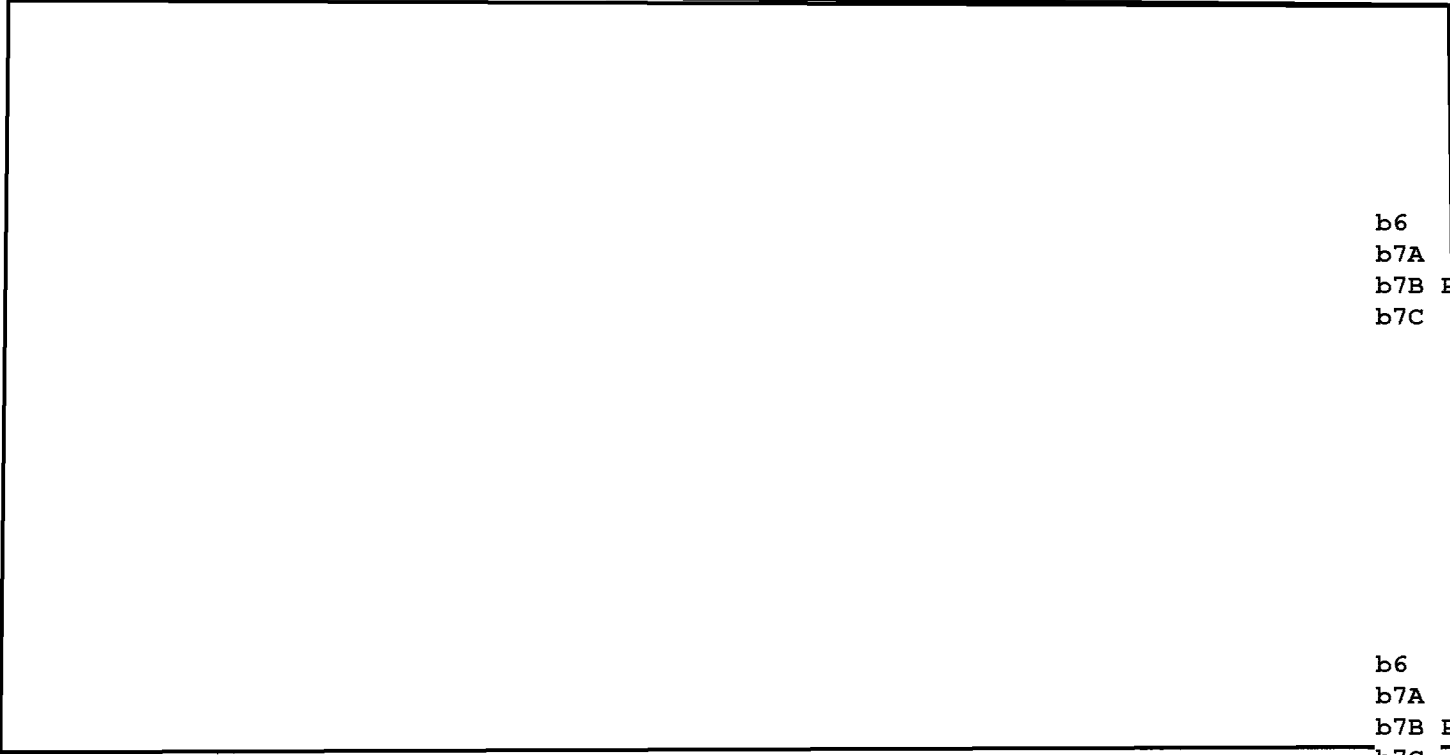
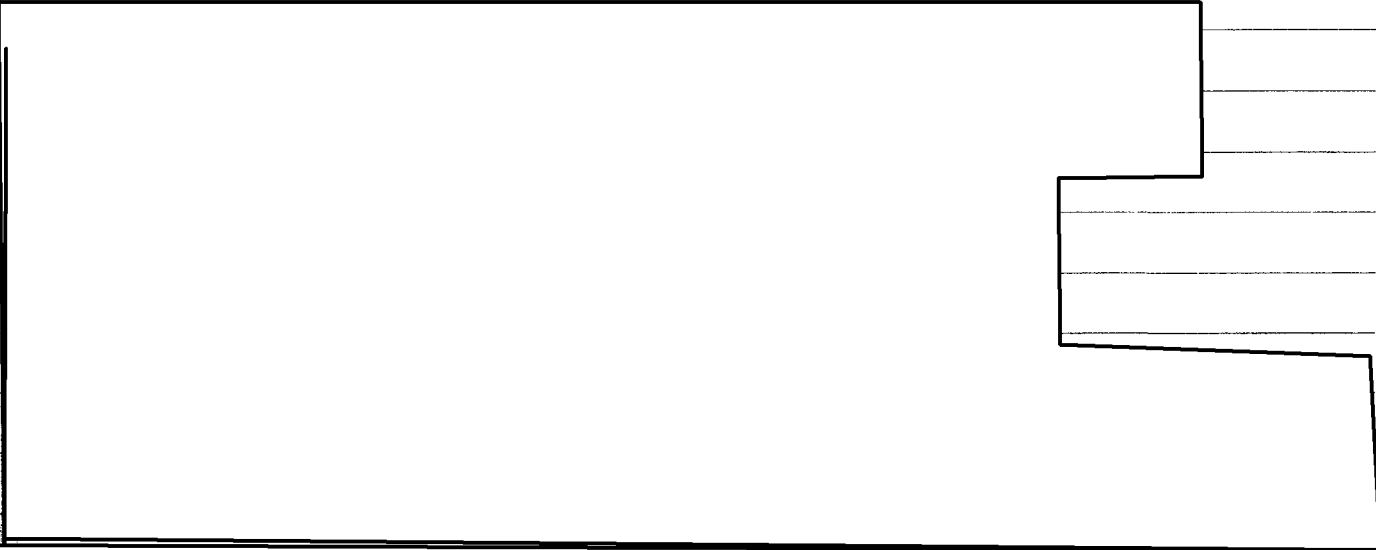
surprised to hear Flynn fired? yes. good re'nsHIP w/  
POTUS. POTUS didn't want to fire, but no choice.  
NSA can't ~~see~~ lie to VP and not do anything.  
Pence → Trump. ~~as~~ one of few times Pence went to  
Trump and said Flynn had to go.

Rick Darborn,  
Kevin Priebus

↳

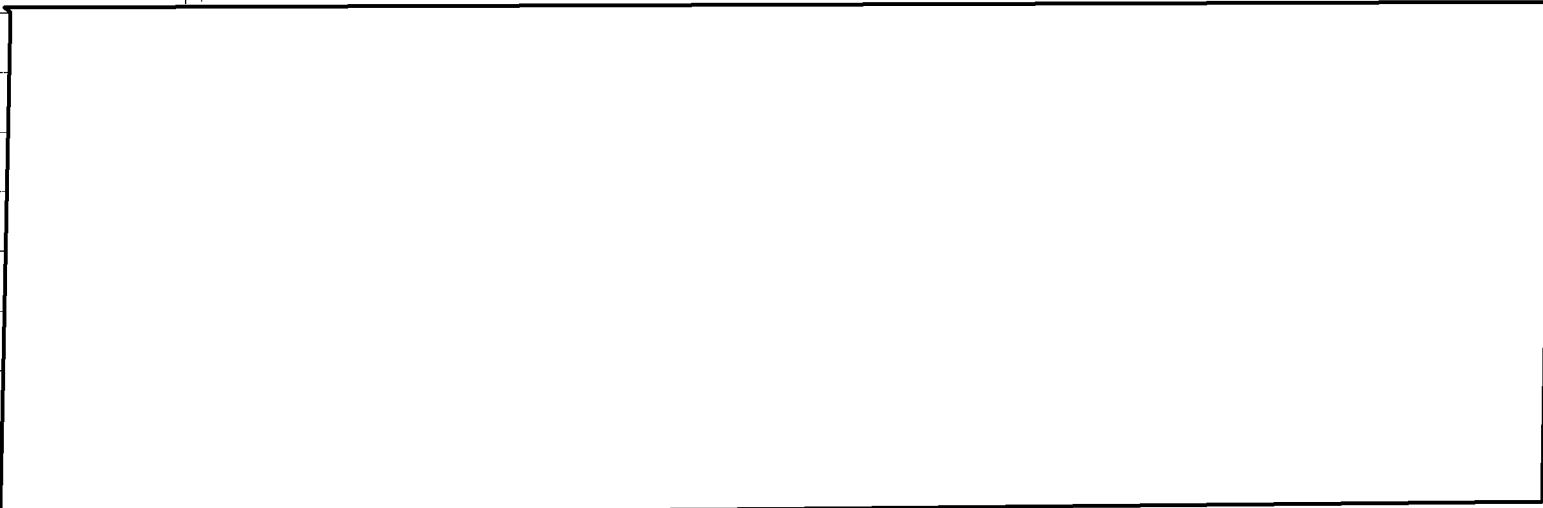
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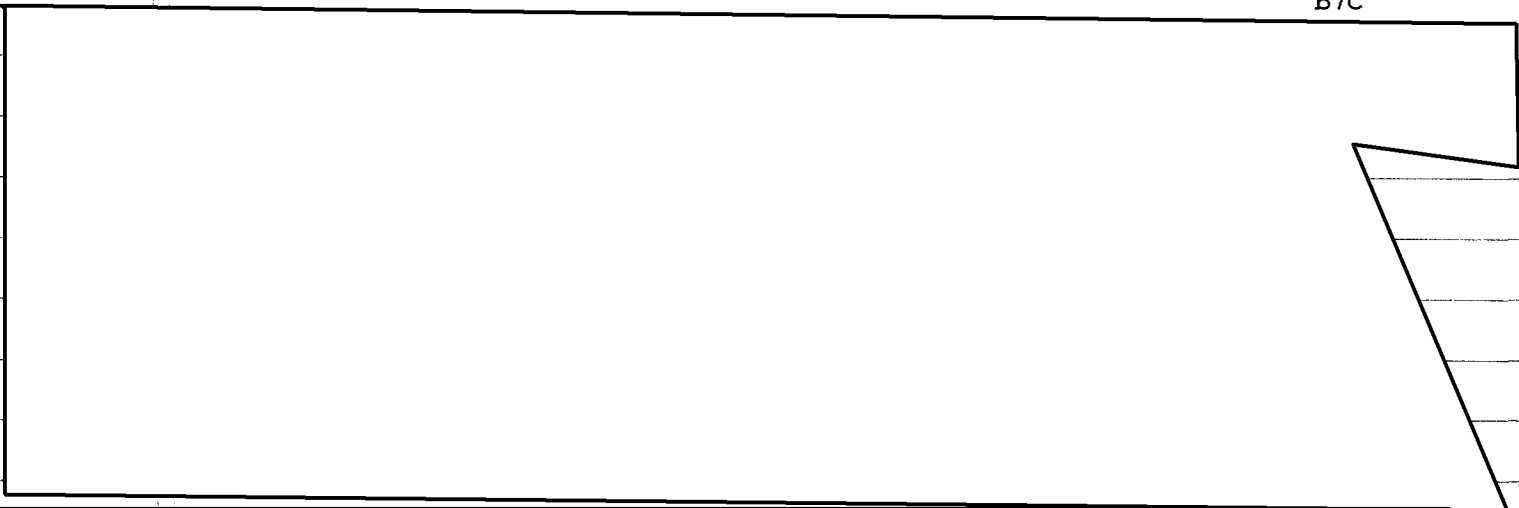
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b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C





ppl starting to get nervous b/c whole Russia thing.  
scrutiny on Sessions, Dearborn.



RG

POTUS-Loney: no awareness from P direction.  
~~he~~ wondered if POTUS would really come in  
and clean up agencies, not spec. to Comey.  
not enough Trump loyalists to fill positions.

not out of convos on keeping Comey ~~in~~.

[redacted] either. surprised he actually fired Comey.  
POTUS doesn't actually fire ppl.

b6  
b7C

Sessions refusal. POTUS <sup>heard</sup> ~~wasn't~~ <sup>heard</sup> P wasn't consulted. done by McAbahn & Sessions. Heard from [redacted] Dearborn. Not sure if [redacted] Gates. People.

b6  
b7C

POTUS angry, because not consulted. Thought would have been okay if had been asked or notified first.

discussions on ppl needing to recuse before? no.  
Convos after the fact that Giuliani wouldn't have made same decision.

AG not supposed to be AG / <sup>AG</sup> was pick, but wanted Sec State instead.

Heard from:

[redacted] Dearborn, Parscale

b6  
b7C

adv. knowledge of POTUS unhappy w/ Comey?

lack of relationship w/ Comey.

sensed something would happen.

[redacted]

Thought P was frustrated w/ a # of agencies, not just DOJ. Some tiff in the press.

still harping on Clinton email thing.

b6  
b7C

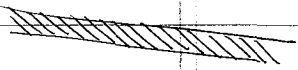
POTUS: got to be fair, got to be equal.

not fair no one looking at Clinton.

heard from [redacted] Reince

POTUS new or:

Russia inv. attack legitimacy of wln. V, frustrated



talk to anyone in wlt re: fermentation?

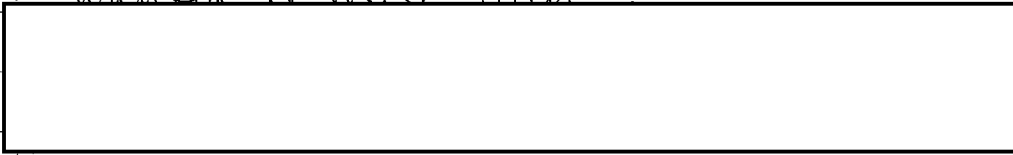
day of,



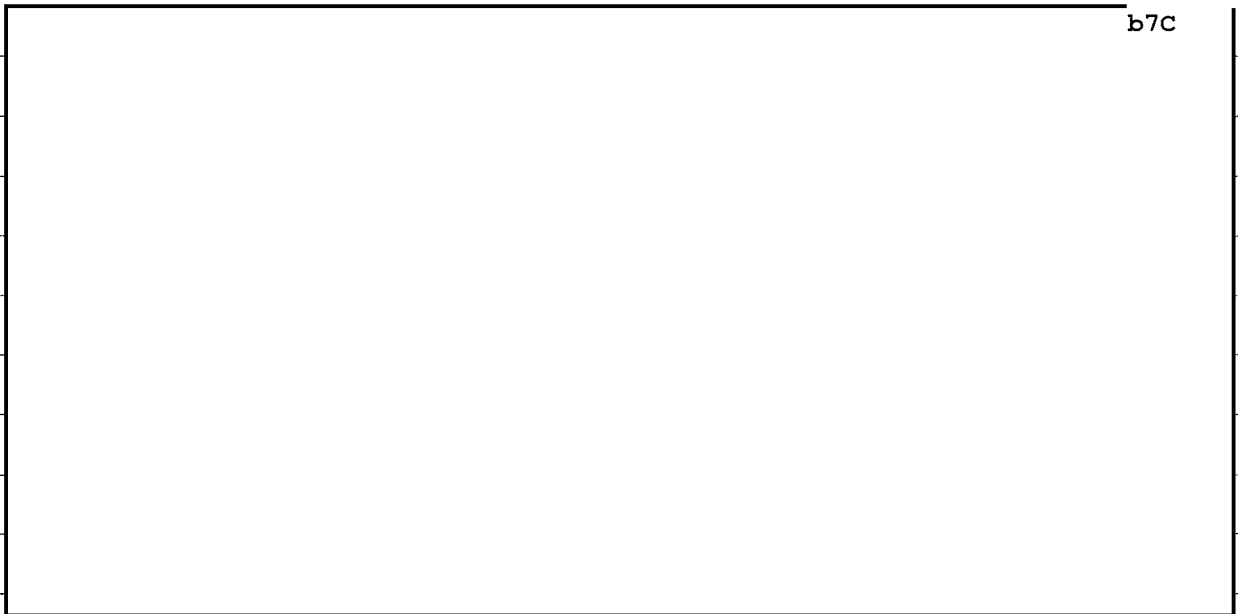
b6  
b7C

- no convos leading up.
- V. few ppl aware of it when someone was actually fired.
- humorous that Schulte delivered letter how Trump operates.
- aware there were questions about talk. thought DOJ needed to write letter, Trump had some input in letter. some question of whether RR wanted to write letter.

one time to sent Stephen Miller across room to work with lawyers to see RNC.



b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C





b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

Comey -

on news. Trump Hotel.

mtgs that evening? No... maybe a dinner.

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

1 1/2 days in town.

after the fact - convos based on news.

more info came out,

Lester Holt

not surprised.

Russia thing e its height.

Sessions being picked on

Why isn't Hillary being investigated.

POTUS express frustration to [redacted] - you.

but dont remember discussing Comey

b6  
b7C

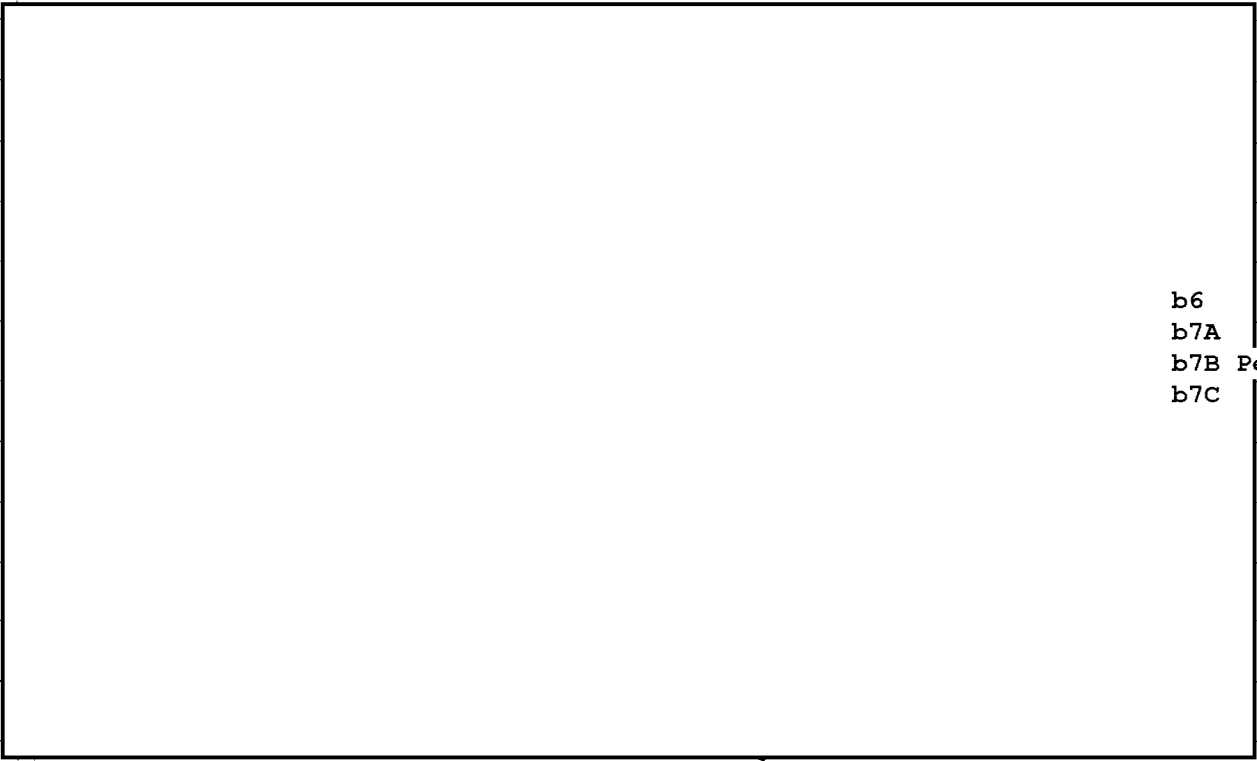
Sessions? dont remember convos [redacted] related

but frustrated w/ Sessions after refusal

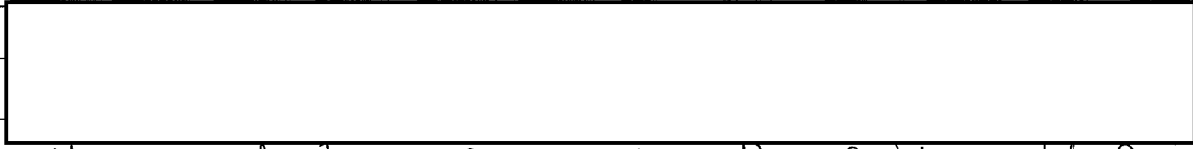
Turning pt in relationship.

Should have talked to POTUS about it.

Rumor mill: Comey would be fired. Like Renne & Bannon,  
Reporters, rumor mill



b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C



b6  
b7C

after refusal, Trump on a warpath, said would fire, didn't follow through.

2 or 3 layers of haggling

~~Trump~~ picked back up again fall.

after indictment, most people I talked to kept their distance.

talk to Dearborn? no. not as much comms when Paul left

around March, article out, less frequent

Pardons -

heard from

aware of efforts to float poss. of pardon?

no direct overture by anyone inside

Manafort alluded to convos w/ Dowd.  
 PM clear may not happen soon, but "hang tough"  
 well get through this.

Right before plea. Plea from Paul to dissuade  
 conversation, cooperation.  
 didn't believe he was talking to who he said he was.

From PM:

Poss. of pardon came up couple months after indictment.  
 Stories re: corrupt FBI, DOJ

PM said having convos w/ Dowd.

PM's atty having convos w/ Dowd.

Oct/Nov

• Sep/Oct 2017

2 convos, PM rep info from Kenn<sup>pm</sup>, Dowd • Jan 2018  
 Paul, & said he and Kenn talked to Dowd.

↳ January, February 2018 week of plea.

JPA? No.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Oct/Nov

• Sep/Oct

RG → PM convo.

Broad, PM indicated we'd get through it, trumped up  
 charges, BS, we'll figure it out, more to come  
 sense PM was saying - don't plead.

Nunes report is coming, going to be some bombshells.  
 PM said had talked to Dowd, start a legal defense  
 fund, didn't say if talk. Dowd mentioned Nunes

Jan 2018, CNN leaked plea agreement reached mid-Jan 2018.  
Paul told RG ppl were worried it was true. (RG called proactively.)  
RG called Paul and said was not true.  
Paul told RG that PM told Dowd it was NOT true.  
Info was inaccurate.

I talked to Dowd. I've covered you at the WH.  
legl defense fund is coming. Going to take care  
of us.

2 funds - Patriot defense funds - WH ppl.

② anyone out of WH, PM & RG #1 & #2 on  
list.

PM: stupid to plea now. get a better deal down  
the road.

PM in contact w/ Dowd. "sit tight" "we'll be taken  
care of." Never mentioned pardon. RG asked, PM  
said no one said the word.

\$

week of  
Feb 28

day before plea. (Thurs.)

LEF:

PM called RG. Tone - stick to your guns we'll get  
through this.

On phone w/ Dowd. POTUS walked into room  
while they were on the phone & said "stay  
strong." we'll get through this.

Jared sent emails of support. sense they were recent.

"if I was with you, I could show you"

no basis to trust Paul.

designed to get RG not to plea.

RG. had already made decision.

Support.  
support for  
"us"

b6  
b7c

Knowing Paul, seemed like a Mack. Talks big game, no confidence info was true.

[redacted]

→ listened on call Friday.

b6  
b7C

no notes. PM did not know that others were listening.

Texts from PM re: bail; making sure RG cleaned up articles re plea,

day of plea, PM called, went through last minute appeal not to plea. legal defense fund.

Last time talked to PM.

Text from PM: congrats on getting rid of GPS.

PM said  
on one of the calls (earlier) Potvs said he was 'watching their case'

Potvs asked about RG in press & had no response. Surprised. Thought P would have gone after him.

No indication PM knew RG was going to plead that day.

Source of info for reporting re: detail on RG going back & forth on plea?

[redacted] ? RG told him about his indecision  
RG didn't talk to press about it.

Manafort didn't know.

CNN reporter friend of [redacted] but [redacted] didn't have detail.

b6  
b7C

@ any time, hear from WH info re: DJT firing Mueller?

No. Nothing behind the scenes.

