



Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

March 29, 2019

MR. WILLIAM F MARSHALL
JUDICIAL WATCH
SUITE 800
425 THIRD STREET, SOUTHWEST
WASHINGTON, DC 20024

FOIPA Request No.: 1391365-000
Civil Action No.: 18-cv-154
Subject: Communications between Peter Strzok and
Lisa Page (February 1, 2015 – Present)

Dear Mr. Marshall:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552. Below you will find check boxes under the appropriate statute headings with indicate the types of exemptions asserted to protect information which is exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the enclosed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely and identify which exemptions were applied. The checked exemption boxes used to withhold information are further explained in the enclosed Explanation of Exemptions.

Section 552

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(A) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(B) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(3) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(C) |
| _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(D) |
| _____ | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E) |
| _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(F) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(4) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(8) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(5) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(9) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(6) | |

Section 552a

- | |
|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (j)(2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(1) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(3) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(4) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(5) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(6) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(7) |

500 pages of potentially responsive records were reviewed.

345 pages are being released in whole or in part.

3 pages are being withheld in full per exemptions.

120 pages are being withheld duplicate.

11 pages are being withheld referral/consult.

21 pages were determined to be non-records/non-responsive to the FOIA request.

Below you will also find additional informational paragraphs about your request. Where applicable, check boxes are used to provide you with more information about the processing of your request. Please read each item carefully.

- ☒ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning, other Government Agency (ies) [OGA].
- ☐ This information has been referred to the OGA(s) for review and direct response to you.

☒ We are consulting with another agency. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is completed.

☐ In accordance with standard FBI practice and pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and Privacy Act exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. § 552/552a (b)(7)(E)/(j)(2)], this response neither confirms nor denies the existence of your subject's name on any watch lists.

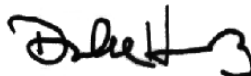
For your information, Congress excluded three discrete categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). See 5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010)). This response is limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. This is a standard notification that is given to all our requesters and should not be taken as an indication that excluded records do, or do not, exist. Enclosed for your information is a copy of the Explanation of Exemptions.

Please direct any further inquiries about this case to the Assistant United States Attorney representing the Government in this matter. Please use the FOIPA Request Number and/or Civil Action Number in all correspondence or inquiries concerning your request.

You may direct any further inquiries to the attorney representing the Government in this matter.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,



David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

In response to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request, enclosed is a processed copy of Bates Stamped documents, FBI(18-cv-154)-4036 through FBI(18-cv-154)-4535. The enclosed documents represent the tenth interim release of information responsive to your request.

The FBI conducted email searches for any email communication between Peter Strzok and Lisa Page. This search located both official government records and non-record personal communications between these two individuals.

The FBI reviewed 500 pages of these emails. While conducting this review, the FBI individually analyzed the emails to determine whether they pertained to official government business constituting records under the FOIA or whether they consisted of purely personal communications between the two individuals. As a result of the FBI's review, it determined 21 pages were non-record, personal communications not subject to the FOIA; and 479 pages consisted of responsive FBI records.

As previously indicated, document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning another agency (ies). We are consulting with the other agency (ies) and are awaiting their response. Our office has processed all other information currently in our possession. The FBI will correspond with you regarding those documents when the consultation is completed.

To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA)
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOIA Request No.:1391365-000 Civil
Action No.: 18-cv-154**

Total Withheld Page(s) = 155

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(18-cv-154)-4036	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4037 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4038
FBI(18-cv-154)-4042	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4044	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4045 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4046	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4047 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4048
FBI(18-cv-154)-4049 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4050	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4051 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4053
FBI(18-cv-154)-4055 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4056	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4057 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4059
FBI(18-cv-154)-4060 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4061	Referral/Consult
FBI(18-cv-154)-4074	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4076
FBI(18-cv-154)-4079	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4076
FBI(18-cv-154)-4080	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4122
FBI(18-cv-154)-4081	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4126
FBI(18-cv-154)-4082	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4094
FBI(18-cv-154)-4083 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4086	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4122
FBI(18-cv-154)-4087	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4123
FBI(18-cv-154)-4088 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4090	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4126
FBI(18-cv-154)-4092	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4122
FBI(18-cv-154)-4093	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4126
FBI(18-cv-154)-4095 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4098	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4122
FBI(18-cv-154)-4099	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4123
FBI(18-cv-154)-4100	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4124
FBI(18-cv-154)-4101 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4102	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4126
FBI(18-cv-154)-4104 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4108	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4132
FBI(18-cv-154)-4109	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4133
FBI(18-cv-154)-4110	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4127
FBI(18-cv-154)-4111 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4115	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4132
FBI(18-cv-154)-4117	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4122
FBI(18-cv-154)-4118	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4126

FBI(18-cv-154)-4119 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4121	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4122
FBI(18-cv-154)-4125	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4126
FBI(18-cv-154)-4128 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4131	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4132
FBI(18-cv-154)-4136 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4137	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4138 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4140	Referral/Consult
FBI(18-cv-154)-4141	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4142 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4143	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4144 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4145
FBI(18-cv-154)-4144 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4145	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4147	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4148 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4149
FBI(18-cv-154)-4148 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4149	Referral/Consult
FBI(18-cv-154)-4150	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4151	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4152 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4153
FBI(18-cv-154)-4153	b5-1,2
FBI(18-cv-154)-4155	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4156 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4157
FBI(18-cv-154)-4160	b5-1,2
FBI(18-cv-154)-4161 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4163	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4164 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4165
FBI(18-cv-154)-4166 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4167	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4168 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4169; FBI(18-cv-154)-4173 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4175
FBI(18-cv-154)-4172	b5-1,2
FBI(18-cv-154)-4177	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4179	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4180 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4186	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4187 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4190
FBI(18-cv-154)-4191	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4192 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4195	Referral/Consult
FBI(18-cv-154)-4196	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4199	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4200 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4201
FBI(18-cv-154)-4203	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4204 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4205
FBI(18-cv-154)-4212 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4219	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4220 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4223
FBI(18-cv-154)-4224 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4226	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4231 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4234
FBI(18-cv-154)-4229 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4230	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4236 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4237
FBI(18-cv-154)-4232 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4234	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4236 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4237
FBI(18-cv-154)-4299 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4301	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4302 thru FBI(18-cv-154)-4305

FBI(18-cv-154)-4311 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4318	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4319 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4326
FBI(18-cv-154)-4327 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4328	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4329 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4330
FBI(18-cv-154)-4329 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4331	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4333	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4335	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4336 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4337
FBI(18-cv-154)-4338 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4342	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4343 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4348; FBI(18-cv-154)-4368 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4378
FBI(18-cv-154)-4349 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4354	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4361 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4366
FBI(18-cv-154)-4379 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4383	Other - Non-records/Non-responsive to the FOIA request
FBI(18-cv-154)-4384	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4385
FBI(18-cv-154)-4398	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4399 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4400
FBI(18-cv-154)-4401 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4406	Duplicate to FBI(18-cv-154)-4407 thru FBI(18cv-154)-4409

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

X Deleted Page(s) X

X No Duplication Fee X

X For this Page X

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, March 20, 2017 12:45 PM
To: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]
(OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]
[redacted] (DO) (FBI)
Cc: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: RE: MYE tag-up

b6 -1
b7C -1

Let's stick with 2:45. OGC's non-sunshine room unless you hear back from me.

----- Original message -----

From: "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 03/20/2017 12:43 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)"
[redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] "Strzok, Peter P.
(CD) (FBI)" [redacted] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)"
[redacted] (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Cc: "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: RE: MYE tag-up

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Adding Greg. That should work for OCA - 2:45 or 3pm.

Beth Beers

FBI Office of Congressional Affairs

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, March 20, 2017 12:34 PM
To: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)
[redacted] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] Strzok, Peter P. (CD)
(FBI) [redacted] Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]
(DO) (FBI) [redacted]
Subject: RE: MYE tag-up

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Pete suggested 2:45 given the rest of his schedule tomorrow.

----- Original message -----

From: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]
Date: 03/20/2017 12:32 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)"
[redacted] "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted] "Strzok, Peter P.
(CD) (FBI)" [redacted] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)"
[redacted] (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: RE: MYE tag-up

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Tomorrow works for me, but there is a briefing that [redacted] Pete, and I will be attending from 2-

FBI (18-cv-154)-4037

3pm tomorrow. So, 3pm may be better.

[REDACTED]
Assistant General Counsel
National Security Law Branch
[REDACTED]

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Sent: Monday, March 20, 2017 12:29 PM

To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD)
(FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Subject: MYE tag-up

Could we cancel this for today and regroup tomorrow? Does 2:45-3:45 tomorrow work?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: MYE follow-up
Location: OGC conference room (non-sunshine room)
Start: Monday, March 20, 2017 1:30 PM
End: Monday, March 20, 2017 2:30 PM
Show Time As: Tentative
Recurrence: (none)

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Details changed for event on Mar 20, 2017

When: Mar 20, 2017 1:30:00 PM

Where: OGC conference room (non-sunshine room) --

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Updated: MYE follow-up
Location: OGC conference room (non-sunshine room)

Start: Tuesday, March 21, 2017 2:45 PM
End: Tuesday, March 21, 2017 3:45 PM
Show Time As: Tentative

Recurrence: (none)

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Details changed for event on Mar 20, 2017

When: Mar 21, 2017 2:45:00 PM
Where: OGC conference room (non-sunshine room)

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: MYE follow-up
Location: Sunshine room - note room change

Start: Tuesday, March 21, 2017 2:45 PM
End: Tuesday, March 21, 2017 3:45 PM
Show Time As: Tentative

Recurrence: (none)

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Required Attendees: Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Details changed for event on Mar 20, 2017

When: Mar 21, 2017 2:45:00 PM

Where: Sunshine room - note room change

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 21, 2017 8:29 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Close

I would just respond with a strange that you would think that, since I'm never here early.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/21/2017 8:19 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Close

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Of course this was BS cover for calling Charlie in NY about one of my cases because of something Carl allegedly asked ("I didn't know if your answer meant you'd be back tonight")....☺...No, like I'm going to blow you off until tomorrow morning when you say you need info coming out of wrap.

I talked to her around 630 after I finished talking with Dina and Jon. I tire of the constant sneaky but unprovable underhandedness.

----- Original message -----

From: "Boone, Jennifer C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 3/21/17 6:11 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Close

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Is that 530 in the morning?

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 21, 2017 5:06 PM
To: Boone, Jennifer C. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Close

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Back at 530

----- Original message -----

From: "Boone, Jennifer C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 3/21/17 5:05 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Close

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

You around? Query for more info from close-out.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, March 23, 2017 12:50 PM
To: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: RE: March 15 HPSCI "Unmasking" Letter Response

b6 -1
b7C -1

Good to go. It will be Jim, with [REDACTED] as back-bench.

----- Original message -----

From: "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/23/2017 12:05 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: March 15 HPSCI "Unmasking" Letter Response

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yep. Will wait for you.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 3/23/17 11:56 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: March 15 HPSCI "Unmasking" Letter Response

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Can you hold for one minute? I just want to double check one thing.

From: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, March 23, 2017 11:18 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]; Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]; Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: March 15 HPSCI "Unmasking" Letter Response

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Ok, thanks. We will offer it to the Staff Director.

Gregory A. Brower
Assistant Director
FBI Congressional Affairs
(Direct: [REDACTED])
(Mobile: [REDACTED])

b6 -1
b7C -1

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, March 23, 2017 11:17 AM

FBI (18-cv-154)-4047

To: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
[REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: March 15 HPSCI "Unmasking" Letter Response

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I did, briefly, yesterday afternoon. He's fine with it.

----- Original message -----

From: "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/23/2017 11:16 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: March 15 HPSCI "Unmasking" Letter Response

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED]

b5 -1

Thx

GB

Gregory A. Brower
Assistant Director
FBI Congressional Affairs
(Direct [REDACTED])
(Mobil [REDACTED])

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 3:05 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1

[REDACTED]

b5 -1, 3

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 3:04 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED]

b5 -1

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 3:03 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Hmm. [REDACTED] I'm not sure I'm following.

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 2:56 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED]

b5 -1

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 12:19 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b5 -1

[REDACTED]

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 12:15 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI)
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
[REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

Adding Pete, just to double check my work.

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 12:12 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI)
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Got it. Thanks very much.

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 12:12 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI)
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 11:11 AM
To: [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI)
[REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Hi all,

[REDACTED]

Adding Lisa on this one as well.
Thanks

b5 -1

From: Zapotosky, Matt [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 10:17 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: Hillary Clinton grand jury?

b6 -1, 3
b7C -1
b7E -6

Hev [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

Question for you on this recently released batch of Hillary Clinton documents. On page 165 of the 6th set of documents, a box is checked to indicate the material is "Grand Jury Material." Is that right? I don't think anyone had ever been aware of a sitting grand jury in the Clinton case. Is there another reason that box would be checked, or was it perhaps it checked in error? The same type of page appears several times throughout the documents, but the "Grand Jury Material" box is never checked.

b6 -1, 3
b7C -1

I'm on my cell today if we can talk it out: [redacted]

Best,

Matt Zapotosky

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 3:53 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: FW:

Just wanted you both to have this.

From: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 1:49 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW:

b6 -1, 3
b7C -1
b7E -6

From: Schmidt, Michael [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, March 23, 2017 2:24 PM
To: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject:

Mike: Wanted to flag you on something. Three of my colleagues are working on a story about the Russia investigation. They're told that Jared Kushner is among the individuals who the F.B.I. is scrutinizing for their meetings with Russians. My colleagues were told that Ambassador Kislyak, after meeting Kushner and General Flynn in early December at Trump Tower, set up a meeting with Kushner and a Russian banker. Kushner ultimately met with the Russian banker. The banker worked for Alpha Bank. Thanks, Mike

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 4:22 PM
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

b6 -1
b7C -1

I know, I know.

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 4:20 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

THANKS, LISA.

When I find out about the room, I'll ask for 330-430 to see if they can accommodate.

[REDACTED]
Assistant General Counsel
National Security Law Branch
[REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 4:18 PM
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

Aaaaand I just realized I have a 4:30. I'm sorry, I just didn't see it. Could we do this at 3:30? If not, no worries, I can just leave early.

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 4:14 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Scheduled for 4pm on Tuesday, 3/28. Any chance we can get 4017 for the meeting?

[REDACTED]
Assistant General Counsel

FBI (18-cv-154)-4057

National Security Law Branch

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 3:05 PM

To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)

[redacted] Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]

Cc: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]

Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

I'll make whatever work. Thanks

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]

Date: 3/24/17 3:03 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)"

[redacted]

Cc: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"

[redacted]

Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

For me, Monday 10-12 or Tuesday 2-5 work well. Thanks [redacted]

----- Original Message -----

From: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI)

Sent: Friday, March 24, 2017 2:35 PM

To: Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [redacted] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]

Cc: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]

Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

Hi Everyone,

Please let me know a couple one-hour time slots that would work with your schedules so I can arrange it.

[redacted]
Assistant General Counsel
National Security Law Branch
[redacted]

----- Original Message -----

From: Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)

Sent: Thursday, March 23, 2017 2:04 PM

To: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]

Cc: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]

Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

[redacted]
It sounds like you have pretty routine interaction up there, but if I can help at all in reaching out to them, just say the word and I'll do it...

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b5 -1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

1

-----Original Message-----

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, March 23, 2017 1:31 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI);
Cc: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Meeting with the DI

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Not a problem. I'll begin to lay the groundwork.

[REDACTED]
Assistant General Counsel
National Security Law Branch
[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, March 23, 2017 1:29 PM
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI);
Cc: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: Meeting with the DI

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] Jon:

Hi friends [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Thanks guys.

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1

Lisa

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 5:48 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: Briefing

b6 -1
b7C -1

Just FYI.

----- Original message -----

From: "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/27/2017 11:17 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory
(OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Briefing

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thanks,
Jim

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 1:15 PM

To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]

Subject: interesting article

<http://thehill.com/policy/national-security/326019-new-fbi-official-at-the-center-of-the-storm>

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 2:13 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE:

On with Trisha.

-----Original Message-----

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 2:11 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject:

You around? Q for you

Peter P. Strzok II
Deputy Assistant Director, Branch I
Counterintelligence Division

[REDACTED] (O)
[REDACTED] (C)

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 5:43 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -1
b7C -1

Fysa

----- Original message -----

From: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/28/2017 4:56 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

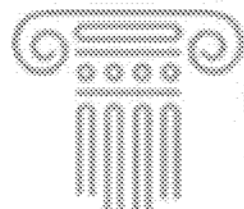
From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 4:47 PM
To: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]; Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Grassley apparently has sent us a letter regarding the DD.

From: "Chairman Grassley (Judiciary-Rep)" [REDACTED]
Date: March 28, 2017 at 4:15:15 PM EDT
To: "Foy, Taylor (Judiciary-Rep)" [REDACTED]
(Judiciary-Rep)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

b6 -3



COMMITTEE on the **JUDICIARY**
CHAIRMAN CHUCK GRASSLEY
WWW.JUDICIARY.SENATE.GOV

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tuesday, March 28, 2017

Grassley Examines Potential Conflicts in Top FBI Official's Role in Russia Collusion Probe

Deputy Director under review for political conflict in Clinton email case also in position to oversee inquiry into Trump campaign associates

WASHINGTON—Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley today called on the FBI to detail the involvement in the probe of alleged collusion between Trump campaign associates and Russia of one senior official who is under investigation for political conflicts in the Clinton email matter. Deputy Director Andrew McCabe helped oversee the FBI's investigation in the Clinton case even though his wife received nearly \$700,000 from close Clinton associates during her campaign for Virginia state senate. As the FBI's second-in-command, McCabe could have significant influence over the ongoing investigation into allegations of collusion between Trump campaign associates and Russia as well.

In January, the Justice Department Inspector General announced it is reviewing whether McCabe should have recused himself from overseeing the Clinton matter following reports that his wife received campaign contributions from longtime Clinton associate, Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe, and his political organizations. The contributions occurred while the investigation was underway. In a letter today to FBI Director James Comey, Grassley is seeking details on McCabe's involvement in the alleged collusion matter, whether it, too, constitutes an appearance of conflict, and whether he should be recused from any involvement in the collusion investigation as well.

"These circumstances undermine public confidence in the FBI's impartiality ... FBI's senior leadership should never have allowed that appearance of a conflict to undermine the Bureau's important work. ... If Mr. McCabe failed to avoid the appearance of a partisan conflict of interest in favor of Mrs. Clinton during the presidential election, then any participation in this inquiry creates the exact same appearance of a partisan conflict of interest against Mr. Trump," Grassley said in the letter.

Grassley raised questions about potential use of federal authorities for political gain following reports that the FBI sought to pay the author of the unsubstantiated and politically funded opposition research dossier on then-candidate Donald Trump. Grassley is now seeking details

opposition research against an Irish candidate of Donald Trump. Grassley is now seeking details on McCabe's involvement in the Trump campaign associates probe, including whether he was a part of any decision to continue funding the opposition research or whether he based investigative actions, such as surveillance, on information in the unsubstantiated dossier.

Text of Grassley's letter to Comey follows:

March 28, 2017

VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable James B. Comey, Jr.,

Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

935 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Washington, DC 20535

Dear Director Comey:

At your speech last Thursday at the University of Texas, you referenced former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's short letter to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, which sought authorization for FBI surveillance of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. without any proper basis for doing so. You mentioned that you keep this letter on your desk, and place FISA applications awaiting your review on top of it, as a reminder. You cited this to emphasize the importance of oversight over the FBI, even over well-meaning FBI officials, to ensure the propriety of the FBI's actions. You are right to call attention to the importance of such oversight. As Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, it is my constitutional duty to conduct that oversight over the FBI and the Department of Justice.

Pursuant to its authority under the Constitution and the Rules of the Senate, the Committee requires information to determine: (1) the extent to which FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe has been involved in the FBI's investigation of President Trump's associates and Russia; (2) whether that involvement raises the appearance a conflict of interest in light of his wife's ties with Clinton associates; and (3) whether Mr. McCabe has been or should be recused from the investigation.

As you know, Mr. McCabe is under investigation by the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General. That investigation is examining whether the political and financial connections between his wife's Democratic political campaign and Clinton associates warranted his recusal in the FBI's Clinton email investigation. On March 7, 2015, just five days after the *New York Times* broke the story about Secretary Clinton's use of private email for official business, Mr. McCabe met with Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe, a longtime, close associate of the Clintons—along with his wife, Dr. McCabe. Mr. McAuliffe recruited Dr. McCabe, who had not previously run for any political office, to be the Democratic candidate for a Virginia state senate seat. Dr. McCabe agreed, and Governor McAuliffe's political action committee subsequently gave nearly \$500,000 to her campaign while the FBI's investigation of Secretary Clinton was ongoing. The Virginia Democratic Party, over which Mr. McAuliffe exerts considerable control, also donated over \$200,000 to Dr. McCabe's campaign. While Mr. McCabe recused himself from public corruption cases in Virginia—presumably including the reportedly ongoing investigation of Mr. McAuliffe regarding illegal campaign contributions—he failed to recuse himself from the Clinton email investigation, despite the appearance of a conflict created by his wife's campaign accepting \$700,000 from a close Clinton associate during the investigation.

You have publicly stated that the people at the FBI “don’t give a rip about politics.”^[1] However, the fact is that the Deputy Director met with Mr. McAuliffe about his wife's run for elected office and she subsequently accepted campaign funding from him. The fact is that the Deputy Director participated in the controversial, high-profile Clinton email investigation even though his wife took money from Mr. McAuliffe. These circumstances undermine public confidence in the FBI's impartiality, and this is one of the reasons that many believe the FBI pulled its punches in the Clinton matter. FBI's senior leadership should never have allowed that appearance of a conflict to undermine the Bureau's important work. The Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General is now investigating that matter, as part of the work it announced on January 12, 2017.

Last week, you publicly testified that in late July of 2016, the FBI began investigating the Russian government's attempts to interfere in the 2016 presidential election, including investigating whether there was any collusion between individuals associated with the Trump campaign and the Russian government. Given the timing of the investigation and his position, it is likely that Mr. McCabe has been involved in that high-profile, politically charged inquiry as well. If Mr. McCabe failed to avoid the appearance of a partisan conflict of interest in favor of Mrs. Clinton during the presidential election, then any participation in this inquiry creates the exact same appearance of a partisan conflict of interest against Mr. Trump. As you testified last week, you believe that if someone had a bias for or against one of them, he would have the opposite bias toward the other: “they’re inseparable, right; it’s a two person event.”

According to public reports, the FBI agreed to pay the author of the unsubstantiated dossier alleging a conspiracy between Trump associates and the Russians. It reportedly agreed to pay the author, Christopher Steele, to continue investigating Mr. Trump. Clinton associates reportedly paid Mr. Steele to create this political opposition research dossier against Mr.

Trump. The FBI has failed to publicly reply to my March 6 letter asking about those reports. That leaves serious questions about the FBI's independence from politics unanswered.

Mr. McCabe's appearance of a partisan conflict of interest relating to Clinton associates only magnifies the importance of those questions. That is particularly true if Mr. McCabe was involved in approving or establishing the FBI's reported arrangement with Mr. Steele, or if Mr. McCabe vouched for or otherwise relied on the politically-funded dossier in the course of the investigation. Simply put, the American people should know if the FBI's second-in-command relied on Democrat-funded opposition research to justify an investigation of the Republican presidential campaign. Full disclosure is especially important since he is already under investigation for failing to recuse himself from the Clinton matter due to his partisan Democrat ties.

The Committee requires additional information to fully understand this situation. Please provide the following information and respond to these questions by April 11, 2017:

1. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any capacity in the investigation of alleged collusion between Mr. Trump's associates and Russia? If so, in what capacity has he been involved? When did this involvement begin?
2. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any requests or approvals for physical surveillance, consensual monitoring, searches, or national security letters relating to the investigation? If so, please provide all related documents.
3. In the course of the investigation, has Mr. McCabe been involved in any requests or approvals relating to the acquisition of the contents of stored communications from electronic communication service providers pursuant to the Electronic Communications Privacy Act? If so, please provide all related documents.
4. Has Mr. McCabe been involved in any FISA warrant applications relating to the investigation? If so, in what capacity? Please provide all related documents.
5. In the course of the investigation, has Mr. McCabe, or anyone under his supervision, made any representations to prosecutors or judges regarding the reliability of information in the FBI's possession as part of seeking judicial authorization for investigative tools? Has he or anyone under his supervision made any such representations about the political opposition research dossier compiled by Mr. Steele and Fusion GPS? If so, please explain and provide copies of all relevant documents.

6. Was Mr. McCabe involved in any FBI interactions with Mr. Steele? If so, please explain.
7. Did Mr. McCabe brief or otherwise communicate with anyone in the Obama administration regarding the investigation? If so, who did he brief, and when? Please provide all related documents.
8. Has Mr. McCabe been authorized by the FBI to speak to the media, whether as an anonymous source or otherwise, regarding the investigation? If so, please provide copies of such authorizations. If he was so authorized, to whom did he speak, and when? If he was not authorized to do so, does the FBI have any indication that he nonetheless spoke to the media?
9. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone within the FBI raised concerns within the Bureau that Mr. McCabe appears to have a conflict of interest in the investigation of Trump associates? If so, who raised such concerns, when did they do so, and how did FBI respond?
10. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone within the FBI filed a complaint with the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General regarding Mr. McCabe's involvement in the investigation?
11. Have personnel from the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General spoken with you yet as part of that Office's investigation into Mr. McCabe's alleged conflict of interest in the Clinton investigation? If so, did they also raise concerns as to whether Mr. McCabe's alleged partisan conflict would also apply to the investigation of Mr. Trump's associates?
12. Has anyone at FBI, the Department of Justice, or the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General recommended or requested that Mr. McCabe recuse himself from the investigation of Mr. Trump's associates or from any ongoing investigations of the Clinton Foundation? If so, what action was taken in response?

