

My objective is not to prove or disprove the material in the Steele dossier, but rather to provide evidence that has surfaced in either direction. What I have collected is not exhaustive, and it is more detailed on some claims than on others. I have used primarily major news sources.

CIR is the number and date of the document in the dossier. I have also numbered (first column) the claims I have identified. Some break down into closely related subclaims, to which I have given letters.

If you use the connections I provide here, please consult the original documents for the wording, which matters.

[The Steele dossier can be found here.](#)

	Allegation	CIR	Sources	Evidence
1	Russian regime has been supporting and cultivating Trump for at least five years	080 20 Jun 2016	Senior Russian Foreign Ministry figure (Source A) Former top level Russian intel officer still active inside the Kremlin (Source B), via trusted compatriot	See also #22 After elections, Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Ryabkov said “There were contacts. We are doing this and have been doing this during the election campaign.” https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-russia-trump/russia-says-it-was-in-touch-with-trumps-campaign-during-election-idUSKBN1351RJ “The top level of the Soviet diplomatic service arranged his 1987 Moscow visit. With assistance from the KGB. It took place while Kryuchkov was seeking to improve the KGB's operational techniques in one particular and sensitive area. The spy chief wanted KGB staff abroad to recruit more Americans.” https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/11/19/trump-first-moscow-trip-215842
2	Putin directing operation, wants to cause discord in West,	080	Former top level Russian	Intel reports say “at highest levels,” but do not name Putin.

	return to 19 th C “Great Power” politics	20 Jun 2016	intel officer still active inside the Kremlin (Source B), via trusted compatriot Senior Russian financial official (Source C), via trusted compatriot	https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf “Return to Great Power politics” widely accepted.
3	Kremlin has offered, Trump has declined lucrative real estate deals	080 20 Jun 2016	Senior Russian Foreign Ministry figure (Source A), via trusted compatriot	
4	Trump has accepted intelligence on electoral rivals, particularly Hillary Clinton	080 20 Jun 2016	Senior Russian Foreign Ministry figure (Source A), via trusted compatriot Close associate of Trump who managed and organized recent trips to	Clinton Watts claimed that Trump primary rivals were hacked, but no evidence offered. https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/plum-line/wp/2017/03/30/todays-russia-hearings-actually-revealed-something-new-and-important/?utm_term=.70ff75890dbd “Russia collected on some Republican-affiliated targets but did not conduct a comparable disclosure campaign.” Intel report https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf Donald Trump Jr. correspondence with Wikileaks. (11/13/17) https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/11/the-

			Moscow (Source D), apparently reporting directly	secret-correspondence-between-donald-trump-jr-and-wikileaks/545738/ https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/930228239494209536 https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/930228342774816769 https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/930228511343865858 http://www.cnn.com/interactive/2017/07/politics/donald-trump-jr-full-emails/ https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/kushner-failed-disclose-outreach-putin-ally-trump-campaign-n822021
5	Prostitutes hired to urinate on bed where Obamas slept in Moscow Ritz Carlton	080 20 Jun 2016	<p>Close associate of Trump who managed and organized recent trips to Moscow (Source D), apparently reporting directly</p> <p>Source E, not further identified</p>	<p>“President Donald Trump’s long-time confidant Keith Schiller privately testified that he rejected a Russian offer to send five women to then private-citizen Trump’s hotel room during their 2013 trip to Moscow for the Miss Universe pageant, according to multiple sources from both political parties with direct knowledge of the testimony.</p> <p>“Schiller, Trump’s former bodyguard and personal aide, testified that he took the offer as a joke, two of the sources said. On their way up to Trump’s hotel room that night, Schiller told the billionaire businessman about the offer and Trump laughed it off, Schiller told the House intelligence committee earlier this week.” http://www.cnn.com/2017/11/09/politics/keith-schiller-russian-offer-women-2013-moscow/index.html</p>

