

# TRUMP-RUSSIA DOSSIER

In January 2017, a dossier compiled by a former British spy, Christopher Steele, for Republican and Democratic political operatives was published by BuzzFeed News. The dossier included dozens of claims about Donald Trump’s personal, political, and business ties to Russian officials and alleged that Trump and his campaign knew about and conspired in the hacking of the Democratic National Committee’s email system in exchange for relaxed sanctions against Russia should Trump win.

Many of the dossier’s claims had not been verified as of February 2018, though many were supported by circumstantial evidence such as similarities with the Office of the Director of National Intelligence’s findings and the public statements of Trump campaign officials.

However, a significant link between the Russian government and the Trump campaign was established in July 2017, when it was disclosed that Donald Trump Jr. had attempted to get compromising information about Hillary Clinton from an apparent Russian government source. Donald Trump Jr. exchanged 16 emails – under the subject line “Russia - Clinton - private and confidential” – with Rob Goldstone, a publicist the Trumps had worked with during the 2013 Miss Universe pageant, which was brought to Moscow by businessman Aras Agalarov and his son Emin. In the emails, Goldstone told Trump Jr. that the elder Agalarov had met with the “crown prosecutor of Russia” and the Kremlin wanted to provide the Trump campaign with material that would “incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia.” Promising that the Russian government was hoping to provide Trump Jr. with information that “would be very useful to your father,” Goldstone and Emin Agalarov arranged for Trump Jr., Jared Kushner, and Paul Manafort to meet with Natalia Veselnitskaya, a Russian lawyer with ties to the Kremlin, and Rinat Akhmetshin, a former Soviet soldier with ties to Russian intelligence, on June 9, 2016, at Trump Tower.

## Updates in this document include:

- In his testimony before the House Intelligence Committee, Carter Page confirmed the dossier’s claim that he met with “senior regime figures” in Moscow. Page told the committee he had a conversation with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Arkadiy Dvorkovich.
- During his testimony, Page also revealed that he spoke to Andrey Baranov, Rosneft’s head of investor relations, in 2016. The dossier contends Page met with Rosneft CEO Igor Sechin, during his trips to Moscow.
- In February 2018, Mueller indicted the Internet Research Agency (IRA), a Russian “troll farm,” that waged an extensive social media campaign to support Trump. The dossier mentions “state-sponsored cyber operators working in Russia” and the indictment claims a prominent Russian oligarch in Putin’s inner-circle funded the operation. Although Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein said no American was a “knowing participant” in the IRA’s campaign, the indictment claims that Russian operatives “communicated with unwitting individuals associated with the Trump campaign.”
- Mueller also charged Alex van der Zwaan, the son-in-law of Russian oligarch German Khan. Khan is a founder of the Alfa Group, a Russian conglomerate with close ties to Putin. According to the dossier, Khan and other Alpha Group executives advised Putin on U.S. policy during the 2016 presidential campaign. Meanwhile, as an attorney for Skadden Arps, van der Zwaan worked with Paul Manafort in Ukraine, and played a role in producing a controversial report about the jailing of Yulia Tymoshenko, one of then-President Viktor Yanukovich’s top rivals. Mueller charged Van der Zwaan with lying to the FBI, claiming that he had lied about his most recent contact with Rick Gates and another unnamed person.

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# VERIFIED

## Trump Previously Explored Moscow Real Estate But Was Unsuccessful

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Finally, regarding TRUMP's claimed minimal investment profile in Russia, a separate source with direct knowledge said this had not been for want of trying. TRUMP's previous efforts had included exploring the real estate sector in St Petersburg as well as Moscow but in the end TRUMP had had to settle for the use of extensive sexual services there from local prostitutes rather than business success.</p>	<p><i>Verified</i></p> <p><b>February 2014: Ivanka Trump Met With Emin Agalarov In Moscow During A Trip Scouting Sites For Trump Tower Moscow.</b> According to Yahoo News, “While in Moscow for the Miss Universe pageant in November 2013, Donald Trump entered into a formal business deal with Aras Agalarov, a Russian oligarch close to Vladimir Putin, to construct a Trump Tower in the Russian capital. He later assigned his son, Donald Trump Jr., to oversee the project, according to Rob Goldstone, the British publicist who arranged the controversial 2016 meeting between the younger Trump and a Kremlin-linked lawyer. [...] Goldstone also said that Ivanka Trump flew to Moscow in 2014 and met with Emin Agalarov, the oligarch’s son, a pop singer and a vice president of the Crocus Group, to identify sites for the project. Confirming Goldstone’s account, Mother Jones late Tuesday published a photo of Ivanka Trump and Emin Agalarov in Moscow in Feb. 2014. Trump ‘put Donald Jr. in charge and then Ivanka went to Moscow to look around for what the location would be,’ Goldstone said. But the plans for a Trump Tower fell apart because ‘the economy tanked in Russia’ after the imposition of Western sanctions, he said.” [Yahoo News, <a href="#">7/11/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Washington Post: While Trump Was Running For President, He Tried To Develop A “Massive Trump Tower In Moscow.”</b> According to the Washington Post, “While Donald Trump was running for president in late 2015 and early 2016, his company was pursuing a plan to develop a massive Trump Tower in Moscow, according to several people familiar with the proposal and new records reviewed by Trump Organization lawyers.” [Washington Post, <a href="#">8/27/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Trump Explored Building A Hotel In Moscow As Far Back As 1987 And As Recently As 2013.</b> According to The New York Times, “Mr. Trump repeatedly sought business in Russia as far back as 1987, when he traveled there to explore building a hotel. He applied for his trademark in the country as early as 1996. And his children and associates have appeared in Moscow over and over in search of joint ventures, meeting with developers and government officials. [...] As recently as 2013, Mr. Trump himself was in Moscow. He had sold Russian real estate developers the right to host his Miss Universe pageant that year, and he used the visit as a chance to discuss development deals, writing on Twitter at</p>

the time: “TRUMP TOWER-MOSCOW is next.” [New York Times, [1/16/17](#)]

**Washington Post: While Trump Was Running For President, He Tried To Develop A “Massive Trump Tower In Moscow.”** According to the Washington Post, “While Donald Trump was running for president in late 2015 and early 2016, his company was pursuing a plan to develop a massive Trump Tower in Moscow, according to several people familiar with the proposal and new records reviewed by Trump Organization lawyers.” [Washington Post, [8/27/17](#)]

**Real Estate Developer Felix Sater Urged Trump To Come To Russia, Said He Could Get Putin To Say “Great Things” About Trump.** According to the Washington Post, “As part of the discussions, a Russian-born real estate developer urged Trump to come to Moscow to tout the proposal and suggested that he could get President Vladimir Putin to say “great things” about Trump, according to several people who have been briefed on his correspondence.” [Washington Post, [8/27/17](#)]

**While Pushing For The Moscow Trump Tower Project, Sater Predicted That He Would Help Trump Get Elected President.** According to the Washington Post, “The developer, Felix Sater, predicted in a November 2015 email that he and Trump Organization leaders would soon be celebrating — both one of the biggest residential projects in real estate history and Donald Trump’s election as president, according to two of the people with knowledge of the exchange. Sater wrote to Trump Organization Executive Vice President Michael Cohen “something to the effect of, ‘Can you believe two guys from Brooklyn are going to elect a president?’” said one person briefed on the email exchange. Sater emigrated from what was then the Soviet Union when he was 6 and grew up in Brooklyn.” [Washington Post, [8/27/17](#)]

**Sater Wrote A Series Of Emails To Trump Lawyer Michael Cohen In Which He Boasted About His Ties To Putin.** According to the New York Times, “A business associate of President Trump promised in 2015 to engineer a real estate deal with the aid of the president of Russia, Vladimir V. Putin, that he said would help Mr. Trump win the presidency. The business associate, Felix Sater, wrote a series of emails to Mr. Trump’s lawyer, Michael Cohen, in which he boasted about his ties to Mr. Putin and predicted that building a Trump Tower in Moscow would be a political boon to Mr. Trump’s candidacy.” [New York Times, [8/28/17](#)]

**Sater Email To Cohen: “I Will Get All Of Putins [sic] Team To Buy In On This.”** According to the New York Times, “The business associate, Felix Sater, wrote a series of

emails to Mr. Trump’s lawyer, Michael Cohen, in which he boasted about his ties to Mr. Putin and predicted that building a Trump Tower in Moscow would be a political boon to Mr. Trump’s candidacy. ‘Our boy can become president of the USA and we can engineer it,’ Mr. Sater wrote in an email. ‘I will get all of Putins team to buy in on this, I will manage this process.’ [New York Times, [8/28/17](#)]

**Referring To The Moscow Project, Sater Said, “I Will Get Putin On This Program And We Will Get Donald Elected.”** According to the New York Times, “There is no evidence in the emails that Mr. Sater delivered on his promises. Mr. Sater, a Russian immigrant, was a broker for the Trump Organization at the time, which means he was paid to deliver real estate deals. In another email, Mr. Sater envisioned a ribbon-cutting in Moscow. ‘I will get Putin on this program and we will get Donald elected,’ Mr. Sater wrote.” [New York Times, [8/28/17](#)]

**Cohen Emailed Putin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov To Request Help In Expediting A Proposed Trump Tower Project In Moscow.** According to the Washington Post, “A top executive from Donald Trump’s real estate company emailed Russian President Vladi-mir Putin’s personal spokesman during the U.S. presidential campaign last year to ask for help advancing a stalled Trump Tower development project in Moscow, according to documents submitted to Congress on Monday. The request came in a mid-January 2016 email from Michael Cohen, one of Trump’s closest business advisers, who asked longtime Putin lieutenant Dmitry Peskov for assistance in reviving a deal that Cohen suggested was languishing. ‘Over the past few months I have been working with a company based in Russia regarding the development of a Trump Tower-Moscow project in Moscow City,’ Cohen wrote to Peskov, according to a person familiar with the email. ‘Without getting into lengthy specifics, the communication between our two sides has stalled...’” [Washington Post, [8/28/17](#)]

## Kremlin Indirectly Funded Moscow Visits By Carter Page, Michael Flynn, Jill Stein, And Lyndon LaRouche

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking separately, also in early August 2016, a Kremlin official involved in US relations commented on aspects of the Russian operation to date. Its goals had been threefold-asking sympathetic US actors how Moscow could help them; gathering relevant intelligence; and creating and disseminating compromising information (‘kompromat’). This had involved the Kremlin supporting various US</p>	<p><i>Partially Verified</i></p> <p><b>Flynn Was Paid By RT To Speak At Its Gala.</b> According to The Huffington Post, “Donald Trump will bring Michael Flynn — a former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency who was paid by a Russian state-funded television network to speak at its 10th-anniversary gala — to his first national</p>

political figures, including funding indirectly their recent visits to Moscow. S/he named a delegation from Lyndon LAROUCHE; presidential candidate Jill STEIN of the Green Party; TRUMP foreign policy adviser Carter PAGE; and former DIA Director Michael Flynn, in this regard and as successful in terms of perceived outcomes.

security briefing on Wednesday. Flynn, a retired lieutenant general and high-profile adviser to Trump, has attracted attention since he was pushed out of government in 2014 for criticisms of what he says is the Obama administration's failure to confront 'radical Islam,' his role as an analyst on the Russian network RT, and his embrace of Trump." [Huffington Post, [8/16/16](#)]

**2015: Stein Spoke At RT Gala, Though It Was Unclear Who Paid For Her Trip.** According to The Daily Beast, "Perhaps the starkest case in point is Green Party presidential candidate Jill Stein and her constituency. In December 2015, the Kremlin feted Stein by inviting her to the gala celebrating the 10-year anniversary of Kremlin-funded propaganda network RT. Over a year later, it remains unclear who paid for Stein's trip to Moscow and her accommodations there. Her campaign ignored multiple questions on this score. We do know, however, that Stein sat at the same table as both Putin and Lt. Gen. Mike Flynn, Trump's soon-to-be national security adviser. She further spoke at an RT-sponsored panel, using her presence to criticize the U.S.'s 'disastrous militarism.' Afterward, straddling Moscow's Red Square, Stein described the panel as 'inspiring,' going on to claim that Putin, whom she painted as a political novice, told her he 'agree[d]' with her 'on many issues.'" [Daily Beast, [1/13/17](#)]

**Carter Page Met With Top Russian Officials At Rosneft, The Russian State Oil Firm, But Denied Meeting Its Chief, Oligarch Igor Sechin.** According to The Guardian, "By his own admission, the former adviser met top Russian officials at Rosneft, the Russian state oil firm, as late as last December, shortly before the company announced it was selling a 19.5% stake to Glencore, among other investors. Page told Russian media at the time that he had the 'opportunity to meet with some of the top managers of Rosneft.' He also suggested that the deal, which involved an investment by a Qatar fund, was a good example of how US companies were being kept from pursuing opportunities because of US sanctions against Russia. He denied meeting Rosneft's chief, Igor Sechin, whom he referred to as 'Igor Ivanovich' in one interview." [The Guardian, [4/23/17](#)]

**Page Testified That He Met With Rosneft's Head Of Investor Relations During A Trip To Russia In July 2016.** According to Business Insider, "The House Intelligence Committee on Monday released the full transcript of the former Trump campaign adviser Carter Page's testimony before the panel last week, portions of which support details in an explosive collection of memos outlining alleged collusion between the campaign and Moscow before the 2016 US election. Page revealed during his testimony that he met with members of Russia's presidential administration and the head of investor relations at the Russian state-owned oil giant Rosneft during his trip to Moscow in July 2016." [Business Insider, [11/6/17](#)]

**July 2016: Page Delivered A “Russia-Friendly Speech” To A Moscow Think Tank, Which Attracted The FBI’s Attention.** According to the New York Times, “Ever since F.B.I. investigators discovered in 2013 that a Russian spy was trying to recruit an American businessman named Carter Page, the bureau maintained an occasional interest in Mr. Page. So when he became a foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign last year and gave a Russia-friendly speech at a prestigious Moscow institute, it soon caught the bureau’s attention. That trip last July was a catalyst for the F.B.I. investigation into connections between Russia and President Trump’s campaign, according to current and former law enforcement and intelligence officials.” [New York Times, [4/19/17](#)]

**Carter Page Met With Senior Russian Officials In Moscow**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>This was in order to clean up the mess left behind by western media revelations of TRUMP ex-campaign manager MANAFORT’s corrupt relationship with the former pro-Russian YANUKOVYCH regime in Ukraine and TRUMP foreign policy advisor, Carter PAGE’s secret meetings in Moscow with senior regime figures in July 2016.</p>	<p><i>Verified</i></p> <p><b>July 2016: Carter Page Visited Moscow For A Lecture At The New Economic School.</b> According to Reuters, “A foreign-policy adviser to U.S. presidential candidate Donald Trump avoided all questions about how the United States should shape its policy toward Russia on a visit to Moscow on Thursday. Carter Page said at a lecture he gave to students and business figures organized by Moscow’s New Economic School that he did not want to comment on the U.S. election campaign.” [Reuters, <a href="#">7/7/16</a>]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li> <p><b>Page Would Not Say If He Would Meet Anyone From The Russian Government During The Trip.</b> According to Reuters, “Carter Page said at a lecture he gave to students and business figures organized by Moscow’s New Economic School that he did not want to comment on the U.S. election campaign. Page declined to say whether he was planning to meet anyone from the Kremlin, the Russian government or Foreign Ministry during his visit.” [Reuters, <a href="#">7/7/16</a>]</p> </li> </ul> <p><b>During His Testimony Before The House Intelligence Committee, Page Admitted He Had A Conversation With Russia Deputy Prime Minister Arkadiy Dvorkovich And Met Several Unnamed Legislators In Moscow In July 2016.</b> According to Business Insider, “The transcript shows that Democratic Rep. Adam Schiff confronted Page with an email he wrote on July 8, 2016, from Moscow to the Trump campaign adviser J.D. Gordon, saying he had received ‘incredible insights and outreach ...</p>

from a few Russian legislators and senior members of the presidential administration here.’ [...] In his congressional testimony, Page denied meeting with Diveykin and said the meeting with the ‘senior members of the presidential administration’ was actually ‘a brief, less-than-10-second chat with Arkadiy Dvorkovich,’ Russia's deputy prime minister.” [Business Insider, [11/7/17](#)]