I anticipate that your responses to these questions may contain both classified and unclassified information. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committee. In

keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please segregate all unclassified material within the classified documents, provide all unclassified information directly to the Committee, and provide a classified addendum to the Office of Senate Security. Although the Committee complies with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information, it is not bound, absent its prior agreement, by any handling restrictions or instructions on unclassified information unilaterally asserted by the Executive Branch.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this important matter. If you have any questions, please contact Patrick Davis of my Committee staff at (202) 224-5225.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Grassley

Chairman

Committee on the Judiciary

cc:

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein

Ranking Member

Senate Committee on the Judiciary

The Honorable Dana Boente

Acting Deputy Attorney General

United States Department of Justice

The Honorable Michael E. Horowitz

Inspector General

United States Department of Justice

-30-



.....

.....

.....

.....

[1] Evan Perez, *FBI Chief on Clinton Investigation: My People 'Don't Give a Rip About Politics'* CNN (Oct. 1, 2015).

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 6:29 PM
To: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI); Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Cc: McCabe, Andrew G. (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: A/DAG Updates

This is not consistent with the information I received today. Will follow up and get back to you.

----- Original message -----

From: "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/28/2017 6:18 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
"Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "McCabe, Andrew G. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: A/DAG Updates

+ Lisa. Sorry!

-----Original Message-----

From: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, March 28, 2017 5:54 PM
To: Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: McCabe, Andrew G. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: A/DAG Updates

Thanks,
Jim

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -4, 6

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, March 29, 2017 9:23 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Conference Call

Yes for me too.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/29/2017 9:08 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Conference Call

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yes

----- Original message -----

From: "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 3/29/17 9:07 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Conference Call

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

DOJ is proposing 1145 for a coordination call to talk about the HPSCI invite. Does that work for folks?

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, March 30, 2017 2:35 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Time slot Thursday?

b6 -1
b7C -1

Yes. On my way.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 03/30/2017 2:31 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Time slot Thursday?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Are you coming for the meeting or are you already in [REDACTED] office? The reporters are here.

--

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 03/29/2017 2:31 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Time slot Thursday?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

2:30 works for both of us.

-----Original Message-----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, March 29, 2017 2:21 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: Time slot Thursday?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Hi,

[REDACTED] wanted me to check on your availability for a meeting tomorrow. It's the same guys you've met with recently. Apparently one of them has a conflict on Friday so they are asking for a Thursday meeting.

Best,

[REDACTED]

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 31, 2017 11:51 AM
To: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Cc: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Draft letter per D's direction of yesterday

b6 -1
b7C -1

[REDACTED] b5 -1, 3

-----Original Message-----

From: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, March 31, 2017 10:45 AM
To: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: Draft letter per D's direction of yesterday

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Please see attached draft. Thoughts?

thx

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 04, 2017 10:13 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Moffa,
Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC)
(FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha
B. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: tag-up

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

So apparently I was engaged in some optimistic thinking when I first set up this meeting invite, because the last one (according to the calendar invite) was this week. Alas, you can't get rid of me that easily. So I'm going to send around another calendar invite for the same time and day, and extend it through October. (This also may be wildly optimistic but I'm going with it). Just wanted to let you all know that you'd be receiving a new one. Thanks.

Lisa

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Weekly tag-up

Location: rm. 7426 (the non-sunshine room)

Start: Monday, April 10, 2017 1:30 PM

End: Monday, April 10, 2017 2:30 PM

Recurrence: Weekly

Recurrence Pattern: Occurs every Monday from 1:30 PM to 2:30 PM effective 4/10/2017 until 10/30/2017. (UTC-05:00) Eastern Time (US & Canada)

Meeting Status: Meeting organizer

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [redacted] (OGC) (FBI);
Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [redacted] (DO) (FBI);
[redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Kelly, Stephen D. (DO) (FBI);
[redacted] (DO) (FBI); [redacted]

b6 -1, 2
b7C -1, 2
b7E -6

Adding [redacted] and removing Beth.

From:

Sent:

Monday, March 05, 2018 9:55 AM

To:

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC)
(FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
(OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Weekly tag-up

Location: rm. 7426 (the non-sunshine room)

Start: Monday, April 10, 2017 1:30 PM

End: Monday, April 10, 2017 2:30 PM

Recurrence: Weekly

Recurrence Pattern: every Monday from 1:30 PM to 2:30 PM

Meeting Status: Meeting organizer

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI);
[redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC)
(FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] (DO)
(FBI) [redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC)
(FBI); Kelly, Stephen D. (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Weekly tag-up

Location: rm. 7426 (the non-sunshine room)

Start: Monday, April 10, 2017 1:30 PM

End: Monday, April 10, 2017 2:30 PM

Recurrence: Weekly

Recurrence Pattern: Occurs every Monday from 1:30 PM to 2:30 PM effective 4/10/2017 until 10/30/2017. (UTC-05:00) Eastern Time (US & Canada)

Meeting Status: Meeting organizer

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Kelly, Stephen D. (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

From:

Sent:

Monday, March 05, 2018 9:55 AM

To:

Kelly, Stephen D. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

From:
Sent: Monday, March 05, 2018 9:55 AM
To: Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Kelly, Stephen D. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Any chance we could move this to the morning? Maybe 10 am?

Sent: Monday, March 05, 2018 9:55 AM
To: Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Kelly, Stephen D. (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

From:

Sent: Monday, March 05, 2018 9:55 AM

To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
(OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Weekly tag-up

Location: rm. 7426 (the non-sunshine room)

Start: Monday, April 10, 2017 1:30 PM

End: Monday, April 10, 2017 2:30 PM

Recurrence: Weekly

Recurrence Pattern: every Monday from 1:30 PM to 2:30 PM

Meeting Status: Meeting organizer

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI);
[redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC)
(FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] (DO)
(FBI) [redacted] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC)
(FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

From:

Sent:

Monday, March 05, 2018 9:55 AM

To:

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Sent: Monday, March 05, 2018 9:55 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Any chance we could move this to the morning? Maybe 10 am?

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Weekly tag-up
Location: rm. 7426 (the non-sunshine room)

Start: Monday, April 10, 2017 1:30 PM
End: Monday, April 10, 2017 2:30 PM
Show Time As: Tentative

Recurrence: Weekly
Recurrence Pattern: every Monday from 1:30 PM to 2:30 PM

Meeting Status: Not yet responded

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Required Attendees: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI);
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC)
(FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO)
(FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC)
(FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 05, 2017 5:18 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: OCA

Need you to do me a favor re OCA this morning. Please remind me.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Sunday, April 09, 2017 6:59 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: New media leak

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/08/2017 9:58 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: New media leak

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Fysa

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/8/17 8:55 PM (GMT-06:00)
To: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: New media leak

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Bill,

b5 -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 11:58 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: REVISED DRAFT -- PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL DELIBERATIVE PROCESS MATERIAL

b6 -1
b7C -1

I'm concerned about pushing given the personnel involved. I don't mind back-briefing it you can't be there.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/10/2017 11:05 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Subject: RE: REVISED DRAFT -- PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL DELIBERATIVE PROCESS MATERIAL

Any way we can push this meeting back a bit, say sometime after 3? My on-again off-again mediation may be back on if HRD gets the employee's proposed termination letter done.

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 10:59 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: REVISED DRAFT -- PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL DELIBERATIVE PROCESS MATERIAL

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I have thoughts. Want me to just bring to the 1:30?

-----Original Message-----

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 10:03 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: REVISED DRAFT -- PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL DELIBERATIVE PROCESS MATERIAL

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Please take a look before the 1:30 if you could.

-----Original Message-----

From: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Sunday, April 09, 2017 9:32 AM
To: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: REVISED DRAFT -- PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL DELIBERATIVE PROCESS MATERIAL

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 1:31 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: NYT Last Shot

b6 -1
b7C -1

Today after 3 is good.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/10/2017 1:18 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: NYT Last Shot

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Pete/Lisa,

The editing is nearing completion and we have one last shot to hear what the end result is. Do you have time later today or tomorrow that is convenient for a listening session? Likely by phone in Mike's office. Let me know. Thanks!

[REDACTED]
Federal Bureau of Investigation
National Press Office
Desk [REDACTED]
Cell: [REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 8:20 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

Yes

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/10/2017 8:17 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

? From JR really meetings?

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/10/17 8:13 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I also have a correction to make, but let's do it in person tomorrow.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/10/2017 7:56 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thank you.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/10/2017 6:12 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Cc: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"

Subject: Closing the loop

to your question at the end of the call today, July 5th is the correct date.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 8:51 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Brower,
Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
Subject: March 6 letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED]

b5 -1, 3

[REDACTED] Thanks all.

Lisa

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 9:45 PM
To: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO)
(FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: New version
Attachments: Grassley Response Letter 20170410, 2140.docx

b5 -3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] Let's discuss in the morning. Thanks
all.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 6:47 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: New version

[REDACTED] but either way it was nice.

b6 -1

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/11/2017 6:38 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: New version

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Wow. I'm sure you are.

I will, or more likely just call later in the week.

It was nice for [REDACTED] to leave that sun. ;)

I'm glad to have company in the being proud of you for being brave department

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/11/17 6:35 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: New version

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1, 3
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/11/2017 6:01 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: New version

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Hopefully. I'll look as soon as I get it. Never got the time to call [REDACTED] so I'm going today.

What time did you end up getting out of there?

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/10/17 10:46 AM (GMT-05:00)

FBI (18-cv-154)-4164

Date: 4/10/17 10:40 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: New version

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

You probably aren't seeing the version with tracked changes if you're looking on your phone. Or at least I HOPE that's why you're seeing so many grammar issues.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 04/10/2017 10:24 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: New version

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED]

b5 -1

Go home, please, and please drive safely.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 4/10/17 9:45 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

"Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

"Beers, Elizabeth

R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

(OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: New version

b5 -3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] Let's discuss in the morning. Thanks all.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:49 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1

That works.

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:48 AM
To: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Should we do a quick meet at 11:30? Aside from the question answered by [REDACTED] there is one more on our check list concerning communications with folks across the street.

From: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:42 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I'm just flexible...

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:41 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] has the stopwatch!

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:39 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Mine should take about 30.5 seconds so I can swing by whenever.

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:27 AM

FBI (18-cv-154)-4168

To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [redacted] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] (DO) (FBI)
[redacted]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Please let us know when you'd like to touch base. We have a morning meeting so sometime after 11 would be best for us.

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 8:14 PM
To: [redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] (DO) (FBI)
[redacted]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I also have a correction to make, but let's do it in person tomorrow.

----- Original message -----
From: [redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted]
Date: 04/10/2017 7:56 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)"
[redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted]
Cc: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thank you.

----- Original message -----
From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 04/10/2017 6:12 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted] (DO) (FBI)
[redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted]
Cc: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[redacted] to your question at the end of the call today, July 5th is the correct date.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Accepted: Referral

Location: 4012

Start: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 2:30 PM

End: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 3:00 PM

Recurrence: (none)

Meeting Status: Accepted

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)

When: Apr 11, 2017 2:30:00 PM

Where: 4012

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 11:21 AM
To: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC)
(FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI);
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: Grassley Response Letter 20170411
Attachments: Grassley Response Letter 20170411.docx

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Trying to get this one to final too. I've accepted all changes, please let me know if you have additional edits. Thanks.

Lisa

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 4:02 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1

Thanks [REDACTED]

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Date: 04/11/2017 4:00 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

The issue [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 10:00 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

OK:

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:48 AM
To: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Should we do a quick meet at 11:30? Aside from the question answered by [REDACTED] there is one more on our check list concerning communications with folks across the street.

From: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:42 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I'm just flexible...

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:41 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]

Subject: RE: Closing the loop

[REDACTED] has the stopwatch!

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:39 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]

Subject: RE: Closing the loop

Mine should take about 30.5 seconds so I can swing by whenever.

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 9:27 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]

Subject: RE: Closing the loop

Please let us know when you'd like to touch base. We have a morning meeting so sometime after 11 would be best for us.

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 10, 2017 8:14 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]

Subject: RE: Closing the loop

I also have a correction to make, but let's do it in person tomorrow.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/10/2017 7:56 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Closing the loop

Thank you.

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 04/10/2017 6:12 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Cc: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: Closing the loop

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] to your question at the end of the call today, July 5th is the correct date.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Sent: Tuesday, April 11, 2017 6:03 PM

To: [REDACTED] Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); Priestap, E. W.
[REDACTED] Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD)
(FBI); [REDACTED] Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED] OGC (FBI); [REDACTED]
(OGC) (FBI); Rybicki, James E. [REDACTED] (DO)
(FBI); Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R.
(DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] OGC (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

Subject: A/L

Some of you are already aware, but this is just a quick heads up that I will be on A/L starting tomorrow, Wednesday, April 12 through Friday, April 21st. I am entirely reachable here or on my Samsung [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Thanks.

Lisa

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1, 3
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 18, 2017 1:42 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Let Me Clear My Throat - Wikipedia

b6 -1
b7C -1

Damn, I really missed a good one!

Of course, now I'm going to have that song in my head the rest of the afternoon...

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/18/2017 10:29 AM (GMT-08:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
(OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Let Me Clear My Throat - Wikipedia

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Generally speaking, our meeting yesterday consisted largely of audience-pleasing antics and energetic shouts.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 18, 2017 1:12 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Let Me Clear My Throat - Wikipedia

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] re weekly tag up discussion yesterday.

Lisa, things are different when [REDACTED] runs the meeting...

"Aside from a 16-line verse in the first half of the song, the lyrical content consists largely of audience-pleasing antics, energetic shouts, call-and-response, and shout-outs."

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Let_Me_Clear_My_Throat

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 21, 2017 11:51 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Cc: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: update

b6 -1
b7C -1

Not a problem. I'm happy to help.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/21/2017 8:50 AM (GMT-08:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Cc: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: update

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Okay. Copy that. Sorry to interrupt your time off.
Best,

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 21, 2017 11:50 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: update

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/21/2017 8:34 AM (GMT-08:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Cc: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: update

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Lisa,
Is there any additional information you can provide on communications between us and anyone at main DOJ when we first found out there might be emails? The reporter said his sources say DOJ only heard from SONY. [REDACTED] please let me know.
I need to call the reporter back today.

FBI (18-cv-154)-4187

Thanks.

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Sent: Friday, April 21, 2017 10:13 AM

To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Cc: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

Subject: RE: update

b5 -1, 3

b6 -1

b7C -1

b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 04/21/2017 5:32 AM (GMT-08:00)

To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Cc: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: update

b5 -1, 3

b6 -1

b7C -1

b7E -6

Lisa, not sure if you have anything to add, especially w/r/t the timing of DOJHQ knowing.

[REDACTED] I'll read what you dropped off yesterday afternoon and get back to you.

Thanks,
Pete

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 21, 2017 7:22 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: update

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

The latest from the writer.

----- Original message -----

From: Peter Elkind [REDACTED]
Date: 4/20/17 11:05 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: update

b6 -1, 3
b7C -1
b7E -6

Hi [REDACTED]

I hope you'll have some news for me tomorrow on how we're moving forward. My editors are eager to wrap this up and publish.

On the substance of my query about the October period: I just re-read the Oct. 30 search warrant and affidavit for Weiner's computer, released in redacted form pursuant to a civil suit. On p. 8 of the document, which I've attached, it describes the process of discovering Clinton stuff this way:

In executing the search of the laptop computer (the Subject Laptop) REDACTED, FBI agents sorted the emails on the Subject Laptop to segregate emails REDACTED. As a result, the FBI reviewed non-

content header information for emails on the Subject Laptop to facilitate its search. In so doing, the FBI observed non-content header information indicating that thousands of emails of REDACTED resided on the Subject Laptop. Because REDACTED emails were outside the scope REDACTED, the FBI did not review the content of these emails.

It goes on to explain that because the header info agents reviewed shows emails sent and received between (presumably) Weiner and Clinton (as well as other state department accounts) during the time she served as secretary of state—and the FBI's previous investigation showed some such emails on these accounts are classified--there's probable cause for a warrant.

In short, this clearly states that the initial process of sorting emails revealed header information that was the sufficient basis for probable cause: "thousands" of emails, as well as details on sender, recipient and dates. This (even more definitively than the press reports) seems inconsistent with the notion of initially discovering just a few emails, then slowly moving forward, over 2-3 weeks, with the sex-crimes search to stumble across enough Clinton info to have enough for probable cause. And there's no mention of anything like that happening in the affidavit.

Presumably the sorting would be done right after indexing the computer, which (I'm told) shouldn't take more than a couple of days.

I hope we can clarify all this soon.

Thanks,
Peter

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2017 3:15 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Sporre, Eric W. (CYD) (FBI); Archey, David W. (WMD) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: FW: 702 Renewal

b6 -1
b7C -1

Gents,

Pardon the quick interruption, but I wanted to ask for each of your help in identifying an individual to participate in 702-related matters until we get through re-authorization in December. The email below went to the EADs and ADs, but it might not have been clear who had the action to respond. In light of that, if you could please check with your ADs about staffing this effort and respond to [REDACTED] and I that would be greatly appreciated. Happy to answer question if you have them. Thanks!

Lisa

-----Original Message-----

From: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 13, 2017 10:12 AM
To: Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Mendenhall, Bradley G. (CTD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CYD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Abbate, Paul M. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Skule, Joshua (DI) (FBI); [REDACTED] Adams, John S. (NF) (FBI); [REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Jones, Robert A. (WMD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Piehota, Christopher M. (NS) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OTD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (OGA); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Miller, Karen D. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OTD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: 702 Renewal

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Folks,

I have cancelled the 702 strategy meeting for tomorrow afternoon since many folks will be away. In preparation for the briefing with the Director on Tuesday regarding this topic, I will try to pull together a short overview paper that I will circulate beforehand.

In the meantime, if CCRSB, STB, CTD, CD, CyD, WMDD, DI, OTD, OCA, and OPA could identify people who can help on the 702 working group from now until December, that would help us jump start this process. [REDACTED] will be the point person here in OGC (with support from many others). Carl has already identified [REDACTED] for NSB.

b6 -1
b7C -1

Thanks.

Jim

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2017 8:01 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: More on Digital Revolution

Nope, I'm just going to walk in this morning and play dumb.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/25/2017 7:59 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: More on Digital Revolution

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yeah I would be, too.

You have any stomach to go get lunch with [REDACTED] and talk?

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/25/17 7:57 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: More on Digital Revolution

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Okay now I'm really, really frustrated.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/25/2017 7:53 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: More on Digital Revolution

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Lisa - There are no lines to be crossed. Based upon my discussions with [REDACTED] there is one issue that I will mention to Andy. There is no need for a pre-brief prior to the PMR.

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2017 8:59 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: More on Digital Revolution

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I should have included that 45 minutes should do it [REDACTED] and/or [REDACTED] should be able to provide you with the necessary attendees. I spoke to Andy about this further as well; getting it on the calendar next week is definitely preferred, as there are some potential personnel matters which might be impacted coming out of this brief.

Also [REDACTED] I can't remember if I asked, but when you chat with Andy about the Cyber DPI issues tomorrow, could you include me as well so we don't get any lines crossed? Thanks!

Lisa

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2017 12:23 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)

I just had an excellent, very honest, very productive conversation with [REDACTED] about a range of issues. We talked for nearly an hour and a half. I appreciate the suggestion that I do so.

b6 -1
b7C -1

But damn, I'm really frustrated about the other issue. Ttyl.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2017 8:22 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Your thanks

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

OH YEAH WE DO. This week or next work for me. Just can't do this Friday.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/25/2017 8:16 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Your thanks

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I'm up to what? Interview?

b6 -1

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 4/25/17 8:08 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Your thanks

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

What would we do without you?

Pete - Looks like you're up.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/25/2017 6:49 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: Your thanks

b5 -3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Can come in the form of fine jewelry or furs: I successfully killed [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] If it gets raised by the interested parties, we'll brief it, but certainly not by my boss
and likely will try to contain the brief to only that which is relevant to their inquiry, at least as a

FBI (18-cv-154)-4204

starting point. ☺

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 1:18 PM
To: [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI);
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: FW: CONGRESSIONAL FROM SENATOR GRASSLEY RE: RUSSIAN HACKING
Attachments: grassley42417.pdf
Importance: High

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I called Beth already and told her that she included the wrong [REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----

From: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 1:15 PM
To: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI);
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI);
[REDACTED] (FBI); [REDACTED] Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI);
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI);
[REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: CONGRESSIONAL FROM SENATOR GRASSLEY RE: RUSSIAN HACKING
Importance: High

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Just making sure you've seen the attached, particularly in light of next week's hearing.

Beth Beers
FBI Office of Congressional Affairs
[REDACTED]

CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA, CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-5275

RODNEY L. DAVIS, Chief Counsel and Staff Director
JENNIFER DUCK, Democratic Staff Director

April 24, 2017

VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable Dana Boente
Acting Deputy Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20530

The Honorable James B. Comey, Jr.
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20535

Dear Acting Deputy Attorney General Boente and Director Comey:

Over the weekend, the *New York Times* reported that during the investigation of Russian hacking against political organizations in the United States, the FBI saw batches of documents the Russians had taken.¹ In doing so, the FBI reportedly came across a document that had implications on the then-ongoing Clinton email investigation; namely, the FBI obtained an email memo written by a Democratic operative "who expressed confidence that Ms. Lynch would keep the Clinton investigation from going too far."² According to anonymous government officials cited in the report, the discovery of the document "complicated" the procedures as to how FBI and the Justice Department would interact in the investigation, because "[i]f Ms. Lynch announced that the case was closed, and Russia leaked the document, Mr. Comey believed it would raise doubts about the independence of the investigation."³ That's an understatement.

Regardless of who announced that the Justice Department would not pursue charges against Secretary Clinton or her associates, the document raises questions about the independence of the investigation that cannot be ignored. I previously wrote to Director Comey during the investigation to express my concerns that the Justice Department appeared to be keeping the investigation improperly narrow and refused the FBI access to compulsory processes in such a way that several suspicious voluntary immunity arrangements had to be used with key suspects in order to obtain even the most

¹ Matt Apuzzo, Michael S. Schmidt, Adam Goldman, and Eric Lichtblau, *Comey Tried to Shield the F.B.I. From Politics. Then He Shaped an Election*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Apr. 22, 2017).

² *Id.*, see also Nikita Vladimirov, *Mysterious Document Was at Center of FBI Clinton Decisions*, THE HILL (Apr. 22, 2017).

³ *Id.*

April 24, 2017

Page 2 of 2

basic, limited information. Indeed, the investigation appears to have willfully refused to look at information from relevant times when evidence of Secretary Clinton's intent in deleting the emails under Congressional subpoena could have been examined. For example, the FBI specifically failed to review and analyze recovered emails and emails among her senior staff from the periods: (1) immediately after the press publicly reported her use of the private server for official business, (2) after Congress and the FBI instructed Secretary Clinton to preserve the emails, and (3) surrounding the deletion of the email backups and use of "BleachBit" to thwart their forensic recovery.

Director Comey has also failed to explain adequately why, in light of then-Attorney General Lynch's multiple appearances of a conflict of interest in the case, there is no public record of him suggesting that she should be recused. A clear explanation is needed even more in light of the reporting that Director Comey had misgivings about Attorney General Lynch's ability to appear impartial if the Russians released the email memo suggesting that she would ensure the FBI's inquiry would not go "too far." It is especially troubling that the FBI failed to disclose this email memo to the Committee despite the Committee's repeated expressions of concern about the independence of the investigation and multiple requests for relevant documents.

In order for the Committee to assess the situation, please provide a copy of the email memo by no later than May 1, 2017. By May 8, 2017, please also provide: 1) all FBI documents that reference the email memo, including records in which FBI personnel discussed how to interact with the Justice Department in light of discovering the memo, and 2) a description of what investigative actions, if any, the FBI took in response to the email memo to determine whether Attorney General Lynch was improperly limiting the investigation.

I anticipate that your responses to these questions will be unclassified. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committee. In keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please segregate all unclassified material within the classified documents, provide all unclassified information directly to the Committee, and provide a classified addendum to the Office of Senate Security. Although the Committee complies with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information, it is not bound, absent its prior agreement, by any handling restrictions or instructions on unclassified information unilaterally asserted by the Executive Branch.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this important issue. If you have any questions, please contact Patrick Davis of my Committee staff at (202) 224-5225.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary

cc: The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Ranking Member
Senate Committee on the Judiciary

Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)

Subject: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep
Location: 4017

Start: Friday, April 28, 2017 2:30 PM
End: Friday, April 28, 2017 3:45 PM

Recurrence: (none)

Meeting Status: No response required

Organizer: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)

Didn't we want the cyber people there as well so that we're prepping all together?

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 3:13 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

I wouldn't see any forwards. No worries then.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 3:10 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yes. I asked [REDACTED] to forward to the cyber drafter. Did that not come through in the invite?

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/26/17 3:07 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Didn't we want the cyber people there as well so that we're prepping all together?

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 3:26 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

Oh, yeah, it's there. I didn't read past the invite only.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 3:16 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

No. I meant I typed the request IN the invite comment field. Everyone should be able to see it.

----- Original message -----
From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/26/17 3:13 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I wouldn't see any forwards. No worries then.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 3:10 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yes. I asked [REDACTED] to forward to the cyber drafter. Did that not come through in the invite?

----- Original message -----
From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/26/17 3:07 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Accepted: SSCI discussion/prep

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Didn't we want the cyber people there as well so that we're prepping all together?

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 11:19 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1

I can walk down now if folks are ready.

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 11:18 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I think Lisa suggested we call you once we have our full quorum.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 11:15 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Am I calling you? What # should i use?

----- Original message -----
From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/27/17 7:13 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] shall I come to you and we can call Pete from somewhere down there? If not, my office is fine too.

----- Original message -----
From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/27/2017 6:49 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
(DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Okay. Sounds good.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 4/26/17 9:36 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: fact check #1

Works for me

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 4/26/17 9:21 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: fact check #1

Shall we say 11:30?

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 04/26/2017 7:59 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

(DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: fact check #1

Whatever is the easiest for you and Lisa.

Anytime from 1130 on would work well for me. Lisa, please let us know what time would work for you.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 4/26/17 7:53 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: fact check #1

I can. 500 miles of beautiful Midwest highway. Just let me know a time.

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 4/26/17 7:50 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

(DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: fact check #1

Might be easiest to chat tomorrow, if Pete can call in.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Date: 04/26/2017 7:46 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO)

(FBI) [REDACTED]

Subject: Fwd: fact check #1

I am sure he will send many more q's.

