

company, and had been previously employed as an aide and press secretary to Russia's energy minister. Ivanka Trump forwarded the email to Cohen.³³⁵ He told the Office that, after receiving this inquiry, he had conducted an internet search for Klovov's name and concluded (incorrectly) that Klovov was a former Olympic weightlifter.³³⁶

Between November 18 and 19, 2015, Klovov and Cohen had at least one telephone call and exchanged several emails. Describing himself in emails to Cohen as a "trusted person" who could offer the Campaign "political synergy" and "synergy on a government level," Klovov recommended that Cohen travel to Russia to speak with him and an unidentified intermediary. Klovov said that those conversations could facilitate a later meeting in Russia between the candidate and an individual Klovov described as "our person of interest."³³⁷ In an email to the Office, Erchova later identified the "person of interest" as Russian President Vladimir Putin.³³⁸

In the telephone call and follow-on emails with Klovov, Cohen discussed his desire to use a near-term trip to Russia to do site surveys and talk over the Trump Moscow project with local developers. Cohen registered his willingness also to meet with Klovov and the unidentified intermediary, but was emphatic that all meetings in Russia involving him or candidate Trump—including a possible meeting between candidate Trump and Putin—would need to be "in conjunction with the development and an official visit" with the Trump Organization receiving a formal invitation to visit.³³⁹ (Klovov had written previously that "the visit [by candidate Trump to Russia] has to be informal.")³⁴⁰

Klovov had also previously recommended to Cohen that he separate their negotiations over a possible meeting between Trump and "the person of interest" from any existing business track.³⁴¹ Re-emphasizing that his outreach was not done on behalf of any business, Klovov added in second email to Cohen that, if publicized well, such a meeting could have "phenomenal" impact "in a business dimension" and that the "person of interest[s]" "most important support" could have significant ramifications for the "level of projects and their capacity." Klovov concluded by telling

³³⁵ 11/16/15 Email, I. Trump to Cohen.

³³⁶ Cohen 8/7/18 302, at 17. During his interviews with the Office, Cohen still appeared to believe that the Klovov he spoke with was that Olympian. The investigation, however, established that the email address used to communicate with Cohen belongs to a different Dmitry Klovov, as described above.

³³⁷ 11/18/15 Email, Klovov to Cohen (6:51 a.m.).

³³⁸ In July 2018, the Office received an unsolicited email purporting to be from Erchova, in which she wrote that "[a]t the end of 2015 and beginning of 2016 I was asked by my ex-husband to contact Ivanka Trump . . . and offer cooperation to Trump's team on behalf of the Russian officials." 7/27/18 Email, Erchova to Special Counsel's Office. The email claimed that the officials wanted to offer candidate Trump "land in Crimea among other things and unofficial meeting with Putin." *Id.* In order to vet the email's claims, the Office responded requesting more details. The Office did not receive any reply.

³³⁹ 11/18/15 Email, Cohen to Klovov (7:15 a.m.).

³⁴⁰ 11/18/15 Email, Klovov to Cohen (6:51 a.m.).

³⁴¹ 11/18/15 Email, Klovov to Cohen (6:51 a.m.) ("I would suggest separating your negotiations and our proposal to meet. I assure you, after the meeting level of projects and their capacity can be completely different, having the most important support.").

Cohen that there was “no bigger warranty in any project than [the] consent of the person of interest.”³⁴² Cohen rejected the proposal, saying that “[c]urrently our LOI developer is in talks with VP’s Chief of Staff and arranging a formal invite for the two to meet.”³⁴³ This email appears to be their final exchange, and the investigation did not identify evidence that Cohen brought Klovov’s initial offer of assistance to the Campaign’s attention or that anyone associated with the Trump Organization or the Campaign dealt with Klovov at a later date. Cohen explained that he did not pursue the proposed meeting because he was already working on the Moscow Project with Sater, who Cohen understood to have his own connections to the Russian government.³⁴⁴

By late December 2015, however, Cohen was complaining that Sater had not been able to use those connections to set up the promised meeting with Russian government officials. Cohen told Sater that he was “setting up the meeting myself.”³⁴⁵ On January 11, 2016, Cohen emailed the office of Dmitry Peskov, the Russian government’s press secretary, indicating that he desired contact with Sergei Ivanov, Putin’s chief of staff. Cohen erroneously used the email address “Pr_peskova@prpress.gof.ru” instead of “Pr_peskova@prpress.gov.ru,” so the email apparently did not go through.³⁴⁶ On January 14, 2016, Cohen emailed a different address (info@prpress.gov.ru) with the following message:

Dear Mr. Peskov,

Over the past few months, I have been working with a company based in Russia regarding the development of a Trump Tower-Moscow project in Moscow City.

Without getting into lengthy specifics, the communication between our two sides has stalled. As this project is too important, I am hereby requesting your assistance.

I respectfully request someone, preferably you; contact me so that I might discuss the specifics as well as arranging meetings with the appropriate individuals.

I thank you in advance for your assistance and look forward to hearing from you soon.³⁴⁷

Two days later, Cohen sent an email to Pr_peskova@prpress.gov.ru, repeating his request to speak with Sergei Ivanov.³⁴⁸

Cohen testified to Congress, and initially told the Office, that he did not recall receiving a response to this email inquiry and that he decided to terminate any further work on the Trump Moscow project as of January 2016. Cohen later admitted that these statements were false. In

³⁴² 11/19/15 Email, Klovov to Cohen (7:40 a.m.).

³⁴³ 11/19/15 Email, Cohen to Klovov (12:56 p.m.).

³⁴⁴ Cohen 9/18/18 302, at 12.

³⁴⁵ FS00004 (12/30/15 Text Message, Cohen to Sater (6:17 p.m.)).

³⁴⁶ 1/11/16 Email, Cohen to pr_peskova@prpress.gof.ru (9:12 a.m.).

³⁴⁷ 1/14/16 Email, Cohen to info@prpress.gov.ru (9:21 a.m.).

³⁴⁸ 1/16/16 Email, Cohen to pr_peskova@prpress.gov.ru (10:28 a.m.).

fact, Cohen had received (and recalled receiving) a response to his inquiry, and he continued to work on and update candidate Trump on the project through as late as June 2016.³⁴⁹

On January 20, 2016, Cohen received an email from Elena Poliakova, Peskov's personal assistant. Writing from her personal email account, Poliakova stated that she had been trying to reach Cohen and asked that he call her on the personal number that she provided.³⁵⁰ Shortly after receiving Poliakova's email, Cohen called and spoke to her for 20 minutes.³⁵¹ Cohen described to Poliakova his position at the Trump Organization and outlined the proposed Trump Moscow project, including information about the Russian counterparty with which the Trump Organization had partnered. Cohen requested assistance in moving the project forward, both in securing land to build the project and with financing. According to Cohen, Poliakova asked detailed questions and took notes, stating that she would need to follow up with others in Russia.³⁵²

Cohen could not recall any direct follow-up from Poliakova or from any other representative of the Russian government, nor did the Office identify any evidence of direct follow-up. However, the day after Cohen's call with Poliakova, Sater texted Cohen, asking him to "[c]all me when you have a few minutes to chat . . . It's about Putin they called today."³⁵³ Sater then sent a draft invitation for Cohen to visit Moscow to discuss the Trump Moscow project,³⁵⁴ along with a note to "[t]ell me if the letter is good as amended by me or make whatever changes you want and send it back to me."³⁵⁵ After a further round of edits, on January 25, 2016, Sater sent Cohen an invitation—signed by Andrey Ryabinskiy of the company MHJ—to travel to "Moscow for a working visit" about the "prospects of development and the construction business in Russia," "the various land plots available suited for construction of this enormous Tower," and "the opportunity to co-ordinate a follow up visit to Moscow by Mr. Donald Trump."³⁵⁶ According

³⁴⁹ Cohen Information ¶¶ 4, 7. Cohen's interactions with President Trump and the President's lawyers when preparing his congressional testimony are discussed further in Volume II. *See* Vol. II, Section II.K.3, *infra*.

³⁵⁰ 1/20/16 Email, Poliakova to Cohen (5:57 a.m.) ("Mr. Cohen[,] I can't get through to both your phones. Pls, call me.").

³⁵¹ Telephone records show a 20-minute call on January 20, 2016 between Cohen and the number Poliakova provided in her email. Call Records of Michael Cohen **Grand Jury** [REDACTED] After the call, Cohen saved Poliakova's contact information in his Trump Organization Outlook contact list. 1/20/16 Cohen Microsoft Outlook Entry (6:22 a.m.).

³⁵² Cohen 9/12/18 302, at 2-3.

³⁵³ FS00011 (1/21/16 Text Messages, Sater to Cohen).

³⁵⁴ The invitation purported to be from Genbank, a Russian bank that was, according to Sater, working at the behest of a larger bank, VTB, and would consider providing financing. FS00008 (12/31/15 Text Messages, Sater & Cohen). Additional information about Genbank can be found *infra*.

³⁵⁵ FS00011 (1/21/16 Text Message, Sater to Cohen (7:44 p.m.)); 1/21/16 Email, Sater to Cohen (6:49 p.m.).

³⁵⁶ 1/25/16 Email, Sater to Cohen (12:01 p.m.) (attachment).

to Cohen, he elected not to travel at the time because of concerns about the lack of concrete proposals about land plots that could be considered as options for the project.³⁵⁷

*d. Discussions about Russia Travel by Michael Cohen or Candidate Trump
(December 2015-June 2016)*

i. Sater's Overtures to Cohen to Travel to Russia

The late January communication was neither the first nor the last time that Cohen contemplated visiting Russia in pursuit of the Trump Moscow project. Beginning in late 2015, Sater repeatedly tried to arrange for Cohen and candidate Trump, as representatives of the Trump Organization, to travel to Russia to meet with Russian government officials and possible financing partners. In December 2015, Sater sent Cohen a number of emails about logistics for traveling to Russia for meetings.³⁵⁸ On December 19, 2015, Sater wrote:

Please call me I have Evgeney [Dvoskin] on the other line.[³⁵⁹] He needs a copy of your and Donald's passports they need a scan of every page of the passports. Invitations & Visas will be issued this week by VTB Bank to discuss financing for Trump Tower Moscow. Politically neither Putins office nor Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot issue invite, so they are inviting commercially/ business. VTB is Russia's 2 biggest bank and VTB Bank CEO Andrey Kostin, will be at all meetings with Putin so that it is a business meeting not political. We will be invited to Russian consulate this week to receive invite & have visa issued.³⁶⁰

In response, Cohen texted Sater an image of his own passport.³⁶¹ Cohen told the Office that at one point he requested a copy of candidate Trump's passport from Rhona Graff, Trump's executive assistant at the Trump Organization, and that Graff later brought Trump's passport to Cohen's

³⁵⁷ Cohen 9/12/18 302, at 6-7.

³⁵⁸ See, e.g., 12/1/15 Email, Sater to Cohen (12:41 p.m.) ("Please scan and send me a copy of your passport for the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.").

³⁵⁹ Toll records show that Sater was speaking to Evgeny Dvoskin. Call Records of Felix Sater **Grand Jury** Dvoskin is an executive of Genbank, a large bank with lending focused in Crimea, Ukraine. At the time that Sater provided this financing letter to Cohen, Genbank was subject to U.S. government sanctions, see *Russia/Ukraine-related Sanctions and Identifications*, Office of Foreign Assets Control (Dec. 22, 2015), available at <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/OFAC-Enforcement/Pages/20151222.aspx>. Dvoskin, who had been deported from the United States in 2000 for criminal activity, was under indictment in the United States for stock fraud under the aliases Eugene Slusker and Gene Shustar. See *United States v. Rizzo, et al.*, 2:03-cr-63 (E.D.N.Y. Feb. 6, 2003).

³⁶⁰ 12/19/15 Email, Sater to Cohen (10:50 a.m.); FS00002 (12/19/15 Text Messages, Sater to Cohen, (10:53 a.m.).

³⁶¹ FS00004 (12/19/15 Text Message, Cohen to Sater); ERT_0198-256 (12/19/15 Text Messages, Cohen & Sater).

office.³⁶² The investigation did not, however, establish that the passport was forwarded to Sater.³⁶³

Into the spring of 2016, Sater and Cohen continued to discuss a trip to Moscow in connection with the Trump Moscow project. On April 20, 2016, Sater wrote Cohen, “[t]he People wanted to know when you are coming?”³⁶⁴ On May 4, 2016, Sater followed up:

I had a chat with Moscow. ASSUMING the trip does happen the question is before or after the convention. I said I believe, but don't know for sure, that's it's probably after the convention. Obviously the pre-meeting trip (you only) can happen anytime you want but the 2 big guys where [sic] the question. I said I would confirm and revert. . . . Let me know about If I was right by saying I believe after Cleveland and also when you want to speak to them and possibly fly over.³⁶⁵

Cohen responded, “My trip before Cleveland. Trump once he becomes the nominee after the convention.”³⁶⁶

The day after this exchange, Sater tied Cohen's travel to Russia to the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum (“Forum”), an annual event attended by prominent Russian politicians and businessmen. Sater told the Office that he was informed by a business associate that Peskov wanted to invite Cohen to the Forum.³⁶⁷ On May 5, 2016, Sater wrote to Cohen:

Peskov would like to invite you as his guest to the St. Petersburg Forum which is Russia's Davos it's June 16-19. He wants to meet there with you and possibly introduce you to either Putin or Medvedev, as they are not sure if 1 or both will be there. This is perfect. The entire business class of Russia will be there as well. He said anything you want to discuss including dates and subjects are on the table to discuss[.]³⁶⁸

The following day, Sater asked Cohen to confirm those dates would work for him to travel; Cohen wrote back, “[w]orks for me.”³⁶⁹

³⁶² Cohen 9/12/18 302, at 5.

³⁶³ On December 21, 2015, Sater sent Cohen a text message that read, “They need a copy of DJT passport,” to which Cohen responded, “After I return from Moscow with you with a date for him.” FS00004 (12/21/15 Text Messages, Cohen & Sater).

³⁶⁴ FS00014 (4/20/16 Text Message, Sater to Cohen (9:06 p.m.)).

³⁶⁵ FS00015 (5/4/16 Text Message, Sater to Cohen (7:38 p.m.)).

³⁶⁶ FS00015 (5/4/16 Text Message, Cohen to Sater (8:03 p.m.)).

