

Preliminary Findings About Trump Campaign’s Effort to Obtain Incriminating Information on Secretary Clinton from Russia at Trump Tower Meeting

In its limited investigation so far, the Committee has found evidence of multiple contacts between the Trump campaign and Russian government officials or their intermediaries, including offers of assistance and purported overtures from Vladimir Putin, which warrant further investigation. The transcripts released today represent Committee interviews with just five of the eight participants in one such meeting—the June 9, 2016, meeting between top Trump campaign officials and Russians offering incriminating information on the campaign’s opponent.

As discussed in more detail below, the Trump campaign accepted this offer of “official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary [Clinton],” which was also described as “part of Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump.” Top campaign officials Paul Manafort, Jared Kushner, and Donald Trump Jr. did not reject the offer of election assistance from a hostile foreign government. Nor did they report this offer to law enforcement authorities. Instead, they attended the meeting. Afterwards, Donald Trump Jr. issued misleading statements, with assistance from the White House, that concealed the meeting’s true purpose.

We still do not know the full story about the June 9 meeting at Trump Tower or, more broadly, the degree to which the campaign cooperated or communicated with Russia.¹ While Senate Judiciary Democrats have sought to conduct a robust and independent investigation, the lack of bipartisan agreement on what to investigate has limited the Committee’s examination of Russian interference in the 2016 election and who was involved. The Committee’s progress has also been hampered by the lack of cooperation from several key witnesses, identified in the Appendix that accompanies these findings. As a result, the Committee has been unable to answer a number of questions regarding contacts between the Trump campaign and Russia.

¹ To date, the Committee has conducted a total of twelve witness interviews. This includes only five of the eight participants in the June 9 meeting (Donald Trump Jr., Rob Goldstone, Rinat Akmetshin, Ike Kaveladze, Anatoli Samachornov). The Committee received written responses from Natalia Veselnitskaya. The Committee also interviewed Glenn Simpson, who did not participate in the June 9 meeting and testified to the Committee that he first learned of that meeting in July 2017 when it was reported in the news. Transcript, Staff Interview of Glenn Simpson, Senate Judiciary Committee, at 133 (Aug. 22, 2017). Beyond this, the Committee has interviewed six other witnesses, all of whom came in response to requests from the Ranking Member. These witness interviews have uncovered troubling questions that warrant further examination. There also are several dozen witnesses who have refused to cooperate with the Committee and require further follow up, using compulsory process as needed.

I. The June 9 Meeting demonstrated the campaign’s willingness to accept Russia’s assistance, and the subsequent misleading statements about the meeting indicated a willingness to deceive the public about contacts with Russia.

Just over a month after the Trump campaign was told that Russia had “dirt” on Hillary Clinton in the form of “thousands of emails,”² Russian oligarch Aras Agalarov, who was a friend of the Trump family, offered the campaign “information that would incriminate” Hillary Clinton as part of Russia’s ongoing support for then-candidate Trump.³

This was not the first offer of assistance from Mr. Agalarov, who, with his son Emin, had partnered with Donald Trump’s Miss Universe Pageant in 2013⁴ and explored building a Trump Tower Moscow with the Trump Organization that same year.⁵ The Agalarovs also offered in July 2015 to set up a meeting for candidate Trump with President Putin,⁶ and, on the eve of Super Tuesday, sent an email “offering [Aras Agalarov’s] support and that of many of his important Russian friends and colleagues—especially with reference to U.S./Russian relations.”⁷ When the Agalarovs reached out with another offer in early June 2016, the Trump campaign responded promptly. The campaign did not reject this offer, nor did anyone connected with the campaign report the offer to authorities.⁸

A. The Trump campaign expressed willingness to accept Russian assistance.

On Friday June 3, 2016, at 10:36 a.m., Donald Trump Jr. received an email with the subject line “Russia – Clinton – private and confidential.” The email came from Rob Goldstone, a music publicist who represented Emin Agalarov, and offered assistance from Russia via Trump’s trusted friend Aras Agalarov. Goldstone wrote:

Good morning. Emin just called and asked me to contact you with something very interesting. The Crown prosecutor of Russia met with [Emin’s] father Aras this morning and in their meeting *offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary [Clinton] and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful to your father.* This is obviously very high level and

² Statement of Offense, *United States v. Papadopoulos*, No. 17-cr-182, at 2, 6-7 (D.D.C. Oct. 5, 2017).

³ “Read the Emails on Donald Trump Jr.’s Russia Meeting,” New York Times (July 11, 2017).

⁴ Katie Rogers, “How Trump’s ‘Miss Universe’ in Russia Became Ensnared in a Political Inquiry,” New York Times (July 11, 2017).

⁵ Transcript, Staff Interview of Ike Thomas Kaveladze, Senate Judiciary Committee, at 17 (Nov. 3, 2017) (hereinafter “Kaveladze Tr.”).

⁶ Email from Rob Goldstone to Rhona Graff, *Re: Emin*, DJTJR00893 (July 22, 2015, 12:22 p.m.) (Ex. 3 to Transcript, Staff Interview of Donald J. Trump, Jr., Senate Judiciary Committee (Sept. 7, 2017) (hereinafter “Trump Jr. Tr.”); *see also* Yen Nee Lee, “Trump was reportedly offered a meeting with Putin one month after launching presidential bid,” CNBC (Dec. 15, 2017).

⁷ Email from Rob Goldstone to Donald Trump Jr., *Congratulatory letter to Mr. Trump from Araz Agalarov*, DJTJR00442 (Feb. 29, 2016, 9:53 a.m.) (Trump Jr. Tr. Ex. 4).

⁸ Andrew Roth, “The man who drives Trump’s Russia connection,” Washington Post (July 22, 2017).

sensitive information but is *part of Russia and its government's support for Mr. Trump—helped along by Aras and Emin.*⁹

Seventeen minutes later, Mr. Trump Jr. responded that he was “on the road at the moment” but would speak to Emin and “see if there was anything to it,” and “*if it's what you say I love it especially later in the summer.*”¹⁰

Mr. Trump Jr. testified that he understood what the email offered: “someone had official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary Clinton and her dealings with Russia and that the information would be very useful to the campaign.”¹¹

Mr. Trump Jr. further testified that when he said “I love it,” he was referring to incriminating information on Secretary Clinton, which would be better later in the summer “given the fact we were dealing with a potential contested convention and the very reality [sic] of having to replace a campaign manager mid primaries.”¹² At the time, Mr. Trump reportedly was considering replacing campaign manager Corey Lewandowski with Mr. Manafort.¹³

In the days leading up to the meeting, Mr. Trump Jr. exchanged a number of emails and phone calls with Mr. Goldstone and Emin Agalarov. On Monday, June 6, 2016, Mr. Goldstone emailed Mr. Trump Jr. and asked when he would be available to talk with Emin Agalarov “by phone about this Hillary info.”¹⁴ Mr. Trump Jr. responded, “Rob could we speak now?”¹⁵ Mr. Goldstone then told Mr. Trump Jr. that Emin Agalarov would call in twenty minutes.¹⁶

Emin called Mr. Trump Jr. at the designated time.¹⁷ Twenty-five minutes after this first call ended, Mr. Trump Jr. called Emin back and then emailed Mr. Goldstone, “Rob thanks for the help.”¹⁸ Despite phone records reflecting this exchange of phone

⁹ Email from Rob Goldstone to Donald Trump Jr., DJTFP00011897 (June 3, 2016, 10:36 a.m.) (Trump Jr. Tr. Ex. 1); *see* Trump Jr. Tr. at 80-81.

¹⁰ Email from Donald Trump Jr. to Rob Goldstone, DJTFP00011895, 97 (June 3, 2016, 10:53 a.m.) (Trump Jr. Ex. 1); *see* Trump Jr. Tr. at 80-81.

¹¹ Trump Jr. Tr. at 15-16.

¹² Trump Jr. Tr. at 82.

¹³ Jill Colvin and Steve Peoples, “Trump fires his campaign manager in dramatic shake-up,” PBS News (June 20, 2016).