Always more about Sessions than Mueller.

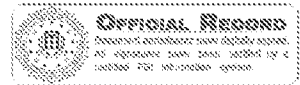
Not even Manafort saying he talked to anyone about it.

Sessions →  shift convo. In an article

Sessions fire Rod, then replace. In an article,

b6  
b7c

[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/28/2018

Michael Dean Cohen, date of birth [Redacted] was telephonically interviewed in the presence of his attorneys Guy Petrillo and Amy Lester from the law offices of Petrillo Klein & Boxer LLP, 655 Third Avenue, New York, NY. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew D. Goldstein. Also present from the Special Counsel's Office were SASC Jeannie S. Rhee and Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson. The interview was conducted under the same proffer agreement as previous interviews. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent, Cohen provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

The concept of the "party line" and staying "on message" existed within the Trump Organization during the campaign. During the campaign, when it was reported that [then-Candidate] Donald Trump had ties to Russia, the party line was that Trump had no business in Russia. Trump created the message when he stated had no business in Russia and no relationships in Russia. Trump created that party line when he said he had nothing to do with Russia and had no deals. It became the talking point for others to follow.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Investigation on 11/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/25/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic  
Continuation of FD-302 of /11.20.2018) , On 11/20/2018 , Page 2 of 7

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] he should stay on message [Redacted]  
[Redacted] and everything would be fine.

In January 2017, after the dossier was made public, [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Cohen told Trump he had never been to Prague [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] the JDA was working well together and that things  
would end soon.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

When Cohen first received letters from Congress [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] The initial focus of Congress'  
inquiry was the dossier. Cohen did not have any concern about the dossier



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic /11.20.2018) , On 11/20/2018 , Page 3 of 7

allegations, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Cohen had never been to Prague or

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 , Page 4 of 7

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

if they stayed on message, the investigation had to come to an end soon,

[Redacted]

that as a part of the JDA, Cohen was protected, which he would not be if he "went rogue." At that time, Cohen's legal bills were being paid by the Trump Organization.

Trump Tower Moscow first came up when a couple of reporters sent questions about it to Cohen. Cohen's concern when the questions came in was that the answers may not be consistent with the message.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Cohen said the statement that Trump never considered traveling was false and he put it in the letter to be consistent with the message. He was sensitive to the idea of Trump traveling to Russia because he wanted to say there was no connection between Trump and Russia. He was protecting Trump and did not want to contradict anything Trump said. Cohen was being loyal.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Cohen did not remove from the letter the line that said he had "limited contact with Russian officials" and he did not know who did. He thought it had to be someone from the JDA team.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

it was the

decision of the JDA to take it out, and Cohen did not push back.

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic /11.20.2018) . On 11/20/2018 , Page 5 of 7

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Cohen did tell Sekulow that he would not contest a decision of the JDA.

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Sekulow and Cohen spoke on the telephone extensively on August 27, 2017, the day before the Trump Tower Moscow letter was submitted to Congress. Cohen told Sekulow there was more detail on Trump Tower Moscow, and Sekulow told him to keep it short and tight and the matter would soon come to an end. Sekulow told Cohen that "his client," referring to Trump, wanted Cohen to cooperate and appreciated him.

Cohen told Sekulow there were details out there that weren't in the letter [Redacted] Cohen said there were more b5 per DOJ/OIP communications with Russia and more communications with Trump than were reflected and Sekulow responded that it was not necessary to elaborate or include those details because the transaction did not take place. Sekulow said there was no need to muddy the water. Sekulow said to stay on message and to not over elaborate. Sekulow said it did not matter and Cohen should not contradict Trump and that it was time to move on. Cohen agreed, because it was what he was expected to do.

Cohen vaguely recalled telling Sekulow that he had a call with a woman from the Kremlin, but he did not tell him specifically the length of the conversation or the sum and substance of her questions. Sekulow's response was in line with "so what" and the deal never happened.

Cohen recalled specifically speaking to Trump about the call with Peskov's office, close in time to when the call happened in early 2016. Cohen told Trump he spoke with a woman from the Kremlin who had asked specific and great questions about Trump Tower Moscow, and that he wished Trump Organization had assistants that were that good and competent. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] described her as "someone from the Kremlin." After that call, and a subsequent call with Felix Sater, Cohen recalled he told Trump he was waiting to hear back from them.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic /11.20.2018) , On 11/20/2018 , Page 6 of 7

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Cohen attempted to follow the example set by Jared Kushner by publicly releasing the letter during his Congressional testimony, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Sekulow had also commented to Cohen that Trump was happy with how things had gone with Kushner.

Cohen and Sekulow spoke on the telephone on September 20, 2017 [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Sekulow mentioned that Trump was pleased with the Trump Tower Moscow statement that had gone out.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Michael Cohen (telephonic /11.20.2018)  
Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 11/20/2018, Page 7 of 7

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Cohen asked Sekulow about pardons after the news reported those discussions were happening at the White House. He was not sure of the timing, but it was after the raids at his home and office.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Cohen said he'd been a loyal lawyer and servant and all of a sudden he was the subject of search and seizure. Cohen said it was an uncomfortable position to be in and wanted to know what was in it for him.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

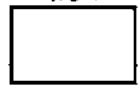
(1)



Michael Cohen  
Amy Lister  
Guy Pettilo

11/20/18  
(telephonic)

JLR JSR  
ADG LPA



b6  
b7c

proffer agreement in effect.

ADG: be truthful.

distinguish between memory and think you remember.

Cohen: understood

party line, staying on message. when did it first come up, become subject of discussion?

A: msg existed prior to atty conversations.

ph. JDA  
when did msg first come up?  
before det. issues w/ Trump. Russia  
he said he had no business.

Rec'd notice to appear before House/Senate.

decided would read statement, release

before hearing, message during JDA:

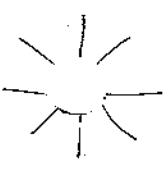
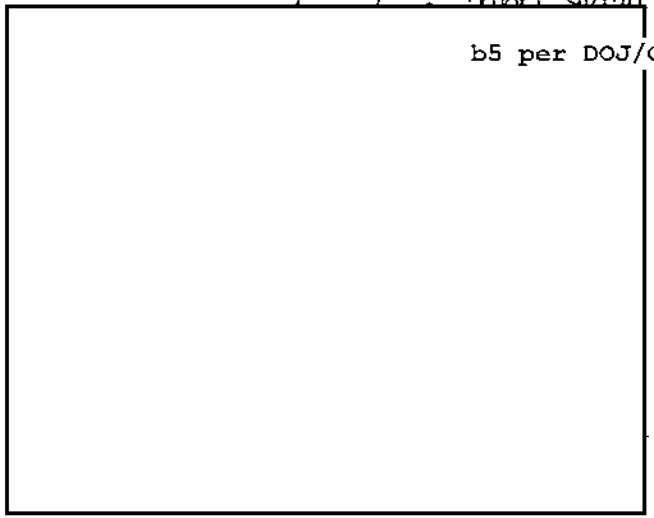
don't elaborate, stay on message, everything

Ain't.

no relationship  
that was when msg was first created.  
~~Summer 2016~~  
substantially earlier than Summer

no relationship to Russia, etc goes back to campaign.

b5 per DOJ/OIP



party line created by Mr. Trump. Many mos. before election. Intermix, rallies. "I have nothing to do w/Russia, no deals, etc" Became the talking point, narrative that was put out by Mr. Trump.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



b5 per DOJ/OIP



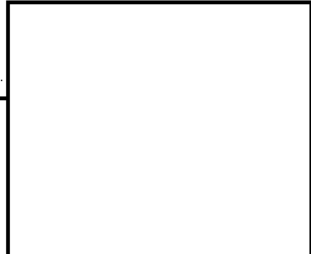
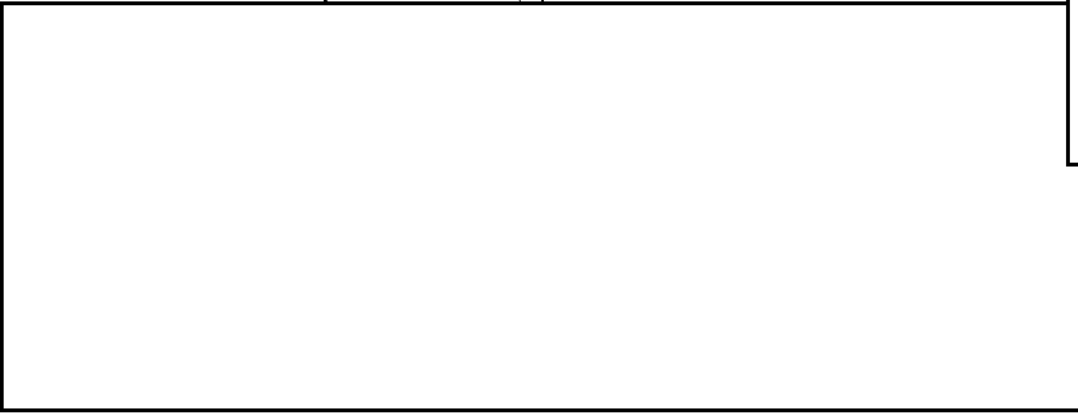
P loves you. Has your back.

JDA working well together. This will end soon. Things like that.



b5 per DOJ/OIP

May 9, May 12 Congress letters



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b7C

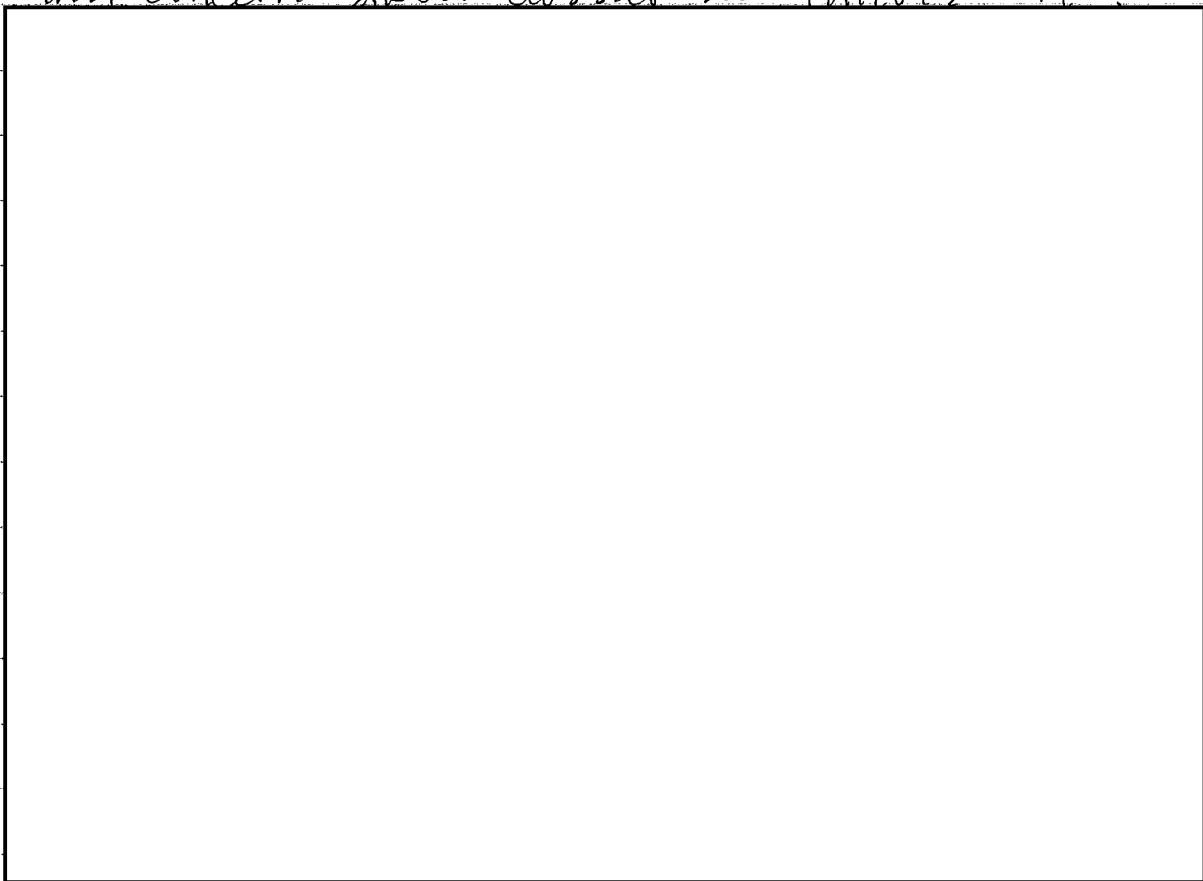
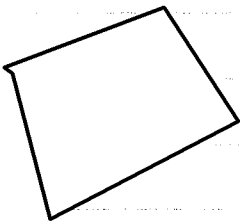
b5 per DOJ/OIP



focus of their inquiry? dossier.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

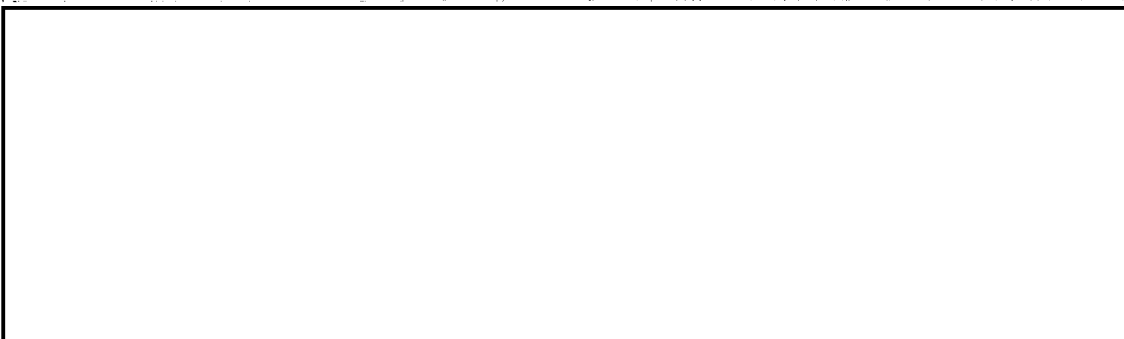
any concern about dossier allegations? No.



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b7C



b6  
b7C



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



5

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

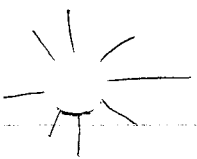
Part of JDA

You're protected, vs. going rogue.

legal bills paid by Trump Org.

Jay: as we stay on message, this has to come to an end, there's nothing here Report will show that.

9

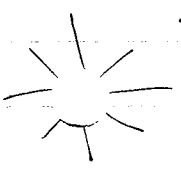


[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

TIM comes up. what put TIM on the ~~radar~~<sup>ra</sup> radar?  
Think there was a couple of reporters,  
~~asking~~ asking Qs about it. Had sent  
Qs to get answered. When you  
started getting questions, <sup>to Cohen.</sup>  
did you have concerns? worried it would  
not be consistent w/message.



[Redacted]

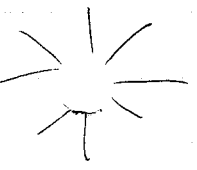
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

when does the TIM letter come up? in connection w/  
press inquiries.



[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

"Trump never considered traveling." False.  
Where did statement come from? He left it  
out to be consistent with message.  
Why sensitive about travel? trying to distance.

POTUS, no Russian connection. To protect P. didn't want to contradict. Being loyal.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

"Limited contact w Russian officials" did not remove it, don't know who did. JDA team. don't know who

Talk about it? [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Decision

b6  
b7C

of JDA to take it out. Push back? No.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Did tell

Jay - if that's the decision of the JDA, not going to contest it.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

day before letter submitted, lots of calls w/ Sekulow. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Cohen told Jay there was more detail, but Jay said to keep it short, tight, matter coming to an end. Client wants you to cooperate & appreciate it.

back/forth w/Jay. There are details out there that aren't in the letter.

<sup>EXPRESS</sup> Concern about leaving them out? yes, told him there were more details, comms w/Russia, comms w/POTUS. Jay: just not necessary. no point in elaborating. no need to include b/c xaction did not take place. why muddy the water

↳ more contacts w/Russia.

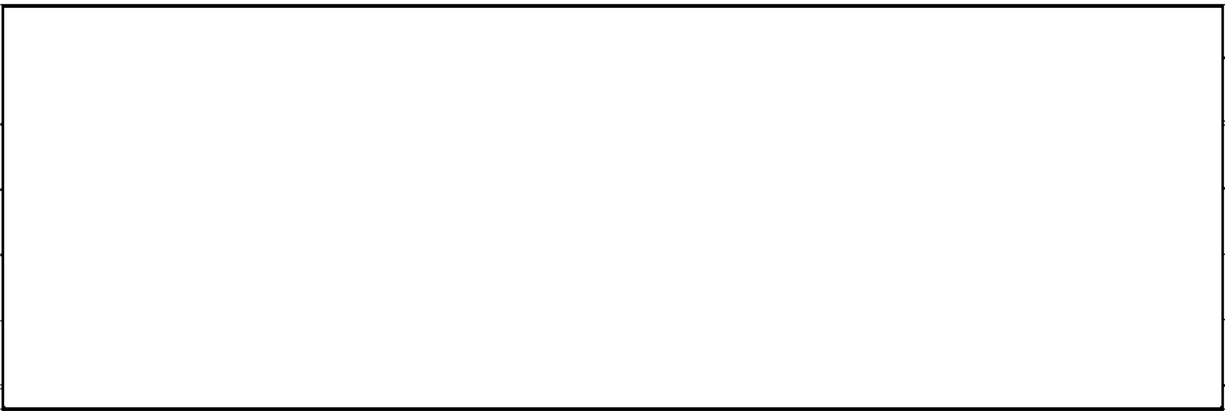
↳ not just 3 comms, there were more

Jay: just stay on msg. don't over-elaborate. it doesn't matter.

don't contradict the President. Time to move on.

"D'Kay" what I was expected to say

b5 per DOJ/OIP

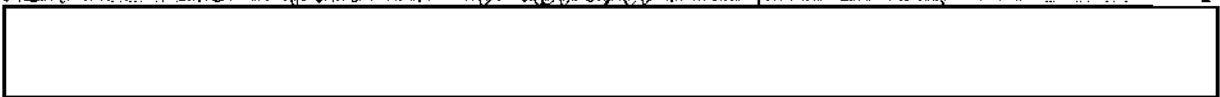


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b7C

9/19/17

public statement in adv. of statement, discussions? I was following what Kushner had done. release statement prior to conclusion of hearing.

b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Jay also commented P was happy w/ how  
it went w/ Kushner.

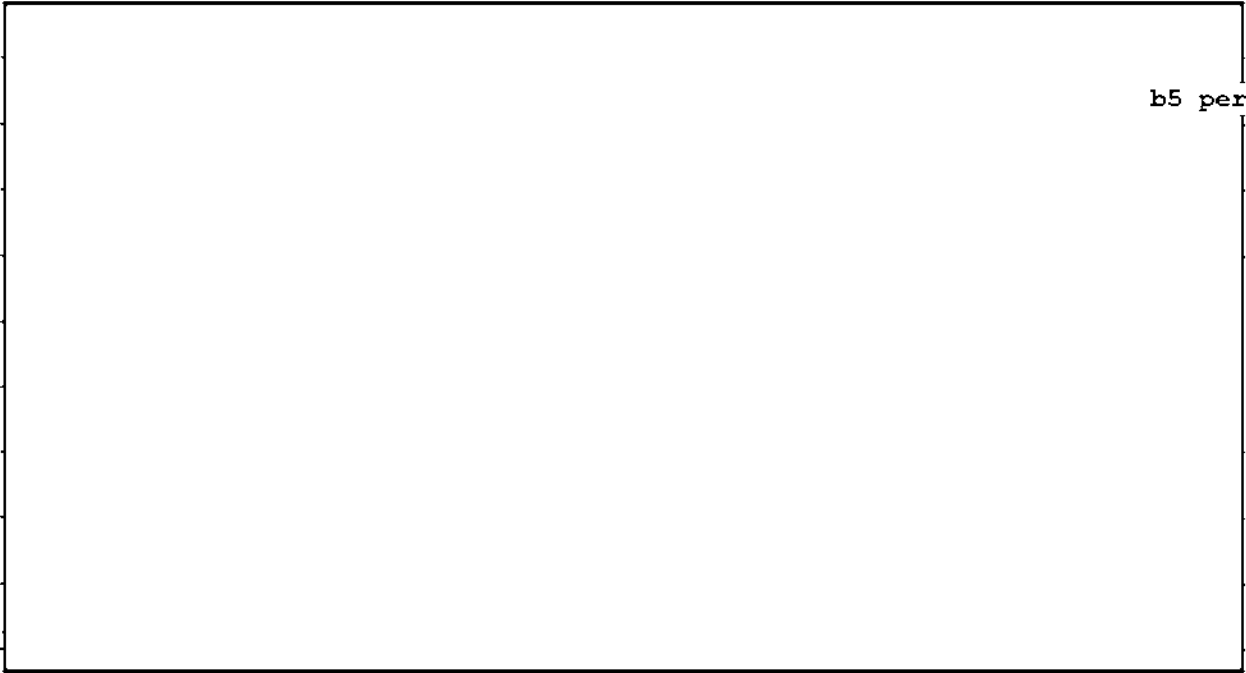
[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]



W

- [Redacted]

- told Skulow <sup>there were</sup> other details. ~~Some~~ did you tell him anything specific about call w/ Peskov's office? vaguely recall telling him about call w/ woman from Kremlin. no specifics on length of convo, sum/substance of Qs. Response: so what? deal never happened...

talk to POTUS? ~~don't recall~~. yeah, actually I did. Much earlier. Said I spoke to this woman who asked specific / great questions. wish we had assts that good, competent. timing? close in time to call. describe her? not in title or name, but "someone from Kremlin".



after that, call w/Salor, waiting to see who would call back...

talking to DJT at the time -> say waiting to hear back? yes.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

pardons / pro. pardons.

Mc. asked b/c news orgs referred to it,

"what about me?"

when? after the raid

convo. before were about testimony etc.



b5 per DOJ/OIP

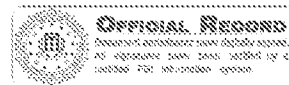
Here I've been this loyal lawyer smart  
all of a sudden I'm subject of search &  
seizure. uncomfortable pos'n to be in.  
What's in it for me?



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b6  
b7C



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/14/2018

General (Ret) John Kelly, White House Chief of Staff, was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC.

Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles III, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. Also present for the interview was Emmet T. Flood, Special Counsel to the President. Kelly inquired as to whether he was a subject, target, or witness in the Special Counsel's Office investigation and was informed he was a witness. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Kelly provided the following information:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Kelly did not speak to anyone about the article [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 08/02/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 08/06/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of Staff John Kelly, On 08/02/2018, Page 2 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Kelly did not speak to Don McGahn about the article when it came out, and he did not tell anyone he had done so.

Kelly recalled a conversation with the President and McGahn in the Oval Office where they discussed the article. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

In the Oval Office meeting, the President asked if McGahn had seen and read the article and told McGahn that he did not recall any discussion about firing Mueller. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Kelly described the conversation as "a little tense." [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] The President may have asked McGahn to correct the record, but McGahn was insistent that it had happened the way he remembered. The President said it was not the way he remembered it. Kelly assumed "correct the record" meant for McGahn to call the New York Times to correct the story.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

After the meeting in the Oval Office, McGahn and Kelly went to Kelly's office [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] but knew McGahn was insistent that he and the President "did have that conversation." [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Kelly and the President did not discuss the Oval Office meeting after the fact. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of

Continuation of FD-302 of Staff John Kelly, On 08/02/2018, Page 3 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Kelly reviewed a copy of his notes bearing Bates stamp WH000017684, dated Monday, 5 Feb 2018.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The notes read in part: "POTUS - Don McGahn letter - Mueller + resigning."