³⁶⁷ Sater 12/15/17 302, at 4.

³⁶⁸ FS00016 (5/5/16 Text Messages, Sater to Cohen (6:26 & 6:27 a.m.)).

³⁶⁹ FS00016 (5/6/16 Text Messages, Cohen & Sater).

On June 9, 2016, Sater sent Cohen a notice that he (Sater) was completing the badges for the Forum, adding, "Putin is there on the 17th very strong chance you will meet him as well."³⁷⁰ On June 13, 2016, Sater forwarded Cohen an invitation to the Forum signed by the Director of the Roscongress Foundation, the Russian entity organizing the Forum.³⁷¹ Sater also sent Cohen a Russian visa application and asked him to send two passport photos.³⁷² According to Cohen, the invitation gave no indication that Peskov had been involved in inviting him. Cohen was concerned that Russian officials were not actually involved or were not interested in meeting with him (as Sater had alleged), and so he decided not to go to the Forum.³⁷³ On June 14, 2016, Cohen met Sater in the lobby of the Trump Tower in New York and informed him that he would not be traveling at that time.³⁷⁴

ii. Candidate Trump's Opportunities to Travel to Russia

The investigation identified evidence that, during the period the Trump Moscow project was under consideration, the possibility of candidate Trump visiting Russia arose in two contexts.

First, in interviews with the Office, Cohen stated that he discussed the subject of traveling to Russia with Trump twice: once in late 2015; and again in spring 2016.³⁷⁵ According to Cohen, Trump indicated a willingness to travel if it would assist the project significantly. On one occasion, Trump told Cohen to speak with then-campaign manager Corey Lewandowski to coordinate the candidate's schedule. Cohen recalled that he spoke with Lewandowski, who suggested that they speak again when Cohen had actual dates to evaluate. Cohen indicated, however, that he knew that travel prior to the Republican National Convention would be impossible given the candidate's preexisting commitments to the Campaign.³⁷⁶

Second, like Cohen, Trump received and turned down an invitation to the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum. In late December 2015, Mira Duma—a contact of Ivanka Trump's from the fashion industry—first passed along invitations for Ivanka Trump and candidate Trump from Sergei Prikhodko, a Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation.³⁷⁷ On January 14, 2016, Rhona Graff sent an email to Duma stating that Trump was "honored to be asked to participate in the highly prestigious" Forum event, but that he would "have to decline" the invitation given his "very grueling and full travel schedule" as a presidential candidate.³⁷⁸ Graff

³⁷⁰ FS00018 (6/9/16 Text Messages, Sater & Cohen).

³⁷¹ 6/13/16 Email, Sater to Cohen (2:10 p.m.).

³⁷² FS00018 (6/13/16 Text Message, Sater to Cohen (2:20 p.m.)); 6/13/16 Email, Sater to Cohen.

³⁷³ Cohen 9/12/18 302, at 6-8.

³⁷⁴ FS00019 (6/14/16 Text Messages, Cohen & Sater (12:06 and 2:50 p.m.)).

³⁷⁵ Cohen 9/12/18 302, at 2.

³⁷⁶ Cohen 9/12/18 302, at 7.

³⁷⁷ 12/21/15 Email, Mira to Ivanka Trump (6:57 a.m.) (attachments); TRUMPORG_16_000057 (1/7/16 Email, I. Trump to Graff (9:18 a.m.)).

³⁷⁸ 1/14/16 Email, Graff to Mira.

asked Duma whether she recommended that Graff “send a formal note to the Deputy Prime Minister” declining his invitation; Duma replied that a formal note would be “great.”³⁷⁹

It does not appear that Graff prepared that note immediately. According to written answers from President Trump,³⁸⁰ Graff received an email from Deputy Prime Minister Prikhodko on March 17, 2016, again inviting Trump to participate in the 2016 Forum in St. Petersburg.³⁸¹ Two weeks later, on March 31, 2016, Graff prepared for Trump’s signature a two-paragraph letter declining the invitation.³⁸² The letter stated that Trump’s “schedule has become extremely demanding” because of the presidential campaign, that he “already ha[d] several commitments in the United States” for the time of the Forum, but that he otherwise “would have gladly given every consideration to attending such an important event.”³⁸³ Graff forwarded the letter to another executive assistant at the Trump Organization with instructions to print the document on letterhead for Trump to sign.³⁸⁴

At approximately the same time that the letter was being prepared, Robert Foresman—a New York-based investment banker—began reaching out to Graff to secure an in-person meeting with candidate Trump. According to Foresman, he had been asked by Anton Kobyakov, a Russian presidential aide involved with the Roscongress Foundation, to see if Trump could speak at the Forum.³⁸⁵ Foresman first emailed Graff on March 31, 2016, following a phone introduction brokered through Trump business associate Mark Burnett (who produced the television show *The Apprentice*). In his email, Foresman referenced his long-standing personal and professional expertise in Russia and Ukraine, his work setting up an early “private channel” between Vladimir Putin and former U.S. President George W. Bush, and an “approach” he had received from “senior Kremlin officials” about the candidate. Foresman asked Graff for a meeting with the candidate, Corey Lewandowski, or “another relevant person” to discuss this and other “concrete things” Foresman felt uncomfortable discussing over “unsecure email.”³⁸⁶ On April 4, 2016, Graff forwarded Foresman’s meeting request to Jessica Macchia, another executive assistant to Trump.³⁸⁷

³⁷⁹ 1/15/16 Email, Mira to Graff.

³⁸⁰ As explained in Volume II and Appendix C, on September 17, 2018, the Office sent written questions to the President’s counsel. On November 20, 2018, the President provided written answers to those questions through counsel.

³⁸¹ Written Responses of Donald J. Trump (Nov. 20, 2018), at 17 (Response to Question IV, Part (e)) (“[D]ocuments show that Ms. Graff prepared for my signature a brief response declining the invitation.”).

³⁸² Written Responses of Donald J. Trump (Nov. 20, 2018), at 17 (Response to Question IV, Part (e)); *see also* TRUMPORG_16_000134 (unsigned letter dated March 31, 2016).

³⁸³ TRUMPORG_16_000134 (unsigned letter).

³⁸⁴ TRUMPORG_16_000133 (3/31/16 Email, Graff to Macchia).

³⁸⁵ Foresman 10/17/18 302, at 3-4.

³⁸⁶ *See* TRUMPORG_16_00136 (3/31/16 Email, Foresman to Graff); *see also* Foresman 10/17/18 302, at 3-4.

³⁸⁷ *See* TRUMPORG_16_00136 (4/4/16 Email, Graff to Macchia).

With no response forthcoming, Foresman twice sent reminders to Graff—first on April 26 and again on April 30, 2016.³⁸⁸ Graff sent an apology to Foresman and forwarded his April 26 email (as well as his initial March 2016 email) to Lewandowski.³⁸⁹ On May 2, 2016, Graff forwarded Foresman’s April 30 email—which suggested an alternative meeting with Donald Trump Jr. or Eric Trump so that Foresman could convey to them information that “should be conveyed to [the candidate] personally or [to] someone [the candidate] absolutely trusts”—to policy advisor Stephen Miller.³⁹⁰

No communications or other evidence obtained by the Office indicate that the Trump Campaign learned that Foresman was reaching out to invite the candidate to the Forum or that the Campaign otherwise followed up with Foresman until after the election, when he interacted with the Transition Team as he pursued a possible position in the incoming Administration.³⁹¹ When interviewed by the Office, Foresman denied that the specific “approach” from “senior Kremlin officials” noted in his March 31, 2016 email was anything other than Kobyakov’s invitation to Roscongress. According to Foresman, the “concrete things” he referenced in the same email were a combination of the invitation itself, Foresman’s personal perspectives on the invitation and Russia policy in general, and details of a Ukraine plan supported by a U.S. think tank (EastWest Institute). Foresman told the Office that Kobyakov had extended similar invitations through him to another Republican presidential candidate and one other politician. Foresman also said that Kobyakov had asked Foresman to invite Trump to speak after that other presidential candidate withdrew from the race and the other politician’s participation did not work out.³⁹² Finally, Foresman claimed to have no plans to establish a back channel involving Trump, stating the reference to his involvement in the Bush-Putin back channel was meant to burnish his credentials to the Campaign. Foresman commented that he had not recognized any of the experts announced as Trump’s foreign policy team in March 2016, and wanted to secure an in-person meeting with the candidate to share his professional background and policy views, including that Trump should decline Kobyakov’s invitation to speak at the Forum.³⁹³

2. George Papadopoulos

George Papadopoulos was a foreign policy advisor to the Trump Campaign from March

³⁸⁸ See TRUMPORG_16_00137 (4/26/16 Email, Foresman to Graff); TRUMPORG_16_00141 (4/30/16 Email, Foresman to Graff).

³⁸⁹ See TRUMPORG_16_00139 (4/27/16 Email, Graff to Foresman); TRUMPORG_16_00137 (4/27/16 Email, Graff to Lewandowski).

³⁹⁰ TRUMPORG_16_00142 (5/2/16 Email, Graff to S. Miller); *see also* TRUMPORG_16_00143 (5/2/16 Email, Graff to S. Miller) (forwarding March 2016 email from Foresman).

³⁹¹ Foresman’s contacts during the transition period are discussed further in Volume I, Section IV.B.3, *infra*.

³⁹² Foresman 10/17/18 302, at 4.

³⁹³ Foresman 10/17/18 302, at 8-9.

2016 to early October 2016.³⁹⁴ In late April 2016, Papadopoulos was told by London-based professor Joseph Mifsud, immediately after Mifsud's return from a trip to Moscow, that the Russian government had obtained "dirt" on candidate Clinton in the form of thousands of emails. One week later, on May 6, 2016, Papadopoulos suggested to a representative of a foreign government that the Trump Campaign had received indications from the Russian government that it could assist the Campaign through the anonymous release of information that would be damaging to candidate Clinton.

Papadopoulos shared information about Russian "dirt" with people outside of the Campaign, and the Office investigated whether he also provided it to a Campaign official. Papadopoulos and the Campaign officials with whom he interacted told the Office that they did not recall that Papadopoulos passed them the information. Throughout the relevant period of time and for several months thereafter, Papadopoulos worked with Mifsud and two Russian nationals to arrange a meeting between the Campaign and the Russian government. That meeting never came to pass.

a. Origins of Campaign Work

In March 2016, Papadopoulos became a foreign policy advisor to the Trump Campaign.³⁹⁵ As early as the summer of 2015, he had sought a role as a policy advisor to the Campaign but, in a September 30, 2015 email, he was told that the Campaign was not hiring policy advisors.³⁹⁶ In late 2015, Papadopoulos obtained a paid position on the campaign of Republican presidential candidate Ben Carson.³⁹⁷

Although Carson remained in the presidential race until early March 2016, Papadopoulos had stopped actively working for his campaign by early February 2016.³⁹⁸ At that time, Papadopoulos reached out to a contact at the London Centre of International Law Practice (LCILP), which billed itself as a "unique institution . . . comprising high-level professional international law practitioners, dedicated to the advancement of global legal knowledge and the practice of international law."³⁹⁹ Papadopoulos said that he had finished his role with the Carson

³⁹⁴ Papadopoulos met with our Office for debriefings on several occasions in the summer and fall of 2017, after he was arrested and charged in a sealed criminal complaint with making false statements in a January 2017 FBI interview about, *inter alia*, the timing, extent, and nature of his interactions and communications with Joseph Mifsud and two Russian nationals: Olga Polonskaya and Ivan Timofeev. Papadopoulos later pleaded guilty, pursuant to a plea agreement, to an information charging him with making false statements to the FBI, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a).

³⁹⁵ *A Transcript of Donald Trump's Meeting with the Washington Post Editorial Board*, Washington Post (Mar. 21, 2016).

³⁹⁶ 7/15/15 LinkedIn Message, Papadopoulos to Lewandowski (6:57 a.m.); 9/30/15 Email, Glassner to Papadopoulos (7:42:21 a.m.).

³⁹⁷ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 2.

³⁹⁸ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 2; 2/4/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Idris.

³⁹⁹ London Centre of International Law Practice, at <https://www.lcilp.org/> (via web.archive.org).

campaign and asked if LCILP was hiring.⁴⁰⁰ In early February, Papadopoulos agreed to join LCILP and arrived in London to begin work.⁴⁰¹

As he was taking his position at LCILP, Papadopoulos contacted Trump campaign manager Corey Lewandowski via LinkedIn and emailed campaign official Michael Glassner about his interest in joining the Trump Campaign.⁴⁰² On March 2, 2016, Papadopoulos sent Glassner another message reiterating his interest.⁴⁰³ Glassner passed along word of Papadopoulos's interest to another campaign official, Joy Lutes, who notified Papadopoulos by email that she had been told by Glassner to introduce Papadopoulos to Sam Clovis, the Trump Campaign's national co-chair and chief policy advisor.⁴⁰⁴

At the time of Papadopoulos's March 2 email, the media was criticizing the Trump Campaign for lack of experienced foreign policy or national security advisors within its ranks.⁴⁰⁵ To address that issue, senior Campaign officials asked Clovis to put a foreign policy team together on short notice.⁴⁰⁶ After receiving Papadopoulos's name from Lutes, Clovis performed a Google search on Papadopoulos, learned that he had worked at the Hudson Institute, and believed that he had credibility on energy issues.⁴⁰⁷ On March 3, 2016, Clovis arranged to speak with Papadopoulos by phone to discuss Papadopoulos joining the Campaign as a foreign policy advisor, and on March 6, 2016, the two spoke.⁴⁰⁸ Papadopoulos recalled that Russia was mentioned as a topic, and he understood from the conversation that Russia would be an important aspect of the Campaign's foreign policy.⁴⁰⁹ At the end of the conversation, Clovis offered Papadopoulos a role as a foreign policy advisor to the Campaign, and Papadopoulos accepted the offer.⁴¹⁰

b. Initial Russia-Related Contacts

Approximately a week after signing on as a foreign policy advisor, Papadopoulos traveled

⁴⁰⁰ 2/4/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Idris.

⁴⁰¹ 2/5/16 Email, Idris to Papadopoulos (6:11:25 p.m.); 2/6/16 Email, Idris to Papadopoulos (5:34:15 p.m.).

