U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

Janaury 17, 2020

MR. JASON LEOPOLD
BUZZFEED NEWS
7TH FLOOR
1630 CONNECTICUT AVENUE NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20009

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

Dear Mr. Leopold:

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

Section 552		Section 552a
☑ (b)(1)	☑ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☑ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
Federal Rules of	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
Criminal Procedure 6(e)	☑ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
50 U.S.C § 3024(i)	☑ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☑ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☑ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☑ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

222 pages were reviewed and 169 pages are being released.

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

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

☑ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning, other Government Agency (ies) [OGA].

☐ This information has been referred to the OGA(s) for review and direct response to you.
☑ We are consulting with another agency. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is completed.

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

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

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

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

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

☑ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,

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

Enclosures
Additional Information:

In response to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, enclosed is a processed copy of Bates Stamped documents, FBI (19-cv-1278)-1440 through FBI (19-cv-1278)-1661. The enclosed documents represent the fourth interim release of information responsive to your request. To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

Revisions were made to withholdings in documents previously released to you. Enclosed is an updated copy of Bates Stamped document FBI (19-cv-1278)-1045.

FBI FOIPA Addendum

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

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

(i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.

(ii) **National Security/Intelligence Records**. The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of national security and foreign intelligence records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and PA exemption (j)(2) as applicable to requests for records about individuals [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2); 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that national security or foreign intelligence records do or do not exist.

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

(i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.

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

Part 3: General Information:

(i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching those systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A reasonable search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled and maintained by the FBI in the course of fulfilling law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization and encompasses the records of FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide and includes Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records. For additional information about our record searches visit www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records.

(ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.

(iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheets. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative "FBI file." An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.

(iv) **The National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private citizens cannot request a name check.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

(b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;

(b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;

(b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;

(b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;

(b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;

(b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;

(b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;

(b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or

(b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

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

(d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;

(j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;

(k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;

(k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;

(k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;

(k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;

(k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
Civil Action No.: 19-cv-1278 / 19-cv-1626
FOIA: 1432673-000 / 1433273-000
PDF Title: 19-cv-1278 Release 4 Bates 1440-1661

Total Withheld Pages = 53

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 1480	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1481	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1482	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1483	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1484	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1485	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1486	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1487	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1488	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1489	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1490	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1491	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1492	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1493	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1494	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1495	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1496	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1497	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1498	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1499	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1500	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1501	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1502	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1503	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1504	Referral/Consult

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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 1505	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1506	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1507	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1508	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1509	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1511	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1512	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1513	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1514	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1528	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1529	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1530	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1531	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1532	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1548	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1549	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1550	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1551	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1552	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1553	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1554	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1555	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1556	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1557	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1558	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1559	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 1646	b3; b6; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 1647	b3; b6; b7C; b7E

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top of page one, however, was Miller's. Miller could not specifically recall the details of the editing process, but believed when he met with Trump for breakfast, Trump had already made the edits to the letter

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

At some point on Sunday, Miller spoke to Priebus on the phone and alluded to the fact that Trump had been thinking about the "Comey situation" and there would be an important discussion on Monday.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Miller felt it was okay to give Priebus a heads up something was coming so he was not blindsided.

The situation with Comey was kept close hold

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Trump was editing the letter

Miller did not discuss the letter or the decision to fire Comey

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/05/2018

(U) On 07/13/2018 Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] b6 b7C b7D b7F with Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky participated in an attorney proffer with Counsel for [redacted] and [redacted] The notes are attached as a 1A.

Investigation on 07/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/27/2018 b6 b7C b7E

by [redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/21/2018

(U) On 08/02/2018 Special Agent [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] FBI Linguist [redacted] Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Jeannie Rhee interviewed PETR AVEN (AVEN) [redacted] at the Special Counsel's Office in Washington, DC. AVEN's counsel, Ryan Junck, [redacted] and [redacted] were present. ASC Zelinksy admonished AVEN that the interview was voluntary, the proffer agreement was based on truthfulness, AVEN could speak to his attorneys at anytime, and lying to a Federal Agent is a crime. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and after reviewing the proffer agreement, in the presence of his attorneys, AVEN executed the proffer agreement, whereupon he provided the following information:

b6 b7C b7D b7E b7F

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b3 b7D b7F

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C b7D b7F

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C b7D b7F

Investigation on 08/02/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/09/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7C b7E

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b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C
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b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6
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b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) AVEN met with OFFICIAL 1 three to four times last year.

b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U) AVEN and OFFICIAL 1 usually meet once per quarter.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U) During the 4th quarter of 2016, AVEN was aware of the media discussions of Russian interference in the U.S. Election.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U) OFFICIAL 1 never mentioned specifics and never mentioned interference in the U.S. Election. b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C
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b7F

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C
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b7F

OFFICIAL 1 was skeptical AVEN could succeed.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) AVEN took steps to make this happen by talking to BURT and expressing his desire to build relationships with the Administration.

b6
b7C
b7D
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In Luxembourg, L1's board During a break, AVEN spoke with BURT

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b5 per DOJ/OIP
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(U) In December 2016 AVEN attended the Oligarch meeting with OFFICIAL 1. b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C
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b7F

The meeting occurs in the Kremlin and the attendee list is 50 people.

(U) AVEN's 1st Quarter meeting of 2017 with OFFICIAL 1 b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C
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b7F

OFFICIAL 1 asked if AVEN had been successful in his struggle against sanctions. AVEN said he had no communications with the TRUMP Campaign.

b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b7F

b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b7F

(U) AVEN relayed to OFFICIAL 2 that he was subpoenaed

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C
b7D
b7F

AVEN also told OFFICIAL 2 that the FBI asked him about setting up a back-channel and if AVEN represented the Kremlin in setting up the back-channel. OFFICIAL 2 showed no emotion. AVEN thought OFFICIAL 2 did not care too much.

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C
b7D
b7F

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

General Records

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/01/2018

(U//~~FOUO~~) On 8/2/2018, the Special Counsel's Office interviewed Petr AVEN. During the interivew, AVEN referred to [redacted] the identities of which he had provided to his attorneys. On 8/3/2018, AVEN's attorney Ryan Junck provided [redacted] in which he confirmed the [redacted] as provided to him by AVEN. A copy of [redacted]

b3
b7D
b7E
b7F

Investigation on 08/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (, Other [redacted]

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/01/2018

by [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

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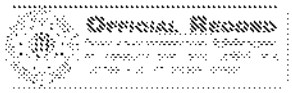

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/10/2018

Michael Cohen, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed in the law offices of Petrillo Klein & Boxer LLP, 655 3rd Ave, New York, New York. Cohen was accompanied by his attorneys, Guy Petrillo, Amy Lester, and Philip Pilmar. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. Also present were Assistant United States Attorney (AUSA) [redacted] and AUSA [redacted] from the Southern District of New York; SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] from the New York Office of the FBI; and SA [redacted] from the Internal Revenue Service. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, Cohen provided the following information:

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b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 10/08/2018 at New York, New York, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/10/2018

by [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/14/2018

On Wednesday, 17 October 2018, Robert FORESMAN was interviewed in a conference room at Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher's Washington, DC office, 1050 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC, 20036. From the Special Counsel's Office were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Jeannie Rhee, Senior Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson, FBI Special Agent [redacted] and FBI Supervisory Intelligence Analyst [redacted] From Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher's were [redacted] and an associate attorney. From UBS was [redacted] noted on her business card as [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

Investigation on 10/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/22/2018 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

ROSCONGRESS and Anton KOBYAKOV

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

FORESMAN was going to pass along to the campaign an invitation from KOBYAKOV to then-candidate Donald TRUMP to speak at the SPIEF

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

When TRUMP's foreign policy team was announced in March 2016, FORESMAN did not recognize any of the names. b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

he was trying to get a meeting with the candidate.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] he was trying to get an in-person meeting, [redacted] FORESMAN said that he wanted to tell TRUMP not to go to SPIEF, [redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b6 b7C

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[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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In Moscow, FORESMAN met with GORKOV and TSEKHOMSKY.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

GORKOV and TSEKHOMSKY told FORESMAN that their upcoming trip to the United States had been authorized or sanctioned by PUTIN, and that they were briefing PUTIN upon their return.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

GORKOV and TSEKHOMSKY's upcoming trip to the United States, b5 per DOJ/OIP was an effort to dialogue about the improvement of US-Russia economic ties.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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FORESMAN's First Meeting with Michael FLYNN

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FORESMAN had not met KISLYAK, and said that while KISLYAK is an important person, he does not have a direct line to PUTIN.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FORESMAN's Second Meeting with Michael FLYNN, RMF-SCO-00000067, and RMF-SCO-00000015

While in Moscow, b5 per DOJ/OIP FORESMAN reached out to b6 b7C said that USHAKOV would be the official channel for the incoming US national security advisor.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

This information from was what FORESMAN had that was important to convey back to FLYNN. b6 b7C eventually he got a one-on-one meeting.

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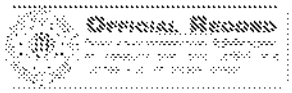

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/20/2017

(U) On or about 06/09/2017 Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] interviewed Denis Klimentov (Klimentov), DOB [redacted] in the U.S. Customs and Border Protection secondary inspection area located in Terminal 1 of the John F. Kennedy International Airport. CBP Officer [redacted] was in the vicinity, but did not participate in the interview. b6 b7C

(U) Upon introducing himself, SA [redacted] asked Klimentov if he would be willing to meet with the agents at some other time during his stay in the U.S. because the secondary inspection area was not the best place to have a conversation. SA [redacted] suggested he could buy Klimentov dinner and he and the agents could talk at that time. Klimentov stated SA [redacted] did not have to buy him dinner, but said meeting would not be a problem. Klimentov said he was leaving on Monday and he would be staying in Katonah, New York. He was in the U. S. to visit [redacted] and planned to spend most of his time [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) Klimentov then asked if this meeting was something he had to do. SA [redacted] said it was. Klimentov said he had nothing to hide. SA [redacted] told Klimentov he wanted to talk about the New Economic School ("NES") and Carter Page (Page). SA [redacted] showed Klimentov a copy of a CNN news article titled "Russia Tried to Use Trump Advisers to Infiltrate Campaign" in which Klimentov was quoted. b6 b7C

(U) Klimentov said he was staying with [redacted] During the interview, SA [redacted] asked if Klimentov had someone waiting to pick him up, and stated the agents did not want to keep anyone waiting. Klimentov said he was renting a vehicle. b6 b7C

(U) After being advised of the nature of the interview and the identity of the interviewing agents Klimentov provided the following information:

(U) Klimentov was not employed by NES during the time in which the school would have been conducting a search for candidates to speak at

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its 2016 commencement ceremony, but Klimentov was in the process of negotiating with NES for his position of employment. Klimentov began working for NES in the fall of 2016. As an employee of NES, Klimentov works most closely with the NES rector, Shlomo Weber. Formerly, Klimentov was employed at the Eurasia Foundation in Washington, D.C.

(U) Based on what he knew about the selection process for the 2017 commencement speaker, the decision to invite Page in 2016 was likely made by a committee of five to six people including Weber, a provost, and an individual from the finance department. NES did not have to seek approval from its board of directors to invite Page, nor did it have to obtain approval from the Russian government. Klimentov believed Page may have been considered as a candidate based on input from Weber and/or from a U.S. based member of an NES alumni club.

(U) Weber invited Klimentov to attend the July 2016 NES commencement ceremony. Though Klimentov was not an official employee, Weber wanted Klimentov to attend the event. Referring to Page, Weber told Klimentov that NES had an interesting character coming in. Klimentov attended the ceremony and even arrived early on the day of event.

(U) Klimentov stated when Russians learned of Page's involvement in the Trump Campaign in March 2016, the excitement was palpable. During Page's trip to Russia, Russians asked Page many questions. They wanted to know about U.S. sanctions against Russia and wanted his predictions regarding U.S.-Russia relations. Page made it clear he was in Russia as a private citizen and not part of the Trump Campaign. Late in the summer of 2016, Page informed NES that he was taking a leave of absence from his involvement in the Trump Campaign. And, when Page returned to Russia in December 2016, Page made his status with respect to the Trump Campaign clear. Klimentov stated Page deserves credit for doing so.

(U) NES did not set up any meetings between Page and Russian government officials. Klimentov did not know of any extensive meetings between Russian government officials and Page in July 2016. Klimentov noted some NES alumni are Russian government officials and Page could have had contact with them at the commencement ceremony. Klimentov added, outside of business hours, no one at NES would have known about Page's activities. However, Klimentov did not think Page would have had time to meet with anyone. Klimentov believed Page was in Russia for two and a half days during his July 2016 trip. Page spent one day at NES before the commencement ceremony meeting with people at the school and was present the next day for the ceremony itself. The commencement ceremony was a busy all-day event and it was unlikely any

meaningful conversations occurred. Klimentov did not know if Page met with any Russian government officials in December 2016.

(U) In regards to meetings with specific individuals, Klimentov did not know of any meeting between Page and Arkady Dvorkovich (Dvorkovich) and did not think they met. On occasion, Klimentov sees Dvorkovich at events. Recently, the two had contact at an economic forum in St. Petersburg, Russia.

(U) Klimentov said there was no meeting between Alexei Kudrin (Kudrin) and Page. Klimentov described Kudrin's status as a government official as a "grey area." Furthermore, Klimentov had no knowledge of a meeting between Igor Sechin (Sechin) and Page. If a meeting between Sechin and Page had occurred, Klimentov believed Page would have told everyone. However, Klimentov stated information about a Sechin-Page meeting in the summer of 2016 was floated by the media.

(U) According to Klimentov, Page requested to meet with the NES Board of Directors, however, the meeting did not happen. Klimentov described NES as Dvorkovich's special project. Klimentov said NES exists to bring western-style thinking to Moscow. He also thought Dvorkovich was western-leaning and progressive. [AGENT NOTE: Dvorkovich is identified as a member of the NES Board of Directors on its website.]

(U) Page's December 2016 trip to Russia was not driven by NES. Page wanted NES to host the event, but the school did not have adequate space to do so. Once news of the event spread, phones at NES were ringing off the hook. Rossiya-Segodny held the event at their offices. Page contacted Rossiya-Segodny on his own and Rossiya-Segodny jumped on the idea as a result of the huge interest surrounding Page. During the December 2016 trip, Page wanted to hold a press conference and requested Shlomo Weber to introduce him. Weber did so.

(U) Page does not have an ongoing relationship with NES, but he tried to create one. For example, Page wanted to teach at NES and he was writing a paper to promote the school. Additionally, Page discussed creating a think tank with NES. Page said he would try to bring funds to NES and told NES he talked with some people in Washington, D.C. There was no discussion that the Russian government would provide funding to Page for the think tank. On one occasion, Klimentov met with Page in New York to discuss Page's ability to bring funding to NES.

(U) NES does not receive funding from the Russian government and the school is in financial need. The U.S. sanctions against Russia are having an impact on the school's ability to raise funds. Nonetheless,

Klimentov believes things are changing. Klimentov wants NES to approach western donors such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

(U) Page and Shlomo Weber met in July and December of 2016. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

(U) Personally, Klimentov's last contact with Page was a couple weeks prior to the date of the present interview. Page sends Klimentov updates on his coverage in the news media. For example, Page sent Klimentov a link to a CNBC interview/article featuring himself. Klimentov believes Page has been caught up in a bad situation or nightmarish scenario. He does not think Page did anything wrong. Furthermore, Klimentov does not think Page was a conduit between the Russian government and the Trump Campaign. Klimentov said Trump barely knew Page. Klimentov added he did not think Page looked like a politician.

(U) Klimentov indicated he would be willing to meet with the agents on one of his future trips to the U.S. Klimentov visits the U.S. every few months [redacted] He provided his U.S. telephone number as follows: [redacted] b6 b7C

General Records

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/05/2018

DMITRI KLIMENTOV(KLIMENTOV), date of birth (DOB) [redacted] b6 b7C telephone [redacted] was interviewed at his residence, [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, KLIMENTOV provided the following information:

KLIMENTOV is in the public relations and consulting business. He has extensive contacts with officials and others in Russia. KLIMENTOV knows about CARTER PAGE (PAGE) from the media and "experience." KLIMENTOV has not met PAGE. When asked to explain what he meant by "experience", KLIMENTOV advised that his brother DENIS (DENIS KLIMENTOV) was interviewed by the FBI two times regarding PAGE. The KLIMENTOV brothers arranged media coverage for PAGE in Moscow, Russia during PAGE'S visit a few years ago. KLIMENTOV said they would have done this for a visitor from the Clinton campaign also. PAGE traveled to Moscow in or around June or July 2016. PAGE went to Russia and spoke at commencement for the RESH school (an economic school in Russia). The Dean of RESH is Shlomo Weber. PAGE's invitation to the commencement happened because [redacted] is supposedly close to PAGE and tried to push PAGE to be introduced to Russian officials. KLIMENTOV stated that he and DENIS KLIMENTOV thought it would be a good idea to set up meetings with a potential future foreign policy advisor to TRUMP and the Russian Foreign Ministry. b6 b7C

KLIMENTOV recalls contacting MARIA ZAKHAROVA, via Facebook, who is a public relations representative and head of the Information Department in Russia's Foreign Ministry. ZAKHAROVA previously worked as a Press Secretary at the Russian Mission in New York. KLIMENTOV also contacted DMITRY PESKOV about PAGE traveling to Moscow to see if PESKOV wanted to introduce PAGE to any Russian Officials. There was no interest in meeting with PAGE. Many people did not know who PAGE was, and others believed he was not of importance. KLIMENTOV recalled there was email communication with PESKOV stating PAGE was not high-level enough to meet. KLIMENTOV is close with PESKOV and has contact with him approximately three or four times per month.

Investigation on 11/27/2018 at Katonah, New York, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/27/2018 b3 b6 b7C b7E

by [redacted]

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DENIS KLIMENTOV told KLIMENTOV that while PAGE was in Russia, he tried to keep his connections to the Trump Campaign quiet and that the trip was in a personal capacity. KLIMENTOV was skeptical of PAGE and did not believe that PAGE was really that important. No meetings between PAGE and any Russian Officials occurred.

DENIS KLIMENTOV told KLIMENTOV that PAGE may have shook hands in passing with First Vice Premier ARKADY DVORKOVICH. KLIMENTOV was not sure if this was on PAGE's July trip or his December trip to Moscow. KLIMENTOV did not know if PAGE met DVORKOVICH again.

KLIMENTOV was not involved in helping DENIS KLIMENTOV set up media for PAGE's December trip, but KLIMENTOV provided his media contacts to DENIS KLIMENTOV.

KLIMENTOV did not believe PAGE met with IGOR SECHIN. KLIMENTOV did not think the meeting would have occurred because SECHIN is the number two person in Russia.