¹⁴ Email from Rob Goldstone to Donald Trump Jr., *Re: Russia – Clinton – private and confidential*, DJTFP00011897 (June 6, 2016, 12:40 p.m.) (Trump Jr. Ex. 1).

¹⁵ Email from Donald Trump Jr. to Rob Goldstone, *Re: Russia – Clinton – private and confidential*, DJTFP00011897 (June 6, 2016, 3:03 p.m.) (Trump Jr. Ex. 1).

¹⁶ Email from Rob Goldstone to Donald Trump Jr., DJTFP00011896 (June 6, 2016, 3:43 p.m.) (Trump Jr. Ex. 1).

¹⁷ Telephone Record, The Trump Organization, DJTJR00855 (June 6, 2016) (Trump Jr. Ex. 11); Trump Jr. Tr. at 26, 86.

¹⁸ Email from Donald Trump Jr. to Rob Goldstone, DJTFP00011896 (June 6, 2016, 4:38 p.m.) (Trump Jr. Ex. 1).

calls, Mr. Trump Jr. testified that he did not recall whether he spoke to Emin or what they discussed.¹⁹

Mr. Trump Jr.'s next call on June 6 was to a blocked number and lasted eleven minutes.²⁰ When asked, Mr. Trump Jr. could not identify whom he called.²¹ Then when asked “does your father use a blocked number on his cell phone or any phones that you call him on?” Mr. Trump Jr. responded, “I don’t know.”²² Trump campaign manager Corey Lewandowski, however, testified before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that “[Donald] Trump’s ‘primary residence has a blocked [phone] line.’”²³

The next day, June 7, Emin called Mr. Trump Jr. again.²⁴ Less than four hours after the call, Mr. Goldstone emailed about scheduling, noting, “I believe you are aware of the meeting.”²⁵

June 6, 2016

- 12:40 PM Goldstone emails Trump Jr. asking when he is “free to talk with Emin by phone about this Hillary info.”
- 3:03 PM Trump Jr. replies, “Rob could we speak now?”
- 3:37 PM Goldstone replies, “Let me track him down in Moscow.”
- 3:38 PM Trump Jr. sends Goldstone his cell phone number.
- 3:43 PM Goldstone emails Trump Jr. that Emin is on stage, “but should be off within 20 minutes so I am sure can call.”
- 4:04 PM Emin Agalarov calls Trump Jr. Phone records reflect a 2-minute call.
- 4:27 PM Trump Jr.’s next call is to a blocked number. Phone records reflect a 4-minute call.
- 4:31 PM Trump Jr. calls Emin. Phone records reflect a 3-minute call.
- 4:38 PM Trump Jr. emails Goldstone, “Rob thanks for the help.”
- 8:40 PM Trump Jr. calls a blocked number. Phone records reflect an 11-minute call.

June 7, 2016

- 12:44 PM Emin calls Trump Jr. Phone records reflect a 2-minute call.
- 4:07 PM Trump Jr. calls Paul Manafort. Phone records reflect a 2-minute call.
- 4:20 PM Goldstone emails 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.”
- 5:16 PM Trump Jr. replies, “How about 3 at our offices? Thanks rob appreciate you helping set it up.”
- 5:19 PM Goldstone says, “Perfect” and adds that he will send the names of the meeting attendees later that day.
- 6:14 PM Trump Jr. says, “Great. It will likely be Paul Manafort (campaign boss) my brother in law and me. 725 Fifth Ave 25th floor.”

¹⁹ Trump Jr. Tr. at 26, 86 (Mr. Trump Jr. believes that the 4:04 pm call was from Emin, but does not remember the content of the call).

²⁰ Telephone Record, The Trump Organization, DJTJR00855 (June 6, 2016) (Trump Jr. Ex. 11).

²¹ Trump Jr. Tr. at 87.

²² *Id.*

²³ House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Minority Views, at 26 (Mar. 26, 2018) (hereinafter “HPSCI Minority Views”); *see also* Paul Waldman and Greg Sargent, “The new House GOP report on Russia is revealing. But not in a good way for Trump.” Washington Post (Apr. 27, 2018).

²⁴ Telephone Record, The Trump Organization, DJTJR00855 (June 6, 2016) (Trump Jr. Ex. 11).

²⁵ Email from Rob Goldstone to Donald Trump Jr., DJTFP00011896 (June 7, 2016, 4:20 p.m.) (Trump Jr. Ex. 1).

In his interview with the Committee, Mr. Goldstone clarified that “[t]he ‘aware’ here implies that [Mr. Trump Jr. was] aware of what the meeting is about,”²⁶ indicating his belief that Emin had given Mr. Trump Jr. additional information about the meeting.

Mr. Trump Jr. responded to Mr. Goldstone that the participants from the Trump campaign “will likely be Paul Manafort (campaign boss) my brother in law and me.”²⁷ Mr. Trump Jr. testified that he forwarded the entire email exchange to Mr. Manafort and Mr. Kushner, but he couldn’t recall ever discussing the meeting with them.²⁸

That same night, candidate Trump announced that he would be giving a “major speech” the following Monday (four days after the June 9 meeting) where “we’re going to be discussing all of the things that have taken place with the Clintons. I think you’re going to find it very informative and very, very interesting.”²⁹

Mr. Trump Jr. testified that he had “no idea” why his father announced that he would have “very interesting” information on Secretary Clinton.³⁰ Mr. Trump Jr. said that that he “never discussed [the meeting] with [his father] at all,” and that he did not know whether anyone else did.³¹

B. When the June 9 meeting did not turn out as expected, Trump campaign officials became “agitated,” “very frustrated,” and “instantly lost interest.”

The meeting at which the Russians were to share negative information on Secretary Clinton went forward as scheduled on June 9, 2016. When it became clear that the Trump campaign would not receive the type of incriminating information that it might have been expecting, the Trump campaign officials became “very frustrated” and “instantly lost interest.”³²

In addition to meeting with Mr. Goldstone on June 9th, Donald Trump Jr., Paul Manafort, and Jared Kushner met with the following individuals:

- *Natalia Veselnitskaya* – a former Russian state prosecutor whose clients have included a military unit founded by Russia’s top intelligence agency, the F.S.B.,³³ and Russian oligarchs Aras Agalarov and Pyotr and Denis Katsyv.³⁴ Although

²⁶ Transcript, Staff Interview of Robert Goldstone, Senate Judiciary Committee, at 29 (Dec. 15, 2017) (hereinafter “Goldstone Tr.”).

²⁷ Email from Donald Trump Jr. to Rob Goldstone, DJTFP00011896 (June 7, 2016, 6:14 p.m.) (Trump Jr. Ex. 1).

²⁸ Trump Jr. Tr. at 84, 93.

²⁹ Ryan Teague Beckwith, “Read Donald Trump’s Subdued Victory Speech After Winning New Jersey,” Time (June 8, 2016).

³⁰ Trump Jr. Tr. at 115.

³¹ Trump Jr. Tr. at 115-116.

³² Kaveladze Tr. at 44; Transcript, Staff Interview of Rinat Akhmetshin, Senate Judiciary Committee, at 79 (Nov. 14, 2017) (hereinafter “Akhmetshin Tr.”).

³³ Ivan Nechepurenko, “Russian Lawyer Who Met Donald Trump Jr. Once Represented Spy Agency,” New York Times (July 21, 2017).