			Source F, female staffer at hotel when Trump stayed there	Schiller has had money problems (3/14/17). http://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-keith-schiller-taxes-irs-flynn-crowley-white-house-foreclosure-567860
6	“Trump’s unorthodox behavior in Russia over the years had provided the authorities there with enough embarrassing material...to blackmail him”	080 20 Jun 2016	Former top level Russian intel officer still active inside the Kremlin (Source B), via trusted compatriot	
7	FSB file of kompromat on Clinton, focused on internally contradictory things she had said	080 20 Jun 2016	Former top level Russian intel officer still active inside the Kremlin (Source B), via trusted compatriot	
8	Clinton file controlled by Peskov, not available to Trump	080 20 Jun 2016	Senior Kremlin official (via trusted compatriot?)	
9	Russia is involved in extensive cyber operations in many countries. FSB is lead organization	086 26 Jul 2016	Former senior intel officer	Intel Report https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf

10	Only limited success in penetrating foreign, especially Western, governments, so effort redirected into Western private banks and smaller states, like Latvia. Hundreds of agents recruited with monetary inducements or contractual favors from RUS government. Caused a money laundering problem for Central Bank of Russia	086 26 Jul 2016	Senior government figure #1	Secret payments through Russian embassies? https://www.buzzfeed.com/jasonleopold/secret-finding-60-russian-payments-to-finance-election?utm_term=.ch6D2bZ2E#.fgEEvjWvQ
11	Approaching US citizens of Russian origin to recruit for cyber operations. FSB provides money, has been successful in installing malware via cheap Russian IT games	086 26 Jul 2016	Russian IT specialist with direct knowledge	
12	An IT operator inside a leading Russian state-owned enterprise, who had been employed on conventional (defensive) IT work there, helped the FSB to penetrate the personal IT of a “foreign director of the company” (which company?). Through this, the FSB gained backdoor access to “various important institutions in the West.”	086 26 Jul 2016		

13	“Telegram” encryption, used by social activists, cracked by FSB	086 26 Jul 2016	FSB cyber operative	Allegation: https://www.theverge.com/2017/1/11/14237136/trump-leak-telegram-security-cracked-russia-encryption
14	Non-state cyber activity a problem within Russia. Central bank targeted. Organized crime also involved	086 26 Jul 2016	Senior government figure #1	Recent phone bomb threats. Nobody knows who is behind them. Paul Goble has covered this extensively, for example http://windowoneurasia2.blogspot.com/2017/09/possibility-that-telephone-bomb-threats.html
15	<p>a. Well-developed “conspiracy” of cooperation between Trump campaign and Russian leadership to defeat Clinton. Paul Manafort and Carter Page, others, are intermediaries</p> <p>b. Russian regime behind leaks of DNC emails to Wikileaks for plausible deniability</p> <p>c. In return, Trump campaign agreed to sideline Russian intervention in Ukraine as campaign issue and raise NATO/US defense commitments in Baltics/Europe to deflect attention from Ukraine</p>	095 no date	Ethnic Russian close associate of Trump (Source E)	<p>a. Intel report https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf</p> <p>b. Guccifer 2.0 to Wikileaks https://apnews.com/dea73efc01594839957c3c9a6c962b8a “We assess with high confidence that Russian military intelligence (General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate or GRU) used the Guccifer 2.0 persona and DCLeaks.com to release US victim data obtained in cyber operations publicly and in exclusives to media outlets and relayed material to WikiLeaks.” https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf</p> <p>c. Ukraine platform change at Republican convention. 11/17/17 https://www.politico.com/story/2017/11/17/gop-platform-change-ukraine-russia-congressional-aides-paul-ryan-247665</p> <p>Denman’s account (provided in full after the table, in case the link goes unavailable.): http://politics.blog.mystatesman.com/2017/03/06/how-diana-denmans-singular-stand-for-ukraine-revealed-the-trump-campaigns-soft-spot-for-russia/</p>

