

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)  
**Subject:** FW: Update on story we discussed  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 7, 2017 9:29 AM (UTC-05:00)

Pete: Pls see [redacted] "draft" story for whatever reaction/guidance we may have. Any thoughts are appreciated. Tx. M

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**From:** [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Monday, March 06, 2017 6:58 PM  
**To:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [redacted]  
**Subject:** RE: Update on story we discussed

Mike:

Appreciate any guidance. My cell is [redacted]

[redacted]

The months-long FBI probe into Russian efforts to influence the U.S. election and Donald Trump's inner circle has not gathered evidence to warrant any criminal charges to date but has led to widespread frustration among intelligence professionals who have watched in horror as a normally secretive process was distorted by leaks, politicians and media outlets uneducated with how counterintelligence operations actually work, sources tell Circa.

"We have people spouting off who don't know the difference between FISA surveillance and a wiretap or a counterintelligence probe versus a special prosecutor criminal case and it has hurts our ability to get to the truth and has wrongly created the impression that intelligence officials have a political agenda," said one career U.S. official directly familiar with the drama.

Added another official: "I've never seen a case so misrepresented and leaks so damaging to a process that was meant to be conducted in secret so that foreign powers don't know what we know and people's reputations aren't tarnished unfairly."

Several sources with direct knowledge say the FBI's interest last year to explore possible Russian efforts to influence the 2016 election was born out of its long expertise on Russian players gathered back from the 2001 Robert Hansen espionage affair and the 2010 Anna Chapman spy ring scandal. The bureau, along with other intelligence agencies, had early signs of political-motivated hacking by Russia and uncorroborated information from among others a former British intelligence officer about possible contacts between Russian intelligence and people close to Trump.

When career Justice Department and FBI officials first began evaluating the evidence, they considered pursuing a criminal investigation with traditional search warrants, wiretap applications and other investigative techniques but ultimately could not define on a predicate that would convince a judge there was probable cause, the sources said.

There were significant holes in the evidence, leaving a murky picture of Russian proclamations and hacking activity that looked to be aimed at hurting Hillary Clinton's presidential bid and rumors of meetings and contacts between Russian influencers and key players surrounding Trump and his campaign.

"There were indicators of Russian activity and uncorroborated allegations of Trump associates having contact with key figures and we needed to know if they were connected or not," one source described. "We'd be remiss if we did not answer that question for the national security community."

Officials decided the best course of action was to pursue a classic counterintelligence investigation focused on what the Russians were actually doing and whether anyone in the United States, including on the Trump team, might be encouraging or facilitating those actions or financially benefitting from them.

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Officials carefully set up the probe in case it turned up criminal activity to allow for the case to expand to prosecution. If a Trump adviser took money to influence US policy and didn't register under foreign lobbying rules or didn't declare taxable income or if a U.S. citizen conspired to direct Russian activities to influence the U.S. election illegally, agents and prosecutors were ready to make a criminal case.

But until then, the counterintelligence was predominantly focused on whether Russian efforts to use hackers and propaganda was aimed at influencing the election and whether any business dealings or money was being exchanged to curry favor or access to Trump.

In June, the Justice Department and FBI drafted a Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act warrant seeking permission from a special intelligence court in Washington to monitor the contacts of numerous Russian officials and Trump associates, some who worked in Trump Towers in New York City or advised Trump's presidential campaign. Donald Trump's name was mentioned in the request.

Unlike normal legal proceedings, FISA applications are a collaborative process and Justice and FBI officials quickly took guidance from the judges on the intelligence court that their request was overly broad for the sketchiness of some of the evidence, especially when a presidential candidate's team was a focus in the middle of a turbulent election season. FBI counterintelligence agents went back to work to gather more concrete evidence and narrow the focus of the likely players, combing through financial records, overseas intercepts of foreign figures and alleged dates of meetings.

One of the documents that agents tried to corroborate became known as the "Trump dossier," the work of a trusted ex-British intelligence agent hired by political operatives to find damaging evidence on Trump in Russia. Some of the information in the dossier was explicit and salacious – like an alleged interlude between Trump and a prostitute in Moscow a few years back and an alleged Russian bribe that could have spelled billions of dollars for Trump's companies.

Agents were able to corroborate some details in the dossier, mostly public source intelligence about meetings and decisions involving Russian figures. But much of the information about Trump and his lieutenants -- like then-campaign chairman Paul Manafort, Trump organization lawyer Michael Cohen and foreign policy advisers Michael Flynn and Carter Page – could not be corroborated. Some was disproven and other facts took on new connotations when additional investigation was concluded.

By early fall, the FBI and Justice Department had decided to narrow its surveillance focus to several Russian operatives, a small number of Trump's current and former advisers and a specific computer server inside Trump Towers that appeared to have activity in eastern Europe.

The court approved the FISA application in October, ironically just as the election was turning Trump's way and another controversial FBI probe into Hillary Clinton's private email was ending. With court monitoring, the surveillance activity – emails, phones, personal tails and financial records -- continued for a few weeks. There was no intercepts of Trump's phone or emails, the sources said.

Very quickly agents concluded that the surveillance had not uncovered any significant new evidence and FBI officials concluded there was no probable cause at the time for a criminal probe against any U.S. citizens or Trump associates. The computer server in question yielded no nefarious contacts, bank transactions or encrypted communications with the Russians, and its activity tied to a Russian bank appeared to have innocent explanations.

Flynn's intercepted contacts with the Russian ambassador – the subsequent focus of intense leaks and media reports – also did not raise significant concerns inside the FBI when they were captured as part of routine monitoring of the Russian embassy.

The sources emphasized that Flynn's calls and text messages were not part of the Trump-related FISA warrant and surveillance. Rather, they were part of a long-established special intelligence program in which the FBI is routinely permitted to review intercepts of Russian embassy officials. Americans are often incidentally intercepted, and the FBI

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has authority to review those conversations without a specific warrant when they involve national security matters. Flynn fell into that category because he had a security clearance.

The sources said Flynn exchanged a handful of calls or text messages to the Russian ambassador in December, including one to express condolences for the fatal shooting of a Russian diplomat in Turkey, one on Christmas Day to pass along holiday wishes and yet another to express remorse for the crash of a Russian plane carrying a music group hoping to bring goodwill to war-wary Syrians.

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After the Russian ambassador sent a text message seeking a phone call, Flynn and Kislyak talked about sanctions imposed by Obama on Russia on Dec. 29, but the message the American official gave was mostly that a new sheriff was about to take over the White House and Russians shouldn't react to the new sanctions in a way that would foreclose better dialog in the future under a Trump administration, sources said. There was also a discussion of a possible conference about Kazakhstan the next month, they added.

None of the content of those calls or texts raised any alarm bells inside the FBI.

The information gathered during 2016 by the FBI, however, did further a robust portrait already being built by numerous intelligence agencies, like the NSA, CIA and DNI, that Russia and its related actors had taken actions like hacking to influence the U.S. election with the apparent aim of hurting Clinton's election chances or helping Trump. There also was evidence of Russian-friendly figures trying to curry favor with those close to Trump, something that happens at all levels when a new president is poised to take office.

But there was no concrete evidence of bribes, illicit money or other criminal activity. So the FBI proceeded to process security clearances for key Trump players about to take jobs in the new administration and did not raise significant concerns to the rest of the intelligence community, the sources said.

At President Obama's request, a highly classified briefing was prepared for the outgoing and incoming presidents, which was given to both men over the December holiday break.

Obama, who had received updates through 2016 on the issue, used his detailed briefing as the final justification for the new sanctions on Russia announced on Dec. 29, which included expelling three dozen Russians from America. Trump used his briefing to dispel what he saw was a myriad of "fake news" reports suggesting his team was complicit with Russians on hacking activities.

The FBI contributions to the briefing included mention of the uncorroborated Russian dossier created by the British intelligence agent as well as a payment Flynn had received when he went to Russia in 2015 to give a speech to Vladimir Putin's propaganda news arm, the RT television network.

The FBI chose to include both facts to educate the new president in particular to the tactics of Russian intelligence agencies, including the planting of false stories in documents like the dossier and the use of money and sex to compromise Western leaders or to leave them open to bribery.

Until that point, the FBI surveillance process was mostly free of political interference and followed the normal rigors of a counter-intelligence investigation closely monitored by a supervisory court of federal judges.

But the start of the New Year brought with it an unexpected politicizing of the intelligence gathered in secret. Congress was briefed in early January, and Obama unexpectedly signed an executive order allowing information intercepted through FISA warrants or by the National Security Agency to be shared to a wider audience of government officials as he was leaving office.

Soon, leaks began appearing in news media, often in stories lacking the context of how national security investigations are actually conducted. The leak of the Flynn conversations with the Russian ambassador alarmed career FBI officials, who knew it had been gathered using the most sensitive of surveillance powers and was not even part of the earlier

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Trump-related investigation.

Some U.S intelligence officials were also mortified that the leak tipped off the Russian ambassador to which of his phones might be monitored by US intelligence, harming future surveillance efforts. There was also concerns that Flynn's contentious relationship with other elements of the intelligence community back when he served as DIA chief played a role in the leaking of classified secrets.

Trump's own claim this week that the FBI wiretapped his phone further irritated senior officials. Director James Comey even took the step of asking Justice to knock down the claim.

That action on its face was designed to combat any insinuation that the FBI was used by the Obama administration as a political-enemy intelligence gathering agency in the midst of the election.

But for informed source inside the intelligence community it also conveyed another powerful message: Comey has always insisted the bureau won't comment on matters if an investigation is ongoing. So his willingness to push out a comment this week is the clearest sign to date the FBI doesn't see a criminal case against Trump officials from its surveillance efforts.

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[Redacted]

Circa News  
1100 Wilson Blvd., 6<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209

b6 -3  
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[Redacted]



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**Sent:** Monday, March 06, 2017 6:15 PM  
**To:** [Redacted]  
**Subject:** RE: Update on story we discussed

Fax is [Redacted]

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

----- Original message -----  
**From:** [Redacted]  
**Date:** 3/6/17 6:00 PM (GMT-05:00)

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To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]

Cc: [redacted]

Subject: Update on story we discussed

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[redacted]

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**From:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Subject:** Fwd: Update on story we discussed  
**To:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 7, 2017 11:31 AM (UTC-05:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1

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Some U.S intelligence officials were also mortified that the leak tipped off the Russian ambassador to which of his phones might be monitored by US intelligence, harming future surveillance efforts. There was also concerns that Flynn's contentious relationship with other elements of the intelligence community back when he served as DIA chief played a role in the leaking of classified secrets.

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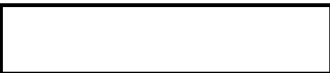

But for informed source inside the intelligence community it also conveyed another powerful message: Comey has always insisted the bureau won't comment on matters if an investigation is ongoing. So his willingness to push out a comment this week is the clearest sign to date the FBI doesn't see a criminal case against Trump officials from its surveillance efforts.



Circa News  
1100 Wilson Blvd., 6<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209

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b7C -3



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**Sent:** Monday, March 06, 2017 6:15 PM  
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b6 -3  
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b7E -3

Fax is 

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**Subject:** RE: Update on story we discussed  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 7, 2017 11:32 AM (UTC-05:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1

I'm reading it now. Kortan sent it to me separately. Are you going to be free for lunch?

---

**From:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 07, 2017 11:31 AM  
**To:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) <[redacted]>  
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After the Russian ambassador sent a text message seeking a phone call, Flynn and Kislyak talked about sanctions imposed by Obama on Russia on Dec. 29, but the message the American official gave was mostly that a new sheriff was about to take over the White House and Russians shouldn't react to the new sanctions in a way that would foreclose better dialog in the future under a Trump administration, sources said. There was also a discussion of a possible conference about Kazakhstan the next month, they added.

None of the content of those calls or texts raised any alarm bells inside the FBI.

The information gathered during 2016 by the FBI, however, did further a robust portrait already being built by numerous intelligence agencies, like the NSA, CIA and DNI, that Russia and its related actors had taken actions like hacking to influence the U.S. election with the apparent aim of hurting Clinton's election chances or helping Trump. There also was evidence of Russian-friendly figures trying to curry favor with those close to Trump, something that happens at all levels when a new president is poised to take office.

But there was no concrete evidence of bribes, illicit money or other criminal activity. So the FBI proceeded to process security clearances for key Trump players about to take jobs in the new administration and did not raise significant concerns to the rest of the intelligence community, the sources said.

At President Obama's request, a highly classified briefing was prepared for the outgoing and incoming presidents, which was given to both men over the December holiday break.

Obama, who had received updates through 2016 on the issue, used his detailed briefing as the final justification for the new sanctions on Russia announced on Dec. 29, which included expelling three dozen Russians from America. Trump used his briefing to dispel what he saw was a myriad of "fake news" reports suggesting his team was complicit with Russians on hacking activities.

The FBI contributions to the briefing included mention of the uncorroborated Russian dossier created by the British intelligence agent as well as a payment Flynn had received when he went to Russia in 2015 to give a speech to Vladimir Putin's propaganda news arm, the RT television network.

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

The FBI chose to include both facts to educate the new president in particular to the tactics of Russian intelligence agencies, including the planting of false stories in documents like the dossier and the use of money and sex to compromise Western leaders or to leave them open to bribery.

Until that point, the FBI surveillance process was mostly free of political interference and followed the normal rigors of a counter-intelligence investigation closely monitored by a supervisory court of federal judges.

But the start of the New Year brought with it an unexpected politicizing of the intelligence gathered in secret. Congress was briefed in early January, and Obama unexpectedly signed an executive order allowing information intercepted through FISA warrants or by the National Security Agency to be shared to a wider audience of government officials as he was leaving office.

Soon, leaks began appearing in news media, often in stories lacking the context of how national security investigations are actually conducted. The leak of the Flynn conversations with the Russian ambassador alarmed career FBI officials, who knew it had been gathered using the most sensitive of surveillance powers and was not even part of the earlier Trump-related investigation.

Some U.S intelligence officials were also mortified that the leak tipped off the Russian ambassador to which of his phones might be monitored by US intelligence, harming future surveillance efforts. There was also concerns that Flynn's contentious relationship with other elements of the intelligence community back when he served as DIA chief played a role in the leaking of classified secrets.

Trump's own claim this week that the FBI wiretapped his phone further irritated senior officials. Director James Comey even took the step of asking Justice to knock down the claim.

That action on its face was designed to combat any insinuation that the FBI was used by the Obama administration as a political-enemy intelligence gathering agency in the midst of the election.

But for informed source inside the intelligence community it also conveyed another powerful message: Comey has always insisted the bureau won't comment on matters if an investigation is ongoing. So his willingness to push out a comment this week is the clearest sign to date the FBI doesn't see a criminal case against Trump officials from its surveillance efforts.



Circa News  
1100 Wilson Blvd., 6<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209

b6 -3  
b7C -3



From: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Monday, March 06, 2017 6:15 PM  
To: [REDACTED]  
Subject: RE: Update on story we discussed

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

Fax is [REDACTED]

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

From: [REDACTED]  
Date: 3/6/17 6:00 PM (GMT-05:00)  
To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" < [REDACTED] >  
Cc: [REDACTED]  
Subject: Update on story we discussed

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

Mike:

I have a significant update on the story [REDACTED] and I mentioned to you last week. Do you have a fax where I can send you an outline on what we plan to report?

Also on my cell at [REDACTED]

Thanks

[REDACTED]

-----  
[REDACTED]

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Arlington, VA 22209

[REDACTED]

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)  
**Subject:** FW: Revised factual summary - Going live about 2pm  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 8, 2017 1:10 PM (UTC-05:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

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**From:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 08, 2017 12:28 PM  
**To:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] }  
**Subject:** FW: Revised factual summary - Going live about 2pm

New version, if you want to take a look.

---

**From:** [redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 08, 2017 11:08 AM  
**To:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] }  
**Cc:** [redacted]  
**Subject:** Revised factual summary - Going live about 2pm

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

The months-long FBI counterintelligence investigation into Russian efforts to influence the U.S. election briefly monitored a computer server inside Donald Trump's office building near the end of the election but has not gathered evidence to warrant any criminal charges at present, Circa has learned.

U.S. officials, who spoke only on condition of anonymity because of the sensitive nature of the information, said there is widespread frustration among intelligence professionals who have watched in horror as a normally secretive process has been distorted by media leaks and politicians uneducated about how counterintelligence operations actually work.

"We have people spouting off who don't know the difference between FISA surveillance and a wiretap or a counterintelligence probe versus a special prosecutor criminal case, and it has hurts our ability to get to the truth and has wrongly created the impression that intelligence officials have a political agenda," said one source directly familiar with the drama.

Many of the leaks have surfaced since former President Barack Obama in his waning days in office signed an executive order in January vastly expanding the number of federal agencies and workers with access to sensitive surveillance. Those leaks have created a false narrative that the FBI has been predominantly focused on Trump ties to Russia, officials said.

In fact, any FBI activity involving the president's associates or advisers was mostly ancillary to a wider counterintelligence probe into Russian efforts to influence the election or curry favor with U.S. figures, the sources said.