³⁴ Written Testimony of Natalia Veselnitskaya before the Senate Judiciary Committee, at 21, 22 (Nov. 20, 2017) (hereinafter “Veselnitskaya Testimony”). Pyotr Katsyv was the former minister of transportation of the Moscow region and currently is a vice president of the state-owned Russian Railways. Neil MacFarquhar and Andrew Kramer, “Natalia Veselnitskaya, Lawyer Who Met Trump Jr., Seen as Fearsome Moscow Insider,” New York Times (July 11, 2017). His

Ms. Veselnitskaya had told the Committee that she was a private attorney,³⁵ she recently admitted in a media interview that she is “an informant” for the Russian government and that, “[s]ince 2013, I have been actively communicating with the office of the Russian prosecutor general,” Yuri Chaika.³⁶ Mr. Goldstone testified that Emin Agalarov told him before the meeting that Ms. Veselnitskaya was a “well-connected Russian attorney,”³⁷ and explained to the Committee that he understood this to mean that Ms. Veselnitskaya was well connected to the Russian government.³⁸

- *Rinat Akhmetshin* – a “media consultant, and lobbyist sometimes,”³⁹ who has “a history of working for close allies of President Vladimir V. Putin.”⁴⁰ Mr. Akhmetshin attended the meeting at the invitation of Ms. Veselnitskaya.⁴¹ Mr. Trump Jr. did not recall Mr. Akhmetshin attending,⁴² but Mr. Kaveladze remembered Mr. Akhmetshin because he wore “pink jeans with like holes on the knees, and a pink T-shirt.”⁴³
- *Irakly (“Ike”) Kaveladze* – works for Aras Agalarov, who asked him to attend the meeting as his representative.⁴⁴ Mr. Kaveladze testified that, before the meeting, Aras Agalarov said the meeting would be about the Magnitsky Act.⁴⁵ However, a colleague of Rob Goldstone’s told Mr. Kaveladze that the attorney who would be meeting with the Trump campaign “had some negative information on Hillary Clinton.”⁴⁶
- *Anatoli Samochornov* – an interpreter working on retainer for Natalia Veselnitskaya,⁴⁷ the Russian lawyer who speaks and understands a limited amount of English.⁴⁸

When giving their accounts of the June 9 meeting, the witnesses testified to a relatively consistent narrative:

son Denis owns Prevezon Holdings, a Cyprus-based real estate investing company. Jeff Feeley and Bob Van Voris, “Laundering Suit Ends as Russian Firm, U.S. Claim Victory,” Bloomberg (May 12, 2017).

³⁵ Veselnitskaya Testimony at 2.

³⁶ Andrew Kramer and Sharon LaFraniere, “Lawyer Who Was Said to Have Dirt on Clinton Had Closer Ties to Kremlin Than She Let On,” New York Times (Apr. 27, 2018).

³⁷ Goldstone Tr. at 19.

³⁸ *Id.* at 21.

³⁹ Akhmetshin Tr. at 14.

⁴⁰ Sharon LaFraniere et al., “Lobbyist at Trump Campaign Meeting Has a Web of Russian Connections,” New York Times (Aug. 21, 2017).

⁴¹ Akhmetshin Tr. at 50.

⁴² Trump Jr. Tr. at 38.

⁴³ Kaveladze Tr. at 49.

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 20.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Id.* at 30, 96.

⁴⁷ Transcript, Staff Interview of Anatoli Samochornov, Senate Judiciary Committee, at 36, 65 (Nov. 8, 2017) (hereinafter “Samochornov Tr.”).

⁴⁸ Samochornov Tr. at 64.

- **Mr. Trump Jr. led the meeting.**⁴⁹ Mr. Akhmetshin testified that, after brief introductions, Mr. Trump Jr. said, “So I believe you have some information for us.”⁵⁰
- **Ms. Veselnitskaya offered information about a Russian tax fraud scheme** involving Ziff Brothers Investments and British investor William Browder, claiming that they were donating “some of this money”⁵¹ to the Democratic National Committee or the Clinton campaign.⁵²
- Mr. Kaveladze, Ms. Veselnitskaya, and Mr. Akhmetshin testified that **Mr. Trump Jr. requested additional information.**⁵³ According to Mr. Akhmetshin, Mr. Trump Jr. asked: “So can you show us how does this money go to Hillary?” and specifically requested any proof or paperwork.⁵⁴
- Ms. Veselnitskaya stated that, when asked if she had specific documentary evidence, she “said that I did not and that it was not my issue. The meeting, essentially, ended there.”⁵⁵
- Other participants said that **Mr. Trump Jr. and other campaign officials appeared “somewhat agitated,”**⁵⁶ **“infuriate[d],”**⁵⁷ **“very frustrated,”**⁵⁸ and **“instantly lost interest.”**⁵⁹
- Ms. Veselnitskaya and Mr. Akhmetshin then raised the *Magnitsky Act*. That law authorizes the U.S. to impose sanctions on Russians who have committed human rights violations against individuals trying to expose illegal activity by the Russian government.⁶⁰ At the Trump Tower meeting, Ms. Veselnitskaya lobbied

⁴⁹ Akhmetshin Tr. at 74, 75-76; Goldstone Tr. at 47-48.

⁵⁰ Akhmetshin Tr. at 74.

⁵¹ *Id.* at 77, 78.

⁵² Trump Jr. Tr. at 19; *see also* Samochornov Tr. at 52; Kaveladze Tr. at 44-45; Goldstone Tr. at 48; Veselnitskaya Testimony at 27-29.

⁵³ Kaveladze Tr. at 45; Veselnitskaya Testimony at 29; Akhmetshin Tr. at 78-79.

⁵⁴ Akhmetshin Tr. at 78.

⁵⁵ Veselnitskaya Testimony at 29.

⁵⁶ Goldstone Tr. at 48 (Mr. Kushner “appeared somewhat agitated by this and said, I really have no idea what you’re talking about. Could you please focus a bit more and maybe just start again?”).

⁵⁷ Goldstone Tr. at 48 (Ms. Veselnitskaya “began the presentation exactly where she had begun it last time, almost word for word, which seemed, by [Kushner’s] body language, infuriate him even more”).

⁵⁸ Kaveladze Tr. at 44 (“Kushner was very frustrated that he was in this meeting”); *see also id.* (Mr. Kushner asked a question along the lines of “Why are we here and why are we listening to that Magnitsky Act story?” and Mr. Manafort “didn’t pay any attention to the meeting”).

⁵⁹ Akhmetshin Tr. at 79 (Mr. Trump Jr. “instantly lost interest” when Ms. Veselnitskaya could not trace funds to Secretary Clinton); *see also* Samochornov Tr. at 52 (Mr. Manafort said “that is not interesting,” and then “kind of withdrew from the meeting”).

⁶⁰ Russia and Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal and Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012, Pub. L. No. 112-208 (Dec. 14, 2012). Following the death of Russian lawyer Sergei Magnitsky, Congress passed the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012. The law, signed by President Obama on December 14, 2012, authorizes the U.S. to withhold visas and freeze financial assets of Russians who were involved in Magnitsky’s death, as well as others who have committed human rights violations against individuals trying to expose illegal activity by the Russian government. *Id.* Just two weeks after the Magnitsky Act became law, President Putin signed a retaliatory bill that blocked the adoption of Russian orphans by families in the United States. *See* CNN Staff, “Russia’s Putin signs anti-U.S. adoption bill,” CNN (Dec. 28, 2012). In 2016, Congress passed the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act, expanding the 2012 law and

to overturn these sanctions, discussing “how unfair it was and **how unfair sanctions were** and how, as a result, it was unfair that children who would otherwise have the opportunity to be adopted” would not be.⁶¹ **Mr. Kushner was “very frustrated” and questioned “Why are we here and why are we listening to that Magnitsky Act story.”**⁶²

- **Mr. Trump Jr. ended the meeting** by saying that they could revisit their concerns after the election.⁶³ According to Mr. Akhmetshin, “I remember at the end, Donald, Jr., said, you know, ‘Come back see us again ‘when we win.’ Not ‘if we win,’ but ‘when we win. . . . I remember distinctly. It was not ‘if we win.’ ‘When we win, come back and see us again.’”⁶⁴ Shortly after the election, Aras Agalarov took him up on this offer. On November 28, Rob Goldstone emailed Mr. Trump’s assistant, passing on a message from Mr. Agalarov seeking a follow-up meeting on the topic, which Mr. Trump’s assistant forwarded to Steve Bannon.⁶⁵ Mr. Goldstone and Mr. Kaveladze told the Committee that no such meeting ever occurred.⁶⁶
- According to media reports, Ms. Veselnitskaya brought to the Trump Tower meeting a set of **talking points that “closely followed a document that [Russian prosecutor general Yuri] Chaika’s office had given to an American congressman two months earlier,”** suggesting coordination between Ms. Veselnitskaya and Mr. Chaika.⁶⁷ While various participants said that Ms. Veselnitskaya had documents before or at the meeting that she may have left for the Trump campaign,⁶⁸ no one has produced them to the Committee.

enabling the U.S. to impose sanctions on human rights abusers from any country, not just Russia. Global Magnitsky Human Rights and Accountability Act of 2016, Pub. L. No. 114-328 (Dec. 23, 2016).