## Manafort Was Fired Because Of Ukrainian Corruption And Lewandowski Wanted Him Out

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking separately, also in late August 2016, an American political figure associated with Donald TRUMP and his campaign outlined the reasons behind MANAFORT’s recent demise. S/he said it was true that the Ukraine corruption revelations had played a part in this but also, several senior players close to TRUMP had wanted MANAFORT out, primarily to loosen his control on strategy and policy formulation. Of particular importance in this regard was MANAFORT’s predecessor as campaign manager, Corey LEWANDOWSKI, who hated MANAFORT personally and remained close to TRUMP with whom he discussed the presidential campaign on a regular basis.</p>	<p><i>Partially Verified</i></p> <p><b>Lewandowski Celebrated Manafort’s Firing From The Trump Campaign.</b> According to Politico, “When news broke of Manafort’s resignation, Lewandowski retweeted a tweet from journalist Sasha Issenberg, who wrote, ‘Lewandowski is winning so much even he may get tired of winning.’ The message represented a play on one of Trump’s favorite phrases on the stump and a subtle nod at the internal discord between Lewandowski and Manafort on the campaign before Lewandowski’s firing in June. ‘I thought it was, you know, pretty appropriate,’ Lewandowski said in a telephone interview on CNN, where he is a political contributor. CNN’s Kate Bolduan interjected, ‘How did you win on this one, Corey?’ ‘Well I didn’t win, but I thought it was funny. Because you know it is, is people think I won,’ Lewandowski remarked.’ I had nothing to do with this. This was about Donald Trump. He’s running for president. This is about what is best for Donald Trump, what is best for the American people, and what is best to lay out his case that Hillary Clinton is not prepared to be president of the United States.” [Politico, <a href="#">8/19/16</a>]</p> <p><b>September 2017: Lewandowski Said Manafort Should Go To Jail For The Rest Of His Life If He Colluded.</b> According to the Washington Examiner, “Former Trump campaign manager Corey Lewandowski said Tuesday that if Paul Manafort, Roger Stone, or anyone else within the campaign colluded to influence the 2016 election, he hopes they ‘go to jail for the rest of their lives.’ Lewandowski was responding to reports that Manafort, who became campaign manager after Lewandowski was fired, was wiretapped as part of a federal investigation into Manafort’s dealing with Ukraine. Reports say the surveillance, obtained through a secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act warrant, was in effect at a time when Manafort was in communication with President Trump.” [Washington Examiner, <a href="#">9/20/17</a>]</p>



## Trump Had Ties To Aras Agalarov In Russia

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>The two St Petersburg figures cited believed an Azeri business figure, Araz AGALAROV (with offices in Baku and London) had been closely involved with TRUMP in Russia and would know most of the details of what the Republican presidential candidate had got up to there.</p>	<p><i>Verified</i></p> <p><b>November 2013: Trump Attended A Meeting Arranged By Aras Agalarov At Nobu Moscow With Top Businessmen, Including Herman Gref, Putin’s Former Economic Minister And The CEO Of State-Controlled Sberbank.</b> According to Bloomberg, “The last time Donald Trump made an appearance in Moscow was November 2013 for the Miss Universe contest he famously owned. It was a glittering event filled with carefully choreographed photographs and parties. Then another, more private, invitation arrived: Come to Nobu to meet more than a dozen of Russia’s top businessmen, including Herman Gref, the chief executive officer of state-controlled Sberbank PJSC, Russia’s biggest bank. Gref, who was President Vladimir Putin’s economy minister from 2000 to 2007, organized the meeting together with Aras Agalarov, the founder of Crocus Group, one of the country’s largest real-estate companies, which was hosting the beauty pageant at one of its concert halls. ‘There was a good feeling from the meeting,’ Gref said in an interview. ‘He’s a sensible person, very lively in his responses, with a positive energy and a good attitude toward Russia.’ Trump’s two-hour gathering at Nobu, a 15-minute walk from the Kremlin, suggests that the president-elect’s circle of contacts in Russia is wider than previously reported and includes a close confidant of Putin’s.” [Bloomberg, <a href="#">12/21/16</a>]</p> <p><b>February 2014: Ivanka Trump Met With Emin Agalarov In Moscow During A Trip Scouting Sites For Trump Tower Moscow.</b> According to Yahoo News, “While in Moscow for the Miss Universe pageant in November 2013, Donald Trump entered into a formal business deal with Aras Agalarov, a Russian oligarch close to Vladimir Putin, to construct a Trump Tower in the Russian capital. He later assigned his son, Donald Trump Jr., to oversee the project, according to Rob Goldstone, the British publicist who arranged the controversial 2016 meeting between the younger Trump and a Kremlin-linked lawyer. [...] Goldstone also said that Ivanka Trump flew to Moscow in 2014 and met with Emin Agalarov, the oligarch’s son, a pop singer and a vice president of the Crocus Group, to identify sites for the project. Confirming Goldstone’s account, Mother Jones late Tuesday published a photo of Ivanka Trump and Emin Agalarov in Moscow in Feb. 2014. Trump ‘put Donald Jr. in charge and then Ivanka went to Moscow to look around for what the location would be,’ Goldstone said. But the plans for a Trump Tower fell apart because ‘the economy tanked in</p>

Russia' after the imposition of Western sanctions, he said.” [Yahoo News, [7/11/17](#)]

**June 3, 2016: Rob Goldstone Told Donald Trump Jr. That Aras Agalarov Met With The “Crown Prosecutor Of Russia” And Offered To Give The Trump Campaign Documents That “Incriminate Hillary And Her Dealings With Russia.”** In an email on June 3, 2016, Rob Goldstone wrote to Donald Trump Jr.: “Emin just called and asked me to contact you with something very interesting. The Crown prosecutor of Russia met with his father Aras this morning and in their meeting offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful to your father. This is obviously very high level and sensitive information but is part of Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump – helped along by Aras and Emin.” [Washington Post, [7/11/17](#)]

**June 7, 2016: Rob Goldstone Told Donald Trump Jr. That Emin Agalarov Requested A Meeting Between Trump Jr. And A “Russian Government Attorney.”** In an email on June 7, 2016, Rob Goldstone wrote to Donald Trump Jr.: “Emin asked that I schedule a meeting with you and The Russian government attorney who is flying over from Moscow for this Thursday. I believe you are aware of the meeting – and so wondered if 3pm or later on Thursday works for you?” [Washington Post, [7/11/17](#)]

**June 16, 2016: Trump Had A Working Dinner About The Miss Universe Pageant With Rob Goldstone, Aras Agalarov, And Emin Agalarov In Las Vegas.** According to The Intercept, “If so, the elder Agalarov must have either a terrible memory or extremely poor vision, since a photograph posted on Facebook by Goldstone on June 16, 2013, shows that the publicist was seated right next his client, Agalarov’s son, and across the table from the oligarch himself, during a working dinner with Trump in Las Vegas, when the family secured the right to host the Miss Universe pageant. Two more photographs of the dinner posted on Live Journal by Yulya Alferova, an Agalarov employee who worked on the pageant, showed that Aras Agalarov was seated directly across the table from Trump, Emin, and Goldstone.” [Intercept, [7/11/17](#)]

**2013: Trump Announced Aras And Emin Agalarov Would Host The Miss Universe Pageant.** According to The New York Times, “Mr. Trump himself was back in Moscow in 2013, attending the Miss Universe pageant, which he owned with NBC. Earlier that year, at the Miss USA pageant in Las Vegas, he had announced that Aras and Emin Agalarov, father and son real estate developers in Russia, would host the worldwide competition.” [New York Times, [1/16/17](#)]

**2013: Trump Had Lunch With Phil Ruffin And His Wife And The Agalarovs In Moscow.** According to The New York Times, “Phil Ruffin, Mr. Trump’s partner in the Trump International Hotel and Tower in Las Vegas, said he was happy to lend him his new Global 5000 private plane for the trip. He and his wife met Mr. Trump in Moscow, also checking into the Ritz-Carlton. Mr. Ruffin said he and Mr. Trump had lunch at the hotel with the Agalarovs.” [New York Times, [1/16/17](#)]

**2013: The Agalarovs And Sberbank CEO Herman Gref Hosted A Dinner For Trump In Moscow.** According to The New York Times, “The Agalarovs also reportedly hosted a dinner for Mr. Trump the night of the pageant, along with Herman Gref, a former Russian economy minister who serves as chief executive of the state-controlled Sberbank PJSC, according to Bloomberg News.” [New York Times, [1/16/17](#)]

## Trump/Kremlin Operation Included Democratic Agents And Cyber Operators In The U.S. And Russia

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>In the wider context of TRUMP campaign/Kremlin co-operation, Source E claimed that the intelligence network being used against CLINTON comprised three elements. Firstly there were agents/facilitators within the Democratic Party structure itself; secondly Russian emigre and associated offensive cyber operators based in the US; and thirdly, statesponsored cyber operatives working in Russia. All three elements had played an important role to date. On the mechanism for rewarding relevant assets based in the US, and effecting a two-way flow of intelligence and other useful information, Source E claimed that Russian diplomatic staff in key cities such as New York, Washington DC and Miami were using the emigre ‘pension’ distribution system as cover. The operation therefore depended on key people in the US Russian emigre community for its success. Tens of thousands of dollars were involved.</p>	<p><i>Partially Verified</i></p> <p><b>February 2018: Mueller Indicted The Russian-Based Internet Research Agency (IRA) And Its Various Individual Operatives For “Interfering With The US Political And Electoral Processes.”</b> According to Buzzfeed, “The special counsel’s office announced a federal indictment against the Russian-based Internet Research Agency (IRA), two other Russian entities, and 13 Russian individuals Friday, accusing them of ‘interfering with the US political and electoral processes, including the presidential election of 2016.’” [Buzzfeed, <a href="#">2/16/18</a>]</p> <p><b>In 2014, The IRA Began Using Social Media To Meddle In The Election, And Its Operatives Traveled To The United States Under False Pretenses.</b> According to Buzzfeed, “Beginning in 2014, according to the indictment, the IRA began ‘operations to interfere with the US political system,’ including by ‘creating false US personas’ to operate ‘social media pages and groups designed to attract US audiences’ and ‘traveling to the United States under false pretenses for the purpose of collecting intelligence to inform Defendants’ operations.’” [Buzzfeed, <a href="#">2/16/18</a>]</p> <p><b>IRA Operatives, Posing As US Persons, Communicated With Unwitting Individuals Associated With The Trump Campaign.</b> According to Buzzfeed, “By mid-2016, the operations, according to the indictment ‘included supporting the presidential campaign of then-candidate</p>

Donald J. Trump ("Trump Campaign") and disparaging Hillary Clinton.' Specifically, 'Some Defendants, posing as US persons and without revealing their Russian association, communicated with unwitting individuals associated with the Trump Campaign and with other political activists to seek to coordinate political activities.'" [Buzzfeed, [2/16/18](#)]

**In Addition To Trump, The IRA Operatives Also Boosted Bernie Sanders.** According to the indictment in USA v Internet Research Agency, et al, "By 2016, Defendants and their co-conspirators used their fictitious online personas to interfere with the 2016 U.S. presidential election. They engaged in operations primarily intended to communicate derogatory information about Hillary Clinton, to denigrate other candidates such as Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, and to support Bernie Sanders and then-candidate Donald Trump." [United States District Court for the District of Columbia, [2/16/18](#)]

**The IRA Indictment Included Thirteen Individual Defendants, Including, Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, Who Funded The Operation.** According to the indictment in USA v Internet Research Agency, et al, "Defendant ORGANIZATION received funding for its operations from Defendant YEVGENIY VIKTOROVICH PRIGOZHIN and companies he controlled, including Defendants CONCORD MANAGEMENT AND CONSULTING LLC and CONCORD CATERING (collectively "CONCORD"). Defendants CONCORD and PRIGOZHIN spent significant funds to further the ORGANIZATION's operations and to pay the remaining Defendants, along with other uncharged ORGANIZATION employees, salaries and bonuses for their work at the ORGANIZATION." [United States District Court for the District of Columbia, [2/16/18](#)]

**Prigozhin Is One Of The Richest Men In Russia, And Has Close Ties To Putin.** According to the New York Times, "Long before he was indicted by the United States in a case involving the troll factory that spearheaded Russian efforts to meddle in the 2016 United States elections, Yevgeny V. Prigozhin emerged from prison just as the Soviet Union was collapsing and opened a hot-dog stand. Soon, he has said, the rubles were piling up faster than his mother could count them in the kitchen of their modest apartment, and he was launched on his improbable career. He earned the slightly mocking nickname of 'Putin's cook.' Despite his humble, troubled youth, Mr. Prigozhin became one of Russia's richest men, joining a charmed circle whose members often share one particular attribute: their proximity to President Vladimir V. Putin. The small club of loyalists who gain Mr. Putin's trust often feast, as Mr. Prigozhin has, on enormous state contracts. In return, they are expected to provide other, darker services to the Kremlin as needed." [New York Times, [2/16/18](#)]

**U.S. Agencies Investigated Whether Kremlin Paid Russian-American Pensioners To Pay Email Hackers In The U.S.** According to McClatchy DC, “The agencies involved in the inquiry are the FBI, the CIA, the National Security Agency, the Justice Department, the Treasury Department’s Financial Crimes Enforcement Network and representatives of the director of national intelligence, the sources said. Investigators are examining how money may have moved from the Kremlin to covertly help Trump win, the two sources said. One of the allegations involves whether a system for routinely paying thousands of Russian-American pensioners may have been used to pay some email hackers in the United States or to supply money to intermediaries who would then pay the hackers, the two sources said.” [McClatchy DC, [1/18/17](#)]

**Glenn Simpson Of Fusion GPS Told The House Intelligence Committee That, Independently Of The Dossier, He Verified That The Russian Government Distributes Money As Pension Payments To Evade Sanctions.** According to a transcript of Glenn Simpson’s interview with the House Intelligence Committee, Simpson said, “One of the things, you know, that we worked on, I just saw a story coming in here sort of about financial transfers from Russia through Russian, you know, diplomatic entities, and how that was something that, you know, there have been SARs on. And you know, we investigated-~ so there was in one of the early memos, might even have been the first one, said "Money is being distributed in the United States through the auspices of pension payments." And you know, they are basically getting the money into the country and handing it out using fake pension payments. And this is like one of those things that I ran down as a way of evaluating the credibility of the dossier or of this memo. And so the question is, Well, do the Russians hand out lots of money in the United States through pension payments? And the answer is they do. And it's actually kind of interesting. I mean there is a ton, or many thousands of Russian emigres who - you know, it was a communist country, so everyone worked for the government, so the government has liabilities, pension liabilities in the U.S. that are big.” [U.S. House Intelligence Committee, [11/14/17](#)]

## SUPPORTED BY CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

### Sexual Allegations

#### 2013: TRUMP HIRED PROSTITUTES TO URINATE ON A BED AT THE RITZ-CARLTON IN MOSCOW

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>However, there were other aspects to TRUMP's engagement with the Russian authorities. One which had borne fruit for them was to exploit TRUMP's personal obsessions and sexual perversion in order to obtain suitable 'kompromat' (compromising material) on him. According to Source D, where s/he had been present, TRUMP's (perverted) conduct in Moscow included hiring the presidential suite of the Ritz Carlton Hotel, where he knew President and Mrs OBAMA (whom he hated) had stayed on one of their official trips to Russia, and defiling the bed where they had slept by employing a number of prostitutes to perform a 'golden showers' (urination) show in front of him. The hotel was known to be under FSB control with microphones and concealed cameras in all the main rooms to record anything they wanted to. [...] The Moscow Ritz Carlton episode involving TRUMP reported above was confirmed by Source E, a senior (western) member of staff at the hotel, who said that s/he and several of the staff were aware of it at the time and subsequently. S/he believed it had happened in 2013. Source E provided an introduction for a company ethnic Russian operative to Source F, a female staffer at the hotel when TRUMP had stayed there, who also confirmed the story.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>2013: Trump Stayed At The Ritz-Carlton In Moscow For The Miss Universe Pageant.</b> According to The New York Times, “Phil Ruffin, Mr. Trump’s partner in the Trump International Hotel and Tower in Las Vegas, said he was happy to lend him his new Global 5000 private plane for the trip. He and his wife met Mr. Trump in Moscow, also checking into the Ritz-Carlton. Mr. Ruffin said he and Mr. Trump had lunch at the hotel with the Agalarovs.” [New York Times, <a href="#">1/16/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Although Trump Stayed At The Ritz Carlton, His Bodyguard, Keith Schiller, Adamantly Denied Trump Hired Prostitutes.</b> According to NBC News, “After a business meeting before the Miss Universe Pageant in 2013, a Russian participant offered to ‘send five women’ to Donald Trump's hotel room in Moscow, his longtime bodyguard told Congress this week, according to three sources who were present for the interview. Two of the sources said the bodyguard, Keith Schiller, viewed the offer as a joke, and immediately responded, ‘We don't do that type of stuff.’ The two sources said Schiller's comments came in the context of him adamantly disputing the allegations made in the Trump dossier, written by a former British intelligence operative, which describes Trump having an encounter with prostitutes at the hotel during the pageant. Schiller described his reaction to that story as being, ‘Oh my God, that's bull---,’ two sources said.” [NBC News, <a href="#">11/9/17</a>]</p> <p><b>AP: Trump’s Bodyguard Keith Schiller Rebuffed Offers By Emin Agalarov To Send Prostitutes To Trump’s Hotel Room In Moscow During The Miss Universe Pageant.</b> According to The Associated Press, “Both attended Trump’s Miss Universe party. Trump appeared in a music video with Emin while in town. ‘I had a great weekend with you and your family. You have done a FANTASTIC job. TRUMP TOWER-MOSCOW is next. EMIN was WOW!’ Trump, back in the U.S., tweeted to Aras on Nov. 11, 2013. [...] A person with knowledge of the 2013 trip to Moscow said Emin Agalarov offered to send prostitutes to Trump’s hotel room, but the repeated offers were rejected by Keith Schiller, Trump’s longtime bodyguard. The person with knowledge of the trip insisted on anonymity because</p>

they were not authorized by Trump to publicly discuss the matter.” [Associated Press, [7/12/17](#)]