⁴⁰² 2/4/16 LinkedIn Message, Papadopoulos to Lewandowski (1:28 p.m.); 2/4/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Glassner (2:10:36 p.m.).

⁴⁰³ 3/2/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Glassner (11:17:23 a.m.).

⁴⁰⁴ 3/2/16 Email, Lutes to Papadopoulos (10:08:15 p.m.).

⁴⁰⁵ Clovis 10/3/17 302 (1 of 2), at 4.

⁴⁰⁶ Clovis 10/3/17 302 (1 of 2), at 4.

⁴⁰⁷ **Grand Jury**; 3/3/16 Email, Lutes to Clovis & Papadopoulos (6:05:47 p.m.).

⁴⁰⁸ 3/6/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Clovis (4:24:21 p.m.).

⁴⁰⁹ Statement of Offense ¶ 4, *United States v. George Papadopoulos*, 1:17-cr-182 (D.D.C. Oct. 5, 2017), Doc. 19 ("Papadopoulos Statement of Offense").

⁴¹⁰ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 2.

to Rome, Italy, as part of his duties with LCILP.⁴¹¹ The purpose of the trip was to meet officials affiliated with Link Campus University, a for-profit institution headed by a former Italian government official.⁴¹² During the visit, Papadopoulos was introduced to Joseph Mifsud.

Mifsud is a Maltese national who worked as a professor at the London Academy of Diplomacy in London, England.⁴¹³ Although Mifsud worked out of London and was also affiliated with LCILP, the encounter in Rome was the first time that Papadopoulos met him.⁴¹⁴ Mifsud maintained various Russian contacts while living in London, as described further below. Among his contacts was IT ██████████, ⁴¹⁵ a one-time employee of the IRA, the entity that carried out the Russian social media campaign (see Volume I, Section II, *supra*). In January and February 2016, Mifsud and IT ██████████ discussed IT ██████████ possibly meeting in Russia. The investigation did not identify evidence of them meeting. Later, in the spring of 2016, IT ██████████ was also in contact IT ██████████ that was linked to an employee of the Russian Ministry of Defense, and that account had overlapping contacts with a group of Russian military-controlled Facebook accounts that included accounts used to promote the DCLeaks releases in the course of the GRU's hack-and-release operations (see Volume I, Section III.B.1, *supra*).

According to Papadopoulos, Mifsud at first seemed uninterested in Papadopoulos when they met in Rome.⁴¹⁶ After Papadopoulos informed Mifsud about his role in the Trump Campaign, however, Mifsud appeared to take greater interest in Papadopoulos.⁴¹⁷ The two discussed Mifsud's European and Russian contacts and had a general discussion about Russia; Mifsud also offered to introduce Papadopoulos to European leaders and others with contacts to the Russian government.⁴¹⁸ Papadopoulos told the Office that Mifsud's claim of substantial connections with Russian government officials interested Papadopoulos, who thought that such connections could increase his importance as a policy advisor to the Trump Campaign.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹¹ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 2-3; *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 5.

⁴¹² Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 2-3; Stephanie Kirchgaessner et al., *Joseph Mifsud: more questions than answers about mystery professor linked to Russia*, *The Guardian* (Oct. 31, 2017) ("Link Campus University . . . is headed by a former Italian interior minister named Vincenzo Scotti.").

⁴¹³ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 5.

⁴¹⁴ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 3.

⁴¹⁵ See, e.g., **Investigative Technique**
█Harm to Ongoing Matter

⁴¹⁶ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 5.

⁴¹⁷ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 5.

⁴¹⁸ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 3; Papadopoulos 8/11/17 302, at 2.

⁴¹⁹ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 5.

On March 17, 2016, Papadopoulos returned to London.⁴²⁰ Four days later, candidate Trump publicly named him as a member of the foreign policy and national security advisory team chaired by Senator Jeff Sessions, describing Papadopoulos as “an oil and energy consultant” and an “[e]xcellent guy.”⁴²¹

On March 24, 2016, Papadopoulos met with Mifsud in London.⁴²² Mifsud was accompanied by a Russian female named Olga Polonskaya. Mifsud introduced Polonskaya as a former student of his who had connections to Vladimir Putin.⁴²³ Papadopoulos understood at the time that Polonskaya may have been Putin’s niece but later learned that this was not true.⁴²⁴ During the meeting, Polonskaya offered to help Papadopoulos establish contacts in Russia and stated that the Russian ambassador in London was a friend of hers.⁴²⁵ Based on this interaction, Papadopoulos expected Mifsud and Polonskaya to introduce him to the Russian ambassador in London, but that did not occur.⁴²⁶

Following his meeting with Mifsud, Papadopoulos sent an email to members of the Trump Campaign’s foreign policy advisory team. The subject line of the message was “Meeting with Russian leadership—including Putin.”⁴²⁷ The message stated in pertinent part:

I just finished a very productive lunch with a good friend of mine, Joseph Mifsud, the director of the London Academy of Diplomacy—who introduced me to both Putin’s niece and the Russian Ambassador in London—who also acts as the Deputy Foreign Minister.⁴²⁸

The topic of the lunch was to arrange a meeting between us and the Russian leadership to discuss U.S.-Russia ties under President Trump. They are keen to host us in a “neutral” city, or directly in Moscow. They said the leadership, including Putin, is ready to meet with us and Mr. Trump should there be interest. Waiting for everyone’s thoughts on moving forward with this very important issue.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁰ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 2.

⁴²¹ Phillip Rucker & Robert Costa, *Trump Questions Need for NATO, Outlines Noninterventionist Foreign Policy*, Washington Post (Mar. 21, 2016).

⁴²² Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 3; 3/24/16 Text Messages, Mifsud & Papadopoulos.

⁴²³ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 3.

⁴²⁴ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 3; Papadopoulos 2/10/17 302, at 2-3; Papadopoulos Internet Search History (3/24/16) (revealing late-morning and early-afternoon searches on March 24, 2016 for “putin’s niece,” “olga putin,” and “russian president niece olga,” among other terms).

⁴²⁵ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 3.

⁴²⁶ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 8 n.1.

⁴²⁷ 3/24/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Page et al. (8:48:21 a.m.).

⁴²⁸ Papadopoulos’s statements to the Campaign were false. As noted above, the woman he met was not Putin’s niece, he had not met the Russian Ambassador in London, and the Ambassador did not also serve as Russia’s Deputy Foreign Minister.

⁴²⁹ 3/24/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Page et al. (8:48:21 a.m.).

Papadopoulos's message came at a time when Clovis perceived a shift in the Campaign's approach toward Russia—from one of engaging with Russia through the NATO framework and taking a strong stance on Russian aggression in Ukraine, **Grand Jury** [REDACTED]

Clovis's response to Papadopoulos, however, did not reflect that shift. Replying to Papadopoulos and the other members of the foreign policy advisory team copied on the initial email, Clovis wrote:

This is most informative. Let me work it through the campaign. No commitments until we see how this plays out. My thought is that we probably should not go forward with any meetings with the Russians until we have had occasion to sit with our NATO allies, especially France, Germany and Great Britain. We need to reassure our allies that we are not going to advance anything with Russia until we have everyone on the same page.

More thoughts later today. Great work.⁴³¹

c. March 31 Foreign Policy Team Meeting

The Campaign held a meeting of the foreign policy advisory team with Senator Sessions and candidate Trump approximately one week later, on March 31, 2016, in Washington, D.C.⁴³² The meeting—which was intended to generate press coverage for the Campaign⁴³³—took place at the Trump International Hotel.⁴³⁴ Papadopoulos flew to Washington for the event. At the meeting, Senator Sessions sat at one end of an oval table, while Trump sat at the other. As reflected in the photograph below (which was posted to Trump's Instagram account), Papadopoulos sat between the two, two seats to Sessions's left:

⁴³⁰ **Grand Jury** [REDACTED]

⁴³¹ 3/24/16 Email, Clovis to Papadopoulos et al. (8:55:04 a.m.).

⁴³² Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 4; Papadopoulos 8/11/17 302, at 3.

⁴³³ Sessions 1/17/18 302, at 16-17.

⁴³⁴ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 4.



March 31, 2016 Meeting of Foreign Policy Team, with Papadopoulos (Fourth from Right of Candidate Trump)

During the meeting, each of the newly announced foreign policy advisors introduced themselves and briefly described their areas of experience or expertise.⁴³⁵ Papadopoulos spoke about his previous work in the energy sector and then brought up a potential meeting with Russian officials.⁴³⁶ Specifically, Papadopoulos told the group that he had learned through his contacts in London that Putin wanted to meet with candidate Trump and that these connections could help arrange that meeting.⁴³⁷

Trump and Sessions both reacted to Papadopoulos's statement. Papadopoulos and Campaign advisor J.D. Gordon—who told investigators in an interview that he had a “crystal clear” recollection of the meeting—have stated that Trump was interested in and receptive to the idea of a meeting with Putin.⁴³⁸ Papadopoulos understood Sessions to be similarly supportive of his efforts to arrange a meeting.⁴³⁹ Gordon and two other attendees, however, recall that Sessions generally opposed the proposal, though they differ in their accounts of the concerns he voiced or the strength of the opposition he expressed.⁴⁴⁰

d. George Papadopoulos Learns That Russia Has “Dirt” in the Form of Clinton Emails

Whatever Sessions's precise words at the March 31 meeting, Papadopoulos did not understand Sessions or anyone else in the Trump Campaign to have directed that he refrain from

⁴³⁵ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 4.

⁴³⁶ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 4.

⁴³⁷ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 9; see Gordon 8/29/17 302, at 14; Carafano 9/12/17 302, at 2; Hoskins 9/14/17 302, at 1.

⁴³⁸ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 4-5; Gordon 9/7/17 302, at 4-5.

⁴³⁹ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 5; Papadopoulos 8/11/17 302, at 3.

⁴⁴⁰ Sessions 1/17/18 302, at 17; Gordon 9/7/17 302, at 5; Hoskins 9/14/17 302, at 1; Carafano 9/12/17 302, at 2.

making further efforts to arrange a meeting between the Campaign and the Russian government. To the contrary, Papadopoulos told the Office that he understood the Campaign to be supportive of his efforts to arrange such a meeting.⁴⁴¹ Accordingly, when he returned to London, Papadopoulos resumed those efforts.⁴⁴²

Throughout April 2016, Papadopoulos continued to correspond with, meet with, and seek Russia contacts through Mifsud and, at times, Polonskaya.⁴⁴³ For example, within a week of her initial March 24 meeting with him, Polonskaya attempted to send Papadopoulos a text message—which email exchanges show to have been drafted or edited by Mifsud—addressing Papadopoulos’s “wish to engage with the Russian Federation.”⁴⁴⁴ When Papadopoulos learned from Mifsud that Polonskaya had tried to message him, he sent her an email seeking another meeting.⁴⁴⁵ Polonskaya responded the next day that she was “back in St. Petersburg” but “would be very pleased to support [Papadopoulos’s] initiatives between our two countries” and “to meet [him] again.”⁴⁴⁶ Papadopoulos stated in reply that he thought “a good step” would be to introduce him to “the Russian Ambassador in London,” and that he would like to talk to the ambassador, “or anyone else you recommend, about a potential foreign policy trip to Russia.”⁴⁴⁷

Mifsud, who had been copied on the email exchanges, replied on the morning of April 11, 2016. He wrote, “This is already been agreed. I am flying to Moscow on the 18th for a Valdai meeting, plus other meetings at the Duma. We will talk tomorrow.”⁴⁴⁸ The two bodies referenced by Mifsud are part of or associated with the Russian government: the Duma is a Russian legislative assembly,⁴⁴⁹ while “Valdai” refers to the Valdai Discussion Club, a Moscow-based group that “is close to Russia’s foreign-policy establishment.”⁴⁵⁰ Papadopoulos thanked Mifsud and said that he would see him “tomorrow.”⁴⁵¹ For her part, Polonskaya responded that she had “already alerted my personal links to our conversation and your request,” that “we are all very excited the possibility of a good relationship with Mr. Trump,” and that “[t]he Russian Federation would love to welcome him once his candidature would be officially announced.”⁴⁵²

⁴⁴¹ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 4-5; Papadopoulos 8/11/17 302, at 3; Papadopoulos 9/20/17 302, at 2.

⁴⁴² Papadopoulos Statement of Offense ¶ 10.

⁴⁴³ Papadopoulos Statement of Offense ¶¶ 10-15.

⁴⁴⁴ 3/29/16 Emails, Mifsud to Polonskaya (3:39 a.m. and 5:36 a.m.).

⁴⁴⁵ 4/10/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Polonskaya (2:45:59 p.m.).

⁴⁴⁶ 4/11/16 Email, Polonskaya to Papadopoulos (3:11:24 a.m.).

⁴⁴⁷ 4/11/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Polonskaya (9:21:56 a.m.).

⁴⁴⁸ 4/11/16 Email, Mifsud to Papadopoulos (11:43:53).

⁴⁴⁹ Papadopoulos Statement of Offense ¶ 10(c).

⁴⁵⁰ Anton Troianovski, *Putin Ally Warns of Arms Race as Russia Considers Response to U.S. Nuclear Stance*, Washington Post (Feb. 10, 2018).

⁴⁵¹ 4/11/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Mifsud (11:51:53 a.m.).

⁴⁵² 4/12/16 Email, Polonskaya to Papadopoulos (4:47:06 a.m.).

Papadopoulos's and Mifsud's mentions of seeing each other "tomorrow" referenced a meeting that the two had scheduled for the next morning, April 12, 2016, at the Andaz Hotel in London. Papadopoulos acknowledged the meeting during interviews with the Office,⁴⁵³ and records from Papadopoulos's UK cellphone and his internet-search history all indicate that the meeting took place.⁴⁵⁴

Following the meeting, Mifsud traveled as planned to Moscow.⁴⁵⁵ On April 18, 2016, while in Russia, Mifsud introduced Papadopoulos over email to Ivan Timofeev, a member of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC).⁴⁵⁶ Mifsud had described Timofeev as having connections with the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA),⁴⁵⁷ the executive entity in Russia responsible for Russian foreign relations.⁴⁵⁸ Over the next several weeks, Papadopoulos and Timofeev had multiple conversations over Skype and email about setting "the groundwork" for a "potential" meeting between the Campaign and Russian government officials.⁴⁵⁹ Papadopoulos told the Office that, on one Skype call, he believed that his conversation with Timofeev was being monitored or supervised by an unknown third party, because Timofeev spoke in an official manner and Papadopoulos heard odd noises on the line.⁴⁶⁰ Timofeev also told Papadopoulos in an April 25, 2016 email that he had just spoken "to Igor Ivanov[,] the President of RIAC and former Foreign Minister of Russia," and conveyed Ivanov's advice about how best to arrange a "Moscow visit."⁴⁶¹

After a stop in Rome, Mifsud returned to England on April 25, 2016.⁴⁶² The next day, Papadopoulos met Mifsud for breakfast at the Andaz Hotel (the same location as their last

⁴⁵³ Papadopoulos 9/19/17 302, at 7.