⁶¹ Goldstone Tr. at 49. According to William Browder, President Putin has a “significant and very personal interest in finding a way to get rid of the Magnitsky sanctions” because of the impact on his own assets. Testimony of William Browder, Hearing on “Oversight of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and Attempts to Influence U.S. Elections: Lessons Learned From the Current and Prior Administrations,” Senate Committee on the Judiciary (July 26, 2017). Mr. Browder also testified that “I can tell you with 100 percent certainty that the Russian intelligence services would have been aware of that meeting in advance, as they were plotting it out” and he had “no doubt” that Ms. Veselnitskaya was acting on behalf of Vladimir Putin and the Russian government. *Id.*

⁶² Kaveladze Tr. at 44

⁶³ Samochornov Tr. at 83; Kaveladze Tr. at 58; Akhmetshin Tr. at 85-86.

⁶⁴ Akhmetshin Tr. at 85, 93.

⁶⁵ HPSCI Minority Views at 30.

⁶⁶ Goldstone Tr. at 159-160; Kaveladze Tr. at 144-145.

⁶⁷ Sharon LaFraniere and Andrew Kramer, “Talking Points Brought to Trump Tower Meeting Were Shared With Kremlin,” *New York Times* (Oct. 27, 2017).

⁶⁸ Akhmetshin Tr. at 65, 68 (Ms. Veselnitskaya brought a “clear plastic folder” of documents to the meeting, but Mr. Akhmetshin did not remember whether she left the documents); Samochornov Tr. at 42, 68-70 (Ms. Veselnitskaya had a “white plastic folder” at lunch prior to the meeting containing documents that were meant to be left with Mr. Trump Jr., but Mr. Samochornov did not know whether the document were left at the meeting); Kaveladze Tr. at 57 (Ms. Veselnitskaya offered a “synopsis . . . to keep for the Trump party, but I’m not sure if they accepted it or not, because I already exited the room”); Goldstone Tr. at 52 (Ms. Veselnitskaya read from notes at the meeting). While Mr. Akhmetshin did tell the Committee that he did not remember whether Ms. Veselnitskaya left the documents at the meeting, he told reporters four months earlier that Ms. Veselnitskaya had done so. *See* Desmond Butler and Chad Day, “Russian-American lobbyist joined Trump’s son’s meeting, too,” *Associated Press* (July 14, 2017) (Mr. Akhmetshin “said he thinks she left the materials with the Trump associates. It was unclear if she handed the documents to anyone in the room or simply left them behind, he said.”); Rosalind Helderman and Tom Hamburger, “Eighth person in Trump Tower meeting is identified,” *Washington Post*

Two hours after the meeting, Mr. Trump Jr. placed another call to a blocked number, which lasted three minutes.⁶⁹

On June 14, 2016—five days after the Trump Tower meeting—*The Washington Post* and others reported that hackers working for the Russian government had infiltrated the DNC’s computer system and gained access to all email and chat traffic on its network.⁷⁰

That same day, Mr. Goldstone sent an email with the subject line “Breaking News” to Mr. Kaveladze and Emin Agalarov, and attached the image of an article titled “Russian hackers stole Dems’ Trump files, firm says.”⁷¹ Mr. Goldstone wrote: “Top story right now – seems eerily weird based on our Trump meeting last week with the Russian lawyers etc.”⁷² About ten minutes later, Mr. Kaveladze responded “Very interesting.”⁷³

During his interview with the Committee, Mr. Goldstone explained that “what I found eerily weird was that I had set up a meeting with Don Jr. about, allegedly, Russia and information and damaging information and the DNC” and this was reporting on “Russians and Democrats. That is what I found eerily weird.”⁷⁴ Mr. Kaveladze described his reply to that email as “a polite response.”⁷⁵ Neither expressed surprise in their emails with the breaking news. Mr. Goldstone also told the Committee that he discussed the news with Emin Agalarov, but he could not recall the content of that conversation.⁷⁶

One day later, on June 15, 2016, online persona Guccifer 2.0—who reportedly is “an officer of Russia’s military intelligence directorate,” GRU⁷⁷—began publicly releasing hacked emails from the DNC.⁷⁸

C. Trump Jr. and the White House misled the public about the June 9 meeting.

The Trump campaign did not acknowledge the June 9, 2016, meeting to obtain information from Russia that could harm Secretary Clinton’s campaign until July 2017, when reporters broke the story of the Trump Tower meeting. Even then, Donald Trump

(July 18, 2017) (“Akhmetshin said that Veselnitskaya left behind a document with the Trump associates describing the allegations. ‘It was corporate stuff — lawyerly stuff, Akhmetshin said.’”).

⁶⁹ Telephone Record, The Trump Organization, DJTJR00855 (June 6, 2016) (Trump Jr. Ex. 11).

⁷⁰ Ellen Nakashima, “Russian government hackers penetrated DNC, stole opposition research on Trump,” *Washington Post* (June 14, 2016).

⁷¹ Email from Rob Goldstone to Emin Agalarov and Ike Kaveladze, *Breaking news*, SJC-KAV_00026 (June 14, 2016, 10:09 a.m.) (Kaveladze Ex. 8); Tal Kopan, “Russian hackers stole Dems’ Trump files, firm says,” *CNN*, SJC-KAV_00027 (June 14, 2016) (Kaveladze Ex. 8).

⁷² Email from Rob Goldstone to Emin Agalarov and Ike Kaveladze, *Breaking news*, SJC-KAV_00026 (June 14, 2016, 10:09 a.m.) (Kaveladze Ex. 8).

⁷³ Email from Ike Kaveladze to Rob Goldstone, *Re: Breaking news*, SJC-KAV_00248 (June 14, 2016, 10:22 a.m.) (Kaveladze Ex. 9).

⁷⁴ Goldstone Tr. at 124.

⁷⁵ Kaveladze Tr. at 125.

⁷⁶ Goldstone Tr. at 124-125.

⁷⁷ Rob Price and Sonam Sheth, “DNC hacker ‘Guccifer 2.0’ was reportedly confirmed as a Russian agent after forgetting to conceal his identity online,” *Business Insider* (Mar. 22, 2018).

⁷⁸ Tal Kopan, “DNC Hack: What you need to know,” *CNN* (June 21, 2016). U.S. Intelligence agencies quickly determined that Russian military intelligence was using Guccifer 2.0 to release the stolen materials. David Sanger and Eric Schmitt, “Spy Agency Consensus Grows That Russia Hacked D.N.C.,” *New York Times* (July 26, 2016).

Jr. and the White House crafted misleading statements that concealed their purpose for taking the meeting.

Four months before news of the June 9 meeting broke, Mr. Trump Jr. denied that he had participated in any meetings with Russians related to the campaign:

Did I meet with people that were Russian? I'm sure, I'm sure I did. But none that were set up. None that I can think of at the moment. And certainly none that I was representing the campaign in any way, shape, or form.⁷⁹

When asked whether he had ever discussed government policies related to Russia, Trump Jr. responded: “A hundred percent no.”⁸⁰

Then, in June 2017 when Donald Trump Jr. and his lawyers discovered that Trump Jr.'s false statements were going to be contradicted in the press, Trump Organization lawyers took steps to coordinate the press statements of meeting participants. With drafting assistance from the White House, Donald Trump Jr. also issued misleading statements that initially concealed the Trump campaign's true purpose for accepting the meeting—to gain damaging information on Secretary Clinton from Russia.⁸¹

i. Trump Organization lawyers coordinated statements to the press.

