FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Electronic Communication

Title: CROSSFIRE HURRICANE
Meeting with CHS to discuss

Date: 08/15/2016

From: NEW YORK
NY-CD1

Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-HQ-2063661
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE HURRICANE;
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

97F-HQ-2067747
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE DRAGON
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

97F-HQ-2067748
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE TYPHOON
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT-RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

97F-HQ-2067749
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE FURY
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT-RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

Synopsis: CROSSFIRE HURRICANE Meeting with CHS on 8/11/2016 to discuss
CROSSFIRE HURRICANE.

Reason: 1.4(b)
Derived From: National
Security Information SCG
Declassify On: 20411231

Full Investigation Initiated: 07/31/2016

Details:

(S//OC/NF) On 08/11/2016, SA Non-SES Employee, SOS Non-SES Employee

[Redacted]
and SA Stephen M. Somma met with to discuss CROSSFIRE HURRICANE. The meeting took place at the CHS' home and lasted approximately 1 1/2 hours. After introduction of SA to the CHS the following discussion took place:

**CROSSFIRE TYPHOON**

The CHS was informed by the interview team that they were currently assigned to a project looking at the roll of the Russian Federation in the current U.S. Presidential campaign. As such, there were some individuals associated with the Trump Campaign that were of particular interest to the team. The team asked the CHS if s/he had heard of CROSSFIRE TYPHOON (CT), the CHS stated that s/he did not but asked for some background information on CT, which the team provided. The CHS, upon hearing of CT's pedigree information, stated that s/he was unaware of CT.

The team inquired if the CHS would be able and/or willing to invite CT to his/her . The team explained that it would allow the FBI to obtain assessment information on CT as well as possibly conduct an operation against CT. The CHS stated that s/he would be willing to help, however, prior to the invitation, the CHS would want to meet CT first, as without knowing CT, CT could be . The team agreed with the CHS and agreed to work with the CHS to obtain an initial meeting.

**CROSSFIRE DRAGON**

The CHS asked the team if they would be interested in CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD). The CHS stated that CD had been invited to speak, earlier in July, at a presentation put together by who had asked CD to attend. The CHS said that former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright was also at the presentation. CD, was described by the CHS, as being "very guarded" during the presentation and stating that his/her views were his/her own and not of the Trump campaign.
The CHS explained to the team that s/he had a private meeting with CD on or about 7/18/2016 when CD was. The CHS told the team that the purpose of the meeting was to ask the CHS if the s/he would want to join the Trump campaign as a foreign policy adviser. The CHS stated that s/he was non-committal to CD about joining the campaign. The CHS told the interviewing team that he had no intention of joining the campaign.

The CHS met with CD in the CHS' office and the meeting lasted approximately 2 hours. During the course of the meeting CD discussed his/her relationship with Gazprom, CD's views on Putin, the current U.S. Presidential campaign and that CD "retold Russia's view on the Ukraine."

The CHS also related that when CD had heard that the CHS had recently been in Dubai, CD mentioned that s/he was in Abu Dhabi around the same time as the CHS. CD told the CHS that s/he was in Abu Dhabi representing Gazprom. When asked by the team what s/he thought CD was advising Gazprom on, the CHS opined that it was most likely about American policy as CD does not have a background in geology and Gazprom "certainly doesn't need any more advisers" on energy.

As stated previously the CHS stated that s/he had no intention of joining the campaign, but the CHS had not conveyed that to anyone related to the Trump campaign. The CHS was willing to assist with the ongoing investigation and to not notify the Trump campaign about the CHS' decision not to join.

CROSSFIRE FURY

In discussions with the interviewing team about the investigation, the CHS stated the s/he has known CROSSFIRE FURY (CF) for over 30 years. The CHS worked with CF on several political
The CHS described CF as a savvy political operator. The CHS offered to reach out to CF, but stated, given the timing of the campaign, the CHS doubted CF would have time to respond or meet with the CHS.

**CROSSFIRE RAZOR**

The CHS relayed an incident s/he witnessed when CROSSFIRE RAZOR (CR) spoke at Source ID. The CHS was unsure of the date, but noted that CR was still in his/her position within the USIC.

The CHS told the team that after CR spoke and socialized with Source ID at dinner and over drinks, Source ID got CR a cab to take CR to the train station to bring him/her to London. The CHS stated that a woman, SVETLANA LOKHOVA, surprised everyone and got into CR's cab and joined CR on the train ride to London. The CHS recalled that LOKHOVA "latched" onto CR when he was at Source ID. The CHS stated that s/he is somewhat suspicious of LOKHOVA, as she has been affiliated with several prominent members of Source ID. The CHS believes that LOKHOVA's father may be a Russian Oligarch living in London. The CHS could not provide further information on CR and LOKHOVA's trip.

**Other**

The CHS expects to hear from Sam Clovis soon about joining the Trump campaign. The CHS described Clovis as the "type of guy who could make a campaign work."

The CHS advised that Source ID, Peter Navaro, who is a professor at a university in California, is one of the Trump Campaign's senior policy adviser related to Trade.