----- Original message -----

From: Peter Elkind [REDACTED]

Date: 4/26/17 7:20 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Subject: fact check #1

Thanks for quick callback. Here's a first small batch of straightforward details for fact-check purposes. Please let me know if anything here, in your view, is incorrect. There are also some clarification questions below.

Thanks,
Peter

COMEY BACKGROUND

—As he described in July 2016 congressional testimony, he's been registered as a republican most of his adult life but "not registered any longer" as Republican. Our understanding is that this simply resulted from his move from Connecticut to Virginia, where voters don't declare a party affiliation.

—Our check of records in states where he's lived shows Comey hasn't voted in any primary or general election for the past decade.

--After becoming director, he announced plans to visit all 56 field offices four times during his tenure; now on second round of visits

---FBI has 36,500 agents and staff

CLINTON INVESTIGATION

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1, 3
b7C -1
b7E -6

- Probe began with IC and State Dept IGs referral, officially opened 7/10/15
- Initially supervised by John Giacalone
- Peter Strzok is now deputy assistant director for counterintelligence. Please give me his full title at time the investigation began:
- about 30 analysts and agents worked on the Clinton case
- near end of the investigation, Comey ordered up files on about 30 previous cases where government had investigated mishandling of classified information. Read over the records personally, reviewed history on how these matters treated, satisfying himself with tentative conclusion that Clinton should not face charges
- investigation lasted a year and involved more than 90 interviews; identified 193 classified messages, per LHM and other investigative documents

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 9:46 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

I would forward it to [redacted] and [redacted] too as they're more likely to field questions about it.

b6 -1
b7C -1

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 04/27/2017 9:43 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

We're duplicating effort.

Sorry I didn't pass this to you. We should include each other.

I sent this to Bill and Kortan this evening after I got from [redacted] didn't know it was coming either.

----- Original message -----

From: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]
Date: 4/27/17 6:08 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]
Cc: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]
Subject: RE: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b5 -1, 3

[redacted]
Assistant General Counsel
National Security Law Branch
[redacted]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 5:53 PM
To: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]
[redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton


----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 4/27/17 5:30 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

For your awareness,
A Politico reporter sent this to me.

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[Web Version](#) | [Unsubscribe](#)

 Judicial
Watch' />

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 9:52 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/27/2017 9:47 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thanks----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/27/17 9:38 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/27/2017 5:30 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

For your awareness.

A Politico reporter sent this to me.

FBI (18-cv-154)-4231

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 9:59 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton
Attachments: PriestapDec.pdf

Are you serious, dude? This is what I sent to [REDACTED] So I've committed some grave sin for not including you on this? My apologies, DAD Strzok, sir.

b6 -1
b7C -1

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/27/2017 8:36 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I didn't realize that we had said this publicly. We're likely to get a slew of inquiries. Just for the future, we should try to let OPA know in advance if we're releasing any new information. Thanks!

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/27/2017 5:30 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

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☒ Judicial
Watch' />

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: 202-646-5188

April 27, 2017

Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

*Documents contain statement on subpoena given by FBI Assistant Director
Assigned to 'counterintelligence and counterespionage matters'
Who supervised Clinton Investigation*

(Washington, DC) -- Judicial Watch today released new State Department documents including a declaration from FBI Special Agent E.W. Priestap, the supervisor of the agency's investigation into Hillary Clinton's email activities, stating that the former secretary of state was the subject of a grand jury investigation related to her BlackBerry email accounts.

The declaration was produced in response to Judicial Watch's lawsuit seeking to force Secretary of State Rex Tillerson to take steps to "recover emails of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton" and other U.S. Department of State employees (Judicial Watch, Inc. v. Rex Tillerson (No. 1:15-cv-00785)). The lawsuit was originally filed against then-Secretary of State John Kerry. The Trump State Department filing includes details of the agency's continuing refusal to refer the Clinton email issue to the Justice Department, as the law requires.

In the filing Priestap declares under penalty of perjury that the FBI "obtained Grand Jury subpoenas related to the Blackberry e-mail accounts, which produced no responsive materials, as the requested data was outside the retention time utilized by those providers."

On April 30, 2015, Judicial Watch sued Kerry after the State Department failed to take action on a letter sent to Kerry "notifying him of the unlawful removal of the Clinton emails and requesting that he initiate enforcement action pursuant to the [Federal Records Act]," including working through the Attorney General to recover the emails.

After initially being dismissed by the district court, Judicial Watch's lawsuit was revived on appeal by a decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit on December 27, 2016.

While at the State Department, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton conducted official government business using unsecured email server and email accounts. Her top aides and advisors also used non-"state.gov" email accounts to conduct official business. Clinton left office February 1, 2013.

"The FBI convened a grand jury to investigate Hillary Clinton in 2016. Why is this information being released only now?" said Judicial Watch President Tom Fitton. "And it is disturbing that the State Department, Justice Department and FBI are still trying to protect Hillary Clinton. President Trump needs to clean house at all these agencies."

###

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Judicial Watch
425 Third Street SW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20024

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judicialwatch.org

EXHIBIT 1

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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

JUDICIAL WATCH, INC.,

Plaintiff,

v.

REX TILLERSON, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State,

Defendant.

Civil Action No. 15-cv-0785

CAUSE OF ACTION INSTITUTE,

Plaintiff,

v.

REX TILLERSON, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State, and DAVID S. FERRIERO,
in his official capacity as Archivist of the
United States,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 15-cv-1068

DECLARATION OF E. W. PRIESTAP
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

(U) I, E.W. Priestap, hereby declare and say:

1. (U) I have been a Special Agent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for eighteen (18) years. I was assigned to the Counterintelligence Division at FBI Headquarters as the Assistant Director in December 2015. Before then, I served as the Deputy Assistant Director of the Intelligence Operations Branch in the Directorate of Intelligence at FBI Headquarters. Prior to that, I was named Special Agent in Charge of the Counterintelligence

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Division in the New York Field Office in 2013, where I supported counterterrorism and counterintelligence operations since 2006 as a Supervisory Special Agent.

2. (U) On July 10, 2015, the FBI initiated a full investigation based upon a referral from the US Intelligence Community Inspector General (ICIG), submitted in accordance with Section 811(c) of the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1995 and dated July 06, 2015, regarding the potential unauthorized transmission and storage of classified information on the personal e-mail server of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (Clinton). In my capacity as the Assistant Director assigned to counterintelligence and counterespionage matters, I supervised the Clinton investigation. I make this declaration to provide the Court with background information regarding investigative efforts taken to obtain repositories of e-mail which would assist the FBI in reviewing the potential unauthorized transmission and storage of classified information. The information stated herein is based on my personal knowledge, my review and consideration of documents and information available to me in my official capacity, and information furnished to me by Special Agents and other employees of the FBI.

INVESTIGATIVE ACTIONS TAKEN TO ACQUIRE REPOSITORIES OF E-MAIL

3. (U) A primary focus of the FBI's investigative efforts was the recovery of non-governmental e-mail repositories used by Clinton during her tenure as Secretary of State. In furtherance of its investigation, the FBI acquired or sought access to computer equipment and mobile devices used during the former Secretary's tenure in order to forensically review items and obtain evidence to evaluate the potential unauthorized transmission and storage of classified information. Although this Declaration provides a general overview of the FBI's investigative efforts, much more detailed information on specific investigative actions and specific computer equipment and mobile devices can be found in the *Clinton E-Mail Investigation: Mishandling of*

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Classified – Unknown Subject of Country (SIM) Letterhead Memorandum (LHM), of which an unclassified and publically available version is attached to this declaration for review.¹

A. Clinton's Personal E-Mail Server Systems

4. (U) Prior to January 21, 2009, when she was sworn in as the U.S. Secretary of State, Clinton used a personally-acquired BlackBerry device with service initially from Cingular Wireless and later AT&T Wireless, to access her personal e-mail accounts. Clinton initially used the e-mail address hr15@mycingular.blackberry.net and then changed to hr15@att.blackberry.net. These e-mail addresses continued to be utilized for a brief time during Clinton's tenure (January 21, 2009 until March 18, 2009). The FBI's investigation only concerned the potential unauthorized transmission and storage of classified information on the personal e-mail server during former Secretary Clinton's tenure at the Department of State (DOS). Initially, an investigative emphasis was placed on obtaining early tenure e-mails in order to understand the circumstances for deciding to use the private e-mail server. As described in greater detail below, the FBI primarily sought to obtain the actual devices used by Clinton to facilitate e-mail, such as BlackBerrys, as well as any archived repositories of Secretary Clinton's e-mails, through consensual agreement. The FBI also obtained Grand Jury subpoenas related to the Blackberry e-mail accounts, which produced no responsive materials, as the requested data was outside the retention time utilized by those providers. The FBI did not recover any information indicating that Clinton sent an e-mail from her hr15@mycingular.blackberry.net or hr15@att.blackberry.net e-mails after March 18, 2009.

¹ The attached LHM is the unclassified version publically available on the FBI's website, which has classified information and personal identifying information redacted in accordance with statutory obligations. See <https://vault.fbi.gov/hillary-r.-clinton>.

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5. (U) In mid-to-late January 2009, Clinton transitioned to the `hdr22@clintonemail.com` account, which utilized a newly-created private domain for e-mail initially hosted on a private server (the "Apple Server") located at Clinton's Chappaqua, New York residence. In or around January 2009, a decision was made by Clinton's staff to move the `clintonemail.com` domain to another server because the Apple Server was antiquated and users were experiencing problems with e-mail delivery on their BlackBerry devices.

6. (U) In or around March 2009, a second private server (the "Pagliano Server") was installed at the Chappaqua residence. During the installation of the Pagliano Server, Clinton's former staff believe all e-mail from the Apple Server was migrated, and therefore no e-mail content should have remained on the Apple Server. Following the e-mail migration from the Apple Server to the Pagliano Server, the Apple Server was repurposed to serve as a personal computer for household staff at the Chappaqua residence. Sometime in 2014, and after the Secretary's tenure at DOS, some data from the repurposed Apple Server was transferred to a new Apple iMac computer, and the hard drive of the old Apple Server was discarded. The FBI was therefore unable to obtain the original Apple Server for a forensic review.

7. (U) The FBI did not seek to obtain the iMac computer for forensic review because the device did not facilitate Secretary Clinton's use of e-mail during her tenure. At the request of the FBI, DOJ requested that Williams & Connolly LLP, Clinton's private counsel, coordinate a review of all data on the iMac to determine whether e-mail repositories from the Apple Server were still present from the 2014 data transfer through a keyword search consisting of terms identified by the FBI. On October 14, 2015, Williams & Connolly confirmed to DOJ that a review of the iMac was conducted pursuant to the request and no e-mails were found belonging to Clinton from the period of her tenure as Secretary of State. During the course of

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the investigation, the FBI found no information to indicate that the review of the iMac by Williams & Connolly was not comprehensive and accurate.

8. (U) The successor Pagliano Server consisted of several pieces of equipment discussed in detail in the LHM. The Pagliano Server was set to conduct a complete backup on a Seagate external hard drive once per week, with a differential backup (a cumulative backup of all changes occurring since the last full backup) being completed every day, and this continued from the initial Pagliano Server installation in March 2009 until June 2011, when the external hard drive was replaced. The external hard drive was replaced with a Cisco Network Attached Storage (NAS) device, to store backups of the server. The FBI was unable to forensically determine how frequently the NAS captured backups of the Pagliano Server. As discussed further below, the FBI was able to obtain the Pagliano Server, the Seagate external hard drive, and the NAS. The FBI's forensic analysis of the three repositories resulted in the recovery of e-mails and documents from within the Secretary's tenure.

9. (U) In early 2013, because of user limitations and reliability concerns regarding the Pagliano Server, Clinton's staff discussed future e-mail server options through a vendor. On or about July 18, 2013, Platte River Networks (PRN) finalized terms for a service agreement to host e-mail services for Clinton (the "PRN Server"). Prior to finalization, on or around June 23, 2013, PRN transported the Pagliano Server to a datacenter in Secaucus, New Jersey run by Equinix, Inc. (Equinix). The PRN Server remained at the Equinix facility until the PRN Server and associated equipment were voluntarily produced to the FBI on October 03, 2015. The migration of the clintonemail.com domain from the Pagliano Server to the successor PRN Server began to occur on or around June 30, 2013, and the Pagliano and PRN Servers functioned together at least in part until Microsoft Exchange was fully uninstalled on the Pagliano Server on

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December 03, 2013. During the migration period to the PRN Server, a portion of Clinton's e-mails were transferred utilizing a known commercial e-mail account. The FBI, in the course of its investigation, was able to obtain and review these files.

10. (U) As part of the new PRN Server, PRN configured a backup device from Datto, Inc. (Datto), a Datto SIRIS 2000, to take multiple images of the server system daily, with a retention period of 60 days. The Pagliano Server remained in the same server cage as the PRN Server until it was obtained by the FBI in August 2015 via consent provided by Clinton through Williams & Connolly. Through the investigation, the FBI was also able to obtain the PRN server and the Datto SIRIS 2000, and to access the cloud backup of the Datto device. The FBI's forensic analysis of these repositories resulted in the recovery of e-mails and documents within the Secretary's tenure. Of note, forensic analysis of the Datto backups revealed some e-mails associated with the time period between January 21, 2009 and March 18, 2009, none of which were provided by Secretary Clinton because of an inability to locate the files.

B. Mobile Devices Associated with Clinton's E-Mail Server Systems

11. (U) The FBI's investigation identified thirteen (13) total mobile devices which potentially were used to send e-mails using Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail addresses. On February 9, 2016, DOJ requested all 13 mobile devices from Williams & Connelly. Williams & Connelly replied on February 22, 2016 that they were unable to locate any of these devices. As a result, the FBI was unable to acquire or directly forensically examine any of these 13 mobile devices during the course of the investigation. The FBI was able to consensually obtain some backup copies of devices utilized by former Secretary Clinton in the course of the investigation from former members of Clinton's staff. The FBI's forensic analysis of the repositories resulted in the recovery of e-mails and documents within the Secretary's tenure.

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12. (U) On October 16, 2015, Williams & Connelly provided two (2) BlackBerry devices to the FBI and indicated the devices may contain or had previously contained e-mails from Clinton's personal e-mail account during her tenure as Secretary of State. FBI forensic analysis found no evidence to indicate either of the devices provided by Williams & Connelly were connected to one of Clinton's personal servers or contained-mails from her personal accounts during her tenure.

13. (U) The FBI identified five (5) iPad devices associated with Clinton which potentially were used to send e-mails from Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail addresses. The FBI obtained three (3) of the iPads. One iPad contained three tenure e-mails from 2012 in the hdr22@clintonemail.com "drafts" folder. The FBI did not recover any e-mails from Clinton's personal e-mail accounts from either of the other two iPads in its possession. The FBI did not obtain the remaining two iPads because they were no longer in Clinton's possession and investigative activities indicated there was no likelihood that tenure e-mails would be present.

CONCLUSION

14. (U) The FBI undertook all reasonable and comprehensive efforts to recover e-mails relevant to investigating the potential unauthorized transmission and storage of classified information on the personal e-mail server of former Secretary Clinton. This effort consisted of acquiring all potentially work-related e-mails within the former Secretary's tenure and then undertaking classification reviews of each identified e-mail in conjunction with U.S. Government partners. As of July 2016, the FBI recovered several thousand unique work-related and personal e-mails from Clinton's tenure associated with the hdr22@clintonemail.com e-mail address that were not provided by Williams & Connolly as part of Clinton's production to the Department of State (DOS). The FBI has since turned over all of these e-mails and other

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documents to DOS for agency record determination.² In connection with an unrelated pending investigation, the FBI learned of the existence of e-mails that appeared pertinent to the Clinton investigation and took appropriate steps to allow investigators to review those e-mails. Investigative activities undertaken in October 2016 with respect to those e-mails resulted in additional e-mails being discovered which may be potentially work-related. The FBI will also provide these e-mails to the DOS for agency record determination. It is my opinion that there are no further investigative actions that can be undertaken by the FBI to recover additional Clinton work-related e-mails which would be meaningful to the investigation, as described above.

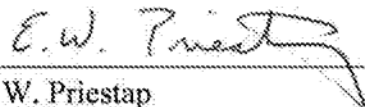
² The FBI did not and could not make assessments of whether these e-mails were Department of State records under the Federal Records Act.

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Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and that Exhibit A attached hereto is a true and correct copy.

Executed this 24th day of April, 2017.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "E. W. Priestap", is written over a horizontal line.

E. W. Priestap
Assistant Director
Counterintelligence Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation

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DECLARATION OF E.W. PRIESTAP, FBI
EXHIBIT A

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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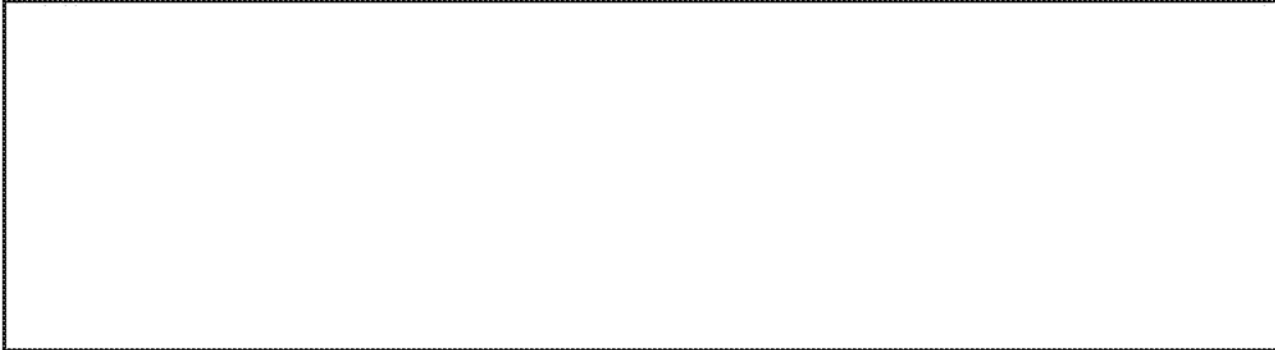
U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

July, 2016
Washington, D.C.

CLINTON E-MAIL INVESTIGATION

MISHANDLING OF CLASSIFIED – UNKNOWN SUBJECT OR COUNTRY (SIM)

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This report recounts the information collected in this investigation. It is not intended to address potential inconsistencies in, or the validity of, the information related herein.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) On July 10, 2015, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) initiated a full investigation based upon a referral received from the US Intelligence Community Inspector General (ICIG), submitted in accordance with Section 811(c) of the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1995 and dated July 6, 2015, regarding the potential unauthorized transmission and storage of classified information on the personal e-mail server of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (Clinton).^a The FBI's investigation focused on determining whether classified information was transmitted or stored on unclassified systems in violation of federal criminal

^a (U//~~FOUO~~) For a complete listing of the interviews conducted, electronic media collected, legal process issued, and classified e-mails identified during this investigation, please refer to Appendices A-D. As background, Clinton was Secretary of State from January 21, 2009 through February 1, 2013.

FBI INFO:

CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG F82M32K21

REASON: 1.4 (C,C)

DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2041

DATE: 08-18-2015

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statutes and whether classified information was compromised by unauthorized individuals, to include foreign governments or intelligence services, via cyber intrusion or other means. (U//~~FOUO~~) In furtherance of its investigation, the FBI acquired computer equipment and mobile devices, to include equipment associated with two separate e-mail server systems used by Clinton, and forensically reviewed the items to recover relevant evidence. In response to FBI requests for classification determinations in support of this investigation, US Intelligence Community (USIC) agencies determined that 81 e-mail chains,^{b,c} which FBI investigation determined were transmitted and stored on Clinton's UNCLASSIFIED personal server systems, contained classified information ranging from the CONFIDENTIAL to TOP SECRET/SPECIAL ACCESS PROGRAM levels at the time they were sent between 2009-2013. USIC agencies determined that 68 of these e-mail chains remain classified. In addition, the classification determination process administered by the US Department of State (State) in connection with Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) litigation identified approximately 2,000 additional e-mails currently classified CONFIDENTIAL and 1 e-mail currently classified SECRET, which FBI investigation determined were transmitted and stored on at least two of Clinton's personal server systems.^d

(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI's investigation and forensic analysis did not find evidence confirming that Clinton's e-mail accounts or mobile devices were compromised by cyber means. However, investigative limitations, including the FBI's inability to obtain all mobile devices and various computer components associated with Clinton's personal e-mail systems, prevented the FBI from conclusively determining whether the classified information transmitted and stored on Clinton's personal server systems was compromised via cyber intrusion or other means. The FBI did find that hostile foreign actors successfully gained access to the personal e-mail accounts of individuals with whom Clinton was in regular contact and, in doing so, obtained e-mails sent to or received by Clinton on her personal account.

1. (U//~~FOUO~~) Clinton's Personal E-Mail Server Systems

A. (U//~~FOUO~~) Initial E-mail Server: June 2008 – March 2009

(U//~~FOUO~~) In or around 2007, Justin Cooper, at the time an aide to former President William Jefferson Clinton (President Clinton), purchased an Apple OS X server (Apple Server) for the sole purpose of hosting e-mail services for President Clinton's staff.^{1,2} Due to concern over ensuring e-mail reliability and a desire to segregate e-mail for President Clinton's various post-presidency endeavors, President Clinton's aides decided to maintain physical control of the Apple Server in the Clinton residence in Chappaqua, New York (Chappaqua residence).^{3,4,5} According to Cooper, in or around June 2008, a representative from Apple installed the Apple

^b (U//~~FOUO~~) The number of classified e-mail chains identified may change as classification determination responses continue to be returned to the FBI.

^c (U//~~FOUO~~) For the purposes of the FBI's investigation, an "e-mail chain" is defined as a set of e-mail responses having the same initial e-mail. The subject line may be edited in these chains to reflect the purpose of the forward or reply.

^d (U//~~FOUO~~) State did not provide a determination with respect to the classification of these e-mails at the time they were sent. According to State Under Secretary of Management, Patrick Kennedy, unclassified information provided to State in confidence can later be considered classified when it is "further assessed the disclosure of such information might damage national security or diplomatic relationships." Such information is referred to as "up-class" or "up-classified."

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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Server^c in the basement of the Chappaqua residence.^{6,7} The FBI was unable to obtain records from Cooper or Apple to verify the installation. At the time, Cooper was the only individual with administrative access to the Apple Server; however, the Clinton family and their Chappaqua residence staff had physical access to the Apple Server.^{8,9} The Apple Server initially hosted the domains presidentclinton.com and wjcoffice.com, which were used by President Clinton's staff.^{10,11}

(U//~~FOUO~~) Prior to January 21, 2009, when she was sworn in as the US Secretary of State, Clinton used a personally-acquired BlackBerry device with service initially from Cingular Wireless and later AT&T Wireless, to access her e-mail accounts.^{12,13} Clinton initially used the e-mail addresses hr15@mycingular.blackberry.net and then changed to hr15@att.blackberry.net.^{14,15} According to Cooper, in January 2009, Clinton decided to stop using her hr15@att.blackberry.net e-mail address and instead began using a new private domain, clintonemail.com, to host e-mail service on the Apple Server.¹⁶ Clinton stated to the FBI that she directed aides, in or around January 2009, to create the clintonemail.com account, and as a matter of convenience her clintonemail.com account was moved to an e-mail system maintained by President Clinton's aides.¹⁷ While Cooper could not specifically recall registering the domain, Cooper was listed as the point of contact for clintonemail.com when the domain was registered with a domain registration services company, Network Solutions, on January 13, 2009.^{18,19} Clinton used her att.blackberry.net e-mail account as her primary e-mail address until approximately mid-to-late January 2009 when she transitioned to her newly created hdr22@clintonemail.com account.^{20,21} The FBI did not recover any information indicating that Clinton sent an e-mail from her hr15@att.blackberry.net e-mail after March 18, 2009.

(U//~~FOUO~~) According to Cooper, in or around January 2009 the decision was made to move to another server because the Apple Server was antiquated and users were experiencing problems with e-mail delivery on their BlackBerry devices.^{22,23} At the recommendation of Huma Abedin, Clinton's long-time aide and later Deputy Chief of Staff at State, in or around fall 2008, Cooper contacted Bryan Pagliano, who worked on Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign as an information technology specialist, to build the new server system and to assist Cooper with the administration of the new server system.^{24,25,26,27} Pagliano was in the process of liquidating the computer equipment from Clinton's presidential campaign when Cooper contacted Pagliano about using some of the campaign's computer equipment to replace the existing Apple Server at Clinton's Chappaqua residence.^{28,29} Pagliano was unaware the server would be used by Clinton at the time he was building the server system; rather, he believed the server would be used by President Clinton's staff.³⁰ Clinton told the FBI that at some point she became aware there was a server in the basement of her Chappaqua residence.³¹ However, she was unaware of the transition from the Apple Server managed by Cooper to another server built by Pagliano and therefore, was not involved in the transition decision.³²

B. (U//~~FOUO~~) Second E-mail Server: March 2009 – June 2013

^c (U//~~FOUO~~) The Apple Server consisted of an Apple Power Macintosh G4 or G5 tower and an IIP printer.