By early June 2017, Trump Organization attorney Alan Garten and outside counsel Alan Futerfas knew that the press had learned about the June 9, 2016, meeting. Upon discovering the press was planning to report on this meeting, Mr. Garten called Rob Goldstone to ask him what he remembered from the meeting and for contact information for the Russian lawyer (Natalia Veselnitskaya) and the Agalarovs' representative (Ike Kaveladze).⁸² Mr. Goldstone testified that he also told the Trump attorneys about the Agalarovs' involvement in setting up the meeting.⁸³

After speaking with the Trump lawyers, Mr. Goldstone emailed Emin Agalarov, writing that the “meeting I set up in [June] with Trump campaign for your father for that Russian attorney and her colleagues is causing massive problems.”⁸⁴ He elaborated:

I have today been interviewed by attorneys for the second time about it. They are concerned because it links Don Jr. to officials from Russia – which he

⁷⁹ Jo Becker et al., “Trump Team Met With Lawyer Linked to Kremlin During Campaign,” New York Times (July 8, 2017).

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ Ashley Parker et al., “Trump dictated son's misleading statement on meeting with Russian lawyer,” Washington Post (July 31, 2017).

⁸² Goldstone Tr. at 132-135, 173-178, 186-188; Text Message from Rob Goldstone to Ike Kaveladze, RG000227 (June 3, 2017) (Goldstone Ex. 22).

⁸³ Goldstone Tr. at 138.

⁸⁴ Email from Rob Goldstone to Emin Agalarov, RG000092 (June 27, 2017, 10:35 p.m.) (Goldstone Ex. 25). Mr. Goldstone explained that the reference to a meeting set up in “October” was incorrect and that he was referring to the meeting that he had set up for June. Goldstone Tr. 189.

has always denied meeting. . . . I have told them what I know. I am really not happy being put in this situation with federal attorneys investigating etc.⁸⁵

In response, Emin Agalarov asked Mr. Goldstone to strategize with Mr. Kaveladze about what to reveal about the June 9 meeting.⁸⁶

After news of the meeting broke, Mr. Goldstone reengaged with the Trump lawyers on how to address the press reports. He told them he had spoken to *The Washington Post* and that “I did not reveal who had requested the meeting or any other details.”⁸⁷

Mr. Futerfas responded he would write something for Goldstone to use since “even your helpful quote was not clearly stated by the Wash Post.”⁸⁸ Mr. Futerfas then sent Mr. Goldstone a draft statement, which Mr. Goldstone described as “ludicrous” because it “sounded like an across-the-board endorsement” of Mr. Trump Jr.’s account of the meeting “as opposed to stating the facts.”⁸⁹

ii. With the White House’s assistance, Donald Trump Jr. issued misleading statements about the meeting.

On **July 8, 2017**, *The New York Times* broke the story of the June 9 Trump Tower meeting.⁹⁰ When *The Times* asked Donald Trump Jr. for comment before publication, Mr. Trump Jr. provided the following statement:

It was a short introductory meeting. I asked Jared and Paul to stop by. We primarily discussed a program about the adoption of Russian children that was active and popular with American families years ago and was since ended by the Russian government, but it was not a campaign issue at the time and there was no follow up. I was asked to attend the meeting by an acquaintance, but was not told the name of the person I would be meeting with beforehand.⁹¹

This statement, which was drafted with assistance from President Trump and White House press secretary Hope Hicks,⁹² omitted the fact that the Trump campaign’s purpose for attending the meeting was to obtain incriminating information on Hillary Clinton. The **next day, July 9**, *The New York Times* presented Mr. Trump Jr. with evidence that the campaign had accepted the meeting because it had been promised

⁸⁵ Email from Rob Goldstone to Emin Agalarov, RG000092 (June 27, 2017, 10:35 p.m.) (Goldstone Ex. 25).

⁸⁶ Goldstone Tr. at 146-147; RG000251 (audio file discussed in Goldstone Tr. at 146-147).

⁸⁷ Email from Rob Goldstone to Alan Garten, *Re: Story*, SJC-KAV_00132 (July 9, 2017, 8:00 p.m.) (Goldstone Ex. 27).

⁸⁸ Email from Alan Futerfas to Rob Goldstone, *Re: Story*, SJC-KAV_00132 (July 9, 2017 5:06 p.m.) (Goldstone Ex. 27).

⁸⁹ Goldstone Tr. at 143-144.

⁹⁰ Jo Becker et al., “Trump Team Met With Lawyer Linked to Kremlin During Campaign,” *New York Times* (July 8, 2017).

⁹¹ Trump Jr. Tr. at 56; Liam Stack, “Donald Trump Jr.’s Two Different Explanations for Russian Meeting,” *New York Times* (July 9, 2017) (Trump Jr. Ex. 8).

⁹² Trump Jr. Tr. at 146-147; Ashley Parker et al., “Trump dictated son’s misleading statement on meeting with Russian lawyer,” *Washington Post* (July 31, 2017).

damaging information on Secretary Clinton.⁹³ Only then did Mr. Trump Jr. modify his story and issue a new statement.⁹⁴

In this new statement, Mr. Trump Jr. said that he had been told before the meeting that the Russian lawyer “might have information helpful to the campaign” and that, during the meeting, “the woman stated that she had information that individuals connected to Russia were funding the Democratic National Committee and supporting Ms. Clinton.”⁹⁵

However, this second statement failed to acknowledge that Mr. Goldstone, on behalf of Trump family friends the Agalarovs, told the Trump campaign that it would be getting incriminating information on Secretary Clinton *from the Russian government, as part of its support for Donald Trump’s campaign*. Nor did the new statement acknowledge that Mr. Trump Jr. had forwarded Mr. Kushner and Mr. Manafort the entire email exchange, which notified them of the purpose of the meeting.

Two days after the story broke, on July 10, *The New York Times* reported on the existence of the email exchange between Mr. Trump Jr. and Mr. Goldstone.⁹⁶ Once Mr. Trump Jr. learned the emails would be published, he released the email exchange himself.⁹⁷ However, the version he released did not include Mr. Manafort’s response—“See you then”⁹⁸—showing that Mr. Manafort received the email offering incriminating information on Secretary Clinton from Russia before he accepted and attended the meeting.⁹⁹

D. Mr. Trump Jr. provided incomplete testimony about the President’s role in the drafting of his statements about the June 9 meeting.

Three days after the first story about the June 9 meeting, *The New York Times* reported that “a small cadre of Mr. Trump’s advisers” had helped craft Mr. Trump Jr.’s initial false statement while on board Air Force One and that the President had personally “signed off” on it.¹⁰⁰ Over the next several days, the President’s lawyers repeatedly denied that President Trump had played any role in crafting Mr. Trump Jr.’s initial statement. According to Jay Sekulow, one of the President’s lawyers:

⁹³ Jo Becker et al., “Trump’s Son Met With Russian Lawyer After Being Promised Damaging Information on Clinton,” *New York Times* (July 9, 2017).

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ Jacob Pramuk, “Here’s Donald Trump Jr.’s full statement on his meeting with a Russian lawyer,” CNBC (July 9, 2017).

⁹⁶ Matt Apuzzo et al., “Trump Jr. Was Told in Email of Russian Effort to Aid Campaign,” *New York Times* (July 10, 2017).

⁹⁷ “Read the Emails on Donald Trump Jr.’s Russia Meeting,” *New York Times* (July 11, 2017).

⁹⁸ Email from Paul Manafort to Donald Trump Jr., DJTFF00011895 (June 8, 2016, 12:44p.m.) (Goldstone Ex. 33).

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ Peter Baker and Maggie Haberman, “Rancor at White House as Russia Story Refuses to Let the Page Turn,” *New York Times* (July 11, 2017).