"The (Trump-Russia) narrative in the media hasn't been our primary focus and mostly involves pieces of information that came in incidentally. We check them out and we move on," one official said, adding most of the work has involved old-fashioned investigative tactics and not surveillance.

Added another official: "I've never seen a case so misrepresented and leaks so damaging to a process that was meant to be conducted in secret so that foreign powers don't know what we know and people's reputations aren't tarnished unfairly."

Several sources with direct knowledge say the FBI's interest in investigating possible Moscow efforts to influence the 2016 election was born out of its long expertise on Russian players gathered back from the 2001 Robert Hansen espionage affair and the 2010 Anna Chapman spy ring scandal. Other intelligence agencies also were gathering similar evidence highlighting Russian activity like computer hacking and propaganda.

The bureau, along with other intelligence agencies, had early signs of political-motivated hacking by Russia and

FBI(23-CV-30)-1101



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

uncorroborated information from among others a former British intelligence officer about possible contacts between Russian intelligence and people close to Trump.

“There were indicators of Russian activity and uncorroborated allegations of Trump associates having contact with key figures and we needed to know if they were connected or not,” one source described. “We’d be remiss if we did not answer that question for the national security community.”

Officials decided the best course of action was to pursue a classic counterintelligence investigation focused on what the Russians were actually doing and whether anyone in the United States, including on the Trump team, might be encouraging or facilitating those actions or financially benefitting from them.

One of the documents that agents tried to corroborate became known as the “Trump dossier,” the work of a trusted ex-British intelligence agent hired by political operatives to find damaging evidence on Trump in Russia. Some of the information in the dossier was explicit and salacious and uncorroborated – like an alleged interlude between Trump and a prostitute in Moscow a few years back and an alleged Russian bribe that could have spelled billions of dollars for Trump’s companies.

Agents were able to corroborate some details in the dossier, mostly public source intelligence about meetings and decisions involving Russian figures. But much of the information about Trump and associates could not be corroborated. Some was disproven and other facts took on new connotations when additional investigation was concluded.

For instance, the FBI and Justice Department requested and received a Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act warrant to monitor a specific computer server inside Trump Towers in New York City that appeared to have activity in eastern Europe that might be tied to a Russian bank. The towers are home to Trump’s business, personal residence and then-campaign headquarters.

The court approved the FISA application in October, ironically just as the election was turning Trump’s way and another controversial FBI probe into Hillary Clinton’s private email was ending. Officials stressed there here was no intercepts of Trump’s phone or emails, and most of the surveillance focused on data showing computer connections between the server and a Russian bank.

Very quickly, agents concluded the computer activity in question involved no nefarious contacts, bank transactions or encrypted communications with the Russians, and likely involved routine computer signals.

The sources also knocked down many false reports in the media, including that the FBI sought a FISA warrant back in June to investigate Trump related activity in the Russia case and was turned down by the special intelligence court. “It did not happen,” one source said.

The officials also strongly disputed that the FBI’s intercepts of conversations in December between soon-to-to-be U.S. National Security Adviser Michael Flynn and Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak were part of a continuing Trump-focused national security investigation. In fact, they were part of a long-established special intelligence program in which the FBI is routinely permitted to review intercepts of Russian embassy officials.

Americans are often incidentally intercepted, and the FBI has authority to review those conversations without a specific warrant when they involve national security matters. Flynn fell into that category in part because he had a security clearance, the sources said.

The sources said Flynn exchanged a handful of calls or text messages to the Russian ambassador in December, including one to express condolences for the fatal shooting of a Russian diplomat in Turkey, one on Christmas Day to pass along holiday wishes and yet another to express remorse for the crash of a Russian plane carrying a music group hoping to bring goodwill to war-wary Syrians.

Some involved more substantive policy issues, something the FBI flagged for the larger intelligence community because

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Obama was still in power and Trump was not yet in power.

For instance, after the Russian ambassador sent a text message seeking a phone call, Flynn and Kislyak talked about sanctions imposed by Obama on Russia on Dec. 29, but the message the American official gave was mostly that a new sheriff was about to take over the White House and Russians shouldn't react to the new sanctions in a way that would foreclose better dialog in the future under a Trump administration, sources said. There was also a discussion of a possible conference about Kazakhstan the next month, they added.

To date, the FBI has not found anything that rises to criminal activity in the Flynn conversations, though the ultimate decision will reside with prosecutors in the Justice Department, the sources said.

The information gathered during 2016 by the FBI, however, did further a robust portrait already being built by numerous intelligence agencies, like the National Security Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency and Directorate of National Intelligence, that Russia and its related actors had taken actions like hacking to influence the U.S. election with the apparent aim of hurting Hillary Clinton's election chances or helping Trump.

There also was evidence of Russian-friendly figures trying to curry favor with those close to Trump, something that happens at all levels when a new president is poised to take office.

But there was no concrete evidence of bribes, illicit money or other criminal activity. So the FBI proceeded to process security clearances for key Trump players about to take jobs in the new administration and did not raise significant concerns to the rest of the intelligence community, the sources said.

At Obama's request, a highly classified briefing was prepared for the outgoing and incoming presidents, which was given to both men over the December holiday break.

Obama, who had received updates through 2016 on the issue, used his detailed briefing as the final justification for the new sanctions on Moscow announced on Dec. 29, which included expelling three dozen Russians from America. Trump used his briefing to dispel what he saw was a myriad of "fake news" reports suggesting his team was complicit with Russians in trying to hijack the election.

The briefing included mention of the uncorroborated Russian dossier created by the British intelligence agent as well as a payment Flynn had received when he went to Russia in 2015 to give a speech to Vladimir Putin's propaganda news arm, the RT television network.

The FBI chose to include both facts to educate the new president in particular to the tactics of Russian intelligence agencies, including the planting of false stories in documents like the dossier and the use of money and sex to compromise Western leaders or to leave them open to bribery, sources said.

Until that point, the FBI surveillance process was mostly free of political interference and followed the normal rigors of a counter-intelligence investigation closely monitored by a supervisory court of federal judges and other intelligence apparatus.

But the start of the New Year brought with it an unexpected politicizing of the intelligence gathered in secret. Congress was briefed in early January, and Obama unexpectedly signed an executive order allowing information intercepted through FISA warrants or by the National Security Agency to be shared to a wider audience of government officials as he was leaving office.

Intelligence normally reserved for just a handful of intelligence leaders was now free to be spread to scores of workers in 16 different agencies with intelligence responsibilities

Soon, leaks began appearing in news media, often in stories lacking the context of how national security investigations are actually conducted. The leak of the Flynn conversations with the Russian ambassador alarmed career FBI officials, who knew it had been gathered using the most sensitive of surveillance powers and was not even part of the earlier

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

Trump-related investigation.

Some U.S intelligence officials were also mortified that the leak tipped off the Russian ambassador to which of his phones might be monitored by US intelligence, harming future surveillance efforts. There was also concerns that Flynn's contentious relationship with other elements of the intelligence community back when he served as Defense Intelligence Agency chief played a role in the leaking of classified intercepts.

Trump's own claim this week that the FBI wiretapped his phone further irritated senior officials. Director James Comey even took the step of asking Justice to knock down the claim. While the computer server was monitored, Trump's phones and emails were never wiretapped, officials said.

Comey's request was designed to combat any insinuation that the FBI was used by the Obama administration as a political-enemy intelligence gathering agency in the midst of the election.

But for informed source inside the intelligence community it also conveyed another powerful message: Comey has always insisted the bureau won't comment on matters if an investigation is ongoing. So his willingness to push out a comment this week was a clear sign the FBI doesn't see a criminal case so far against Trump officials from its surveillance efforts.



Circa News  
1100 Wilson Blvd., 6<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209

b6 -3  
b7C -3



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)  
**Subject:** Fwd: Alfa Bank tells me...  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Cc:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 16, 2017 2:38 PM (UTC-04:00)

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

Mike asked us to check in with you for guidance on this one.

[redacted]

--

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

**From:** "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]  
**Date:** 03/16/2017 2:31 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)" [redacted], [redacted] (DO) (FBI)"  
[redacted]  
**Subject:** Fwd: Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

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

**From:** [redacted]  
**Date:** 3/16/17 2:01 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted], "Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI)"  
[redacted]  
**Cc:** [redacted]  
**Subject:** Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

They have asked for DOJ help and FBI help unmasking a computer hacker in the United States who may have orchestrated the DNS lookups between Trump server and Alfa Bank server. In fact the ping resumed and they have found an apparent spoofing operation.

Can we get any guidance if FBI is aware of the request from bank?

-----  
[redacted]

b6 -3  
b7C -3

FBI(23-CV-30)-1105

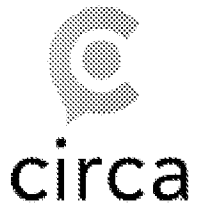


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1100 Wilson Blvd., 6<sup>th</sup> Floor

Arlington, VA 22209

b6 -3  
b7C -3



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)  
**Subject:** Spicer partial  
**To:** Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI); Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI); Dantiki, Sumon S (DO) (OGA); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); James B. Comey  
**Sent:** March 16, 2017 6:06 PM (UTC-04:00) b6 -1  
b7C -1

Partial transcript from WH presser today...more to come

**PICER:** Thanks. Anyway, so to kick it off, Jonathan Karl?

**QUESTION:** So, Sean, the day before yesterday, you said you were extremely confident that the House and Senate Intelligence Committees would ultimately vindicate the president's allegation that Trump Tower was wiretapped. As I'm sure you have now seen, the Senate Intelligence Committee has said they see no indications Trump Tower was the subject of surveillance. That seems to be a pretty blanket statement. What's your reaction?

**SPICER:** Well, I think there are several things, I would also -- it's -- its interesting to me that you know, just as a -- as a point of interest that when -- when one entity says one thing that -- that proves, that claims one thing, you guys cover it ad nauseam.

When Devin Nunes came out and said I think it's very possible, yesterday, there was crickets from you guys. When Devin Nunes came out and said there was no connection that he saw to Russia, crickets. When Tom Cotton said the same, you don't wanna cover this stuff -- no, no, hold on...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ...on no evidence...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, actually...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ...now you've had the House Intelligence Committee and the Senate Intelligence Committee...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, no, actually here's his quote, Jonathan, no here's the direct quote, "I think it's very possible," end quote. That's what he said when he said the president's communications could've been swept up in collection.

So again, I...

**QUESTION:** He said there was no -- I saw no indication of a wire tap...

**(CROSSTALK) SPICER:** I understand that and I think -- and I think the president's been very clear when talks about this, and he talked about it last night. So we talked about wire tapping, he meant surveillance and that there have been incidents that have occurred. Devin Nunes couldn't have stated it more beautifully.

But you choose not to cover that part. You chose not to cover when Tom Cotton went out, when Richard Burr went out, when others, Chairman Nunes and others and said that there was no -- hold on...

FBI(23-CV-30)-1107

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ...Intelligence Committee take...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Yeah I -- no, I understand that, Jonathan. And where was your passion and where was your concern when they all said that there was no -- no connection to Russia? Where was it then? You -- crickets, from you guys, because at the end of the day, when -- no, no, no, no, no, hold on, hold on, I'm -- hold on, hold on...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ...tower?

**SPICER:** I'm making a point. The point is this, number one, that its interesting how when evidence comes out and people who have been briefed on the Russia connection come out and say that there was nothing that they have seen that proves a connection, you choose not to cover that, you don't stop the narrative.

You continue to perpetuate a false narrative. When he came out yesterday and said quote, "I see no evidence that this happened." When he said quote, "I think it's very possible," like I said, we should know (ph) -- you don't cover that part.

You only cover the part -- but let's go through what we do know, OK? Hold on, hold on, let me -- and I'm trying to answer your question, Jonathan, if you can calm down.

If you look at (inaudible) on January 20 -- 12th, 2017, they said quote, "In its final days, the Obama administration has expanded the power of the National Security Agency to share globally intercepted personal communications with the government's 16 other intelligence agencies before applying privacy protections. The new rules significantly relax long-standing limits on what the NSA may do with the information gathered by its most powerful surveillance operation which are largely unregulated by wire tapping laws."

When Sarah Carter reported that by the start of the New Year, brought with it unexpected politicizing of the intelligence gathered in secret. Separately, the Obama administration amended a long standing executive order, allowing information intercepted through FISA warrants or by the National Security Agency to be shared by a wider audience and 16 government agencies as Obama was leaving offices.

Intelligence normally reserved for just a handful of intelligence leaders was spread throughout briefings, of -- to scores of workers and soon, leaks began appearing in news media organizations, often in stories lacking context of how national security investigations are actually concluded. On March 3rd, Fox News Chief Anchor Bret Baier said the following, quote, "There was a report in June 2016, a FISA request by the Obama administration forwarding intelligence surveillance court to monitor communications involving Donald Trump and several other campaign officials. Then they got turned down, then in October, then they renewed it into a start up wire tap at Trump Tower with some computer and Russian banks."

Baier continues, "A June FISA request that foreign intelligence surveillance courts get shot down. A judge says," -- hold, Jonathan, I'm gonna -- you can ask, you can follow-up. "A judge says no go to monitoring Trump Tower, they go back in October, they do get a FISA granted. This is wire tap going on in a monitoring of computers that has some ties they believe to Russian counts.

By all accounts, they don't come up with anything in the investigation, but the investigation continues and we don't know it."

On November 11th, 2016, days after the election, Heat Street reported, quote, "Two separate sources with

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

links to the counter intelligence community had confirmed to Heat Street that the FBI saw and was granted a FISA warrant in October, giving counter surveillance intelligence permission to examine the activities of U.S. persons and Donald Trump's campaign with ties to Russia.

The first requests which sources say named Trump was denied back in June. But the second was drawn more narrowly and granted in October after evidence was presented of a server, possibly related to the Trump campaign and its alleged links to two banks, SVB Bank and Russia's Alfa Bank.

Sources suggest, that a FISA warrant was granted to look at the full context of related documents that concern U.S. person. Two separate sources with links to the counter intelligence community have confirmed that the FBI saw it and was granted a FISA warrant in October, giving counter intelligence permission to examine the activity of U.S. persons and Donald Trump's campaign with ties to Russia."



**From:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)  
**Subject:** Final Spicer transcript  
**To:** Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI); Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI); Dantiki, Sumon S (DO) (OGA); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); James B. Comey  
**Sent:** March 16, 2017 6:59 PM (UTC-04:00)

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The first requests which sources say named Trump was denied back in June. But the second was drawn more narrowly and granted in October after evidence was presented of a server, possibly related to the Trump campaign and its alleged links to two banks, SVB Bank and Russia's Alfa Bank.

Sources suggest, that a FISA warrant was granted to look at the full context of related documents that concern U.S. person. Two separate sources with links to the counter intelligence community have confirmed that the FBI saw it and was granted a FISA warrant in October, giving counter intelligence permission to examine the activity of U.S. persons and Donald Trump's campaign with ties to Russia."

**SPICER:** They go on, "The FISA warrant was granted in connection with the investigation of suspected activities, between the server and two banks. However, it is thought that the intelligence community that the warrant covers any U.S. person connected to this U.N. investigation. And thus covers Donald Trump and at least three further men, who have either formed part of his campaign or acted as immediate surrogates."

On January 19th, the New York Times reported the following, "American law enforcement and intelligence agencies are examining intercepted communication and financial transactions as part of a broad investigation into possible leaks between Russian officials and associates of president-elect Donald J. Trump.

One official said, "Intelligence reports based on some of the wiretapped communications have been provided to the White House. It is unclear what Russian official is under investigation or what particular conversations caught the attention of American eavesdroppers. The legal standard for opening these investigation is low."

Andy McCarthy, writing in National Review suggested quote, "From three reports from The Guardian, Heat Street and the New York Times, it appears the FBI has concerns about a private server in Trump Tower that was connected to one or two Russian banks."

Heat Street describes these concerns as centering on quote "possible financial – and banking offenses." I – this is his quote -- "I italicized the word offenses because it's denotes crimes. Ordinarily when crimes are suspected, there is a criminal investigation, not a national security investigation."

We go on. Sara Carter from the Circa reporting intelligence professionals tell Circa News they were concerned that some of the Russian intelligence was spread through group briefings to a much larger than usual audience back in January. This would have happened during the final days of the Obama Administration, when it expanded Executive Order 12333, which allows and plays with a quote "need to know" and further unfettered access to broad data stowed by the NSA.

The new rules allow the NSA to share -- quote -- "raw signals intelligence information, including the names of those involved in phone conversations and e-mails. The expansion of the order makes it difficult to narrow on the leaks and, frankly, it allows too many people access to the raw data, which only used to be available to a select few," said a U.S. official who spoke on the condition of anonymity and was not granted to be speak on the authority.

Numerous outlets including the New York Times have reported on the FBI investigation into Mr. Trump's advisers, BBC and Lynn McCarthy (ph) revealed the existence of a multi-agency working group to coordinate investigations across the thing.

On February 14th, the New York Times again refers to phone records and intercepted calls – let me quote them, "American law enforcement intelligence agency intercepted the communications around the same time they were discovering the evidence that Russia was trying to disrupt the presidential election by hacking into the Democratic National Committee," three officials said, "The intelligence Russia -- the intelligence agencies then thought to learn whether the Trump campaign was colluding with the Russians on hacking or on other efforts to influence the election." The officials interviewed in recent weeks said that so far, they've seen no evidence of such cooperation.