^f (U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation determined various employees of President Clinton maintained e-mail accounts using the presidentclinton.com domain to include

President Clinton did not maintain an e-mail account on the Apple Server. The e-mail domain wjcoffice.com was primarily a legacy domain that contained mostly forwarded e-mail.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Between the fall of 2008 and January 2009, Pagliano requisitioned the original hardware for the second e-mail server from Clinton's presidential campaign headquarters in Arlington, VA.³³ In addition to hardware acquired from Clinton's presidential campaign, Pagliano and Cooper^g purchased additional necessary equipment through commercial vendors.^{34,35,36,37} In March 2009, after Pagliano had acquired all of the server equipment and installed the necessary software, he and Cooper met at Clinton's Chappaqua residence to physically install the server and related equipment in a server rack in the Clintons' basement.^{h,38,39}

(U//~~FOUO~~) Once the new server systemⁱ was physically installed and powered on, Pagliano began migrating the e-mail data from the Apple Server to the Pagliano-administered server system (Pagliano Server).⁴⁰ Pagliano believed he "popped out" all of the e-mail from the Apple Server and that no e-mail content should have remained on the Apple Server once the migration took place.⁴¹ Pagliano stated to the FBI that he only transferred clintonemail.com e-mail accounts for Abedin and [REDACTED] from the Apple Server and said he was unaware of and did not transfer an e-mail account for Clinton.⁴² However, Cooper stated to the FBI that he believed Clinton had a clintonemail.com e-mail account on the Apple Server, and that Abedin did not have a clintonemail.com account on the Apple Server.⁴³ As the FBI was unable to obtain the original Apple Server for a forensic review for reasons explained below, the FBI cannot determine which clintonemail.com e-mail accounts were hosted on, and transferred from, the Apple Server to the Pagliano Server.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) After the e-mail account migration was completed, Cooper changed the Mail Exchange (MX) records^k to ensure that delivery of all subsequent e-mail to or from e-mail addresses on the presidentclinton.com and clintonemail.com domains would be directed toward the new Pagliano Server instead of the Apple Server.⁴⁴ The Pagliano Server was only used for e-mail management, and the FBI's review of the oldest available backup image of this server, dated June 24, 2013, did not indicate that any e-mail users' files were stored on the Pagliano Server.⁴⁵

(U//~~FOUO~~) In March 2009, following the e-mail migration from the Apple Server to the Pagliano Server, the Apple Server was repurposed to serve as a personal computer for household staff.⁴⁶ [REDACTED] at Clinton's Chappaqua residence, subsequently used the Apple Server equipment as a workstation.⁴⁷ In 2014, the data on the Apple computer was transferred to an Apple iMac computer, and the hard drive of the old Apple computer, which

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^g (U//~~FOUO~~) Cooper had [REDACTED] and was often responsible for reimbursing staff for purchases/expenses.

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^h (U//~~FOUO~~) Pagliano visited Clinton's Chappaqua residence on at least three occasions to work on the server: in March 2009, to install the server; in June 2011, to upgrade the equipment; and in January 2012, to fix a hardware issue.

ⁱ (U//~~FOUO~~) The Pagliano Server initially consisted of the following equipment: a Dell PowerEdge 2900 server running Microsoft Exchange for e-mail hosting and management, a Dell PowerEdge 1950 server running BlackBerry Enterprise Server (BES) for the management of BlackBerry devices, a Seagate external hard drive to store backups of the Dell PowerEdge 2900 server, a Dell switch, a Cisco firewall, and a power supply.

^j (U//~~FOUO~~) An e-mail obtained during the FBI investigation from Cooper to Clinton, indicated that in April 2009, Cooper was preparing to update Clinton's BlackBerry to "put it on our new system."

^k (U) An MX record determines which server will handle e-mail delivery for a domain and is necessary for routing e-mail to its proper destination.

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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previously served as the Apple Server was discarded.⁴⁸ On October 14, 2015, Williams & Connolly LLP (Williams & Connolly), counsel for Clinton, confirmed to the Department of Justice (DOJ) that a review of the iMac was conducted, pursuant to a request by DOJ, and no e-mails were found belonging to Clinton from the period of her tenure as Secretary of State.⁴⁹

(U//~~FOUO~~) Pagliano and Cooper both had administrative accounts on the Pagliano Server.⁵⁰ At Cooper's direction, Pagliano handled all software upgrades and general maintenance.⁵¹ Cooper described his role as "the customer service face," and he could add users or reset passwords on the e-mail server.⁵² Cooper and Pagliano both handled the acquisition and purchase of server-related items.⁵³ For example, in March 2009, Cooper registered a Secure Sockets Layer (SSL)¹ encryption certificate at Pagliano's direction for added security when users accessed their e-mail from various computers and devices.^{54,55} Clinton stated she had no knowledge of the hardware, software, or security protocols used to construct and operate the servers.⁵⁶ When she experienced technical issues with her e-mail account she contacted Cooper for assistance in resolving those issues.⁵⁷

(U//~~FOUO~~) Pagliano stated that a complete backup of the Pagliano Server was made on a Seagate external hard drive once a week and a differential backup^m was completed every day, and this continued from the initial Pagliano Server installation in March 2009 until June 2011 when the external hard drive was replaced.⁵⁸ As space on the hard drive ran out, backups were deleted on a "first in, first out" basis.⁵⁹ In June 2011, Pagliano replaced the Seagate external hard drive with a Cisco Network Attached Storage (NAS) device, to store backups of the server.⁶⁰ The FBI was unable to forensically determine how frequently the NAS captured backups of the Pagliano Server.

(U//~~FOUO~~) According to Pagliano, in early 2013, due to user limitations and reliability concerns regarding the Pagliano Server, staff for Clinton and President Clinton discussed future e-mail server options, and a search was initiated to find a vendor to manage a Clinton e-mail server.⁶¹ Additionally, Pagliano's expressed desire to seek new employment contributed to the decision to move to a new server.⁶² A search for the new vendor was facilitated with the assistance of [REDACTED] Infograte, an information technology consulting company.^{63,64,65} [REDACTED] was introduced to Clinton's Chief of Staff, Cheryl Mills, on or about January 2, 2013 through a mutual business associate.⁶⁶ [REDACTED] stated she worked with Mills and Pagliano to produce a request for proposal which was used to solicit responses from multiple firms, including Denver-based information technology firm Platte River Networks (PRN).⁶⁷ Clinton recalled that the transition to the PRN Server was initiated by President Clinton's aides seeking a higher level of service than could be provided by the Pagliano Server.⁶⁸ Pagliano identified President Clinton's [REDACTED] as making the final decision to select PRN.⁶⁹ In the spring of 2013, PRN negotiated the terms of the contract to host e-mail services and eventually signed a Service Level Agreement on July 18, 2013.^{70,71}

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¹ (U) SSL is a security protocol used to establish an encrypted connection between a server and another machine, allowing sensitive information such as login credentials or credit card information to be transmitted in an encrypted format instead of in plain text. SSL certificates, issued by a third-party Certificate Authority, are small files that must be installed on servers to establish secure sessions with web browsers.

^m (U) A differential backup is a cumulative backup of all changes that have occurred since the last full backup.

ⁿ (U//~~FOUO~~) The new Clinton e-mail server hosted e-mail for Clinton, President Clinton, [REDACTED] and their respective staffs.

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C. (U//~~FOUO~~) Third E-mail Server: June 2013 – October 2015

(U//~~FOUO~~) Following the selection of PRN to manage the Clintons' personal e-mail server and accounts, PRN's management assigned two PRN employees to handle the primary installation and administration of the third server system (PRN Server).⁷³ [redacted] who worked remotely from his home in [redacted] handled day-to-day administration for the PRN Server, and [redacted] who worked at PRN's headquarters in Colorado, handled all hardware installation and any required physical (i.e. "hands-on") maintenance for the PRN Server.⁷³ During the transition to the PRN Server, [redacted] advised he worked with Pagliano to understand the existing architecture of the Pagliano Server.⁷⁴ As part of this transition process, on or around June 4, 2013, [redacted] was granted administrator access to the Pagliano Server, as well as any accompanying services, such as the domain registration services through Network Solutions.^{75, 76, 77, 78}

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(U//~~FOUO~~) On June 23, 2013, [redacted] traveled to Clinton's Chappaqua residence, where he powered down the Pagliano Server and transported it to a datacenter in Secaucus, New Jersey, run by Equinix, Inc. (Equinix).^{79, 80, 81} The PRN Server remained at the Equinix facility until it was voluntarily produced to the FBI on October 3, 2015.^{82, 83} The only equipment [redacted] left at the Chappaqua residence was the existing firewall and switch, since PRN intended to purchase its own firewalls and switches.⁸⁴ [redacted] reconnected and powered on the equipment for the Pagliano Server at the datacenter, so users could connect to their e-mail accounts,⁸⁵ and he continued to work at the datacenter for a few days setting up the remaining equipment⁸⁶ for the PRN Server.⁸⁶ [redacted] completed all of the onsite work, while [redacted] worked remotely to get the server online.⁸⁷ After [redacted] left Secaucus, New Jersey, to travel back to PRN's headquarters, all physical pieces of hardware had been installed except for an intrusion detection device [redacted] told the FBI that Equinix installed this device shortly after he left because the intrusion detection device was shipped later.⁸⁸

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(U//~~FOUO~~) On or around June 30, 2013, [redacted] began to remotely migrate all e-mail accounts from the Pagliano Server to the PRN Server.⁸⁹ During this migration period, the two server systems functioned together to ensure uninterrupted e-mail delivery to users.⁹⁰ After several days of migration, all e-mail accounts hosted on the presidentclinton.com, wjcoffice.com, and clintonemail.com domains were transferred to the PRN Server.⁹¹ At that point, PRN kept the Pagliano Server online to ensure e-mail was still being delivered; however, the Pagliano Server was no longer hosting e-mail services for the Clintons.⁹²

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⁸⁰ (U//~~FOUO~~) A third PRN employee, [redacted] only handled a few tasks related to the administration of the server system until he left the company in the summer of 2015.

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⁸⁹ (U//~~FOUO~~) The PRN Server consisted of the following equipment: a Dell PowerEdge R620 server hosting four virtual machines, including four separate virtual machines for Microsoft Exchange e-mail hosting, a BES for the management of BlackBerry devices, a domain controller to authenticate password requests, and an administrative server to manage the other three virtual machines, a Datto SIRIS 2000 to store onsite and remote backups of the server system, a CloudJacket device for intrusion prevention, two Dell switches, and two Fortinet Fortigate 80C firewalls.

⁹¹ (U//~~FOUO~~) The [redacted] domain was also added to the PRN Server at a later date.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) As part of the PRN Server environment [REDACTED] told the FBI that he configured a backup device from Connecticut-based company Datto, Inc. (Datto), a Datto SIRIS 2000,⁹³ to take multiple snapshots of the server system daily, with a retention period of 60 days.⁹³ The backup device also made multiple copies of the Pagliano Server between June 24, 2013 and December 23, 2013.⁹⁴ At the Clintons' request, PRN only intended that the backup device store local copies of the backups.^{95,96} However, in August 2015, Datto informed PRN that, due to a technical oversight, the PRN Server was also backing up the server to Datto's secure cloud storage.^{97,98} After this notification, PRN instructed Datto to discontinue the secure cloud backups.^{99,100}

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [REDACTED] stated the Clintons originally requested that e-mail on the PRN Server be encrypted such that no one but the users could read the content.¹⁰¹ However, PRN ultimately did not configure the e-mail settings this way to allow system administrators to troubleshoot problems occurring within user accounts.¹⁰²

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(U//~~FOUO~~) PRN utilized an Intrusion Detection System (IDS)/Intrusion Prevention System (IPS) called CloudJacket from SECNAP Network Security.¹⁰³ The IDS/IPS device implemented by PRN had pre-configured settings that blocked or blacklisted certain e-mail traffic identified as potentially harmful and provided real-time monitoring, alerting, and incident response services.^{104,105} SECNAP personnel would receive notifications when certain activity on the network triggered an alert.¹⁰⁶ These notifications were reviewed by SECNAP personnel and, at times, additional follow-up was conducted with PRN in order to ascertain whether specific activity on the network was normal or anomalous.¹⁰⁷ Occasionally, SECNAP would send e-mail notifications to [REDACTED] prompting him to block certain IP addresses.¹⁰⁸ [REDACTED] described these notifications as normal and did not recall any serious security incident or intrusion attempt.¹⁰⁹ PRN also implemented two firewalls for additional protection of the network. [REDACTED] stated that he put two firewalls in place for redundancy in case one went down.¹¹⁰

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(U//~~FOUO~~) According to the FBI's forensic analysis of the server system, on December 3, 2013, Microsoft Exchange was uninstalled on the Pagliano Server.¹¹¹ The Pagliano Server remained in the same server cage at the Equinix datacenter in Secaucus, New Jersey, and a forensic review of the server, which was obtained in August 2015 via consent provided by Clinton through Williams & Connolly, indicated that it continued to be powered on and off multiple times before the FBI obtained it.¹¹² At the time of the FBI's acquisition of the Pagliano Server, Williams & Connolly did not advise the US Government (USG) of the existence of the additional equipment associated with the Pagliano Server, or that Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mails had been migrated to the successor PRN Server remaining at Equinix. The FBI's subsequent investigation identified this additional equipment and revealed the e-mail migration. As a result, on October 3, 2015, the FBI obtained, via consent provided by Clinton through Williams & Connolly, both the remaining Pagliano Server equipment and the PRN Server, which had remained operational and was hosting Clinton's personal e-mail account until it was disconnected and produced to the FBI.^{113,114,115,116}

⁹³ (U) The Datto SIRIS 2000 is a device that provides back-up capability and data redundancy.

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(U//FOUO) Investigation determined Clinton and Abedin began using new e-mail accounts on the domain hrcoffice.com in December 2014.¹¹⁸ [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]^{118,119} Abedin stated the clintonemail.com system was "going away" and, following the initiation of the new domain, Abedin did not have access to her clintonemail.com account.¹²⁰ [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]^{121,122} This is consistent with representations made by Williams & Connolly, which stated in a February 22, 2016 letter: "Secretary Clinton did not transfer her clintonemail.com e-mails for the time period January 21, 2009 through February 1, 2013 to her hrcoffice.com account ..."¹²³ The investigation found no evidence Clinton's hrcoffice.com account contained or contains potentially classified information or e-mails from her tenure as Secretary of State. The FBI has, therefore, not requested or obtained equipment associated with Clinton's hrcoffice.com account.

D. (U//FOUO) *Mobile Devices Associated with Clinton's E-mail Server Systems*

(U//FOUO) Clinton stated she used a personal e-mail address and personal BlackBerry for both personal and official business and this decision was made out of convenience.¹²⁴ Abedin recalled that at the start of Clinton's tenure, State advised personal e-mail accounts could not be linked to State mobile devices and, as a result, Clinton decided to use a personal device in order to avoid carrying multiple devices.¹²⁵ [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]¹²⁷ Cooper stated that he was aware of Clinton using a second mobile phone number.¹²⁸ Cooper indicated Clinton usually carried a flip phone along with her BlackBerry because it was more comfortable for communication and Clinton was able to use her BlackBerry while talking on the flip phone.¹²⁹ Clinton believed 212 [REDACTED] was her primary BlackBerry phone number, and she did not recall using a flip phone during her tenure at State, only during her service in the Senate.¹³⁰ Abedin and Mills advised they were unaware of Clinton ever using a cellular phone other than the BlackBerry.^{131,132}

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(U//FOUO) FBI investigation identified 13 total mobile devices, associated with her two known phone numbers, 212 [REDACTED] and 212 [REDACTED] which potentially were used to send e-mails using Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail addresses.¹³³ Investigation determined Clinton used in succession 11 e-mail capable BlackBerry mobile devices associated with 212 [REDACTED] eight of which she used during her tenure as Secretary of State.¹³⁴ Investigation identified Clinton used two e-mail capable mobile devices associated with 212 [REDACTED] after her tenure.¹³⁵ On

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⁶ (U//FOUO) During his interview with the FBI, Cooper was mistakenly shown "202 [REDACTED]" as the second phone number. Cooper recognized the phone number as Clinton's second number, however the correct phone number is 212 [REDACTED].

⁷ (U//FOUO) AT&T toll records associated with 212 [REDACTED] indicated the number was consistently used for phone calls in 2009 and then used sporadically through the duration of Clinton's tenure and the years following. Records also showed that no BlackBerry devices were associated with this phone number.

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⁸ (U//FOUO) The FBI identified four additional mobile devices associated with 212 [REDACTED] which were used during Clinton's tenure. However, these devices lacked e-mail capability, and as a result the FBI did not conduct any further investigation regarding these devices.

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February 9, 2016, DOJ requested all 13 mobile devices from Williams & Connolly.¹³⁶ Williams & Connolly replied on February 22, 2016 that they were unable to locate any of these devices.¹³⁷ As a result, the FBI was unable to acquire or forensically examine any of these 13 mobile devices.

(U//~~FOUO~~) On October 16, 2015, Williams & Connolly provided two other BlackBerry devices to the FBI and indicated the devices might contain or have previously contained e-mails from Clinton's personal e-mail account during her tenure as Secretary of State.^{138, 139} FBI forensic analysis found no evidence to indicate either of the devices provided by Williams & Connolly were connected to one of Clinton's personal servers or contained e-mails from her personal accounts during her tenure.^{140, 141, 142}

(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI identified five iPad devices associated with Clinton which potentially were used to send e-mails from Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail addresses.^{143, 144, 145, 146} The FBI obtained three of the iPads.^{147, 148, 149} One iPad contained three e-mails from 2012 in the hdr22@clintonemail.com "drafts" folder.¹⁵⁰ The FBI assessed the three e-mails did not contain potentially classified information.¹⁵¹ The FBI did not recover e-mails from Clinton's personal e-mail accounts from either of the other two iPads in its possession.¹⁵²

(U//~~FOUO~~) Monica Hanley, a former Clinton aide, often purchased replacement BlackBerry devices for Clinton during her tenure at State.¹⁵³ Hanley recalled purchasing most of the BlackBerry devices for Clinton from AT&T stores located in the Washington, D.C. area.¹⁵⁴ Whenever Clinton acquired new mobile devices, Cooper was usually responsible for setting up the new devices and syncing them to the server.¹⁵⁵ Abedin, [REDACTED] and Hanley also assisted Clinton with setting up any new devices.¹⁵⁶ According to Abedin, it was not uncommon for Clinton to use a new BlackBerry for a few days and then immediately switch it out for an older version with which she was more familiar.¹⁵⁷ Clinton stated that when her BlackBerry device malfunctioned, her aides would assist her in obtaining a new BlackBerry, and, after moving to a new device, her old SIM cards were disposed of by her aides.¹⁵⁸ Cooper advised he sometimes assisted users, including Clinton, when they obtained a new mobile device by helping them back up the data from the old device before transferring it to the new device and syncing the new device with Clinton's server.¹⁵⁹ Abedin and Hanley indicated the whereabouts of Clinton's devices would frequently become unknown once she transitioned to a new device.^{160, 161} Cooper did recall two instances where he destroyed Clinton's old mobile devices by breaking them in half or hitting them with a hammer.¹⁶²

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2. (U//~~FOUO~~) Clinton's Handling of E-mail and Classified Information

A. (U//~~FOUO~~) Clinton's Decision To Use Personal E-mail and Server Systems

(U//~~FOUO~~) FBI investigation determined the State Executive Secretariat's Office of Information Resource Management (S/ES-IRM) offered Clinton a State e-mail address at the start of her

¹ (U//~~FOUO~~) The mobile devices provided to the FBI from Williams & Connolly on October 16, 2015 did not contain SIM cards or Secure Digital (SD) cards.

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tenure; however, Clinton's staff¹⁶³ declined the offer. According to [redacted] State S/ES-IRM, Clinton was offered a State e-mail address, but instead decided to use the personal server from her 2008 presidential campaign.¹⁶⁴ Investigation identified the existence of two State-issued e-mail accounts associated with Clinton; however, these accounts were used on Clinton's behalf and not by Clinton herself. According to State, SMSGs@state.gov was used to send e-mail messages from the Secretary to all State employees.^{165, 166} This account was not configured to receive e-mails, and S/ES-IRM authored the messages sent from this account.¹⁶⁷ S/ES-IRM created SSHRC@state.gov to manage an Outlook calendar for Clinton, but this account was not configured to send or receive e-mails other than calendar invitations.^{168, 169} A May 25, 2016 report issued by the State Office of Inspector General (OIG)¹⁷⁰ stated that, during Clinton's tenure as Secretary of State, the State Foreign Affairs Manual (FAM) required day-to-day operations at State be conducted using an authorized information system.¹⁷¹ The OIG stated it found "no evidence" that Clinton sought approval to conduct State business via her personal e-mail account or private servers, despite her obligation to do so.¹⁷¹ Clinton told the FBI that she did not explicitly request permission from State to use a private server or e-mail address.¹⁷² According to the State OIG report, State employees alleged that John Bentel, then-Director of S/ES-IRM, discouraged employees from raising concerns about Clinton's use of personal e-mail.¹⁷³ When interviewed by the FBI, Bentel denied that State employees raised concerns about Clinton's e-mail to him, that he discouraged employees from discussing it, or that he was aware during Clinton's tenure that she was using a personal e-mail account or server to conduct official State business.¹⁷⁴

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(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI investigation determined some Clinton aides and senior-level State employees were aware Clinton used a personal e-mail address for State business during her tenure. Clinton told the FBI it was common knowledge at State that she had a private e-mail address because it was displayed to anyone with whom she exchanged e-mails.¹⁷⁵ However, some State employees interviewed by the FBI explained that e-mails from Clinton only contained the letter "H" in the sender field and did not display her e-mail address.^{176, 177, 178} The majority of the State employees interviewed by the FBI who were in e-mail contact with Clinton indicated they had no knowledge of the private server in her Chappaqua residence.^{179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184} Clinton's immediate aides, to include Mills, Abedin, Jacob Sullivan,¹⁸⁵ and [redacted] told the FBI they were unaware of the existence of the private server until after Clinton's tenure at State or when it became public knowledge.^{185, 186, 187, 188}

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¹⁶³ (U//~~FOUO~~) S/ES-IRM employees interviewed indicated they did not communicate directly with Clinton regarding this issue and could not specifically identify the members of Clinton's immediate staff with whom they spoke.

¹⁶⁴ (U//~~FOUO~~) According to [redacted] part of his job at State was to maintain and support the infrastructure for the UNCLASSIFIED and SECRET networks for the Executive Secretariat.

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¹⁶⁵ (U//~~FOUO~~) Independent of the FBI's investigation, in April 2015, the State OIG initiated its own investigation and review of records management policies and practices regarding the use of non-State communications systems during the tenure of five Secretaries of State, including Clinton. Portions of the State OIG's May 25, 2016 report relevant to the FBI's investigation are cited herein.

¹⁶⁶ (U) According to the State OIG report, two State information management staff members approached the Director of the S/ES-IRM in 2010 with concerns they had about Clinton's use of a personal e-mail account and compliance with federal records requirements. According to one staff member, the Director stated that Clinton's personal system had been reviewed and approved by State legal staff. The Director allegedly told both staff members never to discuss Clinton's personal e-mail system again. OIG found no evidence that State legal staff reviewed or approved Clinton's personal e-mail system.

¹⁶⁷ (U) Sullivan served as the Deputy Chief of Staff and later the Director of Policy and Planning during Clinton's tenure as Secretary of State.

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(U//FOUO) The FBI investigation indicated Clinton was aware her use of a personal device, e-mail account, and server did not negate her obligation to preserve federal records. On January 23, 2009, Clinton contacted former Secretary of State Colin Powell via e-mail to inquire about his use of a BlackBerry while he was Secretary of State (January 2001 to January 2005).^{bb,189} In his e-mail reply, Powell warned Clinton that if it became "public" that Clinton had a BlackBerry, and she used it to "do business," her e-mails could become "official record[s] and subject to the law."¹⁹⁰ Powell further advised Clinton, "Be very careful. I got around it all by not saying much and not using systems that captured the data."¹⁹¹ Clinton indicated to the FBI that she understood Powell's comments to mean any work-related communications would be government records, and she stated Powell's comments did not factor into her decision to use a personal e-mail account.¹⁹² In an e-mail to Mills on August 30, 2011, State Executive Secretary, Stephen Mull, cited a request from Clinton to replace her temporarily malfunctioning personal BlackBerry with a State-issued device.¹⁹³ Mull informed Mills that a State-issued replacement device for Clinton's personal BlackBerry would be subject to FOIA requests.¹⁹⁴ On that same day, Bentel sent a separate e-mail to Hanley, which was later forwarded to Abedin, stating that e-mails sent to a State e-mail address for Clinton would be "subject to FOIA searches."¹⁹⁵ A State-issued device was not ultimately issued to Clinton; in her FBI interview, Abedin stated she felt it did not make sense to temporarily issue Clinton a State BlackBerry because it would have required significant effort to transfer all of her e-mails and contacts to a device that she would have only used for a few days.¹⁹⁶ The Mull and Bentel e-mails to Mills and Hanley did not indicate that transferring e-mail and/or contacts from Clinton's clintonemail.com account would be necessary to issue her a State BlackBerry.^{197,198,199} Abedin stated she always assumed all of Clinton's communications, regardless of the account, would be subject to FOIA if they contained work-related material.²⁰⁰

(U//FOUO) While State policy during Clinton's tenure required that "day-to-day operations [at State] be conducted on [an authorized information system],"²⁰¹ according to the [REDACTED] the Bureau of Information Security Management [REDACTED] there was no restriction on the use of personal email accounts for official business.²⁰² However, State employees were cautioned about security and records retention concerns regarding the use of personal e-mail. In 2011, a notice to all State employees was sent on Clinton's behalf, which recommended employees avoid conducting State business from personal e-mail accounts due to information security concerns.²⁰³ Clinton stated she did not recall this specific notice, and she did not recall receiving any guidance from State regarding e-mail policies outlined in the State FAM.²⁰⁴ Interviews with two State employees determined that State issued guidance which required employees who used personal e-mail accounts for State business to forward those work-related e-mails to their official State account for record-keeping purposes.^{205,206} Investigation determined that State used the State Messaging and Archive Retrieval Toolset (SMART), which allows employees to electronically tag e-mails to preserve a record copy.^{207,208,209} According to [REDACTED] then State's [REDACTED] SMART was developed to automate and streamline the process for archiving records.²¹⁰ According to the

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^{bb} (U) According to the State OIG report, when Powell arrived at State in 2001, the official unclassified e-mail system in place only permitted communication among State employees; therefore, Powell requested the use of a private line for his America Online (AOL) e-mail account to communicate with individuals outside of State. Prior to Powell's tenure, State employees did not have Internet connectivity on their desktop computers. During Powell's tenure, State introduced unclassified desktop external e-mail capability on a system known as OpenNet.