The president didn't sign off on anything. . . . The statement that was released on Saturday was released by Donald Trump Jr., I'm sure in consultation with his lawyers. **The president wasn't involved in that.**¹⁰¹

However, on August 1, 2017, the White House confirmed that the President "weighed in and offered suggestions" on his son's first statement about the June 9 meeting.¹⁰²

When asked who drafted his initial statement about the June 9, 2016, meeting, Trump Jr. testified:

A: [T]here were numerous statements drafted with counsel and other people were involved and, you know, opined.

Q: To the best of your knowledge, did the President provide any edits to the statement or other input?

A: He may have commented through Hope Hicks.

Q: And do you know if his comments provided through Hope Hicks were incorporated into the final statement?

A: I believe some may have been, but this was an effort through lots of people, mostly counsel.

Q: Did you ask him to provide any assistance with the statement?

A: No. She asked if I wanted to actually speak to him, and I chose not to because I didn't want to bring him into something that he had nothing to do with.¹⁰³

In response to other questions, Mr. Trump Jr. testified that he **could not recall** anyone other than legal counsel from the White House being involved in putting together the statements:

Q: And anyone else not on the lawyer side from the White House involved?

A: Not to my recollection.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ ABC, "Good Morning America" (July 12, 2017); *see also* CNN, "New Day" (July 12, 2017) ("I wasn't involved in the statement drafting at all, nor was the president."); NBC, "Meet the Press" (July 16, 2017) ("[T]he president was not involved in the drafting of the statement and did not issue the statement."); Eugene Scott, CNN, "Trump's attorney previously denied POTUS involvement in Russia statement (Aug. 1, 2017); Aaron Blake, "Trump's lawyer repeatedly denied Trump was involved in Trump Jr.'s Russia statement. But he was.," Washington Post (Aug. 1, 2017).

¹⁰² Abby Phillip, "White House says Trump weighed in on son's Russia meeting statement 'as any father would,'" Washington Post (Aug. 1, 2017).

¹⁰³ Trump Jr. Tr. at 59-60.

¹⁰⁴ Trump Jr. Tr. at 148 (emphasis added). In addition to being incomplete, Mr. Trump Jr.'s testimony on this topic also appears inconsistent and potentially misleading. After first acknowledging that his father may have provided input through Ms. Hicks, Mr. Trump Jr. later testified that he could not recall anyone other than legal counsel at the White House participating in the drafting. *Compare id.* at 59-60, *with id.* at 148.

II. The Committee’s investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election remains incomplete.

Russia unquestionably interfered in the 2016 presidential election. At President Putin’s direction, intelligence agencies, state-run media outlets, and paid social media “trolls” conducted a coordinated attack on American democracy.¹⁰⁵ Shortly after the Intelligence Community released its January 6, 2017, unclassified report describing Russia’s efforts, the Intelligence Committees in the Senate and House announced that they were launching investigations into Russian interference in the 2016 election.

In February, when it became clear that national security adviser and former Trump campaign official Lt. General Michael Flynn had lied about his contacts with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak, the Senate Judiciary Committee also began investigating.¹⁰⁶ The fact that a top Trump campaign adviser had communicated with Russia about U.S. policy and then lied about it raised questions about the extent of possible coordination between the Trump campaign and Russia and implicated matters that fall squarely within this Committee’s jurisdiction.

The possible involvement of U.S. persons in Russian efforts to interfere in the 2016 election also implicates federal criminal laws—including conspiracy to violate the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act, money laundering, and, more broadly, conspiracy to defraud the United States. Indeed, Special Counsel Robert Mueller’s concurrent criminal investigation has already resulted in 22 criminal indictments with charges against 19 people, including 4 former Trump campaign officials—Michael Flynn, Paul Manafort, Rick Gates, and George Papadopoulos. These subjects all fall within the jurisdiction of this Committee, which has a responsibility to determine what happened, who was involved, and how to prevent a similar attack on American democracy in the future.

While the Committee has made some progress in getting some answers, the lack of bipartisan agreement on what to investigate has limited the Committee’s investigation into what Russia did and who was involved. The Committee did reach bipartisan agreement on 32 letters requesting documents and interviews. In addition, the Ranking Member has sent 56 separate requests—unfortunately, a number of witnesses have refused to cooperate without the cooperation of the Majority. To date, the Committee has not required them to do so. Lacking cooperation from these witnesses, identified in the attached Appendix, the Committee has been unable to answer a number of questions regarding contacts between the Trump campaign and Russia.

Importantly, the June 9, 2016, Trump Tower meeting is just one piece of a bigger puzzle, and the Committee’s broader investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election also remains inadequate and incomplete.

A. The investigation into the June 9 Trump Tower meeting remains unfinished.

¹⁰⁵ Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections,” ICA 2017-01D, at ii (Jan. 6, 2017), *available at* https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to Jeff Sessions, Attorney General, and James B. Comey, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation (Feb. 15, 2017).

In early July 2017, *The New York Times* first reported on the June 9, 2016, meeting in Trump Tower where top Trump campaign officials sought incriminating information on Hillary Clinton from Russia. Ranking Member Feinstein immediately asked for a public hearing to evaluate the June 9, 2016, meeting and explore whether there had been other communications between the Trump campaign and Russia.¹⁰⁷ Chairman Grassley agreed to bring Donald Trump Jr. and Paul Manafort before the Committee for a hearing and to issue joint requests for documents.

On July 19, 2017, the Committee sent bipartisan requests for documents to the Trump Organization, the Trump campaign, Donald Trump Jr., Paul Manafort, and Glenn Simpson. The Committee also invited Mr. Trump Jr., Mr. Manafort, and Mr. Simpson to a hearing scheduled for July 26, 2017. The Chairman and Ranking Member then jointly agreed to dismiss all three witnesses from appearing on this date in order to interview them first.¹⁰⁸

The Committee interviewed Mr. Simpson on August 22, 2017. He confirmed that he had no involvement in the June 9 meeting and only learned about it from reading the news reports in July 2017.¹⁰⁹ The Committee interviewed Mr. Trump Jr. in September and other participants in the fall; however, the Committee never interviewed Mr. Manafort or Mr. Kushner or had either in for a hearing.¹¹⁰

Donald Trump Jr.'s testimony remains incomplete.

During his interview, Mr. Trump Jr. testified that, during the campaign, he received direct messages from WikiLeaks and that **“I think the only time I responded to them was, hey, when am I going to receive the next leak.”**¹¹¹ These messages were not produced before his interview, despite the Committee’s request for all documents that would have included such communications.¹¹²

Mr. Trump Jr. also did not produce any documents related to his July 2017 statements about the June 9, 2016, meeting in Trump Tower. Mr. Trump Jr.’s counsel has taken the position that these documents are protected by attorney-client privilege and has refused to provide a privilege log that would allow the Committee to assess the claim. For example, his counsel broadly asserted privilege over all communications, including Mr. Trump Jr.’s communications with Ms. Hicks, then-White House Director of Strategic Communications, about edits to his statements, including edits from the President. It is unclear how these communications would be covered by attorney-client privilege.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (July 11, 2017) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁰⁸ Joint Press Release of Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Charles E. Grassley (R-IA) and Ranking Member Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), “Judiciary Committee to Interview Trump, Jr., Manafort” (July, 21, 2017); Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to Joshua Levy (Aug. 3, 2017) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁰⁹ Glenn Simpson Tr. at 133-134.

¹¹⁰ The Committee also obtained written responses to questions from Natalia Veselnitskaya.

¹¹¹ Donald Trump Jr. Tr. at 136.

¹¹² Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, et al., to Donald Trump Jr. (July 19, 2017).

Additional questioning of Mr. Trump Jr. and review of non-privileged documents related to his July 2017 statements about the June 9, 2016, meeting are needed.

The Committee has never interviewed Jared Kushner

In summer 2017, the Committee discussed having Mr. Kushner appear in a public hearing. In June and again in July 2017, the Committee also asked the White House and FBI for information concerning Mr. Kushner's security clearance.¹¹³ The FBI declined to produce documents,¹¹⁴ and the White House never responded.

