

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FB [REDACTED]@fbi.sgov.gov>
Sent: Wednesday, October 4, 2017 12:05 PM
To: [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: My notes re: first day ---~~SECRET//NOFORN~~
Attachments: 2017091 [REDACTED]_London_Debriefing_Part_B_Draft.docx

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[REDACTED]
See what you think. Add/clarify anything please.

[REDACTED] – for your review as well.

Out of abundance of caution – though we need to determine one way or another how we’re handling classification – I’m classifying this email S//NF.

Best,

[REDACTED]
Supervisory Intelligence Analyst

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-- preliminaries with both business partners

■ very concerned about the loose business ends

-- Still pretty upset, as we spent time and effort getting material to you

-- We had a contract of some sort with ■ – Orbis had a contract; maybe it was put together with just CS as the face of it [we indicated that we two were not involved; not privy to how any initial contract was set up]

-- Apologies for going to the press, but we found ourselves “riding two horses” as the election season went on, and eventually [after Comey’s reopening of the HRC investigation] we had to pick “one horse” and we chose the business “horse” vs. the “FBI” horse – hence, we followed what our client wanted and spoke to the press

-- This was a combination of “your fault” and “our fault”

-- They were confused about FBI and SCO, wanted to make sure that they were talking to SCO; we ensured them that their information would be going straight to Mueller

-- Ensured them that only a small group of people knew that we were meeting and talking, including Mueller

■ made the point that, in his former career, he “knew Mueller”

-- They were certainly frustrated by the inclusion of their reporting in the ICA annex. I explained that the ICA (which included the annex) was based on POTUS Obama’sUSIC-wide call for information on Russian influence and 2016 election. Their reporting, as it was provided to the FBI, was part of the overall material that fit with that call for information. They felt that they should have had advance warning that their information was going in the ICA. They said that the use of their information, and the subsequent public leak of the annex, put CS’ name out there and had a “massive impact on our lives. ■

■: *They brought up the inclusion of their material in the ICA annex multiple times – almost to the point that it felt like fishing for information about how the ICA was constructed. In the end, I made the point that I wasn’t going to get into how the ICA was put together, how the annex came about, etc.]*

-- They had strong statements about POTUS Trump – registered Trump as their ‘main opponent’ and registered fear about how Trump negatively impacted the historical UK-US alliance and special relationship.

-- Talked about what Bruce Ohr’s connections with them during the run-up to the election; they gave material to Ohr and pushed Ohr to do something about it; Ohr explained DOJ policy re: hands-off prior to elections; then the Comey announcement happened and their client felt like the gloves had come off

-- Talked about p-sub an ■

-- Said that Glen Simpson, Fusion GPS, was aware that he was sharing reports/information with FBI

-- Wasn’t sure who to go t ■ to give these reports in the en ■

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- never heard of Page or Cohen before this, or Papadopoulos
- had heard of Manafort, which got the whole thing started
- heard of Tillerson; more below

- knew p-sub's background, current positions of sub-sources, consistent reporting through multiple projects → vetting/validating himself
- confirming through other source reporting
- Orbis has 4 discrete, hermetically-sealed main agent networks
 - biggest was the p-sub network
 - older one – main agent died
 - one is up-running and is starting to get good info now
 - being re-directed to do work re: Russia; not p-sub but new main agent
- has source looking at Sunny Isles – Rybolollev purchase – someone in PR/GR circles

- p-sub issue
 - feels like it's about time he engages with special counsel
 - s/w p-sub last night; he's "coming along" with the idea of talking with sc, but not there yet
 - CS very concerned to protect p-sub
 - very special story, esp how he came to work for Orbis
 - introduced to CS and Orbis through FH circa 2011
 - [REDACTED]
 - FH has a very high opinion of him; doing FH a favor – "you should take a look at him"
 - FH is a close friend of CS [later said that his wife and FH went to uni together; in fact, FH's daughter is named after a friend of theirs from college who died]

[REDACTED]

Ukrainian

- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- uses prior university contacts; reporting has become better over time
- anything happen to him while collecting?
 - said he was hauled in front of immigration authorities [REDACTED]
 - shaken down for money – had to go to ATM and get money
 - paid bribe
 - CS felt this was good sign – things haven't gone smoothly all the time
- p-sub to [REDACTED] trips for election-related reports
- CS said they destroyed materials for legal reasons; working from memory on some of this
- [REDACTED]