## Carter Page-Related Allegations

### JULY 2016: PAGE MET WITH ROSNEFT PRESIDENT IGOR SECHIN IN MOSCOW ABOUT UKRAINE-RELATED SANCTIONS AND ENERGY

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>TRUMP advisor Carter PAGE holds secret meetings in Moscow with SECHIN and senior Kremlin Internal Affairs official, DIVYEKIN [...] Speaking in July 2016, a Russian source close to Rosneft President, PUTIN close associate and US-sanctioned individual, Igor SECHIN, confided the details of a recent secret meeting between him and visiting Foreign Affairs Advisor to Republican presidential candidate Donald TRUMP, Carter PAGE. [...] According to SECHIN’s associate, the Rosneft President (CEO) had raised with PAGE the issues of future bilateral energy cooperation and prospects for an associated move to lift Ukraine-related western sanctions against Russia. PAGE had reacted positively to this demarche by SECHIN but had been generally non-committal in response. [...] Speaking to a trusted compatriot in mid October 2016, a close associate of Rosneft President and PUTIN ally Igor’ SECHIN elaborated on the reported secret meeting between the latter and Carter PAGE, of US Republican presidential candidate’s foreign policy team, in Moscow in July 2016. The secret meeting had been confirmed to him/her by a senior member of SECHIN’s staff, in addition to by the Rosneft President himself. It took place on either 7 or 8 July, the same day or the one after Carter PAGE made a public speech to the Higher Economic School in Moscow.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>July 2016: Carter Page Visited Moscow For A Lecture At The New Economic School.</b> According to Reuters, “A foreign-policy adviser to U.S. presidential candidate Donald Trump avoided all questions about how the United States should shape its policy toward Russia on a visit to Moscow on Thursday. Carter Page said at a lecture he gave to students and business figures organized by Moscow’s New Economic School that he did not want to comment on the U.S. election campaign.” [Reuters, <a href="#">7/7/16</a>]</p> <p><b>July 2016: Page Emailed Trump Campaign Advisor J.D. Gordon From Moscow That He Had Received “Incredible Insights And Outreach...From A Few Russian Legislators And Senior Members Of The Presidential Administration Here.”</b> According to Business Insider, “Page revealed during his testimony that he met with members of Russia’s presidential administration and the head of investor relations at the Russian state-owned oil giant Rosneft during his trip to Moscow in July 2016. [...] The transcript shows that Democratic Rep. Adam Schiff confronted Page with an email he wrote on July 8, 2016, from Moscow to the Trump campaign adviser J.D. Gordon, saying he had received ‘incredible insights and outreach ... from a few Russian legislators and senior members of the presidential administration here.’” [Business Insider, <a href="#">11/6/17</a>]</p> <p><b>July 2016: Page Congratulated Members Of Trump’s Foreign Policy Team For Watering Down The GOP’s Ukraine Platform.</b> According to Page’s testimony before the House Intelligence Committee, Congressman Adam Schiff asked, “Let me draw your attention to [REDACTED] . That is a July 14, 2016, email to J.D. Gordon, Joseph Schmitz, Bert Mizusawa, Chuck Kubic, Walid Phares, and Tera Dahl, that says: "As for the Ukraine amendment, excellent work." Does this refresh your recollection of – [...] Page replied, “Well, it’s just expressing what I feel.” [Carter Page Testimony, U.S.</p>

House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, [11/2/17](#)]

**In Testimony Before The House Intelligence Committee, Page Denied Meeting With Sechin, But Admitted He “Possibly” Spoke With Andrey Baranov, Rosneft’s Head Of Investor Relations.** According to Business Insider, “Schiff also asked Page whether, before his trip to Moscow, he met with Andrey Baranov, the head of investor relations at Rosneft. ‘We got in touch, and he told me about this event,’ Page said. ‘Well, Mr. Baranov works for Mr. Sechin, does he not?’ Schiff asked, referring to Igor Sechin, the CEO of Rosneft. ‘He’s a part of the team at Rosneft,’ Page said. He said he ‘possibly’ spoke to Baranov before traveling to Moscow.” [Business Insider, [11/6/17](#)]

**Carter Page Said He Never Met With Rosneft President Igor Sechin Or Sergei Ivanov.** In an interview with Chris Hayes on MSNBC, Carter Page said he never met “one on one” with Rosneft President Igor Sechin or Sergei Ivanov and “absolutely” never met with them in the summer of 2016. [MSNBC, [3/2/17](#)]

## JULY 2016: PAGE MET WITH SENIOR KREMLIN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICIAL IGOR DIVEYKIN WHO HAD “KOMPRMAT” ON CLINTON AND MIGHT RELEASE IT TO TRUMP’S CAMPAIGN

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>TRUMP advisor Carter PAGE holds secret meetings in Moscow with SECHIN and senior Kremlin Internal Affairs official, DIVYEKIN [...] Speaking separately, also in July 2016, an official close to Presidential Administration Head, S. IVANOV, confided in a compatriot that a senior colleague in the Internal Political Department of the PA, DIVYEKIN (nfd) also had met secretly with PAGE on his recent visit. Their agenda had included DIVEYKIN raising a dossier of ‘kompromat’ the Kremlin possessed on TRUMP’s Democratic presidential rival, Hillary CLINTON, and its possible release to the Republican’s campaign team. [...] However, the Kremlin official close to S. IVANOV added that/he believed DIVEYKIN also had hinted (or indicated more strongly) that the Russian leadership also had ‘kompromat’ on TRUMP which the latter should bear in mind in his dealings with them.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>July 2016: Carter Page Visited Moscow For A Lecture At The New Economic School.</b> According to Reuters, “A foreign-policy adviser to U.S. presidential candidate Donald Trump avoided all questions about how the United States should shape its policy toward Russia on a visit to Moscow on Thursday. Carter Page said at a lecture he gave to students and business figures organized by Moscow’s New Economic School that he did not want to comment on the U.S. election campaign.” [Reuters, <a href="#">7/7/16</a>]</p> <p><b>During His Testimony Before The House Intelligence Committee, Page Denied Meeting Divyekin, But Admitted He Had A Conversation With Russia Deputy Prime Minister Arkadiy Dvorkovich And Met Several Unnamed Legislators.</b> According to Business Insider, “The transcript shows that Democratic Rep. Adam Schiff confronted Page with an email he wrote on July 8, 2016, from Moscow to the Trump campaign adviser J.D. Gordon, saying he had received ‘incredible insights and outreach ... from a few Russian legislators and senior members of the presidential administration here.’ [...] In his congressional testimony, Page denied meeting with Diveykin and said the</p>



meeting with the ‘senior members of the presidential administration’ was actually ‘a brief, less-than-10-second chat with Arkadiy Dvorkovich,’ Russia’s deputy prime minister.” [Business Insider, [11/7/17](#)]

**July 2016: Page Would Not Say If He Met Anyone From The Russian Government During The Trip.**

According to Reuters, “Carter Page said at a lecture he gave to students and business figures organized by Moscow’s New Economic School that he did not want to comment on the U.S. election campaign. Page declined to say whether he was planning to meet anyone from the Kremlin, the Russian government or Foreign Ministry during his visit.” [Reuters, [7/7/16](#)]

**March 2017: Carter Page Said He Met “Some People,” Whom He Did Not Name, At A Speech He Gave In Moscow But Had “No Material Discussions” With Them.**

In an interview with Chris Hayes on MSNBC, Carter Page was asked about his trip to Moscow in July 2016. Page said: “I had some meetings with scholars and professors and some students there, and there were some people that showed up to my graduation speech and I said hello to some people, but no material discussions, really international relations scholars.” When asked whether he spoke to any Russian intelligence officials, Page said, “Not that I’m aware of.” [MSNBC, [3/2/17](#)]

**ROSNEFT PRESIDENT IGOR SECHIN OFFERED PAGE AND TRUMP ASSOCIATES A 19-PERCENT STAKE IN ROSNEFT TO LIFT U.S. SANCTIONS AGAINST THE COMPANY**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>In terms of the substance of their discussion, SECHIN’s associate said that the Rosneft President was so keen to lift personal and corporate western sanctions imposed on the company, that he offered PAGE/TRUMP’s associates the brokerage of up to a 19 per cent (privatised) stake in Rosneft in return. PAGE had expressed interest and confirmed that were TRUMP elected US president, then sanctions on Russia would be lifted.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>May 2014, Carter Page Op-Ed: Rosneft Chairman Igor Sechin Had “Done More To Advance U.S.-Russian Relations Than Any Individual In Or Out Of Government From Either Side Of The Atlantic Over The Past Decade.”</b> In a Global Policy op-ed Carter Page wrote, “On April 28th, the U.S. government added Rosneft Chairman Igor Sechin to its latest sanctions target list. Through the partnerships he has personally built with ExxonMobil, the largest energy company in North America, Sechin has done more to advance U.S.-Russian relations than any individual in or out of government from either side of the Atlantic over the past decade.” [Global Policy, <a href="#">5/2/14</a>]</p> <p><b>December 7, 2016: Rosneft Sold A 19.5-Percent Stake (Worth \$11 Billion) To Glencore Plc And Qatar’s Sovereign Wealth Fund.</b> According to Bloomberg, “Commodity trader Glencore Plc and Qatar’s sovereign</p>

wealth fund agreed to buy a 10.2-billion euro (\$11 billion) stake in Russia’s largest oil producer from the state in a triumph for President Vladimir Putin over sanctions imposed by the West. The surprise deal gives the buyers a 19.5 percent stake in Rosneft PJSC, which the U.S. and European Union have targeted with punitive measures, and is the biggest foreign investment in Russia since the crisis in Ukraine.” [Bloomberg, [12/7/16](#)]

**December 8, 2016: Carter Page Arrived In Moscow For Meetings With “Business Leaders.”** According to The New York Times, “Carter Page, an early foreign policy adviser to Donald J. Trump who was scrutinized by the F.B.I. on suspicion of private communications with senior Russian officials over the summer, was back in Moscow on Thursday. Mr. Page was closelipped about the purpose of his visit, telling RIA Novosti, a Russian state-run news agency, that he would stay in Moscow until Tuesday and would meet with ‘business leaders and thought leaders.’” [New York Times, [12/8/16](#)]

**Carter Page Said He Never Met With Rosneft President Igor Sechin Or Sergei Ivanov.** In an interview with Chris Hayes on MSNBC, Carter Page said he never met “one on one” with Rosneft President Igor Sechin or Sergei Ivanov and “absolutely” never met with them in the summer of 2016. [MSNBC, [3/2/17](#)]

## PAGE CONCEIVED OF USING DNC EMAIL LEAKS TO SWING SANDERS SUPPORTERS TO TRUMP

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking in confidence on 9 August 2016, an ethnic Russian associate of Republican US presidential candidate Donald TRUMP discussed the reaction inside his camp, and revised tactics therein resulting from recent negative publicity concerning Moscow’s clandestine involvement in the campaign. TRUMP’s associate reported that the aim of leaking the DNC e-mails to WikiLeaks during the Democratic Convention had been to swing supporters of Bernie SANDERS away from Hillary CLINTON and across to TRUMP. These voters were perceived as activist and anti-status quo and anti-establishment and in that regard sharing many features with the TRUMP campaign, including a visceral dislike of Hillary CLINTON. This objective had been conceived and promoted, inter alia, by TRUMP’s foreign policy adviser Carter PAGE who had discussed it directly with the ethnic Russian associate.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>DNI: State-Owned Russian Media Outlets Such As RT And Sputnik Aired “Increasingly Favorable Comments” About Trump And Negative Coverage Of Clinton.</b> According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Russia’s state-run propaganda machine— comprised of its domestic media apparatus, outlets targeting global audiences such as RT and Sputnik, and a network of quasi-government trolls—contributed to the influence campaign by serving as a platform for Kremlin messaging to Russian and international audiences. State-owned Russian media made increasingly favorable comments about President-elect Trump as the 2016 US general and primary election campaigns progressed while consistently offering negative coverage of Secretary Clinton.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, <a href="#">1/6/17</a>]</p> <p><b>RT: Trump Presented “His Trademark Veneer Of Authenticity For Those Who Have Been ‘Feeling The Bern’ For The Past Year.”</b> According to RT, “As Donald</p>

Trump ratchets up his attacks on Hillary Clinton, he's also making his strongest appeal yet to backers of Bernie Sanders. And recent polling shows the billionaire businessman may have their attention. In a teleprompter-led speech Wednesday at the Trump SoHo New York hotel, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee veered off-script many times during attacks on former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's record and policies. Trump, known for off-the-cuff remarks and meandering speeches, had something different to say this time, beyond the red meat for his base. His candidness served a purpose, presenting his trademark veneer of authenticity for those who have been 'feeling the Bern' for the past year." [RT, [6/22/16](#)]

## Manafort-Related Allegations

### AUGUST 2016: YANUKOVYCH TOLD PUTIN HE AUTHORIZED PAYMENTS TO PAUL MANAFORT

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking in late August 2016, in the immediate aftermath of Paul MANAFORT's resignation as campaign manager for US Republican presidential candidate Donald TRUMP, a well-placed Russian figure reported on a recent meeting between President PUTIN and ex-President YANUKOVYCH of Ukraine. This had been held in secret on 15 August near Volgograd, Russia and the western media revelations about MANAFORT and Ukraine had featured prominently on the agenda. YANUKOVYCH had confided in PUTIN that he did authorise and order substantial kick-back payments to MANAFORT as alleged but sought to reassure him that there was no documentary trail left behind which could provide clear evidence of this. [...] Given YANUKOVYCH's (unimpressive) record in covering up his own corrupt tracks in the past, PUTIN and others in the Russian leadership were sceptical about the ex-Ukrainian president's reassurances on this as relating to MANAFORT. They therefore still feared the scandal had legs, especially as MANAFORT had been commercially active in Ukraine right up to the time (in March 2016) when he joined TRUMP's campaign team. For them it therefore remained a point of potential political vulnerability and embarrassment.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>June 2017: Manafort Disclosed Receiving \$17.1 Million From Viktor Yanukovich's Party Of Regions Between 2012 And 2013.</b> According to Bloomberg, "President Donald Trump's former campaign chairman, Paul Manafort, received \$17.1 million for his work with a Ukrainian political party, according to a registration document he filed with the U.S. government. Manafort registered Tuesday with the U.S. Justice Department under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which requires people to disclose any political or quasi-political work they do for foreign entities. Manafort's filing covered his work on behalf of Ukraine's pro-Russian Party of Regions between 2012 and 2013. [...] Manafort served as Trump's campaign chairman from March to August of 2016, but he was forced to resign as he came under increasing scrutiny for his past work consulting for Kremlin-backed former Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. His registration comes as a number of Trump's associates are under scrutiny by Special Counsel Robert Mueller, who is investigating Russian interference in the 2016 election." [Bloomberg, <a href="#">6/28/17</a>]</p>

### MANAFORT LED TRUMP CAMPAIGN'S "CONSPIRACY OF CO-OPERATION" WITH RUSSIA, WITH PAGE AND OTHERS AS INTERMEDIARIES

Dossier Claim	Evidence
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Speaking in confidence to a compatriot in late July 2016, Source E, an ethnic Russian close associate of Republican US presidential candidate Donald TRUMP, admitted that there was a well-developed conspiracy of co-operation between them and the Russian leadership. This was managed on the TRUMP side by the Republican candidate's campaign manager, Paul MANAFORT, who was using foreign policy advisor, Carter PAGE, and others as intermediaries. The two sides had a mutual interest in defeating Democratic presidential candidate Hillary CLINTON, whom President PUTIN apparently both hated and feared.