The CHS provided atmospherics about the current situation at Source ID and at his/her new company.
Title: [S/N ON] Meeting with CHS to discuss CROSSFIRE HURRICANE
Re: [S/N HQ-206366] 08/15/2016
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Electronic Communication

Title: [REDACTED] CHS Meeting 08/12/2016
Date: 08/15/2016

From: NEW YORK
NY-CDI
Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-HQ-2063661
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE HURRICANE;
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER
97F-HQ-2067747
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE DRAGON
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER
97F-HQ-2067748
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE TYphoon
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT-RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER
97F-HQ-2067749
(S//OC/NF) CROSSFIRE FURY
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT-RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

Synopsis: [REDACTED] CHS meeting 08/12/2016 regarding captioned subjects.

Reason: 1.4(b)
Derived From: National
Security Information SCG
Declassify On: 20411231

Full Investigation Initiated: 07/31/2016

Details:
On 08/12/2016, SA [REDACTED], SOS [REDACTED]
and SA Stephen M. Somma met with [REDACTED] (CHS) to discuss CROSSFIRE
HURRICANE. The meeting took place at the CHS' home and lasted approximately 2 hours.

[57/CC/RF] CROSSFIRE DRAGON

[57/CC/RF] The interviewing team informed the CHS that CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD), whom they had spoken about the prior day, was of interest to them. The team explained that due to CD's ties back to the Russian Federation (RF), CD would be the logical conduit for the RF to message to the Trump Campaign. The team asked if the CHS would be willing to contact CD, based off of their previous discussions in the Source ID, and invite CD to a private meeting. The CHS agreed to contact CD and offered Source ID for the meeting or at a private club in the Washington, DC area. The team suggested that the Source ID would be preferable, as it would allow for a more private atmosphere, but would work with whatever the CHS and CD agree to meet.

[57/CC/RF] The team and the CHS discussed, that given the Trump Campaign's desire to hire the CHS as an adviser, the CHS is in a prefect position to ask CD direct questions about the Trump campaign's alleged ties to the RF. The team provided the CHS with several open source articles about the Trump Campaign.

[57/CC/RF] The team asked the CHS if s/he recalled when CD said he was in Abu Dhabi for Gazprom (discussed with the CHS the previous day). The CHS said that s/he believes that it was approximately 3 months ago. The team asked if it was unusual for a senior foreign policy adviser to a presidential campaign to still be advising a company like Gazprom, the CHS thought it was. The CHS stated that s/he was under the impression that CD was connected to the Russian Government either through Gazprom or through other connections.

[57/CC/RF] The CHS was going to contact Source ID to obtain CD's e-mail address so that the CHS could recontact CD. The team told the CHS that if Source ID is unable to provide one, they could give the CHS the e-mail address they have. The team told the CHS that they would like to have the CHS contact CD as soon as possible.
CROSSFIRE RAZOR

The CHS was asked to recall the incident that s/he spoke about the previous day regarding CR. The team asked if the CHS recalled how CR was invited to Source ID. The CHS believed that the invite was most likely sent out by another member of the committee who shared responsibility of inviting speakers Source ID. The CHS stated that s/he could contact someone on the committee and inquire how CR was invited.

The CHS was asked if s/he recalled if CR was alone during the presentation at Source ID or if CR was joined by a staff officer. The CHS did not remember another officer with CR, but said that there was a representative from CR's organization there from a local military base. The CHS did clarify to the team that Svetlana Lakhova got into the cab with CR at Source ID and then joined CR on the train to London.

The team thought, that given that the Trump Campaign was interested in the CHS joining, the CHS may be able to meet with CR as part of the CHS' due diligence of the campaign. During a meeting with CR, the team thought it would be another opportunity for the CHS to address the RF ties to the Trump campaign.

CROSSFIRE TYPHOON

The team asked the CHS if s/he thought an invitation to CT for CT to speak at Source ID would be better if extended via the Source ID. The venue would be a small setting for CT to speak with current students and then travel to London. The CHS stated that s/he thought of an institute/think tank in London where CT might be able to speak as well, thereby allowing the FBI or others to have access to CT. The CHS opined that the Source ID would be open around the first or second week of October. The team asked if there was an opportunity to have CT to Source ID sooner, the CHS said s/he would look into it.
The team provided the CHS with CT's e-mail address.

SENIATOR SESSIONS

The CHS was asked about Senator Sessions role as a senior foreign policy adviser on the Trump Campaign. The CHS does not know Sessions, but opined that Sessions is a conservative who would not be friendly to Russia.

OTHER

Source ID

The team inquired what the role of a foreign policy adviser consists of. The CHS explained that the main job is to put together position papers for the candidate. As the campaign progresses, the advisers help prepare the candidate for debates, playing the role of reporters in the rehearsals. After the debates are over, the CHS stated that the main role is to "put out fires" for the candidate.

The CHS signed, under her/his codename, a FD-472 allowing the FBI to consensually monitor any conversations related to the CROSSFIRE HURRICANE investigation.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Electronic Communication

Title: CROSSFIRE DRAGON Operational Plan

Date: 08/24/2016

CC: Non-SES

From: NEW YORK
NY-CI

Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III
Non-SES
STROK PETER P II

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-HQ-2067747

SYNOPSIS: Operational plan for a CHS to meet with CROSSFIRE DRAGON on Source ID

Reason: 1.4(b)
Derived From: National Security Information SCG
Declassify On: 20411231

Full Investigation Initiated: 08/10/2016

Enclosure(s): Enclosed are the following items:
1. (S/CC/CF) FD-472
2. (S/CC/CF) FD-759

Details:

BACKGROUND
The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE (CH) investigative team is attempting to determine if anyone in the Trump Campaign is in a position to have received information either directly or indirectly from the Russian Federation (RF) regarding the anonymous release of information during the campaign that would be damaging to Hillary Clinton. CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD) is one of the main subjects in the investigative effort. CD has extensive ties to the various state-owned entities of the RF, most notably, Gazprom. Additionally, CD has, in the past, been in direct contact with SVR officers and continued his contact after FBI defensive briefings.