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

He did not recall what the notes meant. Kelly did not recall whether the President asked McGahn to write a letter. He thought the President may have "mused" about it.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of Staff John Kelly

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 08/02/2018, Page 4 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of Staff John Kelly, On 08/02/2018, Page 5 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of Staff John Kelly, On 08/02/2018, Page 6 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of

Continuation of FD-302 of Staff John Kelly, On 08/02/2018, Page 7 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Lewandowski and the President still spoke and were close. Kelly described Lewandowski as a "devotee" of the President.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Kelly tried not to be there when the President had meetings with friends. Kelly tried to push meetings with friends and with the President's legal team to the Residence to create distance from the West Wing.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of White House Chief of Staff John Kelly

Continuation of FD-302 of

, On

08/02/2018

, Page

8 of 8

John Kelly  
- Emmett Flood

8/2/2018  
PP

18 USC 1001

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FBI(19cv1278)-550

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

had not talked to anyone about article

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

tell anyone you talked to DM? NO, don't think so.

[Redacted]

POTUS asked  
1st time in Oval office - not in Oval office  
to specifically about this

don't recall convo. (not that it didn't happen)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

What did P say.

- had DM seen/read article? don't recall any discussion re: Aring RSM.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

a little tense

DM pushed back

P ask DM to do anything? May have asked Don to correct record. But Don said if had happened

JK: assume correct record meant call NYT

POTUS said was not the way I remember it.

DM & JK finished mtg. went to COS office.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

didn't talk to P about exchange after.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

"we did have that conversation."

told [Redacted] in his office after the mtg

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

5 Feb

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

did P ask you to ask Don to write a letter?

no recollection of it. may have mused about it.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

FBI(19cv1278)-554

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Lewand  
Potus.

[Redacted]

devotee of

[Redacted]

try not to be

there when POTUS has meetings w/ friends.



b5 per DOJ/OIP

try to push friends meetings to residence.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

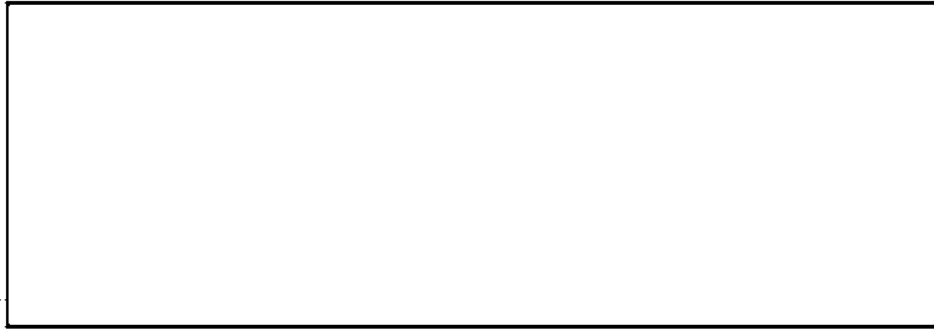
Monday 5 Feb 2018



b6  
b7C

Notes

Disfranchisement letter  
- Muller + Besigmy



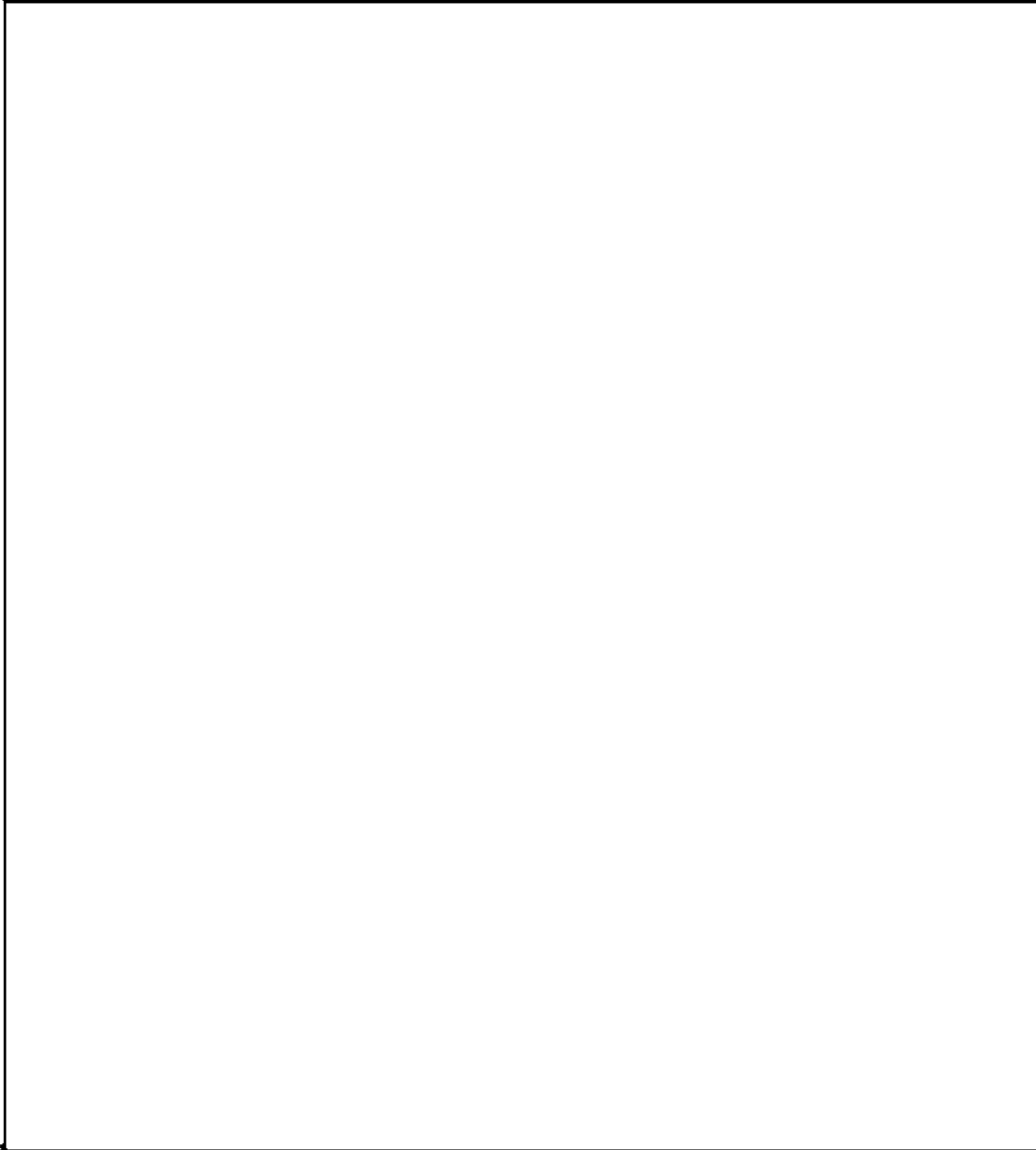
b5 per DOJ/OIP

WH000017684

Tuesday 6 February 2017

Don

• Middle Discussion in  
Team



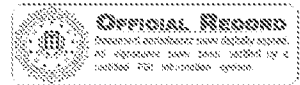
b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

WA000017685

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/11/2018

HOPE CHARLOTTE HICKS was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Hicks was accompanied by her attorneys, [Redacted] Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [Redacted] Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] [Redacted] James L. Quarles, Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel; Andrew Goldstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel; Michael Dreeben, Counselor to the Special Counsel; and Elizabeth Prelogar, Assistant Special Counsel. Hicks was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, which she acknowledged. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Hicks provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

Press Reporting Regarding June 9, 2016 Meeting in Trump Tower:

The morning of Thursday, June 22, 2017, Hicks joined a meeting between President Donald Trump, Jared Kushner, and Ivanka Trump (hereinafter Ivanka) in the White House Residence. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Kushner had a manila folder with documents with him and said to the President that they had found one thing that the President should know about, but it was not a big deal. Kushner said he, Donald Trump, Jr (hereinafter Junior) and Paul Manafort had attended a meeting during the campaign and started to open the folder when the President stopped him and said he did not want to know about it. [Redacted]

Hicks speculated Kushner's folder had emails in it regarding the referenced meeting Junior, Kushner, and Manafort participated in, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The following Wednesday, June 28, 2017, Kushner asked Hicks and Josh Raffel to go to the offices of [Redacted] to review

b6  
b7C

Investigation on 03/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/02/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

b7E

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 2 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

documents [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Hicks was shocked by the emails concerning the meeting she and Raffel reviewed in [Redacted] office. She thought they looked really bad.

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

On June 29, 2017, Hicks, Kushner, and Ivanka met with the President in his dining room to talk about the emails. Hicks' initial reaction was that they should get in front of the emails. She wanted Junior to do an interview with "softball questions" to get the emails out there. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Kushner responded it was not a big deal, just a meeting about Russian adoption. Kushner reminded the President he had previously mentioned a meeting, and the President said he did not want to

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 3 of 18

know about it. The President said they should not do anything, asked why so many people had the emails, and said they needed to let the lawyers deal with it. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Hicks told the President "this is going to be a massive story." She was not sure if she told him the emails were "really bad" in that meeting. The President did not want to talk about it and did not want details. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

When Hicks told the President the story would be "massive", he asked Kushner when his (Kushner) document production was due. Kushner told him it would be a couple of weeks. The President said, "then leave it alone."

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

On July 7, 2017, Hicks was in her hotel room in Germany having a discussion with Kushner and Ivanka about a story the New York Times (NYT) was working on related to the [June 9, 2016] meeting [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The following day, July 8, 2017, while at the G-20 summit, Hicks told Trump about the NYT story related to the meeting. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] The President said not to comment. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Hicks and the President had a follow on conversation later that day, after a session in the G-20. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

The President asked what the meeting was about. Hicks told him Kushner and Junior had told her the meeting was about Russian adoption. The President said words to the effect of, "then just say that" and dictated what she should say.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 4 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

When they got on the airplane, Hicks called Garten to get an update. He texted Hicks the statement Junior wanted to provide to the media. She took that to the President's cabin and read him Junior's statement. He told her they should not respond. Hicks advocated for providing the whole story. The President did not say what was wrong with Junior's statement, but just felt they were giving the media too much [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 5 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 6 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

After meeting with Trump about Junior's statement, Hicks returned to a seat and started texting with Junior. They worked on the statement for a period and ultimately settled on the statement that went to the press.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted] Priebus already knew about the emails. They decided they should let Trump know that Priebus knew about the emails, so Hicks went to Trump's cabin and notified him. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 7 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] She went upstairs to Trump's cabin and when she got there, he was already on the phone with Kasowitz. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Almost immediately after Hicks entered Trump's cabin, Trump handed the phone to Hicks. Kasowitz asked her what she was doing and told her his team was working with Circa News on a story that would blow the Russia investigation wide open. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

He told Hicks not to talk to the NYT. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 8 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The plane landed and Hicks went back to the White House. When she arrived, she called Corallo to tell him she was upset about the Circa News article.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] She told him Trump had not approved the statement. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 9 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Throughout Hicks' conversations with Trump, it was clear to her Trump did not think the emails would get out. Hicks' impression was Trump meant the emails would not get out to the press, but he did not say that explicitly.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Hicks did not believe the emails would never get out, nor did she express that to anyone. She knew Trump thought the emails would not get out to the press. On the call with Corallo, if Corallo thought she said otherwise, it was because she either expressed Trump's belief or that Corallo was confused and Trump, rather than Hicks, said the emails would not get out to the press. However, Hicks had no recollection of such a discussion with Corallo.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 10 of 18

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump thought Sessions' recusal from the Russia investigation was an act of disloyalty to Trump.

On July 19, 2017, Hicks had a conversation with Corey Lewandowski about a NYT interview Trump had done that day. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP conversation that Trump had asked him to go see Sessions and tell him to resign, and that he needed to do the right thing and step aside. At that point, the Senate was about to go into recess, so it was possible Trump could get a new Attorney General through a recess appointment. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 11 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

January 25, 2018 New York Times article:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Then Trump spoke on the phone with [Chief of Staff John] Kelly, who said that McGahn totally refuted the story and was going to put out a statement. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The day after the article came out, January 26, 2018, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] He asked Sanders to call McGahn, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 12 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 13 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 14 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 15 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks, On 03/13/2018, Page 16 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Trump said something along the lines of Gates needing to keep an eye on Manafort. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 17 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks , On 03/13/2018 , Page 18 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b7A  
b7B Per DOJ/OIP

**IC Findings on Election Interference**

Trump thought the fact that the intelligence community assessed the Russians had interfered in the 2016 election was his Achilles heel. Even if it had no impact on the election, Trump thought that was what people would think. He thought the assessment took away from what he did.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Hope Hicks, 3/13/2018

b6  
b7C

FBI - [redacted]

SCE - Andrew Goldstein, Jim Quarles, Michael Dreeben

Elizabeth Prelogar

Attorneys - [redacted]

[redacted]

- June 22<sup>nd</sup> meeting at Residence (Thursday morning)

- JTK ~~→ says~~

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- JTK - manilla folder of documents

- one thing we found that should know about, not a big deal
- Don, Paul and I meeting

→ DJT → don't want to know about it

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

went to open his manilla folder

[redacted]

- speculating what folder contained emails

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- following Wed

- asked to go to

[redacted]

Office

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

reimbursed b6  
b7C

*being checked by emails just received*

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- 29<sup>th</sup>

- Jared, Ivanka, HA w/ DJT
- initial reaction to emails → get in front of → Don Jr. do an ~~int~~ interview w/ softball questions

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- remember (JK) told you about meeting → DJT said didn't want to know about it
- DJT said don't do anything → why do some people have emails → let lawyers deal w/

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

←

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- told DT → "this is going to be a massive story"
- not sure said "these emails are really bad" during this meeting
- DT didn't want to talk about it, didn't want to know



- let lawyers take care of it

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- DT → in response to HH being big story

- asked JK when his document production was

- couple weeks

- then leaves it alone

- meeting in dining room

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- next convo w/ DT → in Germany

- on 7/7

- convo w/ JK and Ivanka

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- G20 Summit (7/8)

- told DT about NYT story

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- DT → no comment

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- after next session

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- talked to DT again

- DT asked what was meeting about

- took meeting to discuss Russian adoption → what TH told (TH)

and Don Jr. b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6

- then just say that

b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- second meeting

- told him -> and said to just say that (DT)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- get on plane
- called Alan Garten → looking for update
- texted HH statement of what Jn wanted to give
- walked into DT's cabin
- what Jn planned to say as DT → just don't respond
- HH said should give full story
- DT didn't say what was wrong w/ statement
- just felt like giving media too much

don't have original



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- knew what emails said on 6/28

- on 6/29

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

in dining room

- DT → what are you talking about

- JK → it's not a big deal, it was just a meeting about Russian adoption

- don't remember DT responding or having a discussion about it

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- after meeting w/ Trump → started texting w/ Jr.  
- ~~statements~~ from Jr. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- meeting (brief) → Tr asked Paul and TK to attend → Russian adoption

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- statements were submitted

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- Reine ~~knows~~ knows about emails

- needed to tell DT

- went back to DT's cabin

[Redacted]

Reine <sup>knows of</sup> ~~knows~~ the emails,

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

- went upstairs to DT's cabin

- already on phone w/ Kosowitz

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- gave phone to Kosowitz - asked HH  
what she was doing - his team working with  
Circu news on a story - blow Russia invest wide open  
- told her not to talk to NYT

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- gave phone to HH almost immediately  
- hung up w/ Kosowitz

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

rafter landed → talked to Corallo

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- flight landed

- cars back to WH

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- get back to WH

- called ~~Kenneth~~ <sup>Cornille</sup> → very upset

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- DT didn't approve statement

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]



[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- throughout convos → clear DT didn't think ~~press would~~  
~~know content of~~ emails <sup>would get out</sup> or would see emails

~~DT~~ DT said many times → in context of press (HHS <sub>impression</sub>)  
- DT didn't say that explicitly

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- emails aren't going to get out
  - didn't believe or express to anyone
  - knew DT believed wouldn't get out to press
  - on call w/ Corallo
    - either HHA expressing DT's belief or DT said emails wouldn't get out to press
    - but no recollection of it

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

FBI(19cv1278)-601

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- recusal from Russia invest was an act of disloyalty

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- convo w/ Corey Lewandowski -> laughing about NYT article (7/19) - that night

- [Redacted] DT asked him to go see Sessions and tell him he should resign

doubt thing and skip write

- Senate recess was approaching, so could get a recess appointment

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

OP

- DT on phone w/ Chief Kelly
- McGahn totally refutes story, going to put out a statement

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

9

[Redacted]

- asked Stuchabee to call McGahn → said she would

26<sup>th</sup>

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- Gates

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- DT said something like is you gotta keep an eye on Paul, make sure

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b7A  
b7B per DOJ/OIP

- IC ~~bindings~~ bindings

- public facing → DT thinks its an achilles heel  
for him

- even if had no impact on election, he knows  
that's what ~~the~~ people will think  
-- takes away from what he did



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Physical 1A/1C Cover Sheet for Serial Export

**Created From:**

[Redacted]

b7E

**Package:**

[Redacted]

**Stored Location:**

None

**Summary:**

(U) Document provided by  
Hicks

**Acquired By:**

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

**Acquired On:**

2018-03-13

**Attachment:**

(U) Document provided by  
Hicks

FD-340 (Rev. 4-11-03)

File Number [redacted]

Field Office Acquiring Evidence [redacted]

Serial # of Originating Document [redacted]

Date Received 3/13/2018

From Hope Hicks  
(Name of Contributor/Interviewee)

(Address)

(City and State)

By SA [redacted]

To Be Returned  Yes  No

Receipt Given  Yes  No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6 (e)  
Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

Yes  No

Federal Taxpayer Information (FTI)

Yes  No

Title: [redacted]

Reference: Interview of Hope Hicks  
(Communication Enclosing Material)

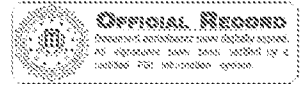
Description:  Original notes re interview of  
- document provided by Hicks

b7E

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b7E

[redacted]



b7A  
b7E

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/17/2018

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Omarosa Manigault Newman, DOB: [Redacted] was interviewed telephonically. Present for the telephonic interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and Special Agents [Redacted] [Redacted] Newman's attorney, John Phillips, was also present on the call. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, Newman provided the following information:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] everyone on the campaign was "ecstatic" [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 08/23/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/16/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7A  
b7C  
b7E

[redacted] ADG AZZ [redacted]

08/25/2018

OMN

John Phillips

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

~~Example as/che,~~

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]



**U.S. Department of Justice**  
*The Special Counsel's Office*  
Washington, D.C. 20530

January 18, 2019

William A. Burck, Esq.  
Quinn Emanuel  
1300 I Street, N.W.  
Suite 900  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Re: Stephen Bannon

Dear Counsel:

You have indicated that your client, Stephen Bannon (hereinafter "Client"), is interested in providing information to the government.

With respect to the meeting between the government, Client, and yourself on January 18, 2019 and testimony before the Grand Jury on January 18, 2019 (hereinafter "the meeting"), the government will be represented by individuals from the Special Counsel's Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The terms of this letter do not bind any office or component of the U.S. Department of Justice other than those identified in the preceding sentence. The following terms and conditions apply to the meeting:

(1) **THIS IS NOT A COOPERATION AGREEMENT.** Client has agreed to provide information to the government, and to respond to questions truthfully and completely. By receiving Client's proffer, the government does not agree to make any motion on Client's behalf or to enter into a cooperation agreement, plea agreement, immunity agreement or non-prosecution agreement with Client. The government makes no representation about the likelihood that any such agreement will be reached in connection with this meeting.

(2) Should Client be prosecuted, no statements made by Client during the meeting will be used against Client in the government's case-in-chief at trial or for purposes of sentencing, except as provided below.

(3) The government may use any statement made or information provided by Client, or on Client's behalf, in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. The government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Client failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting, and, accordingly: (a) that under the United States Sentencing Guidelines, Client is not entitled to a downward adjustment for acceptance of responsibility pursuant to Section 3E1.1, or should receive an upward adjustment for obstruction

of justice pursuant to Section 3C1.1; and (b) that Client's conduct at the meeting is a relevant factor under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

(4) The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Client during the meeting. Therefore, the government may pursue any investigative leads obtained directly or indirectly from such statements and information and may use the evidence or information subsequently obtained therefrom against Client in any manner and in any proceeding.

(5) In any proceeding, including sentencing, the government may use Client's statements and any information provided by Client during or in connection with the meeting to cross-examine Client, to rebut any evidence or arguments offered on Client's behalf, or to address any issues or questions raised by a court on its own initiative.

(6) Neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions. In the event this agreement or the meeting is later construed to constitute a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions, Client knowingly and voluntarily waives any right Client might have under Fed. R. Evid. 410, Fed. R. Crim. P. 11(f), or otherwise, to prohibit the use against Client of statements made or information provided during the meeting.

(7) The government reserves the right to argue that neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes the timely provision of complete information to the government concerning Client's involvement in an offense, within the meaning of Section 3E1.1(b) of the Sentencing Guidelines.

(8) If and when required to do so by a court, the government may disclose to the Probation Office or the court any statements and information provided by Client during the meeting.

(9) The government may disclose the fact of the meeting or the information provided by Client during the meeting to the extent the government determines in its sole discretion that disclosure would be in furtherance of its discharge of its duties and responsibilities or is otherwise required by law. Such disclosure includes disclosure to a local, state, federal, or foreign government office or agency, including but not limited to another prosecutor's office, if the recipient of the information agrees to abide by the relevant terms of this agreement.

(10) The terms and conditions set forth in this agreement extend, if applicable, to the continuation of the meeting on the dates that appear below.

(11) It is understood that this agreement is limited to the statements made by Client at the meeting and does not apply to any oral, written or recorded statements made by Client at any other time.

(12) This document embodies the entirety of the agreement between the government and Client to provide information and evidence. No other promises, agreements or understandings

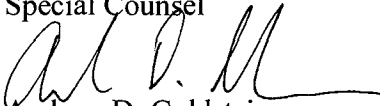
exist between Client and the government regarding Client's provision of information or evidence to the government.

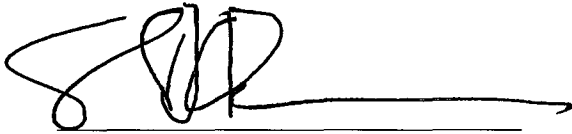
(13) Client and Client's attorney acknowledge that they have read, fully discussed and understand every paragraph and clause in this document and the consequences thereof.

Dated: 1/18/2019

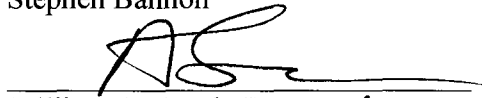
At: 12:55pm

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III  
Special Counsel

By:   
Andrew D. Goldstein  
Attorney  
Special Counsel's Office



Stephen Bannon



William A. Burek, Esq.  
Attorney for Client

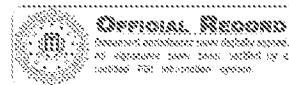
*Alex Spiro Esq.*

Dates of Continuation

Initials of counsel, Client and government attorney

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/30/2017

Deputy Attorney General Rod J. Rosenstein, residing at [Redacted] Maryland, government mobile [Redacted] [Redacted] main office telephone [Redacted] was interviewed at the U. S. Department of Justice's Robert F. Kennedy Building, located at 950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC. Present for this interview was Scott N. Schools, Associate Deputy Attorney General, direct office telephone [Redacted] government mobile [Redacted] [Redacted] serving as Rosenstein's counsel. Having provided him with the identities of the interviewing agents and the reason for the interview, Rosenstein provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

Rosenstein prefaced his interview with a caveat that attorneys of the Department of Justice have advised him not to discuss the content of any conversations with the President until the issue of privilege has been resolved.

The Events of May 8, 2017

On May 8, Rosenstein was summoned to a meeting at the White House Counsel's Office attended by Attorney General Jeff Sessions and White House Counsel Donald McGahn. The meeting was placed on his calendar and scheduled by Rosenstein's assistants. Rosenstein was not informed of the purpose of the meeting. Rosenstein held up a typed document he described as his written recollection of the details of the meeting and expressed his desire to share that recollection with interviewing agents. Rosenstein also referenced a stack of documents on the table beside him and indicated his interest in providing interviewing agents with copies.