				<p>Original platform language: Today, the post-Cold War ideal of a “Europe whole and free,” is being severely tested by Russia’s ongoing military aggression in Ukraine. Launched in 2014, Moscow’s offensive constitutes the first attempt since the end of World War II to change by force the sovereign boundaries in Europe. Ukraine’s government and people have shown a remarkable resolve to resist Russian pressure, including by mobilizing a military force that, together with European sanctions, has successfully thwarted further advances by the Russian military and its surrogates.</p> <p>The Ukrainian people deserve our admiration and support in their struggle, and in their efforts to strengthen “the Rule of Law,” forge a Free Market economy, and expand democratic governance. We therefore support maintaining (and, if warranted, increasing) sanctions against Russia until Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity are fully restored. We also support providing lethal defensive weapons to Ukraine’s Armed Forces and greater coordination with NATO on defense planning. Simultaneously, we call for increased financial aid for Ukraine, as well as greater assistance in the economic and humanitarian spheres, including government reform and anti-corruption.</p> <p>Final platform language: In the international arena, a weak Administration has invited aggression. The results of the Administration’s unilateral approach to disarmament are already clear: An emboldened China in the South China Sea, a resurgent Russia occupying parts of Ukraine and threatening”neighbors from the Baltic to the Caucasus, and aggressive Islamist terror</p>
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				<p>network in the Middle East. We support maintaining and, if warranted, increasing sanctions, together with our allies against Russia unless and until Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity are fully restored. We also support providing appropriate assistance to the armed forces of Ukraine and greater coordination with NATO defense planning.</p> <p>Josh Rogin https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/trump-campaign-guts-gops-anti-russia-stance-on-ukraine/2016/07/18/98adb3b0-4cf3-11e6-a7d8-13d06b37f256_story.html?utm_term=.dce0f7135e5c</p> <p>Carter Page email to J. D. Gordon, Joseph Schmitz, Bert Mizusawa, Chuck Kubic, Walid Phares, Tera Dahl, “As for the Ukraine amendment, excellent work” (House Intel, pp. 230-231). https://intelligence.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=823 Or pdf directly https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/carter_page_hpsci_hearing_transcript_nov_2_2017.pdf</p> <p>Trump has said negative things about NATO, although less so in the past few months.</p>
16	a. Three elements: Agents/facilitators w/in Democratic Party itself; Russian émigré and associated offensive cyber operators in US; state-sponsored cyber operators in Russia	095 no date	Ethnic Russian close associate of Trump (Source E)	<p>a. State-sponsored cyber operators in Russia – Intel report https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf Also Dmitri Skorobutov, former editor at Rossiya. https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/russian-journalist-explains-how-the-kremlin-instructed-him-to-cover-the-2016-election</p> <p>b. Payments from MOFA to embassies?</p>

	b. Mechanism for transmitting this intel involves “pension” disbursements fo Russian emigres living in US as cover, using consular officials in New York, DC, and Miami. Tens of thousands of dollars involved			https://www.buzzfeed.com/jasonleopold/secret-finding-60-russian-payments-to-finance-election?utm_term=.ch6D2bZ2E#.fgEEvjWvQ
17	Trump campaign to provide info to Russia on business oligarchs and their families and activities in the US	095 no date	Ethnic Russian close associate of Trump (Source E)	
18	Attention on Russia diverts press and public attention from Trump’s dealings in China and developing markets, involving bribes and kickbacks	095 no date	Ethnic Russian close associate of Trump (Source E)	
19	Trump had gone to St. Petersburg to try to make real estate deals and had to settle for prostitutes instead	095 no date	Separate source from E (not identified further)	
20	a. Secret meeting between Carter Page and Igor Sechin b. Rosneft president (CEO) raised issues of future bilateral energy cooperation and prospects of removing Ukraine-related sanctions. Page reacted positively	94 19 Jul 2016	Russian source close to Sechin	a. Throughout House Intel testimony, Page denies he met with Russian officials. Sechin’s name comes up on p. 118 (brought up by Page). “I have never met him” (p. 136). Asked about it by WSJ on July 26, 2016 (p. 198). https://intelligence.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=823 Or pdf directly https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/carter_page_hpsci_hearing_transcript_nov_2_2017.pdf Ivanov denies meeting with Page. https://www.rt.com/news/353360-russians-kremlin-dnc-hacking/