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The official said that the intercepted communications were not limited to Trump campaign officials and other associates of Mr. Trump. The call logs and intercepted communications are part of a larger trove of information that the FBI is sifting through.

Days later, the New York Times then reports, quote "In the Obama administration's last days, some White House officials scrambled to spread information about Russian efforts to undermine the presidential election of Donald Trump, connections between the president-elect and Russians across the government."

But the increasingly hard to escape conclusion that in our government that -- individuals in our government were instead trying to undermine the new president by saying quote -- this is the New York Times again -- "At intelligence agencies, there was a push to process as much raw intelligence into possible analysis to keep the report at relatively low classification levels, to ensure a widespread leadership across the government." And in some cases -- quote -- "among them European allies. This allowed the upload of as much information -- intelligence that was possible to Intellipedia, a secret wiki used by American analysis to share information."

Sean Hannity went on Fox to say, quote, "But protections which are known as minimization procedures have been put in place to protect Americans that are not under warrant," American citizens that are caught up in the surveillance. And quote, "By the way, their identities are protected. Their constitutional rights -- are to be protected. Now of course, this was not the case with Lieutenant General Flynn, because we know a transcript of this call was created and then given to intelligence officials, who then leaked this information, which is a felony, to the press that printed it," end quote.

Last on Fox News, on March 14th, Judge Andrew Napolitano made the following statement, quote, "Three intelligence sources have informed Fox News that President Obama went outside the chain of command. He didn't use the NSA, he didn't use the CIA, he didn't use the FBI and he didn't use the Department of Justice. He used GCHQ. What is that? It's the initials for the British intelligence finding agency. So, simply by having two people saying to them president needs transcripts of conversations involving candidate Trump's conversations, involving president-elect Trump, he's able to get it and there's no American fingerprints on this. Putting the published accounts and common-sense together, this leads to a lot."

**QUESTION:** So Sean, are you saying...

**SPICER:** So, John...

**QUESTION:** ...that despite the findings, the bipartisan findings of the Senate Intelligence Committee --

**SPICER:** No, they're not findings. They're two -- there's a statement out today. They have not begun this. As you know, yesterday or two days ago, the Department of Justice asked for an additional week. So they -- the statement clearly says that at this time, that they don't believe that. They have yet to go through the information. The Department of Justice, as you know, has not supplied this.

But I just read off to you -- it's interesting. When the New York Times reports...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Hold on, hold on.

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... that whole long answer...

**SPICER:** Thank you. Appreciate it.

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**QUESTION:** OK. So, are you saying that the president still stands by his allegation that President Obama ordered wiretapping or surveillance of Trump Tower despite the fact that the Senate Intelligence Committee says they see no indication that it happened?

**SPICER:** But...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** Does the president still stand by the allegation?

**SPICER:** First of all, he stands by it, but again, you're mischaracterizing what happened today. The Senate...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** I understand that. And at the same time, they acknowledge that they have not been in contact with the Department of Justice. So – but again, I go back to what I said at the beginning. It's interesting...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Hold on, hold on. It's interesting how at the same time, where were you coming to the defense of that same Intelligence Committee and those members when they said there was no connection to Russia? You didn't seem to report it then. There was no – no, no...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** ... so you want – you want a comment and you want to perpetuate a false narrative when...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... report that Clapper said that. I...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** But when those individuals have gone out time and time again; when Chairman Nunes has said, number one, that there was no information that he's aware of that that existed, that got zero reporting.

Number two, when he went out yesterday and said, quote, "I think it's very possible," you don't include that in the question mark.

The bottom line is that the president said last night that he would be providing – that there would be additional information coming forward. He's – there's a ton of media reports out there that indicate that something was going on during the 2016 election.

And I think it's interesting, where was the questioning of the New York Times or these other outlets when that was going on? Where was the questioning...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** I believe he will.

Jim?

**QUESTION:** Yeah, you were just quoting Sean Hannity there. The House and Senate Intelligence Committees are quoting...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** I also quote -- I get you're going to cherry pick...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... the FBI director. You're citing Sean Hannity...

**SPICER:** No, no, no. OK. You also look over -- you also tend to overlook all of the other sources, because I know you want to cherry pick it. But -- no, no... (CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** ... but -- but you do. But where was your concern about the New York Times report? You didn't seem to have a concern with that.

**QUESTION:** We have done -- I've done plenty of reporting on all of this...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, no, but you want to cherry pick one...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... these connections between the...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** ... one commentary -- one piece of commentary.

**QUESTION:** ... associates of the president to the Russians. That has all been looked at and...

**SPICER:** No, but how do you know all this? The -- the -- how do you seem to be such an expert on this?

**QUESTION:** I'm saying that this has been looked at, Sean...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** How do you know it's been looked at?

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Hold on, hold on. Where is -- I'm sorry -- I'm afraid -- to understand -- where -- can you tell me how you know that all of this has, quote, "been looked at"?

**QUESTION:** You're asking me whether or not...

**SPICER:** You made a statement. You said, quote, "all of this has been looked at."

**QUESTION:** ... other outlets have reported...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, no. So, OK, so we're -- so when your outlet says it's all been looked at...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... to the president and the Russians during the 2016 campaign. It sounds like during the context of that investigation, there might have been some intercepted communications. The House Intelligence Committee chairman did mention that. And we have reported that. Others have reported that -- (inaudible) and various publications.

But Sean, what you are refusing to answer -- the question that you are refusing to answer is whether or not the president still believes what he believes...

**SPICER:** No, I'm not. I just said it to Jonathan. I didn't refuse to answer that.

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... you have a Senate and House Intelligence Committee both leaders from both parties on both of those panels saying that they don't see any evidence of any wiretapping. So how can the president go on and continue to...

**SPICER:** Because that's not -- because you're mischaracterizing what Chairman Nunes said. He said, quote, "I think it's possible" -- he is following up on this. So to suggest that...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** And you're stating unequivocally that you somehow...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... literally, you said if you...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Right. And I think that we've already cleared that up. And he said exactly that. But the president has already said clearly, when he referred to wiretapping, he was referring to surveillance. So that's...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** So that's...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... sounds like, though, Sean, that you and the president are saying now, "Well, we don't need wiretapping anymore; that's not true anymore..."

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, no...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** So now we're going to (inaudible) other forms of surveillance. What's it going to be next?

**SPICER:** No, no, that's not -- Jim, I think that's cute, but at the end of the day, we're talked about this for three or four days. What the president had to, quote, "wiretapping," in quotes, he was referring to broad surveillance. And now you're basically going back. We talked about this several days ago.

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The bottom line is that the investigation by the House and the Senate has not been provided all of the information. And when it does – but where was the concern...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** ... hold on. I just...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... not evidence...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, no. What I -- I think the president addressed that last night, said there's more to come. These are merely pointing out that I think there's widespread reporting that throughout the 2016 election, there was surveillance that was done on a variety of people. That came up...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... investigation going on as to whether there was contact between the president's campaign and the Russians...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Jim, I find it interesting that you -- you somehow believe that you...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... of course, they're going to be looking at these various...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** OK. OK. I get it. Somehow, you seem to believe that you have all of this information. You've been read-in (ph) on all of these things, which I find very interesting.

**QUESTION:** I haven't (inaudible) by the FBI...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Well, no, you're coming to some serious conclusions for a guy that has zero intelligence...

(CROSSTALK)

(LAUGHTER)

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** Well, give me some credit...

**SPICER:** I'll give you some...

(CROSSTALK)



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**QUESTION:** ... a little intelligence maybe. But no...

**SPICER:** Clearance. I wasn't done. Clearance.

**QUESTION:** ...those two – those two panels...

**SPICER:** Maybe both.

**QUESTION:** Well, come on.

(LAUGHTER)

**QUESTION:** Those two panels have spoken with the FBI director and I was...

**SPICER:** I – I understand that...

**QUESTION:** ...told there's no evidence of this.

**SPICER:** OK I – I think this question's has been asked and answered...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ... just have the president say he was wrong.

**SPICER:** It's interesting how you jump to all of these conclusions about what they have, what they don't have and you seem to know all the answers. But at the end of the day, there was clearly a ton of reporting...

**QUESTION:** A week from now...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Hold on, Jim, let me answer -- no, I -- I think that there's been a -- a vast amount of reporting which I just detailed, about activity that was going on in the 2016 election. There was no question that there was surveillance techniques used throughout this.

I think by -- by a variety of outlets that have reported this activity concluded. So and I think when you actually ask those two people whether or not and as Chairman Nunez said yesterday, when you take it literally in wire tapping, the president's already been very clear that he didn't mean specifically wire tapping, he had it in quotes.

So I think to fall back on that is a false -- is a false premise, that's not what he said. He was very clear about that when he talked about it yesterday, major.

**QUESTION:** Sean?

**QUESTION:** OK Sean, so just to be clear, you're good and the president's good with stories that have anonymous sources in them (ph)?

**SPICER:** No its interesting, I think when it comes to the Russia story and the on the record sources who have been briefed by the FBI continue to conclude that there's nothing there. You guys continue to fall back on these anonymous sources and perpetuate a false narrative.

And yet, when it comes to us talking about all these reports in there, you then criticize anonymous sources. No, it's just interesting, this -- this sort of -- the double standard that exists when it comes to us citing stories

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when it comes to -- and then how you intend to use them.

**QUESTION:** So let me ask you what -- what the president said last night. He was asked by Tucker Carlson, you're in charge of the various intelligence apparatus that report to you...

**SPICER:** Right.

**QUESTION:** ...you can ask them...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** You can, he would be getting...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** ...can I ask my question?

**SPICER:** Yeah.

**QUESTION:** He said he was reluctant to do that.

**SPICER:** Right.

**QUESTION:** So lemme just put two things together. Earlier this week, you told us when asked, has the president directed the Justice Department to collect and distribute information to the various relevant congressional committees? If I remember your answer correctly, it was...

**SPICER:** That's right.

**QUESTION:** ...no we hadn't given that specific directions. Has that changed, has he now directed the Justice Department...

**SPICER:** No.

**QUESTION:** ...and is he asking himself, or the intelligence agencies that report to him, to provide him specific answers to these underlying questions that are separate from the reportages... **SPICER:** No.

**QUESTION:** ...you're citing?

**SPICER:** No.

**QUESTION:** Why not?

**SPICER:** Because I think we've covered this before, I think that gets into interfering this and I think that the appropriate process is to allow the House and the Senate to do it so that it doesn't appear as though we're interfering -- I understand that.

But as I've -- I mentioned to you this the other day, Major, if we go at them then you're gonna turn around and say you guys interfered with something and you pressured them. It's a catch 22 for us and the bottom line is, is that I think the president made a clear two Sundays ago that he wanted the House and the Senate Intelligence Committee to work with these agencies to collect the information and make a report.

That's what we're doing. In -- in order to make sure that there's a separation from us, so that you can't turn around and then accuse us of -- of forcing or pressuring an agency to produce a document. We're asking

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them to go through the process of -- of this separation of powers and actually going to those different entities, the Department of Justice said yesterday they want an additional week. And we're allowing that process to play through.

(CROSSTALK)

QUESTION: Sean?

**SPICER:** Got it, Abby?

QUESTION: Sean?

QUESTION: Sean, I got a follow-up...

QUESTION: Did the president make any statements based on classified information?

**SPICER:** I'm not gonna get into what the -- how the president makes a decision. I think that what I think is clear though, is through the reporting that I just read is if there's clearly widespread open-source material pointing to surveillance that was conducted during the 2016 election.

(CROSSTALK)

QUESTION: ...information is available to members of the House and the Senate is public, as you noted. They are looking at (inaudible) information...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, no, no, they have -- no, no, that's not true.

(CROSSTALK)

QUESTION: ...evidence to back up the president's claims. So if there is other information, why won't the president release...

**SPICER:** Again, I'm not gonna get into that yet. I think the president discussed that last night on -- on his interview and we'll let the process play out. I understand what he discussed, I think they have -- they have -- they have clearances in the House and the Senate intelligence committees. They're able to conduct this.

Alexis (ph)?

QUESTION: Sean, I'd like to ask you about two topics, but can you help us all by calling on Peter (ph) right now?

(LAUGHTER)

**SPICER:** No I'm gonna -- I understand -- I actually call the question. Alexis (ph), if you don't an answer to your question, I can call on somebody else.

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** No, thank you.

Gabby (ph)?

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**QUESTION:** Thanks, Sean.

In the case that Judge Watson issued against -- the restraining order against Trump's second travel -- or the president's second travel ban, he included one of the president's tweets. And this is also included in the Washington State case. So I'm wondering, does it give the president any pause that this virtual paper trail is creating -- is having an impact on advancing his agenda?

**SPICER:** Well, I mean I think that the Department of Justice statement speaks for itself when it comes to that, last night the -- the federal law that I read out clearly gives the president the authority, this is what we argued during the first one. I think for a judge to ignore that statute and talk about tweets or interpreting something that happened during the campaign trail, is -- is not in keeping with their -- how they're supposed to interpret the law.

I'm not gonna continue to comment. We tailor that additional -- that second executive order to comply with the judge's order. I think so to go back now and to say, well, based on how the first order was conceived, makes absolutely no sense. But I'm going to let the Department of Justice litigate that, how they do it.

But that's -- the second order literally was tailored to the concerns that were rendered by the 9th Circuit in the first executive order. So for them to then turn around and make arguments that are non-germane seems kind of odd. But I'll let the Department of Justice do that.

Zeke?

**QUESTION:** Thanks, Sean. One quick followup on the (inaudible) yesterday.

Is the president concerned that comments made by his staff came up in the -- in this lawsuit? (inaudible) comments by Stephen Miller (ph) saying that the second (inaudible) would have (inaudible) same policy outcome as the first. That was the (inaudible) that was used by the judge in that case to sort of (inaudible) get that (inaudible) yesterday. Is he concerned that that -- is he concerned that the (inaudible) that there's mixed messaging coming out of the West Wing?

**SPICER:** No, he's not. And I think that the Department of Justice will be pursuing avenues that will seek to remedy this. I think when you read through the -- the court's ruling, in Hawaii in particular, it just doesn't seem to make sense.

As I mentioned to Kathy (ph), I mean the -- the executive order -- the second executive order was literally tailored. So to go back and talk about statements that occurred, you know, in some cases well before even the first one, seems to not be an accurate reading of the law. But I'll let the Department of Justice, you know, be the ones that argue this and make the appropriate legal argument.

Hunter? (CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** Yeah?

**QUESTION:** (inaudible) your long list of (inaudible) these reports you mentioned. One that (inaudible) accusation that perhaps the PCHQ (ph) was involved. Did the president ever raise this with his conversation with Theresa May? And if this -- if that were to pan out, would that imperil the special relationship between (inaudible)?

**SPICER:** Again, these are just -- that happened I think two days ago. It was something that was, you know, reported on air. I think the point is that there's been a...

(CROSSTALK)

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**SPICER:** No, no, it has not been raised. But I do think that, again, we're not -- I'm just -- all we're doing is literally reading off what other stations and people have reported. And I think that cast a concern of some of the activities that may have occurred during the '16 election.

We're not casting judgment on that. I think the idea is to say that if these organizations, if these individuals came to these conclusions, they merit looking into.

Olivier (ph).

**QUESTION:** Thanks, Sean. I've got a couple for you. There's a news report about the president's meeting with the Saudi defense minister/deputy crown prince, that says that the defense minister told the president about a plot, a terrorist plot against the United States. Did that happen? What's the nature of that? How worried should Americans be?

**SPICER:** We're obviously never going to comment on any kind of specific threats to the homeland. We're obviously committed to ensuring the safety of every American. But it should be no secret that we share intelligence amongst a variety of countries. And so we would never comment on a potential threat or not that existed, but we appreciate several countries that we work with closely to make sure that we do what we can to protect the homeland.

**QUESTION:** And one more. Secretary Tillerson in Asia said that 20 years of diplomatic efforts have failed to get North Korea to denuclearize. That's plainly true, but the question I guess that comes up is does the president plan a break from diplomacy altogether? Are we looking now at only the use of force or some other coercive measures?

**SPICER:** I'm not going to comment. I think the president never takes anything off the table. That's something that he's been very clear about. And -- and that -- Blake?

**QUESTION:** Sean, over the course of the campaign, the president made a couple of different -- many comments about the budget and the deficit. At one point, he said he thought that he could get rid of the national debt over the course of eight years. At another point, he said that he would insist on a balanced budget relatively soon.

Now, the baseline that the administration is giving out is, "Well, at least we're not adding onto the deficit," which is nearly a half-trillion dollars. So I'm curious as to how we got from that point to now, to where he was talking at one point about eliminating a bunch, and now it's adding onto...

(CROSSTALK)

**SPICER:** I think Director Mulvaney addressed that. I think, look, a couple of things. Number one, the Senate dragged its feet on getting Director Mulvaney confirmed and in office. So I think we're way -- we were behind the curve on having a director of OMB. We got in here. I think we produced a blueprint that is consistent with the president's principles and priorities.