KLIMENTOV has never heard of or met SERGEY YATSENKO, [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

KLIMENTOV was shown a copy of an 07/06/2016 email exchanged between KLIMENTOV, DENIS KLIMENTOV and PESKOV. KLIMENTOV recalled the email. DENIS KLIMENTOV sent it to PESKOV and KLIMENTOV got the response. There was a followup email to this one and it advised no one knew of PAGE. KLIMENTOV went to his computer and printed out a copy. He provided it to the interviewing Agents.

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG
ON 12-10-2019

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/18/2018

DOCUMENT RESTRICTED TO CASE PARTICIPANTS

This document contains information that is restricted to case participants.

On 8/15/2017, SA [redacted] interviewed Andrej Krickovic at San Francisco International Airport. SA [redacted] identified himself and explained the nature of the interview as pertaining to Krickovic's interactions with Carter Page at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Russia. b6 b7C

Krickovic said that he could not talk long since he would soon board a flight to [redacted] Krickovic planned to write for his work at the Higher School of Economics (HSE) as well. b6 b7C

Krickovic told SA [redacted] that he was expecting to have talked with the FBI sooner. Krickovic said that one of his colleagues was interviewed by FBI personnel in 2017. b6 b7C

Krickovic explained that he first met Page while Krickovic was an intern at US Embassy Moscow. Krickovic said that Page worked for Merrill Lynch at the time. Krickovic and Page had a mutual acquaintance who was a US Defense Attache at the US Embassy in Moscow, [redacted] b6 b7C

Krickovic said that Shlomo Weber was looking for a high-profile speaker for the 2016 Commencement speech for the HSE to give the school more exposure. Weber was aware that Page was working for the Trump campaign at the time and Shlomo thought this would attract more attention to the HSE.

Krickovic described Page [redacted] who was not able to provide a coherent presentation during an event at HSE. Page had a presentation on Iraq and energy policy which was poorly received by HSE faculty. Krickovic said that Page embarrassed Krickovic by discussing themes which were b6 b7C

~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: National Security Information SCG~~
~~Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET~~//~~NOFORN~~

Investigation on 08/15/2017 at San Francisco, California, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/22/2017 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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considered propaganda and not based on fact. Krickovic said, "I don't think much is there," when referring to Page's trip to Moscow to visit HSE.

Page told Krickovic that television show Vice News wanted to do an interview with Page in May or June 2017.

[redacted]

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Krickovic has a Russian cell phone number [redacted] and a Whatsapp account which uses this same number. Krickovic often stays with [redacted]

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Krickovic stated that is available to meet with FBI agents for a more detailed interview upon his return to the US in December 2017 or April 2018 when Krickovic will likely attend a political science conference, on or about April 14, 2018.

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted] b7A
ON 12-10-2019 b7E
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[redacted]

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~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/20/2017

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(U~~//FOUO~~) On October 19, 2017, SSA [redacted] contacted K.T. McFarland by telephone and left messages at her home [redacted] and on her cell phone [redacted] McFarland returned SSA [redacted]'s call from her cell phone, saying she was on the street in Manhattan, on her way to meet a [redacted] who was a former FBI employee recommended by [redacted] b3 b6 b7C

(U~~//FOUO~~) SSA [redacted] told McFarland that [redacted] b3 b6 b7C

(U~~//FOUO~~) McFarland explained that [redacted] b3 b6 b7C

[redacted] SSA [redacted] told McFarland that as

~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: National Security Information SCG~~
~~Declassify On: 50X1-HUM~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 10/19/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/19/2017 b7A b7E

by [redacted] b6 b7C

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(U//FOUO) K.T. McFarland telephone conversation

(U//FOUO) McFarland said she would be back in contact with SSA

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/07/2018

Sam Patten was interviewed telephonically by the Office of Special Counsel (SCO) in Washington, D.C. Present at the interview were SSA [redacted] and Senior Special Prosecutor (SP) Andrew Weissmann. Patten was represented by attorney Stuart Sears, Schertler & Onorato, LLP. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Patten provided the following information: b6 b7C

Prior to beginning the interview, SP Weissmann advised Patten and his attorney that this telephonic interview was being conducted pursuant to the previously signed proffer agreement and all the protections and requirements under the proffer agreement still applied. Patten and his attorney stated that they understood and concurred.

Patten stated that [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Patten stated that he may have [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

Investigation on 06/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/22/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C b7E

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/31/2018

William Samuel Patten, [redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agent [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Jeannie S. Rhee. Present representing Patten was attorney Stuart Sears. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Patten provided the following information: b6 b7C

Patten posted a statement about his guilty plea on his restricted FaceBook page. Patton believes that [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

Patten reviewed a [redacted] to [redacted] regarding travel information. [redacted] Patten does not know why [redacted] Yanukovych referred to Paul Manafort and his consultants [redacted] Patten came to the Ukraine to assist with the snap elections. Patten worked for [redacted] in the interests of the Opposition Bloc. After Patten entered his guilty plea, [redacted] wrote Patton saying that all of Patten's work was for the Opposition Bloc, [redacted] Patten had not met Manafort before this travel to Kyiv. [redacted] Patten had worked for Yushchenko's party in Ukraine's 2007 Parliamentary elections. b6 b7A b7C b7E

Investigation on 09/06/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/06/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C b7E

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Patten reviewed a [redacted] to Patten. While in Kyiv, Patten [redacted] Gates and Manafort. They ran parallel campaigns but there was very little coordination. Patten sent his materials through [redacted] Patten does not know if the materials were shown to Manafort or Rick Gates. Patten prepared his materials based upon publicly available information. b6 b7A b7C

Manafort was the big idea guy while Gates was the operations guy. Manafort stayed at the hotel most of the time and did not often come to the office.

Patten reviewed a [redacted] and Manafort that [redacted] forwarded to Patten. Patten understood that [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] PP was Petro Poroshenko, the President of the Ukraine, who had come out of the elections weaker than expected.

Patten reviewed a [redacted] between Patten and [redacted] regarding "my edits." [redacted] was editing Patten's [redacted] is an oligarch. Patten would describe an oligarch as someone with economic and political power. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

Patten reviewed a [redacted] that had been forwarded to Patten by [redacted] for Davis Manafort. Former Party of Regions members felt that they were being politically persecuted. [redacted] probably sent it to Patten for ideas on how to get coverage of the issue. [redacted] might have been for a proposed press tour to get media coverage. b6 b7A b7C

Patten reviewed a [redacted] between Patten and [redacted]

[redacted] b7A b7E

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of William Samuel Patten 09.06.2018

[redacted] b6 b7C Patten did not report his work or contact under FARA.

Patten reviewed a [redacted] in response to a news article that Patten had sent him [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Patten reviewed a 01/05/2017 e-mail chain between Patten and [redacted] and other people at the BGR Group. Patten wrote the newsletter and BGR sent it out. Patten included the FARA disclaimer language because he assumed that BGR distributed the newsletter to U.S. Government officials.

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General Records

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/22/2018

On or around 5/31/2018 at 6:30 PM, SA [redacted] went to the residence of WILLIAM SAMUEL PATTEN. PATTEN welcomed SA [redacted] into his home and handed SA [redacted] his iPhone. The iPhone was unlocked [redacted]

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[redacted]

SA [redacted] used his DOJ-issued iPhone to photograph [redacted] Images of [redacted] are attached here in a 1A.

Investigation on 05/31/2018 at [redacted] United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/21/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/26/2018

On 9/19/2018 at 12:15 PM, WILLIAM SAMUEL PATTEN's counsel, Stuart Sears sent SSA [redacted] a PDF containing screenshots of what appears to be [redacted] The PDF was [redacted] and PATTEN [redacted] The PDF of these screenshots is attached here as a 1A.

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Investigation on 09/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Email)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/26/2018

by [redacted]

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General Records

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/19/2017

(U) Anatoli Samochornov, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] telephone number [redacted] was interviewed at his residence located at [redacted] New York 10989 by Special Agents [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Samochornov provided the following information: b6 b7C

(U) Samochornov told the interviewing agents he had some scotch before they arrived at his house. [Agent note: The agents observed a half-full glass of scotch on the table beside Samochornov.]

(U) Samochornov planned to retain legal counsel and wanted an opportunity to talk with the Special Counsel. Prior to the interviewing agents' arrival, Samochornov made an appointment to meet with an attorney, [redacted] address [redacted] telephone number [redacted] on July 13, 2017, at 9:30am. The meeting was to be an initial consultation. Samochornov had not yet retained [redacted] Samochornov was not sure if he should speak with an attorney before talking with the interviewing agents. Samochornov did not think he had any liability with respect to the meeting between Natalia Veselnitskaya and Donald Trump Jr. Samochornov said he would be open with the interviewing agents and indicated he would stop the interview if he was uncomfortable. Samochornov had nothing to hide, but he did not want to cause any problems for himself or [redacted] The interviewing agents informed Samochornov that he did not have to speak with them and that he could seek legal representation prior to moving forward with the interview. b6 b7C

(U) [Agent note: [redacted] was present for the initial minutes of the interview, but left upon [redacted] request. She was an employee of the [redacted] said she did not have a security clearance. Given the relevant news stories of the day, [redacted] advised her supervisor that [redacted] had been involved in the meeting between Donald Trump Jr. and Natalia Veselnitskaya. Later, [redacted] returned to the interview and requested the agents show their credentials. Prior to beginning the interview the agents identified themselves verbally and b6 b7C

Investigation on 07/12/2017 at [redacted] New York, United States (In Person) b3 b6

File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/13/2017 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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provided their business cards to Samochornov, but did not display their credentials.]

(U) Samochornov informed the interviewing agents he was involved in civil litigation with Natalia Veselnitskaya that was linked in some aspect to William Browder. SA [redacted] informed Samochornov that the interviewing agents were not concerned about Samochornov's involvement in the civil litigation. Samochornov stated Browder was known to go after people who opposed him and Samochornov was worried about Browder's clout. Samochornov believed Browder was feeding information to Senator Chuck Grassley. Browder identified Samochornov as a lobbyist for HRAGIF, but Samochornov said he was not a lobbyist. b6 b7C

(U) Samochornov believed Browder was the underlying issue with respect to the civil litigation Samochornov was hired to provide translation /interpretation services for. Browder played dirty and Samochornov recommended the interviewing agents look into him. Samochornov told the agents about Browder's role in influencing the United States Attorney's Office to initiate the civil litigation Veselnitskaya later became involved in. Samochornov also described Browder's role in implementing the Magnitsky Act. Samochornov believed Browder improperly influenced these events and questioned how he got away with it.

(U) [Agent note: Over the course of the interview, it became apparent the civil litigation Samochornov referred to at the beginning, and would continue to reference throughout, was United States of America v. Prevezon Holdings Ltd, et al. (hereinafter the "civil litigation").]

(U) Samochornov performed translation/interpretation services as an independent contractor. Formerly he worked with [redacted] in a partnership at [redacted] Samochornov had not worked for the Russian government or any Russian political party. Samochornov had no Russian clients. He lost business as a translator/interpreter as a result of the United States' sanctions on Russia. Prior to the sanctions being implemented, Samochornov had a lot of work with banks and government entities. b6 b7C

(U) Samochornov described Veselnitskaya as a "chance client." He was introduced to her by [redacted] telephone number [redacted] email address [redacted] At the time of Samochornov's introduction to Veselnitskaya in October 2015, Samochornov had known [redacted] Samochornov was hired by Veselnitskaya to help with depositions in the above-referenced civil litigation. Samochornov said Veselnitskaya also used other b6 b7C

translators/interpreters. Samochornov did not know how long [redacted] had known Veselnitskaya. b6 b7C

(U) Samochornov worked with Veselnitskaya in the United States in October and November 2015 and continued to work with Veselnitskaya intermittently through February 2016. This work occurred through the law firm of Baker & Hostetler. He worked with Veselnitskaya "a fair amount" in blocks of days over the above-mentioned period of time. More precise information about the dates he worked for Veselnitskaya would be documented in Samochornov's invoices. Samochornov identified [redacted] and [redacted] as attorneys linked to Baker & Hostetler. Baker & Hostetler prepared the paperwork, to include a nondisclosure agreement, defining the relationship between Samochornov and Veselnitskaya. b6 b7C

(U) Between February 2016 and January 2017 there was a lull in activity related to the civil litigation. Samochornov began working with Veselnitskaya again in 2017 as the case entered settlement negotiations.

(U) Initially, Samochornov's communications with Veselnitskaya occurred through Baker & Hostetler. He did not have direct communications with her until later in their relationship. When Samochornov began to have direct communications with Veselnitskaya, it was mostly through email. Samochornov's most recent contact with Veselnitskaya was on July 5, 2017, via email. In June 2017, he sent her articles, also by email. After the civil litigation was settled on May 15, 2017, Samochornov and Veselnitskaya discussed getting together in Moscow, but the trip did not occur. [Agent note: according to a press release from the United States Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York, the civil litigation was settled on May 12, 2017.]

(U) Samochornov provided the interviewing agents with two telephone numbers and two email addresses for Veselnitskaya as follows:

- [redacted] (Veselnitskaya's Russian telephone number.) b6 b7C
- [redacted] (Veselnitskaya's United States-based telephone number. Samochornov did not know if this was a permanent number.)
- [redacted]

(U) Samochornov was paid by Baker & Hostetler. On one occasion in January 2017, Veselnitskaya directly paid Samochornov [redacted] Samochornov later deposited the money into his personal bank account. The payment was for his help with finding a new law firm to become involved in the civil litigation. This firm, called Quinn Emanuel by Samochornov, also received invoices from Samochornov. b6 b7C

(U) The meeting between Donald Trump Jr. and Veselnitskaya took place at two or three in the afternoon. Prior to arriving at Trump Tower, Samochornov was with Veselnitskaya at a meeting at a courthouse. Samochornov was not informed he would be attending a meeting with Donald Trump Jr. or anyone associated with the Trump Campaign until the day of the meeting. Samochornov did not know how Veselnitskaya set up the meeting. He believed she treated it as an important engagement.

(U) Before arriving at Trump Tower, Veselnitskaya, Samochornov, and Irakli Kaveladze had lunch at Nello located near the intersection of Madison Avenue and East 62nd Street in Manhattan. The topic of the forthcoming meeting was not discussed during lunch, but there was an understanding as to what Veselnitskaya would talk about given her involvement in the civil litigation and her advocacy against the Magnitsky Act.

(U) When they arrived at Trump Tower, the group (now including Rinat Akhmetshin) was met by Rob Goldstone. Samochornov described Goldstone as a short guy who dressed and acted like a cast member from the Sopranos television show. Goldstone escorted the group through security and brought them to the correct floor. While inside Trump Tower, Samochornov saw Ivanka Trump, but did not see Donald Trump. [Agent note: During the interview, Samochornov referred to Goldstone as both Goldstone and Goldstein.]

(U) The meeting attendees were as follows: Donald Trump Jr., Paul Manafort, Jared Kushner, Natalia Veselnitskaya, Anatoli Samochornov, Rinat Akhmetshin, and Irakli Kaveladze. Samochornov could not be certain that Goldstone attended the meeting. Once the meeting began, it lasted for approximately 20 minutes. The topic of discussion was the Magnitsky Act and related issues. Akhmetshin did most of the talking during the meeting. Veselnitskaya spoke for approximately three to four minutes. Kushner left the meeting five to seven minutes after it began. Manafort used his telephone under the table throughout the meeting. Samochornov did not take notes during the meeting because it was not his practice to do so while interpreting.

(U) Samochornov knew Akhmetshin to be involved in public relations and lobbying work. Akhmetshin was brought in to the civil litigation by Baker & Hostetler and its attorney [redacted] to do public relations work and research for the case.

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(U) Samochornov could not speak for other occasions, but said there was no discussion about the 2016 United States presidential election or collusion between the Russian government and the Trump Campaign at the

meeting. There was no smoking gun according to Samochornov. There was not a discussion about "dirt" on Hillary Clinton. Samochornov did not think Hillary Clinton was mentioned by name at the meeting. Samochornov had not heard Veselnitskaya say anything about having "dirt" on Hillary Clinton. Veselnitskaya did not offer any materials during the meeting and no papers were exchanged. Additionally, there was no follow-up to the meeting that Samochornov knows about.

(U) However, during the meeting Veselnitskaya told Donald Trump Jr. and the other meeting attendees that the Ziff brothers were silent partners with William Browder and that the Ziff brothers donated illicit funds to democratic campaigns. Samochornov did not know if the donation(s) were made directly to the Clinton Campaign, the Democratic National Committee, or a political action committee. Once raised, the topic of the donation(s) was dismissed by Manafort. Veselnitskaya learned of the donation(s) through extensive research she had done in connection with her legal representation of individuals involved in the civil litigation. The information about the Ziff brothers was not developed just for the meeting with Donald Trump Jr. Samochornov told the interviewing agents that Veselnitskaya would seek any avenues to advance her cause.

(U) According to Samochornov, Veselnitskaya had misplaced hopes that the meeting attendees would be more receptive to her information. By informing Donald Trump Jr. of the Ziff brothers' donation(s), Samochornov believed Veselnitskaya was attempting to provide information that would be a benefit to both parties and assist with her advocacy against the Magnitsky Act. Samochornov said Veselnitskaya thought the information about the donation(s) could act as a "carrot."

(U) Samochornov was not particularly fond of Donald Trump Jr., but stated Donald Trump Jr.'s account of the meeting with Veselnitskaya, as portrayed in recent media reports, was accurate. Samochornov concurred with Donald Trump Jr.'s accounts of the meeting. He added, "they" were telling the truth. Samochornov told the interviewing agents that he would have contacted the FBI if he thought the meeting was nefarious.

(U) Samochornov was not with Veselnitskaya the days before or after the meeting. Veselnitskaya arrived in the United States on June 7th or 8th. Either before, but likely after the meeting with Donald Trump Jr., Veselnitskaya attended a HRAGIF-related movie screening in Washington, D. C.

(U) Samochornov described Veselnitskaya as a good client. She paid on time and was sympathetic to Samochornov's other commitments. She was outgoing and the two had a friendly relationship. Veselnitskaya had [redacted]

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(U) Samochornov did not think Veselnitskaya was an employee of the Russian government. She was formerly a prosecutor in Moscow and that was where her connections were. Additionally, Veselnitskaya may have had connections to the Russian government through the Prosecutor General of Russia. She also had connections to the Russian government through Denis Katsyv and his father Petr Katsyv. Samochornov believed Petr Katsyv was formerly the Transportation Minister of the Moscow Region.