21	<p>a. Diveykin, senior police official in Presidential Administration, also met with Page. Diveykin brought up a kompromat file on Clinton, suggested it could be shared with Trump campaign</p> <p>b. Also suggested that Russia has kompromat on Trump</p>	94 19 Jul 2016	Official close to Presidential Administration head Sergei Ivanov, via compatriot	<p>Michael Isikoff, 9/23/16: Page activities in Russia discussed by Comey with senior members of Congress. “After one of those briefings, Senate minority leader Harry Reid wrote FBI Director James Comey, citing reports of meetings between a Trump adviser (a reference to Page) and “high ranking sanctioned individuals” in Moscow over the summer as evidence of “significant and disturbing ties” between the Trump campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the bureau.” https://www.yahoo.com/news/u-s-intel-officials-probe-ties-between-trump-adviser-and-kremlin-175046002.html?soc_src=social-sh&soc_trk=tw</p> <p>Page met with Arkadiy Dvorkovich during his July visit to Moscow (House Intel pp. 47, 52, 71-78, 82-84, 207, 11/3/17) The Russians paid for the trip (House Intel pp. 105-108, 11/3/17) “And I immediately – you know, all these false allegations regarding Igor Sechin and Mr. Diveykin. You know, Sechin I had obviously heard of. Diveykin I had never heard of.” (House Intel p. 118, 11/3/17) Does not know Diveykin. (House Intel pp. 176-177, 240, 11/3/17) Did meet with Andrei Baranov in July 2016 (pp. 141-146) and in December 2016 (pp. 158-162). https://intelligence.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=823 Or pdf directly https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/carter_page_hpisci_hearing_transcript_nov_2_2017.pdf</p> <p>But in a memo and an email sent to Trump campaign staffers at the time, Page painted a very different of his picture of his trip. He wrote that he’d had a “private conversation” with Dvorkovich, and that he had received “insights and outreach”</p>
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				<p>from several other Russian politicians.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Page wrote in a memo to the Trump campaign that “In a private conversation, Dvorkovich expressed strong support for Mr. Trump and a desire to work together toward devising better solutions in response to the vast range of current international problems.” (This suggests a much more substantive and lengthier interaction between Page and Dvorkovich.) • And on July 8, Page wrote to two Trump campaign staffers from his trip, “I’ll send you guys a readout soon regarding some incredible insights and outreach I’ve received from a few Russian legislators and senior members of the Presidential administration here.” (This suggests Page had several other Russian political contacts while he was there.) <p>Pressed on these inconsistencies, Page struggled to explain them. He insisted again that his interaction with Dvorkovich was just a few seconds long, and that it was very “general.”</p> <p>Most strangely of all, though, he said that when he described receiving “incredible insights and outreach” from several top Russian politicians during his trip, he in fact was only describing speeches he’d attended and articles he’d read.</p> <p>As an attempted explanation, he tried to compare this to how he’s gotten “insights” simply from watching Donald Trump’s speeches. “I’ve never met Donald J. Trump in my life, I’ve learned a lot from him, and I got great insights from that, from</p>
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				<p>listening and studying the information that he — that he’s provided in public forums,” Page said. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/11/7/16616912/carter-page-testimony-trump-russia</p> <p>Russians hacked Trump domain names, changed ownership at GoDaddy (11/4/17). https://www.apnews.com/4c4b45c3149447d596065db5ed5ef123</p>
22	<p>a. High degree of anxiety in Trump team on disclosure of DNC emails because of accusations against them and in Kremlin because things threatened to spiral out of control</p> <p>b. Kremlin wanted situation to calm but for plausible deniability to be maintained, so situation unlikely to be ratcheted up</p> <p>c. Intel cooperation between Trump team and Kremlin for at least 8 years</p> <p>d. Trump team supplying info on business oligarchs and their</p>	097 30 Jul 2016	Russian émigré figure close to Trump’s campaign team, via a trusted associate	<p>c. See also #1</p>