But he's already made it very clear that we'll have a budget probably sometime in May that will outline the more specifics of the revenue piece, the entitlement piece, and the full details of all this.

But that's -- eliminating a \$20 trillion debt and tackling the current deficit is something that's going to take a little bit of time. It's something the president is committed to reducing, and I think we've talked very extensively about the president's commitment to protecting taxpayer dollars and using them more efficiently.

This budget and a lot of the action the president has took on, you know, on other projects including the F-18, the next generation of Air Force One, show that the president's committed on very, very personal basis to getting involved in programs and policies to reduce the deficit and to respect taxpayer money. So this is step

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one and it's a down payment on that goal.

**QUESTION:** As for future steps, there are lots of cuts in here but no matter which way you splice the numbers, anyone will tell you, if you want a drop it somehow, you've got to get to entitlements.

**SPICER:** I understand.

**QUESTION:** Is that on the table potentially, yes or no?

**SPICER:** Look, as Director Mulvaney put it, look, there's been -- he was chosen for this job because of his commitment to fiscal austerity and respect of taxpayer dollars and budgeting skills and I think that we've got to get past today, let us get down that, and we'll have more -- but again, I think this budget is a huge down payment on the president's goal of showing his commitment to fiscal responsibility and respecting the taxpayer.

**QUESTION:** Sean, tax day is coming up. A lot of Americans putting together their tax returns. When the president puts together his tax return this year, will he release it publicly? Presuming it's not under audit.

**SPICER:** Well St. Patrick's Day is tomorrow, that's what I'm more focused on.

**QUESTION:** Presumably his 2016 returns are not under audit yet. So will he release...

**SPICER:** ...Right. Well, again, we'll -- we'll cross that bridge when it comes to it. I think the president's been very clear about his position on his tax returns and we'll have to see where it goes from there but the president has been very clear throughout the campaign and consistent that he's under a routine audit.

**QUESTION:** Reading the draft of the budget, listening to Director Mulvaney comments yesterday and today, it would appear that the national endowment for the arts would be phased out entirely in two years. Can you name any other government programs or even cabinet departments such as housing and urban development and education in which its entire function may be phased out or reduced to another agency and government or even the state.

**SPICER:** John (ph), who's here from OMB, is the appropriate person to ask on that. He can -- I know that they've done several briefings on the budget. We could have OMB definitely get back to you on this if you can -- if you can contact him after this.

**QUESTION:** You keep going back to the fact that the president used wiretap in quotes and last night he said it was very important that it was in quotes. But out of the four tweets where he accuses Barack Obama of wiretapping him, he only used quotes in two of them. In two of them he specifically said that he tapped his phones. He didn't use the term wiretapping.

And just minutes ago you said it was communications being swept up. So can you definitively say that he still feels like Barack Obama wiretapped Trump Tower? Or does he feel like it was broadly surveilled? Which is it?

**SPICER:** Look, he was very clear about this last night. He talked about it as you said.

**QUESTION:** He wasn't clear about it (ph)...

**SPICER:** Yeah, he was. He said that he meant it, he put it in quotes, it was very broad, and so that's what he meant by the use of the term.

**QUESTION:** So was it phone tapping?

**SPICER:** No, it was surveillance and I think we've covered this like 10 times.

**QUESTION:** But it hasn't (ph) -- there's no specific answer what it was. What President Obama do...

**SPICER:** ...I understand that but that's the point of them looking into this, Caitlyn (ph). I think the idea is to look into this, have the House and Senate Intelligence Committees look into this and report back.

**QUESTION:** So I want to follow up on that. If all of this comes out and there's no proof that President Obama had any role in any wiretapping, that there was no wiretapping, will President Trump then offer an apology?

**SPICER:** I've had this like three times this week and I think the answer is, we're not going to prejudge where the -- where this -- where the outcome of this is. We've got to let the process work its will and then when there's a report that comes out conclusive from there, then we'll be able to comment. But to jump ahead of this process at this point would be inappropriate.

**QUESTION:** Sean for taking questions from a talk radio host right here in Georgia and not in the D.C. swamp. First I have two questions. On the leaks of the president's tax returns and classified information, President Trump campaigned on draining the swamp. The American people then want to know why the FBI Director Comey (ph )and Commissioner (inaudible) have not yet been fired by the Trump Administration.

My second question is with regard to, there are many conservatives are really concerned that Paul Ryan, the speaker of the House, is leading President Trump down a very wrong (ph) path on healthcare. How do you react to that?

**SPICER:** Well on the first one, there's no personnel updates with respect to -- with the exception of the ones that I mentioned today.

On the second, Donald Trump's not one to be led down a path by anyone. I think he is -- he talked today at the lunch with T Shuck (ph) and Speaker Ryan, he is working hand in glove with -- with the speaker. He talked about it last night.

This is a commitment that he has to enacting healthcare. This is a process that he has to -- to enacting healthcare. This is a -- a process that he is committed to, wants to see through because of a goal that he wants to achieve, which is making more patient centric healthcare system that lowers the cost and increases the options.

But, he doesn't get led down any paths. He leads very clearly. And I think if you listen to Speaker Ryan today, he's in agreement that there's been a strong partnership between the House, the administration, and I think the Senate so far to make sure that we get this bill done.

And that's what our goal's going to be. And that's, you know -- so I would argue that we've actually done a pretty good job of getting that done. Jonathan?

**QUESTION:** (OFF-MIKE) to cut the National Institute of Health budget by 19 percent. It's, as you know, very important part of the government funding medical research.

**SPICER:** Yeah. **QUESTION:** Budget Director Mulvaney yesterday acknowledged that the private sector can't fill that gap when there are rare diseases. We do need a really robust government presence. The president invited a rare disease patient to his speech to Congress so he could talk about medical innovation and new cures.

How do you square those things when you're cutting in -- in our hedge by 19 percent? And many conservatives actually wanted to increase the budget?

**SPICER:** I -- I think Director Mulvaney actually -- somebody asked him during the Q&A period how -- the same



question. And ...

(CROSSTALK)

**QUESTION:** (Inaudible) that it wouldn't -- my outtake from listening to him yesterday was that it wouldn't (ph) be cut. I mean, I almost (ph) wrote (ph) that.

**SPICER:** But -- but again, there's this assumption in Washington, Jonathan, that if you get less money, it's a cut. And I think that the reality is that in a lot of these there's efficiencies, duplicity, ways to spend money better. And I think if you're wasting a lot of money, that's not a true dollar spent.

And I think when you look at the way that Director Mulvaney and the president approached this budget it was can we ask, can we get more with the same dollar, can we find duplicity, can we find efficiencies, can we combine, you know, facilities in some cases at NIH to enhance a better experience?

Whereby we actually have an outcome that's reduced savings. But to assume that because you spend a ton of dollars, you're going to get a better outcome -- I mean, with all due respect, you look at the District of Columbia. They spend by far more per capita than any other city in the country on -- on education.

And I think they have, you know, tremendous issues that are constantly being dealt with in their education system. So, to assume that just because you throw money at a problem, it somehow magically solves is a very Washington way of looking a -- a budget problem.

**QUESTION:** But they believe ...

**SPICER:** I understand that, and I think a lot of the issues that we're working as the director outlined a couple weeks ago during the pass back process is to work with them to talk to each of these agencies and departments about how to walk through their budget in a way that ensures that they can continue to do the core functions that they want while finding ways to reduce waste, get rid of -- enhance efficiencies, and get rid of duplicity.

But that is a very Washington way of looking a problem when you say let's just look at how much we spend as a measure of how much we care, or how much we're going to get done. And I think that the president's been very clear about as to what his priorities on this budget are.

And the outcomes that we expect from every dollar that we spend. So, for being in office for 55 days, or 50 some odd days or whatever it's been, we've had a unique ability to go forward so far and make a very strong commitment to enhancing our national security, to protect the country, to keep America safe and its citizens safe, while at the same time, making sure that we don't ask for people to work harder to spend more to Washington -- send more to Washington that gets alternately wasted.

I just don't see how that's showing respect to the American people or the American taxpayer. Especially when so many people are working two sometimes three jobs or, you know, or both parents are working just to -- to -- to get by and pay the mortgage. And we're saying, hey, don't worry, keep sending more money to Washington and we're not going to take the time.

But there should be a review of all these agencies. Director Mulvaney was pointing out how many, you know, unauthorized agencies and departments and programs we have throughout the government. If we're going to do that, at some point, there should be a debate on whether or not these agencies and programs are achieving their mission.

And if they are, then great, fund them. But if they're not, then we shouldn't be asking hard working American taxpayers to send more money to Washington to fund things that don't further those goals. Thank you, guys, very much. I look forward to seeing you all tomorrow. Take care. Have a good one.



-end-

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Subject:** RE: Alfa Bank tells me...  
**To:** [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)  
**Cc:** [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 16, 2017 8:08 PM (UTC-04:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1

H [REDACTED] I don't think we want to comment on this. Thanks, Pete

---

**From:** [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 16, 2017 2:38 PM  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] >  
**Cc:** [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) <[REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Fwd: Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

Mike asked us to check in with you for guidance on this one.

[REDACTED]

--

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

**From:** "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" <[REDACTED]>  
**Date:** 03/16/2017 2:31 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" <[REDACTED]>, [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" <[REDACTED]>  
**Subject:** Fwd: Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

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

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Date:** 3/16/17 2:01 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" <[REDACTED]>, "Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI)" <[REDACTED]>  
**Cc:** [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

They have asked for DOJ help and FBI help unmasking a computer hacker in the United States who may have orchestrated the DNS lookups between Trump server and Alfa Bank server. In fact the ping resumed and they have found an apparent spoofing operation.

Can we get any guidance if FBI is aware of the request from bank?

-----



Circa News  
1100 Wilson Blvd., 6<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)  
**Subject:** RE: Alfa Bank tells me...  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Cc:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 16, 2017 8:27 PM (UTC-04:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1

Copy. Thank you.

--

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

**From:** "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] >  
**Date:** 03/16/2017 8:07 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)" <[redacted]>  
**Cc:** [redacted] C. (DO) (FBI)" <[redacted]>  
**Subject:** RE: Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

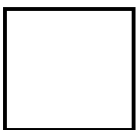
Hi [redacted] I don't think we want to comment on this. Thanks, Pete

---

**From:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 16, 2017 2:38 PM  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [redacted] >  
**Cc:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI) <[redacted]>  
**Subject:** Fwd: Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

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--

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

**From:** "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted] >  
**Date:** 03/16/2017 2:31 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)" <[redacted]>, [redacted] (DO) (FBI)"

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

[Redacted]

Subject: Fwd: Alfa Bank tells me...

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

From: [Redacted]

Date: 3/16/17 2:01 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [Redacted], "Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI)"

[Redacted]

Cc [Redacted]

Subject: Alfa Bank tells me...

b6 -3  
b7C -3  
b7E -3

They have asked for DOJ help and FBI help unmasking a computer hacker in the United States who may have orchestrated the DNS lookups between Trump server and Alfa Bank server. In fact the ping resumed and they have found an apparent spoofing operation.

Can we get any guidance if FBI is aware of the request from bank?

-----

[Redacted]

b6 -3  
b7C -3

Circa News

1100 Wilson Blvd., 6<sup>th</sup> Floor

Arlington, VA 22209



b6 -3  
b7C -3



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)  
**Subject:** Fwd: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 28, 2017 5:43 PM (UTC-04:00)

Fysa

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

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

**From:** "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" <[redacted]>  
**Date:** 03/28/2017 4:56 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) <[redacted]>  
**Subject:** FW: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

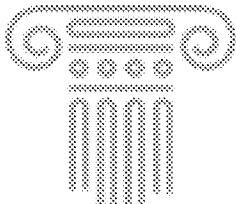
**From:** [redacted] (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 28, 2017 4:47 PM  
**To:** Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) <[redacted]@gov>  
**Cc:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) <[redacted]>; Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI) <[redacted]>  
**Subject:** FW: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

Grassley apparently has sent us a letter regarding the DD.

**From:** "Chairman Grassley (Judiciary-Rep)" <[ChairmanGrassley@judiciary-rep.senate.gov](mailto:ChairmanGrassley@judiciary-rep.senate.gov)>  
**Date:** March 28, 2017 at 4:15:15 PM EDT  
**To:** "Foy, Taylor (Judiciary-Rep)" <[redacted]>, "Levine, Beth (Judiciary-Rep)" <[redacted]>  
**Subject:** Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -3  
b7C -3



**COMMITTEE** *on the* **JUDICIARY**  
CHAIRMAN CHUCK GRASSLEY [WWW.JUDICIARY.SENATE.GOV](http://WWW.JUDICIARY.SENATE.GOV)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tuesday, March 28, 2017

Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in

FBI(23-CV-30)-1133

## Russia Collusion Probe

*Deputy Director under review for political conflict in Clinton email case also in position to oversee inquiry into Trump campaign associates*

WASHINGTON – Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley today called on the FBI to detail the involvement in the probe of alleged collusion between Trump campaign associates and Russia of one senior official who is under investigation for political conflicts in the Clinton email matter. Deputy Director Andrew McCabe helped oversee the FBI’s investigation in the Clinton case even though his wife received nearly \$700,000 from close Clinton associates during her campaign for Virginia state senate. As the FBI’s second-in-command, McCabe could have significant influence over the ongoing investigation into allegations of collusion between Trump campaign associates and Russia as well.

In January, the Justice Department Inspector General announced it is reviewing whether McCabe should have recused himself from overseeing the Clinton matter following reports that his wife received campaign contributions from longtime Clinton associate, Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe, and his political organizations. The contributions occurred while the investigation was underway. In a letter today to FBI Director James Comey, Grassley is seeking details on McCabe’s involvement in the alleged collusion matter, whether it, too, constitutes an appearance of conflict, and whether he should be recused from any involvement in the collusion investigation as well.

*“These circumstances undermine public confidence in the FBI’s impartiality ... FBI’s senior leadership should never have allowed that appearance of a conflict to undermine the Bureau’s important work. ... If Mr. McCabe failed to avoid the appearance of a partisan conflict of interest in favor of Mrs. Clinton during the presidential election, then any participation in this inquiry creates the exact same appearance of a partisan conflict of interest against Mr. Trump,” Grassley said in the letter.*

Grassley raised questions about potential use of federal authorities for political gain following reports that the FBI sought to pay the author of the unsubstantiated and politically funded opposition research dossier on then-candidate Donald Trump. Grassley is now seeking details on McCabe’s involvement in the Trump campaign associates probe, including whether he was a part of any decision to continue funding the opposition research or whether he based investigative actions, such as surveillance, on information in the unsubstantiated dossier.

Text of Grassley’s letter to Comey follows:

March 28, 2017



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

## VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable James B. Comey, Jr.

Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

935 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Washington, DC 20535

Dear Director Comey:

At your speech last Thursday at the University of Texas, you referenced former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's short letter to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, which sought authorization for FBI surveillance of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. without any proper basis for doing so. You mentioned that you keep this letter on your desk, and place FISA applications awaiting your review on top of it, as a reminder. You cited this to emphasize the importance of oversight over the FBI, even over well-meaning FBI officials, to ensure the propriety of the FBI's actions. You are right to call attention to the importance of such oversight. As Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, it is my constitutional duty to conduct that oversight over the FBI and the Department of Justice.

Pursuant to its authority under the Constitution and the Rules of the Senate, the Committee requires information to determine: (1) the extent to which FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe has been involved in the FBI's investigation of President Trump's associates and Russia; (2) whether that involvement raises the appearance a conflict of interest in light of his wife's ties with Clinton associates; and (3) whether Mr. McCabe has been or should be recused from the investigation.

As you know, Mr. McCabe is under investigation by the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General. That investigation is examining whether the political and financial connections between his wife's Democratic political campaign and Clinton associates warranted his recusal in the FBI's Clinton email investigation. On March 7, 2015, just five days after the *New York Times* broke the story about Secretary Clinton's use of private email for official business, Mr. McCabe met with Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe, a longtime, close associate of the Clintons—along with his wife, Dr. McCabe. Mr. McAuliffe recruited Dr. McCabe, who had not previously run for any political office, to be the Democratic candidate for a Virginia state senate seat. Dr. McCabe agreed, and Governor McAuliffe's political action committee subsequently gave nearly \$500,000 to her campaign while the FBI's investigation of Secretary Clinton was ongoing. The Virginia Democratic Party, over which Mr. McAuliffe exerts considerable control, also donated over \$200,000 to Dr. McCabe's campaign. While Mr. McCabe recused himself from public corruption cases in Virginia—presumably including the reportedly ongoing investigation of Mr. McAuliffe regarding illegal campaign contributions—he failed to recuse himself from the Clinton email investigation, despite the appearance of a conflict created by his wife's campaign accepting \$700,000 from a close Clinton associate during the investigation.

You have publicly stated that the people at the FBI “don't give a rip about politics.”<sup>11</sup> However, the

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

fact is that the Deputy Director met with Mr. McAuliffe about his wife's run for elected office and she subsequently accepted campaign funding from him. The fact is that the Deputy Director participated in the controversial, high-profile Clinton email investigation even though his wife took money from Mr. McAuliffe. These circumstances undermine public confidence in the FBI's impartiality, and this is one of the reasons that many believe the FBI pulled its punches in the Clinton matter. FBI's senior leadership should never have allowed that appearance of a conflict to undermine the Bureau's important work. The Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General is now investigating that matter, as part of the work it announced on January 12, 2017.