Rosenstein was advised by Schools that neither the written materials, nor Rosenstein's recitation of what was discussed with any White House staff, should be provided to interviewing agents until the issue of privilege is resolved. Rosenstein's preference was to wait for Robert Mueller III, in his role as newly appointed Special Counsel, to engage the White House on the issue of

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Investigation on 05/23/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person) File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/25/2017 by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]  
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 2 of 11

privilege, then determine whether the documents, and his oral recounting of any meetings with the White House, should be provided to the FBI.

The May 8 meeting at the White House Counsel's Office started at noon and initially included only Rosenstein and McGahn. They were later joined by Attorney General Sessions and Sessions' Chief of Staff, Jody Hunt. At some point during the meeting, White House Chief of Staff Reince Priebus came into the room. This was the first time Rosenstein and Priebus had met. During this meeting the parties ordered lunch and ate in McGahn's office. Rosenstein authorized interviewing agents to consult his protection detail, staffed by the U.S. Marshals Service, in order to collect the exact time of the meeting. Rosenstein opined the meeting may have ended before 2:00 pm.

Rosenstein returned to the White House around 5:00 pm for a meeting at the Oval Office. This meeting was not scheduled on his calendar. This meeting "lasted probably less than an hour." Also present at the meeting were President Donald Trump, Uttam Dhillon, Sessions, McGahn, Priebus, Hunt, and a man he believed was John Eisenberg. At some point during the meeting, Vice President Michael Pence joined the meeting.

The Oval Office furniture was arranged with chairs in a semi-circle around the President's desk. Rosenstein was in one of those chairs. Behind the chairs was a couch, so Rosenstein cannot be certain whether others attended or departed.

Rosenstein said "I knew when I left Director Comey would be fired." During this meeting, Rosenstein was tasked to write a memorandum summarizing his concerns about former FBI Director Jim Comey, and was given a deadline of the following morning. When he left the meeting he felt tense because he did not have a lot of time to complete the memorandum, and he felt uncertain because he did not know its ultimate disposition. The memorandum had to be 100% accurate so he "could stand behind it." At the conclusion of this meeting, Rosenstein returned to his office and began to write his memorandum. Rosenstein remained at his office late and did not get much sleep that night.

When Rosenstein returned to his office, he informed his staff he had been tasked with writing the memorandum. Contemporaneously with Rosenstein's drafting of his memorandum, his staff drafted their own version. His staff included Chief of Staff and acting Principal Associate Deputy Attorney General James Crowell and Deputy Chief of

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 3 of 11

Staff Zachary Terwilliger. Crowell and Terwilliger were the only individuals who saw Rosenstein's memorandum until the next morning (May 9) when he provided a copy to Schools.

When Crowell and Terwilliger completed their draft memorandum, they provided it to Rosenstein, who may have incorporated some of their language.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

On March 2, 2017, Rosenstein had lunch with [Redacted] at [Redacted]'s request. [Redacted] was [Redacted] in the 1970s under President Gerald Ford. Rosenstein shared Comey's public statements regarding the Clinton investigation with [Redacted] and they discussed [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted] was "disappointed" in Comey's public statements and thought they were damaging to the Bureau and the Department of Justice.

Rosenstein remained in his office working on his memorandum until very late on May 8.

**Events of May 9, 2017**

Rosenstein returned to his office early on May 9 to finish the memorandum. On the morning of May 9, Rosenstein received two telephone calls from McGahn. Rosenstein did not do anything after either phone call as a result of whatever was discussed.

Around 10:00 or 10:30 am, Rosenstein provided a copy of his draft memorandum to Scott Schools, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Around noon, Crowell took a copy of Rosenstein's memorandum to Sessions. Crowell returned later that day with Rosenstein's memorandum bearing minor edits, (presumably made by Sessions), [Redacted]

[Redacted]

No one from outside the Department of Justice tried to influence Rosenstein's drafting of his memorandum.

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[REDACTED]  
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]  
Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 4 of 11

Sessions did not see Rosenstein's memorandum until after 12:00 pm on May 9. Rosenstein was unsure whether Sessions wrote his memorandum before or after seeing Rosenstein's. Rosenstein did not see Sessions' memorandum until the following day.

Rosenstein and Sessions did not discuss whether Sessions should participate in Comey's termination. Rosenstein explained Sessions was recused from "the matter," not from managing the component.

Rosenstein was not sure how the White House would react to his memorandum because it was "not consistent with the President's comments" made during his campaign. According to Rosenstein, the President commended Comey about his handling of the Clinton e-mail investigation.

Rosenstein assumed and expected the President or Attorney General, or possibly Rosenstein himself as Deputy Attorney General, would contact former Director Comey to schedule a meeting to inform him of his removal. Rosenstein expected it to happen soon because the termination was imminent.

Rosenstein contemplated his memorandum would one day be released to the public but had not expected it to be released immediately. Department of Justice Public Affairs Specialist Sarah Flores opined to Rosenstein the issue of the release of the memorandum may have been previously discussed by Department officials, but Rosenstein could not recall the exact exchange with Flores because he was very busy with meetings on May 9 between 1:00 pm and 5:00 pm.

At some point on the afternoon of May 9, Rosenstein telephoned McGahn and learned when Jody Hunt delivered Rosenstein's memorandum (and presumably Sessions'), Hunt remained in the Oval Office for two hours. Hunt later acknowledged he had been there for two hours.

Later that afternoon, Rosenstein demanded Crowell ask Jim Rybicki to locate Comey to "bring him in" to inform him of the looming termination. Rosenstein exclaimed Comey "was a friend of mine and the FBI Director, we need to find out where he is." At that time, he had formed the mistaken impression Comey was on his way to Los Angeles. He later discovered Comey had already arrived.

When Rosenstein learned Comey was informed of the termination by e-mail, he was "angry, ashamed, horrified, and embarrassed." It was also humiliating for Comey. Rosenstein was not copied on the e-mail to Comey, and was surprised the media portrayed the termination as Rosenstein's idea. At some point that evening, Sarah Flores told

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 5 of 11

Rosenstein something she had heard from a contact at the White House. (Schools advised Rosenstein not to discuss the content of the conversation.) Based on the exchange with Flores, Rosenstein told her the Department of Justice "cannot participate in putting out a false story." Rosenstein opined Flores's White House contact was someone from the White House Chief of Staff's Office or Public Affairs. Flores informed Rosenstein the White House requested he attend a press conference on the termination but Rosenstein refused.

Later that evening, Rosenstein received a short telephone call in his office from the President. Crowell was in Rosenstein's office at the time. After the telephone call, Rosenstein visited Sessions' office (not as a result of the call). Flores was in the secretary's vestibule outside Sessions' office on a phone call. Once the call terminated, she informed Rosenstein it was a call from a "high-ranking official at the White House." Sessions was not part of that conversation, and nothing significant was discussed between Rosenstein and Sessions at that time.

By the evening of May 9, it was clear White House officials had been telling the story about the Comey termination in a manner "inconsistent with my experience and personal knowledge."

#### **Events of May 10, 2017**

Rosenstein first contacted Mueller on May 10 at 7:34 am, but "of course" he was thinking about the issue of appointing a special counsel before that time.

Then, at 11:30 am, Rosenstein attended a previously scheduled meeting with the prosecutors assigned to the FBI's Russia investigation. This was the first regularly scheduled meeting on the matter. During this first meeting, and in light of all the controversy surrounding the investigation, Rosenstein declared, "In my acting capacity as the Attorney General, leave no stone unturned" or words to that effect. However, those assigned to the case are career prosecutors, so in his personal opinion, telling them to do so was unnecessary because he knew they would do the right thing.

During his May 10 briefing, the team confirmed for Rosenstein the President was not a suspect. This was also Rosenstein's impression from his initial April 28 briefing he received from then Director Comey. Carl Ghattas may have attended this briefing, as well as several prosecutors.

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[REDACTED]  
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 6 of 11

Rosenstein elaborated that based on his May 10 briefing, "there appeared to be no evidence the President was involved personally." Rosenstein inquired whether they needed additional resources, and was informed there was no such need.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Several times throughout the day on May 10, Sarah Flores gave Rosenstein "tick tock" summaries of news events related to Comey's termination, which Rosenstein explained was not a time line, but a sequence of events. Sometime later that evening, Flores showed him a tick tock summary he believed was reasonable, and authorized its release. Rosenstein and McGahn spoke later that evening on the subject (and before the summary's release). Both were stressed over the situation.

Rosenstein's main reason for appointing a special counsel was due to public perception of the process. It did not reflect a lack of confidence. Rosenstein was inclined to appoint a special counsel immediately the morning of May 10. Rosenstein was concerned about his position at the Department of Justice and it caused him stress, but it did not influence his decision.

Rosenstein was not present at the White House on May 10 when President Trump referred to Comey as a "nut job," does not know who else was present, and knows only what he read in the newspaper.

#### **Rosenstein's Opinion of Jim Comey**

Rosenstein's opinion of Comey's handling of the Hillary Clinton investigation began to form the previous fall, and was also informed by others, whose opinions he read in the newspaper. Rosenstein interjected "I've always liked Jim Comey," but he disagreed with his decisions "in that case." Rosenstein paused a moment, appearing to have been overcome by emotion, but quickly recovered and apologized.

Rosenstein recalled inviting Comey to speak at a Department of Justice training conference in October 2016. After he made his

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[REDACTED]  
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]  
Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 7 of 11

remarks, he solicited questions, and attorney [REDACTED] raised his hand and asked Comey about his handling of the Clinton press conference. Comey described his state of mind at the time and acknowledged it was inconsistent with Department of Justice practice but stated "we acted in good faith." Rosenstein "fundamentally disagreed with his reasoning," and discussed the issue "with several attorneys" who all agreed "we would never do anything like that."

b6  
b7C

Rosenstein also recalled being invited late 2016 or early 2017 to Sessions' senatorial office for coffee. During this conversation, Rosenstein told Sessions he was friends with Comey but believed there should be a change in FBI management because the FBI's reputation had been damaged "because of 2016." Rosenstein agreed with Sessions it would be "appropriate to have a fresh start."

On May 1, 2017, Rosenstein attended a "component meeting" and afterwards, Rosenstein asked Comey to remain, and they met privately in Comey's old office during his tenure as Deputy Attorney General. It was his first and only meeting with Comey in the role of Deputy Attorney General, which directly supervises the position of FBI Director. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] During this meeting, Comey discussed a dinner he attended at the White House with the President. Rosenstein described Comey as not an "alarmist" but Comey described the dinner as "strange" and "awkward." The President did all the talking during this dinner.

Rosenstein reiterated his goal in drafting his memorandum was not to "fire Comey." It never occurred to him he "would be responsible for determining whether to remove him." It never crossed his mind the removal of Comey would impact the Russia investigation. Rosenstein "doesn't know what the White House was thinking." The notion that removing Comey would impact the FBI's Russia investigation never crossed his mind.

Rosenstein was comfortable with Comey either being fired or not fired. Rosenstein did not believe staffing decisions were his to make; the deputy attorney general was only to make recommendations. If the decision was made not to fire Comey, Rosenstein intended to inform him "we didn't make public statements."

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein , On 05/23/2017 , Page 8 of 11

**Rosenstein's Selection as Deputy Attorney General**

Senator Sessions telephoned Rosenstein on November 28, 2016, and invited him to his office to "talk about the Department." A few days later, Rosenstein visited Sessions. Rosenstein did not know for which position he was being considered. It was clear only that he was being considered for "a position." [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Sessions summoned him to his office several times for meetings. Before one such meeting, he waited with Rachel Brand and they discussed personnel matters, after which Brand commented the fact they had both been summoned meant they were both going to be offered positions in the new administration under Sessions. This was important because Brand was supposed to start a new job the following day and needed to know whether to withdraw from the position.

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] All of his meetings during the hiring phase were between Rosenstein and either Sessions or Sessions' aides. Rosenstein recalled [Redacted] who was a close friend of Sessions, was present during some of the early meetings, as were other employees of Sessions, including [Redacted] who served as then-Senator Sessions' aide before coming to the Department of Justice.

b6  
b7C

Rosenstein was never certain for what position he had been nominated, but assumed it was either the deputy attorney general or associate attorney general position. In fact, he was nominated to be deputy, and Brand was nominated to be associate. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Sessions and Rosenstein never discussed the Russia investigation during this time period. Rosenstein only knew about the Russia

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[REDACTED]  
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]  
Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 9 of 11

investigation what he read in the newspaper. During his confirmation hearing, Rosenstein thought it "almost preposterous" that he would have any involvement with the investigation. Only after discussing the matter with Comey did Rosenstein know anything about the investigation.

The Russia investigation had been monitored by acting Principal Deputy Attorney General Crowell and Dana Boente until Rosenstein was sworn in as Deputy Attorney General. Rosenstein's first briefing on the matter was provided by Comey on April 28, 2017. Terwilliger was excluded from these briefings.

### Interviews of Potential Director Candidates

In January 2017, Rosenstein called "a few people" to see if they would be interested in the position of FBI Director but when he heard the President had given his public support to Comey, Rosenstein stopped asking around.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Rosenstein and Sessions conducted several interviews "a week ago Saturday," more on last Sunday, then engaged in several telephone calls with individuals "offering advice" or with prospective candidates. Rosenstein telephoned "a lot" of former Justice Department and Bureau officials looking for good candidates. There were two former deputy attorneys general Rosenstein hoped would consider the position, but neither was willing to apply.

Rosenstein participated in several interviews for the position of FBI Director. Those interviews were conducted by Rosenstein, Jody Hunt, [REDACTED] and Sessions. Sessions and Rosenstein asked most of the questions.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein, On 05/23/2017, Page 10 of 11

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The first candidate to be interviewed at the White House was b5 per DOJ/OIP Mueller. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]  
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]  
Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Rod Rosenstein , On 05/23/2017 , Page 11 of 11

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

### Rosenstein Appoints Mueller as Special Counsel

Rosenstein's first conversation with Mueller for the position of Special Counsel was during a telephone call on Wednesday, May 10, 2017, at 7:34 am. On Friday, May 12, Rosenstein met with Mueller in person. Later that evening, Jody Hunt telephoned Mueller.

Rosenstein and Sessions spoke with Mueller on Saturday, May 13. Mueller informed them he did not want to be interviewed for the FBI Director position. Rosenstein instead convinced Mueller to share with Sessions Mueller's views about "what should be done with the FBI." Sessions thought Mueller's comments were "brilliant." Rosenstein did not want to interview Mueller and then reject him, so they made it clear they only sought his opinion.

Nevertheless, Mueller was placed on the White House's list of potential candidates for FBI Director. Jody Hunt was the Department of Justice's primary contact with the White House and may have got him on the list for an interview. Mueller was interviewed for the position of FBI Director, but later decided to withdraw from consideration.

Mueller interviewed for the Director position on Tuesday, May 16. Rosenstein did not coordinate Mueller's interview for the position of Director.

When Rosenstein appeared before Congress on Thursday, May 18, he did not discuss anything related to communications with the White House because he believed such matters were within the scope of the Special Counsel's investigation. Although Rosenstein assigned a special counsel, he did not dictate exactly what the Special Counsel would include in its investigation. He had considered several candidates for Special Counsel, including Jim Coles.

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Rod Rosenstein, [redacted] MD 20817, DOJ cell [redacted] main [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

May 8 of this year, summoned to meeting at WH with McGan and AG, at WHC office. he didn't speak to him, assistants schedules it. Found out through DOJ staff AG would be there. He didn't know purpose of meeting.

He wrote down his thoughts on the meeting but doesn't want to give it over yet. Wants Mueller to talk to WH for approval before discussing contents. Started at noon, at first just him and McGahn, then AG and chief of staff Jody Hunt arrived. At one point Reince Priebus came into room, first time they met. He ordered lunch, they ate in McGHns office. His protection detail would have exact times, probably got back between 1 and 2. Detail can give us times. Marshalls.

Returned for meeting at oval office at 5pm, not on his calendar though. That white house meeting lasted probably less than an hour. Present at the meeting was P, Uttam Dhillon, him, the AG, initially Donald McGhan, Reince Priebus, Jody Hunt, and a man he believes to be John Eisenberg. At some point the VP came into the meeting. Returned to DOJ, then started writing memo. I knew when I left D Comey would be fired and told the below staffers and that he was tasked to write memo summarizing his concerns about Comey. He left tense because he didn't have a lot of time and uncertain because he didn't know the ultimate disposition of the memo. Had to be 100% accurate so he could stand behind it.

They drafted their own memo too. They did it at the same time he worked on his then he might have incorporated some of their comments. One thing they did is draft a memo, then collected public criticisms of Comey's comments and gave him a page of it. Printed all those comments and articles criticizing Comey's stuff. Also got transcript of Comey May 3 congressional testimony.

His opinion on Comey dated back to last fall. Opinion was also informed by opinions of others he read in papers etc. Had lunch with [redacted] at [redacted] request. He's a former [redacted] in 70's under Ford. He wanted to share with DAG those public statements and [redacted] was disappointed in Comey's public statements and how damaging they were to Bu and Dept.

b6  
b7C

I've always liked Jim Comey. Disagreed with his decisions in that case.

Spoke to two staffers, James Crowell who is chief of staff and acting principal associate deputy attorney general, and Zachary Terwilliger, who is deputy chief of staff. They assisted him in writing the memo. They were the only ones who saw memo until the next morning when he showed memo to Scott May 9 morning.

Was in office until very late May 8, came home, came back May 9, got 2 phone calls from McGhan. b5 per DOJ/OIP  
Morning, Scott reviewed memo around 10am [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
Around noon, Crowell took copy of memo to AG, Crowell returned later with edits [redacted]

[redacted] He signed it.

He knew AG was working on his memo but never saw it until the next day. Next thing he recalled – asnt sure what WH would think of his memo because not consistent with P’s comments on campaign. He assumed P or AG and possibly DAG would have to contact Comey to schedule a meeting to inform of removal. He expected that. He knew it was imminent and figured he’d be called in for a meeeing.

Sarah Flores, PAU recalled convo about DONJ releasing memos. Doesn’t remember either way. Not involved in AG’s memo. He contemplated memo would one day be reeleased . didn’t know it would be done immediately, although Sarah thought that might have been discussed. He had several meetings between 1 and 5 so busy day.

At some point he called McGhan that afternoon and learned Jody Hunt spent two hours in oval office. He took memos over from DOJ. Hunt said he was there. Later that afternoon, Comey was a friend of mine and FBI D, we need to find out where he is. Told Jim Crowell to tell Jim Rybicki to find Comey to bring him in to give him news. He formed mistaken impression Cmoey was on his way to LA, later learned he was already there.

When he found out how he was fired, he was angry, ashamed, horrigied, embarrassed, it was humiliating for Comey. At some point that evening, PAO Sarah Flores told DAG something she heard from WH. And DAG told her the DOJ cannot participate in putting out afalse story. Sarah said WH wanted him to attend press conferecnce and he refused.

Received phone call from P later that evening. Crowell was in DAG’s office. Short call. Shortly alater he was in AG’s office, which is normal, Sarah was on phone with high ranking WH person, and after that, Sarah said it was call from WH. Sarah and DAG was in secretary’s office having exchange with Sarah while she was on phone. AG not part of that convo. No significant convo with AG at that time.

Evening of May 9 it was clear WH officials was telling story about firing d that was inconsistent with DAG’s experience and personal knowledge.

He called Mueller at 734am on may 9m but was of course thinking about it before. He “realized immediatly the problem.”

April 28- first briefing on Russia led by comey. Some of ghattis might have been there and prosecurtosr.

May 10- called Mueller on 734am on may 10<sup>th</sup> (corrected previous mistake). May 10 previously scheduled meetingh with prosecutors on Russia investigation.

1130 am May 10 was first regularly scheduled meeting. He said in my acting capacity as AG- leave no stone unturned. Because of all the controversy and therefore, leave no stone.... In his personal opinion teling ihm that was unnecessary because they are career prosecutos and would do the right thing.

Confirmed president was not suspect. That was also his impression on april 28 when comey told him that. Based on his briefing there appeared to be no evidence P was involved personally. They saw no b5 per DOJ/OIP need for additional resources (DAG asked) and [REDACTED]

[redacted] On May 10 several times throughout the day, Sarah gave him a "tick tock summary" of news events ... not a time line but sequence of events. Some time early evening she shoed him one he thought was a reasonable summary of events. It was reeleased later that evening. He and McGhan spoje later that evening about that. McGhan called him BEFORE they released the sequence of events. They were both stressed over the situation.

Public perception of process, so he decided to appoint sp4ecial counsel. No lack of confidence, purely an issue of public perception. He was inclined to appoint SC immediately that morning. He was concerned about his poisitoin here but it stressed him but did not influence his decision.

No information about the nut job comments.

He invited Comey to speak at rteh October training conreernce. [redacted] raised his hand and asked about the Clinton press conference. He told entire story about his state of mind and knows it was inconsisntent with DOJ practice but we acted in good faith. DAG fundamentally disagreed with his reasoning, discussed with several attorneys, we would never do anything like that.

b6  
b7C

No one from outside tried to influence his drafting of his memo.

AG didn'[t see DAG's memo until after noon on that day. So perhaps AG wrote his aready. So AG

His opinion is AG;s recusal from a matter doesnot mean he is recused from "managing the component."

He reminded in his statement he and AG discussed Comey, was invited to AG to talk have coffee in Sessions office. He told AG he was friends with comeyn but that there should be change ni FBI management because reputation was damaged and he agreed with AG it would be appropriate to hav a fresh start. AG knew DAG liked Comey.

DAG was ok firing or not firing, his view was it is not his decision to fire or not fire. He only makes recommendations.

As DAG he felt if D was going to stay he would tell him we didn't make piblci statements

May 1- component meeting

One meeting he had with comey as DAG was- [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] and they spojke in comey's old Dag office. Comey talked about the dinner with the P at that time. Comey wasn't alarmist, but just "strange/"

His goal WAS NOT to fire Comey. It never occurred to him he would be responsible for determining whether to remove him. The notion removing Comey would impact the Russia thing never crossed his mind. He never believed the terminaton had anything to do with Russia. He doesn't know what WH was thiking.

Comey told him after their one meeting he had an awkward dinner with president, his demeanor was odd, he didn't know it would just be the 2 of them, P did all the talking. But in his mind, P is not subject of this (collusion) investigation.

In congress he would not discuss anything related to communications with WH because within scope of Muelle's investigation. He assigned the matter but didn't dictate what so he didn't know exactly what he was investigating.

Sessions (then senator) November 28 called and said let's talk about department. Came in few days later, didn't know what he was being considered for. It was clear he was being considered for "a b5 per DOJ/OIP position." [redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

This led to sessions calling him to his office a few times for meetings. At one meeting Rachel Brand and he were talking about personnel and Rachel said I guess the fact we were here means we were getting the jobs. Apparently Rachel needed to know whether to withdraw from another job she was supposed to start the next day. [redacted] His only meetings were with AG and AG's aides. Never with WH. [redacted] close friend of AG was in some of those early meetings. Others too, ee's of senator. [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Never certain when he was nominated but began to assume it was DAG or associate AG (Rachel got that job). [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

They never talked about Russian thing. Only what he knew in paper. Then during confirmation hearing he found it almost preposterous that he would have involvement with Russian piece. Only after talking to comey did he know anything about Russian piece.

Boente and crowell as acting PDAG were only ones monitoring Russia case until DAG sworn in. got his first briefing on april 28. APDAG been acting since january 20.

In January he called a few people to see if they would be interested in FBI D but then Trump said he supported Comey so he stopped asking.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

AG and DAG conducted a lot of interviews a week ago Saturday, then last Sunday, then several phone calls with people offering advice or prospective candidates and DAG was calling a lot of former DOJ officials and Bu friends looking for good candidates. There were 2 DAG hoped would take the job. Neither was willing to apply.