	<p>families and activities in the US</p> <p>e. Kremlin has more kompromat on Clinton, but not known when it will be released</p> <p>f. Plenty of kompromat on Trump but cooperation means it will not be released</p>			<p>f. Intel Report: “Russia collected on some Republican-affiliated targets but did not conduct a comparable disclosure campaign.” https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf</p>
23	<p>Ivanov felt Peskov’s team had gone too far in interfering with foreign affairs with their “elephant in a china shop black PR”. Ivanov claimed always to have opposed this approach, advocates that Russian leadership “sit tight and deny everything.”</p>	<p>100</p> <p>5 Aug 2016</p>	<p>Two well-placed and established Kremlin sources</p>	<p>August 12, 2016: Putin fires Ivanov and replaces him with Anton Vaino. https://themoscowtimes.com/articles/why-putin-replaced-head-of-presidential-administration-54978</p> <p>Quotes from officials sound irritated, but reason not clear. https://www.rt.com/news/353360-russians-kremlin-dnc-hacking/</p>
24	<p>Peskov “scared shitless” that he will be scapegoated by Putin. Ivanov determined to stop Peskov from playing independent role in relation to US. Peskov’s position not helped by botched attempt to interfere with PR in the failed coup in Turkey</p>	<p>100</p> <p>5 Aug 2016</p>	<p>Source close to Ivanov</p>	
25	<p>Medvedev and colleagues want good relations with US, whoever is elected, so they can</p>	<p>100</p> <p>5 Aug</p>	<p>Source close to Medvedev</p>	

	travel there, officially or privately. Refusing to cover up for or support Peskov	2016		
26	There had been talk in the Kremlin of Trump being forced to withdraw from presidential race as a result of recent events	100 5 Aug 2016	Source close to Ivanov	
27	a. Kremlin behind leaked DNC emails still technically deniable, will not risk position with more leaks. Spread rumors and misinformation about existing leaks, make up new content b. Audience is educated American youth; Clinton would be bogged down with reconciling American public c. Despite problems, Putin generally satisfied with results	101 10 Aug 2016	Close colleague of Ivanov	
28	Goals threefold: Asking sympathetic US actions how Moscow could help them; gathering relevant intel; creating and disseminating kompromat. Visits to Moscow by Lyndon LaRouche, Jill Stein, Carter Page, and Michael Flynn. Payments?	101 10 Aug 2016	Kremlin official involved in US relations	Carter Page: July and December 2016 Stein and Flynn at RT 10 th anniversary celebration with Putin, Ivanov, Peskov, December 2015. https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/guess-who-came-dinner-flynn-putin-n742696 Stein defends trip, says she paid for it. https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2017/06/21/jill-stein-defends-attending-moscow-gala-with-

				flynn/04YP1Nz2fwWYnX7VhjMazL/story.html Flynn: a 2016 speaking fee of \$45,000 from RT. http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2017/11/20/michael-flynn-and-the-turkish-connection/ among many other possible links.
29	Wikileaks release of DNC emails moved voters from Sanders to Trump. Trump campaign had underestimated reaction to emails, against Trump. Trump camp looking to television to remedy this. Some anger in Trump camp against Putin for overreach	102 10 Aug 2016	Ethnic Russian associate of Trump, who heard it from Carter Page	Cambridge Analytics contacted Julian Assange to help with the DNC emails. http://www.cnn.com/2017/10/25/politics/cambridge-analytica-julian-assange-wikileaks-clinton-emails/index.html
30	<p>a. Clandestine meeting between Trump lawyer Michael Cohen and Kremlin representatives in Prague in August 2016</p> <p>b. Rossotrudnichestvo used as cover for meeting. Plausibly deniable while fully under state control</p> <p>c. Konstatin Kosachev, Duma head of Foreign Relations Committee, is liason</p>	136 20 Oct 2016	Kremlin insider, via compatriot and friend	Cohen strongly denies the meeting and has offered his passport as proof. Much coverage of his denials. A sample here. The passport: https://www.buzzfeed.com/anthonymcormier/trumps-lawyer-showed-you-the-cover-of-his-passport-heres?utm_term=.lvxYK5jKM#.dvo1VvDVY Letter sent to House Intelligence Committee in August 2017: https://www.thedailybeast.com/read-the-letter-trumps-attorney-michael-cohen-sent-investigators-about-the-golden-showers-dossier Interpretation of the letter: http://www.cnn.com/2017/08/31/politics/michael-cohen-russia-letter-congress/index.html Senate Intelligence Committee cancels meeting, will issue subpoena: https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/trump-lawyer-cohen-answer-senate-questions-about-russia-n802321
31	a. In meeting between Putin and Victor Yanukovych on	105	Well-placed Russian figure	a. Handwritten ledgers show \$12.7 million in undisclosed cash payments designated for Mr. Manafort from Mr. Yanukovych's