Last week, you publicly testified that in late July of 2016, the FBI began investigating the Russian government's attempts to interfere in the 2016 presidential election, including investigating whether there was any collusion between individuals associated with the Trump campaign and the Russian government. Given the timing of the investigation and his position, it is likely that Mr. McCabe has been involved in that high-profile, politically charged inquiry as well. If Mr. McCabe failed to avoid the appearance of a partisan conflict of interest in favor of Mrs. Clinton during the presidential election, then any participation in this inquiry creates the exact same appearance of a partisan conflict of interest against Mr. Trump. As you testified last week, you believe that if someone had a bias for or against one of them, he would have the opposite bias toward the other: "they're inseparable, right; it's a two person event."

According to public reports, the FBI agreed to pay the author of the unsubstantiated dossier alleging a conspiracy between Trump associates and the Russians. It reportedly agreed to pay the author, Christopher Steele, to continue investigating Mr. Trump. Clinton associates reportedly paid Mr. Steele to create this political opposition research dossier against Mr. Trump. The FBI has failed to publicly reply to my March 6 letter asking about those reports. That leaves serious questions about the FBI's independence from politics unanswered.

Mr. McCabe's appearance of a partisan conflict of interest relating to Clinton associates only magnifies the importance of those questions. That is particularly true if Mr. McCabe was involved in approving or establishing the FBI's reported arrangement with Mr. Steele, or if Mr. McCabe vouched for or otherwise relied on the politically-funded dossier in the course of the investigation. Simply put, the American people should know if the FBI's second-in-command relied on Democrat-funded opposition research to justify an investigation of the Republican presidential campaign. Full disclosure is especially important since he is already under investigation for failing to recuse himself from the Clinton matter due to his partisan Democrat ties.

The Committee requires additional information to fully understand this situation. Please provide the following information and respond to these questions by April 11, 2017:

1. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any capacity in the investigation of alleged collusion between Mr. Trump's associates and Russia? If so, in what capacity has he been involved? When did this involvement begin?

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

2. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any requests or approvals for physical surveillance, consensual monitoring, searches, or national security letters relating to the investigation? If so, please provide all related documents.
3. In the course of the investigation, has Mr. McCabe been involved in any requests or approvals relating to the acquisition of the contents of stored communications from electronic communication service providers pursuant to the Electronic Communications Privacy Act? If so, please provide all related documents.
4. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any FISA warrant applications relating to the investigation? If so, in what capacity? Please provide all related documents.
5. In the course of the investigation, has Mr. McCabe, or anyone under his supervision, made any representations to prosecutors or judges regarding the reliability of information in the FBI's possession as part of seeking judicial authorization for investigative tools? Has he or anyone under his supervision made any such representations about the political opposition research dossier compiled by Mr. Steele and Fusion GPS? If so, please explain and provide copies of all relevant documents.
6. Was Mr. McCabe involved in any FBI interactions with Mr. Steele? If so, please explain.
7. Did Mr. McCabe brief or otherwise communicate with anyone in the Obama administration regarding the investigation? If so, who did he brief, and when? Please provide all related documents.
8. Has Mr. McCabe been authorized by the FBI to speak to the media, whether as an anonymous source or otherwise, regarding the investigation? If so, please provide copies of such authorizations. If he was so authorized, to whom did he speak, and when? If he was not authorized to do so, does the FBI have any indication that he nonetheless spoke to the media?
9. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone within the FBI raised concerns within the Bureau that Mr. McCabe appears to have a conflict of interest in the investigation of Trump associates? If so, who raised such concerns, when did they do so, and how did FBI respond?
10. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone within the FBI filed a complaint with the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General regarding Mr. McCabe's involvement in the investigation?

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

11. Have personnel from the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General spoken with you yet as part of that Office's investigation into Mr. McCabe's alleged conflict of interest in the Clinton investigation? If so, did they also raise concerns as to whether Mr. McCabe's alleged partisan conflict would also apply to the investigation of Mr. Trump's associates?
  
12. Has anyone at FBI, the Department of Justice, or the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General recommended or requested that Mr. McCabe recuse himself from the investigation of Mr. Trump's associates or from any ongoing investigations of the Clinton Foundation? If so, what action was taken in response?

I anticipate that your responses to these questions may contain both classified and unclassified information. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committee. In keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please segregate all unclassified material within the classified documents, provide all unclassified information directly to the Committee, and provide a classified addendum to the Office of Senate Security. Although the Committee complies with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information, it is not bound, absent its prior agreement, by any handling restrictions or instructions on unclassified information unilaterally asserted by the Executive Branch.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this important matter. If you have any questions, please contact Patrick Davis of my Committee staff at (202) 224-5225.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on the Judiciary

cc:

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein  
Ranking Member

FBI(23-CV-30)-1138

Senate Committee on the Judiciary

The Honorable Dana Boente

Acting Deputy Attorney General

United States Department of Justice

The Honorable Michael E. Horowitz

Inspector General

United States Department of Justice

-30-



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<sup>[1]</sup> Evan Perez, *FBI Chief on Clinton Investigation: My People ‘Don’t Give a Rip About Politics’* CNN (Oct. 1, 2015).

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Subject:** RE: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe  
**To:** [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)  
**Sent:** March 29, 2017 8:01 AM (UTC-04:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1

Sorry I totally missed this email yesterday. Makes me angry....

---

**From:** [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 28, 2017 5:43 PM  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]; [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Fwd: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

Fysa

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

**From:** "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]  
**Date:** 03/28/2017 4:56 PM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** FW: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

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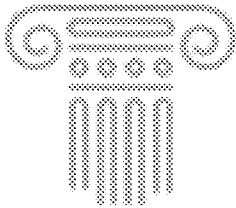
**From:** [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 28, 2017 4:47 PM  
**To:** Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]; Quimm, Richard P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** FW: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

Grassley apparently has sent us a letter regarding the DD.

**From:** "Chairman Grassley (Judiciary-Rep)" <[ChairmanGrassley@judiciary-rep.senate.gov](mailto:ChairmanGrassley@judiciary-rep.senate.gov)>  
**Date:** March 28, 2017 at 4:15:15 PM EDT  
**To:** "Foy, Taylor (Judiciary-Rep)" [REDACTED], "Levine, Beth (Judiciary-Rep)" [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -3  
b7C -3



**COMMITTEE** *on the* **JUDICIARY**  
CHAIRMAN CHUCK GRASSLEY [WWW.JUDICIARY.SENATE.GOV](http://WWW.JUDICIARY.SENATE.GOV)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tuesday, March 28, 2017

Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in

FBI(23-CV-30)-1140

## Russia Collusion Probe

*Deputy Director under review for political conflict in Clinton email case also in position to oversee inquiry into Trump campaign associates*

WASHINGTON – Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley today called on the FBI to detail the involvement in the probe of alleged collusion between Trump campaign associates and Russia of one senior official who is under investigation for political conflicts in the Clinton email matter. Deputy Director Andrew McCabe helped oversee the FBI’s investigation in the Clinton case even though his wife received nearly \$700,000 from close Clinton associates during her campaign for Virginia state senate. As the FBI’s second-in-command, McCabe could have significant influence over the ongoing investigation into allegations of collusion between Trump campaign associates and Russia as well.

In January, the Justice Department Inspector General announced it is reviewing whether McCabe should have recused himself from overseeing the Clinton matter following reports that his wife received campaign contributions from longtime Clinton associate, Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe, and his political organizations. The contributions occurred while the investigation was underway. In a letter today to FBI Director James Comey, Grassley is seeking details on McCabe’s involvement in the alleged collusion matter, whether it, too, constitutes an appearance of conflict, and whether he should be recused from any involvement in the collusion investigation as well.

*“These circumstances undermine public confidence in the FBI’s impartiality ... FBI’s senior leadership should never have allowed that appearance of a conflict to undermine the Bureau’s important work. ... If Mr. McCabe failed to avoid the appearance of a partisan conflict of interest in favor of Mrs. Clinton during the presidential election, then any participation in this inquiry creates the exact same appearance of a partisan conflict of interest against Mr. Trump,” Grassley said in the letter.*

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Text of Grassley’s letter to Comey follows:

March 28, 2017

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

## VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable James B. Comey, Jr.

Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

935 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Washington, DC 20535

Dear Director Comey:

At your speech last Thursday at the University of Texas, you referenced former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's short letter to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, which sought authorization for FBI surveillance of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. without any proper basis for doing so. You mentioned that you keep this letter on your desk, and place FISA applications awaiting your review on top of it, as a reminder. You cited this to emphasize the importance of oversight over the FBI, even over well-meaning FBI officials, to ensure the propriety of the FBI's actions. You are right to call attention to the importance of such oversight. As Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, it is my constitutional duty to conduct that oversight over the FBI and the Department of Justice.

Pursuant to its authority under the Constitution and the Rules of the Senate, the Committee requires information to determine: (1) the extent to which FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe has been involved in the FBI's investigation of President Trump's associates and Russia; (2) whether that involvement raises the appearance a conflict of interest in light of his wife's ties with Clinton associates; and (3) whether Mr. McCabe has been or should be recused from the investigation.

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You have publicly stated that the people at the FBI “don't give a rip about politics.”<sup>11</sup> However, the



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

fact is that the Deputy Director met with Mr. McAuliffe about his wife's run for elected office and she subsequently accepted campaign funding from him. The fact is that the Deputy Director participated in the controversial, high-profile Clinton email investigation even though his wife took money from Mr. McAuliffe. These circumstances undermine public confidence in the FBI's impartiality, and this is one of the reasons that many believe the FBI pulled its punches in the Clinton matter. FBI's senior leadership should never have allowed that appearance of a conflict to undermine the Bureau's important work. The Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General is now investigating that matter, as part of the work it announced on January 12, 2017.

Last week, you publicly testified that in late July of 2016, the FBI began investigating the Russian government's attempts to interfere in the 2016 presidential election, including investigating whether there was any collusion between individuals associated with the Trump campaign and the Russian government. Given the timing of the investigation and his position, it is likely that Mr. McCabe has been involved in that high-profile, politically charged inquiry as well. If Mr. McCabe failed to avoid the appearance of a partisan conflict of interest in favor of Mrs. Clinton during the presidential election, then any participation in this inquiry creates the exact same appearance of a partisan conflict of interest against Mr. Trump. As you testified last week, you believe that if someone had a bias for or against one of them, he would have the opposite bias toward the other: "they're inseparable, right; it's a two person event."

According to public reports, the FBI agreed to pay the author of the unsubstantiated dossier alleging a conspiracy between Trump associates and the Russians. It reportedly agreed to pay the author, Christopher Steele, to continue investigating Mr. Trump. Clinton associates reportedly paid Mr. Steele to create this political opposition research dossier against Mr. Trump. The FBI has failed to publicly reply to my March 6 letter asking about those reports. That leaves serious questions about the FBI's independence from politics unanswered.

Mr. McCabe's appearance of a partisan conflict of interest relating to Clinton associates only magnifies the importance of those questions. That is particularly true if Mr. McCabe was involved in approving or establishing the FBI's reported arrangement with Mr. Steele, or if Mr. McCabe vouched for or otherwise relied on the politically-funded dossier in the course of the investigation. Simply put, the American people should know if the FBI's second-in-command relied on Democrat-funded opposition research to justify an investigation of the Republican presidential campaign. Full disclosure is especially important since he is already under investigation for failing to recuse himself from the Clinton matter due to his partisan Democrat ties.

The Committee requires additional information to fully understand this situation. Please provide the following information and respond to these questions by April 11, 2017:

1. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any capacity in the investigation of alleged collusion between Mr. Trump's associates and Russia? If so, in what capacity has he been involved? When did this involvement begin?

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

2. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any requests or approvals for physical surveillance, consensual monitoring, searches, or national security letters relating to the investigation? If so, please provide all related documents.
3. In the course of the investigation, has Mr. McCabe been involved in any requests or approvals relating to the acquisition of the contents of stored communications from electronic communication service providers pursuant to the Electronic Communications Privacy Act? If so, please provide all related documents.
4. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any FISA warrant applications relating to the investigation? If so, in what capacity? Please provide all related documents.
5. In the course of the investigation, has Mr. McCabe, or anyone under his supervision, made any representations to prosecutors or judges regarding the reliability of information in the FBI's possession as part of seeking judicial authorization for investigative tools? Has he or anyone under his supervision made any such representations about the political opposition research dossier compiled by Mr. Steele and Fusion GPS? If so, please explain and provide copies of all relevant documents.
6. Was Mr. McCabe involved in any FBI interactions with Mr. Steele? If so, please explain.
7. Did Mr. McCabe brief or otherwise communicate with anyone in the Obama administration regarding the investigation? If so, who did he brief, and when? Please provide all related documents.
8. Has Mr. McCabe been authorized by the FBI to speak to the media, whether as an anonymous source or otherwise, regarding the investigation? If so, please provide copies of such authorizations. If he was so authorized, to whom did he speak, and when? If he was not authorized to do so, does the FBI have any indication that he nonetheless spoke to the media?
9. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone within the FBI raised concerns within the Bureau that Mr. McCabe appears to have a conflict of interest in the investigation of Trump associates? If so, who raised such concerns, when did they do so, and how did FBI respond?
10. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone within the FBI filed a complaint with the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General regarding Mr. McCabe's involvement in the investigation?

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11. Have personnel from the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General spoken with you yet as part of that Office's investigation into Mr. McCabe's alleged conflict of interest in the Clinton investigation? If so, did they also raise concerns as to whether Mr. McCabe's alleged partisan conflict would also apply to the investigation of Mr. Trump's associates?
  
12. Has anyone at FBI, the Department of Justice, or the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General recommended or requested that Mr. McCabe recuse himself from the investigation of Mr. Trump's associates or from any ongoing investigations of the Clinton Foundation? If so, what action was taken in response?

I anticipate that your responses to these questions may contain both classified and unclassified information. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committee. In keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please segregate all unclassified material within the classified documents, provide all unclassified information directly to the Committee, and provide a classified addendum to the Office of Senate Security. Although the Committee complies with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information, it is not bound, absent its prior agreement, by any handling restrictions or instructions on unclassified information unilaterally asserted by the Executive Branch.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this important matter. If you have any questions, please contact Patrick Davis of my Committee staff at (202) 224-5225.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on the Judiciary

cc:

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein  
Ranking Member

FBI(23-CV-30)-1145

Senate Committee on the Judiciary

The Honorable Dana Boente

Acting Deputy Attorney General

United States Department of Justice

The Honorable Michael E. Horowitz

Inspector General

United States Department of Justice

-30-



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.....  
.....  
[1] Evan Perez, *FBI Chief on Clinton Investigation: My People 'Don't Give a Rip About Politics'* CNN (Oct. 1, 2015).

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

**From:** Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI)  
**Subject:** RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com  
**To:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI); [redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) b6 -1  
b7C -1  
**Cc:** Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** May 8, 2017 8:06 AM (UTC-04:00)

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**Sent:** Sunday, May 07, 2017 11:37 AM  
**To:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [redacted]; Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI); [redacted]; Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [redacted] b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3  
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**Subject:** RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

I'm available.

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**Date:** 05/07/2017 10:33 AM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" <[redacted]>, "Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI)" <[redacted]>, "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" <[redacted]>  
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b7C -1  
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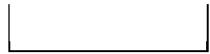
b5 -1

[https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&\\_r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page](https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&_r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page)

# Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG and MAGGIE HABERMAN

May 5, 2017



Senator Richard M. Burr, left, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, and Senator Mark Warner, the ranking Democrat.

Gabriella Demczuk for The New York Times

WASHINGTON — The Senate Intelligence Committee has asked a number of high-profile Trump campaign associates to hand over emails and other records of dealings with Russians as part of its investigation into Russian meddling in the presidential election and is prepared to subpoena those who refuse to cooperate, officials said.

The requests for the materials were made in letters sent by the committee in the past 10 days, said two officials with knowledge of the contents of the letters. The move is designed to accelerate the committee's investigation, and represents a new bipartisan challenge to the Trump administration, which has sought to use Republican allies in Congress to blunt the inquiries.

Among those who said they had received the requests were Roger J. Stone Jr., an informal adviser to President Trump, and Carter Page, a businessman and former foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign. Paul Manafort, the former campaign chairman, and Michael T. Flynn, the former national security adviser, were also sent letters, the officials with knowledge of the investigation said. Representatives for those two men declined to comment.

Any decision to issue subpoenas would require a majority vote by members of the

intelligence committee.

Document | The Senate Intelligence Committee Letter Lawmakers investigating Russian election meddling wrote to a number of high-profile Trump campaign associates over the past 10 days, asking them to hand over records of communications and dealings with Russian officials and business people.