### *Circumstantial Evidence*

#### **June 9, 2016: Manafort, Donald Trump Jr., And Kushner Met With Russian Attorney Natalia Veselnitskaya, Who Promised Compromising Information On Clinton.**

According to The New York Times, "President Trump's eldest son, Donald Trump Jr., was promised damaging information about Hillary Clinton before agreeing to meet with a Kremlin-connected Russian lawyer during the 2016 campaign, according to three advisers to the White House briefed on the meeting and two others with knowledge of it. The meeting was also attended by the president's campaign chairman at the time, Paul J. Manafort, as well as by the president's son-in-law, Jared Kushner. Mr. Manafort and Mr. Kushner recently disclosed the meeting, though not its content, in confidential government documents described to The New York Times. [...] The meeting — at Trump Tower on June 9, 2016, two weeks after Donald J. Trump clinched the Republican nomination — points to the central question in federal investigations of the Kremlin's meddling in the presidential election: whether the Trump campaign colluded with the Russians. [...] It is unclear whether the Russian lawyer, Natalia Veselnitskaya, actually produced the promised compromising information about Mrs. Clinton. But the people interviewed by The Times about the meeting said the expectation was that she would do so." [New York Times, [7/9/17](#)]

**Konstantin V. Kilimnik Was Fired From The International Republican Institute's Moscow Office Amid Concerns He Was Informing The Government About Its Activities.** According to The New York Times, "The case of Konstantin V. Kilimnik, who was previously the Kiev manager of Mr. Manafort's consulting company, Davis Manafort International, is more complicated. A dual citizen of Russia and Ukraine, Mr. Kilimnik worked years ago as a translator in the Russian military. He was hired by Mr. Manafort in 2005 after he was dismissed from the Moscow office of the International Republican Institute, an American democracy-building group, amid concerns that he was informing on its activities, according to a former employee, who said he could not speak publicly about personnel matters." [New York Times, [3/3/17](#)]

**2005: Manafort Hired Kilimnik At His Firm, Davis Manafort International.** According to The New York Times, "The case of Konstantin V. Kilimnik, who was previously the Kiev manager of Mr. Manafort's consulting company, Davis Manafort International, is more complicated. A dual citizen of Russia and Ukraine, Mr. Kilimnik worked years ago as a translator in the Russian military. He was hired by Mr. Manafort in 2005 after he was dismissed from the Moscow office of the International Republican Institute, an American democracy-building group, amid concerns that he was informing on its activities,

according to a former employee, who said he could not speak publicly about personnel matters.” [New York Times, [3/3/17](#)]

**August – December 2016: Ukraine Investigated Kilimnik’s Connections With Russian Spy Agencies.**

According to The New York Times, “From August until December of last year, Mr. Kilimnik was at least formally under investigation in Ukraine on suspicion of ties to Russian spy agencies, according to documents from Ukraine’s Parliament and the prosecutor general. A defense lawyer and a former Ukrainian prosecutor characterized the investigation as unserious and politically motivated, and the inquiry closed without charges against Mr. Kilimnik.” [New York Times, [3/3/17](#)]

**July 20: Trump Campaign Foreign Policy Adviser Carter Page And National Security Jeff Sessions And J.D.**

**Gordon Met With When Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak.** According to Politico, “When Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak traveled to the GOP convention last summer, he met with then Sen. Jeff Sessions, as well as with two other Trump campaign advisers, including oil industry consultant Carter Page. Page, at the time an unpaid foreign policy adviser to Trump, engaged in a conversation with the ambassador at the same July 20 luncheon in Cleveland where Sessions, now attorney general, and Kislyak chatted, according to J.D. Gordon, a national security adviser to the Trump campaign who was also present at the lunch.” [Politico, [3/2/17](#)]

**Carter Page Had Been An Adviser To And Investor In Gazprom.** According to Politico, “After Trump identified Page as one of his foreign policy and energy advisers last March, Page said in a Bloomberg News interview that he had been an investor in, and adviser to, the Gazprom. He also criticized the Obama administration sanctions on Russia imposed because of its annexation of Crimea.” [Politico, [3/2/17](#)]

**April 2016: Manafort Contacted Kilimnick With Emails That Mentioned Putin-Connected Oligarch Oleg Deripaska.**

According to The Atlantic, “On the evening of April 11, 2016, two weeks after Donald Trump hired the political consultant Paul Manafort to lead his campaign’s efforts to wrangle Republican delegates, Manafort emailed his old lieutenant Konstantin Kilimnik, who had worked for him for a decade in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev. ‘I assume you have shown our friends my media coverage, right?’ Manafort wrote. ‘Absolutely,’ Kilimnik responded a few hours later from Kiev. ‘Every article.’ ‘How do we use to get whole,’ Manafort asks. ‘Has OVD operation seen?’ According to a source close to Manafort, the initials “OVD” refer to Oleg Vladimirovich Deripaska, a Russian oligarch and one of Russia’s richest men. The source also confirmed that one of

the individuals repeatedly mentioned in the email exchange as an intermediary to Deripaska is an aide to the oligarch.” [The Atlantic, [10/2/17](#)]

**The Emails Between Manafort And Kilimnick Show A Willingness On Manafort’s Part To Trade On His Campaign Position.** According to The Atlantic, “The emails were provided to The Atlantic on condition of anonymity. They are part of a trove of documents turned over by lawyers for Trump’s presidential campaign to investigators looking into the Kremlin’s interference in the 2016 election. A source close to Manafort confirmed their authenticity. Excerpts from these emails were first reported by The Washington Post, but the full text of these exchanges, provided to The Atlantic, shows that Manafort attempted to leverage his leadership role in the Trump campaign to curry favor with a Russian oligarch close to the Russian president, Vladimir Putin. Manafort was deeply in debt, and did not earn a salary from the Trump campaign. There is no evidence that Deripaska met with Manafort in 2016, or knew about Manafort’s attempts to reach him. Yet the extended correspondence between Manafort and Kilimnick paints a more complete portrait of Manafort’s willingness to trade on his campaign position. Manafort is a high-profile focus of Special Counsel Robert Mueller’s investigation into the possibility of collusion between Russia and the Trump campaign. FBI agents raided Manafort’s home in July.” [The Atlantic, [10/2/17](#)]

## Campaign Tactics-Related Allegations

### AUGUST 2016: RUSSIA DID NOT WANT TO RISK LEAKING NEW MATERIAL SO ITS TACTICS SHIFTED TO SPREADING MISINFORMATION

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking in confidence to a close colleague in early August 2016, Head of the Russian Presidential Administration (PA), Sergei IVANOV, assessed the impact and results of Kremlin intervention in the US presidential election to date. Although most commentators believed that the Kremlin was behind the leaked DNC/CLINTON e-mails, this remained technically deniable. Therefore the Russians would not risk their position for the time being with new leaked material, even to a third party like Wikileaks. Rather the tactics would be to spread rumours and misinformation about the content of what already had been leaked and make up new content.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>DNI: State-Owned Russian Media Made “Increasingly Favorable Comments” About Trump.</b> According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Russia’s state-run propaganda machine—comprised of its domestic media apparatus, outlets targeting global audiences such as RT and Sputnik, and a network of quasi-government s— contributed to the influence campaign by serving as a platform for Kremlin messaging to Russian and international audiences. State-owned Russian media made increasingly</p>

	<p>favorable comments about President-elect Trump as the 2016 US general and primary election campaigns progressed while consistently offering negative coverage of Secretary Clinton.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, <a href="#">1/6/17</a>]</p> <p><b>RT Published Videos Called “Julian Assange Special: Do WikiLeaks Have The E-Mail That’ll Put Clinton In Prison?” And “How 100% Of The Clintons’ ‘Charity’ Went To...Themselves.”</b> According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “On 6 August, RT published an English-language video called ‘Julian Assange Special: Do WikiLeaks Have the E-mail That’ll Put Clinton in Prison?’ and an exclusive interview with Assange entitled ‘Clinton and ISIS Funded by the Same Money.’ RT’s most popular video on Secretary Clinton, ‘How 100% of the Clintons’ ‘Charity’ Went to...Themselves,’ had more than 9 million views on social media platforms. RT’s most popular English language video about the President-elect, called ‘Trump Will Not Be Permitted To Win,’ featured Assange and had 2.2 million views.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, <a href="#">1/6/17</a>]</p>
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**RUSSIA LEAKED DNC EMAILS TO WIKILEAKS WITH TRUMP’S KNOWLEDGE**

<b>Dossier Claim</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
<p>Inter alia, Source E, acknowledged that the Russian regime had been behind the recent leak of embarrassing e-mail messages, emanating from the Democratic National Committee (DNC), to the WikiLeaks platform. The reason for using WikiLeaks was “plausible deniability” and the operation had been conducted with the full knowledge and support of TRUMP and senior members of his campaign team. In return the TRUMP team had agreed to sideline Russian intervention in Ukraine as a campaign issue and to raise US/NATO defence commitments in the Baltics and Eastern Europe to deflect attention away from Ukraine, a priority for PUTIN who needed to cauterise the subject.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>June 3, 2016: Rob Goldstone Told Donald Trump Jr. That Aras Agalarov Met With The “Crown Prosecutor Of Russia” And Offered To Give The Trump Campaign Documents That “Incriminate Hillary And Her Dealings With Russia.”</b> In an email on June 3, 2016, Rob Goldstone wrote to Donald Trump Jr.: “Emin just called and asked me to contact you with something very interesting. The Crown prosecutor of Russia met with his father Aras this morning and in their meeting offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful to your father. This is obviously very high level and sensitive information but is part of Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump – helped along by Aras and Emin.” [Washington Post, <a href="#">7/11/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Trump Adviser Roger Stone Said He Had “Back-Channel Communications” With WikiLeaks And Knew About Releases Before They Were Published.</b> According to CBS Miami, “Roger Stone, a self-described master of the political dark arts and the longtime ally of Donald Trump, admits he has had ‘back-channel communications’ with WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange over the release of thousands of emails stolen from the Hillary Clinton</p>

campaign. Stone, however, said he was not provided the hacked material in advance nor was he involved in the timing of their release. 'I do have a back-channel communication with Assange, because we have a good mutual friend,' Stone told CBS4 News Wednesday evening. "That friend travels back and forth from the United States to London and we talk. I had dinner with him last Monday." [CBS Miami, [10/12/16](#)]

- **August 8, 2016: Trump Adviser Roger Stone Said He Had Been In Touch With WikiLeaks Founder Julian Assange And Believed His Next Release Of Documents Would Pertain To The Clinton Foundation.** According to Media Matters for America, "From an August 8 speech to the Southwest Broward Republican Organization: QUESTIONER: With regard to the October surprise, what would be your forecast on that given what Julian Assange has intimated he's going to do? ROGER STONE: Well, it could be any number of things. I actually have communicated with Assange. I believe the next tranche of his documents pertain to the Clinton Foundation but there's no telling what the October surprise may be." [Media Matters for America, [8/9/16](#)]
- **August 21, 2016: Trump Adviser Roger Stone Said It Would "Soon" Be Clinton Campaign Manager John Podesta's "Time In The Barrel."** In a tweet, Roger Stone tweeted, "Trust me, it will soon be the Podesta's time in the barrel. #CrookedHillary." [Twitter – Roger Stone, [8/21/16](#)]
- **October 2, 2016: Trump Adviser Roger Stone Tweeted About A WikiLeaks Release About Hillary Clinton Before It Was Announced.** According to Politico, "ROGER STONE, Donald Trump adviser and friend. @Roger]Stone]r tweeted at 12:52 a.m.: 'Wednesday@HillaryClinton is done. #Wikileaks.'" [Politico, [10/2/16](#)]
- **October 7, 2016: WikiLeaks Released Hacked Emails From Clinton Campaign Manager John Podesta.** According to The Washington Post, "Hillary Clinton's paid closed-door speeches to Wall Street banks apparently included her dreams of 'open trade and open borders' and a suggestion that bankers are best positioned to know how the industry should be regulated, according to hacked emails made public Friday by WikiLeaks. The comments are drawn from an email describing speech transcripts that Clinton has refused to release despite months of intense criticism. The email, apparently hacked from Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta, shows a staffer in the early stages of Clinton's primary campaign against Sen. Bernie Sanders this year flagging speech excerpts that could be politically



problematic. [...] The emails appear to have been hacked from Podesta’s Gmail account and appear to span almost a decade. According to a WikiLeaks tweet, the release represented the first 2,050 documents of 50,000 it has hacked from Podesta.” [Washington Post, [10/7/16](#)]

**Russian Intelligence Gained Access To DNC Networks And Released Data Via Guccifer 2.0, DCLeaks.com, And WikiLeaks.** According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “We assess Russian intelligence services collected against the US primary campaigns, think tanks, and lobbying groups they viewed as likely to shape future US policies. In July 2015, Russian intelligence gained access to Democratic National Committee (DNC) networks and maintained that access until at least June 2016. The General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU) probably began cyber operations aimed at the US election by March 2016. We assess that the GRU operations resulted in the compromise of the personal e-mail accounts of Democratic Party officials and political figures. By May, the GRU had exfiltrated large volumes of data from the DNC. [...] We assess with high confidence that the GRU used the Guccifer 2.0 persona, DCLeaks.com, and WikiLeaks to release US victim data obtained in cyber operations publicly and in exclusives to media outlets.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, [1/6/17](#)]

**July 2016: Trump Campaign Had Republican Party Weaken Its Platform On Arming Ukraine.** According to NPR, “When Republican Party leaders drafted the platform prior to their convention in Cleveland last month, they had relatively little input from the campaign of then-presumptive nominee Donald Trump on most issues — except when it came to a future Republican administration’s stance on Ukraine. It started when platform committee member Diana Denman tried to insert language calling for the U.S. to provide lethal defensive weapons to the Ukrainian government, which is fighting a separatist insurrection backed by Russia. [...] The Trump campaign convinced the platform committee to change Denman’s proposal. It went from calling on the U.S. to provide Ukraine ‘lethal defensive weapons’ to the more benign phrase ‘appropriate assistance.’” [NPR, [8/6/16](#)]

## RUSSIA PLANNED TO TARGET EDUCATED YOUTH TO PERSUADE THEM TO VOTE FOR TRUMP

Dossier Claim	Evidence
Continuing on this theme, IVANOV said that the audience to be targeted by such operations was the educated youth in America as the PA assessed that there was still a chance they	<i>Circumstantial Evidence</i>

could be persuaded to vote for Republican candidate Donald TRUMP as a protest against the Washington establishment (in the form of Democratic candidate Hillary CLINTON). The hope was that even if she won, as a result of this CLINTON in power would be bogged down in working for internal reconciliation in the US, rather than being able to focus on foreign policy which would damage Russia's interests. This also should give President PUTIN more room for manoeuvre in the run-up to Russia's own presidential election in 2018.

**The Internet Research Agency, A St. Petersburg Company With Connections To The Kremlin, Ran A Complex Disinformation Campaign On Facebook During The Election.** According to the New York Times, "The Russians who posed as Americans on Facebook last year tried on quite an array of disguises. There was 'Defend the 2nd,' a Facebook page for gun-rights supporters, festooned with firearms and tough rhetoric. There was a rainbow-hued page for gay rights activists, 'LGBT United.' There was even a Facebook group for animal lovers with memes of adorable puppies that spread across the site with the help of paid ads. Federal investigators and officials at Facebook now believe these groups and their pages were part of a highly coordinated disinformation campaign linked to the Internet Research Agency, a secretive company in St. Petersburg, Russia, known for spreading Kremlin-linked propaganda and fake news across the web. They were described to The New York Times by two people familiar with the social network and its ads who were not authorized to discuss them publicly." [New York Times, [10/2/17](#)]

**Facing Pressure From Federal Prosecutors, Facebook Agreed To Turnover 3,000 Russian-Linked Advertisements That Ran During The Election.**

According to the New York Times, "Under intensifying scrutiny from federal investigators and the public, Facebook said on Sunday that it planned to turn over more than 3,000 Russian-linked advertisements to congressional investigators on Monday. The decision, which comes after a week of scathing calls from Congress for details about Facebook's advertising system, is the latest attempt by a major technology company to disclose the scope of Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election." [New York Times, [10/2/17](#)]

**The Russian Facebook Ad Strategy Targeted Both Liberals And Conservatives And Was Aimed At Amplifying Internal Political Discord In American Politics.** According to CNN, "New descriptions of the Russian-bought ads shared with CNN suggest that the apparent goal of the Russian buyers was to amplify political discord and fuel an atmosphere of incivility and chaos, though not necessarily to promote one candidate or cause over another. Facebook's review of Russian efforts on its platform focused on a timeframe from June 2015 to May 2017. These ranged from posts promoting Black Lives Matter to posts promoting gun rights and the Second Amendment to posts warning about what they said was the threat undocumented immigrants posed to American democracy. Beyond the election, Russians have sought to raise questions about western democracies." [CNN, [9/27/17](#)]

**Senator Mark Warner: Russia's Strategy "Was To Sow Chaos" With Facebook Ads.** According to CNN, "Warner, the top Democrat on the Senate Intelligence Committee, said

this week that the aim of the ad-buyers ‘was to sow chaos.’ ‘In many cases, it was more about voter suppression rather than increasing turnout,’ he told reporters.” [CNN, [9/27/17](#)]