	<p>August 15, Yanukovich told Putin that he had authorized substantial kickback payments to Manafort, but left no trail</p> <p>b. Putin and others were skeptical about Yanukovich's ability to cover his tracks and feared the payments were a political liability</p>	22 Aug 2016		<p>pro-Russian political party from 2007 to 2012, according to Ukraine's newly formed National Anti-Corruption Bureau. Investigators assert that the disbursements were part of an illegal off-the-books system whose recipients also included election officials.</p> <p>https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/15/us/politics/paul-manafort-ukraine-donald-trump.html? r=0</p> <p>b. Trump has already accused Kiev of having attempted to "sabotage" his presidential campaign – a perception based in part on Ukrainian officials' disclosures of Manafort's alleged link to the black ledgers.</p> <p>https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/11/07/paul-manafort-indictment-kiev-russia-215798</p>
32	In addition to Ukraine issues, Corey Lewandowski wanted Manafort out	105 22 Aug 2016	American political figure associated with Trump and his campaign	<p>Lewandowski: If Manafort was contacting Russians, Trump didn't know http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/20/politics/corey-lewandowski-paul-manafort-russians/index.html</p> <p>General rivalry between the two widely reported.</p>
33	<p>a. Issue of Russian hacking has become incredibly sensitive and Putin ordered government insiders not to discuss it in public or private</p> <p>b. Putin receiving advice from three separate expert groups: Russian ambassador Sergei</p>	111 14 Sep 2016	<p>Senior member of Russian Presidential Administration, via trusted compatriot</p> <p>Corroborated by former top</p>	<p>Trump Told Russians That Firing 'Nut Job' Comey Eased Pressure From Investigation.</p> <p>https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/19/us/politics/trump-russia-comey.html? r=1</p> <p>b. Many Kislyak meetings with Trump campaign. Ivanov replaced by Vaino August 12, 2016. Other reasons for replacement given here.</p> <p>https://themoscowtimes.com/articles/why-putin-replaced-head-</p>

	Kislyak and MFA with Yuriy Ushakov; Ivanov backed by SVR. First urges caution, second boldness. Anton Vaino replaced Ivanov because he was uninvolved.		level Russian intel officer and Kremlin insider	of-presidential-administration-54978 Also here https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/13/world/europe/sergei-ivanov-putin-russia.html Speculation that Sechin might be phased out too. http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/12/putin-dismissed-his-chief-of-staff-what-does-it-mean-for-russia-ivanov-vaino-kremlin/
34	a. Thinking about releasing more Clinton emails. Final decision up to Putin b. Growing element in Moscow's strategy to shift consensus in Moscow's favor no matter who won	111 14 Sep 2016	Senior member of Russian Presidential Administration, via trusted compatriot	
35	Mikhail Kulyagin withdrawn from Washington on short notice because of his involvement in payment scheme for hacking. Replacement Andrei Bondarev is clean in this regard	111 14 Sep 2016	Senior Russian MFA official, speaking to same compatriot	"Two people with knowledge of a multi-agency investigation into the Kremlin's meddling have told McClatchy that Mikhail Kalugin was under scrutiny when he departed. He has been an important figure in the inquiry into how Russia bankrolled the email hacking of top Democrats and took other measures to defeat Hillary Clinton and help Donald Trump capture the White House". Kalugin denies allegations. Same week as resignation of Michael Flynn. http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/article132761149.html
36	a. Leading figures in Alpha (Alfa) group on good terms with Putin. Significant favors done in both directions; advice on US to Putin b. Mikhail Fridman	112 14 Sep 2016	Top-level Russian government official, via trusted compatriot in September	a. Strange computer link between Alfa Bank and The Trump Organization still being investigated by FBI in March 2017. http://www.cnn.com/2017/03/09/politics/fbi-investigation-continues-into-odd-computer-link-between-russian-bank-and-trump-organization/index.html Background: http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/cover_story/2016/10/was_a_server_registered_to_the_trump_organization_c