(U) Samochornov said he did not know exactly who Veselnitskaya was and did not know However, Samochornov said the following factors

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- Samochornov did not discern
- Veselnitskaya was talkative and unguarded with what she said.
- Veselnitskaya appeared to be a working lawyer who lost cases and who had typical problems and issues. There did not appear to be
- Veselnitskaya was involved in litigation in Russia that countered the interests of
- Veselnitskaya invited Samochornov to Moscow in June or July of 2016. In order to travel to Russia Samochornov, still a Russian citizen, was required to wait two months to get his Russian passport renewed. Samochornov thought,

(U) and he cited this fact as one reason for maintaining his Russian citizenship. Samochornov visited Russia and returned to His most recent trip to Russia was in Samochornov accompanied representatives from a law firm associated with the civil litigation to Veselnitskaya's office in suburban Moscow. While there, Samochornov provided translation/interpretation services. When Samochornov arrived in Moscow he did not receive any extra scrutiny by the Russian border guards. Samochornov did not make any trips to Russia between

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(U) At the end of the interview, SA asked Samochornov if he noticed anything odd with the Russian linguists working at the United Nations or United States Department of State. Initially, Samochornov replied that he had not, but then mentioned a few individuals. Samochornov recalled that he had suspicions about [ph] and He was also uncertain about [discussed above] because Samochornov said the United Nations. Samochornov had not seen anything specifically noteworthy with respect to Samochornov also named [ph] and [ph], but did not elaborate other than to note [Agent note:

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(U) Samochornov did not think a lack of work for translators /interpreters made them vulnerable, but said perhaps it was different for those with business in Russia.

(U) Referring to Russians, Samochornov said those in power speak English well. Samochornov did not support Vladimir Putin and did what he could to oppose him. Samochornov said that he may have met

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(U) Samochornov told the interviewing agents he was besieged by the press. He did not provide the press with comments only to state he had nondisclosure agreements with his clients. Samochornov wanted to know what he should tell the press. The agents concurred with his decision to reference his nondisclosure agreements.

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG
ON 12-10-2019

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/06/2017

(U) On 07/28/2017 SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] interviewed Professor Shlomo Weber (Weber) at Madeline's Cafe in Dallas, Texas. The interview was established through a series of phone calls and email communication with assistance from [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, Weber provided the following information: b6 b7C

(U) General Information

(U) Weber had been back in the United states for two weeks. He had some [redacted] after which he would return to Russia. Weber was a professor at Southern Methodist University (SMU) and maintains an apartment near there at [redacted] Dallas, TX. b6 b7C

(U) Weber's Russian phone number is [redacted] Weber is willing to communicated using WhatsApp when he is in Russia if he thinks of anything the FBI should know.

(U) When questioned about Russian Influence on the Elections, Weber said it would not surprise him that Russians interfered with elections but does not know anything.

(U) [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) New Economic School

(U) Weber is the Rector of New Economic School (NES) in Moscow, Russia. Weber had been in that position since 2015. A Rector is

~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: FBI NSISC-20090615~~
~~Declassify On: 20421231~~

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Investigation on 07/28/2017 at Dallas, Texas, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/02/2017 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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similar to the American presidents or European chancellors of their respective schools. The Rector reports to the NES Board. The Board has ten members, including businessmen and government officials.

(U) Weber described that [redacted] (NFI) is currently the [redacted] above Weber, but the position is mainly ceremonial. [redacted] was a [redacted] but is not involved in its day-to-day activities. In one year, Weber plans to take over as President. b6 b7C

(U) Weber previously taught a class at NES and took over the position after the [redacted] (NFI) left. [redacted] was a friend of the previous [redacted] left the school in 2013 because he felt insecure about his position and he currently lives in [redacted] After a few years of turmoil from losing [redacted] the school asked Weber to take the position of Rector. Weber felt that they chose him because there are not many economists in Russia. Russians historically studied mathematics. Weber had only a few peers who studied economics and spoke Russian. b6 b7C

(U) Weber opined that because NES is a private school, it is a miracle the school exists through the turbulence of the 25 years after the fall of the Soviet Union. The school has relied on individual investor money to stay afloat, and individual investors come with "undertones." Weber also mentioned that when NES is in need of money, they go to the Central Bank for assistance.

(U) As Rector, Weber has no official contact with members of the Duma or Moscow City Government (MVD). Weber recalled approaching the MVD for support on some research but the project did not go anywhere.

(U) In his role as Rector, Weber has had some interaction with public officials, like the Deputy Prime Minister (DPM) Arkady Dvorkovich (Dvorkovich), who is the Russian Federation Minister of Economic Development and head of the NES Board. Dvorkovich was a graduate of NES. In his role, Dvorkovich has a lot of power over NES.

(U) Weber described the impact of U.S. sanctions against Russia on NES stating that the overall economic situation in Russia affects the school, however, it has little to do with sanctions. Specifically, the Russian Federation has foreign agency laws which prevents NES from taking money from foreign investors, including from the United States. So NES has difficulty receiving money from the West because of Russian law, not U.S. Sanctions.

(U) Arkady Dvorkovich

(U) Weber and Dvorkovich do not meet as frequently as Weber would like because Dvorkovich is so busy and holds an extensive portfolio. Dvorkovich is also the Chairman of the Board of Russian Railways. Which according to Weber is the largest employing force in country.

(U) Dvorkovich is the NES Chairman of the Board, and was aware of Page's visit. Students were disappointed in Page's speech. At the time, nobody believed Trump would become President. Weber might have mentioned Page's attendance to other members of the board, but nobody else had to approve it. No Russian law prohibits a US Campaign Official from coming to Russia. Weber figured that notifying the DPM was good enough.

(U) Weber does not have a phone number for Dvorkovich, but provided his email address [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) Carter Page

(U) Carter Page was one of three speakers at the July 2016 NES Commencement Ceremony. However, Page did not give the commencement address. Weber further stated that he would never have let Page give the commencement address when they previously had much more prestigious speakers, like President Obama in 2009. The 2016 commencement speaker was [redacted] the National Academy of Economics, which Weber referred to as RANEPA. b6 b7C

(U) Weber became aware of Page in 2016 through [redacted] and [redacted] associate, Andrej Krickovic (Krickovic). Weber never knew Page before [redacted] mentioned him. After Weber was first introduced to Page, Weber invited him to come to NES as a "general thing" later Weber offered to have Page speak at the commencement. As Rector, Weber strives to bring multiple points of view to academic discussion, and he felt that bringing Page to NES would accomplish that. b6 b7C

(U) Weber also recalled that in the summer of 2016 there was incredible interest in Moscow related to the Donald J. Trump Presidential Campaign. Weber saw bringing a member of the Campaign to his school as a great public relations stunt.

(U) At some point between the Weber's introduction to Page and July, Weber made the decision to ask Page to speak at the commencement. Weber said, "It was my decision."

(U) Nobody from the Russian Federation came to Weber about Page. Nobody directed Weber to invite Page to give the speech at

commencement in July. Dmitry Peskov never approached Weber; and nobody on Peskov's behalf approached Weber. It surprised Weber that

(U) More recently, told Weber the story of how at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow (HSE). learned this from his friend and academic colleague, Andrej Krickovic, who teaches at HSE with and Weber recounted the story saying that

(U) Page's July Trip

(U) Weber and Page met for the first time at a dinner in July with and Krickovic's colleagues from HSE. Weber felt it necessary to meet Page before he spoke at NES. Weber recalled that Page kept going on an on about "Igor Ivanovich, Igor Ivanovich, Igor Ivanovich" which is how Page referred to Igor Sechin (Sechin). Weber made it clear that Page never discussed meeting with Sechin, but he did talk about Sechin a lot.

(U) In July, Page gave a public speech before the commencement, Weber could not recall the exact name of the international center at which the speech occurred. NES holds occasionally meetings at the venue.

(U) In July, Page asked NES not to introduce him as a member of Trump's campaign.

(U) Page's first public talk in July of 2016 was a disaster. After hearing the first speech, which was disjointed, had no focus, and made no sense, Page's commencement speech was more generally about opportunity and success, however, graduates approached Weber after the event and complained that Page did not meet their expectations for commencement.

(U) Page and Dvorkovich shook hands at the commencement in July of 2016. Weber was unaware of any other meetings occurring between the two. Dvorkovich made statements to Page about working together in the future.

(U) Weber was not involved in scheduling Page's trip. NES paid for Page's economy class ticket and his hotel. The School would have scheduled it, or reimbursed it. Weber does not remember the specifics of how it was done organized. Page was in town for three or four days.

(U) Page may have had contact with Denis Klimentov while in Moscow. In July, Klimentov was either an employee or becoming an employee at NES. Klimentov came on board with NES some time in July. Weber could not recall any meetings between Page and Klimentov.

(U) Weber does not know if Page met with members of the NES Board. Page said it would have been nice to meet with board, but never did. NES has a board meeting during graduation, and Weber recalled that there was no interest from the members in meeting Page. Weber did not rule out the possibility that board members may have met Page at NES at the time of the board meeting, because NES has given Page office space to work out of, and it is possible that Dvorkovich or [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] met him on their own. [redacted] does not speak English very well so unlikely they met.

(U) Page's Second Trip

(U) Weber recalled Page visiting Moscow in November or December of 2016 after the elections. Weber was clear that the visit was unrelated to NES, despite that Weber introduced Page at a speaking engagement. Weber said that Page requested that Weber introduce him, so Weber obliged. Weber could not recall the purpose of the event. Overall, Weber felt that the second talk was much more coherent than Page's first, referring to his first public speech in July of 2016.

(U) Page's second visit to Russia had nothing to do with NES, other than Weber introducing Page to the group.

(U) The second talk in Nov/Dec was about economic development in general. It was a smaller group, advertised online where people could register. Weber recalled that American journalists attended. When Page was asked why he came to Moscow to give the talk, he did not have a clear answer. Weber still does not know why Page gave the talk.

(U) Initially in the interview, Weber did not recall having dinner with Page in December, however he later recalled: In December 2016, Weber had a private event with Page and a few other people including Klimentov. Weber gave Dvorkovich a courtesy call and notified him that Page was in Moscow and invited Dvorkovich to stop by the event.

Dvorkovich came, and he and Page shook hands. Weber was surprised that Dvorkovich came, since he is busy and influential person.

(U) At the time of this dinner, Weber knew Page was no longer part of the administration, because he followed the news. Weber was unsure if Dvorkovich knew. Weber cannot remember if Page acknowledged he was no longer part of the administration.

(U) Weber said that in December it was hard to say whether Page acted like he still had connections to the administration, but he does not think so. Page did not offer to mediate contact with the administration. It was clear that Page could not do much with the administration.

(U) Weber did not recall if Page asked to do a presentation at NES, and if he did they would have refused. NES may have set up a taxi for him or something.

(U) Further Contact with Page

(U) When asked if Weber had any further contacts with Page, Weber stated that after July, Page wrote him about the effect of sanctions on NES. Page was drafting an op-ed with the New York Times, and Weber did not want to participate because he thought it was a misleading story. Page asked him to help him write the op-ed and Weber refused. Weber said it was ridiculous and a complete lie to say Russia was suffering because of sanctions, he did not want to risk his academic reputation.

(U) Page expressed an interest in coming to Russia again in 2017 to do something related to HBO, but Weber did not want to participate in it.

(U) There were no discussions about ongoing work with Page and NES. Weber said, "We had no interest." Weber does not recall if Page approached him or NES looking for additional work.

(U) When asked specifically if there were discussions between Page and Weber or NES about a potential "think tank" Weber said that in July things were different, perhaps Weber was interested in discussing his views, but Page would not have been the one he would want to participate in it. Additionally, Weber would be shocked if Page pitched business ideas to Dvorkovich. Weber said of Page, [redacted]

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[redacted]

(U) Dvorkovich never recommended Weber stay in contact with Page.

(U) The 2017 NES Commencement only had one speaker, the [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] (NFI).

(U) Meeting with Igor Sechin

(U) Weber has since heard about Page meeting Igor Sechin but he does not know if they met. Weber said "I would be shocked if they did." He might remember Page speaking highly of Sechin. Weber does not know if Page met with Igor Divyekin.

(U) Denis Klimentov

(U) Klimentov was not authorized to come to the US to look for money for NES. NES would be required to register as a foreign agent in order to get the US money, so they do not want to do that. All their funding is from Russia.

(U) Weber never had any discussion about giving money from NES to Page. Never any discussion of a think tank. Tuition only covers a very small part of their budget.

(U) Klimentov was hired as the Director of Communications for NES. Before that he was with the Eurasia Foundation. Weber joked that Klimentov's English is better than his Russian. Klimentov's duties at NES include promoting the school, organizing conferences, public events, and speeches. But Weber doubts Klimentov had anything to do with Page's travel. Klimentov mentioned that he spoke to the FBI at the airport and it was a cordial conversation.

(U) Klimentov applied for the job at NES a few weeks before the commencement. That would have been after Weber informed the DPM that Page was attending the commencement. Weber said they were already leaning toward hiring Klimentov and he was hired around time of commencement.

(U) Andrej Krickovic

(U) Weber met Krickovic through [redacted] Weber and Krickovic have met only two times. Once in the end of June surrounding a conference, but the two have never had any personal interactions, he only knows Krickovic as a co-author with [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) Weber recalled meeting [redacted] at some introductory meetings or maybe the dinner with Page. Weber did not speak with him

personally, but heard his views. [redacted] views are very nationalistic, which was very surprising. Weber opined that political science people change their views, which is very interesting to him.

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[redacted] and Krickovic.

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/10/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] DOJ Attorney James Mann; and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling and Thomas Zehnle. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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Manafort met [redacted] during the campaign. [redacted] worked as a [redacted] Manafort believes [redacted] was introduced to the campaign through Corey Lewandowski. Manafort recalls meeting [redacted] three times: in the campaign offices in April or May 2016; at Thomas Barrack's California house during a fundraiser; and at the Republican National Convention. Manafort did not have any business dealings with [redacted] Manafort does not have any information regarding [redacted] investments.

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Investigation on 10/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/02/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/04/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] DOJ Attorney James Mann; and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling and Thomas Zehnle. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 10/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/02/2018

by [redacted]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

General Records

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] FBI Forensic Accountant [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling and Thomas Zehnle. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 10/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/02/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Manafort planned campaign mailings during the primaries. The campaign had previously used a company associated with Corey Lewandowski. Manafort thought that the company's rates were too high because, in part, Lewandowski and others were taking a cut. [redacted] had dealt with mail vendors while he worked at the Republican National Committee (RNC) so Manafort asked him to recommend a group. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

Manafort reviewed an e-mail [redacted] from Gates. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] Manafort had been upset about the money paid to Lewandowski from the other mailings so [redacted]

Text messages between Manafort and Sean Hannity were read to Manafort. Excluding conversations with his attorneys, Manafort received information on possible leaks of information by the Department of Justice (DOJ) regarding his case from Jason Maloni, [redacted] Sean Hannity and [redacted] None of these individuals had first hand knowledge of the leaks. They repeated information learned from their contacts in the press. Manafort has no specific facts or allegations regarding any leaks from the DOJ regarding his case.

[redacted]

On 1/24/2018, Manafort wrote to Hannity "[p]er our conversation this morning, my attorney - Kevin Downing - will call you at 11:30 am tomorrow. He will update you on what we are doing and how it connects to your reporting." Downing spoke with Hannity. Manafort asked Downing to speak with Hannity because he wanted Hannity to understand his case. Hannity also served as an outlet to the public and the White House. Downing also spoke with Greener, Doug Davenport and Gay in order to educate them about Manafort's case.

On 5/4/2018, Manafort messaged Hannity that "I am told DT is pumped." The comment is in response to Judge Ellis's courtroom criticism of the Special Counsel's Office. Manafort's legal counsel told him that DT was pumped.

Many of Manafort's text messages are based on his belief that the investigation of him began before July 2016. Serhiy Lyovochkin heard from Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko that the U.S. Embassy was pressuring Ukraine's National Anti-Corruption Bureau for information on Manafort. Manafort had a series of problems with his phone leading him to believe that he was being intercepted.

The document reviewed by Manafort will be maintained in the 1-A section of this casefile.

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] DOJ Attorney James Mann; and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling and Thomas Zehnle. After being advised of identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Investigation on 10/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/02/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Paul Manafort

[redacted]

Manafort did not know that the FBI was investigating anything related to [redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG
ON 12-10-2019

~~SECRET~~//~~NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/01/2017

(U) (S//~~NF~~) GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS), date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was initially met by the interviewing Agents at his residence, located at [redacted] Chicago, Illinois 60625. PAPADOPOULOS' cellular telephone is [redacted] and his email address is [redacted] Also present at the residence during the initial contact with PAPADOPOULOS was [redacted] PAPADOPOULOS was requested to accompany the interviewing Agents to the FBI Chicago Field Office in order to further conduct the interview in secure and private environment. PAPADOPOULOS was told that the interview was voluntary on his part and that he was not under arrest. PAPADOPOULOS was further advised that the nature of the interview was to discuss a contact of his, who currently resides in New York. b6 b7C

(U) (S//~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS agreed to accompany the Agents back to the Chicago Field Office and was driven to that location in Special Agent [redacted] Bureau-issued vehicle. PAPADOPOULOS was interviewed at the Chicago Field Office and was then returned to his residence in SA [redacted] vehicle. b6 b7C

(U) (S//~~NF~~) [redacted] b7E

(U) (S//~~NF~~) Subsequent to the interview, PAPADOPOULOS sent SA [redacted] two email communications. Those email communications are documented for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this communication. b6 b7C

~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: FBI~~
~~NSISC-20090615~~
~~Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET~~//~~NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/27/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/01/2017

by [redacted] b3 b6 b7C b7E

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ON 12-12-2019

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~~SECRET~~/~~NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/03/2017

(U) (X)/~~NF~~) GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS), date of birth (DOB) was interviewed at GEORGE'S ICE CREAM & SWEETS, located at 5306 North Clark Street, in Chicago, Illinois 60640. PAPADOPOULOS resides at Chicago, Illinois 60625. His personal cell phone number is and his email address is PAPADOPOULOS was aware of SA FBI affiliation from a previous interview on January 27, 2017. PAPADOPOULOS was advised that the nature of this interview was to seek his potential cooperation in an on-going national security matter, directly related to the information that he provided during the interview on January 27, 2017. PAPADOPOULOS was then advised that this interview was entirely voluntary and that he could discontinue speaking with SA at any time. PAPADOPOULOS agreed to the interview and stated that he wished to hear more about how he could potentially help the FBI.

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(U) (X)/~~NF~~) SA relayed that the FBI was seeking out PAPADOPOULOS' cooperation specifically in an attempt to obtain further information about his London-based contact, JOSEPH MIFSUD, at the LONDON CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW PRACTICE.

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(U) (X)/~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS provided that subsequent to the interview on January 27, 2017, he conducted several GOOGLE searches for MIFSUD. In doing so, PAPADOPOULOS identified many open source Internet articles that related MIFSUD to both Russia and the Kremlin. Additionally, PAPADOPOULOS knew MIFSUD to be an associate of a Russian discussion club of some sort.