**Kushner Used Cambridge Analytica, A Data Firm Bankrolled By Trump Megadonor Robert Mercer, To Help Run The Campaign’s Digital Operation.** According to Vanity Fair, “Bigger questions, however, revolve around Cambridge Analytica. It is unclear how Kushner first became aware of the data-mining firm, but one of its major investors is billionaire Trump backer Robert Mercer. Mercer was also a principal patron of Breitbart News and Steve Bannon, who was a vice president of Cambridge Analytica until he joined the Trump campaign. ‘I think the Russians had help,’ said Congresswoman Jackie Speier, a California Democrat who is a member of the House Intelligence Committee. ‘I’ve always wondered if Cambridge Analytica was part of that.’ (Cambridge Analytica did not respond to a request for comment.)” [Vanity Fair, [9/15/17](#)]

**July 2017: Congress And The Justice Department Were Investigating Whether The Trump Campaign’s Digital Operation, Run By Kushner, Helped Russia Target “Fake News Attacks” On Clinton.** According to McClatchy, “Investigators at the House and Senate Intelligence committees and the Justice Department are examining whether the Trump campaign’s digital operation – overseen by Jared Kushner – helped guide Russia’s sophisticated voter targeting and fake news attacks on Hillary Clinton in 2016. Congressional and Justice Department investigators are focusing on whether Trump’s campaign pointed Russian cyber operatives to certain voting jurisdictions in key states – areas where Trump’s digital team and Republican operatives were spotting unexpected weakness in voter support for Hillary Clinton, according to several people familiar with the parallel inquiries.” [McClatchy, [7/12/17](#)]

**Justice Department Investigators Believed Russians Targeted Voters In Key Swing States, Down To The Precinct Level, And Could Not Have Done So Independently.** According to McClatchy, “By Election Day, an automated Kremlin cyberattack of unprecedented scale and sophistication had delivered critical and phony news about the Democratic presidential nominee to the Twitter and Facebook accounts of millions of voters. Some investigators suspect the Russians targeted voters in swing states, even in key precincts. Russia’s operation used computer commands known as ‘bots’ to collect and dramatically heighten the reach of negative or fabricated news about Clinton, including a story in the final days of the campaign accusing her of running a pedophile ring at a Washington pizzeria. One source familiar with Justice’s criminal probe said investigators doubt Russian operatives controlling the so-called robotic cyber commands that

fetches and distributes fake news stories could have independently 'known where to specifically target ... to which high-impact states and districts in those states.'" [McClatchy, [7/12/17](#)]

**DNI: State-Owned Russian Media Aired “Increasingly Favorable Comments” About Trump And Negative Coverage Of Clinton.** According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Russia’s state-run propaganda machine—comprised of its domestic media apparatus, outlets targeting global audiences such as RT and Sputnik, and a network of quasi-government trolls—contributed to the influence campaign by serving as a platform for Kremlin messaging to Russian and international audiences. State-owned Russian media made increasingly favorable comments about President-elect Trump as the 2016 US general and primary election campaigns progressed while consistently offering negative coverage of Secretary Clinton.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, [1/6/17](#)]

**August 2016: RT Ran An Article With The Headline “Debunking The Media’s Smear Campaign Against Green Presidential Candidate Jill Stein.”** According to RT, “The surging fundraising and poll numbers for Green Party presidential candidate Jill Stein since the end of the Bernie Sanders campaign must be hitting a nerve, because Democratic insiders and the mainstream media are resorting to smear tactics. Stein hopes to capitalize on disgruntled Bernie backers, who ideologically have more in common with the progressive medical doctor than the neo-liberal Democratic nominee.” [RT, [8/10/16](#)]

## Russian Policy Goals-Related Allegations

### KREMLIN HOPED TO SHIFT U.S. POLICY ON UKRAINE, SYRIA, AND TPP AND TTIP

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>The senior PA official also reported that a growing element in Moscow’s intervention in the US presidential election campaign was the objective of shifting the US political consensus in Russia’s perceived interests regardless of who won. It basically comprised of pushing candidate CLINTON away from President OBAMA’s policies. The best example of this was that both candidates now openly opposed the draft trade agreements, TPP and TTIP, which were assessed by Moscow as detrimental to Russian interests. Other issues where the Kremlin was looking to shift the US policy consensus were Ukraine and Syria. Overall however, the presidential election was considered still to be too close to call.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>DNI: Putin Publicly Expressed Support For Trump’s Stated Policy Of Working With Russian On Ukraine, Justifying His Approach To Clinton’s “Aggressive Rhetoric.”</b> According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Nonetheless, Putin publicly indicated a preference for President-elect Trump’s stated policy to work with Russia, and pro-Kremlin figures spoke highly about what they saw as his Russia-friendly positions on Syria and Ukraine. Putin publicly contrasted the President-elect’s approach to Russia with Secretary Clinton’s ‘aggressive</p>

rhetoric.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, [1/6/17](#)]

**Putin: TPP Was “Just Another U.S. Attempt To Build An Architecture Of Regional Economic Cooperation That The USA Would Benefit From.”** According to RT, “The Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) is just ‘another attempt’ by the US to create regional economic cooperation that mainly Washington would benefit from, Russian President told Chinese media ahead of his visit to the Nov. 10-11 APEC summit in Beijing. [...] Vladimir Putin: [...] Obviously, the Trans-Pacific Partnership is just another U.S. attempt to build an architecture of regional economic cooperation that the USA would benefit from. At the same time, I believe that the absence of two major regional players such as Russia and China in its composition will not promote the establishment of effective trade and economic cooperation.” [RT, [11/6/14](#)]

**Putin: TTIP And TPP Violated The Spirit And Rules Of WTO.** According to Bloomberg Businessweek, “The collapse of the TPP would be welcome news for Russian President Vladimir Putin. He’s been an outspoken critic of the deal and its cousin, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), saying they violate the spirit and rules of the World Trade Organization and would frustrate free trade. ‘If we want to effectively influence global economic processes, there should be no closed associations,’ he told reporters on Nov. 20, after the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Lima.” [Bloomberg Businessweek, [12/1/16](#)]

## PUTIN LAUNCHED PRO-TRUMP OPERATION TO UPSET STATUS QUO ON UKRAINE-RELATED SANCTIONS BY DISRUPTING THE U.S. POLITICAL SYSTEM

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Asked to explain why PUTIN and the Kremlin had launched such an aggressive TRUMP support operation in the first place, the MFA official said that Russia needed to upset the liberal international status quo, including on Ukraine-related sanctions, which was seriously disadvantaging the country. TRUMP was viewed as divisive in disrupting the whole US political system; anti-Establishment; and a pragmatist with whom they could do business. As the TRUMP support operation had gained momentum, control of it had passed from the MFA to the FSB and then into the presidential administration where it remained, a reflection of its growing significance over time. There was still a view in the Kremlin that TRUMP would continue as a (divisive) political force even if he lost the presidency and may run for and be elected to another public office.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>DNI: Putin Ordered The Campaign To Influence The 2016 Election By Harming Clinton In Favor Of Trump.</b> According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “We assess Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the US presidential election. Russia’s goals were to undermine public faith in the US democratic process, denigrate Secretary Clinton, and harm her electability and potential presidency. We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump. We have high confidence in these judgments.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, <a href="#">1/6/17</a>]</p>

**Donald Trump Jr, Said A Meeting Between Him, Kushner, And Manafort And A Russian Lawyer Focused On Russian Adoption, A Reference To The 2012 Magnitsky Act That Sanctioned Russian Officials; Russia Retaliated By Preventing Russian Children From Being Adopted In The U.S.**

According to The New York Times, “President Trump’s son Donald Trump Jr. initially defended his meeting with a Russian lawyer connected to the Kremlin during the 2016 presidential campaign by saying that it was primarily about adoption — a seemingly innocent humanitarian issue. Reinstating American adoptions of Russian orphans certainly seems like a far less serious matter than a meeting about, say, the removal of United States sanctions on certain Russian officials. But from the Russian perspective, whether the younger Mr. Trump and his associates knew it at the time or not, the issues of adoptions and sanctions are so inextricably linked as to be practically synonymous. (Mr. Trump said in a later statement that the lawyer, Natalia Veselnitskaya, had also promised to give him compromising information about Hillary Clinton.)

Understanding the connections between adoptions and sanctions offers a lens into the worldview and foreign policy goals of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, and into how even a meeting that really did focus primarily on adoption would also have been about much more. What connects the two issues? Leverage. The context is the Magnitsky Act, a 2012 American law that freezes the assets held in the United States by Russian officials responsible for human rights abuses. The law also bars these officials from receiving American visas. It was named after Sergei Magnitsky, a young Russian lawyer who died in pretrial detention after exposing a \$230 million tax-theft scam perpetrated by Russian officials. [...] The Russian government, sensing that those parents would be a vocal pressure group, proposed a law known as the ‘anti-Magnitsky law,’ which would halt all adoptions of Russian children by Americans — including those that were already in process. The Kremlin cited the case of Dima Yakovlev, a Russian toddler who died after being adopted by American parents, as a pretext for the rule. But the government also made clear that the new law would be retaliation for the Magnitsky Act. That pressure failed to sway the American government, and the Magnitsky Act stayed in place despite pleas from anguished adoptive parents. But, for Moscow, the issues of adoption and sanctions became seen as linked and have remained that way — something that a Kremlin-connected lawyer like Ms. Veselnitskaya would surely have had in mind.” [New York Times, [7/10/17](#)]

**DNI: Putin Publicly Expressed Support For Trump’s Stated Policy Of Working With Russian On Ukraine, Justifying His Approach To Clinton’s “Aggressive Rhetoric.”** According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Nonetheless, Putin publicly indicated

a preference for President-elect Trump’s stated policy to work with Russia, and pro-Kremlin figures spoke highly about what they saw as his Russia-friendly positions on Syria and Ukraine. Putin publicly contrasted the President-elect’s approach to Russia with Secretary Clinton’s ‘aggressive rhetoric.’” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, [1/6/17](#)]

## TRUMP CAMPAIGN AGREED TO SIDELINE UKRAINE AND RAISE NATO COMMITMENTS IN THE BALTICS TO DEFLECT ATTENTION FOR PUTIN

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Inter alia, Source E, acknowledged that the Russian regime had been behind the recent leak of embarrassing e-mail messages, emanating from the Democratic National Committee (DNC), to the WikiLeaks platform. The reason for using WikiLeaks was “plausible deniability” and the operation had been conducted with the full knowledge and support of TRUMP and senior members of his campaign team. In return the TRUMP team had agreed to sideline Russian intervention in Ukraine as a campaign issue and to raise US/NATO defence commitments in the Baltics and Eastern Europe to deflect attention away from Ukraine, a priority for PUTIN who needed to cauterise the subject.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>July 2016: Trump Campaign Had Republican Party Weaken Its Platform On Arming Ukraine.</b> According to NPR, “When Republican Party leaders drafted the platform prior to their convention in Cleveland last month, they had relatively little input from the campaign of then-presumptive nominee Donald Trump on most issues — except when it came to a future Republican administration’s stance on Ukraine. It started when platform committee member Diana Denman tried to insert language calling for the U.S. to provide lethal defensive weapons to the Ukrainian government, which is fighting a separatist insurrection backed by Russia. [...] The Trump campaign convinced the platform committee to change Denman’s proposal. It went from calling on the U.S. to provide Ukraine ‘lethal defensive weapons’ to the more benign phrase ‘appropriate assistance.’” [NPR, <a href="#">8/6/16</a>]</p> <p><b>March 2017: Trump Campaign National Security Adviser J.D. Gordon Said Trump Personally Advocated For Language Removing Ukraine-Related Sanctions Against Russia From The GOP Platform.</b> According to CNN, “Gordon had advocated for language in the GOP platform that the Ukrainians not be armed in their battle against pro-Russian separatists, an effort was ultimately successful. But Gordon says he was simply advocating what Trump himself had expressed -- that he did not wish to see major war break out over the situation in Ukraine.” [CNN, <a href="#">3/4/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Konstantin Kilimnik, A Pro-Russian Ukrainian Associate Of Paul Manafort, Reportedly Played A Role In Gutting An Anti-Russia Amendment To The GOP Platform.</b> According to Politico, “U.S. and Ukrainian authorities have expressed interest in the activities of a Kiev-based operative with suspected ties to Russian intelligence who consulted regularly with Paul Manafort last year while Manafort was running Donald Trump’s presidential campaign.” [...] Kilimnik, a joint Russian-Ukrainian citizen</p>

who trained in the Russian army as a linguist, told operatives in Kiev and Washington that he met with Manafort during an April trip to the United States. And, after a late summer trip to the U.S., Kilimnik suggested that he had played a role in gutting a proposed amendment to the Republican Party platform that would have staked out a more adversarial stance towards Russia, according to a Kiev operative.” [Politico, [3/8/17](#)]

**July 2016: Trump Said Putin Was “Not Going Into Ukraine.”** According to NPR, “Haring was referring to Trumps appearance on ABC’s This Week with George Stephanopoulos last month, when Trump said Vladimir Putin is ‘not going to go into Ukraine, OK? Just so you understand, he’s not going to go into Ukraine.’ Of course, Russia did go into Ukraine when it invaded Crimea two years ago and backed separatist fighters in other parts of the country. Trump later said that he meant Putin would not go into Ukraine on his watch, if he were President.” [NPR, [8/6/16](#)]

**July 2016: Trump Campaign Foreign Policy Adviser Carter Page And National Security Advisers Jeff Sessions And J.D. Gordon Met With When Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak.** According to Politico, “When Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak traveled to the GOP convention last summer, he met with then Sen. Jeff Sessions, as well as with two other Trump campaign advisers, including oil industry consultant Carter Page. Page, at the time an unpaid foreign policy adviser to Trump, engaged in a conversation with the ambassador at the same July 20 luncheon in Cleveland where Sessions, now attorney general, and Kislyak chatted, according to J.D. Gordon, a national security adviser to the Trump campaign who was also present at the lunch.” [Politico, [3/2/17](#)]

**July 2016: Carter Page Met With Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak At The Republican National Convention.** In an interview with Chris Hayes on MSNBC, Carter Page was asked about meeting Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak at the Republican National Convention in July 2016. Page said: “I’m not talking about any meetings I had there. [...] I am sticking with the commitment I made to the organizers that I would keep it an off-the-record meeting. [...] I’m not going to deny that I talked with him. I will say that I never him outside of Cleveland.” [MSNBC, [3/2/17](#)]

**Carter Page Criticized The Obama Administration For Imposing Sanctions On Russia For Annexing Crimea.** According to Politico, “After Trump identified Page as one of his foreign policy and energy advisers last March, Page said in a Bloomberg News interview that he had been an investor in, and adviser to, the Gazprom. He also criticized



the Obama administration sanctions on Russia imposed because of its annexation of Crimea.” [Politico, [3/2/17](#)]

**Carter Page Said The U.S. “Stage-Manage(d) The Recent Revolution In Ukraine.”** According to National Review, “As the invasion unfolded, however, the Obama administration chose to ignore this pledge, limiting its help to Ukraine to non-lethal military equipment and symbolic sanctions. But even this was too much for Carter Page, who, in an article on the Center for National Policy website, peddled the Kremlin line that the broad-based Euromaidan revolt was a CIA coup, and denounced Obama for doing anything at all: ‘Many critics of the Obama Administration may consider the President weak, feckless or worse,’ wrote Page. ‘Such reviews are patently unfair as the opposite problem stands at the center of the current situation. Instead of any weakness of the Administration impacting the Russian government’s position, aggressive steps taken by Assistant Secretary of State Nuland and other U.S. officials to stage-manage the recent revolution in Ukraine represent a primary force which created the hostile situation we now see. . . . Washington’s political tactics represented the principal driving force toward proactively attempting to redefine whose fold Ukraine would fall under.’” [National Review, [4/4/16](#)]

**Flynn Planned To Recommend Allowing Balkan Nation Montenegro Into NATO, Despite Russia’s Opposition.** According to Politico, “White House national security adviser Michael Flynn will recommend that President Donald Trump support allowing the small Balkan nation of Montenegro to join NATO, POLITICO has learned — despite strong opposition from Russia. The move will be a major test of the new administration’s policy toward Moscow, which considers any further eastward expansion of the Western military alliance a provocation.” [Politico, [2/6/17](#)]

## Russian Efforts To Hide Involvement

### RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT “MIKHAIL KULAGIN” [SIC] WAS WITHDRAWN FROM WASHINGTON OUT OF FEAR HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE ELECTION OPERATION WOULD BE EXPOSED

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Finally, speaking separately to the same compatriot, a senior Russian MFA official reported that as a prophylactic measure, a leading Russian diplomat, Mikhail KULAGIN, had been withdrawn from Washington at short notice because Moscow feared his heavy involvement’ in the US presidential election operation, including the so-called</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>Russian Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Maria Zakharova: Mikhail Kalugin Left The Embassy In August 2016 As Scheduled.</b> According to TASS, “When speaking on ‘Mikhail Kulagin, a high-ranking official in</p>