On October 18, 2017, the Committee requested documents and an interview from Mr. Kushner.¹¹⁵ On November 3, 2017, Mr. Kushner produced 57 documents but refused to produce many other documents that had been requested.¹¹⁶ Mr. Kushner also refused to agree to a staff interview and told the Committee to obtain a copy of the Senate Intelligence Committee's interview transcript instead.

On November 16, 2017, the Committee reiterated its request for documents and explained that it was not feasible for the Committee to obtain the transcript of the Senate Intelligence Committee interview.¹¹⁷ Mr. Kushner's counsel acknowledged the concern the next day but has since declined to cooperate.¹¹⁸

Democratic Members of the Committee reiterated their calls for public hearings with Mr. Kushner and others, and some members urged the Chairman to obtain Mr. Kushner's testimony before releasing the transcripts of the interviews of the other participants in the June 9, 2016, Trump Tower meeting.¹¹⁹ As Senators Whitehouse, Durbin, and Blumenthal noted, releasing the transcript could "unwittingly influence other participants' public testimony." Mr. Kushner, for example, might "unintentionally adopt as his own the recollection of someone else who has testified about the June 9 meeting.

¹¹³ Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, et al., to Marcia Lee Kelly, Deputy Assistant to the President and Hon. Andrew McCabe, Acting Director, FBI (June 22, 2017); Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, et al., to Marcia Lee Kelly, Deputy Assistant to the President, and Andrew McCabe, Acting Director, FBI (July 20, 2017).

¹¹⁴ Letter from Gregory A. Brower, Assistant Director, Office of Congressional Affairs, Federal Bureau of Investigation, to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (July 28, 2017) (on file with the Committee).

¹¹⁵ Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to Jared Kushner (Oct. 18, 2017).

¹¹⁶ Letter from Abbe David Lowell to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (Nov. 3, 2017) (on file with the Committee).

¹¹⁷ Letter from Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to Abbe Lowell (Nov. 16, 2017) (on file with the Committee).

¹¹⁸ Letter from Abbe David Lowell to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (Nov. 17, 2017) (on file with Committee).

¹¹⁹ Letter from Senator Richard Blumenthal et al. to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (Feb. 7, 2018); Letter from Senator Sheldon Whitehouse et al. to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (Mar. 14, 2018) (on file with the Committee).

Or worse, seeing transcripts before he testifies could provide an opportunity for him to coordinate his story with the transcribed accounts of those who have already testified.”¹²⁰

The Committee has never interviewed Paul Manafort

On July 25, 2017, Mr. Manafort offered to have Committee staff interview him at his attorney’s office that same day if the Committee agreed to question Mr. Manafort only about the June 9, 2016, meeting in Trump Tower and not to ask about any other topics or communications. Given his key role on the campaign and history representing pro-Russia interests in Ukraine, Committee Democrats did not agree to this limitation.

In early August, the Committee started receiving documents demonstrating, among other things, that Mr. Manafort had sought to leverage his campaign position for personal and political gain and that he had offered “private briefings” on the campaign to Russian oligarch Oleg Deripaska.¹²¹ These documents provided additional reason to question Mr. Manafort on matters beyond the June 9, 2016, meeting. The Committee continued negotiating with Mr. Manafort over the scope of an interview. When agreement for a voluntary interview was unsuccessful, Ranking Member Feinstein asked Chairman Grassley in early September 2017 to support a subpoena for Mr. Manafort, his documents, and bank records.¹²² An offer to issue subpoenas only came after October 27, 2017, when a grand jury in the District of Columbia indicted Mr. Manafort on charges of conspiracy against the United States, conspiracy to launder money, failure to file reports of foreign bank and financial accounts, and failing to register as a foreign agent.¹²³ Given the active criminal prosecution, pursuing subpoenas against Mr. Manafort at that time was not workable.

B. Other important witnesses have refused to cooperate.

To date, the Committee has sent 32 bipartisan letters requesting documents and interviews related to Russian interference in the 2016 election and possible ties to the Trump campaign.¹²⁴ Ranking Member Feinstein has sent an additional 56 letters related to Russian interference, including requests for witness interviews and documents. While some witnesses have responded to the Ranking Member’s requests, 26 witnesses have refused to cooperate altogether.

The attached Appendix provides an overview and status of all of the pending witness and document requests, including the following examples of key witnesses that the Committee has yet to interview:

¹²⁰ Letter from Senator Sheldon Whitehouse et al. to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (Mar. 14, 2018) (on file with the Committee).

¹²¹ See Julia Ioffe and Franklin Foer, “Did Manafort Use Trump to Curry Favor with a Putin Ally?” *The Atlantic* (Oct. 2, 2017).

¹²² Letter from Dianne Feinstein, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, to Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary (Sept. 22, 2017) (on file with the Committee).

¹²³ Indictment, *U.S. v. Manafort et al.*, No. 1:17-cr-00201 (Oct. 30, 2017).

¹²⁴ A number of these requests also seek information related to the possible obstruction of investigations into Russian interference. These 32 requests include 26 letters signed by the Chairman and Ranking Member and six letters that were agreed to by the Chairman and Ranking Member and sent under the Chairman’s signature on October 18, 2017.

- **Hope Hicks** – Ms. Hicks is a former White House Communications Director and Trump campaign Press Secretary. She was involved in the drafting of Donald Trump Jr.’s misleading statements about the June 9, 2016, Trump Tower meeting, reportedly submitted edits to the statements on behalf of the President, and was aware of Mr. Trump Jr.’s direct communications with WikiLeaks. It has also been reported that Ms. Hicks was with President Trump when he decided to fire FBI Director James Comey. *Despite testifying before other Committees, Ms. Hicks refused to cooperate.*
- **Michael Cohen** – Mr. Cohen is the President’s personal lawyer, and formerly served as Executive Vice President of the Trump Organization and special counsel to Mr. Trump. During the presidential campaign, Mr. Cohen led the Trump Organization’s efforts to build a Trump Tower Moscow in conjunction with Moscow-born businessman Felix Sater. Mr. Cohen and Mr. Sater also met with Ukrainian lawmaker Andrii Artemenko in January 2017, to broker a Russia-Ukraine peace deal that included the lifting of U.S. sanctions against Russia. *Mr. Cohen produced documents in March 2018, but has refused to appear for a staff-level interview.*
- **Sam Clovis** – As the National Co-Chair and Chief Policy Adviser for the Trump Campaign, Mr. Clovis supervised the activities of Carter Page and George Papadopoulos. At various times, Mr. Clovis encouraged Mr. Papadopoulos’s efforts to meet with Russian officials or government affiliates. Mr. Clovis has also been identified in public reporting as a Trump campaign official who may have coordinated with Republican donor Peter W. Smith on efforts to obtain Hillary Clinton’s hacked emails. *Despite testifying before other Committees, Mr. Clovis refused to cooperate.*
- **Maria Butina** – Ms. Butina is a Russian national living in the U.S. who has strong ties to the National Rifle Association and worked as an assistant to Alexander Torshin, the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Russia. The Committee has requested an interview and documents related to efforts by Mr. Torshin to arrange a meeting between President Putin and then-candidate Trump and possible use of the National Rifle Association (NRA) by Russia to contribute money to the Trump campaign. *Despite testifying before other Committees, Ms. Butina refused to cooperate.*
- **K.T. McFarland** – Ms. McFarland was a member of the Trump transition team and a former deputy national security adviser. It has been widely reported that she spoke with Lt. General Michael Flynn about discussing U.S. sanctions with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak. *Ms. McFarland has not responded to the request for documents and an interview.*
- **Stephen Bannon** – Mr. Bannon served as chief executive of the Trump campaign, as a senior aide to the transition team, and as President Trump’s chief strategist. Mr. Bannon also co-founded and served as vice president of Cambridge Analytica, the data analytics firm that provided strategic advice and

voter-targeting services for the Trump campaign. Mr. Bannon was aware of Donald Trump Jr.'s direct communications with WikiLeaks and likely has information about Lt. General Michael Flynn's removal as national security adviser. *Despite testifying before other Committees, Mr. Bannon has refused to cooperate.*

As is clear from these examples, an independent investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election has been hampered by the Committee's inability to gather the facts. Without hearing from these witnesses, the Committee cannot complete its work. As a result, several key lines of inquiry remain open and questions regarding contacts between the Trump campaign and Russia have gone unanswered.