(U) (X)/~~NF~~) SA then asked if MIFSUD had ever introduced PAPADOPOULOS to a Russian Ambassador or to VLADIMIR PUTIN's niece. To that, PAPADOPOULOS responded that the individual who was reportedly PUTIN's niece was the female who PAPADOPOULOS identified in his follow-up email to SA on January 27, 2017 . PAPADOPOULOS recalled this female was initially introduced to him as one of MIFSUD's students, but PAPADOPOULOS

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~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: FBI~~
~~NSISC-20090615~~
~~Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET~~/~~NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/01/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (In Person)

File # Date drafted 02/02/2017

by

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had later heard grumblings from NAGI IDRIS (IDRIS) that she was actually PUTIN's niece; or a relative in some capacity. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he has never met with any Russian government officials and that the meeting with teh Russian Ambassador never happened. PAPADOPOULOS identified IDRIS as being the Director of the LONDON CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW PRACTICE.

(U) (X/~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS recalled that MIFSUD was often attempting to act as a middle-man, and coordinating all things related to Russia at the LONDON CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW PRACTICE. PAPADOPOULOS could not provide any further specifics on what those activities were, but remembered that he seemed to be actively trying to coordinate all the Russian activities. PAPADOPOULOS stated that in his opinion, he believed MIFSUD was doing side-business activities of some sort in order to make money on the side. PAPADOPOULOS recalled meeting with MIFSUD on a few occasions, possibly a total of three times.

(U) (X/~~NF~~) SA [redacted] then asked if PAPADOPOULOS had mentioned anything to the TRUMP team regarding MIFSUD's statements about having prior knowledge of the Russian's intent to release HILLARY CLINTON's emails during the 2016 Presidential campaign. To this, PAPADOPOULOS recalled that he may have thrown MIFSUD's name out during the campaign, as he knew him to be a middle-man for all things Russian. PAPADOPOULOS then added that it was his job as a Foreign Policy Adviser for DONALD J. TRUMP, to connect with foreign governments on behalf of the campaign. When asked if he could recall the time frame in which he may have thrown MIFSUD's name out during the campaign, PAPADOPOULOS stated that it probably would have occurred somewhere circa February or March of 2016.

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(U) (X/~~NF~~) MIFSUD recently reached out to PAPADOPOULOS and indicated that he may be traveling to Washington, DC in February of 2017. PAPADOPOULOS could not recall the exact date, but stated that it may be on or about February 11, 2017.

(U) (X/~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS will be traveling to London in approximately three weeks, to give a talk at a university that he was formerly affiliated with. PAPADOPOULOS stated that during this travel, he could potentially meet with MIFSUD. PAPADOPOULOS provided that he is no longer seeking a job with the Presidential Administration and that he is now focusing on his new career, which is providing talks and presentations such as the upcoming event in London. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he is now "GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS private citizen". Additionally, PAPADOPOULOS expressed his interest in attending law school in the future.

(U) (X/~~NF~~) When asked about his contact, SERGEI MILLIAN (MILLIAN),

PAPADOPOULOS stated that he has ultimately cut ties with MILLIAN and that it may seem odd if PAPADOPOULOS were to reach out to MILLIAN now that he's no longer affiliated with the administration. Without being prompted, PAPADOPOULOS stated that to the best of his knowledge, MILLIAN had no prior knowledge of the Russian's possession of CLINTON's emails, like MIFSUD did. In fact, PAPADOPOULOS recalled MILLIAN once mentioning to him that MILLIAN doesn't do business with Russia anymore, but that he's focused rather on doing business with China. Additionally, MILLIAN told PAPADOPOULOS that he had no knowledge of the information that surfaced through the recent TRUMP dossier, even though MILLIAN was allegedly sourced in that document. PAPADOPOULOS recalled MILLIAN telling him that none of the information in that dossier, specifically related to MILLIAN, was true. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he believes MILLIAN is strictly a Russian business man.

(U) (X/~~NF~~) SA [redacted] told PAPADOPOULOS that his position as a Foreign Policy Adviser for a Presidential Administration may have made him a target of foreign adversaries, specifically that of foreign intelligence services. PAPADOPOULOS stated that to the best of his knowledge, he has never met anyone who is member of a foreign intelligence service, but that he has had many dealings with high-ranking government officials from a variety of different countries. PAPADOPOULOS then requested assistance from the FBI in helping him to identify any individuals that he is currently in contact with, who may be affiliated with a foreign intelligence service. b6 b7C

(U) (X/~~NF~~) SA [redacted] inquired about PAPADOPOULOS' cellular telephone and whether or he not still wanted the FBI to analyze the the phone for malware and cyber threats. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he has since replaced that particular cell phone, but that he would like to provide the FBI with his old phone for analysis. b6 b7C

(U) (X/~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS directly asked SA [redacted] if he was the subject of an FBI investigation. To this, SA [redacted] responded that his name had surfaced through the course of a national security investigation, and that was the reason that SA [redacted] had spoken with him on the morning of January 27, 2017. SA [redacted] then relayed that the information provided by PAPADOPOULOS during that interview is what prompted this follow-up interview. PAPADOPOULOS was again advised that the purpose of this interview was to obtain further details about MIFSUD and to seek out PAPADOPOULOS' potential cooperation with this matter. b6 b7C

(U) (X/~~NF~~) On several occasions during this interview, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he would like to speak with an attorney, prior to entering into any official agreement with the FBI. On those occasions, SA [redacted] relayed to b6 b7C

PAPADOPOULOS that this interview was voluntary, and that his future cooperation would continue to be voluntary [redacted] b7E

(U) (X)/~~(NF)~~ PAPADOPOULOS stated that, for his protection, he would be seek out legal advice from an attorney on the following day, and that he would contact SA [redacted] after speaking with that attorney. When asked who his attorney was, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he would be getting one tomorrow. PAPADOPOULOS then provided that he would be telling the attorney that he wanted to cooperate with the FBI. b6 b7C

(U) (X)/~~(NF)~~ At the conclusion of the interview, PAPADOPOULOS provided that he would be meeting someone for dinner downtown, at an Armenian restaurant near Michigan Avenue and Ohio Street. SA [redacted] offered PAPADOPOULOS a ride into the city, which he accepted. PAPADOPOULOS was driven to downtown Chicago in SA [redacted] Bureau-issued vehicle and was dropped off near the corner of East Chicago Avenue and North Miles Van Der Rohe Way. Upon exiting SA [redacted] vehicle, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he would be speaking to his attorney and then he wanted "to get something going with this in the future". b6 b7C

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]
ON 12-16-2019

~~SECRET~~//~~ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/02/2017

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) On February 1, 2017 at approximately 3:45 PM, Special Agent [redacted] telephoned and spoke with GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS. PAPADOPOULOS was reached on his personal cell phone number of [redacted]

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(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) SA [redacted] requested to meet with PAPADOPOULOS as a follow-up to his interview with the FBI on January 27, 2017. PAPADOPOULOS was further advised that SA [redacted] wished to discuss future opportunities with PAPADOPOULOS regarding his potential cooperation in matters that were discussed during the previous interview.

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(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS agreed to meet with SA [redacted] and suggested a meet time of 5:00 PM later that evening. PAPADOPOULOS suggested the meeting occur at the GEORGE'S ICE CREAM & SWEETS coffee shop, located at 5306 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois 60640. SA [redacted] confirmed the meet time and location and the call was ended.

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~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: FBI~~
~~NSISC-20090615~~
~~Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET~~//~~ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/01/2017 at Chcago, Illinois, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/02/2017

by [redacted]

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ON 12-12-2019

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/03/2017

(U) ~~(S)~~/~~(NF)~~ On February 2, 2017, FBI Special Agent [redacted] exchanged several text messages, telephone calls, and e-mails with GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS. b6 b7C

(U) ~~(S)~~/~~(NF)~~ At approximately 4:15 PM, SA [redacted] placed a phone call to PAPADOPOULOS' cell phone number of [redacted] A voicemail notification stated that the mail box was full and could not receive any more messages at that time. b6 b7C

(U) ~~(S)~~/~~(NF)~~ Beginning at approximately 4:22 PM, SA [redacted] exchanged several text messages with PAPADOPOULOS. The following is a replication of the text message exchanges: b6 b7C

SA [redacted] – 4:22 PM: b6 b7C
Hey George give me a quick call when you get a second

PAPADOPOULOS – 4:58 PM:
Hey [redacted] a bit busy at the moment. Having discussed the matter with a lawyer, have been advised not to engage in this matter any longer, including what was floated yesterday. I truly feel proud that was able to do my part to assist with everything I know but as you saw yesterday there was nothing else to add and we had a nice coffee but nothing of substance. Am not in the administration and am simply moving on with my life in the private sector in Chicago. You guys are the professionals and am sure you can deal with that person if he truly is a threat. Can't help anymore than I have. If there is something directly related to me then that's another matter. I'll be free in a couple hours if you have to call about me directly. Thanks.

SA [redacted] – 5:00 PM: b6 b7C
Yeah if we could talk directly that would be good. No problem on what we discussed yesterday. I do need to speak with you about one last issue though

~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: FBI~~
~~NSISC-20090615~~
~~Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET~~/~~ORCON~~/~~NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/02/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/03/2017 b3 b6 b7C b7E

by [redacted]

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(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) Text messages, telephone calls and e-mails exchanged with GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS.

PAPADOPOULOS - 5:01 PM:
Ok let me give you a call in about 45 minutes when I get alone

SA - 5:01 PM:
I'll hang out up north. If you can call me when you're free that'd be great. I'd like to meet up with you one last time to clear up this last issue tonight

SA - 5:01 PM:
Sounds good

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) At 5:48 PM, SA received a call from PAPADOPOULOS. SA requested to meet with PAPADOPOULOS for an interview that evening. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he was willing to meet with SA at the same location as the previous meeting, and proposed a time of 6:30 PM that evening. [The previous interview location was the GEORGE'S ICE CREAM & SWEETS coffee shop located at 5306 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois 60640.]

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) At 5:59 PM, PAPADOPOULOS telephoned SA and stated that he had spoken to an attorney, who advised that he didn't meet with the FBI that evening. SA advised PAPADOPOULOS that the attorney could be present for the interview. PAPADOPOULOS then inquired about the nature of the interview. PAPADOPOULOS was advised that was to seek additional information about what was provided during the previous two interviews. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he wanted to meet with SA that evening and that he would speak to his attorney and return a call to SA

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) At 6:08 PM, PAPADOPOULOS telephoned SA and stated that he was advised by his attorney not to meet with SA that evening. PAPADOPOULOS proposed to meet with SA on Monday at the FBI Chicago Field Office with his attorney present. PAPADOPOULOS agreed to contact his attorney and arrange for a time on Monday to conduct the interview.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) At 6:39 PM, SA sent one email message to PAPADOPOULOS, stating the following: Per our telephone call, please let me know what time you will be coming in on Monday. We will also need the name of your attorney(s) ahead of time in order to facilitate access in our building.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) At 7:15 PM, PAPADOPOULOS responded with the following message: Will do, Looking forward to getting to the bottom of this finally. I'll let you know when I know.

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[redacted]

(U) (X//~~NF~~) Text messages, telephone calls and e-mails exchanged with GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS.

(U) (X//~~NF~~) Enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment are screenshots and copies of the messages that were exchanged with PAPADOPOULOS.

DECLASSIFIED BY: NSICG
ON 12-10-2019

~~SECRET~~//~~NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/17/2017

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS), date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was interviewed at the BREEN AND PUGH Law Office located at 53 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Present during this interview were PAPADOPOULOS' Attorneys, [redacted] and [redacted] Also present during this interview were FBI Chicago Chief Division Counsel, Darryl J. Rossini, FBI Chicago Associate Division Counsel, [redacted] and FBI Headquarters Office of Division Counsel Representative, [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] PAPADOPOULOS was advised that the nature of this interview was to seek additional clarification on information that was provided by PAPADOPOULOS during two previous interviews with the FBI. After being advised of the nature of the interview and the identities of the interviewers, PAPADOPOULOS provided the following information:

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(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS was asked to recall the details surrounding his knowledge of Russia's intent to release information during the 2016 Presidential campaign, which he had previously reported hearing from UK-based foreign national, JOSEPH MIFSUD (MIFSUD).

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS initially met MIFSUD during a business trip to Rome. At the time, PAPADOPOULOS was working for the LONDON CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW PRACTICE and MIFSUD was a board member at a university that PAPADOPOULOS had formerly attended. His introduction to MIFSUD was facilitated by a middle-man, who was then the Director of the LONDON CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW PRACTICE's Washington, DC-based office. PAPADOPOULOS recalled that MIFSUD was also involved in a think tank of some sort at the time. PAPADOPOULOS had lunch with MIFSUD in Rome, and recalled that MIFSUD was gloating about his past positions. One of those positions was a former diplomat in Malta. PAPADOPOULOS assessed that MIFSUD was trying to impress him, given that PAPADOPOULOS had recently come off of his advisory position for the BEN CARSON (CARSON) campaign.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)~~
~~Derived From: FBI~~
~~NSISC-20090615~~
~~Declassify On: 20421231~~

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(U) (X/~~NF~~) Upon returning to London, MIFSUD reached out to PAPADOPOULOS and stated that he wanted to get to know him better. PAPADOPOULOS could not recall if he was still involved with the CARSON campaign or if he was with the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) campaign at that point, but recalled that MIFSUD always seemed to be very vocal about TRUMP's future relations with Russia. PAPADOPOULOS then recalled that approximately one week after his meeting with MIFSUD in London, PAPADOPOULOS decided to work for the TRUMP campaign. PAPADOPOULOS recalled that that event happened subsequent to his meeting with SAM CLOVIS (CLOVIS) in London. MIFSUD began talking himself up more at that point, once he became aware of PAPADOPOULOS' affiliation with the TRUMP campaign. Specifically, PAPADOPOULOS recalled that MIFSUD began "blowing up his contacts" during their meetings. PAPADOPOULOS estimated that he met with MIFSUD on approximately ten occasions.

(U) (X/~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS recalled having breakfast with MIFSUD at a five star hotel, near LIVERPOOL STATION in London. PAPADOPOULOS could not recall the name of the hotel. During the breakfast, MIFSUD and PAPADOPOULOS discussed HILLARY CLINTON's (CLINTON) Presidential campaign. During that conversation, MIFSUD told PAPADOPOULOS that CLINTON had a lot of problems, and then made a specific reference to her having problems with her emails. At one point, MIFSUD told PAPADOPOULOS that the Russians had her emails. PAPADOPOULOS recalled that he inquired to MIFSUD about how he knew the Russians had her emails, to which MIFSUD strangely chuckled and responded "they told me they have them." Although PAPADOPOULOS viewed that comment as being strange in nature, he didn't believe it was true and "didn't think about it again."

(U) (X/~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS recalled another meeting with MIFSUD in London, which occurred at the five star, HOLBORN HOTEL. During that meeting, PAPADOPOULOS was introduced to one of MIFSUD's female students, a Russian female [OLGA VINOGRADOVA]. PAPADOPOULOS believed that MIFSUD was trying to impress the student by introducing her to PAPADOPOULOS. PAPADOPOULOS recalled that the introductory conversation with her seemed to focus on the discussion of US relations with Russia. PAPADOPOULOS further recalled that MIFSUD introduced himself as a Maltese citizen, who was then residing in the United Kingdom. To the best of his recollection, PAPADOPOULOS recalled that this meeting took place in either March or April of 2016.

(U) (X/~~NF~~) When asked if he ever spoke with the Russian female again, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he only met with twice, once with MIFSUD once without, and that he never met with her subsequently. PAPADOPOULOS then added that his relationship with her was entirely platonic in nature. When asked if the Russian female was VLADIMIR PUTIN's (PUTIN) niece, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he had heard rumors of that from other individuals

at the LONDON CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW PRACTICE, but that those rumors turned out to be false. PAPADOPOULOS recently conducted several GOOGLE searches for PUTIN and found that he doesn't actually have a niece. PAPADOPOULOS has maintained e-mail communication with the Russian female, but his last communication with her occurred "months ago". PAPADOPOULOS and his Attorneys agreed to provide the interviewing Agents with her email address and phone number.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) When asked if PAPADOPOULOS had ever met a Russian Ambassador during his time in London, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he never did. PAPADOPOULOS then added that he had lied to the TRUMP about having a meeting with a Russian Ambassador. When asked why he lied to the TRUMP organization, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he was a young, 28 year old who was trying to impress the other members of the TRUMP team with his connections. PAPADOPOULOS added that he may have sent an email about meeting a Russian Ambassador to the members of TRUMP's foreign policy advisory team, which was not true. When asked who the members of that team were, PAPADOPOULOS provided the names of SAM CLOVIS, KIETH KELLOGG, WALID PHARES, JOSEPH SCHMITZ, CARTER PAGE, and possibly CORY LEWANDOWSKI. When asked whether or not MICHAEL FLYNN and PAUL MANAFORT were part of that team, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he didn't believe either of those two individuals were part of the campaign during that time period.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) When asked if PAPADOPOULOS had told any foreign government officials, either from hostile or friendly countries, about the Russians intent to disclose information during the 2016 Presidential campaign, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he did not. PAPADOPOULOS then elaborated and stated that he never thought about the comments that MIFSUD had made ever again, until his interview with the FBI on January 27, 2017. When asked if PAPADOPOULOS told anyone about the Russians intent to disclose information during the campaign, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he did not, and that he was "sticking to that story."

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) When asked if he told anyone in the TRUMP campaign about his knowledge of the Russian's intent to disclose information during the campaign, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he did not. When asked if he was made aware of any other suggestions that were made by the Russians to assist the TRUMP campaign team during the 2016 election, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he was not. When asked if it was possible that PAPADOPOULOS could have had a discussion with someone regarding the Russians intent to disclose information during the campaign, and that PAPADOPOULOS could have inadvertently forgotten that conversation, PAPADOPOULOS stated that it was not possible and that he never spoke to anyone about that issue. PAPADOPOULOS was then asked if it was possible that he had such a

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) Interview of GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS.

conversation with someone at a social gathering, a nightclub, or perhaps at a cocktail party of some sort, to which he again denied the possibility of such an occurrence.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS recalled that he threw out MIFSUD's name to the TRUMP team during the campaign, circa March or April of 2016. When asked whether or not anyone in the TRUMP team had reached out to MIFSUD subsequent to that event, PAPADOPOULOS stated that to the best of his knowledge no one from the TRUMP campaign had reached out to MIFSUD. PAPADOPOULOS relayed that during March or April of 2016, PAPADOPOULOS was proposing that the TRUMP team take several foreign policy trips like he had done in support of the CARSON campaign. PAPADOPOULOS threw out MIFSUD's name as a potential intermediary for the campaign, who could introduce the TRUMP team to European diplomats in support those foreign policy trips. The trips ultimately never came to fruition however, as the TRUMP campaign was instead focused on moving their campaign activities back into the United States, and was moving away from foreign policy trip discussions at that time.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) When asked whether or not he was aware of any other individuals in the TRUMP team who had received a suggestion by the Russians to assist the campaign, PAPADOPOULOS stated that if that happened, he was not privy to it.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS provided that MIFSUD recently reached out to him via email, and advised that he was in Washington, DC at the time of this interview. PAPADOPOULOS remembered that MIFSUD had also reached out to him several months ago, regarding a potential business deal, but PAPADOPOULOS never took him up on it.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) PAPADOPOULOS further recalled that MIFSUD had introduced him to a former HARVARD graduate, who was an expert on Saudi Arabian matters. PAPADOPOULOS could not recall the name of this individual, but remembered that he spoke about banning Muslims in the United States. PAPADOPOULOS recalled having several meetings with this individual, beginning in approximately March of 2016. PAPADOPOULOS denied ever discussing the topic of the Russian's possession of CLINTON's emails with this individual.