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State OIG Report, IRM introduced SMART throughout State in 2009; however, the Office of the Secretary elected not to use the SMART system to preserve e-mails, partly due to concerns that the system would "allow overly broad access to sensitive materials."²¹¹ [REDACTED] told the FBI that representatives from the Executive Secretariat asked to be the last to receive the SMART rollout, and ultimately SMART was never rolled out to the Executive Secretariat Office.²¹² This left the "print and file" method as the only approved method by which the Office of the Secretary could preserve record e-mails.²¹³

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Mills wrote in a letter to State, dated December 5, 2014, that it was Clinton's practice to e-mail State officials at their government e-mail accounts for official business, and, therefore, State already had records of Clinton's e-mails preserved within State recordkeeping systems.²¹⁴ Abedin also stated in her FBI interview that Clinton's staff believed relevant e-mails would be captured and preserved by State if any of the senders or recipients were using an official State e-mail account.²¹⁵ The State OIG stated in its report that this was not an appropriate method of preserving record e-mails, and Clinton should have preserved any record e-mails created and received on her personal account by printing and filing the e-mails in the Office of the Secretary.²¹⁶ State OIG also determined Clinton should have surrendered all e-mails relating to State business before leaving her post as Secretary of State.²¹⁷ Clinton stated that she received no instructions or direction regarding the preservation or production of records from State during the transition out of her role as Secretary of State in early 2013.²¹⁸ Furthermore, Clinton believed her work-related e-mails were captured by her practice of sending e-mails to State employees' official State e-mail accounts.²¹⁹

B. (U//~~FOUO~~) Communications Equipment in Clinton's State Office and Residences

(U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation determined Clinton did not have a computer in her State office, which was located in a Sensitive Compartmented Information Facility (SCIF) on the seventh floor of State headquarters, in an area often referred to as "Mahogany Row."^{220, 221, 222} State Diplomatic Security Service (DS) instructed Clinton that because her office was in a SCIF, the use of mobile devices in her office was prohibited.²²³ Interviews of three former DS agents revealed Clinton stored her personal BlackBerry in a desk drawer in DS "Post 1,"^{cc} which was located within the SCIF on Mahogany Row.^{224, 225, 226} State personnel were not authorized to bring their mobile devices into Post 1, as it was located within the SCIF.²²⁷ According to Abedin, Clinton primarily used her personal BlackBerry or personal iPad for checking e-mails, and she left the SCIF to do so, often visiting State's eighth floor balcony.²²⁸ Former Assistant Secretary of State for DS Eric Boswell stated he never received any complaints about Clinton using her personal BlackBerry inside the SCIF.²²⁹

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[REDACTED] This decision was relayed to Clinton's executive staff via a memo titled "Use of Blackberries in Mahogany Row," dated March 6, 2009.²³² Clinton stated to the FBI that she requested a secure BlackBerry while at State after hearing President Obama had one, but she

(U) ^{cc} (S//~~OC/NF~~) The DS security detachment maintained a Post, known as Post 1, located in the SCIF and directly outside of Clinton's office on Mahogany Row.

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could not recall the reasons why State was unable to fulfill this request.^{dd,233} Early in Clinton's tenure at State, Clinton's executive staff also inquired about the possibility of the Secretary using an iPad to receive communications in her office; however, this request was also denied due to restrictions associated with the Secretary's office being in a SCIF.²³⁴ According to the State OIG report, in January 2009, in response to Clinton's desire to take her BlackBerry into secure areas, Mills discussed with S/ES-IRM officials and with the State Under Secretary for Management, Patrick Kennedy, alternative solutions which would allow Clinton to check e-mail from her desk.²³⁵ Setting up an Internet-connected, stand-alone computer was discussed as a viable solution; however, a stand-alone system was never set up.²³⁶

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Investigation determined Clinton had access to a number of State-authorized secure means of telephonic communication in her residences and in her office at State.^{cc,237} At the start of Clinton's tenure, State installed a SCIF and secure communications equipment. [REDACTED]

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(S) [REDACTED] in her residences in Washington, D.C. (Whitehaven residence) and Chappaqua.^{tt,gg,mm,238,239,240,241,242} According to Abedin, Cooper, and [REDACTED] there were personally-owned desktop computers in the SCIFs in Whitehaven and Chappaqua.^{243,244,245} Conversely, Clinton stated to the FBI she did not have a computer of any kind in the SCIFs in her residences.²⁴⁶ According to Abedin and Clinton, Clinton did not use a computer, and she primarily used her BlackBerry or iPad for checking e-mails.

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C. (U) ~~(FOUO)~~ *Individuals in Direct Communication with Clinton's Personal E-mail Address*

(U) ~~(FOUO)~~ Investigation determined a limited number of individuals maintained direct e-mail contact with Clinton through her personal clintonemail.com e-mail account during her tenure at State. Thirteen individuals, consisting of State senior-level employees, work-related advisors, and State executive administrative staff, maintained direct e-mail contact with Clinton and individually e-mailed her between 100 and 1,000 times during her tenure.ⁱⁱ Abedin, Mills, and Sullivan, were most frequently in e-mail contact with Clinton and accounted for 68 percent of the e-mails sent directly to Clinton. In addition to sending Clinton messages they wrote, Abedin, Mills, and Sullivan reviewed e-mails they received from other State employees, USG contacts, and foreign government contacts, and if deemed appropriate they then forwarded the information

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ According to Clinton, her request for a State-issued secure BlackBerry was not out of concern for the sensitivity of the information on the device she was using at the time, rather she wanted the secure device to deal with future contingencies.

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(S) ~~(OC/NF)~~ According to Abedin, Clinton's State office contained [REDACTED]

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(U) ~~(FOUO)~~ According to Abedin, the SCIF door at the Whitehaven residence was not always locked, and Abedin, Hanley, and [REDACTED] had access to the SCIF.

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Investigation determined the Chappaqua SCIF was not always secured, and Abedin, Hanley, and [REDACTED] had routine access to the SCIF.

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^{hh} (S) ~~(OC/NF)~~ On [REDACTED] State installed the following communications lines at the Whitehaven residence [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] State installed communications equipment at the Chappaqua residence similar to that at the Whitehaven residence. State finished installation of the SCIF in the Chappaqua residence in [REDACTED]

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ⁱⁱ (U) ~~(FOUO)~~ The statistics in this paragraph are based on the e-mails provided by Williams & Connolly as part of Clinton's production to the FBI, excluding Clinton's personal correspondence with family and close friends, as well as e-mails Clinton forwarded to herself.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
b3

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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to Clinton.^{247,248,249} Multiple State employees advised they considered e-mailing Abedin, Mills, and Sullivan the equivalent of e-mailing Clinton.^{250,251}

(U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation identified hundreds of e-mails sent by Abedin and other State staff to [REDACTED] presidentclinton.com e-mail address requesting him to print documents for Clinton. Some of these e-mails were determined to contain information classified at the CONFIDENTIAL level.^{jj,252,253,254,255,256,257} [REDACTED] received a security clearance at the SECRET level on October 25, 2007 from the Department of Defense (DOD).²⁵⁸ Documentation retained by DOD and provided to the FBI did not indicate [REDACTED] security clearance was deactivated upon his retirement from the US Navy Reserves in September 2010.²⁵⁹

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D. (U//~~FOUO~~) Clinton Staff's Use of Personal E-mail Accounts for Official Business

(U//~~FOUO~~) Clinton's immediate staff, to include Mills, Sullivan, Abedin, [REDACTED] and Hanley, told the FBI in interviews that they predominantly used their State-provided OpenNet e-mail accounts to conduct official State business.^{260,261,262,263,264} Exceptions to this practice included instances when the State OpenNet e-mail system was down or when staff was traveling internationally and OpenNet was not readily accessible.^{265,266,267,268,269} The FBI's investigation confirmed that Clinton's immediate staff used their personal e-mail accounts in combination with their State-provided OpenNet e-mail accounts for official State business.^{kk}

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E. (U//~~FOUO~~) Clinton's Use of Personal E-mail Accounts While Overseas

(U//~~FOUO~~) FBI investigation and the State OIG report determined that State issued regular notices to staff during Clinton's tenure highlighting cybersecurity threats and advising that mobile devices must be configured to State security guidelines.^{270,271} Clinton and her immediate staff were notified of foreign travel risks and were warned that digital threats began immediately upon landing in a foreign country, since connection of a mobile device to a local network provides opportunities for foreign adversaries to intercept voice and e-mail transmissions.^{272,273} The State Mobile Communications (MC) Team was responsible for establishing secure mobile voice and data communications for Clinton and her team when they were traveling domestically and abroad.^{274,275} When the security climate required, the State MC was capable of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] could be received and viewed by Clinton and/or her designated staff.^{276,277}

(S//~~OC/NF~~) Investigation determined that of the e-mails provided by Williams & Connolly as part of Clinton's production to the FBI, approximately [REDACTED] e-mails were sent or received by Clinton on her personal e-mail accounts while she was traveling outside the continental United States (OCONUS) on official State business.^{ll,278} [REDACTED]

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^j (U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation identified six e-mail chains forwarded to [REDACTED] that were determined from the State FOIA review to contain CONFIDENTIAL information. Five were forwarded by Abedin, and one was from Clinton.

^{kk} (U) See Section 3.C for discussion of classified e-mails contained in Clinton's staff's personal e-mail accounts.

^{ll} (U//~~FOUO~~) State listed Clinton's overseas travel by individual days, but did not provide additional information such as arrival and departure times. As a result, the FBI could not determine specifically which e-mails were sent while she was on the ground OCONUS versus in flight.

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b7C~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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(S)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FBI investigation determined that hundreds of e-mails classified CONFIDENTIAL during the State FOIA process were sent or received by Clinton while she was OCONUS. Approximately [REDACTED] e-mails were sent or received by Clinton [REDACTED]. On [REDACTED] occasions while OCONUS, Clinton had direct e-mail contact with an e-mail address for President Barack Obama. Of the [REDACTED] e-mails between Clinton and President Obama, [REDACTED] were sent and received [REDACTED]. None of these [REDACTED] e-mails were determined to contain classified information. Clinton told the FBI that she received no particular guidance as to how she should use President Obama's e-mail address, and the e-mails sent while Clinton was [REDACTED] nm.279

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F. (U//~~FOUO~~) Clinton's Production of E-mail in Response to FOIA and Other Requests

(U//~~FOUO~~) The House Select Committee on Benghazi was established on May 8, 2014 and reached an agreement with State on July 23, 2014 regarding the production of records.²⁸⁰ State sent a formal request to former Secretaries of State on October 28, 2014, asking them to produce e-mails related to their government work.²⁸¹ After State requested that Clinton provide her e-mails,^{nm} Clinton asked her attorneys, David Kendall⁹⁰ and Mills, to oversee the process of providing Clinton's work-related e-mails to State.²⁸² Heather Samuelson,^{pp} an attorney working with Mills, undertook a review to identify work-related e-mails, while Kendall and Mills oversaw the process.²⁸³ Ultimately, on December 5, 2014, Williams & Connolly provided approximately 55,000 pages of e-mails⁹⁹ to State in response to State's request for Clinton to produce all e-mail in her possession that constituted a federal record from her tenure as Secretary of State.²⁸⁴ State ultimately reviewed the 55,000 pages of e-mail to meet its production obligations related to FOIA lawsuits and requests. On May 27, 2015, State received a court order to post Clinton's e-mails to the State FOIA website on a monthly production schedule with a completion date of January 29, 2016.²⁸⁵ State ultimately concluded its FOIA-related production on February 29, 2016. Clinton told the FBI that she directed her legal team to provide any work-related or arguably work-related e-mails to State; however she did not participate in the development of the specific process to be used or in discussions of the locations of where her e-mails might exist.²⁸⁶ Clinton was not consulted on specific e-mails in order to determine if they were work-related.²⁸⁷

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(U//~~FOUO~~) During the summer of 2014, State indicated to Mills a request for Clinton's work-related e-mails would be forthcoming, and in October 2014, State followed up by sending an official request to Clinton asking for her work-related e-mails.

⁹⁰ (U) Kendall is a partner at Williams & Connolly.

^{pp} (U) Samuelson worked in the White House Liaison Office at State during Clinton's tenure and currently serves as Clinton's personal attorney.

⁹⁹ (U//~~FOUO~~) According to Clinton's campaign website, 30,490 potentially work-related e-mails were provided to State on December 5, 2014. On August 6, 2015, Williams & Connolly provided the FBI a .PST file containing 30,542 e-mail related files, which included 30,524 e-mail messages.

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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(U//FOUO) In July 2014, to initiate the review of Clinton's e-mails for production to State, Mills arranged for [REDACTED] to export from the PRN Server all of Clinton's e-mails sent to or received from a .gov e-mail address during Clinton's tenure as Secretary of State.^{288, 289, 290} Once [REDACTED] completed this export from the PRN Server, he remotely transferred a .PST file containing the e-mails onto Mills's and Samuelson's laptops via ScreenConnect.^{291, 292, 293} In late September 2014, Mills and Samuelson asked [REDACTED] to provide a full export of all of Clinton's e-mails from her tenure, to include e-mails sent to and received from non-.gov e-mail addresses.^{294, 295, 296} Mills and Samuelson explained that this follow-up request was made to ensure their review captured all of the relevant e-mails from Clinton's tenure.^{297, 298} [REDACTED] completed this export and transfer in the same manner as the July 2014 request.²⁹⁹ Mills and Samuelson did not know from what location on the server [REDACTED] extracted Clinton's e-mails.^{299, 300} [REDACTED] gave the FBI inconsistent statements over the course of three interviews regarding from where on the server he extracted Clinton's e-mails, and FBI investigation and forensic analysis have been unable to specifically identify the location and composition of the repository [REDACTED] used to create the export of Clinton's e-mails from her tenure.^{301, 302, 303}

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(U//FOUO) The FBI interviewed Samuelson on May 24, 2016 about her review of the PRN-provided e-mails. Samuelson indicated she conducted the review of these e-mails over the course of several months and completed it just prior to December 5, 2014, when hard copies of the work-related e-mails were turned over to State.³⁰⁴ Using her laptop to conduct the review, Samuelson placed any work-related e-mails into a folder that she had created in Microsoft Outlook.³⁰⁵ Samuelson first added to this folder all e-mails sent to or from Clinton's personal e-mail account with .gov and .mil e-mail addresses.³⁰⁶ Samuelson then searched the remaining e-mails for the names of State senior leadership, as well as any members of Congress, foreign leaders, or other official contacts.³⁰⁷ Finally, Samuelson conducted a key word search of terms such as "Afghanistan," "Libya," and "Benghazi."³⁰⁸ Samuelson reviewed the "To," "From," and "Subject" fields of every e-mail during this review; however, she did not read the content of each individual e-mail, indicating that, in some instances, she made a determination as to whether it was one of Clinton's work or personal e-mails by only reviewing the "To," "From," and "Subject" fields of the e-mail.³⁰⁹

(U//FOUO) As she completed the review, Samuelson printed all of the e-mails to be turned over to State using a printer in Mills's office.³¹⁰ According to Samuelson, Mills and Kendall subsequently reviewed e-mails that Samuelson printed, and any hard copy of an e-mail Mills and Kendall deemed not to be work-related was shredded, and the digital copy of the e-mail was not included in the folder Samuelson created in Microsoft Outlook to contain all of the work-related e-mails.³¹¹ Mills stated that, other than instances where Samuelson requested Mills's guidance, Mills did not review the e-mails Samuelson identified as work-related, and once the review was complete, Samuelson printed the work-related e-mails.³¹² After the review was completed, Samuelson created a .PST file containing all of the work-related e-mails and ensured that all work-related e-mails were printed.³¹³ This .PST file was provided to Kendall on a USB thumb

²⁸⁸ (U) ScreenConnect is a remote support administration tool that allows technicians to remotely connect to customers via a central web application to control and view end users' machines. According to product specifications, ScreenConnect encrypts data transmitted from one machine to another, to include screen data, file transfers, key strokes, and chat messages.

²⁸⁹ (U//FOUO) Mills did not recall if this second .PST file was transferred to her computer.

²⁹⁰ (U//FOUO) The FBI was unable to obtain a complete list of keywords or named officials searched from Samuelson, Mills, or Clinton's other attorneys due to an assertion of privilege.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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drive.³¹⁴ On August 6, 2015, this thumb drive was obtained by the FBI from Williams & Connolly via consent from Clinton.

G. (U//FOUO) Deletion of E-mail Associated with Clinton's Personal E-mail Accounts

(U//FOUO) According to Hanley, in spring 2013, Cooper assisted Hanley in creating an archive of Clinton's e-mails.³¹⁵ Cooper provided Hanley with an Apple MacBook laptop (the Archive Laptop)³¹⁶ from the Clinton Foundation and telephonically walked Hanley through the process of remotely transferring Clinton's e-mails from the Pagliano Server to the laptop and a thumb drive.³¹⁷ Hanley completed this task from her personal residence.³¹⁸ The two copies of the Clinton e-mail archive (one on the Archive Laptop and one on the thumb drive) were intended to be stored in Clinton's Chappaqua and Whitehaven residences; however, Hanley explained this did not occur as Hanley forgot to provide the Archive Laptop and the thumb drive to Clinton's staff following the creation of the archive.³¹⁹ In early 2014, Hanley located the Archive Laptop at her personal residence and worked with [REDACTED] to transfer the archive of Clinton's e-mails to PRN.^{320, 321, 322, 323} After trying unsuccessfully to remotely transfer the e-mails to [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Hanley shipped the Archive Laptop to [REDACTED] residence in [REDACTED] in February 2014, and [REDACTED] migrated Clinton's e-mails from the Archive Laptop onto the PRN Server.^{324, 325, 326, 327, 328} To accomplish this, [REDACTED] transferred all of the Clinton e-mail content to a personal Google e-mail (Gmail) address he created, [REDACTED]@gmail.com, and then downloaded all of the e-mail content from the Gmail account to a mailbox named "HRC Archive" with the e-mail address hrcarchive@clintonemail.com on the PRN Server.^{329, 330, 331}

[REDACTED] advised he used the [REDACTED]@gmail.com e-mail account to facilitate the transfer because he had trouble exporting the e-mail from the Apple MacMail format to a format that would be compatible with Microsoft Exchange.³³²

(U//FOUO) Hanley stated she recommended that PRN wipe the Archive Laptop after the e-mails were transferred to the PRN Server.³³³ However, [REDACTED] told the FBI that, after the transfer was complete, he deleted the e-mails from the Archive Laptop but did not wipe the laptop.³³⁴ He also advised he deleted the e-mails uploaded to the [REDACTED]@gmail.com e-mail account per Hanley's instructions and shipped the Archive Laptop via United States Postal Service or United Parcel Service to [REDACTED] who was Clinton's [REDACTED] at the time.^{335, 336, 337} [REDACTED] told the FBI that she never received the laptop from [REDACTED] however, she advised that Clinton's staff was moving offices at the time, and it would have been easy for the package to get lost during the transition period.³³⁸ Neither Hanley nor [REDACTED] could identify the current whereabouts of the Archive Laptop or thumb drive containing the archive, and the FBI does not have either item in its possession.³³⁹

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(U//FOUO) FBI investigation identified 940 e-mails associated with Clinton's personal e-mail account from October 25, 2010 to December 31, 2010 that as of June 21, 2016 remained within the [REDACTED]@gmail.com account.³⁴⁰ The FBI was able to determine that 56 of these

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³¹⁶ (U//FOUO) According to Abedin, the archive of Clinton's e-mails was created as a reference for the future production of a book. According to Hanley, the archive of Clinton's e-mails was created in response to Clinton's hdr22@clintonemail.com address being released to the public following the online posting of e-mail exchanges between Clinton and an informal political advisor, Sidney Blumenthal. Blumenthal's personal e-mail account, which contained his e-mails with Clinton, was compromised on March 14, 2013 by a Romanian cyber hacker. See Section 4.D.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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e-mails have been identified as currently classified at the CONFIDENTIAL level through the State FOIA process.³⁴¹ Additionally, the FBI determined that 302 of the 940 e-mails identified in the [redacted]@gmail.com account were not found in the set of e-mails Clinton produced to State in December 2014.³⁴² Of the 302 e-mails, the FBI disseminated 18 to USG agencies for classification review. State determined one e-mail to be classified SECRET when sent and to be classified CONFIDENTIAL currently. State determined a second e-mail to be classified as CONFIDENTIAL when sent and to be currently UNCLASSIFIED.

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(U//FOUO) In or around December 2014 or January 2015, Mills and Samuelson requested that [redacted] remove from their laptops all of the e-mails from the July and September 2014 exports.^{343, 344, 345} [redacted] used a program called BleachBit^{xx} to delete the e-mail-related files so they could not be recovered.^{346, 347, 348} [redacted] remotely connected to Mills's and Samuelson's laptops via ScreenConnect to complete the deletions.^{349, 350, 351} [redacted] stated to the FBI that an unknown Clinton staff member told him s/he did not want the .PST file after the export and wanted it removed from the PRN Server.³⁵² According to Mills, in December 2014, Clinton decided she no longer needed access to any of her e-mails older than 60 days.³⁵³ Therefore, Mills instructed [redacted] to modify the e-mail retention policy on Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail account to reflect this change.³⁵⁴ However, according to [redacted] he did not make these changes to Clinton's clintonemail.com account until March 2015.³⁵⁵ Clinton told the FBI that, after her staff completed her e-mail production to State in December 2014, she was asked what she wanted to do with her remaining personal e-mails, Clinton instructed her staff she no longer needed the e-mails.³⁵⁶ Clinton stated she never deleted, nor did she instruct anyone to delete, her e-mails to avoid complying with FOIA, State or FBI requests for information.³⁵⁷

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(U//FOUO) On March 2, 2015, *The New York Times* (NYT) published an article titled, "Hillary Clinton Used Personal Email Account at State Dept., Possibly Breaking Rules."^{www.358} This article identified publicly that Clinton exclusively used a personal e-mail account to conduct official State business while she was Secretary of State and had not produced her federal records to State until December 2014.³⁵⁹ On March 3, 2015, the United States House Select Committee on Benghazi provided a letter to Williams & Connolly requesting the preservation and production of all documents and media related to hdr22@clintonemail.com and hrc17@clintonemail.com.^{xx, 360} The following day, the House Select Committee on Benghazi issued a subpoena to Clinton to produce e-mails from hdr22@clintonemail.com, hrc17@clintonemail.com, and other e-mail addresses used by Clinton, pursuant to the events surrounding the 2012 terrorist attack in Benghazi.³⁶¹

(U//FOUO) In the days following the publication of the NYT article, Mills requested that PRN conduct a complete inventory of all equipment related to the Pagliano Server.^{362, 363} In response to this request, [redacted] traveled to the Equinix datacenter in Secaucus, New Jersey to conduct an onsite review of the equipment, while [redacted] also logged in to the server

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^{xx} (U) BleachBit is open source software that allows users to "shred" files, clear Internet history, delete system and temporary files and wipe free space on a hard drive. Free space is the area of the hard drive that can contain data that has been deleted. BleachBit's "shred files" function claims to securely erase files by overwriting data to make the data unrecoverable.

^{xx} (U) The same article was released on the NYT website on March 2, 2015. The print version appeared on page A1 the following day, March 3, 2015.

^{xx} (U) The House Select Committee on Benghazi submitted a preservation request for an accurate e-mail address, hdr22@clintonemail.com, and an inaccurate e-mail address, hrc17@clintonemail.com, for Clinton.

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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remotely, ^{364,365,366} [REDACTED] powered on the Pagliano Server and confirmed for Mills that no additional data existed on any server equipment, as all data was migrated to the PRN Server. ^{367,368}

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation indicated that on March 25, 2015, PRN held a conference call with President Clinton's staff. ^{369,370} In his interviews with the FBI, [REDACTED] indicated that sometime between March 25-31, 2015, he realized he did not make the e-mail retention policy changes to Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail account that Mills had requested in December 2014. ³⁷¹ In his FBI interview on February 18, 2016, [REDACTED] indicated that he did not recall conducting deletions based upon this realization. ³⁷² In a follow-up FBI interview on May 3, 2016, [REDACTED] indicated he believed he had an "oh shit" moment and sometime between March 25-31, 2015 deleted the Clinton archive mailbox from the PRN server and used BleachBit to delete the exported PST files he had created on the server system containing Clinton's e-mails. ³⁷³ Investigation found evidence of these deletions ³⁷⁴ and determined the Datto backups of the PRN Server were also manually deleted during this timeframe. ³⁷⁵ Investigation identified a PRN work ticket, which referenced a conference call among PRN, Kendall, and Mills on March 31, 2015. ^{376,377} PRN's attorney advised [REDACTED] not to comment on the conversation with Kendall based upon the assertion of the attorney-client privilege. ³⁷⁸

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation identified a March 9, 2015 e-mail to PRN from Mills, of which [REDACTED] was a recipient, referencing the preservation request from the Committee on Benghazi. ^{379,380} [REDACTED] advised during his February 18, 2016 interview that he did not recall seeing the preservation request referenced in the March 9, 2015 e-mail. ³⁸¹ During his May 3, 2016 interview, [REDACTED] indicated that, at the time he made the deletions in March 2015, he was aware of the existence of the preservation request and the fact that it meant he should not disturb Clinton's e-mail data on the PRN Server. ³⁸² [REDACTED] also stated during this interview, he did not receive guidance from other PRN personnel, PRN's legal counsel, or others regarding the meaning of the preservation request. ³⁸³ Mills stated she was unaware that [REDACTED] had conducted these deletions and modifications in March 2015. ³⁸⁴ Clinton stated she was also unaware of the March 2015 e-mail deletions by PRN. ³⁸⁵

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3. (U//~~FOUO~~) Results of FBI Review of Clinton E-mails Stored and Transmitted on Personal Server Systems

A. (U//~~FOUO~~) Quantities of Clinton's E-mails Recovered from Personal Server Systems

(U//~~FOUO~~) To date, the FBI has recovered from additional data sources and reviewed approximately 17,448 unique work-related and personal e-mails³⁸⁶ from Clinton's tenure containing Clinton's hdr22@clintonemail.com³⁸⁷ e-mail address that were not provided by

³⁸⁶ (U//~~FOUO~~) FBI forensically identified deletions from the PRN Server on March 8, 2015 of PST files not associated with Clinton's e-mail account or domain, and other server data.

³⁸⁷ (U//~~FOUO~~) These approximately 17,448 e-mails were determined to be unique from the e-mails provided by Williams & Connolly as part of Clinton's production to the FBI, through a distinctive Internet Message ID. These files do not include documents or partial e-mail files without an Internet Message ID in the metadata.

³⁸⁸ (U//~~FOUO~~) The approximate 17,448 e-mails may contain chains of e-mails in which Clinton is not on the most recent "To," "From," "CC," or "BCC" line.