	<p>communicates with Putin directly and via Oleg Govorun, who has been the delivery boy for large amounts of illicit cash to Putin when he was mayor of St Petersburg</p> <p>c. Alfa held kompromat on Putin and his corrupt business practices from the 1990s</p>		2016	<p>ommunicating with russia.html</p> <p>b. Mikhail Fridman, Petr Aven and German Khan of Alfa Bank are suing BuzzFeed for publishing the Steele dossier. https://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2017/05/26/trump-dossier-russian-bank-owners-sue-buzzfeed-238876 Second lawsuit: https://www.rferl.org/a/steele-dossier-trump-russia-alfa-bank-fusion-gps-aven-fridman-khan/28774687.html</p>
37	<p>a. Trump paid bribes to further his real estate interests there</p> <p>b. Araz Agalarov would know more</p>	113 14 Sep 2016	Source in the political/business elite of St. Petersburg	
38	<p>a. Trump had participated in sex parties, but all direct witnesses had been bribed or coerced to disappear</p> <p>b. Araz Agalarov would know more</p>	113 14 Sep 2016	Source in services/tourist industry	
39	Putin and colleagues disappointed that Clinton's leaked emails didn't have more of an effect on the campaign	130 12 Oct 2016	Senior Russian leadership figure Foreign Ministry official speaking	

			separately in confidence to a trusted compatriot	
40	More hacked emails in pipeline to Wikileaks, but best material already out	130 12 Oct 2016	Senior Russian leadership figure, speaking in confidence to a trusted compatriot	
41	a. Putin angry at subordinate's (s'?) overpromising wrt results and blowback b. Russia wants to upset the global status quo, have Ukraine sanctions rolled back	130 12 Oct 2016	Foreign Ministry official, speaking in confidence to a trusted compatriot	Generally accepted.
42	a. Secret meeting between Sechin and Carter Page in July 2016 b. Offered Page/Trump brokerage of 19% of privatized stake in Rosneft for lifting of sanctions c. Sechin no longer believed Trump could win the presidency, so was seeking	134 18 Oct 2016	Close associate of Rosneft president Igor Sechin, via a trusted compatriot	a. See also #20 b. Page had a conversation with a "junior attache" about Gazprom around March 2013. According to Page, no offer or request was made (House Intel, p. 133). Owns no shares in Rosneft, did own a "small" amount in Gazprom, which he sold about the time of Harry Reid's letter (p. 141). Did meet with Andrei Baranov in July 2016 (pp. 141-146; pp. 173-176) and December 2016 (pp. 158-162). "Had nothing to do with any Rosneft deal" (p. 173). Baranov may have mentioned sale of Rosneft in July, may have mentioned sanctions (p. 175).

	<p>other contacts</p> <p>d. Page implied that sanctions would be lifted if Trump were president and gave the impression he was speaking for Trump</p>			<p>“Nothing even remotely close to allegations” p. 176). Aware of Rosneft sale through the news (p. 241). https://intelligence.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=823 Or pdf directly https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/carter_page_hpsci_hearing_transcript_nov_2_2017.pdf</p> <p>d. Page: “I never had any discussions with him about changing any sanctions policy or things I could conceivably do in that regard.” (House Intel, p. 138)</p>
43	<p>Key role in relationship played by Michael Cohen</p>	<p>134</p> <p>18 Oct 2016</p>	<p>Kremlin insider with direct access to the leadership, via same compatriot</p>	<p>Cohen denies; see claim #30</p>
44	<p>a. Michael Cohen is secret liaison between Trump campaign and Russian leadership. Earlier, it was Manafort</p> <p>b. Cohen heavily engaged in damage control, met with Russian officials in an EU country in August 2016 to deal with situation around Manafort and exposure of Carter Page’s Moscow visit</p>	<p>135</p> <p>19 Oct 2016</p>	<p>Kremlin insider to longstanding compatriot friend</p>	<p>Cohen denies; see claim #30</p>