(U) (~~S~~//~~NF~~) When asked whether or not PAPADOPOULOS received any form of compensation from the TRUMP campaign, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he was a volunteer and that he never received any form of payment or reimbursement from the TRUMP campaign.

General Records

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/08/2017

(U//~~FOUO~~) On Thursday, February 16, 2017 at or around 4:37PM EST, FBI Assistant General Counsel (AGC) [redacted] of the National Security and Cyber Law Branch (NSCLB) contacted attorney [redacted] of the BREEN AND PUGH law firm via e-mail [redacted] in order to facilitate a follow up interview for FBI Chicago with GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS. b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) At or around 5:44PM EST, [redacted] responded to the e-mail and requested [redacted] call his mobile phone at [redacted] Two calls to the number led to a voicemail with a female speaking what [redacted] believed was Arabic. After exchanging another e-mail with [redacted] to confirm the number, at or around 5:48PM EST, [redacted] reached [redacted] and informed him that the FBI had follow up questions from the February 10, 2017 interview with PAPADOPOULOS. b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) [redacted] asked [redacted] what the unresolved questions concerned, to which [redacted] responded that the FBI had a [redacted] [redacted] explained that it was important to resolve these inconsistencies to Special Agent (SA [redacted] In addition, [redacted] mentioned that PAPADOPOULOS' [redacted] made resolution of the inconsistencies time sensitive. [redacted] then responded that he would reach out to PAPADOPOULOS and relay the request and follow up with [redacted] b6 b7C b7E

(U//~~FOUO~~) At or around 6:20PM EST, [redacted] returned the call to [redacted] After noting that he had "Assistant General Counsel [redacted] on the line, [redacted] informed [redacted] that PAPADOPOULOS was also on the call. [redacted] then summarized the information [redacted] provided during the earlier call and then prompted PAPADOPOULOS to discuss. b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) PAPADOPOULOS began by restating his willingness to cooperate with the FBI. PAPADOPOULOS then informed [redacted] When asked for further information, PAPADOPOULOS clarified that he actually b6 b7C b7E

Investigation on 02/10/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/22/2017

by [redacted] b3 b6 b7C b7E

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Telephone Conversation with & George Papadopoulos, On 02/10/2017, Page 2 of 3

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(U//~~FOUO~~) PAPADOPOULOS stated

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(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked, PAPADOPOULOS initially could not confirm whether he was with the Trump Campaign or Carson Campaign PAPADOPOULOS speculated that this then interjected and asked PAPADOPOULOS when he went on vacation to Greece, to which PAPADOPOULOS replied mid-April 2016. speculated that

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(U//~~FOUO~~) asked PAPADOPOULOS PAPADOPOULOS said PAPADOPOULOS then stated that the PAPADOPOULOS then recalled

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(U//~~FOUO~~) PAPADOPOULOS' meeting with JOSEPH MIFSUD. PAPADOPOULOS responded that he could not recall, his breakfast with MIFSUD. PAPADOPOULOS then made a point to reiterate his statement from the February 10 interview that he did not believe MIFSUD's claims that the Russians had HILLARY CLINTON'S e-mails.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) then mentioned that Clinton also was being investigated for her private e-mail server e-mails those news stories with PAPADOPOULOS. PAPADOPOULOS denied

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(U//~~FOUO~~) then interjected to remind PAPADOPOULOS that the FBI was aware

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PAPADOPOULOS stated that he would not respond to any media requests.

(U//~~FOUO~~) then advised that he would discuss these responses with SA and that PAPADOPOULOS would likely need to discuss these matters again with SA as well as follow up questions, because was not a Special Agent. and PAPADOPOULOS were receptive to the request and asked to e-mail him with details. The call ended at or around 6:22PM EST.

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General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/03/2017

On July 27, 2017, GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS) date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number (SSAN) [redacted] [redacted] United States passport number [redacted] was arrested at the DULLES INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT in Dulles, Virginia. PAPADOPOULOS was arrested based on probable cause of violations of 18 U.S.C. § 1001 and 18 U.S.C. § 1519. This arrest was directly coordinated with the DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, OFFICE OF SPECIAL COUNSEL (DOJ SPECIAL COUNSEL).

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At approximately 7:27 PM, FBI Agents observed PAPADOPOULOS taking an airport pedestrian taxi moving between two terminals at DULLES AIRPORT. Special Agent (SA) [redacted] and SA [redacted] identified themselves to PAPADOPOULOS and escorted him to the US CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION AGENCY area in the international terminal. PAPADOPOULOS was taken into custody by FBI Agents at approximately 7:43 PM. PAPADOPOULOS was made aware that he was being arrested for false statements provided to the FBI during his interview on January 27, 2017.

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PAPADOPOULOS was allowed to finalize his US CUSTOMS paperwork documenting his return to the United States. A photograph of that paperwork was taken and is enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this FD-302. FBI Agents coordinated with US CUSTOMS representatives to retrieve PAPADOPOULOS' checked luggage; however, the Agents were informed that PAPADOPOULOS' luggage was not on-board with him on his flight from Germany. PAPADOPOULOS was then informed that his luggage would likely be delivered to either Dulles or Chicago on the following day. FBI agents relayed that information to PAPADOPOULOS who seemed baffled that his luggage did not make it on the flight.

At approximately 7:50 PM, SA [redacted] read the Advise of Rights Form [FD-395] aloud to PAPADOPOULOS. PAPADOPOULOS affirmed that he understood his rights and advised that he was still represented by his attorney, [redacted] with respect to this matter. SA [redacted] then advised PAPADOPOULOS that the Agents would not ask PAPADOPOULOS any further

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questions about this investigation, without his attorney being present. A copy of the Advice of Rights form is enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this FD-302. The original document will be maintained in a physical 1A envelope.

PAPADOPOULOS was then advised that representatives from the DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (DOJ) OFFICE OF SPECIAL COUNSEL were attempting to contact BREEN about PAPADOPOULOS' arrest and that PAPADOPOULOS would be allowed to speak with [redacted] upon the conclusion of the standard booking and processing procedures. b6 b7C

PAPADOPOULOS then made several unsolicited statements to the Agents. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he had provided all of his information to the US SENATE regarding this matter, in the form of a written statement. PAPADOPOULOS then conveyed that he would like to cooperate with the United States Government and that he's not trying to hide anything. PAPADOPOULOS conveyed that he had previously assisted the interviewing Agents by providing the names of certain individuals who he deemed to be of interest for this matter and that he was only able to provide the information that he remembered. PAPADOPOULOS then stated that if he had forgotten something, that doesn't necessarily mean that he's lying.

SA [redacted] then reminded PAPADOPOULOS that he was represented by an attorney, and that the Agents would not be engaging with PAPADOPOULOS on this matter without his attorney being present. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he understood, and then added that he has a tendency to over-exaggerate a lot of things and that he was only twenty-eight years old when he was thrust into the national spotlight with all of this. PAPADOPOULOS again relayed that he had all of that information in his statement to the US SENATE. b6 b7C

Subsequent to the arrest, Agents seized various items from PAPADOPOULOS which were on his person at the time of his arrest. Those items are depicted in the attached Receipt for Property [FD-597] forms, which are enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this FD-302. The original forms are being maintained in a physical 1A envelope.

Agents present at DULLES AIRPORT at the time of PAPADOPOULOS' arrest were SA [redacted] SA [redacted] SA [redacted] [redacted] FBI ASAC [redacted] SA [redacted] SA [redacted] SA [redacted] SA [redacted] SA [redacted] SA [redacted] US CBP TFO [redacted] b6 b7C

PAPADOPOULOS was transported from the DULLES INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT to the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI), WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (WFO), NORTH VIRGINIA RESIDENT AGENCY (NVRA), located at 9325 Discovery Boulevard, Manassas, Virginia 20109. PAPADOPOULOS was transported in SA [redacted] FBI-issued vehicle. b6 b7C Transport began at approximately 8:09 PM with a beginning mileage of 17757.9.

During the transport to WFO/NVRA, PAPADOPOULOS again made several unsolicited statements to the FBI Agents. PAPADOPOULOS stated that he wished to contact another attorney, [redacted] regarding this matter. PAPADOPOULOS stated that [redacted] was not officially representing him, but PAPADOPOULOS wished to consult with [redacted] about this matter. Agents denied that request but relayed that PAPADOPOULOS would be allowed to contact [redacted] upon arrival and processing at WFO/NVRA, as [redacted] was representing b6 b7C him for this matter. Subsequently, PAPADOPOULOS stated that he didn't understand why he was in the current situation that he was, when both FLYNN and MANAFORT are not. SA [redacted] again reminded PAPADOPOULOS that the Agents could not engage with him in a conversation about the matter, without his attorney being present.

Transport to WFO/NVRA concluded at approximately 8:39 PM with an ending mileage of 17781.5. FBI Agents present during the transport b6 b7C were SA [redacted] SA [redacted] and SA [redacted]

At WFO/NVRA, PAPADOPOULOS was booked and fingerprinted in accordance with standard FBI arrest procedures. Corresponding paperwork for PAPADOPOULOS' arrest is enclosed for the file as digital 1A attachments to this FD-302. The original documents will be maintained as a physical 1A item.

At approximately 8:30 PM, FBI Agents provided PAPADOPOULOS with a food, water, and coffee; while he was waiting to speak with his attorney. PAPADOPOULOS was informed that DOJ/SPECIAL COUNSEL had made contact with his attorney regarding his arrest. At approximately 9:50 PM, PAPADOPOULOS spoke with [redacted] on the b6 b7C telephone.

During processing and booking at WFO/NVRA, PAPADOPOULOS was primarily seated in an interview room by himself. Agents attempted to enable standard audio and video collection equipment for that interview room per FBI policy; however, subsequent attempts to

retrieve the evidence identified that the equipment failed to produce any audio or video evidence during that time period.

At one point while PAPADOPOULOS was waiting in the booking room he expressed concern with the fact that he was just a small fish and yet he was going to look like the fall guy for this investigation. PAPADOPOULOS did not clarify his statements any further and was again reminded of his representation by [redacted] b6 b7C

At approximately 10:40 PM PAPADOPOULOS was provided with coffee and water and PAPADOPOULOS thanked the agents for treating him very well. PAPADOPOULOS made an additional telephone call with [redacted] from a private room, which occurred between approximately 10:46 PM and 10:57 PM. b6 b7C

On July 28, 2017 at approximately 12:58 AM, PAPADOPOULOS was transported from WFO/NVRA to the ALEXANDRIA DETENTION CENTER (ADC), 2001 Mill Road, Alexandria, Virginia 22314, where he was housed for the remainder of the morning. PAPADOPOULOS was transported in SA [redacted] FBI-issued vehicle. Beginning mileage for the transport was 17781.8. FBI Agents and PAPADOPOULOS arrived at the ADC at approximately 1:41 AM. Ending mileage for the transport was 17820.2. Agents present during this transport were SA [redacted] SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] b6 b7C

Upon arrival at the ADC, custody of PAPADOPOULOS was relinquished to ADC personnel. Documentation related to PAPADOPOULOS' processing at the ADC is enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this FD-302. The original paperwork is being maintained in a physical 1A envelope for the file.

General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/28/2017

GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS), date of birth (DOB) [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed at the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI), Chicago Field Office, 2111 West Roosevelt Road 60608. Present during the interview were PAPADOPOULOS' Attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] FBI SA [redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney, ANDREW GOLDSTEIN. b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

Investigation on 08/10/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/14/2017 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

PAPADOPOULOS obtained an interview with the BENJAMIN CARSON (CARSON) campaign and ultimately received a position in that campaign. PAPADOPOULOS was paid

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

In early March of 2016, PAPADOPOULOS had a one-hour telephone interview with CLOVIS for a position in the TRUMP campaign.

PAPADOPOULOS recalled the topic of Russia came up during his phone call with CLOVIS, in the context that CLOVIS had mentioned that Russia would be a very important aspect of the TRUMP campaign.

Towards the end of the call, CLOVIS asked PAPADOPOULOS if he was ready to be publicly brought on to the TRUMP campaign as part of the foreign policy team.

During the approximate dates of March 12, 2016 to March 17, 2016, PAPADOPOULOS took a trip to Rome with several other members of the LCILP. The purpose of that trip was to meet with individuals at the LINK CAMPUS

UNIVERSITY in Rome. b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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It was during that trip that PAPADOPOULOS first met JOSEPH MIFSUD (MIFSUD), PAPADOPOULOS confirmed that although MIFSUD worked for the LCILP, this was the first time PAPADOPOULOS had met him.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

MIFSUD told PAPADOPOULOS he was a former diplomat with access to European leaders. MIFSUD offered to help introduce PAPADOPOULOS to the right people through his contacts.

PAPADOPOULOS met with MIFSUD again in London, b5 Per DOJ/OIP During that meeting, MIFSUD was accompanied by a Russian female named OLGA POLONSKAYA (POLONSKAYA), MIFSUD introduced her as being a former student of his, who had connections to Russian president VLADIMIR PUTIN (PUTIN). During their meeting, POLONSKAYA offered to help PAPADOPOULOS establish contacts in Russia and relayed that the Russian Ambassador in London was a friend of hers.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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On or about March 30, 2016, PAPADOPOULOS traveled to Washington, DC to attend a foreign policy meeting with the TRUMP campaign. The meeting was held on March 31, 2016 at the TRUMP hotel in Washington, DC. Both TRUMP and JEFF SESSIONS (SESSIONS) were at the meeting, which was the first time PAPADOPOULOS had met either TRUMP or SESSIONS in person. b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

The March 31, 2016 meeting began with each person at the table providing a brief description of their background and what they brought to the table for the foreign policy team. PAPADOPOULOS spoke about his previous work in the Mediterranean energy sector and brought up a potential meeting with the Russians. b5 Per DOJ/OIP

In response to PAPADOPOULOS' proposal for meeting with the Russians, TRUMP stated he was interested b5 Per DOJ/OIP SESSIONS stated he was also interested and relayed his support to move forward with the idea. It was PAPADOPOULOS' overall impression that

TRUMP was supportive of the idea and SESSIONS was even more supportive than TRUMP. b5 Per DOJ/OIP PAPADOPOULOS was never reprimanded for proposing a meeting with the Russians, therefore he began organizing a foreign policy trip to Russia.

Later in the campaign, MIFSUD introduced PAPADOPOULOS to a member of the RUSSIAN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL (RIAC), named IVAN TIMOFEEV (TIMOFEEV). PAPADOPOULOS b5 Per DOJ/OIP The second call seemed strange to PAPADOPOULOS, in that there was static noise on the call and it seemed as if TIMOFEEV was being supervised or that the call was being monitored in some capacity.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

The Agents then asked PAPADOPOULOS who he told about the Russians having dirt on CLINTON. PAPADOPOULOS stated to the best of his recollection, he did not tell anyone that information. b5 Per DOJ/OIP PAPADOPOULOS stated he did not recall telling anyone on the campaign.

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/04/2017

GEORGE DEMETRIOS PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS), date of birth (DOB) [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed at the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI), Chicago Field Office, 2111 West Roosevelt Road 60608. Present during the interview were PAPADOPOULOS' Attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] FBI SA [redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney, ANDREW GOLDSTEIN.

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[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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INFORMATION FROM JOSEPH MIFSUD

Investigation on 08/11/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/18/2017

by [redacted]

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

They discussed MIFSUD's European and Russian contacts and the two had a general discussion about Russia.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

PAPADOPOULOS met with MIFSUD sometime after his initial meeting with MIFSUD in March of 2016. During the subsequent meeting, MIFSUD introduced PAPADOPOULOS to OLGA POLONSKAYA (POLONSKAYA)

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

FOREIGN POLICY MEETING

the March 31, 2016 meeting b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

PAPADOPOULOS brought up the proposal of meeting with the Russi

PAPADOPOULOS' ultimate takeaway from the meeting was that TRUMP was supportive of his idea and that SESSIONS was more supportive than TRUMP.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] PAPADOPOULOS stated to the best of his recollection he remembb5 Per DOJ/OIP CLOVIS being upset after PAPADOPOULOS said, "Sam, I think they have her emails." PAPADOPOULOS then reiterated he was not certain if that event actually happened or if he was wrongfully remembering an event which did not occur.

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

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General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2017

GEORGE DIMITRIOS PAPADOPOULOS, date of birth [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed at the BREEN & PUGH law office, 53 West Jackson Street, Suite 1215, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Present during the interview were PAPADOPOULOS' Attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney ANDREW GOLDSTEIN. b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 09/19/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/21/2017

by [redacted] b6 b7C b7E

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April 12, 2016

After reviewing the timeline, PAPADOPOULOS remembered meeting with MIFSUD at the ANDAZ HOTEL in London on this date.

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PAPADOPOULOS was advised he had a Skype conversation with TIMOFEEV b5 Per DOJ/OIP

PAPADOPOULOS remembered hearing static noise on the call and it seemed as if TIMOFEEV may have been recording the call. PAPADOPOULOS thought TIMOFEEV was acting overly official during the call.

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May 23, 2016 to May 26, 2016

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

When specifically asked, PAPADOPOULOS confirmed he told KOTSIAS what about the Russians hav b5 Per DOJ/OIP emails related to CLINTON.

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July 12, 2016

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

the TRANSATLANTIC GROUP (TAG) meeting he attended in July 2016.

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PAPADOPOULOS recalled discussing foreign policy trips with CLOVIS and PHARES during this event.

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PAPADOPOULOS' notebook / hand-written notes

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

PAPADOPOULOS then stated he could not read his own handwriting and, therefore he could not assist the interviewers with further identifying what his notes referenced.