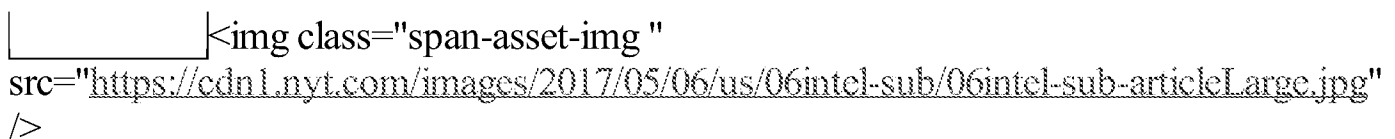
Mr. Stone said he planned to comply with the request, noting that he has said in the past that he will testify voluntarily. “I am eager, indeed anxious, to testify in full public session, have requested no immunity and am ready to go,” he said in a brief interview.

Mr. Stone says that he has had no communications with Russian officials other than previously disclosed communications with Guccifer 2.0, the online persona that officials believe was a front for Russian intelligence. Mr. Stone has acknowledged trading messages with Guccifer on Twitter, though he has repeatedly dismissed allegations from the intelligence community that Guccifer was a Russian front.

“I recognize that the reputation I have cultivated as an extreme partisan and a rogue make me a convenient fall guy for the Democrats, but I refuse to play the patsy role they have in mind for me,” said Mr. Stone, a self-professed dirty trickster.

“I had no contact with the Russians or their cutout at any time and the idea that my tweets prove otherwise is ludicrous,” he added.

Mr. Page was more circumspect about whether he would cooperate. In an email, he said, “Although I will help in any way that I can, please note that any records I may have saved as a private citizen with limited technology capabilities will be minuscule in comparison to the full database of information which has already been collected under last year’s completely unjustified FISA warrant.”

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Roger J. Stone said that he had received a request from the Senate Intelligence Committee for records and that he planned to comply.

Jenna Schoenefeld for The New York Times

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

He was referring to a warrant issued by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court that allowed the Justice Department to secretly wiretap his communications. The warrant was issued after investigators concluded that Mr. Page was no longer part of the Trump campaign, and it was based on evidence that he might have been operating as a Russian agent, officials have said.

“As a lone individual, I can assure you that my personal administrative capabilities pale in comparison to those of the numerous staff in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the U.S. government,” Mr. Page added.

Mr. Page, Mr. Stone and Mr. Manafort are all under scrutiny in an F.B.I. investigation into Russian election meddling and allegations of collusion by Trump associates. There are two other separate congressional investigations — one by the Senate panel and the other by the House intelligence committee.

President Trump has dismissed talk of Russian election interference as “fake news” meant to undermine his presidency.

The letters from the Senate committee were jointly signed by Senator Richard M. Burr, the North Carolina Republican, and Senator Mark Warner, the Virginia Democrat, who are the committee’s two senior members. The letters instruct recipients to list all the meetings they had with Russian officials or Russian businesspeople from June 16, 2015, through Jan. 20, 2017. It set a May 9 deadline for a response.

The committee also requested that, by May 19, the recipients hand over records of all communications — including emails, text messages and phone logs — with Russian officials or businesspeople from the same period. It also asks them for information on any of their financial or real estate holdings related to Russia and to list any meetings they know of between other Trump campaign associates and Russians.

Both Mr. Burr and Mr. Warner declined to comment on the requests, which officials said went to a number of other people associated with the Trump campaign and presidential transition.

In February, the White House sought to enlist Mr. Burr to refute news stories about ties between Trump associates and Russia. The senator characterized his conversations with reporters as an appropriate part of his job as the chairman of the intelligence committee.

Yet in public comments since then, he has committed to following the intelligence wherever it leads, including examining any links between Trump associates and Russia. Officials say that, in private, Mr. Burr has expressed no qualms about pressing forward with the investigation and has told Mr. Warner that he is ready to issue subpoenas if necessary.

In recent weeks there have been reports that Mr. Warner and other Democrats on the



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committee were frustrated with the pace of the investigation, and were pressing Mr. Burr to send letters requesting emails, memos, phone records and other materials from the Trump campaign and transition.

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***Correction: May 5, 2017***

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**Subject:** RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com  
**To:** Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI) [redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)  
**Cc:** Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)  
**Sent:** May 8, 2017 8:08 AM (UTC-04:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1

I was planning to try to walk down the hall with him to update. I'm not sure we can do any better given the timing.

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

**From:** "Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI)" [redacted] >  
**Date:** 05/08/2017 8:05 AM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] >, [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted] >, "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] >, "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted] >  
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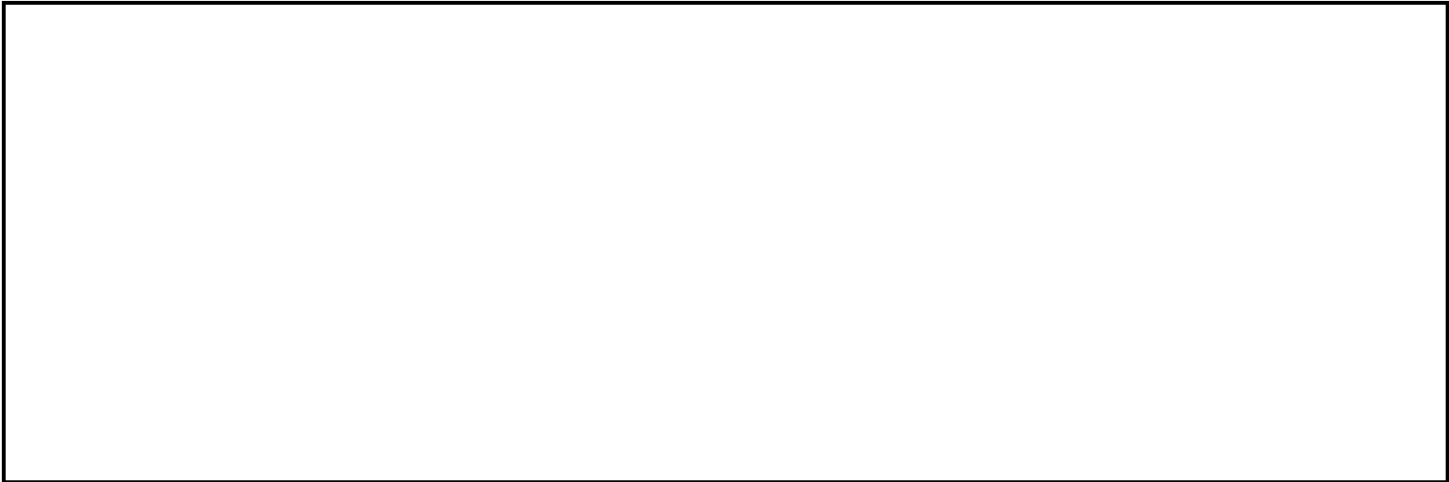
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[https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&snid=nytcore-iphone-share&\\_r=0&referer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page](https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&snid=nytcore-iphone-share&_r=0&referer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page)

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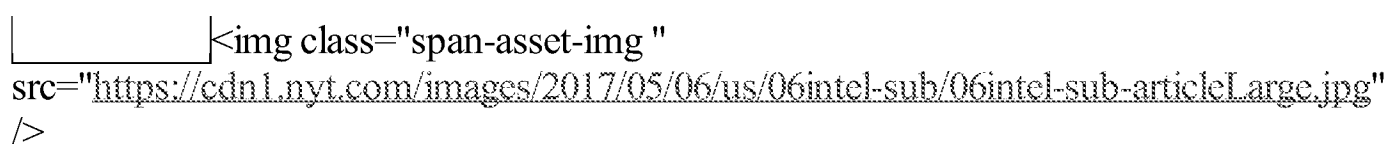
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The image is a broken placeholder with the following HTML code: ``

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Jenna Schoenefeld for The New York Times

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**Subject:** FW: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com  
**To:** [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)  
**Sent:** May 8, 2017 10:27 AM (UTC-04:00)

Need to give you back story on this....

**From:** Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)  
**Sent:** Monday, May 08, 2017 9:45 AM  
**To:** Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED];  
**Cc:** Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]; Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED];  
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]; [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]; Strzok, Peter P.  
(CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]; Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED];  
**Subject:** RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

Dawn: I spoke to EAD Ghattas, and he, Greg Brower, and I will attend the 11:15 AM meeting with the Director this morning. Thank you, Bill

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**Sent:** Monday, May 08, 2017 8:06 AM  
**To:** [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]; [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]; Strzok,  
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**Cc:** Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]; Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED];  
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I'm available.

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

**From:** [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED];  
**Date:** 05/07/2017 10:33 AM (GMT-05:00)  
**To:** "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI)"  
[REDACTED]; "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED];  
**Cc:** "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"  
[REDACTED]; "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED];  
**Subject:** RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

I've had some of the same thoughts. Can you meet at 10:30?

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

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" <[redacted]>

Date: 05/07/2017 10:25 AM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI)" <[redacted]>, [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)"

[redacted] >, "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" <[redacted]>

Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" <[redacted]>, [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)"

[redacted] >, "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" <[redacted]>

Subject: Fwd: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -3

[redacted] and I briefly discussed the article below earlier this weekend.



b5 -1

[https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&\\_r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page](https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&_r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page)

# Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG and MAGGIE HABERMAN

May 5, 2017



Senator Richard M. Burr, left, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, and Senator Mark Warner, the ranking Democrat.

Gabriella Demczuk for The New York Times

WASHINGTON — The Senate Intelligence Committee has asked a number of high-profile Trump campaign associates to hand over emails and other records of dealings with



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

Russians as part of its investigation into Russian meddling in the presidential election and is prepared to subpoena those who refuse to cooperate, officials said.

The requests for the materials were made in letters sent by the committee in the past 10 days, said two officials with knowledge of the contents of the letters. The move is designed to accelerate the committee's investigation, and represents a new bipartisan challenge to the Trump administration, which has sought to use Republican allies in Congress to blunt the inquiries.

Among those who said they had received the requests were Roger J. Stone Jr., an informal adviser to President Trump, and Carter Page, a businessman and former foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign. Paul Manafort, the former campaign chairman, and Michael T. Flynn, the former national security adviser, were also sent letters, the officials with knowledge of the investigation said. Representatives for those two men declined to comment.

Any decision to issue subpoenas would require a majority vote by members of the intelligence committee.

Document | The Senate Intelligence Committee Letter Lawmakers investigating Russian election meddling wrote to a number of high-profile Trump campaign associates over the past 10 days, asking them to hand over records of communications and dealings with Russian officials and business people.

Mr. Stone said he planned to comply with the request, noting that he has said in the past that he will testify voluntarily. "I am eager, indeed anxious, to testify in full public session, have requested no immunity and am ready to go," he said in a brief interview.

Mr. Stone says that he has had no communications with Russian officials other than previously disclosed communications with Guccifer 2.0, the online persona that officials believe was a front for Russian intelligence. Mr. Stone has acknowledged trading messages with Guccifer on Twitter, though he has repeatedly dismissed allegations from the intelligence community that Guccifer was a Russian front.

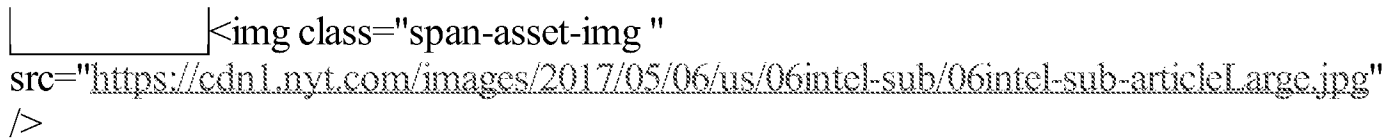
"I recognize that the reputation I have cultivated as an extreme partisan and a rogue make me a convenient fall guy for the Democrats, but I refuse to play the patsy role they have in mind for me," said Mr. Stone, a self-professed dirty trickster.

"I had no contact with the Russians or their cutout at any time and the idea that my tweets prove otherwise is ludicrous," he added.

Mr. Page was more circumspect about whether he would cooperate. In an email, he said, "Although I will help in any way that I can, please note that any records I may have saved

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

as a private citizen with limited technology capabilities will be minuscule in comparison to the full database of information which has already been collected under last year's completely unjustified FISA warrant.”

The image is a broken link from a New York Times article. The HTML code is: ``

Roger J. Stone said that he had received a request from the Senate Intelligence Committee for records and that he planned to comply.

Jenna Schoenefeld for The New York Times

He was referring to a warrant issued by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court that allowed the Justice Department to secretly wiretap his communications. The warrant was issued after investigators concluded that Mr. Page was no longer part of the Trump campaign, and it was based on evidence that he might have been operating as a Russian agent, officials have said.

“As a lone individual, I can assure you that my personal administrative capabilities pale in comparison to those of the numerous staff in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the U.S. government,” Mr. Page added.

Mr. Page, Mr. Stone and Mr. Manafort are all under scrutiny in an F.B.I. investigation into Russian election meddling and allegations of collusion by Trump associates. There are two other separate congressional investigations — one by the Senate panel and the other by the House intelligence committee.

President Trump has dismissed talk of Russian election interference as “fake news” meant to undermine his presidency.

The letters from the Senate committee were jointly signed by Senator Richard M. Burr, the North Carolina Republican, and Senator Mark Warner, the Virginia Democrat, who are the committee's two senior members. The letters instruct recipients to list all the meetings they had with Russian officials or Russian businesspeople from June 16, 2015, through Jan. 20, 2017. It set a May 9 deadline for a response.

The committee also requested that, by May 19, the recipients hand over records of all communications — including emails, text messages and phone logs — with Russian officials or businesspeople from the same period. It also asks them for information on any of their financial or real estate holdings related to Russia and to list any meetings they know

of between other Trump campaign associates and Russians.

Both Mr. Burr and Mr. Warner declined to comment on the requests, which officials said went to a number of other people associated with the Trump campaign and presidential transition.

In February, the White House sought to enlist Mr. Burr to refute news stories about ties between Trump associates and Russia. The senator characterized his conversations with reporters as an appropriate part of his job as the chairman of the intelligence committee.

Yet in public comments since then, he has committed to following the intelligence wherever it leads, including examining any links between Trump associates and Russia. Officials say that, in private, Mr. Burr has expressed no qualms about pressing forward with the investigation and has told Mr. Warner that he is ready to issue subpoenas if necessary.

In recent weeks there have been reports that Mr. Warner and other Democrats on the committee were frustrated with the pace of the investigation, and were pressing Mr. Burr to send letters requesting emails, memos, phone records and other materials from the Trump campaign and transition.

Late last month, the Democrats on the committee hired April F. Doss, a former associate general counsel at the National Security Agency, to serve as a special counsel on the Russia investigation.

***Correction: May 5, 2017***

*An earlier version of this article misstated the surname of a former associate general counsel at the National Security Agency. She is April F. Doss, not April F. Dawes.*

**From:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Subject:** Fwd: At height of Russia tensions, Trump campaign chairman Manafort met with business associate from Ukraine - The Washington Post  
**To:** [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI)  
**Sent:** June 19, 2017 11:06 PM (UTC-04:00)

b6 -1  
b7C -1

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/at-height-of-russia-tensions-trump-campaign-chairman-manafort-net-with-business-associate-from-ukraine/2017/06/18/6ab8485c-4c5d-11e7-a186-60c031eab644\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c345654c4db2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/at-height-of-russia-tensions-trump-campaign-chairman-manafort-net-with-business-associate-from-ukraine/2017/06/18/6ab8485c-4c5d-11e7-a186-60c031eab644_story.html?utm_term=.c345654c4db2)

## At height of Russia tensions, Trump campaign chairman Manafort met with business associate from Ukraine



In August, as tension mounted over Russia's role in the U.S. presidential race, Donald Trump's campaign chairman, Paul Manafort, sat down to dinner with a business associate from Ukraine who once served in the Russian army.

Konstantin Kilimnik, who learned English at a military school that some experts consider a training ground for Russian spies, had helped run the Ukraine office for Manafort's international political consulting practice for 10 years.

At the Grand Havana Room, one of New York City's most exclusive cigar bars, the longtime acquaintances "talked about bills unpaid by our clients, about [the] overall situation in Ukraine . . . and about the current news," including the presidential campaign, according to a statement provided by Kilimnik, offering his most detailed account of his interactions with the former Trump adviser.

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

Kilimnik, who provided a written statement to The Washington Post through Manafort's attorney, said the previously unreported dinner was one of two meetings he had with Manafort on visits to the United States during Manafort's five months working for Trump. The first encounter was in early May 2016, about two weeks before the Trump adviser was elevated to campaign chairman.

The August dinner came about two weeks before Manafort resigned under pressure amid reports that he had received improper payments for his political work in Ukraine, allegations that he has denied.

Play Video 1:46

White House addresses Manafort's 'short period of time' on the campaign

Sean Spicer said using Paul Manafort as an example to prove collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia is "ridiculous." (Video: Reuters / Photo: Jabin Bostford/The Washington Post)

Kilimnik is of interest to investigators on the Senate Intelligence Committee, which is examining possible links between the Trump campaign and Russia, said a person familiar with the inquiry.

Kilimnik's name also appeared this spring in a previously undisclosed subpoena sought by federal prosecutors looking for information "concerning contracts for work . . . communication or other records of correspondence" related to about two dozen people and businesses that appeared to be connected to Manafort or his wife, including some who worked with Manafort in Kiev.