⁴⁵⁴ 4/12/16 Email, Mifsud to Papadopoulos (5:44:39 a.m.) (forwarding Libya-related document); 4/12/16 Email, Mifsud to Papadopoulos & Obaid (10:28:20 a.m.); Papadopoulos Internet Search History (Apr. 11, 2016 10:56:49 p.m.) (search for "andaz hotel liverpool street"); 4/12/16 Text Messages, Mifsud & Papadopoulos.

⁴⁵⁵ See, e.g., 4/18/16 Email, Mifsud to Papadopoulos (8:04:54 a.m.).

⁴⁵⁶ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 5.

⁴⁵⁷ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 11.

⁴⁵⁸ During the campaign period, Papadopoulos connected over LinkedIn with several MFA-affiliated individuals in addition to Timofeev. On April 25, 2016, he connected with Dmitry Andreyko, publicly identified as a First Secretary at the Russian Embassy in Ireland. In July 2016, he connected with Yuriy Melnik, the spokesperson for the Russian Embassy in Washington and with Alexey Krasilnikov, publicly identified as a counselor with the MFA. And on September 16, 2016, he connected with Sergei Nalobin, also identified as an MFA official. See *Papadopoulos LinkedIn Connections* IT [REDACTED]

⁴⁵⁹ *Papadopoulos Statement of Offense* ¶ 11.

⁴⁶⁰ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 5; Papadopoulos 9/19/17 302, at 10.

⁴⁶¹ 4/25/16 Email, Timofeev to Papadopoulos (8:16:35 a.m.).

⁴⁶² 4/22/16 Email, Mifsud to Papadopoulos (12:41:01 a.m.).

meeting).⁴⁶³ During that meeting, Mifsud told Papadopoulos that he had met with high-level Russian government officials during his recent trip to Moscow. Mifsud also said that, on the trip, he learned that the Russians had obtained “dirt” on candidate Hillary Clinton. As Papadopoulos later stated to the FBI, Mifsud said that the “dirt” was in the form of “emails of Clinton,” and that they “have thousands of emails.”⁴⁶⁴ On May 6, 2016, 10 days after that meeting with Mifsud, Papadopoulos suggested to a representative of a foreign government that the Trump Campaign had received indications from the Russian government that it could assist the Campaign through the anonymous release of information that would be damaging to Hillary Clinton.⁴⁶⁵

e. Russia-Related Communications With The Campaign

While he was discussing with his foreign contacts a potential meeting of campaign officials with Russian government officials, Papadopoulos kept campaign officials apprised of his efforts. On April 25, 2016, the day before Mifsud told Papadopoulos about the emails, Papadopoulos wrote to senior policy advisor Stephen Miller that “[t]he Russian government has an open invitation by Putin for Mr. Trump to meet him when he is ready,” and that “[t]he advantage of being in London is that these governments tend to speak a bit more openly in ‘neutral’ cities.”⁴⁶⁶ On April 27, 2016, after his meeting with Mifsud, Papadopoulos wrote a second message to Miller stating that “some interesting messages [were] coming in from Moscow about a trip when the time is right.”⁴⁶⁷ The same day, Papadopoulos sent a similar email to campaign manager Corey Lewandowski, telling Lewandowski that Papadopoulos had “been receiving a lot of calls over the last month about Putin wanting to host [Trump] and the team when the time is right.”⁴⁶⁸

Papadopoulos’s Russia-related communications with Campaign officials continued throughout the spring and summer of 2016. On May 4, 2016, he forwarded to Lewandowski an email from Timofeev raising the possibility of a meeting in Moscow, asking Lewandowski whether that was “something we want to move forward with.”⁴⁶⁹ The next day, Papadopoulos forwarded the same Timofeev email to Sam Clovis, adding to the top of the email “Russia update.”⁴⁷⁰ He included the same email in a May 21, 2016 message to senior Campaign official Paul Manafort, under the subject line “Request from Russia to meet Mr. Trump,” stating that “Russia has been eager to meet Mr. Trump for quite sometime and have been reaching out to me

⁴⁶³ Papadopoulos Statement of Offense ¶ 14; 4/25/16 Text Messages, Mifsud & Papadopoulos.

⁴⁶⁴ Papadopoulos Statement of Offense ¶ 14.

⁴⁶⁵ This information is contained in the FBI case-opening document and related materials. ~~The information is law enforcement sensitive (LES) and must be treated accordingly in any external dissemination.~~ The foreign government conveyed this information to the U.S. government on July 26, 2016, a few days after WikiLeaks’s release of Clinton-related emails. The FBI opened its investigation of potential coordination between Russia and the Trump Campaign a few days later based on the information.

⁴⁶⁶ 4/25/16 Email, Papadopoulos to S. Miller (8:12:44 p.m.).

⁴⁶⁷ 4/27/16 Email, Papadopoulos to S. Miller (6:55:58 p.m.).

⁴⁶⁸ 4/27/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Lewandowski (7:15:14 p.m.).

⁴⁶⁹ 5/4/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Lewandowski (8:14:49 a.m.).

⁴⁷⁰ 5/5/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Clovis (7:15:21 p.m.).

to discuss.”⁴⁷¹ Manafort forwarded the message to another Campaign official, without including Papadopoulos, and stated: “Let[']s discuss. We need someone to communicate that [Trump] is not doing these trips. It should be someone low level in the Campaign so as not to send any signal.”⁴⁷²

On June 1, 2016, Papadopoulos replied to an earlier email chain with Lewandowski about a Russia visit, asking if Lewandowski “want[ed] to have a call about this topic” and whether “we were following up with it.”⁴⁷³ After Lewandowski told Papadopoulos to “connect with” Clovis because he was “running point,” Papadopoulos emailed Clovis that “the Russian MFA” was asking him “if Mr. Trump is interested in visiting Russia at some point.”⁴⁷⁴ Papadopoulos wrote in an email that he “[w]anted to pass this info along to you for you to decide what’s best to do with it and what message I should send (or to ignore).”⁴⁷⁵

After several email and Skype exchanges with Timofeev,⁴⁷⁶ Papadopoulos sent one more email to Lewandowski on June 19, 2016, Lewandowski’s last day as campaign manager.⁴⁷⁷ The email stated that “[t]he Russian ministry of foreign affairs” had contacted him and asked whether, if Mr. Trump could not travel to Russia, a campaign representative such as Papadopoulos could attend meetings.⁴⁷⁸ Papadopoulos told Lewandowski that he was “willing to make the trip off the record if it’s in the interest of Mr. Trump and the campaign to meet specific people.”⁴⁷⁹

Following Lewandowski’s departure from the Campaign, Papadopoulos communicated with Clovis and Walid Phares, another member of the foreign policy advisory team, about an off-the-record meeting between the Campaign and Russian government officials or with Papadopoulos’s other Russia connections, Mifsud and Timofeev.⁴⁸⁰ Papadopoulos also interacted

⁴⁷¹ 5/21/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Manafort (2:30:14 p.m.).

⁴⁷² *Papadopoulos* Statement of Offense ¶ 19 n.2.

⁴⁷³ 6/1/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Lewandowski (3:08:18 p.m.).

⁴⁷⁴ 6/1/16 Email, Lewandowski to Papadopoulos (3:20:03 p.m.); 6/1/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Clovis (3:29:14 p.m.).

⁴⁷⁵ 6/1/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Clovis (3:29:14 p.m.). Papadopoulos’s email coincided in time with another message to Clovis suggesting a Trump-Putin meeting. First, on May 15, 2016, David Klein—a distant relative of then-Trump Organization lawyer Jason Greenblatt—emailed Clovis about a potential Campaign meeting with Berel Lazar, the Chief Rabbi of Russia. The email stated that Klein had contacted Lazar in February about a possible Trump-Putin meeting and that Lazar was “a very close confidante of Putin.” DJTFP00011547 (5/15/16 Email, Klein to Clovis (5:45:24 p.m.)). The investigation did not find evidence that Clovis responded to Klein’s email or that any further contacts of significance came out of Klein’s subsequent meeting with Greenblatt and Rabbi Lazar at Trump Tower. Klein 8/30/18 302, at 2.

⁴⁷⁶ *Papadopoulos* Statement of Offense ¶ 21(a).

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⁴⁷⁸ 6/19/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Lewandowski (1:11:11 p.m.).

⁴⁷⁹ 6/19/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Lewandowski (1:11:11 p.m.).

⁴⁸⁰ *Papadopoulos* Statement of Offense ¶ 21; 7/14/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Timofeev (11:57:24 p.m.); 7/15/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Mifsud; 7/27/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Mifsud (2:14:18 p.m.).

directly with Clovis and Phares in connection with the summit of the Transatlantic Parliamentary Group on Counterterrorism (TAG), a group for which Phares was co-secretary general.⁴⁸¹ On July 16, 2016, Papadopoulos attended the TAG summit in Washington, D.C., where he sat next to Clovis (as reflected in the photograph below).⁴⁸²



George Papadopoulos (far right) and Sam Clovis (second from right)

Although Clovis claimed to have no recollection of attending the TAG summit,⁴⁸³ Papadopoulos remembered discussing Russia and a foreign policy trip with Clovis and Phares during the event.⁴⁸⁴ Papadopoulos's recollection is consistent with emails sent before and after the TAG summit. The pre-summit messages included a July 11, 2016 email in which Phares suggested meeting Papadopoulos the day after the summit to chat,⁴⁸⁵ and a July 12 message in the same chain in which Phares advised Papadopoulos that other summit attendees "are very nervous about Russia. So be aware."⁴⁸⁶ Ten days after the summit, Papadopoulos sent an email to Mifsud listing Phares and Clovis as other "participants" in a potential meeting at the London Academy of Diplomacy.⁴⁸⁷

Finally, Papadopoulos's recollection is also consistent with handwritten notes from a

⁴⁸¹ Papadopoulos 9/19/17 302, at 16-17; *9th TAG Summit in Washington DC*, Transatlantic Parliament Group on Counter Terrorism.

⁴⁸² *9th TAG Summit in Washington DC*, Transatlantic Parliament Group on Counter Terrorism.

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⁴⁸⁴ Papadopoulos 9/19/17 302, at 16-17.

⁴⁸⁵ 7/11/16 Email, Phares to Papadopoulos.

⁴⁸⁶ 7/12/16 Email, Phares to Papadopoulos (14:52:29).

⁴⁸⁷ 7/27/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Mifsud (14:14:18).

journal that he kept at the time.⁴⁸⁸ Those notes, which are reprinted in part below, appear to refer to potential September 2016 meetings in London with representatives of the “office of Putin,” and suggest that Phares, Clovis, and Papadopoulos (“Walid/Sam me”) would attend without the official backing of the Campaign (“no official letter/no message from Trump”).⁴⁸⁹

September:	<u>September:</u>
Have an exploratory meeting to or lose. In September – if allowed they will blast Mr. Trump.	Have an exploratory meeting to or lose. In September – if allowed they will blast Mr. Trump.
We want the meeting in London/England	• we want the meeting Walid/Sam me in London/England
Walid/Sam me	<u>No official letter / no message from Trump</u>
No official letter/no message from Trump	• they are talking to us.
They are talking to us.	– It is not at r. ofc.
-It is a lot of risk.	– office of Putin.
-Office of Putin.	– Explain: we are a campaign.
-Explore: we are a campaign.	<u>off Israel!</u> <u>EGYPT</u>
off Israel! EGYPT	willingness to meet the FM sp with Walid/Sam
Willingness to meet the FM sp with Walid/Sam	– FM coming
-FM coming	– Useful to have a session with him.
-Useful to have a session with him.	

Later communications indicate that Clovis determined that he (Clovis) could not travel. On August 15, 2016, Papadopoulos emailed Clovis that he had received requests from multiple foreign governments, “even Russia[,]” for “closed door workshops/consultations abroad,” and asked whether there was still interest for Clovis, Phares, and Papadopoulos “to go on that trip.”⁴⁹⁰ Clovis copied Phares on his response, which said that he could not “travel before the election” but that he “would encourage [Papadopoulos] and Walid to make the trips, if it is feasible.”⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ Papadopoulos 9/20/17 302, at 3.

⁴⁸⁹ Papadopoulos declined to assist in deciphering his notes, telling investigators that he could not read his own handwriting from the journal. Papadopoulos 9/19/17 302, at 21. The notes, however, appear to read as listed in the column to the left of the image above.

⁴⁹⁰ 8/15/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Clovis (11:59:07 a.m.).

⁴⁹¹ 8/15/16 Email, Clovis to Papadopoulos (12:01:45 p.m.).

Papadopoulos was dismissed from the Trump Campaign in early October 2016, after an interview he gave to the Russian news agency *Interfax* generated adverse publicity.⁴⁹²

f. Trump Campaign Knowledge of “Dirt”

Papadopoulos admitted telling at least one individual outside of the Campaign—specifically, the then-Greek foreign minister—about Russia’s obtaining Clinton-related emails.⁴⁹³ In addition, a different foreign government informed the FBI that, 10 days after meeting with Mifsud in late April 2016, Papadopoulos suggested that the Trump Campaign had received indications from the Russian government that it could assist the Campaign through the anonymous release of information that would be damaging to Hillary Clinton.⁴⁹⁴ (This conversation occurred after the GRU spearphished Clinton Campaign chairman John Podesta and stole his emails, and the GRU hacked into the DCCC and DNC, *see* Volume I, Sections III.A & III.B, *supra*.) Such disclosures raised questions about whether Papadopoulos informed any Trump Campaign official about the emails.