-- Would debrief after these trips [REDACTED] and talked with p-su [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
-- tried to get audio of p-sub and one of his subsources; successfully got audio of convo between p-sub and his subsource re: Cohen meeting in Prague

-- don't have that audio in its original form; has to be careful re: legal issues here

-- have audio and transcription of audio

-- may have opportunity to get more on this b/ [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]; p-sub is having dialogue with that source and that person may be thinking of "coming in"

-- this particular source provided information on Ivanov and Prague

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] provided details on Prague

[REDACTED] knew someone in Prague who worked for Rosso

[REDACTED] knows folks in the cyber business

-- allegedly Rosso was the crucible for the Cohen meeting

-- Prague contact was in the know about this meeting and scared

[REDACTED] provided info on Prague and Ivanov

-- another source provided information on cyber

-- talked about how the FSB was able to turn an individual who had been caught money laundering and get them to work cyber for FSB; main source commented about how this is the way that the FSB typically operates

-- asked in reference to the fact that some of the reporting discusse [REDACTED] matter [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] involved p-sub being asked to attend events as an expe [REDACTED]

-- he gave a talk at the event or a seminar; he was a contributor, which was his cover for being there

-- th [REDACTED] occurred while we were in Rom [REDACTED]

-- this is the event during which time he collected information re: Snowden and a senior FSB officer

-- what does p-sub tell other people about wh [REDACTED] doing, and wh [REDACTED] asking questions?

[REDACTED] can play up overt academic interests; it's an "in-between" overt and clandestine cover

[REDACTED] does favors for people - I helped recommend best English language school for one of his sources

-- with respect to the election-related material, it didn't take much to collect early-on because the whole thing was an "open secret" in Moscow; people would start talking in bars, and p-sub could easily elicit; later, as time went on, sources started shutting down and it became harder to get information

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

-- many of Orbis' litigation-related clients for whom p-sub has collected reporting are [REDACTED]

-- p-sub has been going back and forth to different cities for years for Orbis' litigation clients

-- for the election-related stuff, p-sub ha [REDACTED] in abou [REDACTED]

-- for the election-related material

- Orbis' initial interest was a litigation-related issue – involving potential litigation with Paul Manafort; started around May 2016
- Manafort had “disappeared” for multiple years [AN: post-Maidan]; appeared to be hiding from creditors
- Manafort owed money – 100M to oligarchs and more money to Russians
- Fusion GPS had a different client for whom it was already doing research on Manafort
- Around June, met with Fusion GPS and they decided to start swapping notes
- Soon thereafter, the decision was made to have Fusion GPS hire Orbis on the election-related stuff (“take [Orbis] on for the bigger issue”)
- In June, Orbis took its own crack at it
- This wasn't the only political sensitive investigation that Orbis was working
- Orbis was handling an English FA matter, regarding a competitor for the bid process; and [one that he was hesitant in sharing, caveat re: very sensitive], they were involved in doing work regarding the election campaign for the UN Secretary General – a client wanted them to work up material on possible voting intentions
- I [REDACTED] Orbis got reporting from p-sub and another source
- In earl [REDACTED] got a debrief [from other source?] on Dmitriy Rybolovlev and the sale of property in Florida; he remembered it was before a holiday trip he took to Cyprus
- P-sub did a bit of work in the United States – talked t [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

-- Talked about different p-sub sub-networks

-- Carter Page – the reporting stemmed from Page's speech in Moscow in July. The reporting p-sub was able to get re: Page's meeting with Sechin and Page's meeting with Divyekin all came

[REDACTED]

-- Govorun information – this reporting stemmed from a different sub-sourc [REDACTED]

-- Peskov's office – this reportin stems from a “friend of a friend” of p-su [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