The subpoena was issued by a federal grand jury in the Eastern District of Virginia, where, until recently, Manafort's business was headquartered. The subpoena did not specify whether it was related to the FBI's investigation of Russian interference in the U.S. election or a separate inquiry into Manafort's business activities. Investigators in the Eastern District of Virginia have been assisting with the Russia investigation.

In Ukraine, Kilimnik's political adversaries have said he may be working with Russian intelligence. U.S. officials have not made that charge.

Kilimnik rejected the allegation, telling The Post in his written statement that he has “no relation to the Russian or any other intelligence service.”

His dinner with Manafort came as Trump’s campaign chairman was facing mounting questions about his work in Ukraine and his business ties to allies of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Kilimnik said his meetings with Manafort were “private visits” that were “in no way related to politics or the presidential campaign in the U.S.” He said he did not meet with Trump or other campaign staff members, nor did he attend the Republican National Convention, which took place shortly before the Grand Havana Room session. However, he said the meetings with Manafort included discussions “related to the perception of the U.S. presidential campaign in Ukraine.”

Play Video 1:40

Four controversial figures Paul Manafort did business with

As a lobbyist and political consultant in the 1980s, Donald Trump’s former campaign chairman Paul Manafort worked with clients that included two dictators. (Bastien Inzaurrealde/The Washington Post)

Manafort spokesman Jason Maloni said that Kilimnik was a “longtime business associate” who would have naturally been in touch with Manafort. Manafort told Politico, which first reported his relationship with Kilimnik, that his conversations included discussions about the cyberattack on the Democratic National Committee and the release of its emails.

“It would be neither surprising nor suspicious that two political consultants would chat about the political news of the day, including the DNC hack, which was in the news,” Maloni said.

He added, “We’re confident that serious officials will come to the conclusion that Paul’s campaign conduct and interaction with Konstantin during that time was perfectly permissible and not in furtherance of some conspiracy.”

Before joining Trump’s campaign, Manafort had built a practice in Ukraine as an adviser to the Russia-friendly Party of Regions and helped elect former president Viktor Yanukovich,

who was ousted in 2014 and fled to Russia. Manafort kept his Kiev office open until mid-2015.

Federal investigators have shown an interest in Manafort on several fronts beyond his work on behalf of Trump.

Subpoenas in New York have sought information about Manafort's real estate loans, according to NBC News. Justice Department officials also are exploring whether Manafort should have more fully disclosed his work for foreign political parties, as required by federal law.

Former FBI director Robert S. Mueller III has been appointed special counsel to oversee the Russia inquiry, and people familiar with his work said his office has now taken over investigations of Manafort's conduct unrelated directly to the Russia probe.

A spokesman for the Eastern District of Virginia declined to discuss the subpoena there. A spokesman for Mueller also declined to comment.

Manafort's relationship with Kilimnik shows the challenge facing investigators as they seek to determine whether contacts between Russian allies and Trump associates during the height of Russian interference in the campaign amounted to collusion or reflected routine interactions between people with relationships unrelated to the campaign.

Kilimnik said he grew up in southeastern Ukraine, which was then part of the Soviet Union. He said he moved to Moscow in 1987, when he was 17, and enrolled in the Military Institute of the Ministry for Defense, an elite academy for training military translators.

Kilimnik said he was trained in English and Swedish and spent the early 1990s serving as a military translator, including in 1993 on a trade mission of a Russian arms company.

He said the GRU, the military intelligence service that U.S. officials have linked to the 2016 cyberattacks, did not recruit from his language academy.

"No one ever spoke to me ever about doing any intelligence work — neither Russians or Ukrainians or any other foreign country," he said.

Some experts disputed Kilimnik's description of the Moscow academy.



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

Stephen Blank, a Russia expert at the American Foreign Policy Council, a Washington think tank, and a longtime former instructor at the U.S. Army War College, called the institute a “breeding ground” for intelligence officers.

Mark Galeotti, a Russia security specialist at the Institute of International Relations, a Prague-based foreign policy think tank, said the school is one of the “favored recruiting grounds” of the GRU.

In 1995, amid uncertainty in the post-Soviet economy, Kilimnik said he needed money and took a job as a translator for the International Republican Institute, a pro-democracy group affiliated with the U.S. Republican Party.

People who worked with Kilimnik said he was proficient in several languages and a savvy reader of people.

“I relied on him,” said Sam Patten, who was Kilimnik’s boss at the Moscow office of IRI from 2001 to 2004.

At the time, Kilimnik openly discussed his work in the Russian army, said Phil Griffin, a political consultant who hired him at the IRI. “He was completely upfront about his past work with Russian military intelligence,” Griffin said. “It was no big deal.”

Julia Sibley, a spokeswoman for the IRI, confirmed that Kilimnik worked for the organization a decade ago but declined to provide additional information.

In 2005, Griffin, who had left Moscow to work for Manafort in Ukraine, invited Kilimnik to join him there, according to both men.

Kilimnik said he has worked largely in Ukraine ever since, although he declined to say whether he has become a Ukrainian citizen.

Kilimnik’s role for Manafort grew over time. Beyond his work as a translator, Kilimnik would “help Manafort understand the political context and why people were doing what they were doing,” Patten said.

People familiar with Kilimnik’s work in Ukraine for Manafort say his assignments included meeting with powerful Ukrainian politicians and serving as a liaison to Russian aluminum magnate Oleg Deripaska, who is close to Putin and did business with Manafort.



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

A spokeswoman for Deripaska did not respond to a request for comment.

In August, Volodymyr Arieiev, a member of the Ukrainian parliament who represents a party that opposed Manafort's clients, requested that Ukraine's top prosecutor investigate whether Kilimnik had worked with Russian intelligence services.

A spokeswoman for the prosecutor did not respond to questions from The Post. The prosecutor's office told Politico in March that Kilimnik was "not being processed now as a witness, suspect or accused."

Others viewed Kilimnik as more aligned with Washington than Moscow.

Local Politics Alerts

Breaking news about local government in D.C., Md., Va.

Oleg Voloshin, who served as a spokesman for the foreign minister of Ukraine under Yanukovich, said Manafort and Kilimnik were pushing Yanukovich to ally with Europe rather than Russia, which angered some in Yanukovich's party.

"Kilimnik was always trying to promote this message — if you want to be successful here, you want to look westward," Voloshin said.

Kilimnik was also well known at the U.S. Embassy, and officials there and at other western embassies appeared to trust him, meeting with him frequently to discuss Ukrainian politics, said people familiar with his work.

"He's not working for the Russians," said a foreign policy expert close to Republicans who was working in Ukraine at the time. "If anything, he's working for us."

*Alice Crites, Devlin Barrett and Matt Zapotosky in Washington and Andrew Roth in Moscow contributed to this report.*

**From:** Peter  
**Subject:** Fire Mueller now, Mr. President!  
**To:** Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)  
**Sent:** July 22, 2017 7:42 AM (UTC-04:00)

<http://mobile.wnd.com/2017/07/fire-mueller-now-mr-president/>

## Fire Mueller now, Mr. President!

Exclusive: Larry Klayman on special counsel: 'His band of leftist legal hacks have to go'

[Larry Klayman](#)

[About](#) | [Email](#) | [Archive](#) Larry Klayman is a former Justice Department prosecutor and the founder of Judicial Watch and [Freedom Watch](#). His latest book is "[Whores: Why and How I Came to Fight the Establishment.](#)"

Published: 12 hours ago

### THE SWAMP

It is now known, not surprisingly given Special Counsel Robert Mueller's apparent vendetta against President Donald Trump and his family, that Mueller hired a Clinton Foundation lawyer, Jeannie S. Rhee, along with other Clinton and Obama loyalists, [to do a hit job on the president](#). But what is not generally know is that, as recently as 2016, Rhee represented the Clinton Foundation against my racketeering lawsuit's allegations [that Hillary Clinton sold government favors in return for bribes](#), including by approving the sale of 20 percent of America's uranium mine reserves to Russia and concealed the racketeering enterprise with her private email server. Now, not surprisingly given Mueller's highly politicized and leftist legal team, Jeannie Rhee is investigating Donald Trump's alleged collusion with Russia during the 2016 presidential campaign as one of Mueller's top lawyers. Will she and the others conjure Trump illegality? As they say in the South, "Do bears – these ones Russian bears – live in the woods?"

With Mueller's experience, he knows that the lawyers he is hiring will stray far from the original basis for his grand jury probe and investigation generally. One has to conclude that Mueller intends a hatchet job on Trump in retaliation for James Comey's firing, as well as for his own Washington, D.C., establishment club disdain for the president.

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

Two other lawyers on Mueller's team gave the maximum \$2,700 donation to Hillary Clinton in last year's election. Three of Mueller's team, – Weissmann, Rhee and Quarles – alone donated more than \$50,000 to Democrats, and almost exclusively to Democrats, according to Federal Election Commission campaign finance reports.

Legally, Rhee can only investigate Trump. Having recently represented the Clinton Foundation, which Mueller could have found searching public reports, Rhee is not ethically or legally allowed to look into any of the outrageous and apparently illegal leaks from the Deep State defending Hillary Clinton's loss, the disclosure of Clinton campaign emails to WikiLeaks and other related matters. Thus, Rhee likely cannot even investigate whether Russia hacked the Democratic National Committee or whether emails were leaked by DNC staffer Seth Rich.

Rule 1:7 of D.C.'s Rules of Professional Conduct require: "A lawyer who has formerly represented a client in a matter shall not thereafter represent another person in the same or a substantially related matter in which that person's interests are materially adverse to the interests of the former client unless the former client gives informed consent."

To recap, as the head of Freedom Watch, I sued the Clinton Foundation, Hillary Clinton and Bill Clinton over their massive, organized, systematic campaign taking bribes in return for selling government favors and actions, in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida. Jeannie S. Rhee, then with Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr, LLP, litigated against us case. The Clinton Foundation's Motion to Dismiss was written and signed by Rhee with others. See [www.freedomwatchusa.org](http://www.freedomwatchusa.org). My lawsuit, Larry Klayman v. The Clinton Foundation, et al., drew a road map for James Comey and the FBI to prosecute Bill and Hillary Clinton for the largest bribery scheme in U.S. history. Yet, not surprisingly, Comey and the FBI under his watch ignored these clear and obvious crimes, even after Freedom Watch spelled it out for them.

And to make matters worse, notwithstanding his politicized and compromised legal staff, Mueller's own conflicts of interest require his recusal as special counsel. Allegations against Trump turn exclusively upon the credibility and personal interests of Mueller's colleague and "buddy cop" James Comey. Not only will the investigation impact Comey, but Mueller must judge his own friend's credibility as a witness. Department of Justice regulations are extended to the special counsel by 28 C.F.R. § 600.7, including:

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

28 CFR § 45.2 Disqualification arising from personal or political relationship.

(a) Unless authorized under paragraph (b) of this section, no employee shall participate in a criminal investigation or prosecution if he has a personal or political relationship with:

(1) Any person or organization substantially involved in the conduct that is the subject of the investigation or prosecution; or

(2) Any person or organization which he knows has a specific and substantial interest that would be directly affected by the outcome of the investigation or prosecution.

Once a question is raised, the supervisor must assure himself that:

28 CFR § 45.2 (b)(2) The employee's participation would not create an appearance of a conflict of interest likely to affect the public perception of the integrity of the investigation or prosecution.

This situation is especially dangerous for the “All the President’s Men” and women, including Ivanka Trump, because Attorney General Jeff Session, having panicked over the Democratic and leftist media onslaught over Russia, precipitously recused himself. And, since early May, the FBI has been in the control of an Obama hold-over, Acting Director Andrew McCabe. Not coincidentally, McCabe’s wife ran as a Democrat for the Virginia State Senate against Republican Sen. Dick Black. Jill McCabe received \$467,500 from Common Good VA, a political action committee controlled by Clinton ally Gov. Terry McAuliffe – whom I sued and deposed during the 1990s for illegal Clinton money laundering and other criminality. McCabe campaigned for his Democratic wife in Virginia. The FBI – for the time being, before a new FBI director, Christopher Wray, is finally confirmed takes the reins (and he appears to be a toothless establishment yes-man) – continues firmly to be in the hands of the Obama/Clinton/Democrat “Deep State.”

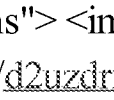
The bottom line is this: Its now clear that the Mueller investigation is not just conflicted, but deeply compromised. And even more importantly, Mueller, according to my client Dennis Montgomery, an NSA/CIA whistleblower, illegally surveilled Trump and others when he was director of the FBI. Mueller and his band of leftist legal hacks have to go.

The president should fire Mueller and not worry about appearances before it is too late and

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

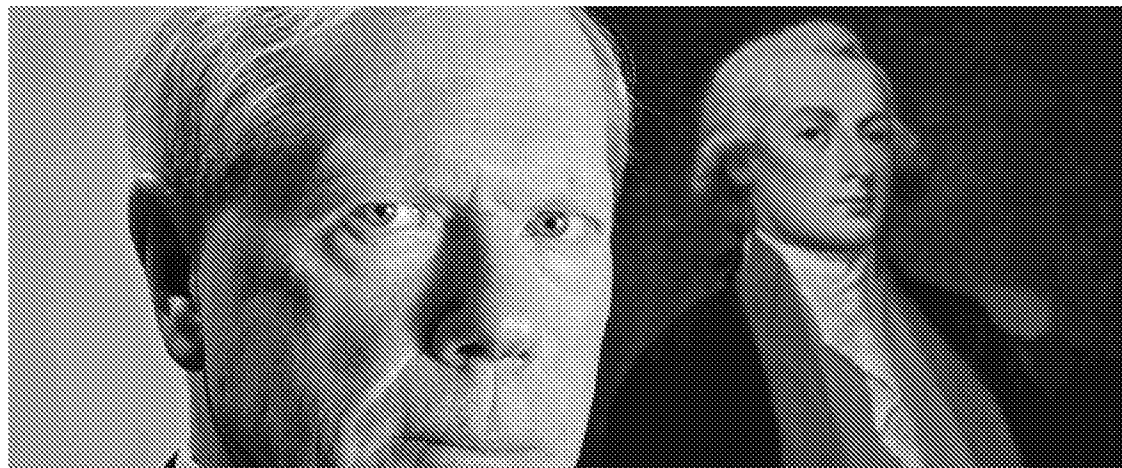
the nation becomes even more deeply embroiled in a maze of Democratic and leftist political machinations that harm the interests of We the People. President Trump was elected to do his job and clean out the swamp in Washington, D.C. He can start by getting rid of Mueller and his politicized staff and directing his timid and kowtowed attorney general to commence a grand jury criminal probe of Mueller as well as his good establishment friend Comey.

*Media wishing to interview Larry Klayman, please contact [media@wnd.com](mailto:media@wnd.com).*

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From: [redacted]  
Subject: Paul Craig Roberts: The FBI Hand Behind Russiagate  
To: [redacted] Horowitz, Michael E. (OIG): Special Counsel  
(JMD); Burton, Dawn (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (HRD) (FBI); [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Sent: January 15, 2018 10:52 AM (UTC-05:00)

b6 -3  
b7C -3



## ***The FBI Hand Behind Russiagate***

by Paul Craig Roberts | [January 15, 2018](#)

***As I have reported from the beginning, Russiagate is an orchestrated hoax by the security agencies for the purpose of preventing Trump from normalizing relations with Russia and, if necessary, for removing him from office. Russiagate is an act of treason by the security agencies. Those responsible must be arrested, prosecuted, and convicted. — Paul Craig Roberts***

***“After months of breathless searching for ‘evidence’ of Russian-Trump collusion designed to put Trump in the White House, what now exists is actual evidence that senior officials of the Obama administration colluded to keep Trump out of the White House.” — Ray McGovern***

***□□ Special Report: In the Watergate era, liberals warned about U.S. intelligence agencies manipulating U.S. politics, but now Trump-hatred has blinded many of them to this danger becoming real, as ex-CIA analyst Ray McGovern notes. □□□***

***□ January 12, 2017, Information Clearing House***  
<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/48572.htm>

**The FBI Hand Behind Russia-gate □**  
**By Ray McGovern**

**Russiagate is becoming FBIGate, thanks to the official release of unguarded text messages between loose-lipped FBI counterintelligence official Peter Strzok and his garrulous girlfriend, FBI lawyer Lisa Page. (Ten illustrative texts from their exchange appear at the end of this article.)**



# Obtained by Undead FOIA

Despite his former job as chief of the FBI's counterintelligence section, Strzok had the naive notion that texting on FBI phones could not be traced. Strzok must have slept through "Security 101." Or perhaps he was busy texting during that class. Girlfriend Page cannot be happy at being misled by his assurance that using office phones would be a secure way to conduct their affair(s).

It would have been unfortunate enough for Strzok and Page to have their adolescent-sounding texts merely exposed, revealing the reckless abandon of star-crossed lovers hiding (they thought) secrets from cuckolded spouses, office colleagues, and the rest of us. However, for the never-Trump plotters in the FBI, the official release of just a fraction (375) of almost 10,000 messages does incalculably more damage than that.