<p>veterans' pensions ruse (reported previously), would be exposed in the media there. His replacement, Andrei BONDAREV however was clean in this regard.</p>	<p>Russia's embassy in Washington', who, according to the BuzzFeed report, was allegedly involved in some election campaign but was recalled to Moscow over concerns that his activities might become public, Zakharova said that no one by that name ever worked at Russia's embassy. 'Eventually, I came to understand that they referred to Mikhail Kalugin who had been working in the Russian embassy in Washington for the past six years,' the spokesperson noted. 'As far as I know, he headed the embassy's economic group, he used to meet with representatives of business and expert circles in Washington and other US cities, delivered lectures and gave interviews concerning Russian-US economic ties.' At the same time, according to Zakharova, in August 2016, Kalugin completed his mission as it had been scheduled. 'But the important thing is that many of his American colleagues knew he was going to leave. He arrived in Washington in August 2010 and left in August 2016, like it usually happens,' Zakharova stressed." [TASS, <a href="#">1/11/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Citing Anonymous U.S. Intelligence Sources, The BBC Reported That The U.S. Government Identified Kalugin As A Spy.</b> According to the BBC, "The BBC has learned that US officials 'verified' a key claim in a report about Kremlin involvement in Donald Trump's election - that a Russian diplomat in Washington was in fact a spy. The Russian Foreign Ministry said Kalugin was head of the embassy's economics section. He had gone home in August 2016 at the end of a six-year posting. The man himself emailed journalists to complain about a 'stream of lies and fake news about my person.' If anyone looks like a harmless economist, rather than a tough, arrogant KGB man, it is the bland-faced Kalugin. But sources I know and trust have told me the US government identified Kalugin as a spy while he was still at the embassy. It is not clear if the American intelligence agencies already believed this when they got Steele's report on the 'diplomat', as early as May 2016. But it is a judgment they made using their own methods, outside the dossier." [BBC, <a href="#">3/30/17</a>]</p>
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**KREMLIN WANTED “PLAUSIBLE DENIABILITY” ABOUT ITS PRO-TRUMP/ANTI-CLINTON OPERATIONS**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Continuing on this theme, the emigre associate of TRUMP opined that the Kremlin wanted the situation to calm but for 'plausible deniability' to be maintained concerning its (extensive) pro-TRUMP and anti-CLINTON operations. S/he therefore judged that it was unlikely these would be ratcheted up, at least for the time being.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>July 2017: Putin Said He Did Not Know Natalia Veselnitskaya, The Russian Lawyer Who Met With Trump Jr., Kushner, And Manafort Promising Information From The Russian Government That Would Hurt The Clinton Campaign.</b> According to The New York Times, "Mr. Goldstone represents the Russian</p>

pop star Emin Agalarov, whose father was President Trump’s business partner in bringing the Miss Universe pageant to Moscow in 2013. In an interview Monday, Mr. Goldstone said he was asked by Mr. Agalarov to set up the meeting with Donald Trump Jr. and the Russian lawyer, Natalia Veselnitskaya. [...] Ms. Veselnitskaya, for her part, denied that the campaign or compromising material about Mrs. Clinton ever came up. She said she had never acted on behalf of the Russian government. A representative for Mr. Putin said on Monday that he did not know Ms. Veselnitskaya, and that he had no knowledge of the June 2016 meeting.” [New York Times, [7/10/17](#)]

**DNI: Russian Influence Campaigns “Are Multifaceted And Designed To Be Deniable.”** According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Moscow’s use of disclosures during the US election was unprecedented, but its influence campaign otherwise followed a longstanding Russian messaging strategy that blends covert intelligence operations—such as cyber activity—with overt efforts by Russian Government agencies, statefunded media, third-party intermediaries, and paid social media users or ‘trolls.’ [...] By their nature, Russian influence campaigns are multifaceted and designed to be deniable because they use a mix of agents of influence, cutouts, front organizations, and false-flag operations. Moscow demonstrated this during the Ukraine crisis in 2014, when Russia deployed forces and advisers to eastern Ukraine and denied it publicly.” [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, [1/6/17](#)]

## Trump Campaign Collusion-Related Allegations

### KREMLIN WAS FEEDING INTELLIGENCE TO TRUMP ON HIS OPPONENTS, INCLUDING CLINTON

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>In terms of specifics, Source A confided that the Kremlin had been feeding TRUMP and his team valuable intelligence on his opponents, including Democratic presidential candidate Hillary CLINTON, for several years (see more below). This was confirmed by Source D, a close associate of TRUMP who had organized and managed his recent trips to Moscow, and who reported, also in June 2016, that this Russian intelligence had been “very helpful”.</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>June 9, 2016: Manafort, Donald Trump Jr., And Kushner Met With Russian Attorney Natalia Veselnitskaya, Who Promised Compromising Information On Clinton.</b> According to The New York Times, “President Trump’s eldest son, Donald Trump Jr., was promised damaging information about Hillary Clinton before agreeing to meet with a Kremlin-connected Russian lawyer during the 2016 campaign, according to three advisers to the White House briefed on the meeting and two others with knowledge of it. The meeting was also attended by the president’s campaign chairman at the time, Paul J. Manafort, as well as by the president’s son-in-law, Jared Kushner. Mr. Manafort and Mr. Kushner recently disclosed the meeting, though not its</p>

content, in confidential government documents described to The New York Times. [...] The meeting — at Trump Tower on June 9, 2016, two weeks after Donald J. Trump clinched the Republican nomination — points to the central question in federal investigations of the Kremlin’s meddling in the presidential election: whether the Trump campaign colluded with the Russians. [...] It is unclear whether the Russian lawyer, Natalia Veselnitskaya, actually produced the promised compromising information about Mrs. Clinton. But the people interviewed by The Times about the meeting said the expectation was that she would do so.” [New York Times, [7/9/17](#)]

- **Veselnitskaya Was Accompanied By Rinat Akhmetshin, A Russian-American Who Served In The Soviet Military, Lobbied On Behalf Of The Russian Government, And Had Ties To Russian Intelligence.** According to The Associated Press, “A Russian-American lobbyist says he attended a June 2016 meeting with President Donald Trump’s son, marking another shift in the account of a discussion that was billed as part of a Russian government effort to help the Republican’s White House campaign. Rinat Akhmetshin confirmed his participation to The Associated Press on Friday. Akhmetshin has been reported to have ties to Russian intelligence agencies, though he denies ever working as an intelligence agent. He told the AP that he served in the Soviet military in a unit that was part of counterintelligence but was never formally trained as a spy. [...] While Trump Jr. has confirmed that Russian attorney Natalia Veselnitskaya was in the meeting, he did not disclose Akhmetshin’s presence. The president’s son has tried to discount the meeting, saying that he did not receive the information he was promised. [...] Jared Kushner, Trump’s son-in-law and current White House senior adviser, and then-campaign chairman Paul Manafort also attended the meeting. Akhmetshin said he recognized Kushner and Trump Jr. [...] Akhmetshin said he has not been contacted by the special counsel’s office or the FBI about the meeting with Trump Jr. He said he’s willing to talk with the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman has pressed the Justice Department about why Akhmetshin has not registered as a foreign agent. The chairman, Republican Chuck Grassley of Iowa, said in a March letter that Akhmetshin has ‘reportedly admitted to being a ‘Soviet counterintelligence officer’ and has a long history of lobbying the U.S. government for pro-Russia matters.’” [Associated Press, [7/14/17](#)]

- **Veselnitskaya And Akhmetshin Told Trump’s Representatives Illicit Funds Had Been Funneled To The DNC And Would Be A “Good Issue To Expose How The DNC Is Accepting Bad Money.”** According to The Associated Press, “In a statement

Sunday, Trump Jr. said the attorney said that she had information that people tied to Russia were funding the DNC and supporting Clinton, a description that Akhmetshin backed up in his interview with the AP. In his first public interview about the meeting, Akhmetshin said he accompanied Veselnitskaya to Trump Tower where they met an interpreter who participated in the meeting. He said he had learned about the meeting only that day when Veselnitskaya asked him to attend. He said he showed up in jeans and a T-shirt. During the meeting, Akhmetshin said Veselnitskaya presented the Trump associates with details of what she believed were illicit funds that had been funneled to the Democratic National Committee. And she suggested that making the information public could help the Trump campaign. “This could be a good issue to expose how the DNC is accepting bad money,” Akhmetshin recalled her saying. Trump Jr. asked the attorney if she had all the evidence to back up her claims, including whether she could demonstrate the flow of the money. But Veselnitskaya said the Trump campaign would need to research it more. After that, Trump Jr. lost interest, according to Akhmetshin.” [Associated Press, [7/14/17](#)]

## Putin Received Advice On The U.S. From “Alpha Group” Of Business Oligarchs

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking to a trusted compatriot in mid-September 2016, a top level Russian government official commented on the history and current state of relations between President PUTIN and the Alpha Group of businesses led by oligarchs Mikhail FRIDMAN, Petr AVEN and German KHAN. The Russian government figure reported that although they had had their ups and downs, the leading figures in Alpha currently were on very good terms with PUTIN. Significant favours continued to be done in both directions, primarily political ones for PUTIN and business/legal ones for Alpha. Also, FRIDMAN and AVEN continued to give informal advice to PUTIN on foreign policy, and especially about the US where he distrusted advice being given to him by officials. 2. Although FRIDMAN recently had met directly with PUTIN in Russia, much of the dialogue and business between them was mediated through a senior Presidential Administration official, Oleg GOVORUN, who currently headed the department therein responsible for Social Co-operation With the CIS. GOVORUN was trusted by PUTIN and recently had accompanied him to Uzbekistan to pay</p>	<p><i>Circumstantial Evidence</i></p> <p><b>Mueller Charged Alfa Group Owner German Khan’s Son-In-Law, Alex Van Der Zwaan, Who Pled Guilty To Making False Statements.</b> According to the Washington Post, “The Dutch son-in-law of one of Russia’s wealthiest men pleaded guilty Tuesday in Washington to making false statements in special counsel Robert S. Mueller III’s probe of alleged Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, according to a new court filing. [...] Based in London, van der Zwaan worked for the law firm Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher &amp; Flom, which did work with Manafort and Gates while they served as political consultants in Ukraine, before joining Trump’s campaign in 2016. Van der Zwaan is the son-in-law of German Khan, a billionaire and an owner of Alfa Group, Russia’s largest financial and industrial investment group.” [Washington Post, <a href="#">2/20/18</a>]</p> <p><b>Van Der Zwaan Was An Attorney Who Was Involved With Manafort’s Work In Ukraine.</b> According to CNN,</p>

respects at the tomb of former president KARIMOV. However according to the top level Russian government official, during the 1990s GOVORUN had been Head of Government Relations at Alpha Group and in reality, the “driver” and “bag carrier” used by FRIDMAN and AVEN to deliver large amounts of illicit cash to the Russian president, at that time deputy Mayor of St Petersburg. Given that and the continuing sensitivity of the PUTIN-Alpha relationship, and need for plausible deniability, much of the contact between them was now indirect and entrusted to the relatively low profile GOVORUN. [...] The top level Russian government official described the PUTIN-Alpha relationship as both carrot and stick. Alpha held ‘kompromat’ on PUTIN and his corrupt business activities from the 1990s whilst although not personally overly bothered by Alpha’s failure to reinvest the proceeds of its TNK oil company sale into the Russian economy since, the Russian president was able to use pressure on this count from senior Kremlin colleagues as a lever on FRIDMAN and AVEN to make them do his political bidding.

“Special counsel Robert Mueller has charged a lawyer with allegedly lying to investigators about covering up his discussions about Ukraine with former Trump campaign aide Rick Gates and another person in September 2016, while the Trump campaign operation was in full swing. The filing is further evidence that Mueller's investigators have ratcheted the pressure on Gates as he negotiates a plea deal and that they continue to look into the work of former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort and Gates while they worked for Russian-allied clients and the Trump campaign. [...] Late last year, prosecutors questioned Van Der Zwaan on his work with international law firm Skadden Arps. Manafort arranged for the law firm to help the Ukrainian Minister of Justice in 2012 report on the trial of Yulia Tymoshenko, a former Ukrainian prime minister opposed to Manafort's clients.” [CNN, [2/20/18](#)]

**Van Der Zwaan Lied To Mueller’s Team About Conversations He Had With Rick Gates And An Unnamed Person About A Report On Former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, An Opponent Of Yanukovych.** According to CNN, “Late last year, prosecutors questioned Van Der Zwaan on his work with international law firm Skadden Arps. Manafort arranged for the law firm to help the Ukrainian Minister of Justice in 2012 report on the trial of Yulia Tymoshenko, a former Ukrainian prime minister opposed to Manafort's clients. Tymoshenko is one of the top political rivals of former Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, a Russian sympathizer who used Manafort and Gates as political consultants for more than a decade. After Yanukovich narrowly defeated Tymoshenko in the 2010 presidential election, she was jailed on charges of corruption that were seen by many as being politically motivated. Skadden produced a report that said the process was legal. She was freed after Yanukovich's ouster in 2014. The prosecutors' criminal charge Tuesday explains how Van Der Zwaan spoke with Gates and an unnamed person in September 2016 about the Ukrainian report and recorded the calls. At the time, Gates was still working with the Trump campaign.” [CNN, [2/20/18](#)]

# UNVERIFIED

## Campaign Tactics-Related Allegations

### MARCH-SEPTEMBER 2016: ALEKSEI GUBAROV AND SEVA KAPSUGOVICH FROM XBT/WEBZILLA SENT VIRUSES TO AND STOLE DATA FROM THE DNC

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>[REDACTED] reported that over the period March-September 2016 a company called XBT /Webzilla and its affiliates had been using botnets and porn traffic to transmit viruses, plant bugs, steal data and conduct “altering operations” against the Democratic Party leadership. Entities linked to one Aleksei GUBAROV were involved and he and another hacking expert, both recruited under duress by the FSB, Seva KAPSUGOVICH, were significant players in this operation. In Prague, COHEN agreed contingency plans for various scenarios to protect the operation, but in particular what was to be done in the event that Hillary CLINTON won the presidency. It was important in this event that all cash payments owed were made quickly and discreetly and that cyber and other operators were stood down/able to go effectively to ground to cover their traces. (We reported earlier that the involvement of political operatives Paul MANAFORT and Carter PAGE in the secret TRUMP Kremlin liaison had been exposed in the media in the run-up to Prague and that damage limitation of these also was discussed by COHEN with the Kremlin representatives).</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p> <p><b>Aleksej Gubarev, Owner Of XBT, Which Owned Webzilla, Denied His Firm Hacked The Democratic Party.</b> According to McClatchy DC, “It also alleged that global tech firm XBT Holding, with operations in Dallas, was instrumental in the hack of leaked Democratic Party emails that embarrassed Hillary Clinton and fellow Democrats. XBT, owner of Dallas-based enterprise-hosting company Webzilla, is run by a successful Russian tech startup expert, Aleksej Gubarev. In a phone interview from Cyprus, where he said he’d lived since 2002, Gubarev said he was surprised to see his name in the report.” [McClatchy DC, <a href="#">1/11/17</a>]</p>

### KREMLIN CONSIDERED RELEASING MORE “KOMPROMAT” ON CLINTON AFTER DUMA ELECTIONS IN MID-SEPTEMBER AND THROUGH THE U.S. ELECTION

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Continuing on this theme, the senior PA official said the situation now was that the Kremlin had further ‘kompromat’ on candidate CLINTON and had been considering releasing this via “plausibly deniable” channels after the Duma (legislative) elections were out of the way in mid-September. There was however a growing train of thought and associated lobby, arguing that the Russians could still make candidate CLINTON look “weak and stupid” by provoking her into railing against PUTIN and Russia without the need to release more of her e-mails. Presidential Spokesman, Dmitriy PESKOV remained a key figure in the operation, although any final decision on dissemination of further material would</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>

<p>be taken by PUTIN himself. [...] Speaking separately in confidence to a trusted compatriot in early October 2016, a senior Russian leadership figure and a Foreign Ministry official reported on recent developments concerning the Kremlin’s operation to support Republican candidate Donald TRUMP in the US presidential election. The senior leadership figure said that a degree of buyer’s remorse was setting in among Russian leaders concerning TRUMP. PUTIN and his colleagues were surprised and disappointed that leaks of Democratic candidate, Hillary CLINTON’s hacked e-mails had not had greater impact on the campaign. [...] Continuing on this theme, the senior leadership figure commented that a stream of further hacked CLINTON material already had been injected by the Kremlin into compliant western media outlets like Wikileaks, which remained at least “plausibly deniable”, so the stream of these would continue through October and up to the election. However s/he understood that the best material the Russians had already was out and there were no real game-changers to come.</p>	
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**Trump Campaign Collusion-Related Allegations**