The interviews he participated in was Jody Hunt, [redacted] AG and Dag. AG and DAG asked most of the questions [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

DAG's first conversation with Mueller was May 10 at 7:34 am. Met with him Friday. Later, Jody reached out to him Friday night about FBI D and he interviewed Tuesday. Over the weekend on Saturday they talked. They talked to Mueller by phone along with AG. He briefly shared his views about what should be done with FBI, AG thought it was brilliant. He somehow got on WH list. Jody Hunt was primary POC with WH and he probably got him on the list at WH for an interview. He said on phone he didn't want to be interviewed for FBI D, DAG convinced him to share with AG what he should be looking for for D. AG thought he was spot on. DAG didn't want to interview then reject him, so they made it clear they just wanted his opinion... "I know you're not applying for the job but please share what we should be looking for but...." Then later somehow he got on the WH list for potential candidates.

Mueller interviewed but later decided to withdraw from position of FBI D.



5/23/17

1) 10

Stawls, Scott  
Rosenstein, Rod

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

, MA 2017

W. cell -  
w phone

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

8 May mtg w/ McGovern + AG At WH. could office  
learned AG would be there

wk to prepare  
Rosenstein write down a statement  
will give

started @ noon back before 2 but unsure  
alone w/ Mc

J.D. Hunt car arrived  
at one point Pence Priebus arrived (first  
time he met  
Priebus)

ordered lunch  
conversation covered by privilege

returned to oval office @ 5 pm  
less than an hour

Pres. / V. Trump Dhillon, DAG AG  
John Eisenberg look to DAG but later told  
at sum. part VP entrance

nh.

2/10

know that Dir Comoy was going to be fired  
returned to DOJ, started to write the memo  
spoke to Jim Crowell PADAG  
to Zachary Terwilliger DCOS  
2 ~~staff~~

bootride  
w/ l memo

Aids told about task to write a memo about  
Dir Comoy  
Assigned ~~to~~ DAC in writing the memo  
only for who saw that day  
showed to Scott on 9 May

felt sense b/c limited for  
uncertainty as to the disposition  
had to be 100%  
they drafted their memo - DAC incorporated  
two

Zach collected public criticism of asked about Lynch  
congressional hearings, articles

Didn't consult w/ any one  
opinion formed prior

March 2  
[ ] scheduled lunch w/ DAC  
he wanted to share an [ ] - how  
disappointed he was about Dir Comoy's  
handling

b6  
b7c

Draft completed on 9 May

3/8/10

\*

9 May 2 calls from McGahan  
didn't do anything different

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

DAG knew AG was working on his own memos  
DAG not involved w/ AG's memos

My reasons were not consistent w/ what the  
Pres. said on campaign - namely <sup>Pres</sup> ~~Comey~~ commended  
~~the~~ Comey about official investigator

DAG assumed a mtg would be scheduled that  
day to terminate Dir Comey

Sarah Place, Public Affairs, recalled  
DOJ making a statement

\* afternoon called Mr. McGahan

AG's COI Hunt spent 2 hours at the oval  
office

Hunt took AG and DAG's letters to WH.  
believed Hunt told her

4/10

DAG told counsel to reach out to Rybick;

when told Coney was to be fired  
that evening

Search Flores PA heard from W.H. <sup>wk</sup> Cos or PA  
told

evening DOT can't participate in putting out a false  
story

W.H. wants a press conference

\* later evening received a phone call  
Didn't do anything

after DAG was in the AG's office  
Flores on the phone w/ ~~AG~~ a high  
ranking w.H. official  
outside AG's office

\* AG not w/ DAG and Flores

W.H. officials telling a story of Coney's  
was diff. than DAG's knowledge  
part from Flores and part from News

surprised

- 1.) done by email
- 2.) all Postmaster's idea

not copied on email

5/10

Special Council

7:34a called Mueller on 10<sup>th</sup> May

11:20 reg. scheduled w/ Justice ~~investigator~~,  
prosecutor

at April - Comey briefed Justice invest  
Guthrie and prosecutor  
DAG in charge

1st of Registry was 11:20 on 10  
I am acting AG continuation  
have no stone unturned. If Russian's involved  
prosecutor

Confirmed sup Not a suspect  
in evidence President was invol  
[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

No Need for add'l records  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

Flower gave Tic Toc of firing  
they put out

\* Donald Gher from with. called <sup>DAG</sup> before  
the sequence released  
both stored

6/10

public perception of process  
not reflective of prosecutor and Agents  
inclined to appoint a special council that means  
were you  
concerned about your position - yes but <sup>bl. m. sta.</sup>

not present out dual office on 10 May  
only what he saw

9 May

unsure if AG drafted his before of after  
DAG showed to AG after noon

No discussion if AG should be involved  
DOJ ~~has~~ are recused from the matter  
not from managing the component

MOU 2/16 - <sup>first</sup> meeting

told him Jim Conroy was a friend  
there should be a change blc of  
2016

DAG doesn't make staffing decisions only  
recommendations

DAG okay w/ ~~as~~ or what Conroy  
Component had 12 May w/ Conroy At DOJ  
what's our policy on public statements  
Back in DAG office

7/10

Impact of removing Comey from FBI would  
not impact the Russia investigation  
DAC never thought that - didn't cross his mind

Comey said to DAC Acknowledged dinner w/ the president  
only Comey and President  
it was bizarre

mark  
pulled back

TO Congress - I don't know what his invitation  
Give Mueller the opportunity to investigate

Nov 28 Senator Sessions called

interviewed several days later

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Sessions called DAC to his office a couple times  
Rachel Brand at the meeting

Never interviewed at WH

[Redacted]

and is now  
close friend of AG

b6  
b7C

8/10

Only section

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

- AG's view we need new leadership of the  
FBI

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Never discussed the Position race during ~~the~~ DAG's  
hiring interview

Not until after DAG met w/ Comey,  
Cruz,  
Donoghue

excluded each from the Position matter  
until after Inman is  
briefed on 21 April

Selection of next FBI Director

- stressed initially b/c FBI is most  
important law enforcement in the country

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Monday, then Thursday - but slowed



9/10

How many

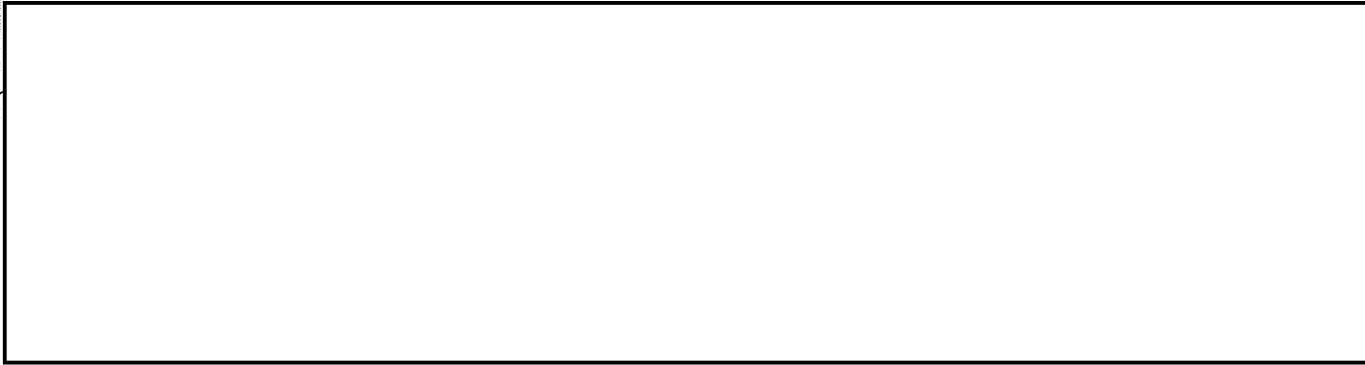
AG and DAG next 9/10 Sat  
AG + DAG asked get this one on Sunday

entire + that

Several by phone, - either off-duty schedule  
or confidante

b5 per DOJ/OIP

DAG



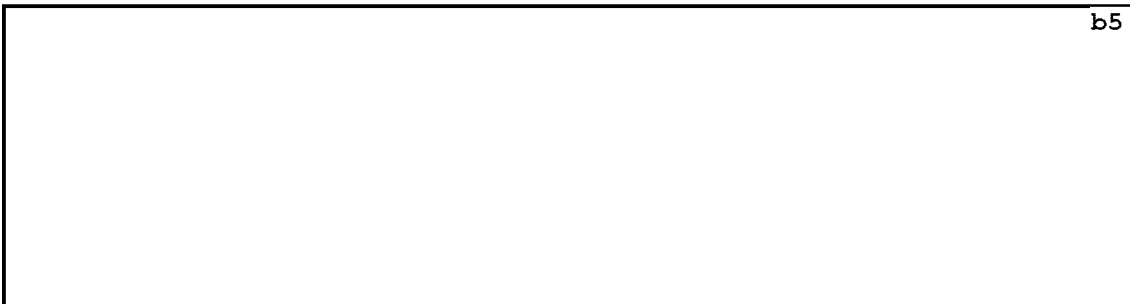
b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Friday AG and DAG w/ Mueller via phone  
DAG called Mueller Day after the firing for special  
DAG with conflicts w/ AG's office w/ special  
att.

①

\* They will not answer questions re: priv comm until

Scott Schels present

3 pages of notes

5/23 @ 2:30 pm

R. Rosenstein →

[redacted]

ML

[redacted]

all office

b6  
b7c

- Discuss protection priv comm w/ WH + SC?
- Documents requested from Hill and FBI
- 5/8 meeting w/ Don McGahn → ≈ 12pm (protected detail would have time)
  - learned AGs would be there as well
  - did not know purpose of meeting
    - alone w/ McGahn at first
    - Jody Hunt + AGs arrived next
    - Renee Precher came in at some point
    - Returned to office at 5pm
    - President, Utan Diller, AGs, Don McGahn, Jody Hunt, Renee Precher, Possible Eisenberg VP came in at some point

- Memo written that evening
  - Chief - James Crowell
  - Reputy Chief - Zachary Tserwylgher
- } spoke to both re: memo

5/9 - Finished memo

- After meeting at WH → told Crowell/zach about pending firing
- Was told he had to write the memo and finish by next morning
  - They (2/I) drafted their own versions as well
  - R.R. used pieces of their memos in his

3/2 - Lunch w/ [redacted] - former [redacted]

- Discussed Comey comments in public re: Clinton

b6  
b7c

\* Has written notes going back to last fall \*  
→ Wants to give

② Morning 5/9

- 2 telephone calls McGahn → nothing changed
- Late morning Schools reviewed memo

Late morning

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- [Redacted]
- Knew AG was working on memo, but no foreknowledge of content
- His memo reflects his own views not anyone else
- He thought Potus, AG, or DAG would call Comey and <sup>terminate</sup> in-person
- Contemplated memo would be released, but did not think so soon

That afternoon he learned Hunt took letters over to WH and spent 2 hours there

- Asked Crowell to reach to Pypicki to get Comey
- He then learned how Comey was fired → RR became emotional via email

Evening 5/9 • Flores → RR says he will not be part of a false story → refused to attend press conference

• WH Council

• Then received phone call from Potus

• Meeting w/ Pres

• Short call

• Phone calls WH

(Sarah) • Later received another phone call

• Sarah's phone calls

from WH → RR was up in AG's outer office

• He assesses WH press stories were inconsistent w/ his personal view/knowledge → <sup>the</sup> saying it was all his idea

• Believes may have heard from J. Hunt about email

Mueller

Made final decision to not go for Director and leave law firm to become Special Counsel

(3)

7:34 am 5/10 → called Mueller (official offer)

→

5/10 → 11:30 met w/ Russia prosecutors (First brief 4/28 by Comey re: Russia)

↳ scheduled, Russia → leave no stone unturned

Russia prosecutors → "Confirmed President was not a suspect @ this meeting"  
→ "No need for [redacted] additional resources" b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Flores (Tic Tac Summary) of finding First pattern → media
- Dow McGahn called that evening re: release of sequence of events
- RR qualifies as call as "stressed"
- Special Counsel → out of a need to address public perception of the investigation
- Was concerned about his position if he appointed counsel, but did not change his decision
- 5/10 meet w/ Lavrov + Kislyak → no awareness of this meeting

• RR not sure when AG drafted his → he believes AG does not receive his until afternoon (RR)

• Nov 28, 2016 first meeting w/ AG

• Had a leadership discussion re: FBI

• He made a recommendation → staffing decision up to WH

• He would be okay if fired or if kept

• Comey + RR had public statement discussion (first meeting as DAG) <sup>one of</sup>

• He believed Comey was getting fired regardless of his memo <sup>5/12 component</sup> <sub>Head mtg</sub>

→ Did not anticipate it would all be put on him

• Never thought removal of Comey would impact Russia investigation

↳ Just his opinion of his cabinet

Can't speak to anyone else

• Was aware <sup>one</sup> of Comey meeting Potus and that was strange

- WH Docs
- Crowell through drafts
- DAA Memo

(4)

Congress

• Would not discuss communication w/ WH until discussions w/ SC

11/28/16  
 • <sup>1st</sup> DAG call 1<sup>st</sup> call from AG - thought did not even was an interview

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

• Then met w/ AG a couple more times, no interviews w/ WH  
 • After inauguration - first contact with WH

AG's friend

• Initially reached out to two folks per FBI Director prior to end January

• No prior discussion w/ AG re: Russia leading up to his appointment outside of media

AG's Rachel

• Crowell/<sup>Dave</sup>Boente ran Russia until after sworn in and 4/28 brief by Comey

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

5/16

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

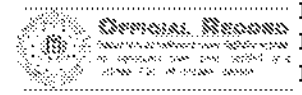
[Redacted]

share later

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/10/2017

(U) MARY McCORD, date of birth [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Participating in the interview were Special Agents (SAs) [redacted] and Office of the Special Counsel attorneys Andrew Goldstein and Elizabeth Prelogar. SA [redacted] advised McCord that it is a violation of criminal law to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, which McCord acknowledged. After being advised of the purpose of the interview, McCord provided the following information:

[Large redacted block]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U) Employment History

(U) After law school, McCord clerked for U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Hogan for two years, and then spent two years at the Department of Treasury Office of Legal Counsel. In 1994, she joined the District of Columbia United States Attorney's Office (DC-USAO). [redacted] she went back to the DC-USAO. In 2001, McCord [redacted] McCord again went back to the DC-USAO. In [redacted]

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b7C

~~Reason: 1.4(c)  
Derived From: Multiple Sources  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

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Investigation on 07/17/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/20/2017

by [redacted]

[Redacted]

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ (U) [Redacted] (S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord, On 07/17/2017, Page 2 of 12

2012, McCord became the Criminal Chief, where she remained until May 2014, when she left to go to Main Justice.

(U) McCord started at DOJ as the acting Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the National Security Division (NSD). In August 2014, she became the Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General, where she remained until October 2016. In October 2016, after John Carlin's departure, McCord served as acting Assistant Attorney General (AAG) for NSD. McCord's last day at DOJ was May 12, 2017. She currently works at the Georgetown University Law Center.

(U) During the time McCord served as the acting AAG, there was no Principal Deputy in place, so she performed the duties of both positions simultaneously. Her duties included assisting in running NSD's various components, which include the Office of Law and Policy, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, the Appellate Section, and the CFIUS Unit. On occasion, McCord would attend Deputies Committees (DCs) and Principals Committees (PCs) at the White House when Yates was unavailable.

(U//FOUO) The FBI Investigation on LTG Mike Flynn

(S) [Redacted] the FBI's investigation into Mike Flynn [Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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(S)

(S) (S) [Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] the lack of Russian reaction to the U.S.'s December 2016 sanctions. There was a lot of speculation regarding the minimal response from the Russians which was not "what was expected"

[Redacted]

(S)

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[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 3 of 12

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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(S) b7E

(U) [Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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(U) [Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 4 of 12

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 5 of 12

[Large redacted block]

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[Redacted block with 'X' mark]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted block with 'X' mark]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted block with multiple 'X' marks]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 6 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Large redacted block containing an 'X' and a small rectangular redaction]

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(U//FOUO) January 26, 2017 Meeting with White House Counsel's Office

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted block containing an 'X']

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted block]

(S)

(U//FOUO) On January 26, 2017, McCord accompanied Yates to the White House, where they met with White House Counsel Don McGahn and another attorney from his office, James Burnham. The four of them were the only ones at the meeting.

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted block]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 7 of 12

[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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(U//~~FOUO~~) McGahn asked if Flynn had been interviewed by the FBI and Yates told him that he had been interviewed [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] McGahn asked "how'd he do?" and Yates declined to answer. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] X

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X  
X

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) January 27, 2017 Meeting with White House Counsel's Office

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

[redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 8 of 12

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
[redacted] (S) [redacted] (S)

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
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[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] X b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

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[redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 9 of 12

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
FBI(19cv1278)-682

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(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

[redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 10 of 12

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

~~[redacted]~~

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)



[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 11 of 12

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[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mary McCord , On 07/17/2017 , Page 12 of 12

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

X

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

(S)

UNCLASSIFIED

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Physical 1A/1C Cover Sheet for Serial Export

**Created From:** [REDACTED]  
Serial 56  
**Package:** 1A32  
**Stored Location:** None  
**Summary:** (U) Documents (numbered 1-90) provided to McCord for review prior to the interview; agent notes; e-mails provided by McCord in the interview  
**Acquired By:** [REDACTED]  
**Acquired On:** 2017-07-17  
**Acquired From:** (U) Mary McCord  
Washington, District Of Columbia  
**Attachment:** (U) Documents (1-90), notes

b6  
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b7E

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b1  
b3  
b7E

(U) ~~SECRET~~ [ ] (S) 1A32

FD-340 (Rev. 4-11-03)

File Number [ ]

Field Office Acquiring Evidence WF

Serial # of Originating Document 56

Date Received 7/17/17

From Mary McCord  
(Name of Contributor/Interviewee)

(Address)

(City and State)

By SA [ ]

To Be Returned  Yes  No

Receipt Given  Yes  No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6 (e)  
Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

Yes  No

Federal Taxpayer Information (FTI)

Yes  No

Title: [ ]

Reference: Interview of Mary McCord  
(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description:  Original notes re interview of

- Mary McCord interview notes
- McCord's notes (pages 1-90)
- emails provided by McCord

1A32

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U.S. Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20535

b6  
b7C

Mary McLeod

7/17/2017

date of birth: [redacted]

Spec. Coun. office

Address: [redacted]

SA [redacted]  
SA [redacted]

current employment: Georgetown Univ.

Andrew Goldstein  
Elizabeth Prelogar

previous employment:

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

5/2014 - acting PD Asst Atty Gen

8/2014 - ~~acting~~ PD Asst Atty Gen *1<sup>st</sup> princ. deputy when she was acting*

10/2016 - acting AAG for NSD

last 2 weeks - AAG for NSD

last day - 5/12/2017

clerked Judge Hogan 2 yrs

Treasury OLC 2 yrs

1994 - OUSA / DC (Holder was USA)

[redacted]

Year Dep Chief

b6  
b7C

2012-2014 ~~Year~~ Criminal Chief

acting AAG & prin. deputy AAG - simultaneously.

responsibilities - running division, various components.

law & policy, CES, DCs, PCs, appellate section, etc.

CFUS

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b7E

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(2)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

lack of  
reaction to sanctions

there was speculation about who the

recourse was not what was expected

b1  
b3  
b7E

(S)

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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1/26/17

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

go to WHCO  
met McGahn

[Redacted]

James  
Burnham

Meeting: McGahn, Yates, McLeod, Burnham

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

DM  
Plaintiff

(S)

[Large Redacted Area]

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

McGahn: Has FBI interviewed him?

DM: yes, by FBI

[Redacted]

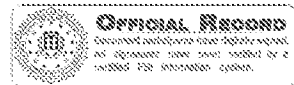
DM: how'd he do?

DM: (demurred) can't comment

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/15/2019

Chris Christie was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, 395 E St SW, Washington, D.C., in the presence of his attorney, [Redacted] from the law firm Lowenstein Sandler LLP. Participating in the interview were Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. Also present were Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. After acknowledging that it is a potential violation of Title 18 USC 1001 to lie to federal law enforcement in the course of an investigation and being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, Christie provided the following information:

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b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/13/2019 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/14/2019

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 2 of 10

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

February 14, 2017 White House lunch:

Christie [Redacted] invited to lunch at the White House [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 3 of 10

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

As they watched the TV, Spicer said something about Flynn. Shortly after, Kushner's phone rang, and it was Flynn on the line. Christie could tell from observing Kushner's half of the conversation that it was not going well and Flynn did not like something Spicer said. Christie heard Kushner say something like, "You know the President respects you. The President cares about you. I'll get the President to send out a positive tweet about you later." Kushner looked at Trump when he said the last part, and Trump nodded his assent.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Trump said, "Now that we fired Flynn, the Russia thing is over," and Christie laughed. Christie told Trump, "No way. We'll be here on Valentine's Day 2018 talking about this." [REDACTED] and Christie responded that he had been through both sides of investigations and there was no way to make it shorter, but there were a lot of ways to make it longer. Trump asked Christie what he meant, and Christie told him not to talk about the investigation and to keep his mouth shut even though it would be frustrating at times. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Christie told Trump that if you get near a guy like Flynn, he's like gum on the bottom of your shoe, and you can't get rid of him. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

At one point during the lunch, Donald said to me, "This Russia thing is all over now, because I fired Flynn."

I started to laugh.

"What are you laughing about?" he asked.

"Sir," I said, "this Russia thing is far from over."

"What do you mean?" he said. Flynn met with Russians. That was the problem. I fired Flynn. It's over."

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 4 of 10

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Christie thought when Trump said "the Russia thing," he referred to the Russia problem in general, not the investigations specifically. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Christie thought the more important thing was that there was an investigation, not that there was coverage of it. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Toward the end of the February 14, 2017 lunch, Trump asked Christie if he was still friendly with [then FBI Director James] Comey, and Christie said that he was. Trump told Christie to call Comey and tell him "I really like

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 5 of 10

him. Tell him he's part of the team. I really like him." At the end of the lunch, Trump repeated that Christie should talk to Comey.

Christie thought the request was "nonsensical" and that he was never going to do it. Christie just sat there when Trump made the request. He would not put Comey in the position of having to receive that telephone call.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Christie said it would have been uncomfortable to pass on that message [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 6 of 10

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Termination of FBI Director Jim Comey

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump called and said, "What should I do? I'm getting killed. I'm getting murdered." Christie asked, "Did you fire him because of what Rod wrote in the memo?" Trump said yes, so Christie told him to "get Rod out there" and have him defend it. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 7 of 10

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump told Christie it was a "good idea" and he was going to call Rosenstein right then. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Special Counsel:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Christie recalled a telephone call with Trump in which Trump asked Christie what he thought about Trump firing Mueller. Christie told him that there were two issues he saw. The first was that Mueller had given Trump no substantive reason to fire him. The second was that it would be political suicide and Trump would lose the Republicans in Congress if he did so. Christie advised him not to fire Mueller. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Christie did not recall the precise timing of the

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie

Continuation of FD-302 of (2.13.2019) , On 02/13/2019 , Page 8 of 10

telephone call, but thought it was in the summer of 2017, probably after Chris Wray had been nominated to be the next FBI Director.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 9 of 10

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7A |  
b7B per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Chris Christie  
(2.13.2019)

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 02/13/2019, Page 10 of 10

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

1

2/13/2019

ULP

[Redacted]

MRD

ADG

Chris Christie

EBP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

1001 admonishment

ULP:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

2/14/17 lunch

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Spicer mention Flynn. Jared's phone rang. Told POTUS it was Flynn. Could tell from JK that it was not going well. Flynn did not like what Spicer said.

You know POTUS respects you. POTUS cares about you. I'll get the Pres. to send out a positive tweet about you later.

POTUS nodded

briefing call  
induced Flynn convo

Now that we fired Flynn, the Russia thing is over.

Cenkshi laughed. no way. will be here Valentines 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

cc - I've done this. I've been inv.

There's no way you can make this shorter, lots of ways to make it longer.

P: What do you mean?

cc: Don't talk. Keep your mouth shut. It will be frustrating.

cc: you get near a guy like this, like gum on bottom of your shoe.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

5

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Russia thing? The Russia problem. The issue.