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FBI (15-cv-154)-4267

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Williams & Connolly as part of Clinton's production to the FBI, including e-mails from January 23, 2009 through March 18, 2009.^{bbb}

B. (U//~~FOUO~~) Classification Portion Markings in E-mail Recovered from Personal Server Systems

(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI identified three e-mail chains, encompassing eight individual e-mail exchanges to or from Clinton's personal e-mail accounts, which contained at least one paragraph marked "(C)," a marking ostensibly indicating the presence of information classified at the CONFIDENTIAL level.^{386,387,388} The emails contained no additional markings, such as a header or footer, indicating that they were classified. State confirmed through the FOIA review process that one of these three e-mail chains contains information which is currently classified at the CONFIDENTIAL level.^{ccc,389} State determined that the other two e-mail chains are currently UNCLASSIFIED.^{390,391} State did not provide a determination as to whether any of these three e-mails were classified at the time they were sent.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked about the e-mail chain containing "(C)" portion markings that State determined to currently contain CONFIDENTIAL information, Clinton stated she did not know what the "(C)" meant at the beginning of the paragraphs and speculated it was referencing paragraphs marked in alphabetical order.^{ddd,392} Clinton identified a "CONFIDENTIAL" header and footer (inserted in the document by the FBI prior to the interview) and asked if the "(C)" related to the "CONFIDENTIAL" header and footer.³⁹³ Clinton did not believe the content of the e-mail was classified and questioned the classification determination.³⁹⁴ When asked of her knowledge regarding TOP SECRET, SECRET, and CONFIDENTIAL classification levels of USG information, Clinton responded that she did not pay attention to the "level" of classification and took all classified information seriously.³⁹⁵

C. (U//~~FOUO~~) Classified Information Found in Clinton's E-mails on Personal Server Systems

(U//~~FOUO~~) FBI and USIC classification reviews identified 81 e-mail chains containing approximately 193 individual e-mail exchanges^{ccc} that were classified from the CONFIDENTIAL to TOP SECRET levels at the time the e-mails were drafted on UNCLASSIFIED systems and sent to or from Clinton's personal server. Of the 81 e-mail chains classified at the time of transmittal, 68 remain classified. Twelve of the e-mail chains, classified

^{bbb} (U//~~FOUO~~) According to Clinton's campaign website, Clinton only provided State her work-related e-mails dated after March 18, 2009. E-mails from January 21, 2009 to March 18, 2009 were not produced to State or the FBI by Williams & Connolly. According to Samuelson and Mills, they were unable to locate Clinton's e-mails from this period. The e-mails from this time period were not provided to them by PRN, and they believed the e-mails were not backed up on any server. Investigation determined some of Clinton's e-mails from January 23, 2009 to March 17, 2009 were captured through a Datto backup on June 29, 2013. However, the e-mails obtained are likely only a subset of the e-mails sent or received by Clinton during this time period.

^{ccc} (U//~~FOUO~~) The three e-mail chains containing the portion mark of "(C)" are not considered as part of the group of e-mails classified through the FBI classification review because State has not responded to the FBI request for classification determinations for these e-mails.

^{ddd} (U//~~FOUO~~) Earlier in her FBI interview, when asked what the classification marking "(SBU)" meant, Clinton correctly stated Sensitive But Unclassified.

^{eee} (U//~~FOUO~~) Due to the limited insight into other USG and personal e-mail accounts, the investigation was unable to determine if e-mails from the classified e-mail chains were forwarded to other USG or personal e-mail addresses.

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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by State as SECRET or CONFIDENTIAL, were not among the approximately 30,000 e-mails provided to State and the FBI by Williams & Connolly. In addition to State classified equities, the investigation determined the 81 e-mail chains contained classified equities from 5 other USIC agencies: the CIA, DOD, FBI, National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA), and National Security Agency (NSA).

(S//~~OC/NF~~) The 81 classified e-mail chains contained 8 e-mail chains classified TOP SECRET, 37 e-mail chains classified SECRET, and 36 e-mail chains classified CONFIDENTIAL at the time they were sent. Of these e-mail chains, 7 e-mail chains contained information associated with a Special Access Program (SAP) and 3 e-mail chains contained Sensitive Compartmented Information (SCI).ⁱⁱⁱ Of the 81 classified e-mail chains, 36 e-mail chains were determined to be Not-Releasable to Foreign Governments (NOFORN) and 2 were considered releasable only to Five Allied partners (FVEY). [REDACTED]

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Sixteen of the e-mail chains, classified at the time the e-mails were sent, were downgraded in current classification by USIC agencies.

(S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]b1
b3- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]- (S//~~OC/NF~~) [REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) The State FOIA process identified 2,093 e-mails currently classified as CONFIDENTIAL or SECRET. Of these e-mails, FBI investigation identified approximately 100 e-mails that overlapped with the 193 e-mails (80 e-mail chains) determined through the FBI

ⁱⁱⁱ (U//~~FOUO~~) One of the TOP SECRET/SCI e-mails was downgraded to a current classification of SECRET//REL TO USA, FVEY by the owning agency during a FOIA-related review.

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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classification review to be classified at the time sent. All except one of the remaining 2,093 e-mails were determined by the State FOIA process to be CONFIDENTIAL, with one e-mail determined to be SECRET at the time of the FOIA review.^{egg, hhh} State did not provide a determination as to whether the 2,093 e-mails were classified at the time they were sent.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI investigation determined Clinton contributed to discussions in four e-mail chains classified as CONFIDENTIAL, three e-mail chains classified as SECRET//NOFORN, and four e-mail chains classified as TOP SECRET//SAP. Investigation identified 67 instances where Clinton forwarded e-mails to either State personnel or [REDACTED] for printing that were identified as classified CONFIDENTIAL or SECRET through either the State FOIA process or FBI classification determination requests.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FBI investigation determined at least 32 classified e-mail chains transited both the personal e-mail account of Clinton and the personal e-mail accounts of Abedin, Mills, Sullivan, or [REDACTED].ⁱⁱⁱ One of these e-mails was TOP SECRET//SCI at the time of transmission, and is currently considered SECRET//REL TO USA, FVEY; five were classified as SECRET//NOFORN and one as SECRET both when sent and currently; two were classified SECRET when sent and are CONFIDENTIAL currently; one was classified as SECRET when sent and is UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO currently; 16 were classified CONFIDENTIAL both when sent and currently; five were CONFIDENTIAL when sent and UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO currently; and one was CONFIDENTIAL when sent and UNCLASSIFIED currently.ⁱⁱⁱ Investigation determined at least 80 e-mails from the 2,093 e-mails deemed classified through the State FOIA process were sent to or from the personal accounts of Abedin, Mills, Sullivan, or [REDACTED].^{ik}

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D. (U//~~FOUO~~) Witness Statements Related to Classified E-mails Found on Clinton's Personal Server Systems

(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI interviewed multiple officials who authored and/or contributed to e-mails, the content of which has since been determined to contain classified information.^{396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408} USG employees responsible for initiating classified e-mail chains included State Civil Service employees, Foreign Service employees, Senior Executive Service employees, Presidential appointees, and non-State elected officials.

(U//~~FOUO~~) During FBI interviews, the authors of these e-mails provided context surrounding the e-mails in question as well as reasons for sending the e-mails on unclassified systems.

^{egg} (U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation determined the following types of e-mails were not included in the list of 2,093 e-mails classified through the State FOIA review: TS//SAP e-mails; e-mails not produced to State by Williams & Connolly; formerly classified e-mails now considered UNCLASSIFIED; and classified e-mails improperly released during FOIA production.

^{hhh} (U//~~FOUO~~) Two attachments labeled as SECRET through State FOIA process were not tracked as separate classified documents in the FBI's classification review.

ⁱⁱⁱ (U//~~FOUO~~) Due to the limited insight into other USG and personal e-mail accounts, FBI investigation was unable to determine if e-mails from classified e-mail chains were forwarded to other personal e-mail accounts.

ⁱⁱⁱ (U//~~FOUO~~) In addition to the personal accounts of Abedin, Mills, Sullivan, and [REDACTED] seven classified e-mail chains were initially drafted in or sent from the private e-mail accounts of five non-State individuals, to include Kerry and Blumenthal.

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^{kkk} (U//~~FOUO~~) Personal e-mail accounts of Abedin, Mills, Sullivan, and [REDACTED] appeared in the "To," "From," or "CC" line of the e-mail. Investigation was not able to determine if additional personal accounts were blind carbon copied ("BCC").

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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Individuals who worked in the State Bureau of Public Affairsⁱⁱⁱ often accessed classified information to understand the context of unclassified information that was to be disseminated publicly.⁴⁰⁹ The Public Affairs officials primarily relied upon reporting from country desk officers to generate talking points and believed the country desk officers were experienced in protecting sensitive information within their reporting.⁴¹⁰ The Public Affairs officials were also responsible for notifying State leadership of impending reports by the news media regarding sensitive or controversial topics.⁴¹¹ Furthermore, a former DOD official explained that he sent an e-mail, since deemed to contain classified information, in order to quickly coordinate public affairs responses by State and DOD with respect to a specific incident referenced in the e-mail.⁴¹²

(U//~~FOUO~~) Individuals, including those in the State Operations Center (Ops Center),^{mmmm} who were responsible for passing information to high-level State officials, worked to identify and disseminate the information they deemed critical for review by State leadership.^{413,414} These individuals noted that such information was generally sent on State unclassified e-mail systems because of the need to quickly elevate information at times when the intended recipients did not all have immediate access to classified e-mail accounts.^{mmmm, 415, 416}

(U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation identified seven e-mail chains comprised of 22 e-mails on Clinton's server classified by the USIC as TOP SECRET/SAP. State Department officials, both in Washington, D.C. and overseas, were briefed into the SAP and communicated both internally and with other USIC officials about the program.^{417, 418, 419, 420} Only internal State e-mails regarding the SAP were forwarded to Clinton, all of which were sent to Clinton's server by Sullivan. Clinton and Sullivan engaged in discussions regarding the SAP in four of the seven e-mail chains.

(S//~~OC/NF~~) During FBI interviews, State employees explained the context for why classified material [REDACTED] was sent and provided reasons to explain why they did not believe information in the e-mails was classified.^{421, 422, 423, 424} [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] stated the right method of communication was whichever method allowed for the fastest possible dissemination of the message.⁴²⁸ He also stated that information he received from other USG agencies was "technically probably classified" but that "you can't do business

ⁱⁱⁱ (U//~~FOUO~~) According to State's website, the Bureau of Public Affairs "engages domestic and international media to communicate timely and accurate information with the goal of furthering US foreign policy and national security interests as well as broadening understanding of American values."

^{mmmm} (U//~~FOUO~~) The Ops Center is staffed 24 hours a day and constantly monitors reporting from State cables, other USG agencies, and open source news outlets for information of interest to State leadership.

ⁿⁿⁿⁿ (U//~~FOUO~~) Individuals who inputted classified information into e-mail chains to pass to high-level State officials indicated that at times they were relying on information that others had summarized and provided to them.

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that way.”⁴²⁹ When interviewed by the FBI, authors of the e-mails stated that they used their best judgment in drafting the messages and that it was common practice at State to carefully word e-mails on UNCLASSIFIED networks so as to avoid sensitive details or “talk around” [REDACTED] classified information.^{430, 431, 432, 433} [REDACTED] stated the information in the [REDACTED]

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(S) [REDACTED] former [REDACTED] declined to comment on the e-mails.⁴³⁵ [REDACTED] referenced news articles claiming e-mails on Clinton's server were over-classified, but after seeing the e-mails during the interview, stated he “now understood why people were concerned about this matter.”⁴³⁶ Sullivan indicated he had no reason to believe any State employee ever intentionally mishandled classified information.⁴³⁷

(S//OC/NF) The FBI interviewed four USIC executives stationed both in the United States and overseas [REDACTED].^{438, 439, 440, 441} The USIC executives reviewed the [REDACTED] e-mail chains which transited Clinton's personal e-mail account and assessed that some of the e-mail chains should be considered classified.^{442, 443, 444} [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]⁴⁴⁵ However, two of the USIC executives interviewed said some of the [REDACTED]

(S//OC/NF) A majority of the USIC executives interviewed expressed concerns with how State handled [REDACTED].^{449, 450, 451} According to a USIC executive who had been stationed overseas, State employees were aware of the sensitivities [REDACTED]⁴⁵²

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(U//FOUO) On April 9, 2016, Mills, who served as Chief of Staff to Clinton at State between 2009 and 2013, was interviewed by the FBI. During this interview, Mills was provided seven e-mails which contained information later determined to be classified. While Mills did not specifically remember any of the e-mails, she stated that there was nothing in them that concerned her regarding their transmission on an unclassified e-mail system.⁴⁵⁵ Mills also stated that she was not concerned about her decision to forward certain of these e-mails to Clinton.⁴⁵⁶ In reviewing e-mails related to the SAP referenced above, Mills explained that some of the e-mails were designed to inform State officials of media reports concerning the subject matter and that the information in the e-mails merely confirmed what the public already knew.⁴⁵⁷

(U//FOUO) The FBI interviewed Sullivan on February 27, 2016. Sullivan, who between 2009 and 2013 served at State first as the Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy and then as the Director of Policy Planning, communicated extensively with Clinton by e-mail. Their communications included both e-mails written by Sullivan and e-mails written by others that Sullivan forwarded to Clinton. During the interview, the FBI asked Sullivan to review approximately 14 e-mails Sullivan sent or received on unclassified systems that were later determined to contain classified information up to the TOP SECRET/SAP level. Sullivan did not specifically recall the e-mails, aside from recognizing some of them from the materials released pursuant to FOIA litigation, but

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provided reasons why the e-mails may have been sent by him or others on unclassified systems.⁴⁵⁸ With respect to the SAP, Sullivan stated that it was discussed on unclassified systems due to the operational tempo at that time, and State employees attempted to talk around classified information.⁴⁵⁹ Sullivan also indicated that, for some of the e-mails, information about the incidents described therein may have already appeared in news reports.⁴⁶⁰ Furthermore, Sullivan stated that his colleagues at State worked hard while under pressure and used their best judgment to accomplish their mission.⁴⁶¹ When forwarding e-mails, Sullivan relied on the judgment of the individuals who sent the e-mails to him to ensure that the e-mails did not contain classified information.⁴⁶² Sullivan did not recall any instances in which he felt uneasy about information conveyed on unclassified systems, nor any instances in which others expressed concerns about the handling of classified information at State.^{000.463}

(S//~~FOUO~~) Sullivan was also asked about an e-mail exchange between him and Clinton in which, on the morning of June 17, 2011, Clinton asked Sullivan to check on the status of talking points she was supposed to have received.⁴⁶⁴ Sullivan responded that the secure fax was malfunctioning but was in the process of being fixed. Clinton instructed Sullivan that if the secure fax could not be fixed, he should "turn [the talking points] into nonpaper [with] no identifying heading and send nonsecure."⁴⁶⁵ State uses the term "non-paper" to refer to a document which is authorized for distribution to a foreign government without explicit attribution to the U.S. government and without classified information. Sullivan did not recall this specific e-mail but believed that Clinton's request indicated that she would have wanted him to make an unclassified version of the document, summarize the contents, and then send it to her on a non-secure fax.⁴⁶⁶

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(U//~~FOUO~~) On April 5, 2016, Abedin, who served as Deputy Chief of Staff to Clinton at State between 2009 and 2013, was interviewed by the FBI. When asked about an e-mail subsequently determined to contain CONFIDENTIAL information, Abedin noted that she had only conveyed the information from the e-mail and had not originated it.⁴⁷⁰ She also stated that she relied upon the sender to properly mark the e-mail for classification purposes and did not take it upon herself to question the sender's judgment as to such marking.^{ppp.471}

(U//~~FOUO~~) Investigation determined Sidney Blumenthal, a former political aide to President Clinton and an informal political advisor to Clinton during her tenure at State, had direct e-mail contact with Clinton during her tenure at State. FBI investigation identified at least 179 e-

⁰⁰⁰ (U//~~FOUO~~) Abedin and Mills also provided similar responses when asked about State security practices regarding classified information.

^{ppp} (U//~~FOUO~~) Although Abedin was a party to e-mails containing information that has since been determined to be classified, due to the nature of her position at State, Abedin was not regularly included in the e-mail chains (discussed in this section of the memorandum) about which Sullivan and Mills were questioned. Abedin's position at State did not consistently involve her participation in substantive policy decisions, and she was not a regular user of classified e-mail systems.

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mails⁴⁹⁴ that Blumenthal sent to Clinton containing information in memorandum format. The State FOIA process identified 24 memos from Blumenthal that contained information currently classified as CONFIDENTIAL and one as SECRET both when sent and currently.^{472,473} The FBI interviewed Blumenthal on January 7, 2016. According to Blumenthal, the content of the memos, which addressed topics to include Benghazi and foreign political developments, was provided to him from a number of different sources to include former USIC employees and contacts, as well as contacts within foreign governments.^{474,475,476,477,478,479,480,481,482,483,484,485,486,487} The memos contained a notation of "CONFIDENTIAL"⁴⁸⁸ and then often included a source summary statement⁴⁸⁹ similar to those frequently found in USIC intelligence products.^{488,489,490} Blumenthal indicated he was not tasked to provide this information to Clinton; rather, he provided it because he deemed the information helpful, which Clinton occasionally acknowledged via e-mail.⁴⁹¹ Clinton often forwarded the memos to Sullivan asking him to remove information identifying Blumenthal as the originator and to pass the information to other State employees to solicit their input.^{492,493} According to e-mails between Clinton and Sullivan, Clinton discussed passing the information to the White House, other USG agencies, and foreign governments.^{494,495}

E. (U//FOUO) Clinton's Statements Related to Classified E-mails Found on Her Personal Server Systems

(S//OC/NF) On July 2, 2016, the FBI interviewed Clinton. Clinton was aware she was an Original Classification Authority (OCA) at State; however, she could not recall how often she used this authority nor could she recall any training or guidance provided by State.⁴⁹⁶ Clinton could not give an example of how the classification of a document was determined; rather she stated there was a process in place at State before her tenure, and she relied on career foreign service professionals to appropriately mark and handle classified information.⁴⁹⁷ Clinton believed information should be classified when it relates to [REDACTED] the use of sensitive sources, or sensitive deliberations.⁴⁹⁸ When asked whether she believed information should be classified if its unauthorized release would cause damage to national security, Clinton responded "yes, that is the understanding."⁴⁹⁹

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- (U) (S//OC/NF) Clinton did not recall receiving any e-mails she thought should not have been on an unclassified system.⁵⁰⁰ She relied on State officials to use their judgment when e-mailing her and could not recall anyone raising concerns with her regarding the sensitivity of the information she received at her e-mail address.⁵⁰¹ The FBI provided Clinton with copies of her classified e-mails ranging from CONFIDENTIAL to TOP SECRET/SAP and Clinton said she did not believe the e-mails contained classified information.⁵⁰² Upon reviewing an e-mail classified SECRET//NOFORN dated December 27, 2011, Clinton stated no policy or practice existed

⁴⁹⁴ (U//FOUO) The FBI obtained 177 of Blumenthal's memos from the e-mails provided by Williams & Connolly as part of Clinton's production to the FBI. The FBI recovered two additional memos during the investigation from BlackBerry backups provided by Cooper. State did not provide a classification determination on those additional memos.

⁴⁹⁵ (U//FOUO) According to Blumenthal, "CONFIDENTIAL" meant the memo was personal in nature and did not refer to classified USG information.

⁴⁹⁶ (U//FOUO) According to Blumenthal, the individual who provided the content for a number of the memos authored the source summary statements (caveats provided regarding the source of information) in the memos.

⁴⁹⁷ (U//FOUO) Investigation was unable to determine if any of Blumenthal's memos were forwarded to the White House, or to other USG agencies and foreign governments, as Sullivan's OpenNet sent items were not present in the data provided by State to the FBI.

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related to communicating around holidays, and it was often necessary to communicate in code or do the best you could to convey the information considering the e-mail system you were using.⁵⁰³ In reference to the same e-mail, Clinton believed if the foreign press was to obtain information from that e-mail, it would not cause damage to the US Government.⁵⁰⁴ When asked, Clinton recalled being briefed on SAP information but could not recall any specific briefing on how to handle SAP information.⁵⁰⁵ Clinton stated she knew SAP information was of great importance and needed to be handled carefully.⁵⁰⁶

F. (U//FOUO) Gaps in Clinton E-mail Recovered from Personal Server Systems

(U//FOUO) There were no e-mails provided by Williams & Connolly to State or the FBI dated from January 21, 2009 to March 18, 2009. FBI investigation identified an additional 18 days where Clinton did not provide State any responsive e-mail. FBI investigation determined 14 of the 18 days where Clinton did not provide State any responsive e-mail correspond with e-mail outages affecting Clinton's personal server systems as a result of both Hurricane Irene^{www} and Hurricane Sandy^{www}. FBI investigation indicated other explanations for gaps in Clinton's e-mail production could include user deletion prior to PRN's transfer of Clinton's e-mails for review, or flaws in the archiving and sorting process used to generate the responsive production to State.

4. (U//FOUO) Results of the FBI Investigation and Analysis of Cyber Intrusion Potential

A. (U//FOUO) Cyber Analysis of Clinton's Personal Server Systems

(U//FOUO) FBI investigation and forensic analysis did not find evidence confirming that Clinton's e-mail server systems were compromised by cyber means. The FBI's inability to recover all server equipment and the lack of complete server log data for the relevant time period limited the FBI's forensic analysis of the server systems. As a result, FBI cyber analysis relied, in large part, on witness statements, e-mail correspondence, and related forensic content found on other devices to understand the setup, maintenance, administration, and security of the server systems.

(U//FOUO) Investigation determined Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail traffic was potentially vulnerable to compromise when she first began using her personal account in January 2009. It was not until late March 2009, when the Pagliano Server was set up and an SSL certificate^{www} was acquired for the clintonemail.com domain—providing encryption of login credentials, but not e-mail content stored on the server—that access to the server was afforded an added layer of security.^{507,508} The certificate was valid until September 13, 2013, at which time PRN obtained a new certificate valid until September 13, 2018.⁵⁰⁹

(U//FOUO) During his December 22, 2015 FBI interview, Pagliano recalled a conversation with [REDACTED] at the beginning of Clinton's tenure, in which [REDACTED] advised he would not be

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^{www} (U//FOUO) The first of two extended outages occurred from August 28 to 30, 2011 (3 days) as a result of Hurricane Irene.

^{www} (U//FOUO) The second extended outage occurred from October 30, 2012 to November 9, 2012 (11 days) as a result of Hurricane Sandy.

^{www} (U//FOUO) According to FBI forensic analysis, there was no SSL certificate on the Pagliano Server between March 19, 2009, when the mail service was operational, and March 29 or 30, 2009, when the SSL certificate was installed on the server.

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surprised if classified information was being transmitted to Clinton's personal server.⁵¹⁰ [REDACTED] further recommended that e-mail transiting from a state.gov account to the server should be sent through a Transport Layer Security (TLS)^{xxx} tunnel.⁵¹¹ Pagliano advised that the transition to TLS never occurred.^{511,512} The FBI was unable to forensically determine if TLS was implemented on the Pagliano Server.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked about the maintenance and security of the server system he administered, Pagliano stated there were no security breaches, but he was aware there were many failed login attempts, which he referred to as brute force attacks.⁵¹³ He added that the failed attempts increased over the life of the Pagliano Server, and he set up the server's logs to alert Cooper when they occurred.⁵¹⁴ Pagliano knew the attempts were potential attackers because the credentials attempting to log in did not match legitimate users on the system.⁵¹⁵ Pagliano could not recall if a high volume of failed login attempts emanated from any specific country.⁵¹⁶

(U//~~FOUO~~) In an attempt to thwart potential attacks, Pagliano set up Internet Protocol (IP) filtering^{aaaa} on the firewall and tried to review the firewall log files once a month.⁵¹⁷ After the Pagliano Server was established, Cooper put Pagliano in contact with [REDACTED] a United States Secret Service (USSS) agent, who recommended Pagliano also perform outbound filtering of e-mail traffic.⁵¹⁸ Pagliano further considered, but ultimately did not implement, a Virtual Private Network (VPN)^{bbbb} or two-factor authentication^{cccc} to better secure administrative access to the server system by him and Cooper.⁵¹⁹ The FBI forensically determined that Remote Desktop Protocol (RDP)^{dddd} was enabled on the Pagliano Server and was used by Pagliano, Cooper, and later PRN, for remote administration of the server.⁵²⁰ While the availability of RDP

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^{xxx} (U) TLS is a protocol that ensures privacy between communicating applications, such as web browsing, e-mail, and instant-messaging, with their users on the Internet. TLS ensures that no third-party eavesdrops on the two-way communication. TLS is the successor to SSL and is considered more secure.

^{yyy} (U) According to the State OIG report, State policy (12 FAM 544.3) stipulates normal day-to-day operations must be conducted on an authorized system. In the absence of a device, such as a State OpenNet terminal, employees can send most Sensitive But Unclassified (SBU) information unencrypted via the Internet only when necessary, with the knowledge that the nature of the transmission lends itself to unauthorized access, however remote that chance might be. Furthermore, in August 2008, 12 FAM 682.2-5 was amended and mandated that SBU information on non-Department-owned systems at non-Departmental facilities had to meet certain criteria. Employees had to: 1) ensure that SBU information was encrypted; 2) destroy SBU information on their personally owned and managed computers and removable media when the files are no longer required; and 3) implement encryption certified by the National Institute of Science and Technology (NIST), among other things. Although 12 FAM 682.2-5 was further amended in 2009, 2011, 2014, and 2015, the basic requirements did not change.

^{zzz} (U) A brute force attack is a trial-and-error method used to obtain information, such as a password or personal identification number (PIN). In a brute force attack, passwords may be attempted manually or automated software can be used to generate a large number of consecutive guesses as to the targeted information.

^{aaaa} (U) IP filtering is the practice of identifying and manually blocking IP addresses based on the identification of patterns that are indicative of a potential attack.