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[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/02/2017

Immediately following the court hearing for GEORGE D. PAPADOPOULOS on October 5, 2017, PAPADOPOULOS's attorney, [redacted] requested a business card from SA [redacted] so he could provide it to PAPADOPOULOS. [redacted] told SA [redacted] that PAPADOPOULOS would be contacting SA [redacted] directly regarding an issue he had been having with his email account. Later that afternoon, SA [redacted] received a missed telephone call and a corresponding voicemail from PAPADOPOULOS. In the voicemail, PAPADOPOULOS stated [redacted] without his authorization and requested a return call from SA [redacted] PAPADOPOULOS called from telephone number [redacted]

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b7C

On October 6, 2017 at approximately 1:00 PM, SA [redacted] attempted to return PAPADOPOULOS's phone call and spoke with PAPADOPOULOS. While PAPADOPOULOS was in Washington, D.C., he was unable to access his [redacted] Given PAPADOPOULOS was in Washington D.C. when the activity took place, PAPADOPOULOS viewed it as strange and wanted to report it to the FBI.

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b7C

PAPADOPOULOS was encouraged to take general cyber precautions such as changing his password and ensuring the account settings had not been modified to forward new incoming mail to another account. PAPADOPOULOS confirmed he would take those actions. PAPADOPOULOS further advised his [redacted] had been in contact with SA [redacted] in Chicago regarding [redacted]

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b7C

On October 28, 2017 at approximately 2:00 PM, SA [redacted] placed a telephone call to PAPADOPOULOS and inquired as to whether or not the media had attempted to contact him. PAPADOPOULOS stated they had not and advised he was maintaining strict confidentiality with regards to this matter. SA [redacted] then inquired as to whether anyone from the TRUMP CAMPAIGN had attempted to contact him and he stated they had not. PAPADOPOULOS agreed

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Investigation on 10/31/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/01/2017

by [redacted]

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to keep the FBI and the Special Counsel aware of any future attempts to contact him by either of the two.

On October 31, 2017 at approximately 12:45 PM, SA [redacted] placed a phone call to PAPADOPOULOS. PAPADOPOULOS subsequently returned SA [redacted] call and advised several news media organizations were parked outside of his residence and were attempting to contact him through social media applications. PAPADOPOULOS did not respond to those requests and he believed the media did not have his current telephone number. PAPADOPOULOS stated he was not staying at his residence but did not provide any further details about his location during this call.

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Enclosed for the file as digital 1A attachments are three photographs of screenshots which depict call details for the telephone calls listed above.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/14/2017

On November 7, 2017 at approximately 5:50 PM Eastern Time, Special Agent (SA) [redacted] placed a telephone call to GEORGE D. PAPADOPOULOS, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number (SSAN) [redacted] The phone call was made to telephone number [redacted] PAPADOPOULOS was advised the nature of the call was to speak with him about recent media reports which mentioned persons of interest in this investigation. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, PAPADOPOULOS provided the following information: b6 b7C

PAPADOPOULOS advised he had recently sent SA [redacted] several text messages in an attempt to provide further information. He sent those messages to a phone number previously used by SA [redacted] PAPADOPOULOS was advised his messages were not received and that PAPADOPOULOS may have unknowingly sent them to a phone number associated with a land line. b6 b7C

PAPADOPOULOS' text messages were in attempt to again voice his concerns about an individual named, [redacted] DONALD J. TRUMP at DEUTSCHE BANK. PAPADOPOULOS was introduced to [redacted] by an individual named, [redacted] who in turn had introduced PAPADOPOULOS to RICK DEARBORN and ANTHONY SCARAMUCCI. PAPADOPOULOS viewed [redacted] as being overly interested in him during his introduction to SCARAMUCCI. b6 b7C

RECENT NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE

Since the unsealing of his plea agreement, PAPADOPOULOS has seen a large amount of media coverage reporting that JEFF SESSIONS had shut down his idea of arranging for a meeting between TRUMP and VLADIMIR PUTIN. PAPADOPOULOS conveyed he would stick to his original story about the whole incident because he believed SESSIONS was supportive of his proposal. PAPADOPOULOS remembered handing SESSIONS a business card after the meeting and stated he wouldn't have done so if SESSIONS had told him to stand down. PAPADOPOULOS further relayed he was a newcomer on the campaign when he proposed the idea and he wouldn't have continued his attempts to arrange for a such meeting if he was told to stand down by a senior leadership figure in the campaign.

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PAPADOPOULOS also saw recent news reports where STEVE BANNON was quoted as having never met with PAPADOPOULOS. PAPADOPOULOS confirmed he had in fact met BANNON and exchanged phone calls with him. PAPADOPOULOS remembered specifically coordinating with BANNON when he was arranging the meeting between TRUMP and Egyptian president, ABDEL FATTAH EL-SISI. PAPADOPOULOS saw similar news reports where MICHAEL GLASSNER was quoted saying similar things to what BANNON said.

PAPADOPOULOS advised many media outlets had also recently attempted to contact him directly and have requested statements about PAPADOPOULOS' plea agreement and the unsealing of his court documents. PAPADOPOULOS has not provided any statements to the media; however, he stated his willingness to do so in a coordinated fashion if it suited both the Special Counsel's Office and the FBI.

CARTER PAGE

PAPADOPOULOS was aware of CARTER PAGE's recent testimony to the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES on November 2, 2017. PAPADOPOULOS only read approximately 5% of the transcript that was produced for PAGE's testimony, but stated his intentions to read the remainder in the future.

PAPADOPOULOS remembered having one Skype call with CARTER PAGE. During that call, PAGE told PAPADOPOULOS to "stop showing off." PAPADOPOULOS did not remember exactly why PAGE had told that, but surmised it was likely a result of PAPADOPOULOS' efforts to coordinate with the Russians in late March 2016. PAPADOPOULOS remembered having a bad impression when the call ended and he felt as if PAGE may have been perturbed or jealous of him in some way. PAPADOPOULOS described the call as being pretentious and unfriendly. PAPADOPOULOS thought PAGE may have viewed him as a competitor because he was attempting to arrange a meeting with the Russians.

After the Skype call with PAGE, PAPADOPOULOS tried to stay away from him. PAPADOPOULOS remembered seeing PAGE at another campaign event, at the CAPITOL HILL CLUB. PAPADOPOULOS remembered PAGE had engaged in a lengthy conversation with KEITH KELLOGG at that event. PAPADOPOULOS was also aware of PAGE having attended another campaign event, which was a social gathering at KELLOGG's house. PAPADOPOULOS did not attend that event, but recalled it was either a pool party or a barbeque at KELLOGG's home.

PAPADOPOULOS further recalled PAGE had attended a social event for the campaign, which was held at KELLOGG's house. PAPADOPOULOS remembered the event was either a pool party or a barbeque.

PAPADOPOULOS agreed to search through his Skype messages and his email messages in attempt to find further information about PAGE.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2017

(U) On 3/09/2017, SSA [redacted] contacted CARTER W. PAGE on PAGE's mobile telephone [redacted] SSA [redacted] informed PAGE they would meet at the Andaz hotel on Fifth Avenue on 3/10/2017. SSA [redacted] informed PAGE that he will meet PAGE in the lobby at 1 p.m. PAGE agreed to meet and told SSA [redacted] that he was bringing his bags (suitcases) with him. SSA [redacted] told PAGE that [redacted] b6 b7C b7E

Investigation on 03/09/2017 at NY, New York, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/22/2017

by [redacted] b3 b6 b7C b7E

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/21/2017

(U) CARTER W. PAGE, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was approached by Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] in the Empire Hotel, 44 W. 66th Street, New York NY at approximately 2:45 p.m. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents, and the agents told PAGE that they were there to speak with PAGE regarding a letter PAGE had written FBI Director James B. Comey on September 25, 2016, PAGE provided the following information:

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b7C

(U) PAGE accused the Hilary Clinton campaign of conducting a "witch hunt" against him. PAGE told the agents that he had personally delivered a letter to the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) earlier in the week when he was in Washington, D.C. addressing the allegations. At that point, PAGE excused himself, telling the agents that he would provide the letter to them. PAGE left the agents for approximately 5 minutes and returned with a letter dated March 5, 2017 addressed to The Honorable Richard Burr and Mark Warner at SSCI. The Senate asked PAGE to preserve all documents related to the allegations.

(U) PAGE began to leaf through the document pointing to several passages, and focused on a table in the letter titled "Comparison of efforts that undermined public faith in the 2016 U.S. election." PAGE asked the agents if they were familiar with the terms "nonpublic" and "materiality." PAGE commented that the alleged hacks would be determined as immaterial, because the information discovered -- that Clinton was a liar -- was already widely accepted.

(U) The agents told PAGE they would like to speak with him about specifics in the letter, previously mentioned by the Agents. SSA [redacted] asked PAGE directly about any contacts PAGE may have had with sanctioned individuals. Page denied contact with sanctioned individuals as identified in his letter.

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b7C

(U) PAGE brought up the "Dodgy Dossier," a reference to the dossier purportedly written by Christopher Steele, and recently posted to the Buzzfeed website. According to PAGE the documents are completely false. PAGE opined that using any material in the dossier would be an obstruction of justice. As PAGE explained to the agents, the introduction

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of "false evidence" to a criminal case is obstruction of justice. PAGE said that he would be happy to address the allegations made about him in the dossier, but could not answer the allegations made about others.

(U) PAGE stated that he was [redacted] on 01/10/2017 which was when the dossier was released by Buzzfeed. By the time his flight landed, people had already seen it and contacted PAGE. In reference to information from the Dossier related to a Rosneft stake being offered in return for the reduction of sanctions, Page stated that Glencore received the stake, which is associated to Mark Rich, an associate of the Clintons. This was evidence of the Clinton's pay-to-play schemes. Mark Rich was a founder of the Clinton Library. b6 b7C

(U) The agents suggested to PAGE that they meet the following day (3/10/2017) at approximately 1 p.m. The agents informed PAGE that [redacted] b7E

[redacted] PAGE invited the agents to bring a copy of the "dodgy dossier" with them.

(U) Regarding his work as a Foreign Relations Advisor with the Donald J. Trump (Campaign, PAGE stated that he never felt like he had to brief Trump.

(U) PAGE advised that he missed a Trump Foreign Policy team meeting in March or April of 2016. PAGE explained he was attending a briefing in [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) The agents told PAGE they would contact him via his cellphone later that day with a meeting location.

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/29/2017

(U) On 03/10/2017 at approximately 2:00 p.m. Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] Special Agent [redacted] and Staff Operations Specialist [redacted] interviewed Carter W. Page at the Andaz Hotel, 485 5th Ave, New York, NY. PAGE previously met SSA [redacted] and SA [redacted] on 03/09/2017 and was informed this was a continuation of that interview. Page provided the following information: b6 b7C

(U [redacted] PAGE moved a desk over to the sitting area and set up his MacBook laptop to present a PowerPoint slide deck he spent the previous night preparing. b7E

(U) PAGE said, based on information reported in the "Dodgy Dossier," (Page's term for the Christopher Steele dossier reported by Buzzfeed.com), he is comfortable with the belief he has been under surveillance over the last year. PAGE stated he has done nothing wrong, and he is open to "extreme vetting" (which was written on one of the slides of PAGE's presentation) to prove the allegations false. PAGE reiterated the nature of the dossier as "false evidence," which when introduced into a criminal justice matter is obstruction of justice

(U) The second slide of PAGE's presentation juxtaposed the concept of the "Washington Swamp" with a "septic-tank of US-Russia Relations". PAGE stated US-Russia relations have been continuous failures and missteps.

(U) Introduction to the Campaign

(U) SSA [redacted] asked why PAGE was picked as a Foreign Relations Advisor for the Campaign. PAGE explained he was brought into the campaign through a series of introductions. PAGE met Ed Cox, POTUS Nixon's son-in-law, while working as an Alternate-Delegate for Senator McCain in 2008. Cox then introduced Page to Michael Glassner, who introduced PAGE to Sam Clovis. b6 b7C

(U) Based on a question from the previous interview on 3/9/2017, SA [redacted] asked PAGE if he ever briefed then-Candidate Donald J. Trump as a Foreign Relations Advisor. Page stated he never briefed the Candidate. b6 b7C

(U) PAGE referred to his work with the Trump Campaign as being a member of an advisory committee. His goal was to help the Candidate improve relations with Russia. PAGE recalled watching POTUS Reagan and Gorbachev meeting and he remembers seeing a U.S. Naval Officer standing behind them, that motivated PAGE to apply to the U.S. Naval Academy [redacted]

b6
b7C

(U) PAGE explained when he wrote for the Global Policy Journal, he was a staunch critic of Hillary Clinton (Clinton) as Secretary of State. PAGE believes Secretary Clinton's policy with Russia failed and was widely regarded as ineffective. PAGE referred to Clinton's policy as "Narcissistic Looney-Toons." which PAGE said came from Clinton's comments related to the Monica Lewinsky scandal. [redacted]

b6
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[redacted] In this instance, that person is PAGE.

(U) PAGE said, "Mrs Clinton was responsible for authorizing the steps taken against me." Additionally, the Clintons have obstructed justice and the Obama administration worked to cover it up. This is only possible, because the Clintons and Obamas still have allies on Capitol Hill.

(U) July 2016 Moscow Trip

(U) SSA [redacted] asked PAGE to explain the circumstances around his July speech at the New Economic School (NES) in Moscow. PAGE stated in 2009, POTUS Obama spoke at the same event. PAGE believes his invitation to the NES was an intentional embarrassment to POTUS Obama or others. PAGE spoke about "mutual respect" between the US and Russia, unlike the Obama administration's treatment of Russia.

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(U) Prior to traveling, PAGE agreed with the Trump Campaign he was not representing then-Candidate Trump. PAGE was not paid for the engagement, and was given an economy-class airline ticket for the trip.

(U) PAGE was invited to speak at the NES Graduation by the Director Shlomo Weber. PAGE elaborated his Ph. D was focused on Central Asia. PAGE's explained an associate of his (FNU LNU) during his Ph. D research, had spoken at many of the biggest universities in Russia including MIGMO and the Higher School of Economics. The associate introduced PAGE to [redacted] Shlomo Weber's [redacted]

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(U) PAGE advised Shlomo Weber is a professor at the NES in Russia and spent most of his life in [redacted] b6 b7C Weber coordinated PAGE's invitation for the graduation speech. Their email introduction occurred on 04/24/2016. PAGE's trip to Moscow was from 7/03/2016 to 7/09/2016. When PAGE arrived in Russia on 07/04/2016, he met with a [redacted] whom PAGE knew from when he lived in Russia before in 2004. Additionally, PAGE had dinner, where he met with Andre Krickovic, [redacted] and [redacted] PAGE stated he had a meeting on 7/6/2016 with individuals from Tafneft, about some possible business deals. PAGE mentioned he had worked with Tafneft for a "long time."

(U) PAGE gave two speeches when in Moscow, the first speech was to a small group on Thursday 07/07/2016, and the second speech was on 07/08/2016, which was the commencement speech to the NES. PAGE's commencement speech was followed by a speech from Arkady Dvorkovich. PAGE identified Dvorkovich as the Russian Deputy Prime Minister. PAGE stated he briefly passed Dvorkovich at the venue.

(U) PAGE was dissatisfied his entire 5000-word commencement speech was distilled to a single point by individuals in the United States in which he appeared to be critical of the United States.

(U) PAGE has met Andrey Baranov of Gazprom, but has never met with Igor Sechin.

(U) PAGE asked at the University about Igor Diveykin, who was mentioned in the "dodgy dossier," but could not find any information about him. Additionally, the only information available through Google were allegations against Diveykin.

(U) Following his Moscow trip, Page traveled to Cambridge University in the United Kingdom where he met former Secretary of State Madeline Albright. The following week Page went to Cleveland for the RNC, and then traveled to Philadelphia for the DNC.

(U) When asked about the allegations against PAGE, and how they originate from his visits to Russia. PAGE said it may have been because he had the closest relationship with Russia [amongst those in the campaign, at the time]. PAGE interjected he was an Alter-boy, Eagle Scout, and a Naval Academy Graduate; demonstrating he lives by a code of honor. He is always careful about not breaking the law, and was well aware that businesses and businessmen in Russia take bribes. PAGE defined bribes as doing something extra for someone. PAGE's hard work made up the difference for Russian businesses.

(U) PAGE explained in 2004 he worked at Merrill Lynch's Office in Moscow, Russia. His office had strict compliance policies, and PAGE saw other banks were willing to bribe. He lived in Russia for three years and learned about how the country works.

(U) July 2016 Cleveland Trip

(U) In Cleveland, on 07/20/2016, PAGE participated in a dinner event with then-Senator Jeff Sessions. PAGE drew a diagram of the room at the large scale event to show that although he was in the room with Sessions and Ambassador Sergey Kislyak, both individuals were far away from him. PAGE may have witnessed Kislyak and Sessions have brief conversations. PAGE reiterated he has been asked by Chris Hayes and Anderson Cooper about Ambassador Kislyak. PAGE differentiated between saying one has met someone and meeting with someone.

(U) December 2016 Moscow Trip

(U) The interview turned to PAGE's trip to Moscow in December. PAGE flew into Moscow on 12/07/2016 from Paris. PAGE said he is attempting to get back into business in Russia. During that trip, PAGE had lunch with, [redacted] at Morgan Lewis in Moscow.

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(U) PAGE stated his personal business opportunities have been difficult, global mismanagement of US-Russia relations have hurt business prospects. The sanctions placed on Russia have had a negative effect, but they are merely a symptom of a "broader issue," which is the "lack of respect" for Russia from the west. Sanctions are hurting, but "not as much as you'd think."

(U) Other

(U) PAGE voluntarily mentioned interviews with FBI SA [redacted] related to "Podobnny and those guys." PAGE viewed his interactions with Podobnny as similar to interactions with his NYU students at the time.

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(U) PAGE mentioned the issue regarding then-Acting Attorney General Sally Yates and General Flynn. People PAGE knew at the White House said the discussions between Flynn and Ambassador Kislyak were benign.

(U) PAGE participated in a Gazprom Investor day in Singapore on 02/28/2017.

(U) PAGE mentioned he met Sergei Yatsenko when he was working with Gazprom. Yatsenko was the head of on of the groups he dealt with. Yatsenko now works at PAGE's company.

(U) PAGE believes the current U.S. Foreign Policy is a "cancer," and he is working to cure that "cancer." While at the Council on Foreign Relations he worked with Christopher Stevens, and he views Ambassador's Stevens' death as a symptom of aforementioned cancer.

(U) PAGE has met with the Kazakh Ambassador, who has also met with Ambassador Kislyak.

(U) PAGE mentioned the POTUS Trump tweet from 03/04/2017 regarding the POTUS Obama "wiretapping" of Trump Tower, but offered no other information.

General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2017

(U) On 3/10/2017, SSA [redacted] contacted CARTER W. PAGE via telephone [redacted] in order to confirm a meeting scheduled for 1 p. m. that day. PAGE stated that he was going to get in a cab and head to the hotel, where he would meet SSA [redacted] in the lobby.