Not the univ. specifically.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

To Christie, important thing is law, not coverage  
tell him. investigation

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[ gum off your shoe - after JK, MTF call ]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Comey / lunch:

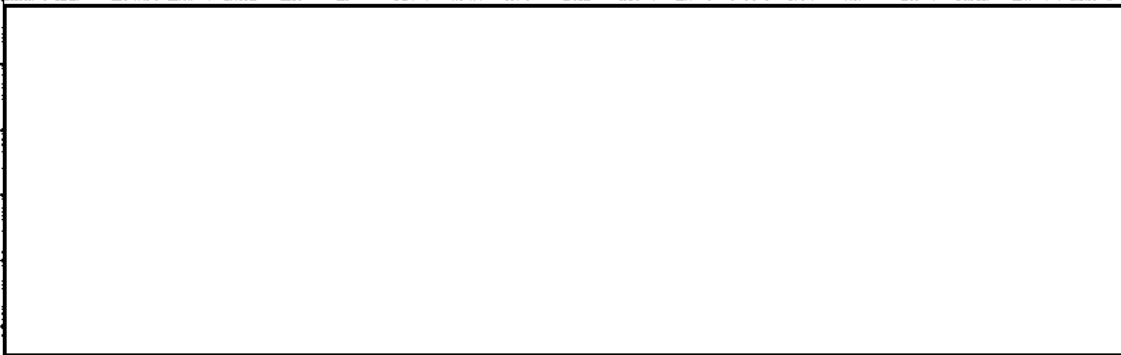
near end of lunch. Are you still friendly  
w/ Comey? yes

Call him and tell him I really like him.

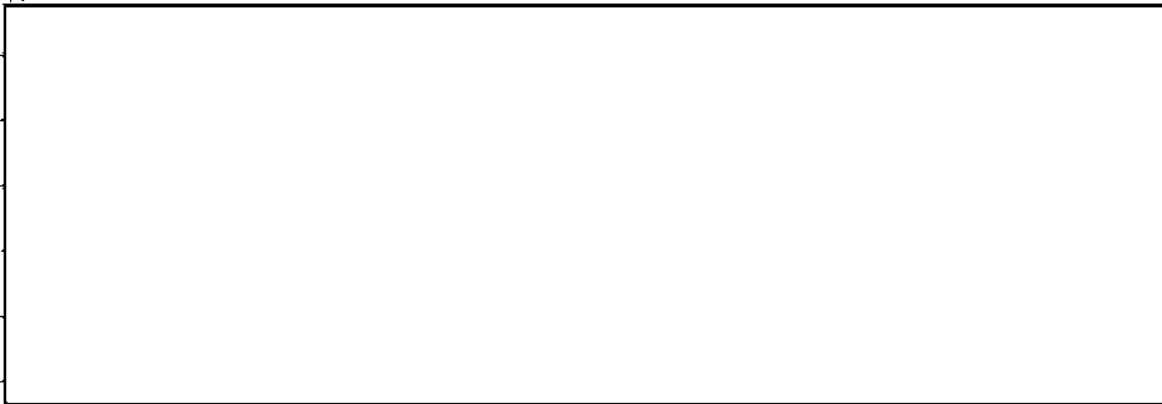
Tell him he's part of the team, I really like him.

Said it again - talk to Comey, okay  
at end.

Nonsensical request. was never going to do  
it. Just sat there wouldn't put Jim in  
that position to receive that call.



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Phone rang. [Redacted]

"It's the Prez"

"What should I do? I'm getting killed, I'm getting murdered"

C - Did you file him bc what Rod wrote in memo?

P - Yes

C - then <sup>get Rod out there</sup> have Rod defend if

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

P - [Redacted] good idea. I'm going to call Rod now

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

May 17, 17. Special Counsel.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Run him

b5 per DOJ/OIP

asking what do you think about me firing Mueller.

- ① No substantive reason, to fire him.
- ② Political suicide Lose Rs in Congress.

Do not do that.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

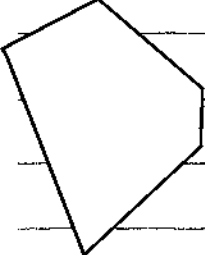
[Redacted]

when? Summer of 2017  
probable after Chris Wray <sup>named</sup> as director

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

phone call



[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Timing on phone convs.

After way named, us..

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

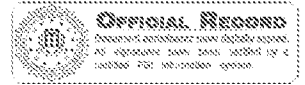
[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/17/2018

COREY LEWANDOWSKI was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC, in the presence of his attorney, [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted] Present for the interview were Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] SA [Redacted] Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben, and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Lewandowski provided the following information:

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 04/06/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted]

Date drafted 04/08/2018

b6  
b7C  
b7E

by [Redacted]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 2 of 8

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

**Meeting with President Trump regarding Attorney General Jeff Sessions:**

In mid-June 2017, Lewandowski had a meeting alone with the President in the Oval Office. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Jeff Sessions. The President expressed criticism of Sessions' recusal from the Russia investigation and said if he had known in advance Sessions would recuse, he would not have selected him as Attorney General. The President said Sessions was weak [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and the President asked him if he would deliver a message to Sessions. Lewandowski said he would, and the President said, "write this down" and began to dictate a message he said he wanted Sessions to deliver in a public speech. The President thought if Sessions made the remarks he provided, Sessions would get back on track in the eyes of the public and would be viewed favorably.

Lewandowski wrote down what the President dictated on notecards he carried in his pocket. [Agent note: Lewandowski provided the interviewing agents the original copy of the notes he took during the meeting with the President. The notes will be maintained in the 1A section of the case file.] Lewandowski confirmed his notes stated as follows: "I know that I recused myself from certain things having to do with specific areas. But our POTUS [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] is being treated very unfairly. He shouldn't have

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 3 of 8

a Special Prosecutor/Counsel because he hasn't done anything wrong. I was on the campaign with him for nine months, there were no Russians involved with him. I know it for a fact because I was there. He didn't do anything wrong except he ran the greatest campaign in American history. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Now a group of people want to subvert the Constitution of the United States. I am going to meet with the Special Prosecutor to explain this is very unfair to let the Special Prosecutor move forward with investigating election meddling for future elections so that nothing can happen in future elections. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

The President did not provide additional instructions to Lewandowski other than to say he wanted Lewandowski to deliver the message to Sessions, and for Sessions to make the statement publicly. Lewandowski said he understood. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] He wrote as fast as possible to make sure he got the content correct. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

**Lewandowski's efforts to pass the message to Attorney General Sessions:**

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Lewandowski contacted Sessions' office to schedule a meeting with him.

[Redacted]

Lewandowski thought the message to Sessions should be delivered in person, not over the phone. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 4 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

He did not want to meet at the Department of Justice because he did not want Sessions to have an advantage over him, since that was Sessions' turf.

[Redacted]

He did not want there to be a public log of his visit.

[Redacted]

they decided to meet at Lewandowski's office

[Redacted]

They set a meeting for the following evening, but before the meeting the next day, Lewandowski received word Sessions had a conflict and had to cancel their meeting. They did not re-schedule the meeting, and Lewandowski left Washington, DC

[Redacted]

Lewandowski maintained the notes in a safe at his home, which was his standard operating procedure with documents and sensitive items,

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Sometime in the first week of July, Lewandowski called [then White House Deputy Chief of Staff] Rick Dearborn to ask if he would be meeting with Sessions in the near future and if so, if he could pass a message. Dearborn had a longstanding relationship with Sessions, so Lewandowski thought he would be an appropriate person to deliver the message in his place. Dearborn agreed and Lewandowski said he would pass the message intended for Sessions in person.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Lewandowski knew the White House was busy dealing with the messaging regarding a meeting that had happened during the campaign.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

so he reached out to Dearborn again to see when he

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 5 of 8

would be meeting with Sessions. Dearborn told him they had a dinner scheduled that week and Lewandowski renewed the request for him to pass a message. Lewandowski contacted Dearborn [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP [Redacted] in mid-July 2017 and learned Dearborn was scheduled to have dinner with Sessions the following night.

On July 19, 2017, Lewandowski and the President met alone in the Oval Office. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

In the meeting, the President asked him if he had talked to Sessions, and Lewandowski said the message would be delivered soon.

At the conclusion of his meeting with the President, Lewandowski left the Oval Office and went to the anteroom just outside, where he saw Dearborn. Lewandowski handed Dearborn the typed copy of his notes and said something to the effect of, "this is the message we talked about."

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 6 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Lewandowski met with Hicks at around 6:30 pm that day. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] While Lewandowski and Hicks were together, the President called Hicks to talk about the interview and expressed that he was happy with how it was playing out.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Lewandowski told Hicks about the President's request and joked about the idea of firing Sessions as a private citizen. He thought he told Hicks that the President had said if Sessions did not meet with Lewandowski, to tell Sessions he was fired. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]



[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 7 of 8

**Discussions about Recess Appointments**

The same day as the New York Times interview, Lewandowski conducted research on recess appointments on his own. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Lewandowski did not share the results of his research with the President.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Corey Lewandowski , On 04/06/2018 , Page 8 of 8

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

*Cory Lewandowski*

*4/5/18 - 3:00 PM*

*Cell Phone*

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Notes - mid June 2017 - Moore also there -

- Oval Office - Just two [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- Leave about 5.5. lack of moral  
- Pres critical - wanted to have known him

[Redacted]

- Pres asked to deliver message  
- write this down

- Dictated to him from Pres.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- You know Jeff Sessions?

[Redacted]

- Never would've appointed weak

- Can you go talk to him?

- He wanted GL to have JS make a speech

- Dictated exactly what to say.

- Wanted to put AG back on track / favorable in public.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- Post-poned the meeting
- Never met or deliver the message
- Didn't want DOJ aware

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- Alz Postponed - we'll set up another time
- Rick Garbman - Reached out
- see if meeting w/ any time in near future

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- Spoke to R.D. to have him deliver message
  - R.D. has long standing relationship.
  - In-person message - Worked in person meeting
    - Didn't think would have that relayed → landing from President
- over the phone

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- See President again - R.D. there also see JS?
- when next time [have dinner w/ J.S. next day]
  - Following evening w/ Atz -
  - wanted to make sure have copy of message
  - Message being deleted when asked

2/2012 - meeting in oval office

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

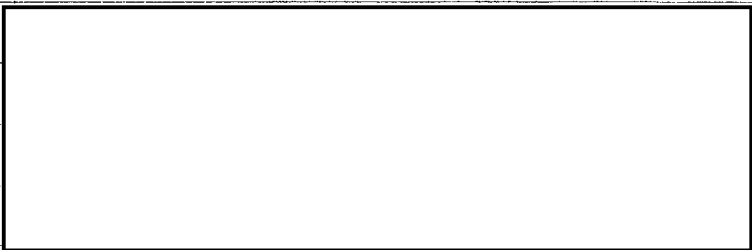
- R.D. anti-room outside of oval - have copy of notes
- R.D. aware of message to deliver to President

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



President us/c?

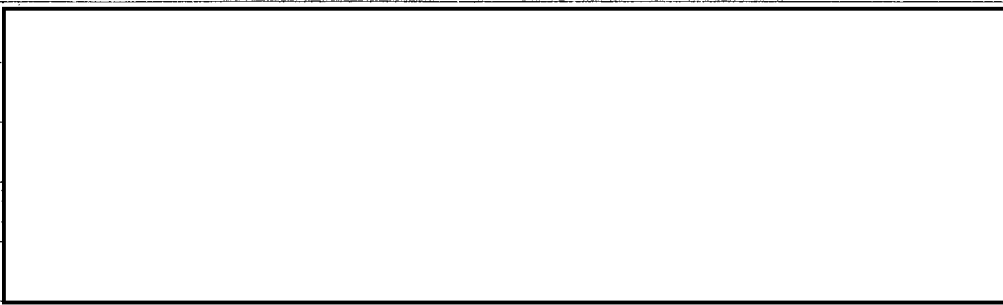
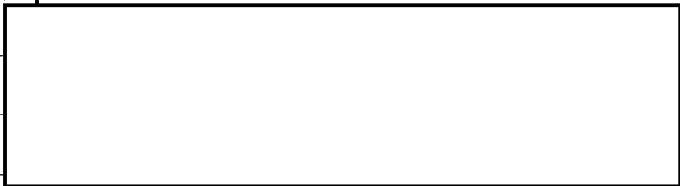
7/2017  
mid  
July

- said message was going to be delivered soon.



b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C



b5 per DOJ/OIP

Why not just phone? He could've



b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Didn't want to deliver on phone or @ DOJ
- Wanted to discuss in person
- Didn't want S.C. to have an advantage of DOJ office.
-

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

*Left Oval - wanted to deliver as quick as possible*

*- Didn't know what follow-up would happen*

*- Reached out, was unable*

*- Didn't stay in town -*

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]



May have also been on  
of country

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Reached out to R.D.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

7/19 Oval Office

[Redacted]

- RD much w/ prior - have notes

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- Meeting dinner w/ sessions next day

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- R.D. knew <sup>5.9</sup> for a long time.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Drafted - No thought process on content

- Said take this down

[Redacted]

- Took out note cards wrote up best as possible

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Shortly after contacted J.G.

[Redacted]

Street view

[Redacted]

- Meeting on following day, planned on reviewing/reading notes  
didn't get to that point because postponed

- Notes in safe at home - S.O.P.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

- [Redacted] typed up - didn't get one word, said that's alright

- R.D. - Filled up notebook said this is the message to give.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP

*books*



b5 per DOJ/OIP

*Recess Appointment*

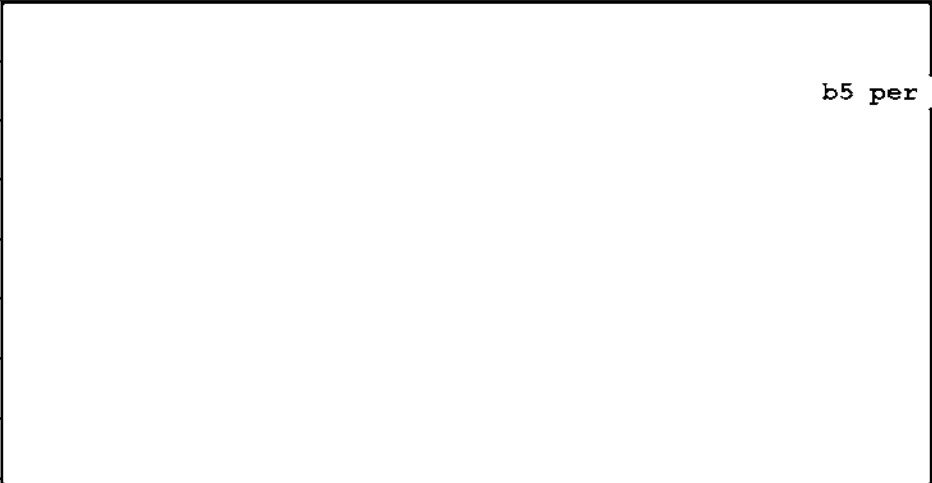


b5 per DOJ/OIP



*- favor shared w/ Pius.*

*- Recess appointment research conducted after Pius  
was able to interview*



b5 per DOJ/OIP



①  
Corey R. Lewandowski

I know that I  
refused myself from  
certain things having to  
do w/ specific Areas.  
But our POTUS [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



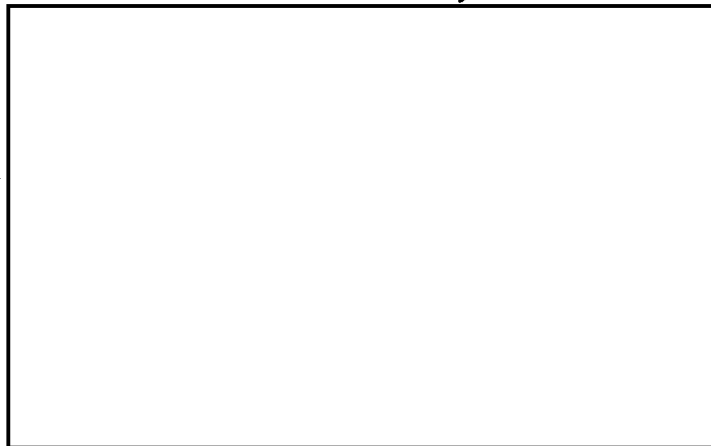
[redacted] is being treated

very unfairly. HE  
shouldn't have a special  
Prosecutor / Counsel.  
B/C he hasn't done anything  
wrong.

I WAS ON THE CAMPAIGN  
WHEN 9 MONTHS,  
THERE WERE NO RUSSIANS  
INVOLVED WITH HIM.

I KNOW IT FOR A FACT  
B/C I WAS THERE. HE  
DIDN'T DO ANYTHING WERE  
EXCEPT HE RAN THE  
GRAND CAMPAIGN IN  
AMERICAN HISTORY.

b5 per DOJ/OIP



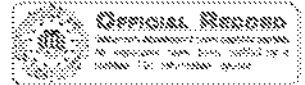


Corey R. Lewandowski

③

Now A group of people  
want to submit the  
Constitution of the U.S.  
I am going to meet w/  
the Special Prosecutor  
to explain this is very  
unfair + let the  
Special Prosecutor move  
forward w/ investigating  
election meddling for  
future elections so that  
nothing can happen in  
future elections.

[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

FBI INFO.  
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [Redacted]  
REASON: 1.4 (C)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043  
DATE: 11-14-2019

Date of entry 03/29/2018

b6  
b7C

HOPE CHARLOTTE HICKS was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Hicks was accompanied by her attorneys [Redacted] Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [Redacted] Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] James L. Quarles, Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel, Jeannie S. Rhee, Senior Assistant Special Counsel, and Andrew Goldstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel. Hicks was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, which she acknowledged. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Hicks provided the following information:

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

Investigation on 12/08/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/22/2018

by [Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7E

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 2 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~



[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 3 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

It was about 3:00 am

[Redacted]

She received a call from a telephone number with a 202 area code, and a foreign person was on the other end of the line. Hicks had a hard time understanding the person but she could make out the words "Putin call."

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

She asked the caller to send her an email, which he did. Once she received it, she forwarded it to Kushner.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The Russians sent a letter, which she gave to transition officials. She had some back and

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 4 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

forth exchanges with Sergey Kuznetsov, [Redacted]

[Redacted] She remembered their first call and that they exchanged emails, [Redacted]

Hicks reviewed an email (labelled "Exhibit 40") and confirmed she received it after the phone call. She was not sure if the situation was legitimate, which is why she sent it to Kushner to verify. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] quoted Hicks as saying the campaign had "no contact with Russian officials." She had received press inquiries about it, because someone had said the campaign was in constant contact with the Russian government. Nothing Hicks had seen led her to believe that was true. She acknowledged her answer to the newspaper was overbroad, but she checked in with a few people after the fact to validate it. She recalled she talked to Kellyanne Conway and Stephen Miller. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] She asked Jason Miller and probably asked Kushner. She thought she reached out to Conway and Bannon. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Hicks told that group she was planning to respond to the press and there was no hesitation or pushback from any of them. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 5 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 6 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C  
b7E

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 7 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump told Hicks Obama told him to watch out for Flynn. Hicks thought the comment sat with Trump more than she expected.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Flynn's and his son's tweets [Redacted]

[Redacted] Trump thought Flynn had bad judgment. Hicks thought the tweets bothered Trump [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] It bothered Trump that both Flynn and his son sent bad tweets. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 8 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 9 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

b1  
b3  
(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(S)

[Redacted]

b1  
b3  
(S)

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

b7E

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 10 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3

(S)

(S)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3

(S)

[Redacted] Flynn was "sort of on thin ice already" at that point. [Redacted]  
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b1  
b3  
b5 per DOJ/OIP

(S)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3

(S)

~~SECRET~~



[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

b7E

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 11 of 23

(S) [Redacted] (S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b1  
b3

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7C

(S) [Redacted] (S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b1  
b3

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 12 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Trump said he never held Comey back or kept him in his office. Hicks thought Trump meant that he had not asked Comey to stay,

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 13 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump "scolded" Sessions in her presence but she was not sure exactly what they said or when exactly it happened. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Trump was very angry. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

In the interview, Trump responded to a question about whether it was too late to fire Comey by saying it was not too late, he had confidence in Comey, and "we'll see what happens." [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Hicks suggested they also edit out the answer about Comey, but Trump wanted to keep it in, which she thought was unusual. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 14 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b1  
b3

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 15 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 16 of 23

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 17 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 18 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

After the news of Comey's termination broke, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] He asked Hicks to get someone out there to defend him. [Redacted]

[Redacted] Trump was frustrated with the coverage.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump wanted Spicer, Conway, and Hicks all to get on television and defend him. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~



[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 19 of 23

[Redacted] Trump's meeting with [Russian Foreign Minister Sergey] Lavrov and Kislyak on May 10, 2017. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] The day prior (May 18, 2018), Trump and Hicks had an off the record lunch with news anchors to discuss his foreign trip and had said similar things about Comey to that group. He said Comey was a "nut job" and was "crazy." [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump [Redacted] did not seem concerned, and said, "he is crazy."

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 20 of 23

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] He never said he did not say the things the media said he did.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 21 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

When the Special Counsel was appointed on May 17, 2017, Trump was angry, surprised, and frustrated. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] she saw shortly afterward that Sessions [Redacted] in his office. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] The only other time she had seen Trump like that was when the Access Hollywood tape came out during the campaign. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) , On 12/08/2017 , Page 22 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

A day later, on the flight from Saudi Arabia to Tel Aviv, Israel, Trump took out Sessions' resignation letter and asked a group of people what he should do.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Hope Hicks (Day 2) . On 12/08/2017 . Page 23 of 23

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] in that interview, she was "throwing herself between the reporters and Trump to try to table some of it." Trump loved the interview [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

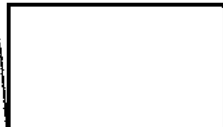
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

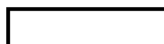
Hope tickets



~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

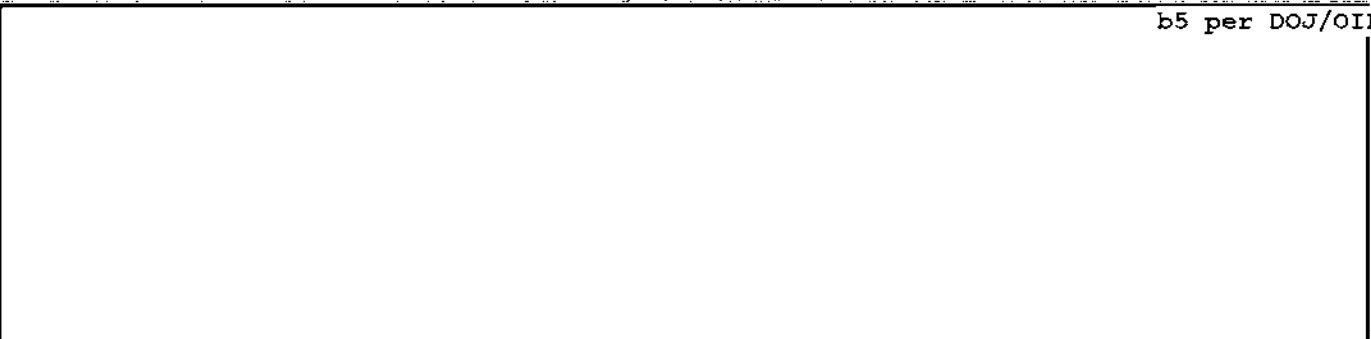
(1)

FBI INFO.  
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG   
REASON: 1.4 (C)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2042  
DATE: 11-14-2019

Andrew  
JLQ

12/8/2017

b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP



b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Election day. Russian reach out After speech  
3am, [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP  
000 #. Picked up and person on end was Phone rang.

Foreign, hard to understand could make out  
"Putin call" [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Asked  
caller to send her an email. GOT Email forwarded  
to JK [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Asked JK who it was. Russian ambo?

(5)

11/9/16 next day.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

sent letter initially. HH gave to transition officials. had some back/forth w/ Sergey Kuznetsov.