^{bbbb} (U) VPN is a private network that runs on top of a larger network to provide access to shared network resources, which may or may not include the physical hard drives of individual computers, as in the case of Remote Desktop Protocol (RDP). VPN offers an additional layer of security by encrypting the data traveling to the private network before sending it over the Internet. Data is then decrypted when it reaches the private network.

^{cccc} (U) Two-factor authentication is a method of confirming a user's claimed identity by utilizing a combination of two different components, often something the user knows and something the user has—such as a RSA key fob/token.

^{dddd} (U) RDP is a proprietary protocol developed by Microsoft that allows a user to remotely connect to another computer over a network connection to view the computer and control it remotely. RDP is implemented in every version of Windows starting with Windows XP.

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on a server is convenient for remote access, the FBI is aware of known vulnerabilities^{cccc} associated with the protocol.

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[REDACTED]^{523, 524} Pagliano recalled finding "a virus," but could provide no additional details, other than it was nothing of great concern.⁵²⁵ FBI examination of the Pagliano Server and available server backups did not reveal any indications of malware.⁵²⁶

(U//FOUO) On January 9, 2011, Cooper sent Abedin an e-mail stating someone was attempting to "hack" the server, prompting him to shut it down.⁵²⁷ Cooper sent Abedin another e-mail later the same day stating he had to reboot the server again.⁵²⁸ The FBI's investigation did not identify successful malicious login activity associated with this incident.⁵²⁹

(U//FOUO) The FBI's review of available Internet Information Services (IIS) web logs showed scanning attempts from external IP addresses over the course of Pagliano's administration of the server, though only one appears to have resulted in a successful compromise of an e-mail account on the server.⁵³⁰ Forensic analysis noted that on January 5, 2013, three IP addresses matching known Tor^{fff} exit nodes were observed accessing a user e-mail account on the Pagliano Server believed to belong to President Clinton staffer [REDACTED]. FBI investigation indicated the Tor user logged in to [REDACTED] e-mail account and browsed e-mail folders and attachments.^{531, 532} When asked during her interview, [REDACTED] stated to the FBI she is not familiar with nor has she ever used Tor software.⁵³³ FBI investigation to date was unable to identify the actor(s) responsible for this login or how [REDACTED] login credentials were compromised.⁵³⁴

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(U//FOUO) Forensic analysis of alert e-mail records automatically generated by CloudJacket revealed multiple instances of potential malicious actors attempting to exploit vulnerabilities on the PRN Server. FBI determined none of the activity, however, was successful against the server.⁵³⁵

(U//FOUO) Following the March 3, 2015 *New York Times* article publicly revealing Clinton's use of personal e-mail to conduct government business,⁵³⁶ the FBI identified an increased number of login attempts to the PRN Server and its associated domain controller.^{ggg}⁵³⁷ Forensic analysis revealed none of the login attempts were successful. FBI investigation also identified an

^{cccc} (U) Older versions of RDP had a vulnerability in the method used to encrypt RDP sessions. While security patches, if applied, have remedied these vulnerabilities, exposing RDP to direct connections could allow remote attackers the opportunity to guess login credentials.

^{fff} (U) Tor is free software allowing end users to direct their Internet traffic through a group of volunteer-operated servers around the world in order to conceal their location and Internet usage.

^{ggg} (U) A domain controller is a Microsoft server that responds to security authentication requests (logins, checking permissions, etc.) within a Windows domain.

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increase in unauthorized login attempts into the Apple iCloud^{hhhh} account likely associated with Clinton's e-mail addressⁱⁱⁱⁱ during this time period. Investigation determined all potentially suspicious Apple iCloud login attempts were unsuccessful.⁵³⁸ Additionally, PRN made various network changes to the PRN Server around March 7, 2015, to include disabling the server's public-facing VPN page and switching from SSL protocol to TLS to increase security.⁵³⁹ Staff also discussed the possibility of conducting penetration testingⁱⁱⁱ against the PRN Server to highlight vulnerabilities in the network.⁵⁴⁰ The FBI interviewed an employee of the company with which PRN had discussed the issue. The employee stated that the topic was broached but that penetration testing against the PRN Server, ultimately, did not happen.⁵⁴¹

B. (U//~~FOUO~~) Cyber Analysis of Clinton's Mobile Devices

(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI does not have in its possession any of Clinton's 13 mobile devices which potentially were used to send e-mails using Clinton's clintonemail.com e-mail addresses. As a result, the FBI could not make a determination as to whether any of the devices were subject to compromise. Similarly, the FBI does not have in its possession two of the five iPad devices which potentially were used by Clinton to send and receive e-mails during her tenure.^{542, 543, 544, 545} The FBI forensically examined two of the three iPads^{kkk} it obtained and found no evidence of cyber intrusion.⁵⁴⁶

C. (U//~~FOUO~~) Cyber Targeting of Clinton's Personal E-mail and Associated Accounts

(S//~~OC/NF~~) Investigation identified multiple occurrences of phishing and/or spear-phishing e-mails sent to Clinton's account during her tenure as Secretary of State.⁵⁴⁷ [REDACTED]

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(S//~~OC/NF~~) Clinton received another phishing e-mail, purportedly sent from the personal e-mail account of a State official [REDACTED]. The e-mail contained a potentially malicious link.⁵⁵² Clinton replied to the e-mail [REDACTED] stating, "Is this really from you? I was worried about opening it!"⁵⁵³ [REDACTED]
In a separate incident [REDACTED] Abedin sent an e-mail to [REDACTED] indicating Clinton was

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^{hhhh} (U//~~FOUO~~) Apple iCloud is a cloud storage medium available to users of Apple products. Clinton is known to have used Apple iPads during the course of her tenure, and hdr22@clintonemail.com was likely used as her AppleID to set up a new Apple device.

ⁱⁱⁱⁱ (U//~~FOUO~~) While the NYT article did not reveal Clinton's e-mail address—and by default the domain name—it is very likely those who tried to gain access to the related Apple iCloud account searched for and found the e-mail address in open sources. News articles from 2013 contained a screenshot of Blumenthal's communication with "hdr22," thereby divulging Clinton's e-mail alias. Other outlets mentioned the domain name in articles but withheld Clinton's e-mail alias. Clinton's full e-mail address could therefore have been ascertained through piecing together various sources.

ⁱⁱⁱ (U) Penetration testing, more commonly known as pen testing, is the practice of testing a computer system, network, or web application to find vulnerabilities that an attacker could exploit.

^{kkk} (U//~~FOUO~~) The third iPad the FBI obtained was not actually used by Clinton. Shortly after it was purchased, it was given as a gift to a member of her staff, and therefore the FBI did not forensically examine the device.

^{lll} (U) RAT is a piece of software that facilitates remote operation of a computer system.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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worried "someone [was] hacking into her email" given that she received an e-mail from a known [REDACTED] associate containing a link to a website with pornographic material.⁵⁵⁴ There is no additional information as to why Clinton was concerned about someone hacking into her e-mail account, or if the specific link referenced by Abedin was used as a vector to infect Clinton's device [REDACTED]

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(S)

[REDACTED] Open source information indicated, if opened, the targeted user's device may have been infected, and information would have been sent to at least three computers overseas, including one in Russia.^{560, 561} [REDACTED]

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D. (U//FOUO) Potential Loss of Classified Information

(U//FOUO) On March 11, 2011, Boswell sent a memo directly to Clinton outlining an increase since January 2011 of cyber actors targeting State employees' personal e-mail accounts.⁵⁶³ The memo included an attachment which urged State employees to limit the use of personal e-mail for official business since "some compromised home systems have been reconfigured by these actors to automatically forward copies of all composed e-mails to an undisclosed recipient."⁵⁶⁴ Clinton's immediate staff was also briefed on cybersecurity threats in April and May 2011.⁵⁶⁵

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(S//OC/NF) [REDACTED]

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⁵⁵⁴ (U) In order for malicious executables to be effective, the targeted host device has to have the correct program/applications installed. If, for example, the host is running an older version of Adobe but the exploit being used is newer, there is a chance the host will not be infected because the exploit was unable to execute using the older version of the program.

⁵⁵⁵ (U) A "drop" account, in this case, is an e-mail account controlled by foreign cyber actors and which serves as the recipient of auto-forwarded e-mails from victim accounts.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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(U//FOUO) On or about March 14, 2013, Blumenthal's AOL e-mail account was compromised by Marcel Lehel Lazar, aka Guccifer, a Romanian cyber hacker. Lazar disseminated e-mails and attachments sent between Blumenthal and Clinton to 31 media outlets, including a Russian broadcasting company.⁵⁸⁸ [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]⁵⁸⁸ One of the screenshots captured a list of 19 foreign policy and intelligence memos authored by Blumenthal for Clinton.⁵⁸⁹ The content of one of the memos on the list was determined by State to be classified at the CONFIDENTIAL level.⁵⁹⁰ Lazar was extradited from Romania to the United States on March 31, 2016.⁵⁹¹

(U//FOUO) Between April 25, 2016 and May 2, 2016, Lazar made a claim to FOX News that he used information from Blumenthal's compromise as a stepping stone to hack Clinton's personal server.⁵⁹² On May 26, 2016, the FBI interviewed Lazar, who admitted he lied to FOX News about hacking the Clinton server.⁵⁹³ FBI forensic analysis of the Clinton server during the timeframe Lazar claimed to have compromised the server did not identify evidence that Lazar hacked the server.⁵⁹⁴ An examination of log files from March 2013 indicated that IP addresses from Russia and Ukraine attempted to scan the server on March 15, 2013, the day after the Blumenthal compromise, and on March 19 and March 21, 2013.⁵⁹⁵ However, none of these attempts were successful, and it could not be determined whether this activity was attributable to Lazar.⁵⁹⁶

E. (U//FOUO) General Cyber Analysis Conducted

(S//OC/N) [REDACTED] The FBI conducted general cyber research and analysis of e-mail addresses and user accounts associated with the clintonemail.com and presidentclinton.com domains.

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(U//FOUO) FBI extracted the Thread-Index^{oooo} and Message-ID^{pppp} values for each identified confirmed classified e-mail relevant to this investigation. The values were extracted from the e-mail headers^{qqqq} in order to develop specific electronic signatures that could be used when searching for exact references in large data repositories. In an effort to identify whether any confirmed classified e-mails may have been compromised through computer intrusion methods, the FBI conducted signature-based searches in available databases, to include [REDACTED].^{rrr} The FBI also provided the unique identifiers to other government agencies, and one entity

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^{oooo} (U) A Thread-Index value is a unique, alphanumeric, Microsoft Outlook-centric field found in an e-mail's header. The identifier is used to track e-mail threads (or conversations). Each time there is a reply or forward in the e-mail thread, Outlook—if it is the e-mail client being used—will append additional alphanumeric characters to the e-mail's original Thread-Index value.

^{pppp} (U) A Message-ID is a unique identifier found in an e-mail's header. Message-IDs are required to have a specific format and be globally unique. Unlike Thread-Index values, Message-IDs are unique to every individual e-mail, regardless of whether two e-mails belong to the same thread (or conversation).

^{qqqq} (U) A header precedes the body (content text) of an e-mail, and contains lines (metadata) that identify particular routing information. Fields such as "From," "To," and "Date" are mandatory, while others are optional.

^{rrr} (U//FOUO) [REDACTED]

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]b1
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responded.⁵⁵⁵⁵ To date, the signature-based searches in USG databases have not identified the relevant e-mails.⁶⁰¹

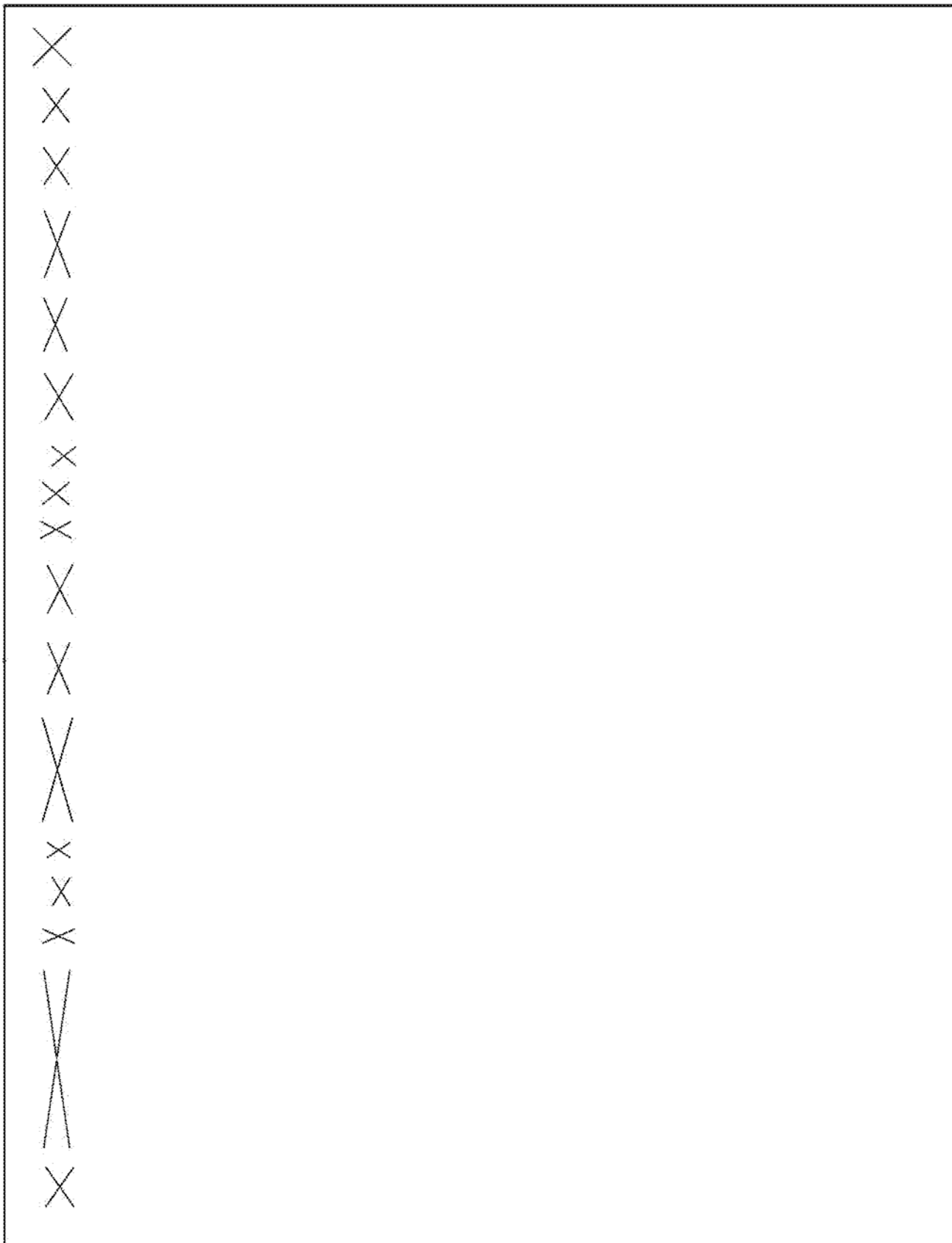
⁵⁵⁵⁵ (U//FOUO) The FBI provided the Executive Office of the President (EOP), State Cyber Threat Analysis Division (CTAD), and State's Information Resource Bureau (IRB) with Thread-Index and Message-ID values. CTAD found no record of the signatures provided. EOP stated they could only search "To," "From," and "Subject" lines, as did State IRB. Separately, in an attempt to identify whether confirmed classified e-mails resided in unidentified e-mail provider accounts, or whether identified accounts forwarded or replied to the classified messages, the FBI explored the possibility of sharing Thread-Index Value and Message-IDs with e-mail service providers of interest. Google was asked if they could search those header fields in its dataset. The company stated it does not index Thread-Index values, which is the identifier the FBI was most interested in, as it would have provided insight into the extent the messages were forwarded.

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~ [REDACTED]

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.
~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [redacted]

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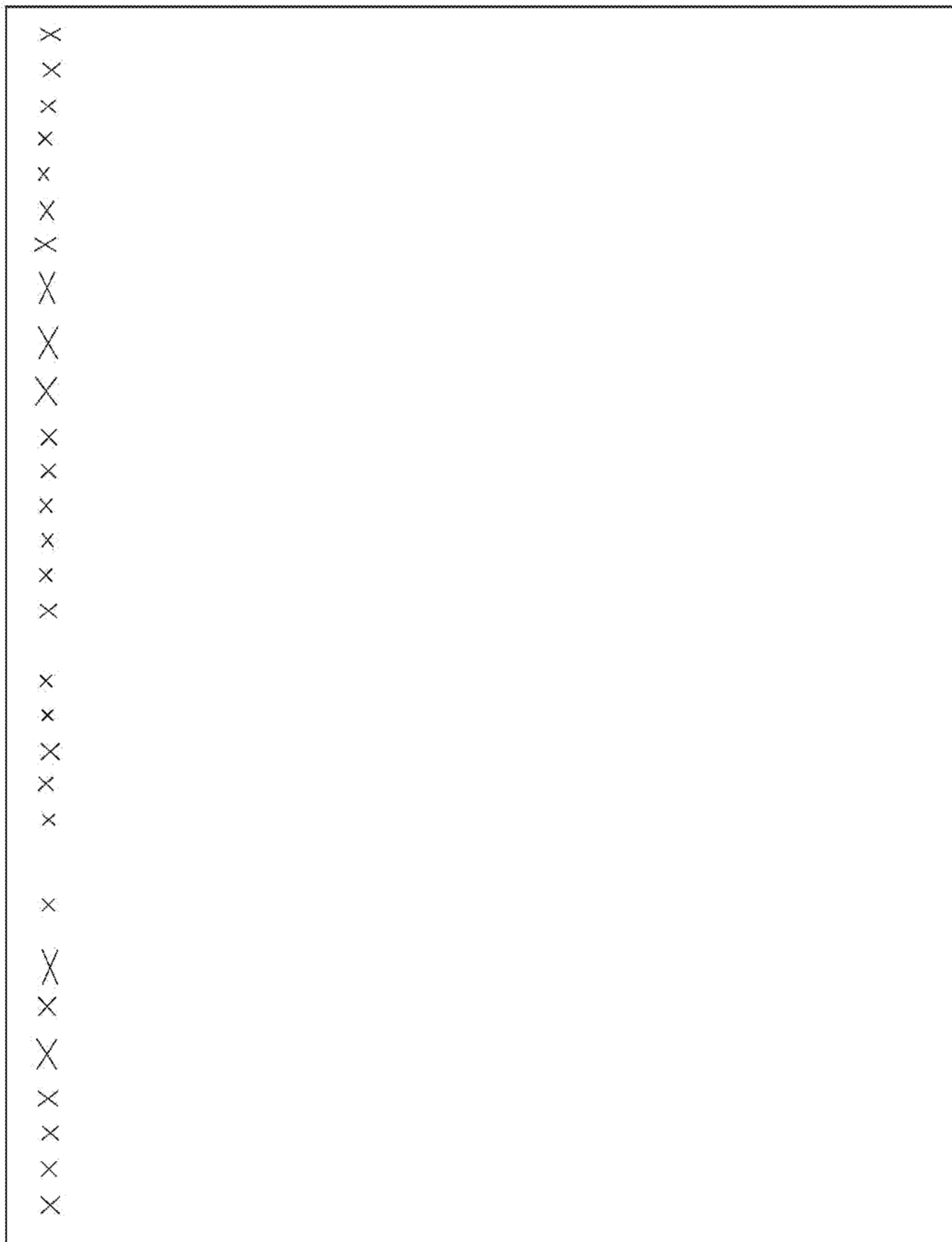
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FBI (18-cv-05154)-4283

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [redacted]

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

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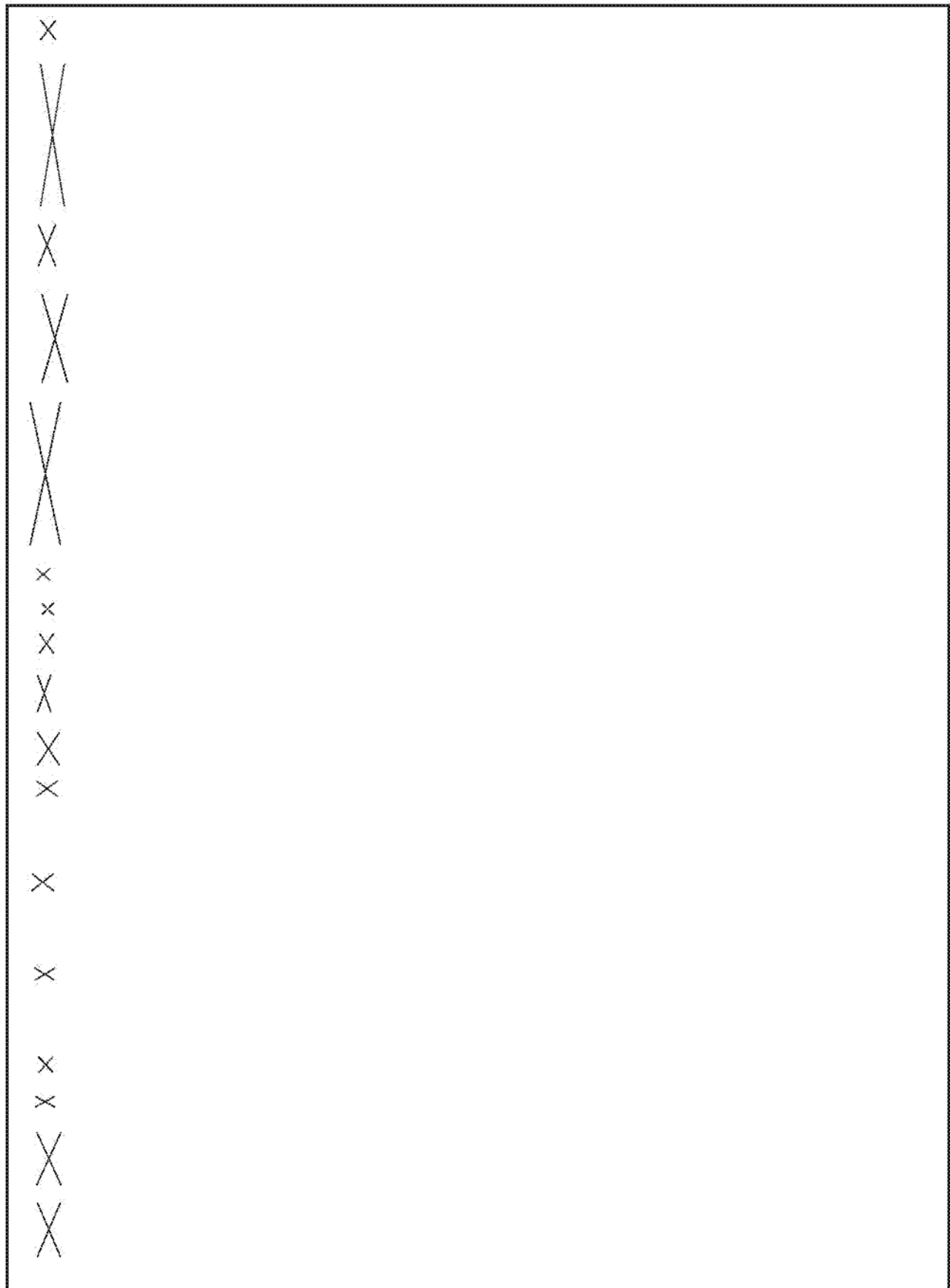
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FBI (158-cv-27154)-4285

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFOR~~ [redacted]

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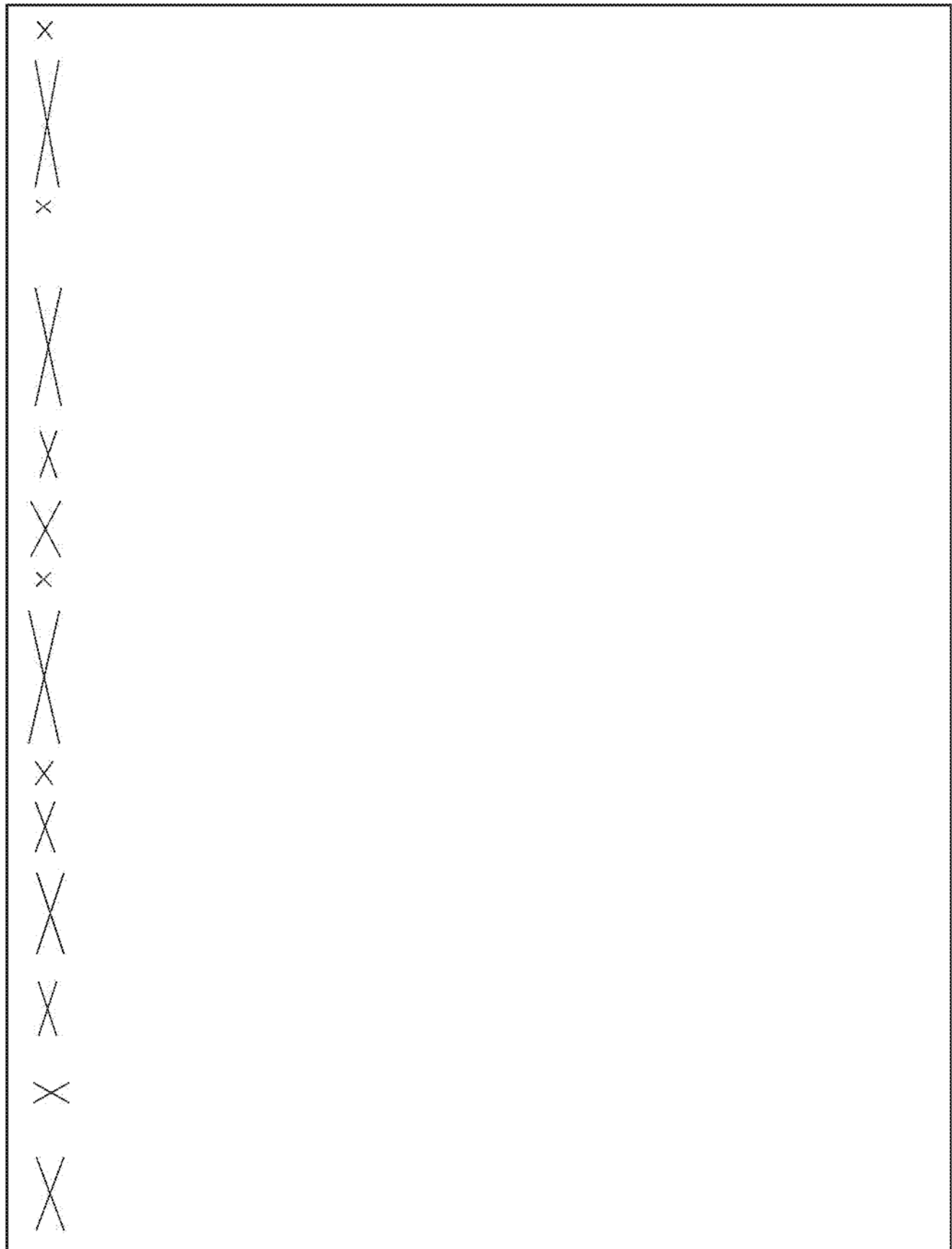
~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFOR~~ [redacted]