In July 2016, CD spoke at a conference in Moscow, Russia, whereby CD stated he went to Moscow as a "private person" and was not representing the Trump Campaign. After his speech in Moscow, CD flew to the United Kingdom (UK). While in the UK, CD took part in a presentation at Cambridge University with Madeleine Albright. A FBI CHS was present at the presentation and described CD as "guarded" during the presentation and as being "careful" while speaking with Albright.

The following operational plan is being proposed in furtherance of the CROSSFIRE DRAGON and CROSSFIRE HURRICANE investigative efforts.

**CD/FBI CHS RELATIONSHIP**

CD met privately with the FBI-NY CHS (CHS) for approximately 2 hours. During the meeting, CD asked if the CHS would be interested in joining the Trump Campaign as a foreign policy adviser. While the CHS has no intention of joining the campaign, the CHS was non-committal and agreed to continue a dialogue with CD for the benefit of the FBI.
Initial Contact

The CHS received an e-mail from CD stating that he and another individual would like to meet with the CHS to discuss the CHS potentially joining the Trump Campaign. The CHS responded to the e-mail to set up a meeting with CD. The CHS invited CD to meet with the CHS privately since it offers a relaxed, yet intimate setting. The CHS and CD have had several e-mail exchanges regarding the date and time. CD, in these exchanges, has indicated that he will be meeting with the CHS without the previously mentioned individual. The CHS received an e-mail from CD confirming a meeting at

The main goal of the operation is to have CD admit that he has direct knowledge of and is either helping coordinate or assisting the RF conduct an active measure campaign with the "Trump Team." The CHS will press CD on the Trump Campaigns alleged ties to the RF. The FBI believes the CHS is in a unique position to ask direct questions about the ties, as the CHS would be conducting proper due diligence prior to possibly joining the campaign. The FBI assesses CD is an opportune target for the CHS to question given their prior relationship and since CD is not a professional political operator. The FBI believes the CHS may be able to elicit information from CD due to CD's inexperience and CD's ego.

Depending on how much information CD provides to the CHS during their meeting and how CD reacts to the CHS' questions the writer believes that there are two possible scenarios.

SCENARIO 1

CD provides direct knowledge of RF involvement in the campaign and admits to being the conduit of information from the RF to the Trump Campaign. If this occurs, the CH Team will meet with FBIHQ and make a determination as to next steps to take with CD. The CH Team
Title: (S7/OCC/NE) CROSSFIRE DRAGON Operational Plan
Re: 97F-HQ-2067747 08/24/2016

will direct the CHS to continue to meet with CD, while a decision is
made by FBIHQ.

SCENARIO 2

(S7/OCC/NE) If CD does not provide tangible information during the
meeting, or if CD explicitly states he does not know of any RF
involvement in the campaign the FBI will focus on a second target of
the investigation.

POSSIBLE COMPLICATIONS

(S7/OCC/NE) CD may recognize this meeting as a way to collect
information about the Trump Campaign that he is not willing to share.
The conversation may be relayed to others in the Trump Campaign and
create a possible issue for the CHS. However, because CD reached out to
the CHS and given the CHS’ ties to several senior members of the Trump
Campaign the FBI assesses this to be a low risk operation.

OPERATIONS

(S7/OCC/NE) The CHS has signed a FD-472 allowing for consensually
monitored conversations between the CHS and CD. The CHS has offered for
the FBI to install recording devices in Source ID
Source ID
and applicable FD-759s for CCTV and audio are attached.

(S7/OCC/NE) The CH team had met with Source ID who will install audio
and video recording devices in Source ID in order to record the
meetings. Redundant systems will be utilized and the CHS will be
wearing recording devices on his person. The CH team will be present on
Source ID in order to live monitor the conversations between
the CHS and CD. The CH team will minimize any conversations when the
CHS is not present.

(S7/OCC/NE) SSG assets from Source ID will cover CD during CD’s time in
Source ID CD has indicated to the CHS that he will be in the
OUTCOMES

The FBI sees various possible outcomes from the meeting. CD could refuse to meet with the CHS or be uncooperative during the initial meeting, which would end the operation. The team would then change its posture and move forward with an operation against CROSSFIRE TYPHOON. However, CD could either fully divulge RF connections or provide an ambiguous answer, the CHS has been tasked to press CD with a direct question if CD is evasive. If, even after being directly questioned, CD is still evasive, a determination would be made if the information obtained would be worth continuing the operation or ending it.

If the meeting is successful, the FBI could obtain information from CD about the RF, which would allow for additional investigative techniques.