When interviewed, Papadopoulos and the Campaign officials who interacted with him told the Office that they could not recall Papadopoulos’s sharing the information that Russia had obtained “dirt” on candidate Clinton in the form of emails or that Russia could assist the Campaign through the anonymous release of information about Clinton. Papadopoulos stated that he could not clearly recall having told anyone on the Campaign and wavered about whether he accurately remembered an incident in which Clovis had been upset after hearing Papadopoulos tell Clovis that Papadopoulos thought “they have her emails.”⁴⁹⁵ The Campaign officials who interacted or corresponded with Papadopoulos have similarly stated, with varying degrees of certainty, that he did not tell them. Senior policy advisor Stephen Miller, for example, did not remember hearing anything from Papadopoulos or Clovis about Russia having emails of or dirt on candidate Clinton.⁴⁹⁶ Clovis stated that he did not recall anyone, including Papadopoulos, having given him non-public information that a foreign government might be in possession of material damaging to Hillary Clinton.⁴⁹⁷ **Grand Jury**

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⁴⁹² *George Papadopoulos: Sanctions Have Done Little More Than to Turn Russia Towards China*, *Interfax* (Sept. 30, 2016).

⁴⁹³ Papadopoulos 9/19/17 302, at 14-15; Def. Sent. Mem., *United States v. George Papadopoulos*, 1:17-cr-182 (D.D.C. Aug. 31, 2018), Doc. 45.

⁴⁹⁴ *See* footnote 465 of Volume I, Section IV.A.2.d, *supra*.

⁴⁹⁵ Papadopoulos 8/10/17 302, at 5; Papadopoulos 8/11/17 302, at 5; Papadopoulos 9/20/17 302, at 2.

⁴⁹⁶ S. Miller 12/14/17 302, at 10.

⁴⁹⁷ **Grand Jury**

⁴⁹⁸ **Grand Jury**

Grand Jury

⁴⁹⁹ No documentary evidence, and nothing in the email accounts or other communications facilities reviewed by the Office, shows that Papadopoulos shared this information with the Campaign.

g. Additional George Papadopoulos Contact

The Office investigated another Russia-related contact with Papadopoulos. The Office was not fully able to explore the contact because the individual at issue—Sergei Millian—remained out of the country since the inception of our investigation and declined to meet with members of the Office despite our repeated efforts to obtain an interview.

Papadopoulos first connected with Millian via LinkedIn on July 15, 2016, shortly after Papadopoulos had attended the TAG Summit with Clovis.⁵⁰⁰ Millian, an American citizen who is a native of Belarus, introduced himself “as president of [the] New York-based Russian American Chamber of Commerce,” and claimed that through that position he had “insider knowledge and direct access to the top hierarchy in Russian politics.”⁵⁰¹ Papadopoulos asked Timofeev whether he had heard of Millian.⁵⁰² Although Timofeev said no,⁵⁰³ Papadopoulos met Millian in New York City.⁵⁰⁴ The meetings took place on July 30 and August 1, 2016.⁵⁰⁵ Afterwards, Millian invited Papadopoulos to attend—and potentially speak at—two international energy conferences, including one that was to be held in Moscow in September 2016.⁵⁰⁶ Papadopoulos ultimately did not attend either conference.

On July 31, 2016, following his first in-person meeting with Millian, Papadopoulos emailed Trump Campaign official Bo Denysyk to say that he had been contacted “by some leaders of Russian-American voters here in the US about their interest in voting for Mr. Trump,” and to ask whether he should “put you in touch with their group (US-Russia chamber of commerce).”⁵⁰⁷ Denysyk thanked Papadopoulos “for taking the initiative,” but asked him to “hold off with

⁴⁹⁹ Grand Jury

⁵⁰⁰ 7/15/16 LinkedIn Message, Millian to Papadopoulos.

⁵⁰¹ 7/15/16 LinkedIn Message, Millian to Papadopoulos.

⁵⁰² 7/22/16 Facebook Message, Papadopoulos to Timofeev (7:40:23 p.m.); 7/26/16 Facebook Message, Papadopoulos to Timofeev (3:08:57 p.m.).

⁵⁰³ 7/23/16 Facebook Message, Timofeev to Papadopoulos (4:31:37 a.m.); 7/26/16 Facebook Message, Timofeev to Papadopoulos (3:37:16 p.m.).

⁵⁰⁴ 7/16/16 Text Messages, Papadopoulos & Millian (7:55:43 p.m.).

⁵⁰⁵ 7/30/16 Text Messages, Papadopoulos & Millian (5:38 & 6:05 p.m.); 7/31/16 Text Messages, Millian & Papadopoulos (3:48 & 4:18 p.m.); 8/1/16 Text Message, Millian to Papadopoulos (8:19 p.m.).

⁵⁰⁶ 8/2/16 Text Messages, Millian & Papadopoulos (3:04 & 3:05 p.m.); 8/3/16 Facebook Messages, Papadopoulos & Millian (4:07:37 a.m. & 1:11:58 p.m.).

⁵⁰⁷ 7/31/16 Email, Papadopoulos to Denysyk (12:29:59 p.m.).

outreach to Russian-Americans” because “too many articles” had already portrayed the Campaign, then-campaign chairman Paul Manafort, and candidate Trump as “being pro-Russian.”⁵⁰⁸

On August 23, 2016, Millian sent a Facebook message to Papadopoulos promising that he would “share with you a disruptive technology that might be instrumental in your political work for the campaign.”⁵⁰⁹ Papadopoulos claimed to have no recollection of this matter.⁵¹⁰

On November 9, 2016, shortly after the election, Papadopoulos arranged to meet Millian in Chicago to discuss business opportunities, including potential work with Russian “billionaires who are not under sanctions.”⁵¹¹ The meeting took place on November 14, 2016, at the Trump Hotel and Tower in Chicago.⁵¹² According to Papadopoulos, the two men discussed partnering on business deals, but Papadopoulos perceived that Millian’s attitude toward him changed when Papadopoulos stated that he was only pursuing private-sector opportunities and was not interested in a job in the Administration.⁵¹³ The two remained in contact, however, and had extended online discussions about possible business opportunities in Russia.⁵¹⁴ The two also arranged to meet at a Washington, D.C. bar when both attended Trump’s inauguration in late January 2017.⁵¹⁵

3. Carter Page

Carter Page worked for the Trump Campaign from January 2016 to September 2016. He was formally and publicly announced as a foreign policy advisor by the candidate in March 2016.⁵¹⁶ Page had lived and worked in Russia, and he had been approached by Russian intelligence officers several years before he volunteered for the Trump Campaign. During his time with the Campaign, Page advocated pro-Russia foreign policy positions and traveled to Moscow in his personal capacity. Russian intelligence officials had formed relationships with Page in 2008 and 2013 and Russian officials may have focused on Page in 2016 because of his affiliation with the Campaign. However, the investigation did not establish that Page coordinated with the Russian government in its efforts to interfere with the 2016 presidential election.

⁵⁰⁸ 7/31/16 Email, Denysyk to Papadopoulos (21:54:52).

⁵⁰⁹ 8/23/16 Facebook Message, Millian to Papadopoulos (2:55:36 a.m.).

⁵¹⁰ Papadopoulos 9/20/17 302, at 2.

⁵¹¹ 11/10/16 Facebook Message, Millian to Papadopoulos (9:35:05 p.m.).

⁵¹² 11/14/16 Facebook Message, Millian to Papadopoulos (1:32:11 a.m.).

⁵¹³ Papadopoulos 9/19/17 302, at 19.

⁵¹⁴ *E.g.*, 11/29/16 Facebook Messages, Papadopoulos & Millian (5:09 - 5:11 p.m.); 12/7/16 Facebook Message, Millian to Papadopoulos (5:10:54 p.m.).

⁵¹⁵ 1/20/17 Facebook Messages, Papadopoulos & Millian (4:37-4:39 a.m.).

⁵¹⁶ Page was interviewed by the FBI during five meetings in March 2017, before the Special Counsel’s appointment. **Grand Jury**

a. Background

Before he began working for the Campaign in January 2016, Page had substantial prior experience studying Russian policy issues and living and working in Moscow. From 2004 to 2007, Page was the deputy branch manager of Merrill Lynch's Moscow office.⁵¹⁷ There, he worked on transactions involving the Russian energy company Gazprom and came to know Gazprom's deputy chief financial officer, Sergey Yatsenko.⁵¹⁸

In 2008, Page founded Global Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm focused on the energy sector in emerging markets.⁵¹⁹ **Grand Jury**

Grand Jury⁵²⁰ The company otherwise had no sources of income, and Page was forced to draw down his life savings to support himself and pursue his business venture.⁵²¹ Page asked Yatsenko to work with him at GEC as a senior advisor on a contingency basis, **Grand Jury**

Grand Jury⁵²²

In 2008, Page met Alexander Bulatov, a Russian government official who worked at the Russian Consulate in New York.⁵²³ Page later learned that Bulatov was a Russian intelligence officer, **Grand Jury**⁵²⁴

In 2013, Victor Podobnyy, another Russian intelligence officer working covertly in the United States under diplomatic cover, formed a relationship with Page.⁵²⁵ Podobnyy met Page at an energy symposium in New York City and began exchanging emails with him.⁵²⁶ Podobnyy and Page also met in person on multiple occasions, during which Page offered his outlook on the future of the energy industry and provided documents to Podobnyy about the energy business.⁵²⁷ In a recorded conversation on April 8, 2013, Podobnyy told another intelligence officer that Page was interested in business opportunities in Russia.⁵²⁸ In Podobnyy's words, Page "got hooked on

⁵¹⁷ Testimony of Carter Page, Hearing Before the U.S. House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 115th Cong. 40 (Nov. 2, 2017) (exhibit).

⁵¹⁸ Page 3/30/17 302, at 10.

⁵¹⁹ **Grand Jury**

⁵²⁰ **Grand Jury**

⁵²¹ **Grand Jury**

⁵²² Page 3/30/17 302, at 10; **Grand Jury**

⁵²³ **Grand Jury**

⁵²⁴ **Grand Jury**

⁵²⁵ **Grand Jury** Complaint ¶¶ 22, 24, 32, *United States v. Buryakov*, 1:15-mj-215 (S.D.N.Y. Jan. 23, 2015), Doc. 1 ("*Buryakov* Complaint").

⁵²⁶ *Buryakov* Complaint ¶ 34.

⁵²⁷ *Buryakov* Complaint ¶ 34.

⁵²⁸ *Buryakov* Complaint ¶ 32.

Gazprom thinking that if they have a project, he could . . . rise up. Maybe he can. . . . [I]t's obvious that he wants to earn lots of money."⁵²⁹ Podobnyy said that he had led Page on by "feed[ing] him empty promises" that Podobnyy would use his Russian business connections to help Page.⁵³⁰ Podobnyy told the other intelligence officer that his method of recruiting foreign sources was to promise them favors and then discard them once he obtained relevant information from them.⁵³¹

In 2015, Podobnyy and two other Russian intelligence officers were charged with conspiracy to act as an unregistered agent of a foreign government.⁵³² The criminal complaint detailed Podobnyy's interactions with and conversations about Page, who was identified only as "Male-1."⁵³³ Based on the criminal complaint's description of the interactions, Page was aware that he was the individual described as "Male-1."⁵³⁴ Page later spoke with a Russian government official at the United Nations General Assembly and identified himself so that the official would understand he was "Male-1" from the Podobnyy complaint.⁵³⁵ Page told the official that he "didn't do anything" **Grand Jury** ⁵³⁶

In interviews with the FBI before the Office's opening, Page acknowledged that he understood that the individuals he had associated with were members of the Russian intelligence services, but he stated that he had only provided immaterial non-public information to them and that he did not view this relationship as a backchannel.⁵³⁷ Page told investigating agents that "the more immaterial non-public information I give them, the better for this country."⁵³⁸

b. Origins of and Early Campaign Work

In January 2016, Page began volunteering on an informal, unpaid basis for the Trump Campaign after Ed Cox, a state Republican Party official, introduced Page to Trump Campaign officials.⁵³⁹ Page told the Office that his goal in working on the Campaign was to help candidate Trump improve relations with Russia.⁵⁴⁰ To that end, Page emailed Campaign officials offering his thoughts on U.S.-Russia relations, prepared talking points and briefing memos on Russia, and

⁵²⁹ Buryakov Complaint.

⁵³⁰ Buryakov Complaint.

⁵³¹ Buryakov Complaint.

⁵³² See Buryakov Complaint; see also Indictment, *United States v. Buryakov*, 1:15-cr-73 (S.D.N.Y. Feb. 9, 2015), Doc. 10; **Grand Jury**

⁵³³ Buryakov Complaint ¶¶ 32-34; **Grand Jury**

⁵³⁴ **Grand Jury**

⁵³⁵ Page 3/16/17 302, at 4; **Grand Jury**

⁵³⁶ Page 3/16/17 302, at 4; **Grand Jury**

⁵³⁷ Page 3/30/17 302, at 6; Page 3/31/17 302, at 1.

⁵³⁸ Page 3/31/17 302, at 1.

⁵³⁹ Page 3/16/17 302, at 1; **Grand Jury**

⁵⁴⁰ Page 3/10/17 302, at 2.

proposed that candidate Trump meet with President Vladimir Putin in Moscow.⁵⁴¹

In communications with Campaign officials, Page also repeatedly touted his high-level contacts in Russia and his ability to forge connections between candidate Trump and senior Russian governmental officials. For example, on January 30, 2016, Page sent an email to senior Campaign officials stating that he had “spent the past week in Europe and ha[d] been in discussions with some individuals with close ties to the Kremlin” who recognized that Trump could have a “game-changing effect . . . in bringing the end of the new Cold War.”⁵⁴² The email stated that “[t]hrough [his] discussions with these high level contacts,” Page believed that “a direct meeting in Moscow between Mr[.] Trump and Putin could be arranged.”⁵⁴³ Page closed the email by criticizing U.S. sanctions on Russia.⁵⁴⁴ **Grand Jury**

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On March 21, 2016, candidate Trump formally and publicly identified Page as a member of his foreign policy team to advise on Russia and the energy sector.⁵⁴⁶ Over the next several months, Page continued providing policy-related work product to Campaign officials. For example, in April 2016, Page provided feedback on an outline for a foreign policy speech that the candidate gave at the Mayflower Hotel,⁵⁴⁷ *see* Volume I, Section IV.A.4, *infra*. In May 2016, Page prepared an outline of an energy policy speech for the Campaign and then traveled to Bismarck, North Dakota, to watch the candidate deliver the speech.⁵⁴⁸ Chief policy advisor Sam Clovis expressed appreciation for Page’s work and praised his work to other Campaign officials.⁵⁴⁹

c. Carter Page’s July 2016 Trip To Moscow

Page’s affiliation with the Trump Campaign took on a higher profile and drew the attention of Russian officials after the candidate named him a foreign policy advisor. As a result, in late April 2016, Page was invited to give a speech at the July 2016 commencement ceremony at the

⁵⁴¹ *See, e.g.*, 1/30/16 Email, Page to Glassner et al.; 3/17/16 Email, Page to Clovis (attaching a “President’s Daily Brief” prepared by Page that discussed the “severe degradation of U.S.-Russia relations following Washington’s meddling” in Ukraine); **Grand Jury**

⁵⁴² 1/30/16 Email, Page to Glassner et al.