C. A number of key questions remain unanswered.

A meaningful investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election must include a thorough exploration of the following open questions.

June 9 Meeting

The Committee has interviewed the participants in the June 9, 2016, meeting at Trump Tower except for Jared Kushner and Paul Manafort. Several open questions about this meeting remain unanswered. For example, the Committee does not know why Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort and top aide Jared Kushner agreed to the meeting, whether they had been told that Russia had "dirt" on Secretary Clinton, and their perspectives on the meeting. We also do not know who they told about this meeting, including whether they ever discussed it with Mr. Trump.

Although the Committee has interviewed Mr. Trump Jr., his testimony was incomplete on key issues, including his direct communications with WikiLeaks and the drafting of his misleading statements about the June 9, 2016, Trump Tower meeting. As a result, the Committee still does not know the President's role in drafting his son's misleading statements or what the President knew about the June 9, 2016, meeting.

Russia's Outreach to and Possible Coordination with the Trump Campaign

During the election, the Russian government repeatedly sought to engage the Trump campaign through a variety of intermediaries, many of whom offered Russia's assistance. While the Committee has obtained ample evidence of these overtures, it remains unclear whether the campaign or its surrogates accepted these offers and what, if anything, they offered in exchange.

For example, the Special Counsel's investigation has revealed that, in April 2016, the Russians used an intermediary to inform Trump campaign adviser George Papadopoulos that the Russian government had "dirt" on Hillary Clinton in the form of "thousands of emails." This information was shared with Mr. Papadopoulos before the public knew that Russia had hacked the computers of the Democratic National Committee or Clinton campaign manager John Podesta and others. The Committee has

reason to believe that Mr. Papadopoulos told other members of the Trump campaign that Russia had these emails.

Specifically, during an interview with the Committee, a Trump campaign policy adviser testified that Mr. Papadopoulos informed him that he had information on Hillary Clinton from the Russians. Several questions remain regarding who else on the campaign might have known this information, how they responded, and whether anyone took steps to obtain the stolen emails or to coordinate their public release.

The Committee has been unable to determine the extent of communications between the Trump campaign and Russia or the reasons for the President's policies toward Russia. We have not, for example, examined why the Trump campaign and Administration sought back-channel communications with Russia, and who was involved. The full range and substance of discussions between top Trump advisers and Russia regarding U.S. sanctions also remains unknown. For example, while the Special Counsel has confirmed that Michael Flynn discussed sanctions with Russia, we do not know who else on the Trump transition team was involved and whether the President-elect knew about these communications.

President Trump's Russia Contacts and Russia's Financial Leverage

Over the past several years, the Trump Organization has courted Russian investment in its properties, and there have been longstanding allegations that Russian oligarchs and individuals tied to organized crime have used Trump properties to launder money. Questions remain about how it has financed projects and whether that financing is tied to illegal Russian activity. For example, Deutsche Bank has assisted with financing for the Trump Organization, and the bank was recently fined \$630 million for its involvement in a Russian money-laundering scheme.

During the campaign, Michael Cohen worked closely with Moscow-born businessman Felix Sater on a possible Trump Tower in Moscow. The Committee still does not know Mr. Cohen's motives in seeking the Kremlin's support for Mr. Trump's business and political interests and whether his requests for Russia's assistance proved successful.

Trump Campaign's Use of Social Media

Through a coordinated network of fake accounts posing as Americans, as well as Russian bots, the Russian-backed Internet Research Agency (IRA) conducted "information warfare" against the United States during the 2016 election. The Committee received from Facebook examples of the social media campaign orchestrated by the IRA. Those ads sought to sow discord and amplify racial and social divisions among American voters. They exploited hot-button topics such as immigration, gun rights, LGBT, and racial issues to target both conservative and progressive audiences. The ads that were candidate-specific were overwhelmingly anti-Clinton.

In February, a grand jury indicted thirteen Russian nationals and three companies connected to the IRA. The Special Counsel's investigation has revealed that the IRA worked through individuals associated with the Trump campaign, who were not aware

that they were coordinating with a Russian enterprise. It remains unclear, however, whether additional U.S. persons knowingly worked with the IRA to influence the 2016 election.

The Committee has yet to examine any possible connections between efforts of the IRA or others working on Russia's behalf and the Trump campaign's social-media efforts, including the efforts spearheaded by Cambridge Analytica, which worked with Russia-connected Professor Aleksandr Kogan to exploit personal information that was harvested from Facebook user accounts without notice or consent to target voters and manipulate public opinion.

Russia's Connection to the National Rifle Association

The Committee has obtained a number of documents that suggest the Kremlin used the National Rifle Association as a means of accessing and assisting Mr. Trump and his campaign. Two individuals involved in this effort appear to be Russian nationals Alexander Torshin and Maria Butina. Mr. Torshin is a Putin ally and the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Russia,¹²⁵ and Ms. Butina served as his assistant. She also founded Right to Bear Arms, the Russian equivalent of the NRA, and started a business with former Trump supporter and adviser Paul Erickson.¹²⁶ Both Mr. Torshin and Ms. Butina have longstanding ties to ex-NRA president, David Keene, and in 2013, hosted him in Russia for a pro-gun conference.¹²⁷

During the campaign, Mr. Torshin, Ms. Butina, and their intermediaries repeatedly offered the campaign back channels to Russia and relayed requests from President Putin to meet with Mr. Trump. The Kremlin may also have used the NRA to secretly fund Mr. Trump's campaign.¹²⁸ The extent of Russia's use of the NRA as an avenue for connecting with and potentially supporting the Trump campaign needs examination. Requests for documents and staff interviews have been sent to Ms. Butina, Mr. Erickson, and Mr. Keene, but they have refused to cooperate.

Efforts to Mislead the Public

The Trump campaign, transition team, and Administration have repeatedly denied any contacts with Russian interests, despite the clear existence of such contacts.¹²⁹ President Trump and his associates have also made misleading statements. In an attempt to determine the extent of these misleading statements, why they were made, and who authorized them, requests for interviews and documents have been sent to Reince

¹²⁵ Tim Dickinson, "The Trump-Russia-NRA Connection: Here's What You Need to Know," Rolling Stone (Jan. 18, 2018).

¹²⁶ Tim Dickinson, "Inside the Decade-Long Russian Campaign to Infiltrate the NRA and Help Elect Trump," Rolling Stone (Apr. 2, 2018); Peter Stone and Greg Gordon, "FBI investigating whether Russian money went to NRA to help Trump," McClatchy (Jan. 18, 2018).

¹²⁷ Tim Dickinson, "Inside the Decade-Long Russian Campaign to Infiltrate the NRA and Help Elect Trump," Rolling Stone (Apr. 2, 2018).

¹²⁸ Peter Stone and Greg Gordon, "FBI investigating whether Russian money went to NRA to help Trump," McClatchy (Jan. 18, 2018).

¹²⁹ @realDonaldTrump, Twitter (Jan. 11, 2017) ("I HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH RUSSIA – NO DEALS, NO LOANS, NO NOTHING!"); *see also* "Trump: 'I Have Nothing with to Do Russia, Folks,'" NBC News (Oct. 24, 2016); Jim DeFede, "CB4 News Exclusive: Trump Denies Ties to Russia," CBS Miami (July 27, 2016).

Priebus, Sean Spicer, Hope Hicks, and Mark Corallo, all of whom have declined to cooperate.

Notably, these and other efforts to mislead the public are also potentially relevant to whether Mr. Trump or his associates have obstructed justice related to the ongoing investigations into Russian interference in the 2016 election. The Ranking Member has made several requests for information on this topic. Unfortunately, witnesses have refused to cooperate with the majority of these requests and, while this remains a critical issue for the Committee to explore, it is not covered in this interim report.

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