- Talked in more detail regarding his decision to talk to media
 - After Comey's letter reopening HRC case, Fusion GPS felt like gloves had come off
 - Mentioned how there had been discussion earlier with Bruce Ohr about "getting this info out" but Ohr talked about DOJ policy about not taking actions prior to elections
 - Fusion GPS put pressure on Orbis to talk to Mother Jones
 - The interview was supposed to be off-the-record, but then he altered that and said it was a combination of "off" and "on" record; in the end, he said that he shouldn't have given the interview
 - With the breakdown that the interview then caused with FBI, they had no way of getting this information into the hands of people that they believed needed it; after that, that's when they decided to go the McCain/Kramer route, which, in the end, he believes is how BuzzFeed got the material, and why now, given the BuzzFeed publication, he has the legal problems he has now
- About Bruce Ohr
 - Bruce knows that we're in touch right now; he knows about this meeting that we're having
 - We talked about how he used Bruce to reach out to try and get us in contact; also reaching out to Bruce and Glen Simpson about p-sub
 - This led to additional discussion about p-sub meeting with Special Counsel
 - He only wants this to happen if p-sub agrees
 - He believes that p-sub is "coming around" but that it needs to be carefully handled
- This also led to a discussion about what p-sub is currently doing for Orbis
 - █ has been doing a bit of work for us recently
 - █ has been reaching out to some of the same sources
 - We've had an interest in the "prophylactic efforts" post-dossier re: what the Russian Govt has done
 - They've been getting reporting re: election influence in France and Germany – indeed, a lot regarding the French elections, where, he said, things got "perilously close to working" for the Russians. It wasn't just Le Pen, but there was only one candidate who wasn't "untainted" by the Russians, and that was Macron – the person who actually won. All three right-leaning candidates in France "were held by the Russians."
 - He mentioned with this the issue of Russian money being used for Brexit, and later referenced two individuals with respect to Russian influence and Brexit: Ekaterina Paderina and her husband, Aaron Banks
- What kind of tradecraft does p-sub use when █ is collecting information for you?
 - █
 - █
 - █ is very thorough when it comes to preparing himself to be debriefed █ takes some time before being debriefed to get █ thoughts and recollections together
 - █ used this approach before █
 - █ has a very good memory
 - Only █ people in the Orbis office have interacted with p-sub; they debriefed █ the first time at the office, but then, after that, not. Now, Orbis is very concerned about bugging, so wouldn't debrief sources in office

-- He had substantive debriefings with p-sub
-- P-sub had been working on multiple projects during [REDACTED], but def
collected during h [REDACTED] for election-related projects

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- Does FH know that p-sub has been involved with the dossier?
-- Yes, FH knows that he's involved
-- Remember that p-sub went to ground in January-February 2017
-- He contacted FH, indicated that he was worried about him.
-- She probably guesses that p-sub was involved in the dossier.
-- He remembered seeing FH in the UK in early 2016 – his wife was abroad at the time
-- FH was still at Brookings
-- He doesn't know when the last time he saw FH

[REDACTED]

-- Discussion of p-sub validation/control issues

[REDACTED]
-- His behavior is that of someone who is scared
-- He wouldn't be talking about coming to talk to SCO if there was a problem
-- Not, in his opinion, exhibiting signs/behavior of someone who is under control
-- Can't guarantee that p-sub's sub-source aren't under control
-- Hasn't been easy to get info – had to dig
-- Not sure why he would still be hanging around – even in country – if he was under foreign
control

-- Tillerson-related p-sub report from late 2016

-- This is a p-sub report that I didn't provide to FBI; not sure if you have it
-- Have to start by talking about earlier Orbis reporting from 3 years back – circa 2014
-- Orbis working on a hydro-carbon project for a client.
-- It became clear from reporting during that project that Exxon-Mobil was well-placed in Russia,
and that Tillerson had an atypical type of relationship with Igor Sechin. It was odd – to the point
that he thought something was going on, particularly with Sechin – it was more than just shared
hobbies like Harley-Davidsons.
-- The reporting died down, the client moved on, and the sanctions regime kicked off
-- Circa December 2016, following the election, T was initially flirting with Mitt Romney as a
possible candidate for SecState, but then there was a long hiatus during which time there were
general speculations about whether it was going to be Romney or someone else
-- From Russian MFA sources through p-sub, Washington DC received messages from Russia that
Romney was an unacceptable candidate and that Russia wanted someone who was more
acceptable and who might lift sanctions
-- Tillerson's name isn't in the report, but what happened in the end was surprising given the
reporting.
-- This report may have been shared with David Kramer – he sent it to Glen Simpson with the
idea of having it shared.