**JUNE 2016: TRUMP ASSOCIATE SAID INTELLIGENCE ABOUT CLINTON FROM THE KREMLIN HAD BEEN “VERY HELPFUL”**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>In terms of specifics, Source A confided that the Kremlin had been feeding TRUMP and his team valuable intelligence on his opponents, including Democratic presidential candidate Hillary CLINTON, for several years (see more below). This was confirmed by Source D, a close associate of TRUMP who had organized and managed his recent trips to Moscow, and who reported, also in June 2016, that this Russian intelligence had been “very helpful”.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>

**JULY 2016: TRUMP CAMPAIGN WAS ANXIOUS ABOUT ACCUSATIONS KREMLIN HACKED DNC EMAILS**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking in confidence to a trusted associate in late July 2016, a Russian emigre figure close to the Republican US presidential candidate Donald TRUMP’s campaign team commented on the fallout from publicity surrounding the Democratic National Committee (DNC) e-mail hacking scandal. The emigre said there was a high level of anxiety within the TRUMP team as a result of various accusations levelled against them and indications from the Kremlin that</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>



President PUTIN and others in the leadership thought things had gone too far now and risked spiralling out of control.	
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**KREMLIN OFFERED TRUMP REAL ESTATE DEALS BUT HE DECLINED**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
The Kremlin’s cultivation operation on TRUMP also had comprised offering him various lucrative real estate development business deals in Russia, especially in relation to the ongoing 2018 World Cup soccer tournament. However, so far, for reasons unknown, TRUMP had not taken up any of these.	<i>Unverified</i>

**KREMLIN DID NOT GIVE TRUMP ITS DOSSIER ON CLINTON**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
Asked about the Kremlin’s reported intelligence feed to TRUMP over recent years and rumours about a Russian dossier of ‘kompromat’ on Hillary CLINTON (being circulated), Source 8 confirmed the file’s existence. S/he confided in a trusted compatriot that it had been collated by Department K of the FSB for many years, dating back to her husband Bill’s presidency, and comprised mainly eavesdropped conversations of various sorts rather than details/evidence of unorthodox or embarrassing behavior. Some of the conversations were from bugged comments CLINTON had made on her various trips to Russia and focused on things she had said which contradicted her current position on various issues. Others were most probably from phone intercepts. [...] Continuing on this theme, Source G, a senior Kremlin official, confided that the CLINTON dossier was controlled exclusively by chief Kremlin spokesman, Dmitriy PESKOV, who was responsible for compiling/handling it on the explicit instructions of PUTIN himself. The dossier however had not as yet been made available abroad, including to TRUMP or his campaign team. At present it was unclear what PUTIN’s intentions were in this regard.	<i>Unverified</i>

**TRUMP HAD BEEN SENDING RUSSIA INTELLIGENCE ON OLIGARCHS’ ACTIVITIES AND ASSETS IN THE U.S. FOR EIGHT YEARS**

In terms of the intelligence flow from the TRUMP team to Russia, Source E reported that much of this concerned the activities of business oligarchs and their families' activities and assets in the US, with which PUTIN and the Kremlin seemed preoccupied. [...] However, in terms of established operational liaison between the TRUMP team and the Kremlin, the emigre confirmed that an intelligence exchange	<i>Unverified</i>
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had been running between them for at least 8 years. Within this context PUTIN's priority requirement had been for intelligence on the activities, business and otherwise, in the US of leading Russian oligarchs and their families. TRUMP and his associates duly had obtained and supplied the Kremlin with this information.

## **TRUMP WAS NOT BOTHERED BY MEDIA COVERAGE OF RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE BECAUSE IT DEFLECTED ATTENTION FROM HIS DEALINGS IN CHINA**

<b>Dossier Claim</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
Commenting on the negative media publicity surrounding alleged Russian interference in the US election campaign in support of TRUMP, Source E said he understood that the Republican candidate and his team were relatively relaxed about this because it deflected media and the Democrats' attention away from TRUMP's business dealings in China and other emerging markets. Unlike in Russia, these were substantial and involved the payment of large bribes and kickbacks which, were they to become public, would be potentially very damaging to their campaign.	<i>Unverified</i>

## **TRUMP TEAM RESENTED PUTIN GOING BEYOND ANTI-CLINTON/PRO-TRUMP CAMPAIGN TO UNDERMINE U.S. GOVERNMENT**

<b>Dossier Claim</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
However, TRUMP's associate also admitted that there was a fair amount of anger and resentment within the Republican candidate's team at what was perceived by PUTIN as going beyond the objective of weakening CLINTON and bolstering TRUMP, by attempting to exploit the situation to undermine the US government and democratic system more generally. It was unclear at present how this aspect of the situation would play out in the weeks to come.	<i>Unverified</i>

## **Michael Cohen-Related Allegations**

### **COHEN PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN TRUMP CAMPAIGN-KREMLIN RELATIONSHIP**

<b>Dossier Claim</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
Speaking separately to the same compatriot in mid-October 2016, a Kremlin insider with direct access to the leadership confirmed that a key role in the secret TRUMP campaign/Kremlin relationship was being played by the Republican candidate's personal lawyer Michael COHEN.	<i>Unverified</i> <b>January 2016: Cohen Emailed Putin Spokesman Dmitry Peskov To Request Help In Expediting A Proposed Trump Tower Project In Moscow.</b> According to the

[...] Speaking in confidence to a longstanding compatriot friend in mid-October 2016, a Kremlin insider highlighted the importance of Republican presidential candidate Donald TRUMP's lawyer, Michael COHEN, in the ongoing secret liaison relationship between the New York tycoon's campaign and the Russian leadership. COHEN's role had grown following the departure of Paul MANNAFORT as TRUMP's campaign manager in August 2016. Prior to that MANNAFORT had led for the TRUMP side. [...]

According to the Kremlin insider, COHEN now was heavily engaged in a cover up and damage limitation operation in the attempt to prevent the full details of TRUMP's relationship with Russia being exposed. In pursuit of this aim, COHEN had met secretly with several Russian Presidential Administration (PA) Legal Department officials in an EU country in August 2016. The immediate issues had been to contain further scandals involving MANNAFORT's commercial and political role in Russia/Ukraine and to limit the damage arising from exposure of former TRUMP foreign policy advisor, Carter PAGE's secret meetings with Russian leadership figures in Moscow the previous month. The overall objective had been to "to sweep it all under the carpet and make sure no connections could be fully established or proven"

Washington Post, "A top executive from Donald Trump's real estate company emailed Russian President Vladimir Putin's personal spokesman during the U.S. presidential campaign last year to ask for help advancing a stalled Trump Tower development project in Moscow, according to documents submitted to Congress on Monday. The request came in a mid-January 2016 email from Michael Cohen, one of Trump's closest business advisers, who asked longtime Putin lieutenant Dmitry Peskov for assistance in reviving a deal that Cohen suggested was languishing. 'Over the past few months I have been working with a company based in Russia regarding the development of a Trump Tower-Moscow project in Moscow City,' Cohen wrote to Peskov, according to a person familiar with the email. 'Without getting into lengthy specifics, the communication between our two sides has stalled...'" [Washington Post, [8/28/17](#)]

## AUGUST 2016: COHEN MET WITH RUSSIAN PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION LEGAL DEPARTMENT REGARDING MANAFORT'S UKRAINE CONNECTIONS AND CARTER PAGE'S SECRET MEETINGS IN MOSCOW

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>We reported previously, in our Company Intelligence Report 2016/135 of 19 October 2016 from the same source, that COHEN met officials from the PA Legal Department clandestinely in an EU country in August 2016. This was in order to clean up the mess left behind by western media revelations of TRUMP ex-campaign manager MANAFORT's corrupt relationship with the former pro-Russian YANUKOVYCH regime in Ukraine and TRUMP foreign policy advisor, Carter PAGE's secret meetings in Moscow with senior regime figures in July 2016. According to the Kremlin advisor, these meeting/ s were originally scheduled for COHEN in Moscow but shifted to what was considered an operationally "soft" EU country when it was judged too compromising for him to travel to the Russian capital.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p> <p><b>Cohen Denied He Had Ever Been To Prague And Called The Dossier Information "Completely And Utterly False."</b> According to the Washingtonian, "In an interview with Washingtonian, Michael Cohen—counsel to president-elect Donald Trump—vehemently denied allegations that he engaged in secret meetings with Kremlin officials in Prague in August 2016. 'This is completely and utterly false,' Cohen says. 'Absurd. I've never been to Prague.' The conversation comes following Cohen's tweet this evening of an image of a passport. 'I have never been to Prague in my life. #fakenews,' Cohen tweeted. When asked by Washingtonian what he hoped to communicate by showing the front of a passport, Cohen said: 'I'm in a meeting. Have a good day.'" [Washingtonian, <a href="#">1/10/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Carter Page Was In Moscow In July 2016 During A Trip That Attracted The FBI's Attention.</b> According to the New York Times, "Ever since F.B.I. investigators discovered in 2013 that a Russian spy was trying to recruit an American businessman named Carter Page, the bureau maintained an</p>

occasional interest in Mr. Page. So when he became a foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign last year and gave a Russia-friendly speech at a prestigious Moscow institute, it soon caught the bureau's attention. That trip last July was a catalyst for the F.B.I. investigation into connections between Russia and President Trump's campaign, according to current and former law enforcement and intelligence officials." [New York Times, [4/19/17](#)]

## DURING PRAGUE MEETING TRUMP OPERATIVES AND KREMLIN PAID ROMANIAN HACKERS IN ANTI-CLINTON OPERATION

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>In terms of practical measures to be taken, it was agreed by the two sides in Prague to stand down various "Romanian hackers" (presumably based in their homeland or neighbouring eastern Europe) and that other operatives should head for a bolt-hole in Plovdiv, Bulgaria where they should "lay low". On payments, IVANOV's associate said that the operatives involved had been paid by both TRUMP's team and the Kremlin, though their orders and ultimate loyalty lay with IVANOV, as Head of the PA and thus ultimately responsible for the operation, and his designated successor/s after he was dismissed by president PUTIN in connection with the anti-CLINTON operation in mid August.</p>	<p><i>Unverified/Under Investigation</i></p> <p><b>Guccifer 2.0, One Of The Groups That Released Hacked DNC Information, Claimed To Be An Independent Romanian Hacker.</b> According to the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "We assess with high confidence that the GRU used the Guccifer 2.0 persona, DCLeaks.com, and WikiLeaks to release US victim data obtained in cyber operations publicly and in exclusives to media outlets. Guccifer 2.0, who claimed to be an independent Romanian hacker, made multiple contradictory statements and false claims about his likely Russian identity throughout the election. Press reporting suggests more than one person claiming to be Guccifer 2.0 interacted with journalists." [Office of the Director of National Intelligence, <a href="#">1/6/17</a>]</p> <p><b>U.S. Agencies Were Investigating Whether Trump Campaign Or Business Affiliates Funded Hacking Of Democratic Networks.</b> According to McClatchy DC, "A key mission of the six-agency group has been to examine who financed the email hacks of the Democratic National Committee and Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta. The London-based transparency group WikiLeaks released the emails last summer and in October. The working group is scrutinizing the activities of a few Americans who were affiliated with Trump's campaign or his business empire and of multiple individuals from Russia and other former Soviet nations who had similar connections, the sources said." [McClatchy DC, <a href="#">1/18/17</a>]</p>

## AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 2016: KREMLIN OFFICIALS AND MICHAEL COHEN MET IN PRAGUE UNDER THE GUISE OF ROSSOTRUDNICHESTVO FOR DISCUSSIONS ON HACKING

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking to a compatriot and friend on 19 October 2016, a Kremlin insider provided further details of reported clandestine meeting/s between Republican presidential candidate, Donald TRUMP’s lawyer Michael COHEN and Kremlin representatives in August 2016. Although the communication between them had to be cryptic for security reasons, the Kremlin insider clearly indicated to his/her friend that the reported contact/s took place in Prague, Czech Republic. [...] Continuing on this theme, the Kremlin insider highlighted the importance of the Russian parastatal organisation, Rossotrudnichestvo, in this contact between TRUMP campaign representative/s and Kremlin officials. Rossotrudnichestvo was being used as cover for this relationship and its office in Prague may well have been used to host the COHEN/Russian Presidential Administration (PA) meeting/s. It was considered a “plausibly deniable” vehicle for this, whilst remaining entirely under Kremlin control. [...] We reported previously (2016/135 and /136) on secret meeting/s held in Prague, Czech Republic in August 2016 between then Republican presidential candidate Donald TRUMP’s representative, Michael COHEN and his interlocutors from the Kremlin working under cover of Russian ‘NGO’ Rossotrudnichestvo. [...] [REDACTED] provided further details of these meeting/s and associated anti- CLINTON /Democratic Party operations. COHEN had been accompanied to Prague by 3 colleagues and the timing of the visit was either in the last week of August or the first week of September. One of their main Russian interlocutors was Oleg SOLODUKHIN operating under Rossotrudnichestvo cover. [...] According to [REDACTED], the agenda comprised questions on how deniable cash payments were to be made to hackers who had worked in Europe under Kremlin direction against the CLINTON campaign and various contingencies for covering up these operations and Moscow’s secret liaison with the TRUMP team more generally.</p>	<p><i>Unverified/ Under Investigation</i></p> <p><b>Cohen Denied He Had Ever Been To Prague And Called The Dossier Information “Completely And Utterly False.”</b> According to the Washingtonian, “In an interview with Washingtonian, Michael Cohen—counsel to president-elect Donald Trump—vehemently denied allegations that he engaged in secret meetings with Kremlin officials in Prague in August 2016. ‘This is completely and utterly false,’ Cohen says. ‘Absurd. I’ve never been to Prague.’ The conversation comes following Cohen’s tweet this evening of an image of a passport. ‘I have never been to Prague in my life. #fakenews,’ Cohen tweeted. When asked by Washingtonian what he hoped to communicate by showing the front of a passport, Cohen said: ‘I’m in a meeting. Have a good day.’” [Washingtonian, <a href="#">1/10/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Cohen Told The Wall Street Journal He Had Not Visited Prague Since 2001.</b> According to The Wall Street Journal, “Mr. Cohen told The Wall Street Journal he hadn’t been to Prague since 2001, but on Twitter Tuesday night he said he had never been there.” [Wall Street Journal, <a href="#">1/11/17</a>]</p> <p><b>FBI Had Not Been Able To Establish Cohen Was In Prague In The Time Period He Allegedly Met With Kremlin Officials.</b> According to McClatchy DC, “One episode that Steele’s reports described from multiple sources referred to a late-summer meeting in Prague between Russian government representatives and Michael Cohen, a lawyer for the Trump Organization, the president-elect’s vast business operation. But the FBI has been unable to establish that Cohen was in Prague during that period, the two sources familiar with the working group said.” [McClatchy DC, <a href="#">1/18/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Cohen Told The Atlantic He Was In Los Angeles Between August 23 And August 29.</b> According to CNN, “The dossier alleged that Cohen went to Prague in late August 2016 or possibly early September to meet Russian officials. Cohen has pushed back on these still-unsubstantiated claims, saying that he was in California at the time. Earlier this year, he told The Atlantic he was in California from August 23 to 29, visiting the University of Southern California with his son. Officials at USC confirmed to The Atlantic that Cohen was on campus during that timeframe. However, Cohen’s own geotagged tweets place him in New Jersey, on August 24 -- even though Cohen said his trip started on August 23. (Cohen later suggested he was in New Jersey to catch his flight to Los Angeles, tweeting, “you are aware that there is an airport in Newark?”)” [CNN, <a href="#">8/31/17</a>]</p>

**Cohen’s Geo-Tagged Tweets Placed Him In New Jersey, Not Los Angeles, On August 24.** According to CNN, “Officials at USC confirmed to The Atlantic that Cohen was on campus during that timeframe. However, Cohen's own geotagged tweets place him in New Jersey, on August 24 -- even though Cohen said his trip started on August 23. (Cohen later suggested he was in New Jersey to catch his flight to Los Angeles, tweeting, ‘you are aware that there is an airport in Newark?’)” [CNN, [8/31/17](#)]