⁵⁴³ 1/30/16 Email, Page to Glassner et al.

⁵⁴⁴ 1/30/16 Email, Page to Glassner et al.

⁵⁴⁵ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁴⁶ *A Transcript of Donald Trump’s Meeting with the Washington Post Editorial Board*, Washington Post (Mar. 21, 2016); **Grand Jury**

⁵⁴⁷ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁴⁸ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁴⁹ *See, e.g.*, 3/28/16 Email, Clovis to Lewandowski et al. (forwarding notes prepared by Page and stating, “I wanted to let you know the type of work some of our advisors are capable of.”).

New Economic School (NES) in Moscow.⁵⁵⁰ The NES commencement ceremony generally featured high-profile speakers; for example, President Barack Obama delivered a commencement address at the school in 2009.⁵⁵¹ NES officials told the Office that the interest in inviting Page to speak at NES was based entirely on his status as a Trump Campaign advisor who served as the candidate's Russia expert.⁵⁵² Andrej Krickovic, an associate of Page's and assistant professor at the Higher School of Economics in Russia, recommended that NES rector Shlomo Weber invite Page to give the commencement address based on his connection to the Trump Campaign.⁵⁵³ Denis Klimentov, an employee of NES, said that when Russians learned of Page's involvement in the Trump Campaign in March 2016, the excitement was palpable.⁵⁵⁴ Weber recalled that in summer 2016 there was substantial interest in the Trump Campaign in Moscow, and he felt that bringing a member of the Campaign to the school would be beneficial.⁵⁵⁵

Page was eager to accept the invitation to speak at NES, and he sought approval from Trump Campaign officials to make the trip to Russia.⁵⁵⁶ On May 16, 2016, while that request was still under consideration, Page emailed Clovis, J.D. Gordon, and Walid Phares and suggested that candidate Trump take his place speaking at the commencement ceremony in Moscow.⁵⁵⁷ On June 19, 2016, Page followed up again to request approval to speak at the NES event and to reiterate that NES "would love to have Mr. Trump speak at this annual celebration" in Page's place.⁵⁵⁸ Campaign manager Corey Lewandowski responded the same day, saying, "If you want to do this, it would be out side [sic] of your role with the DJT for President campaign. I am certain Mr. Trump will not be able to attend."⁵⁵⁹

In early July 2016, Page traveled to Russia for the NES events. On July 5, 2016, Denis Klimentov, copying his brother, Dmitri Klimentov,⁵⁶⁰ emailed Maria Zakharova, the Director of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Information and Press Department, about Page's visit and his connection to the Trump Campaign.⁵⁶¹ Denis Klimentov said in the email that he wanted to draw the Russian government's attention to Page's visit in Moscow.⁵⁶² His message to Zakharova

⁵⁵⁰ Page 3/16/17 302, at 2-3; Page 3/10/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁵¹ S. Weber 7/28/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁵² Y. Weber 6/1/17 302, at 4-5; S. Weber 7/28/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁵³ See Y. Weber 6/1/17 302, at 4; S. Weber 7/28/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁵⁴ De. Klimentov 6/9/17 302, at 2.

⁵⁵⁵ S. Weber 7/28/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁵⁶ See 5/16/16 Email, Page to Phares et al. (referring to submission of a "campaign advisor request form").

⁵⁵⁷ **Grand Jury**; 5/16/16 Email, Page to Phares et al.

⁵⁵⁸ 6/19/16 Email, Page to Gordon et al.

⁵⁵⁹ 6/19/16 Email, Lewandowski to Page et al.

⁵⁶⁰ Dmitri Klimentov is a New York-based public relations consultant.

⁵⁶¹ 7/5/16 Email, Klimentov to Zakharova (translated).

⁵⁶² 7/5/16 Email, Klimentov to Zakharova (translated).

continued: “Page is Trump’s adviser on foreign policy. He is a known businessman; he used to work in Russia. . . . If you have any questions, I will be happy to help contact him.”⁵⁶³ Dmitri Klimentov then contacted Russian Press Secretary Dmitry Peskov about Page’s visit to see if Peskov wanted to introduce Page to any Russian government officials.⁵⁶⁴ The following day, Peskov responded to what appears to have been the same Denis Klimentov-Zakharova email thread. Peskov wrote, “I have read about [Page]. Specialists say that he is far from being the main one. So I better not initiate a meeting in the Kremlin.”⁵⁶⁵

On July 7, 2016, Page delivered the first of his two speeches in Moscow at NES.⁵⁶⁶ In the speech, Page criticized the U.S. government’s foreign policy toward Russia, stating that “Washington and other Western capitals have impeded potential progress through their often hypocritical focus on ideas such as democratization, inequality, corruption and regime change.”⁵⁶⁷ On July 8, 2016, Page delivered a speech during the NES commencement.⁵⁶⁸ After Page delivered his commencement address, Russian Deputy Prime Minister and NES board member Arkady Dvorkovich spoke at the ceremony and stated that the sanctions the United States had imposed on Russia had hurt the NES.⁵⁶⁹ Page and Dvorkovich shook hands at the commencement ceremony, and Weber recalled that Dvorkovich made statements to Page about working together in the future.⁵⁷⁰ **Grand Jury**

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Page said that, during his time in Moscow, he met with friends and associates he knew from when he lived in Russia, including Andrey Baranov, a former Gazprom employee who had become the head of investor relations at Rosneft, a Russian energy company.⁵⁷² Page stated that he and Baranov talked about “immaterial non-public” information.⁵⁷³ Page believed he and Baranov discussed Rosneft president Igor Sechin, and he thought Baranov might have mentioned

⁵⁶³ 7/5/16 Email, Klimentov to Zakharova (translated).

⁵⁶⁴ Dm. Klimentov 11/27/18 302, at 1-2.

⁵⁶⁵ 7/6/16 Email, Peskov to Klimentov (translated).

⁵⁶⁶ Page 3/10/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁶⁷ See Carter W. Page, *The Lecture of Trump’s Advisor Carter Page in Moscow*, YouTube Channel Katehon Think Tank, Posted July 7, 2016, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=28&v=1CYF29saA9w. Page also provided the FBI with a copy of his speech and slides from the speech. See Carter Page, “The Evolution of the World Economy: Trends and Potential,” Speech at National Economic Speech (July 7, 2016).

⁵⁶⁸ Page 3/10/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁶⁹ Page 3/16/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁷⁰ S. Weber 7/28/17 302, at 4.

⁵⁷¹ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁷² Page 3/10/17 302, at 3; Page 3/30/17 302, at 3; Page 3/31/17 302, at 2.

⁵⁷³ Page 3/30/17 302, at 3.

the possibility of a sale of a stake in Rosneft in passing.⁵⁷⁴ Page recalled mentioning his involvement in the Trump Campaign with Baranov, although he did not remember details of the conversation.⁵⁷⁵ Page also met with individuals from Tatneft, a Russian energy company, to discuss possible business deals, including having Page work as a consultant.⁵⁷⁶

On July 8, 2016, while he was in Moscow, Page emailed several Campaign officials and stated he would send “a readout soon regarding some incredible insights and outreach I’ve received from a few Russian legislators and senior members of the Presidential Administration here.”⁵⁷⁷ On July 9, 2016, Page emailed Clovis, writing in pertinent part:

Russian Deputy Prime minister and NES board member Arkady Dvorkovich also spoke before the event. In a private conversation, Dvorkovich expressed strong support for Mr. Trump and a desire to work together toward devising better solutions in response to the vast range of current international problems. Based on feedback from a diverse array of other sources close to the Presidential Administration, it was readily apparent that this sentiment is widely held at all levels of government.⁵⁷⁸

Despite these representations to the Campaign, **Grand Jury**

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⁸² The Office was unable to obtain additional evidence or testimony about who Page may have met or communicated with in Moscow; thus, Page’s activities in Russia—as described in his emails with the Campaign—were not fully explained.

⁵⁷⁴ Page 3/30/17 302, at 9. **Grand Jury**

⁵⁷⁵ **Grand Jury** Page 3/30/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁷⁶ Page 3/10/17 302, at 3; Page 3/30/17 302, at 7; Page 3/31/17 302, at 2.

⁵⁷⁷ **Grand Jury** 7/8/16 Email, Page to Dahl & Gordon.

⁵⁷⁸ **Grand Jury** 7/9/16 Email, Page to Clovis.

⁵⁷⁹ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁸⁰ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁸¹ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁸² **Grand Jury**

d. Later Campaign Work and Removal from the Campaign

In July 2016, after returning from Russia, Page traveled to the Republican National Convention in Cleveland.⁵⁸³ While there, Page met Russian Ambassador to the United States Sergey Kislyak; that interaction is described in Volume I, Section IV.A.6.a, *infra*.⁵⁸⁴ Page later emailed Campaign officials with feedback he said he received from ambassadors he had met at the Convention, and he wrote that Ambassador Kislyak was very worried about candidate Clinton's world views.⁵⁸⁵ **Grand Jury**

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Following the Convention, Page's trip to Moscow and his advocacy for pro-Russia foreign policy drew the media's attention and began to generate substantial press coverage. The Campaign responded by distancing itself from Page, describing him as an "informal foreign policy advisor" who did "not speak for Mr. Trump or the campaign."⁵⁸⁷ On September 23, 2016, Yahoo! News reported that U.S. intelligence officials were investigating whether Page had opened private communications with senior Russian officials to discuss U.S. sanctions policy under a possible Trump Administration.⁵⁸⁸ A Campaign spokesman told Yahoo! News that Page had "no role" in the Campaign and that the Campaign was "not aware of any of his activities, past or present."⁵⁸⁹ On September 24, 2016, Page was formally removed from the Campaign.⁵⁹⁰

Although Page had been removed from the Campaign, after the election he sought a position in the Trump Administration.⁵⁹¹ On November 14, 2016, he submitted an application to the Transition Team that inflated his credentials and experiences, stating that in his capacity as a Trump Campaign foreign policy advisor he had met with "top world leaders" and "effectively

⁵⁸³ Page 3/10/17 302, at 4; Page 3/16/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁸⁴ Page 3/10/17 302, at 4; Page 3/16/17 302, at 3.

⁵⁸⁵ **Grand Jury**; 7/23/16 Email, Page to Clovis; 7/25/16 Email, Page to Gordon & Schmitz.

⁵⁸⁶ **Grand Jury**

⁵⁸⁷ See, e.g., Steven Mufson & Tom Hamburger, *Trump Advisor's Public Comments, Ties to Moscow Stir Unease in Both Parties*, Washington Post (Aug. 5, 2016).

⁵⁸⁸ Michael Isikoff, *U.S. Intel Officials Probe Ties Between Trump Adviser and Kremlin*, Yahoo! News (Sept. 23, 2016).

⁵⁸⁹ Michael Isikoff, *U.S. Intel Officials Probe Ties Between Trump Adviser and Kremlin*, Yahoo! News (Sept. 23, 2016); see also 9/25/16 Email, Hicks to Conway & Bannon (instructing that inquiries about Page should be answered with "[h]e was announced as an informal adviser in March. Since then he has had no role or official contact with the campaign. We have no knowledge of activities past or present and he now officially has been removed from all lists etc.").

⁵⁹⁰ Page 3/16/17 302, at 2; see, e.g., 9/23/16 Email, J. Miller to Bannon & S. Miller (discussing plans to remove Page from the campaign).

⁵⁹¹ **Grand Jury**, "Transition Online Form," 11/14/16 (**Grand Jury**)

responded to diplomatic outreach efforts from senior government officials in Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, [and] the Americas.”⁵⁹² Page received no response from the Transition Team. When Page took a personal trip to Moscow in December 2016, he met again with at least one Russian government official. That interaction and a discussion of the December trip are set forth in Volume I, Section IV.B.6, *infra*.

4. Dimitri Simes and the Center for the National Interest

Members of the Trump Campaign interacted on several occasions with the Center for the National Interest (CNI), principally through its President and Chief Executive Officer, Dimitri Simes. CNI is a think tank with expertise in and connections to the Russian government. Simes was born in the former Soviet Union and immigrated to the United States in the 1970s. In April 2016, candidate Trump delivered his first speech on foreign policy and national security at an event hosted by the *National Interest*, a publication affiliated with CNI. Then-Senator Jeff Sessions and Russian Ambassador Kislyak both attended the event and, as a result, it gained some attention in relation to Sessions’s confirmation hearings to become Attorney General. Sessions had various other contacts with CNI during the campaign period on foreign-policy matters, including Russia. Jared Kushner also interacted with Simes about Russian issues during the campaign. The investigation did not identify evidence that the Campaign passed or received any messages to or from the Russian government through CNI or Simes.

a. CNI and Dimitri Simes Connect with the Trump Campaign

CNI is a Washington-based non-profit organization that grew out of a center founded by former President Richard Nixon.⁵⁹³ CNI describes itself “as a voice for strategic realism in U.S. foreign policy,” and publishes a bi-monthly foreign policy magazine, the *National Interest*.⁵⁹⁴ CNI is overseen by a board of directors and an advisory council that is largely honorary and whose members at the relevant time included Sessions, who served as an advisor to candidate Trump on national security and foreign policy issues.⁵⁹⁵

Dimitri Simes is president and CEO of CNI and the publisher and CEO of the *National Interest*.⁵⁹⁶ Simes was born in the former Soviet Union, emigrated to the United States in the early 1970s, and joined CNI’s predecessor after working at the Carnegie Endowment for International

⁵⁹² Grand Jury [REDACTED], “Transition Online Form,” 11/14/16
Grand Jury [REDACTED]

⁵⁹³ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 1-2.