-- Discussion of sharing these reports with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- He kne [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- Manafort SBU file related reporting

-- From his other, newly-up-and-coming main agent network and new p-sub, they have received reporting dated circa March-April 2017 regarding Manafort's involvement re: plot to elbow out Petro Poroshenko. Also, this reporting talks about the Ukraine peace plan, provided by a pro-Russian Ukrainian Deputy – the stuff that was provided to Michael Cohen and Michael Flynn

-- There is also a 6-page memo regarding Manafort that has been provided by the source. The source understands that two entities – including the FBI – have received [greater than 6 pages of] information on Manafort based on access to Manafort's SBU file. This information in the FBI's possession talks about how Manafort has always been a Russian agent, about how he's always been in with the FSB and how he's been run by named Russian case officers – all in an exaggerated way. The SBU file itself, Orbis believes (based on source), has been doctored. It has been doctored because that way, Kyiv is able to justify why it had Manafort under investigation. He commented that, in Ukraine and all over Europe, they feel pressure from the White House to have to be able to justify any investigations that have been done. This reporting was collected recently – within the last few months – and is post-election.

-- About this new p-sub's reporting, we believe there is a mixture of truth and falsehood
-- We believe the new p-sub – he has a good view into these things, and has reported on things from being "in the actual room at the time"; the source is also good re: when interviewed with saying "this is right; this to me sounds wrong."
-- They are getting more about this next week

-- More discussion regarding p-sub, p-sub's security and p-sub's current situation

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]



-- While she doesn't know all of the ins-and-outs of how things have worke [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- Re: p-sub's contact with Russian establishments [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] tha [REDACTED] might have some information about dossier; p-sub gave a bland answer; this cause [REDACTED] consternation and was a warning tha [REDACTED] was found out. This is wh [REDACTED] went to ground in January-February 2017 and why I reached out to FH about his whereabouts and safety

-- Do p-sub's sub-sources know that their information was used in the dossier? Some have tried to talk to p-sub cryptically about the reports. In one case – the person who provided information on Gubarev [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. He believes that p-sub's subsources have an idea that their information was used.
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- Discussion about the [Oleg Aleksandrovich] Erovinkin matte [REDACTED]; Kosmos restaurant shooting
-- this is the former top aide to Sechin in Rosneft who was found dead in December 2016
-- people/press have mistakenly tied Erovinkin to the dossier, as possible sub-source re: Sechin material
-- He doesn't believe that Erovinkin was one of the sub-sources for p-sub
-- Nevertheless, he takes this situation seriously; gives him pause – reminds him of another, recent situatio [REDACTED], whose reporting is in the dossier
[REDACTED]

-- On this note, 3-4 months ago, there was a shooting in the restroom of the Moscow restaurant (Cosmos/Kosmos). The shooting was in broad daylight. Kostya Myaski [Myanskiy?] (sp) was the victim. He believes that this was a warning sh [REDACTED]. The incident occurred in the May 2017 time frame.

-- Discussion about Orbis Business security procedures/situation post-dossier
-- They had a situation arise where someone tried to spoof/impersonate the outside contractor who does Orbis' IT security. There was an attempt to change the password for their internal system, which was detected, and IT security contractor was contacted to determine if it was legitimate.
-- If successful, this could have exposed clients, but not sensitive reporting, as that is kept off-line
-- Have you had any situations, post-dossier, where you thought you were being offered dangles? Operational games? This reminded him of the Cody Shearer situation and the offer of tapes for money. We'll talk more about that later, but the existence of tapes have been played

out of proportion – just the fact that the Russian government has leverage on POTUS is a problem. It will be difficult to know if a tape has been doctored. There is a concern, post-dossier publicity, that any situation involving the provision of tapes can be a dangle or a controlled operation. He understands and he's heard that the Cody Shearer + tapes situation parallels something that the USG has been involved with, but we'll talk about that tomorrow. Also, there are some dark web aspects to this – he wanted to know who is handling/analyzing dark web issues for the FBI?

-- Orbis is involved in some Kazakh-related and Cyprus-related business work, and some of the material obviously falls within the remit of Special Counsel. This brings up the issue of how we're going to go forward from here, how much support can be expected going forward.