## COHEN AND KREMLIN DISCUSSED CASH PAYMENTS TO OPERATIVES WHO HACKED DEMOCRATIC COMPUTERS

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>According to [REDACTED], the agenda comprised questions on how deniable cash payments were to be made to hackers who had worked in Europe under Kremlin direction against the CLINTON campaign and various contingencies for covering up these operations and Moscow’s secret liaison with the TRUMP team more generally. [...] [REDACTED] reported that over the period March-September 2016 a company called XBT/Webzilla and its affiliates had been using botnets and porn traffic to transmit viruses, plant bugs, steal data and conduct “altering operations” against the Democratic Party leadership. Entities linked to one Aleksei GUBAROV were involved and he and another hacking expert, both recruited under duress by the FSB, Seva KAPSUGOVICH, were significant players in this operation. In Prague, COHEN agreed contingency plans for various scenarios to protect the operation, but in particular what was to be done in the event that Hillary CLINTON won the presidency. It was important in this event that all cash payments owed were made quickly and discreetly and that cyber and other operators were stood down/able to go effectively to ground to cover their traces. (We reported earlier that the involvement of political operatives Paul MANAFORT and Carter PAGE in the secret TRUMP Kremlin liaison had been exposed in the media in the run-up to Prague and that damage limitation of these also was discussed by COHEN with the Kremlin representatives).</p>	<p><i>Unverified/ Under Investigation</i></p> <p><b>U.S. Agencies Were Investigating Whether Kremlin Paid Russian-American Pensioners To Pay Email Hackers In The U.S.</b> According to McClatchy DC, “The agencies involved in the inquiry are the FBI, the CIA, the National Security Agency, the Justice Department, the Treasury Department’s Financial Crimes Enforcement Network and representatives of the director of national intelligence, the sources said. Investigators are examining how money may have moved from the Kremlin to covertly help Trump win, the two sources said. One of the allegations involves whether a system for routinely paying thousands of Russian-American pensioners may have been used to pay some email hackers in the United States or to supply money to intermediaries who would then pay the hackers, the two sources said.” [McClatchy DC, <a href="#">1/18/17</a>]</p> <p><b>U.S. Agencies Were Investigating Whether Trump Campaign Or Business Affiliates Funded Hacking Of Democratic Networks.</b> According to McClatchy DC, “A key mission of the six-agency group has been to examine who financed the email hacks of the Democratic National Committee and Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta. The London-based transparency group WikiLeaks released the emails last summer and in October. The working group is scrutinizing the activities of a few Americans who were affiliated with Trump’s campaign or his business empire and of multiple individuals from Russia and other former Soviet nations who had similar connections, the sources said.” [McClatchy DC, <a href="#">1/18/17</a>]</p>

## DUMA LEADER KONSANTIN KOSCACHEV FACILITATED MICHAEL COHEN'S MEETING WITH KREMLIN OFFICIALS IN PRAGUE

Dossier Claim	Evidence
The Kremlin insider went on to identify leading pro-PUTIN Duma figure, Konstantin KOSACHEV (Head of the Foreign Relations Committee) as an important figure in the TRUMP campaign-Kremlin liaison operation. KOSACHEV, also “plausibly deniable” being part of the Russian legislature rather than executive, had facilitated the contact in Prague and by implication, may have attended the meeting/s with COHEN there in August.	<i>Unverified</i>

## Sexual Allegations

### KREMLIN HAD “KOMPROMAT” ON TRUMP’S “PERSONAL OBSESSIONS AND SEXUAL PERVERSION”

Dossier Claim	Evidence
However, there were other aspects to TRUMP's engagement with the Russian authorities. One which had borne fruit for them was to exploit TRUMP's personal obsessions and sexual perversion in order to obtain suitable 'kompromat' (compromising material) on him. [...] Speaking separately in June 2016, Source B (the former top level Russian intelligence officer) asserted that TRUMP's unorthodox behavior in Russia over the years had provided the authorities there with enough embarrassing material on the now Republican presidential candidate to be able to blackmail him if they so wished.	<i>Unverified</i>

### TRUMP PARTICIPATED IN SEX PARTIES IN ST. PETERSBURG

Dossier Claim	Evidence
Speaking to a trusted compatriot in September 2016, two well-placed sources based in St Petersburg, one in the political/business elite and the other involved in the local services and tourist industry, commented on Republican US presidential candidate Donald TRUMP's prior activities in the city. [...] The local services industry source reported that TRUMP had participated in sex parties in the city too, but that all direct witnesses to this recently had been “silenced” i.e. bribed or coerced to disappear.	<i>Unverified</i>

### TRUMP MADE “USE OF EXTENSIVE SEXUAL SERVICES” OF PROSTITUTES IN MOSCOW AND ST. PETERSBURG

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Finally, regarding TRUMP’s claimed minimal investment profile in Russia, a separate source with direct knowledge said this had not been for want of trying. TRUMP’s previous efforts had included exploring the real estate sector in St Petersburg as well as Moscow but in the end TRUMP had had to settle for the use of extensive sexual services there from local prostitutes rather than business success.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p> <p><b>2013: Trump’s Bodyguard Keith Schiller Rebuffed Offers By Emin Agalarov To Send Prostitutes To Trump’s Hotel Room In Moscow During The Miss Universe Pageant.</b> According to The Associated Press, “Both attended Trump’s Miss Universe party. Trump appeared in a music video with Emin while in town. ‘I had a great weekend with you and your family. You have done a FANTASTIC job. TRUMP TOWER-MOSCOW is next. EMIN was WOW!’ Trump, back in the U.S., tweeted to Aras on Nov. 11, 2013. [...] A person with knowledge of the 2013 trip to Moscow said Emin Agalarov offered to send prostitutes to Trump’s hotel room, but the repeated offers were rejected by Keith Schiller, Trump’s longtime bodyguard. The person with knowledge of the trip insisted on anonymity because they were not authorized by Trump to publicly discuss the matter.” [Associated Press, <a href="#">7/12/17</a>]</p> <p><b>Although Trump Stayed At The Ritz Carlton, His Bodyguard, Keith Schiller, Adamantly Denied In Congressional Interview That Trump Hired Prostitutes.</b> According to NBC News, “After a business meeting before the Miss Universe Pageant in 2013, a Russian participant offered to ‘send five women’ to Donald Trump’s hotel room in Moscow, his longtime bodyguard told Congress this week, according to three sources who were present for the interview. Two of the sources said the bodyguard, Keith Schiller, viewed the offer as a joke, and immediately responded, ‘We don’t do that type of stuff.’ The two sources said Schiller’s comments came in the context of him adamantly disputing the allegations made in the Trump dossier, written by a former British intelligence operative, which describes Trump having an encounter with prostitutes at the hotel during the pageant. Schiller described his reaction to that story as being, ‘Oh my God, that’s bull---,’ two sources said.” [NBC News, <a href="#">11/9/17</a>]</p>

**KREMLIN PROMISED NOT TO USE “KOMPROMAT” AGAINST TRUMP BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN SO COOPERATIVE WITH RUSSIA**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Finally, the emigre said s/he understood the Kremlin had more intelligence on CLINTON and her campaign but he did not know the details or when or if it would be released. As far as ‘kompromat’ (compromising information) on TRUMP were concerned, although there was plenty of this, he understood the Kremlin had given its word that it would</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>



not be deployed against the Republican presidential candidate given how helpful and co-operative his team had been over several years, and particularly of late.

## Putin Controlled Pro Trump Operations Related Allegations

### THE KREMLIN’S PRO-TRUMP TEAM WAS LED BY PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN DMITRY PESKOV

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking in early August 2016, two well-placed and established Kremlin sources outlined the divisions and backlash in Moscow arising from the leaking of Democratic National Committee (DNC) e-mails and the wider pro-TRUMP operation being conducted in the US. Head of Presidential Administration, Sergei IVANOV, was angry at the recent turn of events. He believed the Kremlin “team” involved, led by presidential spokesman Dmitriy PESKOV, had gone too far in interfering in foreign affairs with their “elephant in a china shop black PR”. IVANOV claimed always to have opposed the handling and exploitation of intelligence by this PR “team”. Following the backlash against such foreign interference in US politics, IVANOV was advocating that the only sensible course of action now for the Russian leadership was to “sit tight and deny everything”. [...] Continuing on this theme the source close to IVANOV reported that PESKOV now was “scared shitless” that he would be scapegoated by PUTIN and the Kremlin and held responsible for the backlash against Russian political interference in the US election. IVANOV was determined to stop PESKOV playing an independent role in relation to the US going forward and the source fully expected the presidential spokesman now to lay low. PESKOV’s position was not helped by a botched attempt by him also to interfere in the recent failed coup in Turkey from a government relations (GR) perspective (no further details). [...] The extent of disquiet and division within Moscow caused by the backlash against Russian interference in the US election was underlined by a second source, close to premier Dmitriy MEDVED EV (DAM). S/he said the Russian prime minister and his colleagues wanted to have good relations with the US, regardless of who was in power there, and not least so as to be able to travel there in future, either officially or privately. They were openly refusing to cover up for PESKOV and others involved in the DNC/TRUMP operations or to support his counter-attack of allegations against the USG for its alleged hacking of the Russian government and state agencies.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p> <p><b>March 2017: Peskov Said The Russian Government Did Not Intervene In The U.S. Election.</b> According to CNN, “Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov said Sunday that Russia is being demonized, and that it was impossible for his country to have interfered with the 2016 election, despite US claims. Peskov, who has been a spokesman and top aide to Vladimir Putin for almost two decades, told CNN’s Fareed Zakaria that he was sorry for the many controversies surrounding Russia’s connection to the Trump campaign and its role in effecting the outcome of the US election. Saying he didn’t know where to begin with all the allegations, Zakaria began by asking Peskov directly if the Russian government had ‘any collaboration or serious communication back and forth with Donald Trump’s campaign during the election campaign last year.’ ‘The answer is very simple, no,’ Peskov replied. ‘The fact that Russia is being demonized in that sense comes very strange to us. And we are really sorry about that,’ he added.” [CNN, <a href="#">3/14/17</a>]</p>

### PUTIN WAS SATISFIED WITH THE ANTI-CLINTON OPERATION

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>IVANOV reported that although the Kremlin had underestimated the strength of US media and liberal reaction to the DNC hack and TRUMP's links to Russia, PUTIN was generally satisfied with the progress of the anti-CLINTON operation to date. He recently had had a drink with PUTIN to mark this. In IVANOV's view, the US had tried to divide the Russian elite with sanctions but failed, whilst they, by contrast, had succeeded in splitting the US hawks inimical to Russia and the Washington elite more generally, half of whom had refused to endorse any presidential candidate as a result of Russian intervention.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>

**SERGEI IVANOV, BACKED BY RUSSIAN FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SVR), ADVISED PUTIN THE PRO-TRUMP CAMPAIGN WOULD BE EFFECTIVE AND PLAUSIBLY DENIABLE**

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Speaking in confidence to a trusted compatriot in mid-September 2016, a senior member of the Russian Presidential Administration (PA) commented on the political fallout from recent western media revelations about Moscow's intervention, in favour of Donald TRUMP and against Hillary CLINTON, in the US presidential election. The PA official reported that the issue had become incredibly sensitive and that President PUTIN had issued direct orders that Kremlin and government insiders should not discuss it in public or even in private. 2. Despite this, the PA official confirmed, from direct knowledge, that the gist of the allegations was true. PUTIN had been receiving conflicting advice on interfering from three separate and expert groups. On one side had been the Russian ambassador to the US, Sergei KISLYAK, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, together with an independent and informal network run by presidential foreign policy advisor, Yuri USHAKOV (KISLYAK's predecessor in Washington) who had urged caution and the potential negative impact on Russia from the operation/s. On the other side was former PA Head, Sergei IVANOV, backed by Russian Foreign Intelligence (SVR), who had advised PUTIN that the pro-TRUMP, anti-CLINTON operation/s would be both effective and plausibly deniable with little blowback. The first group/s had been proven right and this had been the catalyst in PUTIN's decision to sack IVANOV (unexpectedly) as PA Head in August. His successor, Anton VAINO, had been selected for the job partly because he had not been involved in the US presidential election operation/s.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>

## KREMLIN TURNED OVER ITS PRO-TRUMP CAMPAIGN TO THE LAW AND COMPARATIVE JURISPRUDENCE INSTITUTE

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Things had become even “hotter” since August on the TRUMP-Russia track. According to the Kremlin insider, this had meant that direct contact between the TRUMP team and Russia had been farmed out by the Kremlin to trusted agents of influence working in pro-government policy institutes like that of Law and Comparative Jurisprudence. COHEN however continued to lead for the TRUMP team.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>

## Kremlin Misgivings About Trump

### KREMLIN OFFICIALS BELIEVED TRUMP MIGHT BE FORCED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE CAMPAIGN BECAUSE HE WAS NOT SUITED FOR HIGH OFFICE

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>According to the first source, close to IVANOV, there had been talk in the Kremlin of TRUMP being forced to withdraw from the presidential race altogether as a result of recent events, ostensibly on grounds of his psychological state and unsuitability for high office. This might not be so bad for Russia in the circumstances but in the view of the source, it remained largely wishful thinking on the part of those in the regime opposed to PESKOV and his “botched” operations, at least for the time being.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>

### TRUMP CAMPAIGN UNDERESTIMATED THE CONSERVATIVE BACKLASH TO RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE

Dossier Claim	Evidence
<p>Continuing on this theme, the ethnic Russian associate of TRUMP assessed that the problem was that the TRUMP campaign had underestimated the strength of the negative reaction from liberals and especially the conservative elite to Russian interference. This was forcing a rethink and a likely change of tactics. The main objective in the short term was to check Democratic candidate Hillary CLINTON’s successful exploitation of the PUTIN as bogeyman/Russian interference story to tarnish TRUMP and bolster her own (patriotic) credentials. The TRUMP campaign was focusing on tapping into support in the American television media to achieve this, as they reckoned this resource had been underused by them to date.</p>	<p><i>Unverified</i></p>

## Trump Business-Related Allegations

### TRUMP BRIBED OFFICIALS IN ST. PETERSBURG THROUGH AFFILIATED COMPANIES

Dossier Claim	Evidence
Speaking to a trusted compatriot in September 2016, two well-placed sources based in St Petersburg, one in the political/business elite and the other involved in the local services and tourist industry, commented on Republican US presidential candidate Donald TRUMP's prior activities in the city. [...] Both knew TRUMP had visited St Petersburg on several occasions in the past and had been interested in doing business deals there involving real estate. The local business/political elite figure reported that TRUMP had paid bribes there to further his interests but very discreetly and only through affiliated companies, making it very hard to prove.	<i>Unverified</i>

## Russian Policy Goals-Related Allegations

### PAGE ASSURED ROSNEFT PRESIDENT IGOR SECHIN TRUMP WOULD LIFT RUSSIAN SANCTIONS

Dossier Claim	Evidence
In terms of the substance of their discussion, SECHIN's associate said that the Rosneft President was so keen to lift personal and corporate western sanctions imposed on the company, that he offered PAGE/TRUMP's associates the brokerage of up to a 19 per cent (privatised) stake in Rosneft in return. PAGE had expressed interest and confirmed that were TRUMP elected US president, then sanctions on Russia would be lifted. [...] SECHIN's associate opined that although PAGE had not stated it explicitly to SECHIN, he had clearly implied that in terms of his comment on TRUMP's intention to lift Russian sanctions if elected president, he was speaking with the Republican candidate's authority.	<i>Unverified</i> <b>Carter Page Said He Never Met With Rosneft President Igor Sechin Or Sergei Ivanov.</b> In an interview with Chris Hayes on MSNBC, Carter Page said he never met “one on one” with Rosneft President Igor Sechin or Sergei Ivanov and “absolutely” never met with them in the summer of 2016. [MSNBC, <a href="#">3/2/17</a> ] <b>U.S. Officials, However, Have Received Intelligence Reports That Suggest Page Met With Sechin During A Trip To Moscow In July 2016.</b> According to Yahoo News, “Page showed up again in Moscow in early July, just two weeks before the Republican National Convention formally nominated Trump for president, and once again criticized U.S. policy. Speaking at a commencement address for the New Economic School, an institution funded in part by major Russian oligarchs close to Putin, Page asserted that ‘Washington and other West capitals’ had impeded progress in Russia ‘through their often hypocritical focus on ideas such as democratization, inequality, corruption and regime change. At the time, Page declined to say whether he was meeting with Russian officials during his trip, according to a Reuters report. But U.S. officials have since received

intelligence reports that during that same three-day trip, Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former Russian deputy prime minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft, Russian's leading oil company, a well-placed Western intelligence source tells Yahoo News." [Yahoo News, [9/23/16](#)]

**In A Blog Post, Page Defended Sechin After He Was Added To U.S. Sanctions List.** According to a blog post Page wrote for the Global Policy Journal, "On April 28th, the U.S. government added Rosneft Chairman Igor Sechin to its latest sanctions target list. Through the partnerships he has personally built with ExxonMobil, the largest energy company in North America, Sechin has done more to advance U.S.-Russian relations than any individual in or out of government from either side of the Atlantic over the past decade. President Putin recognized ExxonMobil CEO Rex Tillerson by awarding Sechin's leading partner from the U.S. the Order of Friendship last summer in St. Petersburg. [...] Just as Samantha Power's speech on smacking Putin down was followed the next day by Vladimir Putin's diplomatic tone in referring to President Obama's decency and integrity, Igor Sechin took a similar approach the day after getting slapped with sanctions. "I qualify the latest moves by Washington as the highest marks to the efficiency of our activity... We assure our shareholders and partners, including American ones, that this efficiency will not decrease and our co-operation will not only stay undamaged, but will develop dynamically." The EU would benefit from maintaining a similar lean towards a more cooperative approach rather than jumping overboard with its Transatlantic partners in the form of this latest coalition of the willing." [Global Policy Journal, [5/2/14](#)]