⁵⁹⁴ *About the Center*, CNI, available at <https://cftni.org/about/>.

⁵⁹⁵ *Advisory Counsel*, CNI, available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20161030025331/http://cftni.org/about/advisory-council/>; Simes 3/8/18 302, at 3-4; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 4; Sessions 1/17/18 302, at 16.

⁵⁹⁶ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 2.

Peace.⁵⁹⁷ Simes personally has many contacts with current and former Russian government officials,⁵⁹⁸ as does CNI collectively. As CNI stated when seeking a grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 2015, CNI has “unparalleled access to Russian officials and politicians among Washington think tanks,”⁵⁹⁹ in part because CNI has arranged for U.S. delegations to visit Russia and for Russian delegations to visit the United States as part of so-called “Track II” diplomatic efforts.⁶⁰⁰

On March 14, 2016, CNI board member Richard Plepler organized a luncheon for CNI and its honorary chairman, Henry Kissinger, at the Time Warner Building in New York.⁶⁰¹ The idea behind the event was to generate interest in CNI’s work and recruit new board members for CNI.⁶⁰² Along with Simes, attendees at the event included Jared Kushner, son-in-law of candidate Trump.⁶⁰³ Kushner told the Office that the event came at a time when the Trump Campaign was having trouble securing support from experienced foreign policy professionals and that, as a result, he decided to seek Simes’s assistance during the March 14 event.⁶⁰⁴

Simes and Kushner spoke again on a March 24, 2016 telephone call,⁶⁰⁵ three days after Trump had publicly named the team of foreign policy advisors that had been put together on short notice.⁶⁰⁶ On March 31, 2016, Simes and Kushner had an in-person, one-on-one meeting in Kushner’s New York office.⁶⁰⁷ During that meeting, Simes told Kushner that the best way to handle foreign-policy issues for the Trump Campaign would be to organize an advisory group of experts to meet with candidate Trump and develop a foreign policy approach that was consistent with Trump’s voice.⁶⁰⁸ Simes believed that Kushner was receptive to that suggestion.⁶⁰⁹

Simes also had contact with other individuals associated with the Trump Campaign regarding the Campaign’s foreign policy positions. For example, on June 17, 2016, Simes sent J.D. Gordon an email with a “memo to Senator Sessions that we discussed at our recent meeting”

⁵⁹⁷ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 1-2; Simes 3/27/18 302, at 19.

⁵⁹⁸ Simes 3/27/18 302, at 10-15.

⁵⁹⁹ C00011656 (*Rethinking U.S.-Russia Relations*, CNI (Apr. 18, 2015)).

⁶⁰⁰ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 5; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 29-30; Zakheim 1/25/18 302, at 3.

⁶⁰¹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 6; C00006784 (3/11/16 Email, Gilbride to Saunders (3:43:12 p.m.); *cf.* Zakheim 1/25/18 302, at 1 (Kissinger was CNI’s “Honorary Chairman of the Board”); Boyd 1/24/18 302, at 2; P. Sanders 2/15/18 302, at 5.

⁶⁰² Simes 3/8/18 302, at 5-6; Simes 3/27/18 302, at 2.

⁶⁰³ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 6; Kushner 4/11/18 302 at 2.

⁶⁰⁴ Kushner 4/11/18 302, at 2.

⁶⁰⁵ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 6-7.

⁶⁰⁶ **Grand Jury** see Volume I, Section IV.A.2, *supra*.

⁶⁰⁷ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 7-9.

⁶⁰⁸ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 7-8.

⁶⁰⁹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 8; *see also* Boyd 1/24/18 302, at 2.

and asked Gordon to both read it and share it with Sessions. The memorandum proposed building a “small and carefully selected group of experts” to assist Sessions with the Campaign, operating under the assumption “that Hillary Clinton is very vulnerable on national security and foreign policy issues.” The memorandum outlined key issues for the Campaign, including a “new beginning with Russia.”⁶¹⁰

b. National Interest Hosts a Foreign Policy Speech at the Mayflower Hotel

During both their March 24 phone call and their March 31 in-person meeting, Simes and Kushner discussed the possibility of CNI hosting a foreign policy speech by candidate Trump.⁶¹¹ Following those conversations, Simes agreed that he and others associated with CNI would provide behind-the-scenes input on the substance of the foreign-policy speech and that CNI officials would coordinate the logistics of the speech with Sessions and his staff, including Sessions’s chief of staff, Rick Dearborn.⁶¹²

In mid-April 2016, Kushner put Simes in contact with senior policy advisor Stephen Miller and forwarded to Simes an outline of the foreign-policy speech that Miller had prepared.⁶¹³ Simes sent back to the Campaign bullet points with ideas for the speech that he had drafted with CNI Executive Director Paul Saunders and board member Richard Burt.⁶¹⁴ Simes received subsequent draft outlines from Miller, and he and Saunders spoke to Miller by phone about substantive changes to the speech.⁶¹⁵ It is not clear, however, whether CNI officials received an actual draft of the speech for comment; while Saunders recalled having received an actual draft, Simes did not, and the emails that CNI produced to this Office do not contain such a draft.⁶¹⁶

After board members expressed concern to Simes that CNI’s hosting the speech could be perceived as an endorsement of a particular candidate, CNI decided to have its publication, the *National Interest*, serve as the host and to have the event at the National Press Club.⁶¹⁷ Kushner later requested that the event be moved to the Mayflower Hotel, which was another venue that Simes had mentioned during initial discussions with the Campaign, in order to address concerns about security and capacity.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁰ C00008187 (6/17/16 Email, Simes to Gordon (3:35:45 p.m.)).

⁶¹¹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 7.

⁶¹² Simes 3/8/18 302, at 8-11; C00008923 (4/6/16 Email, Simes to Burt (2:22:28 p.m.)); Burt 2/9/18 302, at 7.

⁶¹³ C00008551 (4/17/16 Email, Kushner to Simes (2:44:25 p.m.)); C00006759 (4/14/16 Email Kushner to Simes & S. Miller (12:30 p.m.)).

⁶¹⁴ Burt 2/9/18 302, at 7; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 7-8.

⁶¹⁵ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 13; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 7-8.

⁶¹⁶ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 13; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 7-8.

⁶¹⁷ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 8; Simes 3/8/18 302, at 12; C00003834-43 (4/22/16 Email, Simes to Boyd et al. (8:47 a.m.)).

⁶¹⁸ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 12, 18; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 11.

On April 25, 2016, Saunders booked event rooms at the Mayflower to host both the speech and a VIP reception that was to be held beforehand.⁶¹⁹ Saunders understood that the reception—at which invitees would have the chance to meet candidate Trump—would be a small event.⁶²⁰ Saunders decided who would attend by looking at the list of CNI's invitees to the speech itself and then choosing a subset for the reception.⁶²¹ CNI's invitees to the reception included Sessions and Kislyak.⁶²² The week before the speech Simes had informed Kislyak that he would be invited to the speech, and that he would have the opportunity to meet Trump.⁶²³

When the pre-speech reception began on April 27, a receiving line was quickly organized so that attendees could meet Trump.⁶²⁴ Sessions first stood next to Trump to introduce him to the members of Congress who were in attendance.⁶²⁵ After those members had been introduced, Simes stood next to Trump and introduced him to the CNI invitees in attendance, including Kislyak.⁶²⁶ Simes perceived the introduction to be positive and friendly, but thought it clear that Kislyak and Trump had just met for the first time.⁶²⁷ Kislyak also met Kushner during the pre-speech reception. The two shook hands and chatted for a minute or two, during which Kushner recalled Kislyak saying, "we like what your candidate is saying . . . it's refreshing."⁶²⁸

Several public reports state that, in addition to speaking to Kushner at the pre-speech reception, Kislyak also met or conversed with Sessions at that time.⁶²⁹ Sessions stated to investigators, however, that he did not remember any such conversation.⁶³⁰ Nor did anyone else affiliated with CNI or the *National Interest* specifically recall a conversation or meeting between Sessions and Kislyak at the pre-speech reception.⁶³¹ It appears that, if a conversation occurred at the pre-speech reception, it was a brief one conducted in public view, similar to the exchange between Kushner and Kislyak.

⁶¹⁹ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 11-12; C00006651-57 (Mayflower Group Sales Agreement).

⁶²⁰ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 12-13.

⁶²¹ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 12.

⁶²² C00002575 (Attendee List); C00008536 (4/25/16 Email, Simes to Kushner (4:53:45 p.m.)).

⁶²³ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 19-20.

⁶²⁴ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 21.

⁶²⁵ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 21.

⁶²⁶ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 21.

⁶²⁷ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 21.

⁶²⁸ Kushner 4/11/18 302, at 4.

⁶²⁹ See, e.g., Ken Dilanian, *Did Trump, Kushner, Sessions Have an Undisclosed Meeting With Russian?*, NBC News (June 1, 2016); Julia Ioffe, *Why Did Jeff Sessions Really Meet With Sergey Kislyak*, The Atlantic (June 13, 2017).

⁶³⁰ Sessions 1/17/18 302, at 22.

⁶³¹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 21; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 14, 21; Boyd 1/24/18 302, at 3-4; Heilbrunn 2/1/18 302, at 6; *Statement Regarding President Trump's April 27, 2016 Foreign Policy Speech at the Center for the National Interest*, CNI (Mar. 8, 2017).

The Office found no evidence that Kislyak conversed with either Trump or Sessions after the speech, or would have had the opportunity to do so. Simes, for example, did not recall seeing Kislyak at the post-speech luncheon,⁶³² and the only witness who accounted for Sessions's whereabouts stated that Sessions may have spoken to the press after the event but then departed for Capitol Hill.⁶³³ Saunders recalled, based in part on a food-related request he received from a Campaign staff member, that Trump left the hotel a few minutes after the speech to go to the airport.⁶³⁴

c. Jeff Sessions's Post-Speech Interactions with CNI

In the wake of Sessions's confirmation hearings as Attorney General, questions arose about whether Sessions's campaign-period interactions with CNI apart from the Mayflower speech included any additional meetings with Ambassador Kislyak or involved Russian-related matters. With respect to Kislyak contacts, on May 23, 2016, Sessions attended CNI's Distinguished Service Award dinner at the Four Seasons Hotel in Washington, D.C.⁶³⁵ Sessions attended a pre-dinner reception and was seated at one of two head tables for the event.⁶³⁶ A seating chart prepared by Saunders indicates that Sessions was scheduled to be seated next to Kislyak, who appears to have responded to the invitation by indicating he would attend the event.⁶³⁷ Sessions, however, did not remember seeing, speaking with, or sitting next to Kislyak at the dinner.⁶³⁸ Although CNI board member Charles Boyd said he may have seen Kislyak at the dinner,⁶³⁹ Simes, Saunders, and Jacob Heilbrunn—editor of the *National Interest*—all had no recollection of seeing Kislyak at the May 23 event.⁶⁴⁰ Kislyak also does not appear in any of the photos from the event that the Office obtained.

In the summer of 2016, CNI organized at least two dinners in Washington, D.C. for Sessions to meet with experienced foreign policy professionals.⁶⁴¹ The dinners included CNI-affiliated individuals, such as Richard Burt and Zalmay Khalilzad, a former U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan and Iraq and the person who had introduced Trump before the April 27, 2016 foreign-

⁶³² Simes 3/8/18 302, at 22; Heilbrunn 2/1/18 302, at 7.

⁶³³ Luff 1/30/18 302, at 4.

⁶³⁴ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 15.

⁶³⁵ Sessions 1/17/18 302, at 22; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 17.

⁶³⁶ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 17; C00004779-80 (5/23/16 Email, Cantelmo to Saunders & Hagberg (9:30:12 a.m.); C00004362 (5/23/16 Email, Bauman to Cantelmo et al. (2:02:32 a.m.)).

⁶³⁷ C00004362 (5/23/16 Email Bauman to Cantelmo et al. (2:02:32 a.m.)).

⁶³⁸ Sessions 1/17/18 302, at 22.

⁶³⁹ Boyd 1/24/18 302, at 4.

⁶⁴⁰ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 23; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 18; Heilbrunn 2/1/18 302, at 7.

⁶⁴¹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 31; Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 19; Burt 2/9/18 302, at 9-10; Khalilzad 1/9/18 302, at 5.

policy speech.⁶⁴² Khalilzad also met with Sessions one-on-one separately from the dinners.⁶⁴³ At the dinners and in the meetings, the participants addressed U.S. relations with Russia, including how U.S. relations with NATO and European countries affected U.S. policy toward Russia.⁶⁴⁴ But the discussions were not exclusively focused on Russia.⁶⁴⁵ Khalilzad, for example, recalled discussing “nation-building” and violent extremism with Sessions.⁶⁴⁶ In addition, Sessions asked Saunders (of CNI) to draft two memoranda not specific to Russia: one on Hillary Clinton’s foreign policy shortcomings and another on Egypt.⁶⁴⁷

d. Jared Kushner’s Continuing Contacts with Simes

Between the April 2016 speech at the Mayflower Hotel and the presidential election, Jared Kushner had periodic contacts with Simes.⁶⁴⁸ Those contacts consisted of both in-person meetings and phone conversations, which concerned how to address issues relating to Russia in the Campaign and how to move forward with the advisory group of foreign policy experts that Simes had proposed.⁶⁴⁹ Simes recalled that he, not Kushner, initiated all conversations about Russia, and that Kushner never asked him to set up back-channel conversations with Russians.⁶⁵⁰ According to Simes, after the Mayflower speech in late April, Simes raised the issue of Russian contacts with Kushner, advised that it was bad optics for the Campaign to develop hidden Russian contacts, and told Kushner both that the Campaign should not highlight Russia as an issue and should handle any contacts with Russians with care.⁶⁵¹ Kushner generally provided a similar account of his interactions with Simes.⁶⁵²

Among the Kushner-Simes meetings was one held on August 17, 2016, at Simes’s request, in Kushner’s New York office. The meeting was to address foreign policy advice that CNI was providing and how to respond to the Clinton Campaign’s Russia-related attacks on candidate

⁶⁴² Burt 2/9/18 302, at 9-10; Khalilzad 1/9/18 302, at 1-2, 5.

⁶⁴³ Khalilzad 1/9/18 302, at 5-6.