SPECIAL NOTE

The CHS will not be joining the Trump Campaign at the behest of the FBI. The CH Team will continue to encourage the CHS to make contact with individuals in furtherance of the CH investigation.
Title: Meeting with CHS discussing Sam Clovis

Date: 09/06/2016

From: NY-CD

Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-HQ-2063661

(S7/OC/NT) CROSSFIRE HURRICANE;
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

97F-HQ-2067747

(S7/OC/NT) CROSSFIRE DRAGON
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

Synopsis: Meeting with CHS and FBI discussing Sam Clovis

Reason: 1.4(b)

Derived From: National Security Information SCG

Declassify On: 2041231

Full Investigation Initiated: 07/31/2016

Details:

(S7/RE/OC) On 08/28/2016, SAs Non-SES and Stephen M. Somma as well as SOS Non-SES met with FBI-NY CHS Source ID at the CHS' home. During the course of the meeting the CHS informed the interviewing team that s/he had heard from CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD) or Source ID. During the call, CD informed the CHS that Sam Clovis will be in the Washington, D.C. area the following week and asked if the CHS would like to meet with him. The CHS told CD that he would like to,
however, during the course of the conversation it seemed as though CD wasn't sure if the meeting might actually take place.

(S7/SCI) The interviewing team gave the CHS an e-mail for Sam Clovis, which it had obtained via open source. The team instructed the CHS to reach out directly to Clovis in the hope of setting up a meeting. The CHS stated that s/he would send an e-mail to Clovis.
Title: Observation of CROSSFIRE DRAGON using a Smartphone

Date: 10/05/2016

From: NEW YORK

Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-HQ-2063661

Synopsis: Observation of CROSSFIRE DRAGON utilizing a smartphone during a meeting with a CHS.

Reason: 1.4(c)

Derived From: Multiple Sources

Declassify On: 20411231

Full Investigation Initiated: 07/31/2016

Details:

During the course of a meeting between a CHS and CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD), CD was observed by the FBI utilizing a smartphone to show the CHS articles written about CD.
Title: Observation of CROSSFIRE DRAGON using a Smartphone
Re: 97F-HQ-2063661, 10/05/2016

**
Title: Observation of CROSSFIRE DRAGON using a Smartphone

Date: 10/19/2016

From: NEW YORK

Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-HQ-2063661

(37/57/47/57/47/47/47) CROSSFIRE DRAGON
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

97F-NY-2067747

(37/57/47/47/47/47/47) CROSSFIRE DRAGON
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

Synopsis: Observation of CROSSFIRE DRAGON utilizing a smartphone during a meeting with a CHS.

Reason: 1.4(c)
Derived From: Multiple Sources
Declassify On: 2041231

Full Investigation Initiated: 07/31/2016

Details:

During the course of a meeting between a CHS and CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD) on CD was observed by the FBI utilizing a smartphone to show the CHS articles written about CD.
Title: CROSSFIRE DRAGON Operational Plan

Date: 10/25/2016

From: NEW YORK

Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-NY-2067747

Synopsis: Operational plan for a CHS to meet with CROSSFIRE DRAGON Source ID

Reason: 1.4(b)

Derived From: National Security Information SCG

Declassify On: 20411231

Full Investigation Initiated: 08/10/2016

Details:

BACKGROUND

The CROSSFIRE HURRICANE (CH) investigative team is attempting to determine if anyone in the Trump Campaign is in a position to have received information either directly or indirectly from the Russian Federation (RF) regarding the anonymous release of information during the campaign that would be damaging to Hillary Clinton. CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD) is one of the main subjects in the...
investigative effort. CD has extensive ties to the various state-owned entities of the RF, most notably, Gazprom. Additionally, CD has, in the past, been in direct contact with SVR officers and continued his contact after FBI defensive briefings.

In July 2016, CD spoke at a conference in Moscow, Russia, whereby CD stated he went to Moscow as a "private person" and was not representing the Trump Campaign. After his speech in Moscow, CD flew to the United Kingdom (UK). While in the UK, CD took part in a presentation at Cambridge University with Madeleine Albright. A FBI CHS was present at the presentation and described CD as "guarded" during the presentation and as being "careful" while speaking with Albright.

The following operational plan is being proposed in furtherance of the CROSSFIRE DRAGON and CROSSFIRE HURRICANE investigative efforts.

**CD/FBI CHS RELATIONSHIP**

CD met privately with the FBI-NY CHS (CHS) for approximately 2 hours. During the meeting, CD asked if the CHS would be interested in joining the Trump Campaign as a foreign policy adviser. While the CHS has no intention of joining the campaign, the CHS was non-committal and agreed to continue a dialogue with CD for the benefit of the FBI.

The CHS and CD met for approximately 3 hours at . During the time at the CH team was able to obtain valuable assessment information on CD. CD viewed the CHS as a potential mentor. As a result of the meeting, the CH team
was able to conduct several operations utilizing the CHS against other targets of the CH investigation.

**OPERATIONS**

The CHS, at the FBI's request, sent an e-mail to CD after several news articles came out about CD and CD's alleged ties to the Russian Federation. As a result of the articles, the Trump campaign distanced themselves from CD. Additionally, CD wrote a letter to the FBI asking to be interviewed by the FBI. The CHS' e-mail was to As a result of the e-mail, the CHS and CD set-up a

The time of the meeting is scheduled for . During the course of the meeting the FBI will task the CHS to ask CD specific questions related to the CH investigation.

The CHS has signed a FD-472 allowing for consensually monitored conversations between the CHS and CD. The CHS has offered for the FBI to install recording devices and applicable FD-759s for CCTV and audio are attached.

The CH team will have install audio and video recording devices in order to record the meetings. Redundant systems will be utilized and the CHS will be wearing recording devices on his person. The CH team will be present in order to live monitor the conversations between the CHS and CD. The CH team will minimize any conversations when the CHS is not present.