	<p>c. Kremlin farmed out activity to trusted agents of influence working in pro-government policy institutes like that of Law and Comparative Jurisprudence</p> <p>d. Replacement of Ivanov by Vaino related to these issues</p>			
45	<p>a. Cohen accompanied to Prague by 3 colleagues in August 2016. Agenda comprised questions of how deniable cash payments were to be made to hackers in Europe under Kremlin direction against the Clinton campaign</p> <p>b. Company named [redacted] and affiliates had been using botnets and porn traffic to plant bugs, transmit viruses, steal data and conduct “altering operations” against Democratic leadership</p> <p>c. Discussions in Prague for contingencies if Clinton won the presidency</p> <p>d. Damage limitation re</p>	<p>166</p> <p>13 Dec 2016</p>	<p>Source description redacted</p>	<p>Cohen denies; see claim #30</p>

<p>Manafort and Page also discussed</p> <p>e. Agreed that Romanian hackers, others, would stand down. Ivanov's team responsible for hackers</p>			
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[Denman's account](#): Never saw him before in my life. I had never run into him before. I had no idea who he was.

There were two men sitting over to the side and I didn't know who they were and I didn't know if they were staff or why they were there, but they were not sitting around our table with the delegates.

When I read my plank, when it came my turn in the subcommittee, he and the other man got up pretty rapidly and walked up over behind the three co-chairman, and one of the chairman asked to see a copy of my plank and I gave it to them, and the chairman read it and the men leaned over and pointed to certain things on it.

So, that point, I realized for some reason they felt they were involved and one of the chairman said they would like to table it for further review, or something like that. And so I let it pass and the men went over and sat down and discussion of other planks continued.

I didn't sit there forever and so I went over to them and said, 'I guess you know who I am but I don't know who you all are and I don't know why you're here and if you have apparently a problem with my plank on the Ukraine I'd like to know what your problem is because I might have a problem with you all if I find out what your problem is with me.

I tried to sort of break the ice that way, and I said I'd like to know who you are, and he said, 'I'm J.D.Gordon, and I said, 'Who do you work for? Are you a staffer? Why are you here?'

And he said, 'No, I'm on the Trump campaign.' And then the other man, and I asked who he was. And he told me (he was Matthew Miller) and he said, 'Oh Mrs. Denman don't you remember me. I called you.' Well, he actually had called me, spontaneously before I went to the convention and introduced himself and said, 'I'm with the Trump campaign and is there anything he could be of help to me on.'

Well, you know me well enough, I don't think I need any help.

I said, 'I really thank you, it's very gracious of you to call, and what is your background?' He did say he had served in the Navy and been in Washington and been hired by Trump campaign. So he was sitting next to J.D.

Gordon had been on his cell phone at length. He just seemed to be consistently talking on it. So he said something to the effect that the wording, had to be cleared. And I said, 'Cleared with who?'

And he said, 'Cleared with New York,' and I thought maybe he was overdoing his assignment and I didn't quite believe him and I said, 'Who are you clearing it with?' And he said, 'New York,' and I said, 'Who are you clearing it with?'

I asked him three times, 'Who are you clearing it with?' He was very specific in his answer, and I said, 'Well I don't want anything to happen with the wording in my plan,' and I went back over and sat down and stayed awhile, and then it looked like we were about to wrap up and I raised my hand and said, 'Please, we can't disband because I don't want this plank to not go forward.'

And there was very brief discussion and the ultimate (outcome) was that it really needed to be looked into further. Then it came up – the use of 'lethal weapons' in the statement, that was a big concern, and would I support it being removed or lessened to some extent, and I said I really hated to see that done.

I had very definitely and diligently addressed many of the problems in the Ukraine that are still there, having been in the Ukraine for elections over there, (I knew) the difficulties of emerging democracies and the bumps and ups and downs they all go through as they struggle forward from Communism.

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