# calls w/ Kuznetsov? don't know other than 1st one.

Remember emails

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

# (40)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

↳

did you think was legit? had no idea sent it to Jared, so he could verify.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

post-election quote [Redacted] "no contact w/ Russian officials" Getting press inquiries. someone (Russian) said they were in constant contact w/ Russian about it. Press asked about it [Redacted]

[Redacted]

did a touch base w/ couple people: KAC, SM

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Called Jason Miller - Jared was with us. Prob asked him. Prob reached out to RB, KAC.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

told them planned to respond to press? yes. no hesitation or pushback from them.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

*Lunch Break*

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6  
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

U

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

b1  
b3

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

MF was sort

of on two ice already not

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

*John told  
DJT*

mentioned to watch out for gen. Flynn  
HH surprised. Seemed to be sitting w/  
DJT more than HH expected.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Flynn's tweets - really bothered DJT  
[Redacted] they both tweets  
bad things. Son thing bothered him -

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

MF + son's tweets

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

DJT thought ~~F~~ had judgment on MF  
bothered DJT

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

DJT doesn't think Comey pulled him aside or held him back

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

DJT sd he never held anybody bk or kept in office. Thinks DJT meant it wasn't like DJT asked him to stay

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

3 AG refusal - DJT not happy

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Pres scolded AG when Hott there but not sure what was sd.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Pres very angry

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

HH sd they

shld prob also edit answer re: Comey bc  
good intvw, wil' make news - DJT was ok  
w/ it which is unusual

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted], asked AIT to get someone to defend

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

told them to find someone to put on TV.  
DIT wanted SS, KC, HH all to go on TV.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Day after Conroy firing - meet w/ Larrov / Krishyak

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(30)

[Redacted]

(they had

5/18 Thurs

lunch day b4 - off-record lunch w/ news anchors on foreign trip. DJT sd similar things in lunch)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- Comdy specific - "nut job" - pres. told reporter he was crazy,

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- told DJT

this is what is says you said in notes  
DJT looked for a minute, didnt seem concerned  
sd "he is crazy"

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

never sd he didnt say these things

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

5/17 Special Counsel - DJT reaction "Anger, surprise, frustration"

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

she saw shortly after

b5 per DOJ/OIP

JS

in office.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

only other time was like when tape came out during camp

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

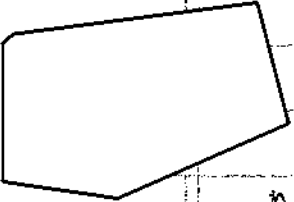
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



Days later on trip DIT took out resign. letter from JS + asked what he should do

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Saudi Arabia →  
Tel Aviv

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

## throwing herself b/w reporters + DJT  
to try + falsify some of it  
DJT loved the intvw, [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

12/8/17 H.H.

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

Russian congrats

- <sup>40-</sup> call from 202 # (maybe) - foreign - personal cell [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

4/9 -

[redacted]

sent letter first

Kutznetsov ✓ was the one arranging call

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]



UNCLASSIFIED

Physical 1A/1C Cover Sheet for Serial Export

b6  
b7C

**Created From:**

[redacted]

b7E

**Package:**

**Stored Location:**

None

**Summary:**

(U) Notes; documents  
shown to Hicks

b6  
b7C

**Acquired By:**

[redacted]

**Acquired On:**

2017-12-08

**Attachment:**

(U) Documents shown to  
Hicks

b6  
b7C

FD-346 (Rev. 4-11-03)

[redacted]

File Number [redacted]

Field Office Acquiring Evidence [redacted]

Serial # of Originating Document [redacted]

Date Received 12/8/2017

From Hope Hicks  
(Name of Contributor/Interviewee)

(Address)

(City and State)

By SA [redacted]

To Be Returned  Yes  No

Receipt Given  Yes  No

Grand Jury Material - Disseminate Only Pursuant to Rule 6 (e)  
Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

Yes  No

Federal Taxpayer Information (FTI)

Yes  No

Title: [redacted]

Reference: Interview of Hope Hicks  
(Communication Enclosing Material)

Description:  Original notes re interview of

Hope Hicks ; documents

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

40

Document ID: 07-4248-01988

From: sergey kuznetsov [redacted]  
To: hope hicks [redacted]  
Cc:  
Bcc:  
Subject: Extremely urgent message from president Putin  
Date: Wed Nov 09 2016 04:06:00 EST  
Attachments:

b6  
b7C

From : Sergey Kuznetsov [redacted]  
Sent : 11/9/2016 4:06:55 AM  
To : Hope Hicks [redacted]  
Subject : Extremely urgent message from president Putin

Dear Hope,  
I have a very important message from President Putin congratulating Mr. Donald Trump on his election.  
Please let me know how to best convey it.  
Thank you.

Best regards,  
Sergey Kuznetsov  
Congressional Liaison  
Embassy of Russia to the USA  
202-298-6700

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7C

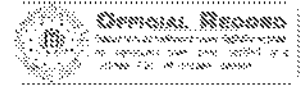
[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP  
b6  
b7C

[redacted]



~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Collected Item Log

Event Title: (U//~~FOUO~~) Evidence Collected, June 7, 2017 Date: 06/09/2017

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]  
ON 06-13-2019

Approved By: [redacted]

Drafted By: [redacted]

Case ID #: [redacted] (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ [redacted]  
[redacted]

b3 1  
b6 1  
b7C 1  
b7E 1,2

~~Reason: 1.4(b) (U)  
Derived From: FBI NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

Collected From: James Comey  
[redacted]

b6 2  
b7C 2

Receipt Given?: Yes

Holding Office: WASHINGTON FIELD

### Details:

(U//~~FOUO~~) On June 7, 2017, at approximately 10:15 a.m., Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Special Agents (SA) [redacted] and [redacted] collected four memorandums (memos) as evidence from James Comey at his residence at [redacted]. The memos collected are described as follows:

b6 1,2  
b7C 1,2

- One memo dated February 14, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated March 30, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated April 11, 2017, one page;
- One memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages.

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

b3 1  
b7E 1

Title: (U//~~FOUO~~) Evidence Collected, June 7, 2017

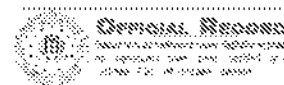
Re: [Redacted] 06/09/2017

<b>Item Type</b>	<b>Description</b>
1B General	<p>(U//<del>FOUO</del>) Four memorandums (memos) described as follows: One memo dated February 14, 2017, two pages; One memo dated March 30, 2017, two pages; One memo dated April 11, 2017, one page; One memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages.</p> <p>Collected On: 06/07/2017 10:15 AM EDT</p> <p>Seizing Individual: [Redacted]</p> <p>Collected By: [Redacted]</p> <p>Location Area: Residence</p> <p>Specific Location: [Redacted]</p>

b6 1,2  
b7C 1,2

◆◆

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/16/2017

Former FBI Director James Comey was interviewed at his residence at [redacted]  
[redacted] This interview was scheduled in advance, for the purpose of providing certain classified memoranda (memos) to Comey for review. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, Comey provided the following information:

b6 2  
b7C 2

After reviewing the memos, Comey spontaneously stated, to the best of his recollection, two were missing.

In the first occurrence, Comey said at an unknown date and time, between January 7, 2017, which Comey believed was the date of his briefing at Trump Tower, and Trump's inauguration on January 20th, 2017, Comey received a phone call from President Elect Donald J. Trump. The originating telephone number may have had a New York area code. Following the telephone conversation, Comey drafted and e-mailed a memo to James Rybicki and FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe.

In the second instance, Comey was on his way to a FBI leadership conference in Leesburg, Virginia (March 9, 2017) when he was diverted to Liberty Crossing to respond to a request from Trump to contact him. Comey contacted Trump from Liberty Crossing on a Top Secret telephone line. The conversation was "all business" and related to [redacted]

[redacted] Comey is less sure he drafted a memo for this conversation but if he did, he may have sent it on the FBI's Top Secret network.

b5 per DOJ-OIP

Comey observed that the second page of the memo dated March 30, 2017, had the incorrect banner line classification of SECRET//NOFORN rather than UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO at the top and bottom of the second page.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231  
SECRET//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 06/07/2017 at [redacted] United States (In Person)

b3 1  
b6 1,2  
b7C 1,2  
b7E 1

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/07/2017

by [redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

b3 1  
b7E 1

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of James Comey;  
Collection of Four Memos, On 06/07/2017, Page 2 of 2

During the interview, at approximately 10:15 a.m., Comey voluntarily provided the interviewing Agents four memos. Comey had these memos in his possession when he met interviewing Agents. The memos collected are described as follows and will be maintained as evidence:

- One memo dated February 14, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated March 30, 2017, two pages;
- One memo dated April 11, 2017, one page;
- One memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages.

#### Administrative

Comey signed an FD-597, Receipt for Property. A copy of the FD-597 was left with Comey. The original, signed FD-597, the memos reviewed by Comey, and interview notes will be maintained in the 1A section of this case file.

The memos provided to Comey for his review had previously been modified to include portion markings, banner lines, and classification authority blocks.

After being collected from Comey, the memos were locked securely in a General Services Administration approved safe located at the FBI Headquarters building, located at 935 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, Washington, DC, at approximately 2:00 p.m. the same day.

On Friday, June 9, 2017, the memos were transported and entered into evidence at the FBI Washington Field Office evidence control center.

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

FBI 18-CV-00932-4

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Receipt for Property

Case ID: \_\_\_\_\_

On (date) 6/7/2017

item (s) listed below were:

- Collected/Seized
- Received From
- Returned To
- Released To

(Name) James Comey

(Street Address) [redacted]

(City) [redacted]

b6 2  
b7C 2

Description of Item (s): ON 6/7/2017, the following items were received from Mr. Comey at the above address:

- one memo dated 2/14/2017, two pages
- one memo dated 3/30/2017, two pages
- one memo dated 4/11/2017, one page
- one memo "last night at 6:30 pm," four pages

b6 1  
b7C 1

Received By [redacted]

Received From [Signature]

(Signature)

Printed Name/Title: SA [redacted]

Printed Name/Title: James B. Comey



6/7/17

Copy, James

[redacted]

(1)

called one evening on my cell at my office  
night think my cell phone

blm the 7th briefing at Trump tower and inauguration  
2-17

email to Byhite and McCabe

(2)

class described to LX

Leadership and @ Leeburg  
asked him on my JS  
all history,

April 15th

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ-OIP

len rsc about on email  
in yellow



b6 -2  
b7C -2

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR met [redacted] in 2007, sometime before a January 2008 conference they both attended. OHR remembers he was at a conference when [redacted] and their first interaction took place prior to that event. As the Chief of DOJ's Organized Crime and Racketeering Section at the time, OHR met [redacted] in London at [redacted]. [redacted] was an expert on Russia, specifically Russian organized crime, and was concerned the west was not taking the Russian threat seriously. Russian oligarchs are brilliant yet cold-blooded and do not act like adults as they kill people for nothing. Over the years OHR and [redacted] had a few more meetings before OHR left [redacted] and joined or founded Orbis. [redacted]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -2, 3  
b7C -2, 3  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 3, 4

[redacted] OHR and [redacted] would see each other once a year in London or the U.S. [redacted] had paid clients, yet provided OHR with the same short intel reports from a [redacted] OHR introduced [redacted]

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR believes that [redacted]

b3 -1  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 4

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 11/22/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/22/2016

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U) [Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 11/22/2016, Page 2 of 3

b1 -1  
b7A -1  
b6 -2, 3  
b7C -2, 3  
b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR believes Russian oligarchs will provide information to the FBI because in Russia everyone talks to the police. Following the 2014 Ukrainian invasion OHR met [Redacted] OHR recalled the three talked about engaging with prospective oligarchs, and that meeting led to a meeting between the FBI, [Redacted]

(S) [Redacted]  
(U//FOUO) [Redacted]

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In late July 2016, possibly Saturday, July 30, 2016, [Redacted] called OHR and asked to meet for breakfast as he/she was in Washington, D.C. and had some serious stuff to talk about. [Redacted] planned to also tell SA [Redacted] about the information he/she had collected. OHR met [Redacted] for breakfast where OHR was told that Carter Page had met with high level officials in Russia. Page met with Sechin and one other person. The media had already documented Page's trip to Moscow at that time. The FSB had Trump over a barrel [Redacted]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 2, 3  
b7A -1  
b7C -1, 2, 3  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3, 4

(S) [Redacted] reported to [Redacted] In addition, [Redacted] was furious at [Redacted] and was making a case against him. [Redacted] were almost ready to talk to the U.S. about the money [Redacted] stole. [Redacted] claimed he had already given some of this reporting to SA [Redacted] and planned to give the rest to him. At that time, [Redacted] had provided [Redacted] with two reports regarding these topics while Glen Simpson had four. OHR provided copies of notes he took during and after the meeting with [Redacted] which are enclosed as attachments.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR knew Glen Simpson hired [Redacted] to dig up Trump's connections to Russia. OHR's wife is a Russian translator and was hired to conduct open source research. Even though she did not know the goal of the project, she was able to surmise the purpose as the individuals she was researching were close to Trump. OHR knew that Glen Simpson was hired by a lawyer who does opposition research. OHR knew [Redacted] reporting on Trump's ties to Russia were going to the Clinton Campaign, Jon Winer at the U.S. State Department and the FBI. OHR was aware that Simpson was passing [Redacted] information to many individuals or entities and at times [Redacted] would attend meetings with Simpson.

b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR met [Redacted] in Washington, D.C. in late September, possibly close to the time when the Yahoo news article was published on September 23, 2016. During that meeting, [Redacted] advised the Alfa server in the US is a link to the Trump campaign and Sergei Millian's Russian/American organization in the U.S. used the Alfa server two weeks

b7E - 4

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

(U) [redacted]  
Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr , On 11/22/2016 , Page 3 of 3

b3 -1  
b7E -1

prior [redacted] (S)  
[redacted] was desperate that Donald Trump not get elected and was passionate about him not being the U.S. President. OHR believes [redacted] wanted to blunt or foil the Kremlin's plans. Simpson and [redacted] could have met with Yahoo or Michael Isikoff jointly, but OHR does not know if they did. OHR provided copies of notes he took after the meeting with [redacted] which are enclosed as attachments.

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR never believed [redacted] was making up information or shading it. He/she would say this is what [redacted] are telling me. There are always Russian conspiracy theories that come from the Kremlin. One time OHR heard a theory from [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] OHR honestly believes [redacted] reported what he heard from [redacted] but that doesn't make that story true.

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -3, 4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Jon Winer possibly knew [redacted]  
OHR met Winer in 1999 or 2000 when Winer was the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Law Enforcement. Winer was very interested in Russian Organized Crime and enthusiastic about the subject, yet at times difficult to deal with. OHR knew Glen Simpson and others were talking to Victoria Nuland at the U.S. State Department.

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -4

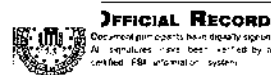
(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR does not know how [redacted] handles or communicates [redacted]  
[redacted] OHR does not know the identity of [redacted]  
[redacted]

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR provided the following contact information for [redacted]

b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -1  
b7E -4

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



b6 -2  
b7C -2

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR has never [redacted] On one occasion, OHR met with [redacted]

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7D -2  
b7E -4

[redacted]

(S)

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR has never been present during meetings between [redacted] and Jon Winer. OHR is only aware that [redacted] and Winer have met as [redacted] advises OHR that the meetings occur.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Glen Simpson directed [redacted] to speak to the press as that was what Simpson was paying [redacted] to do. OHR does not know if [redacted] going to Mother Jones was Simpson's idea or not.

b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Glen Simpson hired OHR's wife to conduct research for his firm. OHR will voluntarily provide his wife's research to the FBI. OHR provided the interviewing Agent with a report on Paul Manafort. The report titled, "Manafort Chronology", was scanned and is a digital attachment to this document.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/05/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/12/2016

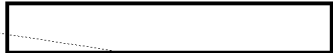
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

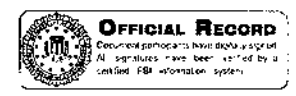
(U)



b3 -1  
b7E -1

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 12/05/2016, Page 2 of 2

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

b6 -2  
b7C -2

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR had breakfast at Peet's Coffee, 11th and E St. NW, Washington, D.C. with Glenn Simpson at 10:00 A.M. on December 10, 2016. During breakfast Simpson provided OHR with an 8GB Verbatim USB micro digital media drive (thumb drive). OHR does not know what is on the thumb drive but believes it is in regards to the work [redacted] was hired to do for Simpson. The thumb drive was entered into evidence at WFO as original evidence [redacted] and a working copy CD-ROM was produced for investigative use. An evidence FD-302 was generated and serialized to this file.

b7E -4, 5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes after the meeting with Simpson to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson identified Michael Cohen, a lawyer in Brooklyn, NY as having many Russian clients in the Brighton Beach, NY area. Cohen is the go-between Russia and the Trump Campaign and replaced Paul Manafort and Carter Page. Cohen's wife's last name is Shusterman [redacted]  
[redacted] Cohen may have attended a meeting in Prague, possibly in September, regarding the Trump Campaign and the Russians.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

~~Reason: 1.4 (b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231  
SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/12/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/14/2016  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

(U) [Redacted]

b3 -1  
b7E -1

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 12/12/2016, Page 2 of 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ According to Simpson, much of his collection about the Trump campaign ties to Russia comes from [Redacted]

b6 -3  
b7C -3

(U) [Redacted] Simpson does not know his name.

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ A former Trump campaign official, possibly Rick Wilson, was talking about some of the Trump ties to Russia and the Trump Campaign tried to sue him for violating his non-disclosure agreement.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ A Russian senator and mobster named Torshin may be involved in running the Central Bank of Russia. Torshin's name comes up in in Law Enforcement Organized Crime circles as he is well known in a famous Spanish case that shows direct linkages between Russian Organized Crime, Torshin and the Russian Government. Torshin may have funneled Russian money to the National Rifle Association (NRA) to use in support of Trump. An NRA lawyer, [Redacted] found out about the money pipeline and was very upset, but the election was over by the time she learned of it. Simpson stated there are pictures or Torshin with Trump. Simpson provided OHR with an article on the NRA and Torsion. The article is an attachment to this document.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Some of Simpson's staff believe the NRA spent an abnormally large amount of money during the election, possibly indicating Russian involvement, but others in his company disagree.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ The New York Times story from October 3, 2016, that downplayed the connection between Alfa Bank servers and the Trump campaign was incorrect. There was communication and it wasn't spam. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U)

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1,3  
b7A -1  
b7C -1,3  
b7E -2,3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson received a bizarre tip on December 9 that the [Redacted]

[Redacted] Simpson is not sure whether to believe this.

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson still thinks Sergei Millian is a key figure connecting Trump to Russia. Looking at Millian led Simpson's company to Cohen. Simpson would be surprised if Millian was still in the U.S. Simpson believes Millian is an SVR officer, however he is deducing this from Millian's alias, not because he was told Millian was SVR. Millian may have overseen many financial transfers from Russia to assist the Trump campaign.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson asked [Redacted] to speak to the Mother Jones reporter as it was Simpson's Hail Mary attempt.

b7E - 4

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)  Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 12/12/2016, Page 3 of 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR asked Simpson if he was concerned about his personal safety. Simpson responded that he learned from his Russian investigative reporting what they were capable of but there was no way for him to know if they were coming after him. Simpson mentioned that someone called and asked him to find out where all of the Alfa Bank stories were coming from. Simpson did not state this was a threat from the Russians, but that was the impression made upon OHR based upon the timing of the comment and using that story as a response to OHR's question.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FBI(18cv2107)-8

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/27/2016

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

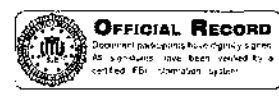
~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On December 20, 2016, at 11:00 A.M. OHR provided writer with an 8GB SanDisk Cruzer Glide USB micro digital data storage drive (thumb drive). Glen Simpson at Fusion GPS hired OHR's wife, Nellie Ohr, to conduct research for his firm. OHR voluntarily provided his wife's research to the FBI. OHR provided the interviewing Agent with the thumb drive and indicated it contained the totality of the work Nellie Ohr conducted for Simpson, but the Fusion GPS header was stripped. Nellie Ohr is a Russian linguist/analyst and a former Russian History professor. The thumb drive was entered into evidence.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231  
SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/20/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/20/2016  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/31/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agent and Intelligence Analyst and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 20, 2017, OHR received an e-mail from Glen Simpson asking OHR to contact Simpson. OHR subsequently contacted Simpson telephonically. During the telephonic conversation, Simpson told OHR that one of [redacted] has been identified and will likely be publicly named by the media within the next couple of days. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] When OHR asked for more information regarding [redacted] and the nature of the threat, Simpson replied he would contact Steele for more information and then re-contact OHR.

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b3 -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In the early hours of January 21, 2017, OHR received a text message from Steele which OHR did not notice until later in the morning. Around 8:00 am on the same day, OHR received call from Steele. During this conversation Steele relayed his concerns regarding the safety of [redacted]

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/23/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted]

Date drafted 01/25/2017

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr 23

Continuation of FD-302 of January 2017 On 01/23/2017 Page 2 of 2  
[redacted] was released in the media. Steele stated if [redacted] "may need help quickly."

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3

[redacted]

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~

[redacted]

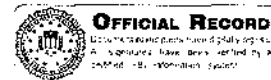
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele also told OHR that he spoke with a staff member of Senator John McCain's office sometime prior to October 2016. Steele had this conversation at the request of [redacted] Since October 2016, Steele had not spoken to anyone regarding the Trump dossier.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes during the contact with Simpson and Steele to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/27/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDEF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 24, 2017, OHR received a WhatsApp notification from Christopher Steele. On January 25, 2017, Steele contacted and spoke with OHR via WhatsApp. [redacted]

[Large redacted block]

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes during the contact with Steele to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/25/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted]

Date drafted 01/25/2017

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/27/2017

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(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 27, 2017, OHR received a WhatsApp notification from Christopher Steele indicating [redacted] and Steele would like to keep the line of communication open with OHR for future contact. OHR replied in the affirmative.

b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/27/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/27/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 2 -



~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/08/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR stated he had been contacted by Christopher Steele, via WhatsApp, on January 31, 2017. On January 30, 2017, the Trump Administration fired Acting Attorney General Sally Q. Yates and Steele had contacted OHR to determine if OHR anticipated being fired as well and, if so, who in the Department of Justice could he continue to reach out to. OHR added that he had previously explained to Steele at some point, his contact with the U.S. Government would have to involve the FBI. Interviewing agents asked OHR to ask Steele if he would be comfortable getting the name of an FBI agent.

(S) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR advised Kathleen Kavalec, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State would be meeting [redacted] representatives in order to discuss potential Russian influence in their upcoming Presidential elections. OHR reminded the interviewing agents Kavalec did speak with Steele several times prior to the 2016 US Presidential election and believed Steele's reporting to have generated from mainly [redacted]

b1 -1 Per DOS  
b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR also advised [redacted] an attorney representing [redacted] explained his client felt [redacted] were recently complicated by the FBI, who he [redacted]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7A -1

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/06/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/08/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U) [Redacted]

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr 06

Continuation of FD-302 of February 2017 On 02/06/2017 2 of 2  
felt viewed him as a criminal. [Redacted] informed OHR that [Redacted] would

like to 'clean things up' and felt the circumstances surrounding the 2016 US Presidential election had become 'too emotional.' OHR stated, as he understood it, [Redacted] was informed of what was required during the FBI interview.

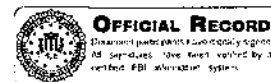
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3, 4  
b7C -1, 3, 4  
b7A -1  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ [Redacted]

[Large Redacted Area]

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~





~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/15/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR stated he had been contacted by Christopher Steele, via WhatsApp and OHR responded via FaceTime on 02/11/2017.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele advised OHR that [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] OHR added [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele's company is continuing to work for both [redacted] another attorney for [redacted]. However, OHR explained Steele is beginning to worry about his business and was preparing a [redacted] to broker a business relationship with the FBI. Steele advised OHR, 'You may see me re-emerge in a couple of weeks.'

b6 -1, 3, 4  
b7C -1, 3, 4  
b7A -1  
b7E -2, 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR responded he had yet to ask Steele if he would like to be provided with an FBI contact.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR also advised [redacted] was doing fine, but were still a bit "freaked out." However, it seemed to Steele that things were calming down and he was pleased about a recent CNN article that stated U.S.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20096615  
Declassify On: 20421231  
SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/14/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/15/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

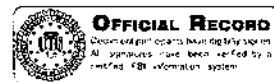
[Redacted]

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr 14

Continuation of FD-302 of February 2017 On 02/14/2017 Page 2 of 2  
~~Government investigations had confirmed some of the reporting in his~~  
dossier.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/10/2017

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/8/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR and STEELE communicated via text message in WhatsApp and arranged a call for 5/3/2017 at 8:00 AM. STEELE told OHR that business was good.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE had been worried about Director Comey's upcoming testimony to congress, especially his response to questions that would be raised by Representative Grassley. STEELE was specifically concerned about anything Director Comey would say [redacted]. [redacted] STEELE was happy with Director Comey's response.

b3 -1  
b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In a previous conversation, STEELE had expressed concern for [redacted].