ESG assets from will cover CD during CD's time in CD has indicated to the CHS that he will be in the
SPECIAL NOTE

The CHS will not be joining the Trump Campaign at the behest of the FBI. The CH Team will continue to encourage the CHS to make contact with individuals in furtherance of the CH investigation.
Title: [REDACTED] CD Meeting with FBI CHS

From: NEW YORK
   NY-CD1
   Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Joe Pientka III

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-NY-2067747
   [S7/OC/NF] CROSSFIRE DRAGON
   FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA;
   SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

Synopsis: [S7/OC/NF] CD Meeting with FBI CHS. The CHS had set-up the meeting with CD at the FBI's request via e-mail. The two had previously met in August 2016 and in the United Kingdom in July 2016. During the course of the August meeting, the FBI was able to obtain assessment information about CD. The meeting was consensually recorded by the FBI.

Reason: 1.4(b)
Derived From: National Security Information SCG
Declassify On: 20411231

Full Investigation Initiated: 08/10/2016

Enclosure(s): Enclosed are the following items:
1. [S7/OC/NF] CD Meeting with FBI CHS

Details:
[S7/OC/NF] CROSSFIRE DRAGON (CD) visited a FBI CHS
   The CHS had set-up the meeting with CD at the FBI's request via e-mail. The two had previously met in August 2016 and in the United Kingdom in July 2016. During the course of the August meeting, the FBI was able to obtain assessment information about CD. The meeting was consensually recorded by the FBI.
The FBI had recently learned that CD was traveling to London, U.K. and Johannesburg, South Africa. The goal of the meeting was to have the CHS determine the reason for CD's overseas travel, this was CD's first international trip since being dismissed from the Trump campaign. The FBI had recently received information from another CHS that CD may have a "handling agent" in London, U.K., the FBI's goal was to determine if CD was meeting with anyone that would be of interest in furtherance of the CD investigation.

CD arrived at, as CD had done in the past, and was greeted by the CHS. The CHS had been instructed to have a private meeting with CD. The FBI hoped the intimate nature of the private meeting may relax CD and CD may elicit information about CD's recent interactions with the campaign and possibly any connections with the Russian Federation.

When asked about CD's trips, CD mentioned that he was staying in Bromley, a suburb of London and that he has stayed in an area of Johannesburg called Sandton in the past. CD informed the CHS that he was going to be on a television show on Channel 4 on Monday 10/24/2016 with John Snow, discussing the U.S. election.

During lunch with the CHS CD referenced George Kennan, the author of containing the Soviet Union during the Cold War. CD stated he wanted to start a think tank. When asked by the CHS, CD said "...I don't want to say there'd [SIC] be an open checkbook, but the Russians would definitely..." The CHS said "They would fund it-yeah you could do alright there." and CD responded "Yeah, but that has its pros and cons, right?" The exact language is attached. CD intimated that he may be visiting with potential backers of his proposed think tank when he was overseas, however, there was no further information.

CD departed shortly after lunch and promised to be in touch with the CHS.
(S7/OC/Nf) CD Meeting with FBI CHS
Re: 97F-NY-2067747 11/16/2016

(S7/OC/Nf) Specific excerpts of the meeting is attached.

★★
(1) PLANS TO DEVELOP RESEARCH INSTITUTE

11:30:02 – There’s a guy George Kennan... there’s an interesting overlap between his predicament and the things he’s dealt with and today... and well I’m the Kennan equivalent. Again, cause he kind of put out the idea of containment or a perceived idea of containment... and he spent 50 years arguing against this...

11:31:19 – So here’s my kind of thought on... you know, like I’ve always said... in terms of personal ambitions... I think this beltway... this is one of the dirtiest places in the world and I’ve never had any ambitions to go into government regardless of who won... the analogy I always make is like... Biden when he’s not doing political stuff, his big ambition is to fight cancer... I’m the same thing, fighting the cancerous foreign policy that’s leading to so many deaths, so this is kind of my mission if you will. So I’m sort of thinking about if Kennan found his Institute of Advanced Study, I’d love to you... [analyst note: create something similar]

11:48:25 – There’s a lot of similarities between what – although I’ve been much more in the public light than he ever was back in those years, cause you know there was the old school diplomacy of working discreetly backstage, but you know, here’s a guy who... he came out with these concepts related to containment and cetera... and people built up on these containment ideas and became much more hawkish and aggressive in a lot of ways against the Russians. And he spent the next fifty years of his life fighting against this... but what we’re talking about... it’s being a rare voice that talks against this consensus, this hawkish... it’s also getting out some ideas and working on some research that will kind of state this in a more you know, instead of these sound bites on CNN

12:28:54 (Russians will fund his development of a research institute akin to Kennan Institute and some of his work in London may be related to this)

CHS:  So you’re in London for a couple of days...
DRAGON:  I really think that, that was a great idea I need to think about that though... I like the entrepreneurial approach. The only big question obviously like most things, is the funding for it, but I need to...

CHS:  I imagine you could probably find funds because people are distressed with U.S. foreign policy
DRAGON:  Well I know... the interesting thing – and I’ve got a growing... [break in conversation]... well the only interesting question, on your point, is I don’t want to say there’d be an open checkbook, but the Russians would definitely [laughs]...