⁶⁴⁴ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 31; Burt 2/9/18 302, at 9-10; Khalilzad 1/9/18 302, at 5.

⁶⁴⁵ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 20.

⁶⁴⁶ Khalilzad 1/9/18 302, at 6.

⁶⁴⁷ Saunders 2/15/18 302, at 19-20.

⁶⁴⁸ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 27.

⁶⁴⁹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 27.

⁶⁵⁰ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 27.

⁶⁵¹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 27. During this period of time, the Campaign received a request for a high-level Campaign official to meet with an officer at a Russian state-owned bank “to discuss an offer [that officer] claims to be carrying from President Putin to meet with” candidate Trump. NOSC00005653 (5/17/16 Email, Dearborn to Kushner (8:12 a.m.)). Copying Manafort and Gates, Kushner responded, “Pass on this. A lot of people come claiming to carry messages. Very few are able to verify. For now I think we decline such meetings. Most likely these people go back home and claim they have special access to gain importance for themselves. Be careful.” NOSC00005653 (5/17/16 Email, Kushner to Dearborn).

⁶⁵² Kushner 4/11/18 302, at 11-13.

Trump.⁶⁵³ In advance of the meeting, Simes sent Kushner a “Russia Policy Memo” laying out “what Mr. Trump may want to say about Russia.”⁶⁵⁴ In a cover email transmitting that memo and a phone call to set up the meeting, Simes mentioned “a well-documented story of highly questionable connections between Bill Clinton” and the Russian government, “parts of [which]” (according to Simes) had even been “discussed with the CIA and the FBI in the late 1990s and shared with the [Independent Counsel] at the end of the Clinton presidency.”⁶⁵⁵ Kushner forwarded the email to senior Trump Campaign officials Stephen Miller, Paul Manafort, and Rick Gates, with the note “suggestion only.”⁶⁵⁶ Manafort subsequently forwarded the email to his assistant and scheduled a meeting with Simes.⁶⁵⁷ (Manafort was on the verge of leaving the Campaign by the time of the scheduled meeting with Simes, and Simes ended up meeting only with Kushner).

During the August 17 meeting, Simes provided Kushner the Clinton-related information that he had promised.⁶⁵⁸ Simes told Kushner that, Personal Privacy

[REDACTED]⁶⁵⁹ Simes claimed that he had received this information from former CIA and Reagan White House official Fritz Ermarth, who claimed to have learned it from U.S. intelligence sources, not from Russians.⁶⁶⁰

Simes perceived that Kushner did not find the information to be of interest or use to the Campaign because it was, in Simes’s words, “old news.”⁶⁶¹ When interviewed by the Office, Kushner stated that he believed that there was little chance of something new being revealed about the Clintons given their long career as public figures, and that he never received from Simes information that could be “operationalized” for the Trump Campaign.⁶⁶² Despite Kushner’s

⁶⁵³ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 29-30; Simes 3/27/18 302, at 6; Kushner 4/11/18 302, at 12; C00007269 (8/10/16 Meeting Invitation, Vargas to Simes et al.); DJTFP00023484 (8/11/16 Email, Hagan to Manafort (5:57:15 p.m.)).

⁶⁵⁴ C00007981-84 (8/9/16 Email, Simes to Kushner (6:09:21 p.m.)). The memorandum recommended “downplaying Russia as a U.S. foreign policy priority at this time” and suggested that “some tend to exaggerate Putin’s flaws.” The memorandum also recommended approaching general Russian-related questions in the framework of “how to work with Russia to advance important U.S. national interests” and that a Trump Administration “not go abroad in search of monsters to destroy.” The memorandum did not discuss sanctions but did address how to handle Ukraine-related questions, including questions about Russia’s invasion and annexation of Crimea.

⁶⁵⁵ C00007981 (8/9/16 Email, Simes to Kushner (6:09:21 p.m.)).

⁶⁵⁶ DJTFP00023459 (8/10/16 Email, Kushner to S. Miller et al. (11:30:13 a.m.)).

⁶⁵⁷ DJTFP00023484 (8/11/16 Email, Hagan to Manafort (5:57:15 p.m.)).

⁶⁵⁸ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 29-30; Simes 3/27/18 302, at 6; Kushner 4/11/18 302, at 12.

⁶⁵⁹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 30; Simes 3/27/18 302, at 6.

⁶⁶⁰ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 30.

⁶⁶¹ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 30; Simes 3/27/18 302, at 6.

⁶⁶² Kushner 4/11/18 302, at 12.

reaction, Simes believed that he provided the same information at a small group meeting of foreign policy experts that CNI organized for Sessions.⁶⁶³

5. June 9, 2016 Meeting at Trump Tower

On June 9, 2016, senior representatives of the Trump Campaign met in Trump Tower with a Russian attorney expecting to receive derogatory information about Hillary Clinton from the Russian government. The meeting was proposed to Donald Trump Jr. in an email from Robert Goldstone, at the request of his then-client Emin Agalarov, the son of Russian real-estate developer Aras Agalarov. Goldstone relayed to Trump Jr. that the “Crown prosecutor of Russia . . . offered to provide the Trump Campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia” as “part of Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump.” Trump Jr. immediately responded that “if it’s what you say I love it,” and arranged the meeting through a series of emails and telephone calls.

Trump Jr. invited campaign chairman Paul Manafort and senior advisor Jared Kushner to attend the meeting, and both attended. Members of the Campaign discussed the meeting before it occurred, and Michael Cohen recalled that Trump Jr. may have told candidate Trump about an upcoming meeting to receive adverse information about Clinton, without linking the meeting to Russia. According to written answers submitted by President Trump, he has no recollection of learning of the meeting at the time, and the Office found no documentary evidence showing that he was made aware of the meeting—or its Russian connection—before it occurred.

The Russian attorney who spoke at the meeting, Natalia Veselnitskaya, had previously worked for the Russian government and maintained a relationship with that government throughout this period of time. She claimed that funds derived from illegal activities in Russia were provided to Hillary Clinton and other Democrats. Trump Jr. requested evidence to support those claims, but Veselnitskaya did not provide such information. She and her associates then turned to a critique of the origins of the Magnitsky Act, a 2012 statute that imposed financial and travel sanctions on Russian officials and that resulted in a retaliatory ban on adoptions of Russian children. Trump Jr. suggested that the issue could be revisited when and if candidate Trump was elected. After the election, Veselnitskaya made additional efforts to follow up on the meeting, but the Trump Transition Team did not engage.

a. Setting Up the June 9 Meeting

i. Outreach to Donald Trump Jr.

Aras Agalarov is a Russian real-estate developer with ties to Putin and other members of the Russian government, including Russia’s Prosecutor General, Yuri Chaika.⁶⁶⁴ Aras Agalarov is the president of the Crocus Group, a Russian enterprise that holds substantial Russian government construction contracts and that—as discussed above, Volume I, Section IV.A.1, *supra*

⁶⁶³ Simes 3/8/18 302, at 30.

⁶⁶⁴ **Grand Jury** Goldstone 2/8/18 302, at 4.

—worked with Trump in connection with the 2013 Miss Universe pageant in Moscow and a potential Trump Moscow real-estate project.⁶⁶⁵ The relationship continued over time, as the parties pursued the Trump Moscow project in 2013-2014 and exchanged gifts and letters in 2016.⁶⁶⁶ For example, in April 2016, Trump responded to a letter from Aras Agalarov with a handwritten note.⁶⁶⁷ Aras Agalarov expressed interest in Trump's campaign, passed on "congratulations" for winning in the primary and—according to one email drafted by Goldstone—an "offer" of his "support and that of many of his important Russian friends and colleagues[,] especially with reference to U.S./Russian relations."⁶⁶⁸

On June 3, 2016, Emin Agalarov called Goldstone, Emin's then-publicist.⁶⁶⁹ Goldstone is a music and events promoter who represented Emin Agalarov from approximately late 2012 until late 2016.⁶⁷⁰ While representing Emin Agalarov, Goldstone facilitated the ongoing contact between the Trumps and the Agalarovs—including an invitation that Trump sent to Putin to attend the 2013 Miss Universe Pageant in Moscow.⁶⁷¹ **Grand Jury**

⁶⁷² Goldstone understood **Grand Jury** a Russian political connection, and Emin Agalarov indicated that the attorney was a prosecutor.⁶⁷³ Goldstone recalled that the information that might interest the Trumps involved Hillary Clinton **Grand Jury** ⁶⁷⁴ **Grand Jury**

⁶⁶⁵ **Grand Jury** Kaveladze 11/16/17 302, at 3; Shugart 9/25/17 302, at 2-3; **Grand Jury**

⁶⁶⁶ **Grand Jury** Goldstone 2/8/18 302, at 10; **Grand Jury** Kaveladze 11/16/17 302, at 5-6; 4/25/16 Email, Graff to Goldstone.

⁶⁶⁷ RG000033-34 (4/25/16 Email, Graff to Goldstone (attachment)).

⁶⁶⁸ DJTJR00008 (2/29/16 Email, Goldstone to Trump Jr. et al.); **Grand Jury**

⁶⁶⁹ Call Records of Robert Goldstone **Grand Jury** Goldstone 2/8/18 302, at 6.

⁶⁷⁰ Goldstone 2/8/18 302, at 1-2; **Grand Jury** Benjaminov 1/6/18 302, at 3.

⁶⁷¹ Goldstone 2/8/18 302, at 1-5; **Grand Jury** DJTJR00008 (2/29/19 Email, Goldstone to Trump Jr.); Benjaminov 1/6/18 302, at 3; Shugart 9/25/17 302, at 2; TRUMPORG_18_001325 (6/21/13 Email, Goldstone to Graff); TRUMPORG_18_001013 (6/24/13 Email, Goldstone to Graff); TRUMPORG_18_001014 (6/24/13 Email, Graff to Shugart); TRUMPORG_18_001018 (6/26/13 Email, Graff to Goldstone); TRUMPORG_18_001022 (6/27/13 Email, Graff to L. Kelly); TRUMPORG_18_001333 (9/12/13 Email, Goldstone to Graff, Shugart); MUO00004289 (7/27/13 Email, Goldstone to Graff, Shugart).

⁶⁷² **Grand Jury** see Goldstone 2/8/18 302, at 6-7.

⁶⁷³ **Grand Jury**

⁶⁷⁴ **Grand Jury**

Grand Jury

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The **Grand Jury** mentioned by Emin Agalarov was Natalia Veselnitskaya.⁶⁷⁶ From approximately 1998 until 2001, Veselnitskaya worked as a prosecutor for the Central Administrative District of the Russian Prosecutor's Office,⁶⁷⁷ and she continued to perform government-related work and maintain ties to the Russian government following her departure.⁶⁷⁸ She lobbied and testified about the Magnitsky Act, which imposed financial sanctions and travel restrictions on Russian officials and which was named for a Russian tax specialist who exposed a fraud and later died in a Russian prison.⁶⁷⁹ Putin called the statute "a purely political, unfriendly act," and Russia responded by barring a list of current and former U.S. officials from entering Russia and by halting the adoption of Russian children by U.S. citizens.⁶⁸⁰ Veselnitskaya performed legal work for Denis Katsyv,⁶⁸¹ the son of Russian businessman Peter Katsyv, and for his company Prevezon Holdings Ltd., which was a defendant in a civil-forfeiture action alleging the laundering of proceeds from the fraud exposed by Magnitsky.⁶⁸² She also

⁶⁷⁵ **Grand Jury**

⁶⁷⁶ In December 2018, a grand jury in the Southern District of New York returned an indictment charging Veselnitskaya with obstructing the *Prevezon* litigation discussed in the text above. *See* Indictment, *United States v. Natalia Vladimirovna Veselnitskaya*, No. 18-cr-904 (S.D.N.Y.). The indictment alleges, among other things, that Veselnitskaya lied to the district court about her relationship to the Russian Prosecutor General's Office and her involvement in responding to a U.S. document request sent to the Russian government.

⁶⁷⁷ Veselnitskaya 11/20/17 Statement to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, at 2; **Grand Jury**

Grand Jury

⁶⁷⁸ Testimony of Natalia Veselnitskaya Before the Senate Committee on Judiciary (Nov. 20, 2017) at 33; Keir Simmons & Rachel Elbaum, *Russian Lawyer Veselnitskaya Says She Didn't Give Trump Jr. Info on Clinton*, NBC News (July 11, 2017); Maria Tsvetkova & Jack Stubbs, *Moscow Lawyer Who Met Trump Jr. Had Russian Spy Agency As Client*, Reuters (July 21, 2017); Andrew E. Kramer & Sharon LaFraniere, *Lawyer Who Was Said to Have Dirt on Clinton Had Closer Ties to Kremlin than She Let On*, New York Times (Apr. 27, 2018).

⁶⁷⁹ *See* Pub. L. No. 112-208 §§ 402, 404(a)(1), 126 Stat. 1502, 1502-1506. Sergei Magnitsky was a Russian tax specialist who worked for William Browder, a former investment fund manager in Russia. Browder hired Magnitsky to investigate tax fraud by Russian officials, and Magnitsky was charged with helping Browder embezzle money. After Magnitsky died in a Russian prison, Browder lobbied Congress to pass the Magnitsky Act. *See, e.g.,* Andrew E. Kramer, *Turning Tables in Magnitsky Case, Russia Accuses Nemesis of Murder*, New York Times (Oct. 22, 2017); Testimony of Natalia Veselnitskaya Before the Senate Committee on Judiciary (Nov. 20, 2017), Exhibits at 1-4; Rosie Gray, *Bill Browder's Testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee*, The Atlantic (July 25, 2017).

⁶⁸⁰ Ellen Barry, *Russia Bars 18 Americans After Sanctions by US*, New York Times (Apr. 13, 2013); Tom Porter, *Supporters of the Magnitsky Act Claim They've Been Targets of Russian Assassination and Kidnapping Bids*, Newsweek (July 16, 2017).

⁶⁸¹ Testimony of Natalia Veselnitskaya Before the Senate Committee on Judiciary (Nov. 20, 2017), at 21.

⁶⁸² *See* Veselnitskaya Decl., *United States v. Prevezon Holdings, Ltd.*, No. 13-cv-6326 (S.D.N.Y.); *see* *Prevezon Holdings*, Second Amended Complaint; *Prevezon Holdings*, Mem. and Order; *Prevezon Holdings*, Deposition of Oleg Lurie.