We suddenly have documentary proof that key elements of the U.S. intelligence community were trying to short-circuit the U.S. democratic process. And that puts in a new and dark context the year-long promotion of Russiagate. It now appears that it was not the Russians trying to rig the outcome of the U.S. election, but leading officials of the U.S. intelligence community, shadowy characters sometimes called the Deep State.

More of the Strzok-Page texting dialogue is expected to be released. And the Department of Justice Inspector General reportedly has additional damaging texts from others on the team that Special Counsel Robert Mueller selected to help him investigate Russiagate.

Besides forcing the removal of Strzok and Page, the text exposures also sounded the death knell for the career of FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe, in whose office some of the plotting took place and who has already announced his plans to retire soon.

But the main casualty is the FBI's 18-month campaign to sabotage candidate-and-now-President Donald Trump by using the Obama administration's Russiagate intelligence "assessment," electronic surveillance of dubious legality, and a salacious dossier that could never pass the smell test, while at the same time using equally dubious techniques to immunize Hillary Clinton and her closest advisers from crimes that include lying to the FBI and endangering secrets.

Ironically, the Strzok-Page texts provide something that the Russiagate investigation has been sorely lacking: first-hand evidence of both corrupt intent and action. After months of breathless searching for "evidence" of Russian-Trump collusion designed to put Trump in the White House, what now exists is actual evidence that senior officials of the Obama administration colluded to keep Trump out of the White House – proof of what old-time gumshoes used to call "motive, means, and opportunity."

Even more unfortunately for Russiagate enthusiasts, the FBI lovers'

correspondence provides factual evidence exposing much of the made-up “Resistance” narrative – the contrived storyline that The New York Times and much of the rest of the U.S. mainstream media deemed fit to print with little skepticism and few if any caveats, a scenario about brilliantly devious Russians that not only lacks actual evidence – relying on unverified hearsay and rumor – but doesn’t make sense on its face.

The Russiagate narrative always hinged on the preposterous notion that Russian President Vladimir Putin foresaw years ago what no American political analyst considered even possible, the political ascendancy of Donald Trump. According to the narrative, the fortune-telling Putin then risked creating even worse tensions with a nuclear-armed America that would – by all odds – have been led by a vengeful President Hillary Clinton.

Besides this wildly improbable storyline, there were flat denials from WikiLeaks, which distributed the supposedly “hacked” Democratic emails, that the information came from Russia – and there was the curious inability of the National Security Agency to use its immense powers to supply any technical evidence to support the Russia-hack scenario.

## The Trump Shock

But the shock of Trump’s election and the decision of many never-Trumpers to cast their lot with the Resistance led to a situation in which any prudent skepticism or demand for evidence was swept aside.

So, on Jan. 6, 2017, President Obama’s Director of National Intelligence James Clapper released an evidence-free report that he said was compiled by “hand-picked” analysts from the CIA, FBI and NSA, offering an “assessment” that Russia and President Putin were behind the release of the Democratic emails in a plot to help Trump win the presidency.

Despite the extraordinary gravity of the charge, even New York Times correspondent Scott Shane noted that proof was lacking. He wrote at the time: “What is missing from the [the Jan. 6] public report is what many Americans most eagerly anticipated: hard evidence to back up the agencies’ claims that the Russian government engineered the election attack. ... Instead, the message from the agencies essentially amounts to ‘trust us.’”

But the “assessment” served a useful purpose for the never-Trumpers: it applied an official imprimatur on the case for delegitimizing Trump’s election and even raised the long-shot hope that the Electoral College might reverse the outcome and possibly install a compromise candidate, such as former Secretary of State Colin Powell, in the White House. Though the Powell ploy fizzled, the hope of somehow removing Trump from office continued to bubble, fueled by the growing hysteria around Russiagate.



Virtually all skepticism about the evidence-free “assessment” was banned. For months, the Times and other newspapers of record repeated the lie that all 17 U.S. intelligence agencies had concurred in the conclusion about the Russian “hack.” Even when that falsehood was belatedly acknowledged, the major news outlets just shifted the phrasing slightly to say that U.S. intelligence agencies had reached the Russian “hack” conclusion. Shane’s blunt initial recognition about the lack of proof disappeared from the mainstream media’s approved narrative of Russiagate.

Doubts about the Russian “hack” or dissident suggestions that what we were witnessing was a “soft coup” were scoffed at by leading media commentators. Other warnings from veteran U.S. intelligence professionals about the weaknesses of the Russiagate narrative and the danger of letting politicized intelligence overturn a constitutional election were also brushed aside in pursuit of the goal of removing Trump from the White House.

It didn’t even seem to matter when new Russiagate disclosures conflicted with the original narrative that Putin had somehow set Trump up as a Manchurian candidate. All normal journalistic skepticism was jettisoned. It was as if the Russiagate advocates started with the conclusion that Trump must go and then made the facts fit into that mold, but anyone who noted the violations of normal investigative procedures was dismissed as a “Trump enabler” or a “Moscow stooge.”

## The Text Evidence

But then came the FBI text messages, providing documentary evidence that key FBI officials involved in the Russia-gate investigation were indeed deeply biased and out to get Trump, adding hard proof to Trump’s longstanding lament that he was the subject of a “witch hunt.”

Justified or not, Trump’s feeling of vindication could hardly be more dangerous — particularly at a time when the most urgent need is to drain some testosterone from the self-styled Stable-Genius-in-Chief and his martinet generals.

On the home front, Trump, his wealthy friends, and like-thinkers in Congress may now feel they have an even wider carte blanche to visit untold misery on the poor, the widow, the stranger and other vulnerable humans. That was always an underlying danger of the Resistance’s strategy to seize on whatever weapons were available – no matter how reckless or unfair – to “get Trump.”

Beyond that, Russiagate has become so central to the Washington establishment’s storyline that there appears to be no room for second-thoughts or turning back. The momentum is such that some Democrats and the media never-Trumpers can’t stop stoking the smoke of Russiagate and holding out hope against hope that it will somehow justify Trump’s impeachment.

Yet, the sordid process of using legal/investigative means to settle political scores further compromises the principle of the “rule of law” and integrity of journalism in the eyes of many Americans. After a year of Russiagate, the “rule of law” and “pursuit of truth” appear to have been reduced to high-falutin’ phrases for political score-settling, a process besmirched by Republicans in earlier pursuits of Democrats and now appearing to be a bipartisan method for punishing political rivals regardless of the lack of evidence.

## Strzok and Page

Peter Strzok (pronounced “struck”) has an interesting pedigree with multiple tasks regarding both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump. As the FBI’s chief of counterespionage during the investigation into then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s unauthorized use of a personal email server for classified information, Strzok reportedly changed the words “grossly negligent” (which could have triggered legal prosecution) to the far less serious “extremely careless” in FBI Director James Comey’s depiction of Clinton’s actions. This semantic shift cleared the way for Comey to conclude just 20 days before the Democratic National Convention began in July 2016, that “no reasonable prosecutor” would bring charges against Mrs. Clinton.

Then, as Deputy Assistant Director of the Counterintelligence Division, Strzok led the FBI’s investigation into alleged Russian interference in the U.S. election of 2016. It is a safe bet that he took a strong hand in hand-picking the FBI contingent of analysts that joined “hand-picked” counterparts from CIA and NSA in preparing the evidence-free, Jan. 6, 2017 assessment accusing Russian President Vladimir Putin of interfering in the election of 2016. (Although accepted in Establishment groupthink as revealed truth, that poor excuse for analysis reflected the apogee of intelligence politicization — rivaled only by the fraudulent intelligence on “weapons of mass destruction“ in Iraq 15 years ago.)

In June and July 2017 Strzok was the top FBI official working on Special Counsel Robert Mueller’s investigation into possible links between the Trump campaign and Russia, but was taken off that job when the Justice Department IG learned of the Strzok-Page text-message exchange and told Mueller.

There is no little irony in the fact that what did in the FBI sweathearts was their visceral disdain for Mr. Trump, their cheerleading-cum-kid-gloves treatment of Mrs. Clinton and her associates, their 1950-ish, James Clapperesque attitude toward Russians as “almost genetically driven” to evil, and their (Strzok/Page) elitist conviction that they know far better what is good for the country than regular American citizens, including those “deplorables” whom Clinton said made up half of Trump’s supporters.

But Strzok/Page had no idea that their hubris, elitism and scheming would be revealed in so tangible a way. Worst of all for them, the very thing that Strzok, in

particular, worked so hard to achieve — the sabotaging of Trump and immunization of Mrs. Clinton and her closest advisers is now coming apart at the seams.

**Congress: Oversee? or Overlook?**

At this point, the \$64 question is whether the various congressional oversight committees will remain ensconced in their customarily cozy role as “overlook” committees, or whether they will have the courage to attempt to carry out their Constitutional duty. The latter course would mean confronting a powerful Deep State and its large toolbox of well-practiced retaliatory techniques, including J. Edgar Hoover-style blackmail on steroids, enabled by electronic surveillance of just about everything and everyone. Yes, today’s technology permits blanket collection, and “Collect Everything” has become the motto.

Sen. Chuck Schumer, D-New York, with almost four decades of membership in the House and Senate, openly warned incoming President Trump in January 2017 against criticizing the U.S. intelligence community because U.S. intelligence officials have “six ways from Sunday to get back at you” if you are “dumb” enough to take them on.

Thanks to the almost 10,000 text messages between Strzok and Page, only a small fraction of which were given to Congress four weeks ago, there is now real evidentiary meat on the bones of the suspicions that there indeed was a “deep-state coup” to “correct” the outcome of the 2016 election. We now know that the supposedly apolitical FBI officials had huge political axes to grind. The Strzok-Page exchanges drip with disdain for Trump and those deemed his smelly deplorable supporters. In one text message, Strzok expressed visceral contempt for those working-class Trump voters, writing on Aug. 26, 2016, “Just went to a southern Virginia Walmart. I could SMELL the Trump support. ... it’s scary real down here.”

The texts even show Strzok warning of the need for an “insurance policy” to thwart Trump on the off-chance that his poll numbers closed in on those of Mrs. Clinton.

An Aug. 6, 2016 text message, for example, shows Page giving her knight in shining armor strong affirmation: “Maybe you’re meant to stay where you are because you’re meant to protect the country from that menace [Trump].” That text to Strzok includes a link to a David Brooks column in The New York Times, in which Brooks concludes with the clarion call: “There comes a time when neutrality and laying low become dishonorable. If you’re not in revolt, you’re in cahoots. When this period and your name are mentioned, decades hence, your grandkids will look away in shame.”

Another text message shows that other senior government officials – alarmed at

the possibility of a Trump presidency – joined the discussion. In an apparent reference to an August 2016 meeting with FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe, Strzok wrote to Page on Aug. 15, 2016, “I want to believe the path you threw out for consideration in Andy’s office — that there’s no way he [Trump] gets elected — but I’m afraid we can’t take that risk.” Strzok added, “It’s like an insurance policy in the unlikely event that you die before you’re 40.”

## Insurance Policy?

Senate Judiciary Committee chair Chuck Grassley, R-Iowa, says he will ask Strzok to explain the “insurance policy” when he calls him to testify. What seems already clear is that the celebrated “Steele Dossier” was part of the “insurance,” as was the evidence-less legend that Russia hacked the DNC’s and Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta’s emails and gave them to WikiLeaks.

If congressional investigators have been paying attention, they already know what former weapons inspector Scott Ritter shared with Veteran intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS) colleagues this week; namely, that Fusion GPS’s Glenn Simpson, who commissioned the Russia dossier using Democratic Party money, said he reached out to Steele after June 17, just three days before Steele’s first report was published, drawing on seven sources.

“There isn’t a snowball’s chance in hell that this is raw intelligence gathered by Steele; rather he seems to have drawn on a single ‘trusted intermediary’ to gather unsubstantiated rumor already in existence.”

Another VIPS colleague, Phil Giraldi, writing out of his own experience in private sector consulting, added: “The fact that you do not control your sources frequently means that they will feed you what they think you want to hear. Since they are only doing it for money, the more lurid the details the better, as it increases the apparent value of the information. The private security firm in turn, which is also doing it for the money, will pass on the stories and even embroider them to keep the client happy and to encourage him to come back for more. When I read the Steele dossier it looked awfully familiar to me, like the scores of similar reports I had seen which combined bullshit with enough credible information to make the whole product look respectable.”

It is now widely known that the Democrats ponied up the “insurance premiums,” so to speak, for former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele’s “dossier” of lurid — but largely unproven — “intelligence” on Trump and the Russians. If, as many have concluded, the dossier was used to help justify a FISA warrant to snoop on the Trump campaign, those involved will be in deep kimchi, if congressional overseers do their job.

How, you might ask, could Strzok and associates undertake these extra-legal steps with such blithe disregard for the possible consequences should they be

# Obtained by Undead FOIA

caught? The answer is easy; Mrs. Clinton was a shoo-in, remember? This was just extra insurance with no expectation of any “death benefit” ever coming into play — save for Trump’s electoral demise in November 2016. The attitude seemed to be that, if abuse of the FISA law should eventually be discovered — there would be little interest in a serious investigation by the editors of The New York Times and other anti-Trump publications and whatever troubles remained could be handled by President Hillary Clinton.

Sen. Lindsey Graham, R-South Carolina, who chairs the Judiciary Subcommittee of Judiciary on Crime and Terrorism, joined Sen. Grassley in signing the letter referring Christopher Steele to the Justice Department to investigate what appear to be false statements about the dossier. In signing, Graham noted the “many stop signs the Department of Justice ignored in its use of the dossier.” The signature of committee ranking member Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-California, however, was missing — an early sign that a highly partisan battle royale is in the offing. On Tuesday, Feinstein unilaterally released a voluminous transcript of Glenn Simpson’s earlier testimony and, as though on cue, Establishment pundits portrayed Steele as a good source and Fusion GPS’s Glenn Simpson as a victim. The Donnybrook is now underway; the outcome uncertain.

Ray McGovern works with Tell the Word, a publishing arm of the ecumenical Church of the Saviour in inner-city Washington. He was an Army and CIA intelligence analyst for 30 years; prepared and briefed the President’s Daily Brief for Nixon, Ford, and Reagan; and is co-founder of Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS).

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Sample text messages between Peter Strzok and Lisa Page, released to Congress and the media on December 13, 2016

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03/04/2016

Strzok – God Hillary should win. 100,000,000-0.

Page – I know

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04/02/2016

Page – So look, you say we text on that phone when we talk about Hillary because it can’t be traced, you were just venting, bc you feel bad that you’re gone so much but that can’t be helped right now.

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07/08/2016

Strzok – And meanwhile, we have Black Lives Matter protestors, right now, chanting “no justice no peace” around DoJ and the White House...

Page – That’s awful.

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07/14/2016

Page – Have you read this? It's really frightening. For Whites Sensing Decline, Donald Trump Unleashes Words of Resistance <http://NYT/ms/29WCu5!>

Strzok – I have not. But I think it's clear he's capturing all the white, poor voters who the mainstream republicans abandoned in all but name in the quest for the almighty \$\$\$

Page – Yeah, it's not good.

Strzok – Poll Finds Emails Weighing on Hillary Clinton, Now Tied With Donald Trump <http://nyti.ms/29RV5gf>

Page – It is

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07/26/2016

Strzok – And hey. Congrats on a woman nominated for President in a major party! About damn time! Many many more returns of the day!!

Page – That's cute. Thanks

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08/06/2016

Page – Jesus. You should read this. And Trump should go f himself. Moment in Convention Glare Shakes Up Khans American Life <http://nyti.ms/2aHulE0>

Strzok – God that's a great article. Thanks for sharing. And F TRUMP.

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08/06/2016

Page – And maybe you're meant to stay where you are because you're meant to protect the country from that menace. To that end comma, read this:

Page – Trump Enablers Will Finally Have to Take A Stand <http://nyti.ms/2aFakry>

Strzok – Thanks. It's absolutely true that we're both very fortunate. And of course I'll try and approach it that way. I just know it will be tough at times. I can protect our country at many levels, not sure if that helps

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08/09/2016

Page – He's not ever going to become president, right? Right?!

Strzok – OMG did you hear what Trump just said?

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08/26/2016

Strzok – Just went to a southern Virginia Walmart. I could SMELL the Trump support...

Page – Yep. Out to lunch with (redacted) We both hate everyone and everything.

Page – Just riffing on the hot mess that is our country.

Strzok – Yeah...it's scary real down here

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10/20/2016

Strzok: I am riled up. Trump is a f\*\*\*ing idiot, is unable to provide a coherent answer.

Strzok – I CAN'T PULL AWAY, WHAT THE F\*\*K HAPPENED TO OUR COUNTRY (redacted)??!?!?

Page– I don't know. But we'll get it back. We're America. We rock.

Strzok– Donald just said “bad hombres”

Strzok– Trump just said what the FBI did is disgraceful.

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Was the DNC/Clinton campaign-funded dossier used to obtain warrants on Trump team from the secret court?

*Dr. Paul Craig Roberts was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy and associate editor of the Wall Street Journal. He was columnist for Business Week, Scripps Howard News Service, and Creators Syndicate. He has had many university appointments. His internet columns have attracted a worldwide following. Roberts' latest books are The Failure of Laissez Faire Capitalism and Economic Dissolution of the West and How America Was Lost.*