CHS:  They would fund it – yeah you could do alright there
DRAGON:  Yeah but that has its pros and cons right?
CHS:  Well, nobody needs to know exactly where it’s from
DRAGON:  Yeah that was my letter to Comey right? Everyone is so interested that I owned a couple of American depository receipts of Gazprom.

(2) OTHER RUSSIAN CONNECTIONS

11:08:20 – Look, when I first moved to Moscow, people say to me, “the key is to develop relationships... this place is all about relationships”. And you know, you’re never going to be in a situation where everyone likes you. You gotta’ find a couple of companies, executives that really trust you. You know, it’s a typical banker term: trusted relationship. It’s all about trusted relationships.

11:37:08 – This is extremely off the record, I’ve been talking to – I forwarded you that Sputnik news article, they were – some of the journalists I’ve been talking to there, which is the Russian state media organization...
12:00:19 – The same thing in Russia, so just as he [Bill Clinton] received more work from Monica [Lewinsky]... you know she's more attractive than Hillary... but you know so, the exact same thing with me and Russia. The Russians really, you know ChHS and I were talking about relationships, I have a longstanding constructive relationship with the Russians going back throughout my life. This is so annoying to them, that you know...

12:01:06 – She [Hillary Clinton] doesn’t care about lacking love and respect from her husband, but Russia is a strategically important country and, you know, love/hate, Bill/Hillary, who cares about that? But Russia is really important, and that goes back to my point of the op-ed I wrote last week

(3) IDEOLOGY/DEFENSE OF WIKILEAKS

10:48:33 – I think there’s been this vicious downward circle of relations where each side – particularly in the west – antagonizes the other and then they’re surprised when people, you know reciprocate the bad-will. You know, there’s zero good will left. And a lot of it actually... I was talking with someone from one of the think tanks in town here and they were saying particularly in Eastern Europe, with the NATO commitment mutual defense, it’s a lot of risk for our military as well if some of these border countries – the Baltics et cetera – start antagonizing, and also not only antagonizing, but also false information. There’s so much false information... you know, referring to something that happens that might be an overstatement.

10:55:26 [DRAGON's views on WIKILEAKS' release of the DNC emails and discussion of what happened to the GOP platform at the RNC]

CHS: I guess what they’re trying to do is work out the link between the Russians and Wikileaks, what do we know about that?

DRAGON: You know, I-l-l-I’ve made clear in a lot of you know, subsequent discussions/interviews that I’ve been part of... I know nothing about that – on a personal level, you know no one’s ever said one word to me. But it’s interesting, you know, off the record between us – if the only source of transparency and the truth is an external source, you know, c’est la vie right? I mean, that’s Podesta’s and Clinton’s main argument right? This is tainted information because it came from the Russians, it’s sort of that downward cycle and that’s you know, when we were... in mid-July there was starting to be these conspiracy theories and started to spin up – but then it wasn’t until Cleveland and things percolated a little... the following week is when it really got out of control cause of Philadelphia – Debbie Wasserman Schultz... Let’s distract from all the bad information – the damning information that’s in these documents – and talk about the source, or the purported source.

CHS: You mentioned Cleveland – you stopped by in Cleveland didn’t you? So what about the platform committee? Did you chat with them at all?

DRAGON: [laughs] I stayed clear of that – there was a lot of conspiracy theories that I was one of them, yeah.

CHS: Cause I would’ve thought the platform committee would be a place where there’d be an opportunity to clarify our relationship with the Russians or others, and you could’ve been very helpful.

DRAGON: Well again, totally off the record, but I – members of our team were working on that, and you know, again, in retrospect it’s way better off that I, you know remained at arms length. But again, our team was working on that.

10:59:13 [DRAGON mentions a relationship with the PM of a NATO ally country and shoes his disdain for current policies regarding Russia/sanctions]

CHS: Your point is well taken, you can provoke the hell out of the Russians and you can get a reaction, and that then is very costly
DRAGON: But there’s more to it... here’s my fear — it’s less of a fear for myself — a NATO ally, Prime Minister of a NATO ally said to me — and you know, they’ve been hurt by sanctions... that’s the interesting thing for the Americans, it doesn’t have any impact on us. We can kind of put all of these restrictions. But for Europeans it’s hard, it’s a hardship on both sides. So — and his economy has been significantly negative impact given the whole sanctions thing — but then he says to me when all these lies started coming out on me over the summer: ‘Well what do you think? Do you fear for your life?’

CHS: What? What country is this?

DRAGON: W-w-well [laughs] we’re very off the record already but...

CHS: Why would he be thinking such a thing?!

DRAGON: But it’s true! And what I told him is I don’t fear for my life, I fear for the lives of service members and other people in government who if these ridiculous approaches and these failed policies continue next January, you know... we’re on the brink of war.

11:40:39 — Let me tell you something, we could talk for the next 5 hours about all these sneaky little approaches that the USG has been taking against Russia — going back you know a couple decades. Perfect example is this Victoria Nuland... her infamous thing is — we talk about Russia interfering in our elections — you compare her level of interference in Ukraine, the democratic processes in Ukraine, to some Wikileaks — which is essentially on par with listening in on Merkel’s phone calls. So she’s recorded — she had this leaked [laughs] phone call where she’s talking to the U.S. Ambassador to Kiev deciding who the next government leader should be.

(4) DEFENSE OF MEDIA ACCUSATIONS (SECHIN/DIVEYKIN & LAWYERS)

10:51:32 — it’s beyond rumor though, a lie is a lie.