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE informed OHR that the disclosure laws in the UK were more narrow than in the United States and therefore limited his ability to testify before Congress. STEELE cited specifically that he was restricted from [redacted].

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ [redacted] and had been on the staff of the [redacted]. At the time of the interview, [redacted] was working with the [redacted].

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -2

~~Reason: 1.4 (b)  
Derived From: National  
Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/08/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/08/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)  ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr 8 May 05/08  
Continuation of FD-302 of 2017, On /2017, Page 2 of 2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ GLENN SIMPSON of FUSION-GPS and  would be visiting STEELE soon and were in the process of "lawyering up" (NFI).

b6 -1  
b7C -1

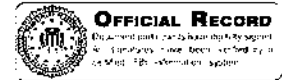
(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ JONATHAN WINER was bringing over a letter separately (NFI).

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE was interested in working with the FBI and had additional information if the FBI was interested.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FD-302 (Rev 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/12/2017

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/12/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE sent OHR a text message in WhatsApp some time around Tuesday and they set up a call via WhatsApp for Wednesday 2:00 PM EST.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Over the course of their telephone call, STEELE informed OHR that he had received a letter from the Senate Intelligence Committee (SIC). The letter requested answers to the following questions:

1. Had STEELE provided information to the US Government?
2. What was the scope of STEELE's investigation?
3. Did STEELE have any additional information to provide?

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE mentioned that SIC was considering sending staffers to the UK.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ [redacted] requested that OHR ask STEELE if he would be willing to have a conversation with FBI agents in the UK. OHR agreed to pass along the message.

b6 -2  
b7C -2

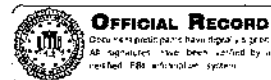
~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: National  
Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/12/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

by [redacted] Date drafted 05/12/2017

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/16/2017

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/15/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ CHRISTOPHER STEELE sent OHR a text message in WhatsApp on or around Friday, 5/12/2017. The two set up a call via WhatsApp for Saturday at 9:00 AM EST.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Per FBI's previous request, OHR asked STEELE if he would be willing to meet with FBI agents. STEELE responded that the answer was an immediate yes but that he would need to check with [redacted]. [redacted] OHR was clear that this would be nothing more than a conversation with the FBI and STEELE said that would be alright.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE informed OHR that he had information regarding a conversation between [redacted]

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE contacted OHR via Whatsapp at 9:45 AM on Monday, 5/15/2017. STEELE said that [redacted] were both ok with him talking to the FBI.

b6 -1, 2  
b7C -1, 2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ SSA [redacted] told OHR that he would communicate with headquarters regarding FBI agents meeting with STEELE and let him know when he received a response.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: National Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/15/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/15/2017

by [redacted]



Josh Israel [Follow](#)

Senior Editor, [The Right to Bear Arms in Moscow](#) | [jisrael@thinkprogress.org](mailto:jisrael@thinkprogress.org)  
10/27/18 - 11/1/18

## Why has the NRA been cozying up to Russia?

The Right to Bear Arms in Moscow enjoys a close relationship with America's leading gun-rights group.



Photo illustration by [edleybrook](#) | [iKilled11](#) | [AP Images](#), [Mark Ralston](#)

Throughout the 2016 presidential campaign, there was a steady stream of stories published about Donald Trump, his second campaign manager, his supporters at Wikileaks, and the ties they appeared to have to Russian President Vladimir Putin and the Russian Federation. Reporting also highlighted that, more than any other national organization, the National Rifle Association (NRA) went all-in to elect Trump.

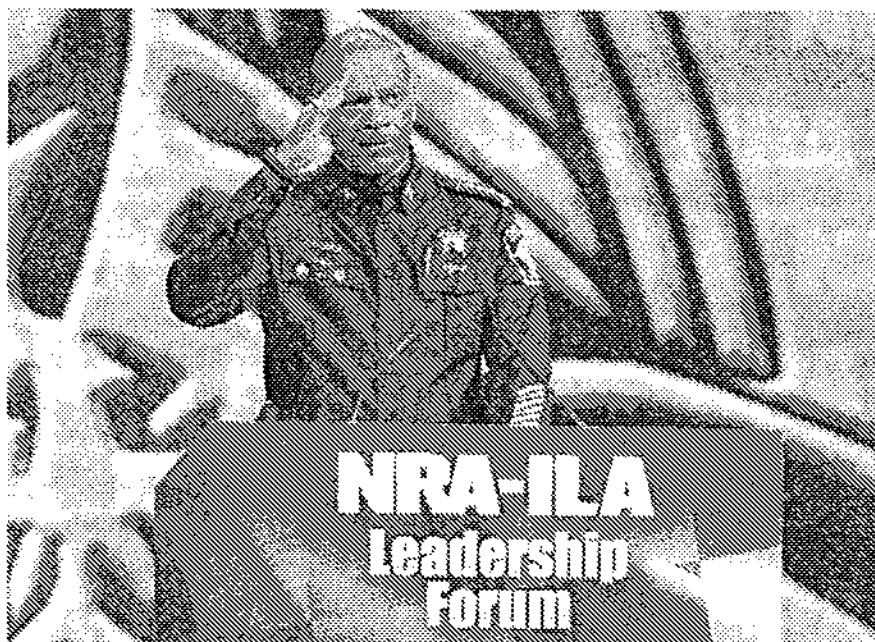
But no attention was given to the ties between the NRA, a Russian gun-rights group run by a twenty-something gun activist named Maria Butina, and her close friend and boss, the deputy governor of the Russian central bank, Alexander Torshin.

Why does an American gun group that promotes gun rights as a defense against tyranny align itself with a group with close ties to an authoritarian regime? Why would Putin allies build a grassroots non-profit to loosen Russia's gun laws, rather than just enact them? Experts who spoke to ThinkProgress say they are not sure, but they discussed whether the whole arrangement is a cover for a larger effort to undermine American sanctions against Russia.

## A meeting in Moscow

On December 11, 2015, in the depths of a biting Moscow winter, The Right to Bear Arms hosted a delegation from its American counterpart, the NRA. David Keene, an NRA board member and former national president of the organization, flew to Russia to attend the event. Also at that meeting were NRA First Vice President Pete Brownell, CEO of the world's largest firearm accessories supplier; NRA funder Dr. Arnold Goldschlager and his daughter, NRA Women's Leadership Forum executive committee member Hilary Goldschlager; and Outdoor Life channel head Jim Liberatore. Perhaps the most famous guest at the gathering, trading his customary uniform for a black leather vest over a button-down shirt, was Milwaukee County Sheriff and Fox News regular David A. Clarke.





Milwaukee Journal Sentinel photo of Lt. Col. Fabio Clarke at the National Rifle Association's 2014 convention. (BRIAN AP PHOTO/ALAMY)

Clarke said little publicly about the event. Two weeks earlier, his office put out a vague press release noting that he would “travel to the Middle East and Asia beginning November 28, 2015 and returning December 13, 2015,” including that he’d “receive briefings on issues facing those regions and visit historic sites.”

But the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel’s Daniel Bice noticed that Clarke’s January 2016 ethics disclosure filing shed some light on the trip. Part one was \$20,155 trip to Israel, paid for by the NRA Ring of Freedom. During his week-plus of travel there, he did a remote interview from Jerusalem for Fox Business Network. The remaining days were spent in Russia. His airfare to Moscow and visas, totaling \$13,785.10, were paid for by Brownell; his \$6000 worth of meals, hotel, transportation, and excursions were provided by the “All-Russia Public Organization ‘The Right to Bear Arms.’”

Clarke’s office declined to release any records to Bice about the trip, the reporter wrote, “saying it was personal — not official — travel, even though personal trips (a.k.a. vacations) are not supposed to be listed on the ethics form.”

At that conference, according to a post on the Right to Bear Arms’ Facebook page, in addition to group’s chairman and founder Maria

Butina, a welcoming speech was delivered by honorary member of The Right to Bear Arms Alexander Torshin.



CARDNY: The Right to Bear Arms Facebook page.

## The Godfather and the Godmother?

Maria Butina grew up in Altai, a mountainous area in southern Siberia, but moved to Moscow when she was 22. Almost overnight, she gaining notice as the founder and chair of Russia's gun-rights movement. Reportedly a strong supporter of Putin and his United Russia Party, she helped start The Right to Bear Arms about five years ago as a non-profit organization. The group, she vowed, would not be a front for "any bloody lobby" and would be funded through dues from members. "I personally have a furniture and household appliances business," she told Russian newspaper Izvestia.

"People who give us money for work, they are usual gun owners because to have a gun in Russia is very expensive. So these people, they have money and they give us money," Butina explained in a 2014 interview with Townhall's Katie Pavlich. "We have no money from government, not one coin from government." The group now claims 10,000 members.

Though Russia's constitution does not contain Second Amendment-like gun rights, her rhetoric is remarkably similar to the NRA's. "More legal guns equal less crime," she told the *Moscow Times* this year, "If a country bans guns, only criminals have access to them."

After the Sandy Hook mass shooting in 2012, her group criticized gun-free school zones as ineffective prohibitionist policies. “In this shooting six teachers died, six people who could literally use only their hands to defend children... The murderer planned this knowing that no one would be armed,” she told Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. “What is the right to life, ingrained in our constitution, if you don’t have the right to bear arms? If a person wishes to defend himself, he has no means for protection.”

Maria Butina, Chairman of the Russian orga...



Like the NRA, Butina tends to dismiss the connection between guns and death, including suicides. “People online take facts from my blog, turn them upside and scream ‘Just look at this! In the States, 30,000 people die from firearms every year! How awful!’ But so what?” she told the New Republic in 2012. “Switzerland has the most suicides using a gun, and yet, Switzerland has the least number of total suicides. Moreover, a gun is the most humane weapon for suicide compared to all the other methods that exist.”

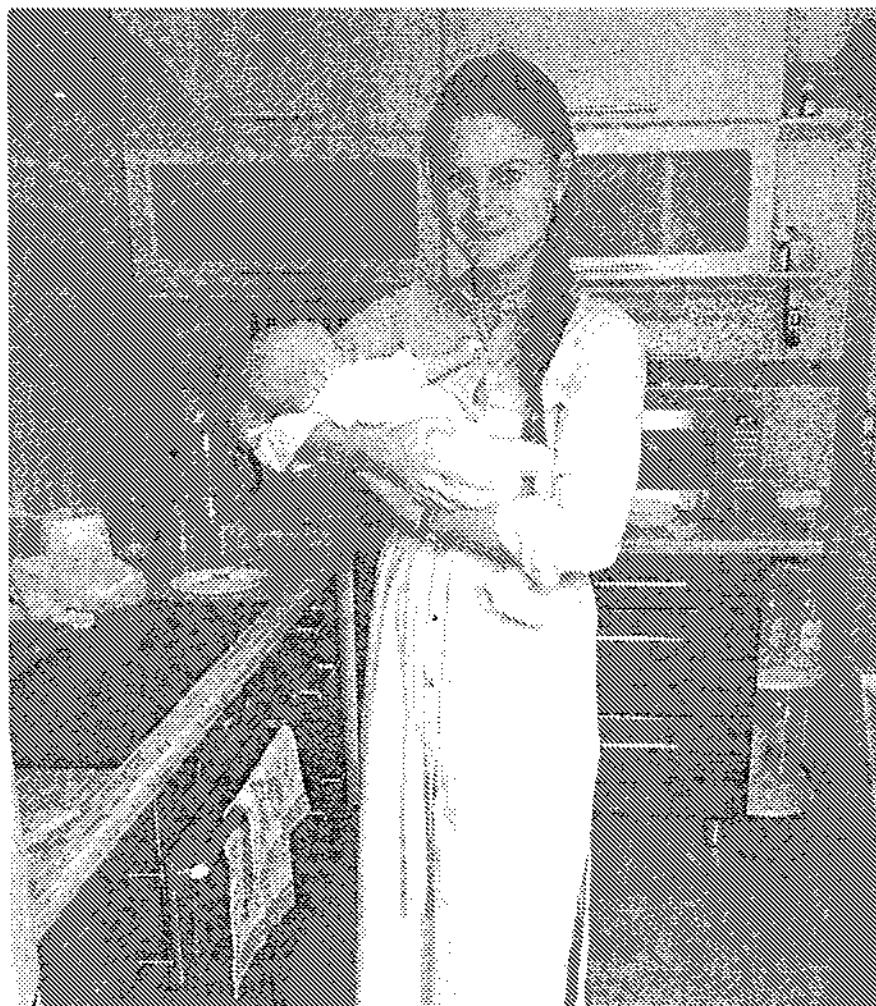
The same article noted that, early on, Butina “gained a powerful ally”— Alexander Torshin, who is an NRA Life Member, a “high-ranking member” of Putin’s United Russia and, at the time, the first deputy speaker of the Russian senate.

The NRA took note when Torshin authored an unsuccessful bill that year that would have allowed public use of firearms. When he presented the bill to his colleagues, days after the Aurora, Colorado, movie theater shooting that left a dozen dead, his colleagues were

not sold. They feared Russians, too, would all shoot each other. "How can you have so little trust for yourself, for your people," he asked them. In 2014, however, Putin's government did change the law to allow licensed gun owners to carry weapons in public for self-defense.

After years serving in the upper house of parliament, in 2015 he was appointed deputy governor for Russia's central bank. Butina was appointed "special assistant" to Torshin at the bank.

Their close relationship is evident in their work and social media presence. In 2014, she praised him as a "great gun lover" who supports both The Right to Bear Arms group and the NRA. Last month, Torshin tweeted a photo of her holding a baby, calling her "the godmother" of the child.



Torshin also has been called "the godfather." While he's only admitted to having been a godfather in the religious sense, Spanish investigators claimed in an August report that the "Russian politician Alexander Porfirievich Torshin stands above [an alleged figure in the Moscow-based Taganskaya crime syndicate], who calls him 'godfather' or 'boss'" and conducted on his behalf "activities and investments." Torshin denied the allegation, telling Bloomberg "I'm a public individual and I'm not hiding anywhere."

Torshin told the New Republic's Julia Toffe in 2012 that he admires the NRA because it represents "'stability' —the credo of Putin's reign."

## The Keene connection

In May of 2013, Torshin traveled to the NRA convention in Houston. Months later, he wrote about it in an Washington Times OP/ED about the passing of Mikhail Kalashnikov (the inventor of the AK-47). "Last year, I had the pleasure of attending the National Rifle Association's annual meeting in Houston," he recounted. "Kalashnikov couldn't join me, though we have both been 'life members' of the NRA for years. At 93, his health was even then beginning to fail, but I thought of him as I toured the exhibit area where I saw dozens of AK-47 clones." The opinion editor for the paper is the NRA's David Keene.

In between, Keene traveled to Russia for a fall 2013 gun conference, hosted by The Right to Bear Arms. Butina's online advertisements for the event specifically highlighted his participation, calling him "the former president of the legendary NRA." She chaired the event, Torshin attended, and Keene spoke. Keene posted a picture of his visit with Torshin on his personal website and shared it on Facebook. Weeks after the conference, Butina explained in a LiveJournal post that just because a foreign citizen is an NRA member, that does not necessarily mean they are a spy.

In April of 2014, Butina traveled to the NRA's annual meeting in Indianapolis. She was given the "rare privilege" of ringing the organization's replica of the Liberty Bell and presented a plaque to NRA President Jim Porter. She attended a women's luncheon as the

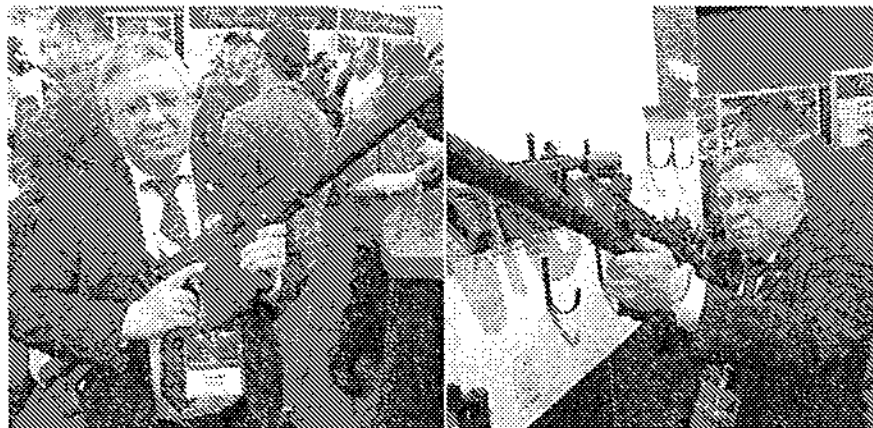
guest of former NRA President Sandy Froman and participated in the general meeting as Keene's special guest.



Butina blogged about her trip, noting that she was invited to speak at the exclusive Ring of Freedom dinner with "the patrons who donated" more than \$1 million to the NRA. Before leaving the country, she stopped by the organization's national headquarters in Fairfax, Virginia, and posed for a picture with Keene.

Butina returned the following April for the annual convention in Nashville. She marveled about winning a necklace and earrings at the silent auction, attending the women-only NRA women's forum, and about the lack of democracy in decision-making. "In spite of all democracy, foreigners, even if the members of the NRA, can not vote for the adoption of decisions," she observed, noting that at The Right to Bear Arms, "we maintain direct democratic elections. In my opinion, as the founder of the organization, it is more fair to the citizens."

Torshin attended the May 2016 convention in Louisville, Kentucky, meeting with Trump and even sharing a table with Donald Trump Jr. at one of the dinners.



 **А.П. Торшин**

Follow

The Right to Bear Arms has a ways to go before they can develop the outsized level of influence its American counterpart enjoys. But in 2014, it successfully convinced the Russian parliament to pass a castle doctrine bill. Butina has talked a great deal about bringing the NRA's successful programs, like the group's Eddie Eagle curriculum for kids, to Russia.

## A hidden purpose?

Butina's interests appear to go beyond just guns. She frequently writes about her opposition to economic sanctions by the west, including those on Russian arms. In a 2015 article for *The National Interest*, she wrote, "It may take the election of a Republican to the White House in 2016 to improve relations between the Russian Federation and the United States."

Not long after Butina's 2014 visit, the NRA put out a little-noticed statement criticizing the Obama administration's sanctions against Russia. Noting that the crackdown included Russia's arms manufacturer, they wrote: "While the United States government blames the Ukrainian conflict for this latest move, gun control advocates will no doubt applaud the ban on importation of some of the very types of firearms at the center of recent domestic attempts

to ban so-called 'assault weapons.'" Weeks later, The Right to Bear Arms announced it would soon host another NRA representative in Moscow, "life member" Paul Erickson, for an "open meeting."

In 2015, Butina traveled around country following Republican presidential candidates. She attended Gov. Scott Walker's (R-WI) announcement speech in Waukesha, Wisconsin. As an audience member at a Trump campaign event in Las Vegas, she asked the candidate about sanctions and his commitment to lift them if elected.

Josh Horwitz, executive director of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, told ThinkProgress that U.S.-Russian economic ties, rather than gun rights, could be the real aim of The Right to Bear Arms. "I think the important thing is all those involved with this are close with Putin. If Putin wanted more guns in Russia, he doesn't need to develop an NRA in Russia to push him," he observed.

"What are the NRA officials doing cavorting around with people close to Putin? The NRA says they're the nation's oldest civil rights group. I could see them being in line with dissidents in Russia, who are out of power, discriminated against, and subjugated by the Russian government," he continued. "But the idea that the NRA is running around with someone who is basically a dictator—the question is why. The people he's running around with are all about removing sanctions on drilling and other things. I think this is more about getting out to the American Right the views about lifting the sanctions than anything about gun rights."

Josh Sugarman, executive director of the Violence Policy Center, added that the sanctions could be of key interest to the NRA's financial backers as well. "The NRA is a gun industry trade association masquerading as a shooting sports foundation," he observed. "The organization has received tens of millions of dollars in gun industry financial support from around the globe and has partnered with gunmakers on a wide range of marketing efforts. The NRA's reasoning in working to establish a Russian beachhead could range from working to end Obama Administration sanctions that ban the import of Russian-made AK-47s and assault shotguns to



hoping for new financial donors as the result of a loosening of the country's gun laws."

Butina told ThinkProgress in an email that there are no financial connections between the American and Russian groups. "The Right to Bear Arms and your American NRA are completely separate organizations. We have no political or financial ties of any kind," she wrote, adding that they are "literally 'comrades in arms' in a shared belief that a right to own a firearm makes people safer."

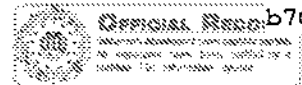
"I'm sorry to disappoint you," she wrote, "but there is no international conspiracy at work surrounding the organization I founded, 'The Right to Bear Arms.'" She added that her group's payments for Sheriff Clarke's visit and others in the NRA delegation were "something any decent host would do when friends visit," but did not respond to questions about whether other American politicians had also been brought to Moscow at the group's expense.

The National Rifle Association and Torshin did not respond to ThinkProgress inquiries about their relationship.

Now with Trump and Putin agreeing to normalize relations in the coming year, expect the already close relations between Trump's friends at the NRA and Putin's friends at The Right to Bear Arms to be closer still. Perhaps it will become evident just what these two groups are really up to.







~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/15/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

(U)

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On January 24, 2017, Deputy Assistant Director (DAD) Peter P. Strzok II and [redacted] 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:

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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

~~Reason: 1.4 (b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSICG-2009061  
Declassify On: 20421231  
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b7C -1  
b7E -1

Investigation on 01/24/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date dictated 01/24/2017

by [redacted] STRZOK PETER P II

17-cv-397-1

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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of  ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 2 of 5

(U) 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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

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17-cv-397-2

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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of  ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 3 of 5

(U) counterpart, and maintaining trusted relationships within foreign governments is important.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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."

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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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- (U) 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.
- (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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."
- (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.
- (U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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 the Dominican Republic and his government BlackBerry was not working.

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Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 5 of 5

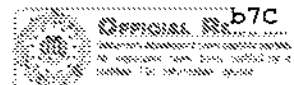
(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ The interviewing agents asked FLYNN if he recalled any conversation with KISLYAK in which the expulsions were discussed, where FLYNN might have encouraged KISLYAK not to escalate the situation, to keep the Russian response reciprocal, or not to engage in a "tit-for-tat." FLYNN responded, "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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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."

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17-cv-397-5





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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/31/2017

(U)

~~(S//NF)~~ On January 24, 2017, Deputy Assistant Director (DAD) Peter P. Strzok II and [redacted] 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:

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(U)

~~(S//NF)~~ 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  
20090612  
Declassify On: 20421231  
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Investigation on 01/24/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/24/2017  
by [redacted] STRZOK PETER P II

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(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ Sometime prior to Christmas, 2016, the Russian Ambassador to Turkey was assassinated. FLYNN called KISLYAK 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 KISLYAK 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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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of  ~~S//OC/NF~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 3 of 5

(U) ~~S//NF~~ Shortly after Christmas, 2016, FLYNN took a vacation to the Dominican Republic with his wife. On December 28th, KISLYAK 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, KISLYAK 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 KISLYAK 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.

(U) ~~S//NF~~ 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 KISLYAK 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."

(U) ~~S//NF~~ 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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b7E -1Continuation of FD-302 of  ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Michael Flynn, On 01/24/2017, Page 4 of 5

(U) 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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."

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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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(U) Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED]

~~(S//NF)~~ Michael Flynn

, On 01/24/2017

, Page 5 of 5

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the Dominican Republic and his government BlackBerry was not working.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ 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."

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