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Investigation on 03/10/2017 at NY, New York, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/22/2017

by [redacted]

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General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2017

(U) On 03/11/217, SSA [redacted] contacted CARTER W. PAGE via telephone [redacted]. SSA [redacted] informed PAGE that he would not be able to meet with PAGE on 3/11/2107 or 3/12/2017, but suggested a meeting later that week. PAGE asked when SSA [redacted] thought the next meeting may be, because PAGE had some other business to attend to. SSA [redacted] informed PAGE that he would work around PAGE's schedule and will give PAGE a call on Monday in order to schedule the next meeting. b6 b7C

Investigation on 03/11/2017 at NY, New York, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/22/2017

by [redacted]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2017

(U) On 03/15/2017, SSA [redacted] contacted CARTER W. PAGE via telephone [redacted] regarding a meeting on 3/16/2017. PAGE stated that he was able to meet with SSA [redacted] and asked SSA [redacted] what time he would like to meet. SSA [redacted] told PAGE that he could work around PAGE's schedule, PAGE stated that the afternoon would be best to meet and agreed at either 2 or 3 p.m. PAGE requested that the hotel be further uptown than the meeting on 3/10/2017.

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Investigation on 03/15/2017 at NY, New York, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/22/2017

by [redacted]

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/24/2017

(U) Carter W. PAGE, DOB [redacted] was interviewed at The W Hotel Midtown, New York, NY. Present were Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] PAGE provided the following information: b6 b7C

(U) PAGE voluntarily provided the FBI a USB thumbdrive with a digital copy of his PowerPoint slide deck. Throughout the interview, PAGE added additional files to the drive and voluntarily provided it to the interviewing agents. The final slide on the presentation is a disclaimer stating:

> "No representation or warranty is given as to the completeness or accuracy of any information contained within this presentation. Everything included herein is based on the best of my recollection regarding the events of the last year, as well as publicly available information available in the mainstream media (the "MSM"). Given how false the vast majority of information presented by the MSM has been on these topics thus far including the Trump-Russia dossier (the "Dodgy Dossier"), opinions expressed herein are subject to change without notice."

(U) Threats to PAGE

(U) PAGE notified the FBI that he has seen death threats to him on twitter and other blogs, though he had no specific additional information. The agents admonished him to report any specific future threats to the agents and call 911 if he feels he or his family are in danger.

(U) PAGE's introduction to the Trump Campaign

(U) Ed Cox introduced PAGE to Corey Lewandowski. Cox was the head of the New York Republican Party in 2007-2008 when PAGE worked for the McCain Delegation. In January of 2016, Cox introduced PAGE to Corey Lewandowski. Lewandowski then introduced PAGE to the Deputy Campaign Manager Michael Glassner, who in turn introduced PAGE to Sam Clovis on the same day. The meeting with Clovis was brief and held in the main

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area of the 5th Floor of Trump Tower. The first public announcement of PAGE's participation in the Campaign came in March of 2016.

(U) PAGE's participation in the Campaign, and association to Campaign Members

(U) PAGE did not attend any Principles' meetings. For one meeting, he [redacted] For the meeting associated to the Campaign speech at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, DC, PAGE was [redacted]

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(U) PAGE described different camps within the Trump Campaign that held different opinions with regards to PAGE's activities, as well as, the campaign's official stance. As an example, JD Gordon was opposed to PAGE attending the July New Economic School (NES) speech, though he never forbade it. JD Gordon was a "press guy" and brought into the campaign by Paul Manafort. PAGE believed that JD Gordon was more conservative in running a campaign than other members.

(U) PAGE met KT McFarland in 2007. PAGE believes that her role in the campaign was unofficial because of her association to FoxNews. She is more hawkish and opposed to PAGE's views on Russia.

(U) PAGE never met nor spoke to Paul Manafort. There was one email in which Manafort was a party to a reply-all email by PAGE.

(U) Additionally, PAGE signed Non-Disclosure Agreements with the Trump Campaign and Global Partners in Democracy.

(U) PAGE's removal from the Campaign

(U) Following the attention that PAGE received from his NES speech, [redacted] and [redacted] both asked PAGE to keep a low profile.

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(U) PAGE advised an article about his connections to Russia was published on 09/23/2016 on the Yahoo news website. [redacted] formally removed PAGE from the campaign on 09/24/2016 by telling him that he "was no longer with us" (Trump Campaign). PAGE provided an email exchange between [redacted] and PAGE in which PAGE provides a response to accusations and [redacted] said he had a different direction in mind. PAGE was also told by [redacted] that he was still in the "orbit" of the campaign.

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(U) PAGE's trips to the New Economic School in Moscow

(U) PAGE was invited to speak at the NES by Schlomo Weber. Schlomo, [redacted] and Andrej Krickovic are all US Citizens that are affiliated with NES. PAGE provided the email including the invitation. Additionally, he provided a portion of his daily schedule showing the time period of the speech.

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(U) PAGE provided the email in which he received permission from Corey Lewandowski to attend the NES in Moscow, Russia graduation and give the commencement speech. PAGE offered to have then-Candidate Trump do the speech instead; the campaign refused. The email states that PAGE would attend outside of his role his role in the campaign. PAGE stated that JD Gordon "never said no, but expressed it wasn't a good idea," to participate.

(U) After PAGE's NES Speech, Deputy Prime Minister, and NES Board Member Arkadiy Dvorkovich gave a speech and specifically stated that sanctions had hurt the NES and they would have to reduce faculty and students.

(U) On his return trip, PAGE stopped at Cambridge for an event. JD Gordon was cautious of PAGE even attending that event.

(U) In December of 2016, PAGE visited the NES again. He had dinner with Schlomo and [redacted] and Andrej Krickovic. During the dinner, DPM Dvorkovich appeared for a few minutes and congratulated PAGE on then-President-Elect Trump's victory, and asked about how to connect for future cooperation. [redacted] PAGE additionally claimed that prior to this point, Schlomo, [redacted] and Krickovic all knew he was not involved with the campaign anymore.

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(U) PAGE's activity in Cleveland and the Republican National Convention

(U) PAGE stated that he had been misrepresented in the media, and had no meetings in Cleveland. PAGE claimed he could pull out many business cards to show all the people he has met; but specifically, Kisleyak did not even give him a business card. PAGE recalled saying hello to Kisleyak and saying that it would be nice to catch up at some point.

(U) Regarding the dropping of lethal assistance to the Ukraine from the policy plank at the RNC, PAGE provided the 07/14/2016 email he received from JD Gordon informing PAGE of the policy change. PAGE said that he had no part in the decision, but he supported it. PAGE assessed that JD Gordon was controlling and he did not disclose much of his decisions to the team. PAGE later stated that he felt that Manafort more-likely-than-not recommended the pro-Russian changes.

(U) Prior contact with Podobny

(U) PAGE introduced the slide related Titled: Past experience: U.S.A. v. Evgeny Burkayov, Igor Sporyshev and Victor Podobny. PAGE pointed to the slide which included an excerpt from the affidavit and said "Nobody knows that I'm Male-1 in this report," including he had never told anyone about that. When asked specifically if he told any colleague that he was Male-1, PAGE said that there was a conversation with a Russian Government Official at the United Nations General Assembly. PAGE said to the Official "I didn't do anything [redacted] b3 [redacted] When asked again if he had told anyone that he was Male-1, PAGE said "I forget the exact statement".

(U) Later in the interview, SSA [redacted] asked if anyone knew about PAGE's meetings with Bulatov. PAGE did not recall the name, but searched for the name on his phone and found a contact for Alexander Bulatov. Upon further questioning, PAGE said that he and Bulatov may have had sushi for lunch in Downtown New York. b6 b7C

(U) Gazprom and other Russian Business

(U) When asked if he would receive a financial benefit from reduction of sanctions on Russia, PAGE said "yes, it would be positive for me." PAGE [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) PAGE worked as Gazprom as a [redacted] During that time, he was instrumental in instituting an investor's day. PAGE attended the Gazprom Investor's day on 02/28/2017 in Singapore. When asked who from Gazprom he met at the event, PAGE said he thought the CFO was there. b6 b7C

(U) When asked if he had any current contacts with Gazprom, PAGE stated he had a breakfast meeting on 03/17/2017 with [redacted] who were staying at the Plaza Hotel in New York. PAGE identified that he was meeting [redacted] who he met in Singapore. PAGE thought the breakfast would be about future business ventures, but had no specific agenda. b6 b7C

(U) PAGE spoke at the Gazprom annual meeting on 2008.

(U) Additional Information

(U) PAGE stated that he was not offered assistance, help, or promised any benefit if sanctions removal was added to the Campaign's platform. This excluded the general benefit to his Russia-focused business.

(U) Page stated that he was never asked to pass a message or pass any material to any members of the Campaign. Additionally, he did not experience any strange interactions with people.

General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/23/2017

(U) On 03/21/2017, SSA [redacted] contacted CARTER W. PAGE via telephone [redacted]. SSA [redacted] asked PAGE how he was doing. PAGE stated "pretty good," and told SSA [redacted] that he would most likely be back in New York on Sunday or Tuesday the latest. SSA [redacted] asked if PAGE was still available to meet on Thursday 03/30/2017, PAGE said that he would be able to meet. b6 b7C

(U) SSA [redacted] asked PAGE if any concerns (for PAGES's safety) have come up, PAGE stated that there were a "couple of things, but nothing urgent." b6 b7C

Investigation on 03/21/2017 at NY, New York, United States (Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/22/2017

by [redacted]

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/26/2017

(U) On or about 1:00pm on 03/31/2017, Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] b6 b7C and Special Agent [redacted] interviewed Carter W. PAGE in a meeting room at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York, NY. This was an immediate follow-up to the 03/30/2017 interview:

(U) PAGE stated "he is always under oath;" his issues with recalling certain events over the last year are related to his memory and not his honesty. At the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, he was up from 6 a.m. to midnight every day, and much of PAGE's recollection is "a jumble." PAGE reiterated that he is attempting to get out of the Russia business, and his discussions with the Ambassador to Kazakhstan were the most productive.

(U) Ambassador Kislyak

(U) At the RNC in Cleveland, PAGE approached Ambassador Kislyak, introduced himself, and presented his business card. Kislyak took the business card, but then did not demonstrate any interest in speaking to PAGE.

(U) Relationship to the Russian Intelligence Services (RIS)

(U) SSA [redacted] began to describe varying levels of intelligence contacts that Russian Intelligence Officers maintain. PAGE interrupted saying that he is probably the highest level contact. b6 b7C

(U) PAGE then referenced [Aleksandr] Bulatov and [Victor] Podobnyy and stated, "the more immaterial non-public information I give them, the better for this country."

(U) PAGE referenced himself being "on the books." SA [redacted] asked if PAGE understood the interviewing agents define that phrase as being in some form of a source-handler relationship, either witting or unwitting, with the RIS. SA [redacted] then asked if PAGE agreed that, including the circumstances of his relationship with Bulatov and Podobnyy, PAGE was "on the books" of the RIS. PAGE agreed that he was on the RIS books. However, PAGE did not like when the interviewing b6 b7C

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agents described his relationship as "working with" Bulatov or Podobnyy.

(U) July Trip and Foreign Contacts

(U) While rehashing his July trip and speech, PAGE said that there was a Duma Member's assistant, a woman, who came up to him after the speech and shook his hand. She said her boss, the Duma Member, would like to contact PAGE. PAGE stated that he threw her card away.

(U) In recalling his contacts and interactions, PAGE remembered he had an email from [redacted], related to Tatneft. PAGE also has an email from [redacted] was previously discussed on 3/30/2017 with PAGE and the interviewing agents). PAGE also mentioned an individual named FNU [redacted] (NFI), as well as [redacted] who PAGE believes works in the [redacted] PAGE later said while referencing business deals, that [redacted] likely [redacted] asked PAGE if there was "any stomach" for an asset swap related to Tatneft. PAGE mentioned a Rosneft-Exxon deal, and said that [redacted] was the Western Law Firm representing the deal.

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(U) PAGE continued to describe the July trip indicating he met [redacted] and Shlomo Weber. PAGE relayed that the New Economic School (NES) paid for his hotel room, flight, and food. PAGE asked the NES to remove a note on the NES website which had referenced him being an advisor to the [Trump] campaign.

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(U) PAGE recalled having a dinner at a Serbian restaurant in Moscow with Shlomo Weber, [redacted] Andrej Krickovic, [redacted] [redacted] and Shlomo's [redacted]

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(U) PAGE sent an email from [redacted] to JD Gordon and Whalid Phares about attending to a $500 charity event being held in Moscow on 07/07/2016 with [redacted] (NFI) that was co-hosted by [redacted] According to PAGE, Gordon responded saying that the same charity had an event in DC with about 300 people and they would not be able to attend.

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(U) The interviewing agents requested PAGE to not minimize information by telling us that it was immaterial. Specifically, the interviewing agents told PAGE that information which he has routinely referred to as immaterial non-public information "may be material to us." PAGE agreed to provide a list of all his contacts and interactions, as well as, any items or documents he was provided when in Russia. PAGE began to document a list of requests and list his own contacts, at which point he stated that [redacted] [redacted] and had not eaten breakfast. The interviewing agents told PAGE

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that we could finish the interview and set-up an interview the following week.

(U) PAGE continued to ask the interviewing agents questions about his perception of the investigation for several minutes at which point he left to make a 2:43pm train to [redacted] NY in order to attend [redacted]

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/25/2017

(U) At or about 1:00pm on 03/30/2017, Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] interviewed Carter W. PAGE at the Hilton Manhattan East Hotel, New York, NY. This was the continuation of interviews conducted with PAGE.

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(U) Thumbdrive

(U) Upon meeting SSA [redacted] in the lobby of the hotel, PAGE asked if SSA [redacted] had the thumbdrive that he provided at the last interview, SSA [redacted] stated he did not have the thumbdrive. PAGE [redacted] exited the hotel to purchase a thumbdrive. Roughly 10 minutes later, PAGE [redacted] with a newly purchased thumbdrive. PAGE set up his laptop on a coffee table in the sitting area [redacted] and SA [redacted] opened the packaged thumbdrive after PAGE had difficulty opening it. PAGE loaded several files onto the thumbdrive and volunteered it to SA [redacted] at the conclusion of the interview. [redacted]

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(U) Administrative

(U) PAGE asked SSA [redacted] about the Coke that SSA [redacted] had in the room, which he purchased at lunch. SSA [redacted] and SA [redacted] [redacted] PAGE stated that he might have something "deeper in his bag." Later, he pulled a drink bottle out of his bag, and periodically drank from it during the interview.

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(U) PAGE provided the following information:

(U) Presentation

(U) As with the prior interviews, PAGE pulled up a PowerPoint presentation of his "Topics for Discussion". PAGE had a slide that discussed the "dark cloud" related to him and the campaign. He specifically identified Robby Mook's 03/20/2016 statement that individuals involved in the suspected Russian-Trump Campaign collusion

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should be prosecuted for treason. PAGE then played a recording of a voicemail he received from [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) Voicemail

(U) The voicemail stated that the individual would like to talk to the treasonous PAGE and was aggressively and offensively worded. There was no specific threat to PAGE.

(U) Based on the call and the Mook slide, PAGE alleged that the Hillary Clinton (Clinton) campaign is conducting Domestic Terrorism against PAGE. He had a slide including the Patriot Act's definition of Domestic Terrorism.

(U) PAGE mentioned [redacted] b6 b7C PAGE believed that individuals like [redacted] are engaging in intimidation techniques against PAGE and the US because he uses the term "Soviets" when discussing the current Russian Government. PAGE said that he remembered hearing the same lecture from [redacted] on Russia in 1994 that he heard [redacted] recently give publicly related to Russia.

(U) PAGE referred to the same disclaimer (i.e. the information provided is as of his best recollection) that he gave in the last interview, which appeared to be included in his slide presentation.

(U) Additionally, PAGE assumes that the interviewing agents knew everything about him. In fact, PAGE said he hoped that the interviewing agents knew everything about him. [redacted] b7E

(U) PAGE stated that he did nothing last year that was "illegal or close to illegal."

(U) PAGE believed that the U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence "manhandled" FBI Director Comey.

(U) At this point in the interview, PAGE handed SSA [redacted] a copy of his letter to the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI). PAGE has received no response or notification regarding a need to testify. As stated in prior interviews, SSCI asked PAGE to preserve his documents. b6 b7C

(U) PAGE stated that the majority of the evidence against him is based on "false evidence" injected into the media by the Clinton Campaign,

additionally POTUS Obama's Department of Justice (DOJ) pushed it to the media. "We," according to PAGE, includes the interviewing agents and himself, are catching up now with the effects of the false evidence. PAGE believes that the past few months of the investigation were pushed in the wrong way.

(U) PAGE referenced his [Michael] McFaul (Writer's note: McFaul was the former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow) slide, and alleged that McFaul live-tweeted during PAGE's NES speech. He said that "they" were the primary pusher of false-news and influence. Additionally, PAGE referenced the portion of the 9/11 Commission Report conclusion, where the report stated that the FBI and CIA did not share information, and work together. PAGE intimated that the allegations of Russian influence on the elections are a repeat of the USIC failures leading to the 9/11 attacks.

(U) SSA [redacted] shifted the interview to PAGE's July Moscow trip. PAGE had a slide referencing a Morgan Stanley Football (Soccer) watch-party in Moscow on 07/06/2016. PAGE indicated that he met Andrey Baranov, who is a Rosneft employee. PAGE said he has known Baranov for 10 years, since PAGE worked with Gazprom. PAGE stated that the two discussed "immaterial non-public" information. The two did not talk about any of the information indicated in the "Dodgy Dossier." PAGE explained they may have discussed the Trump Campaign, but he could not recall. Baranov is currently the Head of Investor Relations at Rosneft, but, PAGE informed the agents the two discussed nothing related to Rosneft.

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(U) PAGE referenced Director Comey's testimony early in the week and observed the Director's comment related to not knowing about Gazprom. PAGE provided the interviewing agents the Gazprom 2017 Investor Day slide presentation for the Director.

(U) While discussing Gazprom and Rosneft, PAGE stated that he is not going to be able to do any business in Russia anytime soon, referencing the media attacks against him. Additionally, PAGE claimed since the first reports after his speech in Moscow in July, PAGE is no longer attempting brand himself as a Russia expert, and is distancing himself from the country (Russia).

(U) SA [redacted] asked if PAGE met with an individual from GazpromBank for a breakfast meeting, as indicated at the 03/16/2017 interview. PAGE stated that they did meet. PAGE additionally indicated that though he was aware that the Financial Arm of GazpromBank is sanctioned, [redacted] is not sanctioned and can operate in the United States.