10:51:49 — (In discussing the Yahoo! News claim about meetings with Sechin and Diveykin in Moscow July 2016, DRAGON referenced advice from lawyers)

CHS: What’s the core argument they’re making?

DRAGON: Well the core argument — one of the core lies — and this is also the irony of it right? The core lie is that I met with these sanctioned Russian officials, several of which I’ve never even met in my entire life, but they said that I met them in July, right?

CHS: This is uh... S...S...

DRAGON: Sechin is the main guy, the head of Rosneft... there’s another guy I had never even heard of, you know he’s like, in the inner circle...

CHS: What’s his name again?

DRAGON: I can’t ever remember, it’s just so outrageous

CHS: He’s in the inner circle; he works in the Kremlin or something

DRAGON: But he’s you know not someone again, I was asking, I wanted to double check, because I did meet, you know, I wanted to make sure, that at the graduation, I called up people that were, you know who I was a commencement speaker, did I happen to shake hands? This guy, this is just completely... they didn’t even know of him, I know it’s like, for example a senior director on the NSC, right they’re not household names.

CHS: They’re hardly known and they may have never met the president

DRAGON: They’re hardly known and they may not... it’s just so outrageous, it defies any logic whatsoever.

CHS: But so they said that you met with these people?

DRAGON: But you know this is the irony of it, there’s no law against meeting with sanctioned officials...

DRAGON: ...And I have lawyers, you know I talk to lawyers about... the lawyer said as long as you don’t take gifts or have any sort of business dealings...
CHS: No tangible exchange...

DRAGON: The tangible exchange – the lawyer quote was “don’t even take a pen”, you know don’t even take a gift of a pen, you know just to kind of keep everything completely clean and so...

10:55:03 (DRAGON denied meeting with Sechin/Diveykin and referenced legal advice again)

CHS: So they’re claiming you met with these two guys – and you’re saying it’s perfectly legal to do

DRAGON: Even if I had – which I didn’t do by the way – but you know, so...

CHS: And that is supposed to prove what?

DRAGON: Well you know, I’m in bed with the Russians. And everyone hates the Russians, right, you know.

11:15:20 (In discussing whether he could help facilitate invitations to Sechin and Diveykin to speak at a seminar in Cambridge, DRAGON immediately responded with advice from his lawyers, but did not deny knowing them)

CHS: It may be that the two people you mentioned – you mentioned the Rosneft guy...

DRAGON: Yeah, Sechin

CHS: And the other one who I can’t remember, he was part of the administration, it would be very interesting to have them at [Source ID] and to have – if you wish – for you to come, and I could invite them, and...

DRAGON: [laughs]

CHS: ...it would be a very productive conversation. They’d enjoy it.

DRAGON: [laughs] My lawyers would probably advise me to… [laughs]

CHS: Not to come?

DRAGON: To well, again, Harry Reid’s letter to Director Comey – ‘please look into Carter Page’s connections to these people!’ [laughs and conversation topic changes]

11:18:10 (CHS asked him again – DRAGON brought up lawyer again; said he didn’t have contact info, but never denied knowing them)

CHS: It occurred to me when I was thinking about all of this, what a wonderful event that would be; cause it would be an opportunity for a Moscow-based senior person to present the argument for reduction of tensions and sort of clean slate type idea, and it could be done so that there were Brits or even Americans - I hadn’t thought of any in particular – Brits who might enter that conversation with a measure of skepticism but could be neutralized

DRAGON: [laughs] my, you know…here’s...

CHS: Your lawyers?

DRAGON: Again, I’m thinking, you know lawyers are always cautious… and you know I think this would be setting off such big alarm bells [laughs] just for my personal – you know – it might be a great idea… here let me just kind of...

CHS: Maybe you could put me in touch with them?

DRAGON: Again, I don’t have their contact details

CHS: Oh okay – well I could find them

DRAGON: Yeah, it’s better, you know [laughs], again… there’s this great quote… [switches topic to Politico article]

(5) SOUTH AFRICA TRIP

10:43:56 (CHS asks DRAGON about travel plans and he omits his travel plans to South Africa)

CHS: Where are you off to? You said you were going someplace?
SECRET//HOLD

DRAGON: Yeah, I'm uh, I actually have a couple days in Chicago at the tail end of this week and then I fly straight to Heathrow over the weekend and spend some time there in London and then uh... I was going to ask you about this guy...

11:46:02 (DRAGON is asked about travel plans by UF and changes topic immediately)
UF: I think you need a nice long vacation, do you have travel plans?
DRAGON: Well, we were talking, so this is a strategy question, so...
UF: Yeah I think a nice warm...
DRAGON: Well, no, but here's my thing... [changes topic back to PM/fear discussion]
UF: ...but are you going to take a little break? Someplace warm?
DRAGON: Well, uh, well this is uh strategy sessions, again, as agreed with, we are completely off the record... [switches topic and brings up George Kennan then mentions his trip to London]

11:52:39 (DRAGON changes topic again when asked about travel plans)
UF: That's why I say that you must need a vacation, like I would say someplace warm that's very far away from...
DRAGON: Well I-I go back to my Chris Stevens quote, I'm not concerned about protecting my own skin, I'm more concerned about trying to come out with some more ideas that help counter these crazy arguments

12:14:25 (DRAGON appears to get uncomfortable answering questions about South Africa - there is a clear difference in his tone compared to other discussion topics)
UF: ...stay in London for a while - are you going to come back after your interview?
DRAGON: I got a, well, I got a what do you call it, I'm going to Johannesburg for a couple of days
UF: Oh! Well there's your vacation! You were hiding the best place!
DRAGON: Ah, well, it's alright. Cape Town is a vacation...
CHS: ...where are you staying down in Jo-burg?
DRAGON: I haven't pick--- I-I...... I'm like... this is like... you know I was telling him uh... I can't remember if I mentioned to you, breaking my iPhone, I mean I've been running one thing after the other, I haven't even... uh, figured it out yet. I usually stay at Sandton - it's called the richest mile in Africa, it's like a little business community, and they've got some nice hotels. There's a Marriott I typically stay at.