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(U) PAGE specified that in his public appearances, he only makes statements which he knows to be factual. However, with the interviewing agents, he provides everything. PAGE referred to it as a "full strip-search."

(U) In reference to a question from SA [redacted] at the conclusion of the 03/16/2017 interview regarding propaganda, PAGE described how he is aware of Russia Today (RT) and Sputnik's connections to the Russian Government. However, the propaganda that they produce is nothing in comparison to the mischaracterization of Russia and PAGE in the US Media. b6 b7C

(U) Ambassador Kislyak

(U) PAGE's PowerPoint presentation included a slide referencing a quote from [redacted] who was a member of the Trump Presidential Campaign. According to PAGE, [redacted] stated that both he and PAGE met with Russian Federation Ambassador Kislyak in Cleveland, and the three had a substantive conversation. PAGE stated that he had zero recollection of this meet, but he vaguely recalled [redacted] meeting Kislyak at Jones Day (who had hosted an event during the Republican National Convention (RNC)); and PAGE ultimately trusted [redacted] memory. PAGE felt that [redacted] was a domineering personality, and often drove conversations, whereas PAGE would rather listen. PAGE felt that if the conversation occurred he did not actively participate in this conversation. b6 b7C

(U) When directly questioned if PAGE met Kislyak during the conference in Cleveland, PAGE initially stated that he could not recall. PAGE further stated he was "much more interested in the shrimp at the buffet." PAGE recalled speaking with the Ambassadors to the US from Kazakhstan, Albania, Serbia, and Oman.

(U) During the interview, PAGE utilized the schedule for the RNC, in Cleveland, he had on his laptop as a guide. PAGE referenced the schedule for his description of the interactions during the conference. PAGE indicated that he had missed the Sunday events as he arrived late the following day.

(U) PAGE then indicated that he recalled seeing [redacted], as well as, Kislyak, while PAGE walked around to people handing out his business card. Because PAGE was attempting to distance himself as a Russia expert, he stayed away from Kislyak. b6 b7C

(U) PAGE digressed, identifying a Washington Post article from August that referenced a meeting between him and the Prime Minister of India Modi (PAGE had previously provided his talking-points from the meeting). Additionally, PAGE referenced [redacted]

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[redacted]

(U) PAGE returned to discussing the RNC stating that there may have been a group of about four people, of which Kislyak was a member. PAGE said that he and Kislyak had no substantive conversation and he could not remember a single word of it.

(U) To provide an example of how he behaved with Kislyak, PAGE described his meeting with Corey Lewandowski in Poughkeepsie, NY. The campaign had a session in which PAGE could stand in line and wait to shake then-Candidate Trump's hand. PAGE explained that instead of waiting in line, he preferred to meet Lewandowski on the side. PAGE said that he listened to Lewandowski for about 20 minutes and gave little input. He likened that scenario to meeting with Kislyak, PAGE does not want to provide his own input, he simply wants to listen. Overall at the conference PAGE learned a great deal from listening to Kislyak, though he stated his recollection was vague. PAGE recalled seeing Kislyak engage with other people at the event, and specifically Kislyak was quite engaging during the question and answer portions of the discussions.

(U) PAGE later stated that he and Kislyak may have walked together to a shuttle bus for a museum tour. PAGE stated this happens often where groups walk in the same direction to head to an event at a conference. Though he may have been with Kislyak, PAGE did not think it was significant.

(U) To further specify, PAGE mentioned he met the group of four people including Kislyak on the first Tuesday of the Conference, 07/19/2017, the 11:30-12:45 panel. PAGE said that is was understood that he was an adviser to then-Candidate Trump.

(U) PAGE is 99.9% sure that he had never met Kislyak prior to that Tuesday. He also could not recall having a conversation with the Ambassador.

(U) PAGE believed that Kislyak was present for the duration of the Global Partners in Democracy conference. [redacted] Kislyak was not at the other events of the conference, except for the final night.

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(U) According to PAGE, Ambassador Kislyak never approached him. However, PAGE did not want to say he was 100% sure of that. PAGE admitted that he and Kislyak had a series of brief interactions, but they were only non-material. PAGE commented that if there were a "Langley cable", the interactions would have only been written about positively.

(U) PAGE was again directly asked by the interviewing agents if he and Kislyak met privately, like he was meeting with the interviewing agents. PAGE definitively stated that he never met with Kislyak privately. He did eventually state that Kislyak and he may have had an individual conversation, but others were close nearby.

(U) Wednesday was the then-Senator Jeff Sessions event where Ambassador Kislyak sat near the front of the audience. PAGE sat in the rear by the back door. PAGE observed the moment where Session and Kislyak greeted each other.

(U) Aleksandr Bulatov and Victor Podobnyy

(U) The interview shifted to PAGE's prior interactions with Bulatov and Podobnyy. When asked if PAGE worked together with Bulatov or Podobnyy, PAGE stated that he would not view his interactions as working together; and he wanted to "push back" on that characterization.

(U) PAGE understands that Bulatov is an SVR intelligence officer. PAGE reiterated that he only provided immaterial non-public information to Bulatov.

(U) SSA [redacted] introduced the idea that based on the FBI's assessment the Russian Intelligence Services (RIS), specifically the SVR, considered PAGE an either unwitting or witting "on the record source" for their intelligence gathering. PAGE questioned the assessment and provided his own information stating that he wanted to set a positive example for relations with the United States and Russia. He wanted to set an opposition example to the way the relationship has been interpreted for years. PAGE did not believe the relationship to be a back-channel. Ultimately, PAGE agreed that "I'm sure I'm on the books," and, "they know who I am." b6 b7C

(U) Further, SSA [redacted] introduced that it was not coincidental that Podobnyy later met with PAGE, because the FBI knew that Podobnyy replaced Bulatov in his job role. SSA [redacted] referenced the complaint, which has been made public, as well as, PAGE's introduction as himself b6 b7C

as Male-1 to a Russian Official at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). PAGE stated that despite what he said in the last interview, "I don't recall exactly" but whatever he had told the Southern District of New York (SDNY) in the previous interviews is the truth.

(U) PAGE compared his revelation of "unmasking" himself as Male-1 to the Christopher Steele dossier with source A, B, C, etc. He further explained that because of the context in the complaint, everyone in Russia knew he was the Gazprom guy. Therefore, everyone in Russia knew he was Male-1. PAGE pulled the complaint up on his laptop and scrolled to the portion mentioning Male-1. PAGE said that the UNGA incident did not portray himself correctly, and PAGE wants nothing to do with espionage. PAGE said that he was clearly trying to help in his interviews with [redacted] b6 b7C b7E

(U) SSA [redacted] explained to PAGE that the RIS have been tracking PAGE likely since he lived in Russia when he worked for Gazprom, and they continued to develop a source-handler relationship with PAGE from 2008-2013. PAGE claimed that he only had periodic meetings and they were always in public. SSA [redacted] explained that is exactly how the source-handler relationship begins. SSA [redacted] explained that based on the discussion referenced in the complaint and the Russian Intelligence Services tactics, PAGE was on their books and PAGE stated, "understood." b6 b7C

(U) The interview returned to the discussion of PAGE speaking to the Russian Federation Government Official and revealing that PAGE was Male-1. PAGE stated that he did not think the conversation was that specific and he was already unmasked because everyone in Russia knew he was Male-1.

(U) SSA [redacted] asked PAGE to look at the situation from the perspective of the RIS, because in March 2016, then-Candidate Trump named PAGE as a member of the Trump Foreign Policy Team. Since he was previously on the books in some form of source-handler relationship, the RIS would have attempted to take advantage of the relationship. PAGE clarified that he did not meet either Eulatov or Podobnyy on his trips to Russia or after they each left the U.S. b6 b7C

(U) SSA [redacted] indicated to PAGE that some of his opportunities in Russia may have been developed because of his prior relationship with the RIS. PAGE reiterated that he has no current deals in Russia. The meetings with Tatneft was in early stages, though he has known the people for years. PAGE said that his meetings with Tatneft were a pitch to act as a consultant for less that $1 Million total. b6 b7C

(U) The New Economic School (NES)

(U) PAGE described his contacts at the NES in more detail. Andrej Krickovic is a longtime colleague. As stated in previous interviews, Krickovic is a US citizen, and as newly indicated, [redacted] Krickovic taught at the Higher School of Economics (HSE) in 2013. [redacted] Krickovic co-authored articles with [redacted] which ultimately led to PAGE's introduction to Shlomo Weber, as indicated in prior interviews.

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(U) PAGE referenced a slide defining the word unwitting, which he stated means: without the full facts. PAGE believes that based on the media bias in the west, people are prejudiced against Russia because of lack of the full facts. PAGE referenced [redacted]

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(U) SSA [redacted] began to define the various types of contacts that the SVR uses as categories or levels, including trusted contact. SSA [redacted] explained that the varying levels of contacts reference many things including if the source is witting or unwitting. PAGE fixated on trusted contact, stating he not a trusted contact because of Bulatov and Podobnyy, but he is a trusted contact because he worked his "balls off." PAGE further explained that he was never promised or given anything by the RIS.

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(U) The Trump Presidential Campaign

(U) When discussing PAGE's part in the campaign in March 2016, PAGE commented that the allegations of Russian collusion hurts the Trump Presidential Administration much more than it hurts him. And though, relations with Russia are at their worst since likely the Cold War, PAGE stated that "we" have lost a battle but not a war.

(U) PAGE then asked the interviewing agents about the Buzzfeed report, likely the "dossier" report. PAGE reiterated that it is false evidence and he directed the interviewing agents to his slide comparing the results of the Wikileaks hacks and the release of the dossier. PAGE agreed that the hacking of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) by the Russian Federation was bad.

(U) The interview returned to PAGE's December trip to Moscow. There PAGE met with Baranov again, this time at a Deutsche Bank conference. PAGE said that Baranov referenced being in meetings with Igor Sechin, who Baranov described as a hard working guy.

(U) SSA [redacted] asked a specific question regarding PAGE's September letter to FBI Director Comey. In the letter, PAGE wrote he has not met this year with any sanctioned officials. SSA [redacted] asked if there were any discussions of Sechin, President of Rosneft, with Baranov in July. PAGE said that the two discussed Sechin in an immaterial way. PAGE indicated again that he knows the allegations in the media against him regarding Sechin and he denied them. However, PAGE understood he did not know the full picture of events, and the media did not as well. PAGE had no particular reason to disagree with the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) report regarding hacking of the elections, despite that he could not verify the facts himself. PAGE agreed with the interviewing agents that the Russian Federation attempted to influence the election.

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(U) The interview progressed to PAGE's July trip to Moscow and the Russian influence. PAGE stated that he had zero influence in the change of the Republican National Committee platform, i.e. dropping lethal support for the Ukrainian rebels. PAGE believed that it was a common sense change. In an email previously supplied to the FBI by PAGE, it appeared that [redacted] notified PAGE of the changes to the platform, however, [redacted] mentioned that the campaign defeated red line amendments. PAGE stated that the campaigns foreign policy team operated like cells. SSA [redacted] asked that the use of the phrase "red line amendments" makes it appear that there were prior discussions of the change. PAGE said that the email was the first time he heard of the discussion at all. In retrospect, PAGE realized that in early 2016 then-Candidate Trump was harassed by the media for not having a foreign policy team. PAGE admitted that the team he was on was thrown together and they were not the heavy hitters.

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(U) PAGE saw no indication that there was collusion in the campaign with the Russian Federation. PAGE heard no discussion of an "October surprise." There were no discussions of the Wikileaks releases. PAGE also mentioned that the Keith Kellogg party on 08/08/2016, was the first time that he met most members of the campaign.

(U) PAGE attempts to create some balance in media reporting of the opinion of Russia. He holds to his opinions, similar to his associate Steve Cohen. PAGE denies meeting Divyekin, he recalled asking everyone he knew about Divyekin to identify him. The only figure he met on the July speech trip, was Dvorkovich, likely Arkady Dvorkovich. Later in December, at the dinner with Shlomo Weber at which Dvorkovich appears, there was some discussion of working together in the future. There was no promise of money.

(U) Current standing with Administration

(U) PAGE commented that when people say he has been hanging on the Trump Campaign, he is instead being hanged on account of support for the Trump Campaign. PAGE insists that he continually corrects the media on their portrayal as him as an Adviser to then-Candidate Trump. PAGE asks that people refer to him as a former member of the Trump foreign policy team.

(U) PAGE showed the interviewing agents a letter he received from Don McGann on 12/22/2016. The letter summarized that PAGE was never an Adviser for the President and directed PAGE to discontinue saying as much. PAGE stated that he responded directly to McGann thanking him for the opportunity to correct the misrepresentation in the media and the fake news.

(U) PAGE has had some contact with Steve Bannon, a senior adviser to President Trump. They have exchanged texts and had a phone conversation. One occasion was when PAGE was supposed to be on Meet the Press the same day as Vice President Michael Pence. Bannon asked that PAGE not appear, because of VPOTUS's appearance. PAGE agreed, and understood the conflict. PAGE tried to contact and wanted to meet Bannon. PAGE showed the interviewing agents a document with the text messages to Bannon, it included one text identifying PAGE's "strat plan".

(U) PAGE has met a Trump administration member, [redacted] a few times since PAGE left the Campaign. b6 b7C

(U) Sergey Yatsenko

(U) PAGE met Yatsenko when the two flew to Merril-Lynch's 2005 June Conference in Dana Point, CA. The two were on an Air France flight together to Los Angeles Airport. PAGE described Yatsenko as having done well, semi-retired, and the Senior Adviser to Global Energy Capital LLC. He has helped with their Kazakhstan deals. Yatsenko was Andrey Krugalov's First Deputy Head of Finance. PAGE showed the interviewing agents Yatsenko's curriculum vitae, which included Gazprom from 2002-2010, Sberbank, and Global Energy Capital. Yatsenko has not been interested in the campaign or discussing it with PAGE. Yatsenko did not know Bulatov or Podobnyy.

(U) [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) [redacted]

[redacted]

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(U) Other Information

(U) PAGE asked the interviewing agents if he should speak at the Yalta International Economic Forum (YIEE). PAGE previously provided the invitation letter and asked specifically for an approval from the Agents to do the speech. PAGE stated that the YIEE offered to pay for his trip, but PAGE knew that [redacted] The interviewing agents stated that they could not provide an answer.

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(U) PAGE believes that the worsening relations between Russia and the US are because of the lies directed at him. PAGE hopes the FBI can redirect their investigation away from the Russians, but instead to the Domestic terrorist threat against him by the Clinton Campaign. PAGE compared himself to Christopher Steele claiming to not want to travel because Steele fears for his safety. PAGE then asked how much Steele was paid for his reports.

(U) In mid October, PAGE was crossing a street in NYC and his phone fell out of his pocket. When PAGE returned later to find it, he found that it was smashed, likely by cars driving over it. He lost all of his WhatsApp communication from before then, because the phone was not backed up.

(U) PAGE said no President in history has spent as much time in Russia as Donald J. Trump.

(U) PAGE opined that Sputnik is more accurate than RadioFreeEurope.

(U) On the December trip PAGE had lunch with Baranov, met [redacted] and met Dvorkovich at the dinner on 12/09/2016.

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General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/03/2017

On July 28, 2017, Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] met with GEORGE D. PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS) subsequent to his release from the US MARSHALL SERVICE at the UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURTHOUSE, 401 Courthouse Square, Alexandria, Virginia 22314. b6 b7C

PAPADOPOULOS was allowed to use SA [redacted] FBI-issued Samsung to place a phone call to his attorney, [redacted] in Chicago. That phone call lasted several minutes and PAPADOPOULOS removed himself from the Agents location during the call. b6 b7C

The Agents returned multiple belongings to PAPADOPOULOS which were seized from him at the time of his arrest on the previous day. PAPADOPOULOS signed two Receipt for Property Forms [FD-597] for the return of his belongings. A copy of the forms executed by PAPADOPOULOS are enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this FD-302. The original forms are being maintained for the file as a physical 1A item. PAPADOPOULOS was advised that the remainder of his belongings, including his cell phone and his two passports, would remaining in the FBI's possession for the time being.

During the course of standard booking and processing procedures on the previous day, PAPADOPOULOS relayed to the Agents that he had lost his wallet and his driver's license a while ago and never obtained a new form of State identification. Given that PAPADOPOULOS had no form of official identification, the Agents offered to assist PAPADOPOULOS with travel arrangements for his return to Chicago, Illinois. The Agents advised PAPADOPOULOS that he was no longer in custody and that he was free to make his own arrangements if he wanted.

PAPADOPOULOS stated that his intention was to return to Chicago via airline. The Agents then offered to meet PAPADOPOULOS at the airport, or provide transportation for him. PAPADOPOULOS requested to be driven by the Agents to the airport. PAPADOPOULOS was then driven directly from the UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURTHOUSE in Alexandria to WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT [DCA] in Arlington, Virginia.

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Upon arrival at airport, the Agents assisted PAPADOPOULOS with his purchase of a United Airlines ticket from Washington, DC to Chicago, Illinois. That purchase was made online, through the use of SA [redacted] FBI-issued Samsung device. PAPADOPOULOS then requested that the Agents contact [redacted] to meet him upon his arrival in Chicago. SA [redacted] then placed a phone call to SA [redacted] in Chicago who contacted and relayed PAPADOPOULOS' flight information to [redacted]

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The Agents then afforded PAPADOPOULOS with temporary access to his US Passport in order to facilitate his entry through airport security. Agents then met with PAPADOPOULOS in the secure area of the terminal and recovered his US Passport. Agents then provided PAPADOPOULOS with his attorney's telephone number and a granola bar for his travel back to Chicago. Additionally, PAPADOPOULOS was provided with SA [redacted] business card in the event he was questioned by airport security or additional authorities without any form of State identification.

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General Records

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/01/2017

On October 30, 2017 the FBI received a copy of an email communication sent from SERGIO MILLIAN to GEORGE D. PAPADOPOULOS. The email was provided to the Special Counsel's Office though PAPADOPOULOS's attorney, [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] In the email, MILLIAN stated the following:

Hello George,

I'm not sure if you have any access to this email but I wanted to write to you to say that I read sad news today about your current ordeal. I watched documentaries about McCarthy committee and about people who lost their jobs, careers and reputations and even jailed over Senator's investigations. You did not even go to Russia and they brought you into this terrible trial. I'm so sorry to hear about this. It's simply unbelievable what is happening nowadays.

Many innocent people were persecuted and, the good news, later rehabilitated after the politically motivated wave of persecutions vanished. I'm sure the American people and history will correct the unfair treatment you received.

People who know you know who you really are: a good, innocent, decent American who wanted nothing but the best for the USA.

Best regards,
Sergei

A copy of the aforementioned email is enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this FD-302.

Investigation on 10/30/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Email)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/01/2017

by [redacted]

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