12:34:34 (DRAGON appears to get uncomfortable answering questions about South Africa - there is a clear difference in his tone compared to other discussion topics)
CHS: So I just want to ask you, are you going to be in South Africa for a while?
DRAGON: Maybe five days, but I uh...
CHS: So maybe you could get over to Durban then?
DRAGON: I'm not gonna... I've got... there's a couple of companies I'm doing some work with, so
CHS: Are you making some investments there?
DRAGON: Uh we're looking at -- we're thinking... no uh, we're looking at some possibilities, nothing imminent so, you know, anyway, to be continued though

(6) CLINTON INVESTIGATORS IN LONDON

10:50:29 - And then they [Clinton campaign] put out a press release - oh, Yahoo! News reveals that Carter Page did X, Y, Z, and look, the other journalists - the ones that are closer to me - will say specifically that they were told this by the Clinton team in Brooklyn.
11:56:34 – This is also, you know I've never discussed this with anyone, and this is very deep off the record, but they've hired investigators to come after me, including some in London.

12:02:20 – They hired investigators to look into these women [Hillary Clinton re: Bill Clinton's accusers of sexual assault], so it's the same, it's the very same concept... it's well documented according to unofficial sources that the US government [holding that against me?]... but also the Clinton campaign, at somewhat arms length, they're careful about having this too well-documented. I have very good sources, I know the names of the investigators as well.

(7) CONTINUING TO ACT AS SURROGATE FOR TRUMP CAMPAIGN

11:51:22 – Here's the question list [for an upcoming interview he's giving in London on 10/24]... topics covered will be your views in Russian involvement in Syria, how a Trump presidency would change U.S. involvement in Syria and what the U.S. relationship with Russia would be like, and your thoughts of British criticism of Putin.
Title: CHS Meeting with CD  Date: 01/09/2017

From: NEW YORK  
NY-CD1  
Contact: SOMMA STEPHEN M, 212-384-1000

Approved By: Non-SES

Drafted By: SOMMA STEPHEN M

Case ID #: 97F-NY-2067747 (S/G/C/NA) CROSSFIRE DRAGON  
FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT - RUSSIA; SENSITIVE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER

Synopsis: [S/NI] CHS meeting with CD on [Source ID] discussing a think tank.

Reason: 1.4(c)
Derived From: Multiple Sources
Declassify On: 20421231

Full Investigation Initiated: 08/10/2016

Details:
[S/NI] [Source ID] CD contacted [Source ID] about meeting in Washington, D.C. [Source ID] After consulting with the case agent, the CHS set-up a meeting for in Washington, D.C.

[S/NI] The CHS recorded the conversation, without being asked by the case agent. The CHS provided a recording of the meeting to the case agent. A more detailed write-up of the meeting will follow.

[S/NI] During the course of the meeting, the CHS questioned CD about CD's comment in October 2016, where CD stated that he would have an
"Open Checkbook" from the Russians, in establishing a think tank.

During the discussion, the CHS brought up CD's think tank, which was discussed in October 2016. The CHS suggested an individual with whom CD may be able to speak with (the CHS did not mention the individuals name as per the instructions of the Case Agent). The CHS explained that the individual who has moderate views on Russia and has may have an "easy relationship" with perhaps the Russian government, individuals or think tanks. CD asked several detailed questions on the background of the individual, the CHS stated that he would be able to get CD his contact information for CD if CD wanted. CD told the CHS that he wanted to update the CHS on the think tank. CD said that he was in Moscow and brought the idea of the think tank up to individuals at the New Economic School (NES) and that "they were quite positive" about the think tank. CD said NES mentioned maybe doing something either there (in Russia) or jointly. CD then stated that they have a lot of "support internally." The CHS asked CD: "support from faculty or government?" to which CD responded: "government...higher up." The CHS stated "I guess the government is always involved in stuff" CD did not answer directly, but tried to draw a parallel with the Council of Foreign relations." CD changed the conversation to individuals who may be considered for positions in the new Presidential administration.

After some further discussion, the CHS asked CD where he is with the think tank. CD stated that he's "making some progress on it" and brought up the NES. The CHS asked CD directly, if the NES would finance it (the think tank), CD responded with "possibly" and that they're "enthusiastic about it." The CHS stated "you said last time we met that, you though you had the funding lined up, you said the Russians will give you a blank check." CD responded saying "I don't know if I went that far, I thought there was some support, certainly this trip proved it...having an institutional base, they actually like the sort of blank slate, open questions, come back to us with a proposal, very high level people, who are quite supportive, not just at the university, but in general." CD said that some people have warned him about not having too much of a "Russian Connection."
The CHS and CD continued the conversation.

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