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc

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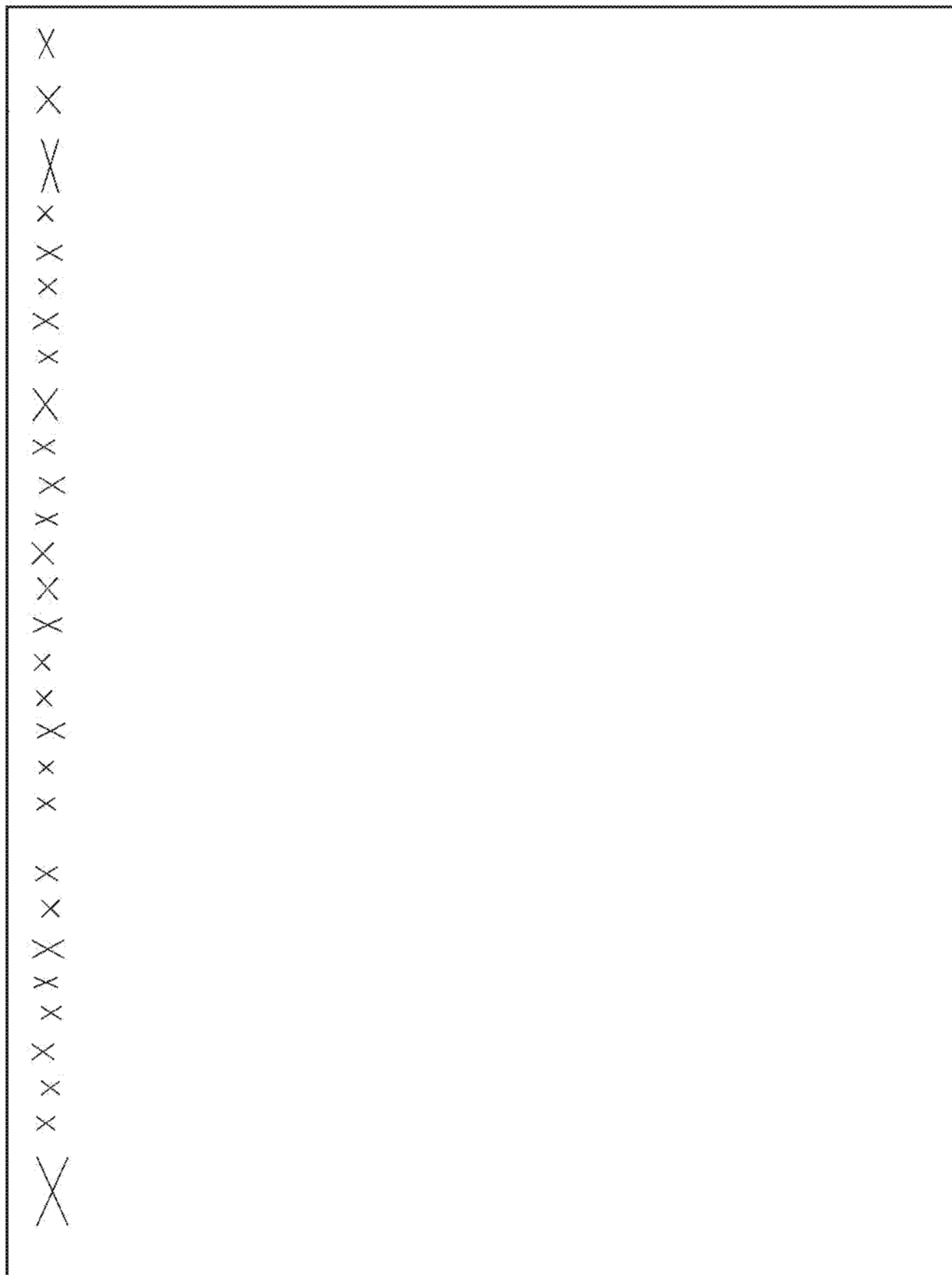
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FBI (158-cv-2154)-4290

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.
~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [redacted]

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~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~ [redacted]

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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FBI (158-cv-4154)-4292

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

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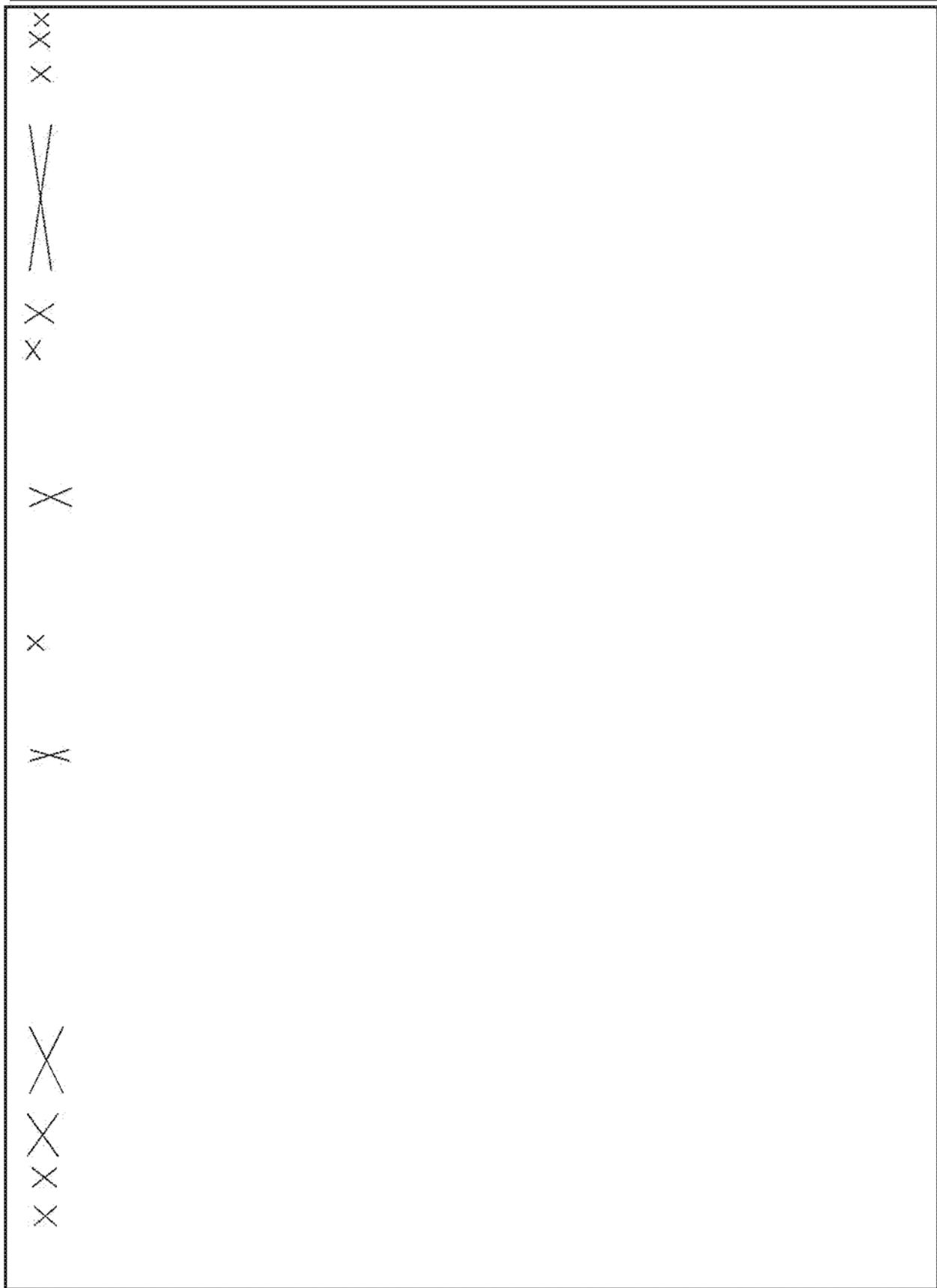
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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.
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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

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Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 10:12 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

I think you should take your own advice.

I didn't look to see who was on the distribution when I sent it. Sorry, that's on me. But this is distinctly not a big deal. And I definitely didn't err in not including you on a two-line email to [REDACTED] Get a grip.

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b7C -1

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/27/2017 10:07 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

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b7C -1
b7E -6

You know what? Take a step back and look at this.

Your point to [REDACTED] is spot on.

[REDACTED]

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1

And stop with the DAD Sir bullsh*t. That's not the point and you know it.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/27/17 9:58 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Are you serious, dude? This is what I sent to [REDACTED] So I've committed some grave sin for not including you on this? My apologies, DAD Strzok, sir.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/27/2017 8:36 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I didn't realize that we had said this publicly. We're likely to get a slew of inquiries. Just for the future, we should try to let OPA know in advance if we're releasing any new information. Thanks!

FBI (18-cv-154)-4296

we should try to let OPA know in advance if we're releasing any new information. Thanks!

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Date: 04/27/2017 5:30 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (CTD) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: FW: Judicial Watch: FBI Court Filing Reveals Grand Jury Targeted Hillary Clinton

For your awareness.

A Politico reporter sent this to me.

[Web Version](#) | [Unsubscribe](#)

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 28, 2017 1:06 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Pls

JB wasn't there. I spoke to Andy about it briefly. Re the new referral, no decisions made. Andy said we need to talk about this next week some time...

-----Original Message-----

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 28, 2017 12:25 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: Pls

b6 -1, 2
b7C -1, 2
b7E -6

If you get a chance, please ask JB about the 10:00 meeting today - got a little bit of feedback from Bill, including the new referral was brought up, but would appreciate JB's thoughts. Especially since DOJ brought Laufman [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] to the meeting....

Also, met with [REDACTED] - got a dump on the DPI and also she's sending the 99 problems from the initial survey. Thanks for the tip on that.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 28, 2017 2:24 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: April Doss will join Senate Intelligence Committee Russia investigation

Or she just forgot. I wouldn't worry about it.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 28, 2017 2:23 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: April Doss will join Senate Intelligence Committee Russia investigation

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thanks.

Saw and misread her conversational tone I guess.

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 28, 2017 1:07 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: April Doss will join Senate Intelligence Committee Russia investigation

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

It's cool. I'm sure just Trisha being Trisha.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 28, 2017 12:35 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: April Doss will join Senate Intelligence Committee Russia investigation

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Also, sent below and never got a response, which worries me. Did I do anything wrong or just Trisha being Trisha?

[REDACTED]

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 2017 7:44 PM
To: Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: April Doss will join Senate Intelligence Committee Russia investigation

b6 -1, 3
b7C -1
b7E -6

Amen.

----- Original message -----

FBI (18-cv-154)-4302

From: "Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/26/17 7:37 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: April Doss will join Senate Intelligence Committee Russia investigation

[REDACTED]

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b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/26/2017 4:03 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED];
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]; "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED];
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]; "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: April Doss will join Senate Intelligence Committee Russia investigation

[REDACTED]

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

<http://www.businessinsider.com/april-doss-will-join-senate-intelligence-committee-russia-investigation-2017-4>

A former top NSA lawyer is joining the Senate's Trump-Russia probe

[REDACTED]

Screenshot/News One

The former head of intelligence law at the National Security Agency (NSA), April Doss, has been hired to work on the Senate Intelligence Committee's investigation into Russia's interference in the 2016 election, her law firm confirmed in a press release on Wednesday.

Doss, who spent over a decade at the NSA and now chairs the Cybersecurity and Privacy practice at Saul Ewing, LLP, will serve as the committee's special counsel as it examines "allegations that Russia participated in a disinformation campaign intended to benefit President Donald Trump, and claims of potential collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia," the firm said.

Doss will join the committee on May 1.

The former NSA attorney testified before the House Judiciary Committee on March 1, 2017 in a public hearing over the reauthorization of Section 702 of the FISA Amendments Act, according to her firm, which hired her one year ago.

"The SSCI investigation is critically important, and it'll be a privilege to return to public service in this role," Doss said.

A Senate source confirmed to Business Insider that Doss has been hired to work on the investigation but will not be "leading the probe." A source close to Doss said that she was brought on by the committee's Vice Chairman, Democratic Senator Mark Warner, and will be working full time on the committee's Russia investigation.

Doss' hire comes amid reports that the SSCI's Russia investigation has stalled amid partisan bickering and staffing problems, but the source close to Doss said that was not a factor in the decision to bring her on, which has been in the works for about a month.

Yahoo's Michael Isikoff reported earlier this week that, more than three months into the committee's investigation, it hasn't issued any subpoenas or requested any key documents such as emails, memos, and phone records from the Trump campaign, and has essentially descended into a "standoff."

The committee's Russia investigation is also severely understaffed, the Daily Beast and Reuters reported. The seven staffers who are working on it are doing so part-time, and none has relevant legal or investigative experience.

The partisan bickering and lack of resources - problems that have plagued both the House and Senate intelligence committees - have fueled calls from legal and intelligence experts to establish an independent select committee.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, April 28, 2017 9:12 PM
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Thank you

b6 -1
b7C -1

Likewise [REDACTED] Thanks.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Date: 04/28/2017 8:15 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
Subject: RE: Thank you

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

No problem, [REDACTED] Thank you all for taking the time to talk us through this process and all the details. It was very helpful.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI)
Date: 04/28/2017 8:01 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
Subject: Thank you

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thanks for this afternoon's session. I found it very helpful and both [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] expressed their appreciation afterwards.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2017 12:00 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1

I'm free between 1 and 2:30.

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2017 11:43 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b5 -1
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b7E -6

Hello,

[REDACTED] please let me know if you have any time in your calendar for Tuesday afternoon. [REDACTED] and I will be at the TSC in the morning.

If Tuesday afternoon doesn't work we can try for later in the week.

Thanks,

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 11:27 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

OK call my [REDACTED]

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Date: 4/27/17 11:17 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I think Lisa suggested we call you once we have our full quorum.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, April 27, 2017 11:15 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

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b7C -1
b7E -6

FBI (18-cv-154)-4307

Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [redacted] (DO) (FBI)

Subject: RE: fact check #1

Am I calling you? What # should i use?

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 4/27/17 7:13 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: [redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[redacted] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
[redacted] (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

[redacted] shall I come to you and we can call Pete from somewhere down there? If not, my office is fine too.

----- Original message -----

From: [redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted]
Date: 04/27/2017 6:49 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[redacted] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
[redacted] (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

Okay. Sounds good.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 4/26/17 9:36 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted] (DO) (FBI)"
[redacted] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
[redacted] (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

Works for me

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 4/26/17 9:21 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[redacted] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
[redacted] (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: RE: fact check #1

Shall we say 11:30?

----- Original message -----

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 04/26/2017 7:59 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
(DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Whatever is the easiest for you and Lisa.
Anytime from 1130 on would work well for me. Lisa, please let us know what time would work for you.

----- Original message -----
From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/26/17 7:53 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I can. 500 miles of beautiful Midwest highway. Just let me know a time.

----- Original message -----
From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 4/26/17 7:50 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
(DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject RE: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Might be easiest to chat tomorrow, if Pete can call in.

----- Original message -----
From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 04/26/2017 7:46 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO)
(FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject Fwd: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I am sure he will send many more q's.

----- Original message -----
From: Peter Elkind [REDACTED]
Date: 4/26/17 7:20 PM (GMT-05:00)

b6 -3

To [redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted] Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.
Subject: fact check #1

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[redacted]

Thanks for quick callback. Here's a first small batch of straightforward details for fact-check purposes. Please let me know if anything here, in your view, is incorrect. There are also some clarification questions below.

Thanks,
Peter

COMEY BACKGROUND

—As he described in July 2016 congressional testimony, he's been registered as a republican most of his adult life but "not registered any longer" as Republican. Our understanding is that this simply resulted from his move from Connecticut to Virginia, where voters don't declare a party affiliation.

—Our check of records in states where he's lived shows Comey hasn't voted in any primary or general election for the past decade.

--After becoming director, he announced plans to visit all 56 field offices four times during his tenure; now on second round of visits

--FBI has 36,500 agents and staff

CLINTON INVESTIGATION

--Probe began with IC and State Dept IGs referral, officially opened 7/10/15

--Initially supervised by John Giacalone

—Peter Strzok is now deputy assistant director for counterintelligence. Please give me his full title at time the investigation began:

—about 30 analysts and agents worked on the Clinton case

—near end of the investigation, Come ordered up files on about 30 previous cases where government had investigated mishandling of classified information. Read over the records personally, reviewed history on how these matters treated, satisfying himself with tentative conclusion that Clinton should not face charges

—investigation lasted a year and involved more than 90 interviews; identified 193 classified messages, per LHM and other investigative documents

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2017 6:34 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Yahoo hack background

Oh yes, got it. Yeah, I wouldn't sweat that.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/01/2017 6:12 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Yahoo hack background

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Everyone was trying to remember who they were, particularly Andy, I said Belan and Dokuchaev. [REDACTED] thought it was someone else, it wasn't clear to who the D directed the comment. All good I'm sure, if you didn't remark on it, NP.

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2017 6:07 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Yahoo hack background

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Not following. Which names?

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/01/2017 6:04 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Yahoo hack background

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Below makes me happy. What did you make of D's comment about the names, after he said "it doesn't matter," when he then said, "it matters to him." Hope that wasn't negative. I assume/hope he values the attention to detail and getting the facts right...

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2017 6:03 PM
To: [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Yahoo hack background

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

No problem at all. What you saw, for better or worse (and I think most definitely for the better), is that the D, DD, and EAD are all bright men with attention to detail and impressive memories.

From: [REDACTED] (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2017 6:01 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Yahoo hack background

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I now owe you some type of beverage.

I told Jon this and wanted to pass to you as well. Thanks for giving us the opportunity to see how these briefings work, and how you've done them, before we had to go prime time ourselves.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/01/2017 5:49 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (CYD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
(CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: Yahoo hack background

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Follow up to a Q at the 4:45 session. Below from DOJ website – a redacted indictment was released on 3/15
**U.S. CHARGES RUSSIAN FSB OFFICERS AND THEIR CRIMINAL CONSPIRATORS FOR HACKING YAHOO AND
MILLIONS OF EMAIL ACCOUNTS**

FSB Officers Protected, Directed, Facilitated and Paid Criminal Hackers

A grand jury in the Northern District of California has indicted four defendants, including two officers of the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB), for computer hacking, economic espionage and other criminal offenses in connection with a conspiracy, beginning in January 2014, to access Yahoo's network and the contents of webmail accounts. The defendants are Dmitry Aleksandrovich Dokuchaev, 33, a Russian national and resident; Igor Anatolyevich Sushchin, 43, a Russian national and resident; Alexsey Alexseyevich Belan, aka "Magg," 29, a Russian national and resident; and Karim Baratov, aka "Kay," "Karim Taloverov" and "Karim Akehmek Tokbergenov," 22, a Canadian national and a resident of Canada.

The defendants used unauthorized access to Yahoo's systems to steal information from about at least 500 million Yahoo accounts and then used some of that stolen information to obtain unauthorized access to the contents of accounts at Yahoo, Google and other webmail providers, including accounts of Russian journalists, U.S. and Russian government officials and private-sector employees of financial, transportation and other companies. One of the defendants also exploited his access to Yahoo's network for his personal financial gain, by searching Yahoo user communications for credit card and gift card account numbers, redirecting a subset of Yahoo search engine web traffic so he could make commissions and enabling the theft of the contacts of at least 30 million Yahoo accounts to facilitate a spam campaign.

The charges were announced by Attorney General Jeff Sessions of the U.S. Department of Justice, Director James Comey of the FBI, Acting Assistant Attorney General for National Security Mary McCord, U.S. Attorney Brian Stretch for the Northern District of California and Executive Assistant Director Paul Abbate of the FBI's Criminal, Cyber, Response and Services Branch.

"Cyber crime poses a significant threat to our nation's security and prosperity, and this is one of the largest

FBI (18-cv-154)-4320

data breaches in history," said Attorney General Sessions. "But thanks to the tireless efforts of U.S. prosecutors and investigators, as well as our Canadian partners, today we have identified four individuals, including two Russian FSB officers, responsible for unauthorized access to millions of users' accounts. The United States will vigorously investigate and prosecute the people behind such attacks to the fullest extent of the law."

"Today we continue to pierce the veil of anonymity surrounding cyber crimes," said Director Comey. "We are shrinking the world to ensure that cyber criminals think twice before targeting U.S. persons and interests."

"The criminal conduct at issue, carried out and otherwise facilitated by officers from an FSB unit that serves as the FBI's point of contact in Moscow on cybercrime matters, is beyond the pale," said Acting Assistant Attorney General McCord. "Once again, the Department and the FBI have demonstrated that hackers around the world can and will be exposed and held accountable. State actors may be using common criminals to access the data they want, but the indictment shows that our companies do not have to stand alone against this threat. We commend Yahoo and Google for their sustained and invaluable cooperation in the investigation aimed at obtaining justice for, and protecting the privacy of their users."

"This is a highly complicated investigation of a very complex threat. It underscores the value of early, proactive engagement and cooperation between the private sector and the government," said Executive Assistant Director Abbate. "The FBI will continue to work relentlessly with our private sector and international partners to identify those who conduct cyber-attacks against our citizens and our nation, expose them and hold them accountable under the law, no matter where they attempt to hide."

"Silicon Valley's computer infrastructure provides the means by which people around the world communicate with each other in their business and personal lives. The privacy and security of those communications must be governed by the rule of law, not by the whim of criminal hackers and those who employ them. People rightly expect that their communications through Silicon Valley internet providers will remain private, unless lawful authority provides otherwise. We will not tolerate unauthorized and illegal intrusions into the Silicon Valley computer infrastructure upon which both private citizens and the global economy rely," said U.S. Attorney Stretch. "Working closely with Yahoo and Google, Department of Justice lawyers and the FBI were able to identify and expose the hackers responsible for the conduct described today, without unduly intruding into the privacy of the accounts that were stolen. We commend Yahoo and Google for providing exemplary cooperation while zealously protecting their users' privacy."

Summary of Allegations

According to the allegations of the Indictment:

The FSB officer defendants, Dmitry Dokuchaev and Igor Sushchin, protected, directed, facilitated and paid criminal hackers to collect information through computer intrusions in the U.S. and elsewhere. In the present case, they worked with co-defendants Alexsey Belan and Karim Baratov to obtain access to the email accounts of thousands of individuals.

Belan had been publicly indicted in September 2012 and June 2013 and was named one of FBI's Cyber Most Wanted criminals in November 2013. An Interpol Red Notice seeking his immediate detention has been lodged (including with Russia) since July 26, 2013. Belan was arrested in a European country on a request

from the U.S. in June 2013, but he was able to escape to Russia before he could be extradited.

Instead of acting on the U.S. government's Red Notice and detaining Belan after his return, Dokuchaev and Sushchin subsequently used him to gain unauthorized access to Yahoo's network. In or around November and December 2014, Belan stole a copy of at least a portion of Yahoo's User Database (UDB), a Yahoo trade secret that contained, among other data, subscriber information including users' names, recovery email accounts, phone numbers and certain information required to manually create, or "mint," account authentication web browser "cookies" for more than 500 million Yahoo accounts.

Belan also obtained unauthorized access on behalf of the FSB conspirators to Yahoo's Account Management Tool (AMT), which was a proprietary means by which Yahoo made and logged changes to user accounts. Belan, Dokuchaev and Sushchin then used the stolen UDB copy and AMT access to locate Yahoo email accounts of interest and to mint cookies for those accounts, enabling the co-conspirators to access at least 6,500 such accounts without authorization.

Some victim accounts were of predictable interest to the FSB, a foreign intelligence and law enforcement service, such as personal accounts belonging to Russian journalists; Russian and U.S. government officials; employees of a prominent Russian cybersecurity company; and numerous employees of other providers whose networks the conspirators sought to exploit. However, other personal accounts belonged to employees of commercial entities, such as a Russian investment banking firm, a French transportation company, U.S. financial services and private equity firms, a Swiss bitcoin wallet and banking firm and a U.S. airline.

During the conspiracy, the FSB officers facilitated Belan's other criminal activities, by providing him with sensitive FSB law enforcement and intelligence information that would have helped him avoid detection by U.S. and other law enforcement agencies outside Russia, including information regarding FSB investigations of computer hacking and FSB techniques for identifying criminal hackers. Additionally, while working with his FSB conspirators to compromise Yahoo's network and its users, Belan used his access to steal financial information such as gift card and credit card numbers from webmail accounts; to gain access to more than 30 million accounts whose contacts were then stolen to facilitate a spam campaign; and to earn commissions from fraudulently redirecting a subset of Yahoo's search engine traffic.

When Dokuchaev and Sushchin learned that a target of interest had accounts at webmail providers other than Yahoo, including through information obtained as part of the Yahoo intrusion, they tasked their co-conspirator, Baratov, a resident of Canada, with obtaining unauthorized access to more than 80 accounts in exchange for commissions. On March 7, the Department of Justice submitted a provisional arrest warrant to Canadian law enforcement authorities, requesting Baratov's arrest. On March 14, Baratov was arrested in Canada and the matter is now pending with the Canadian authorities.

An indictment is merely an accusation, and a defendant is presumed innocent unless proven guilty in a court of law.

The FBI, led by the San Francisco Field Office, conducted the investigation that resulted in the charges announced today. The case is being prosecuted by the U.S. Department of Justice National Security Division's

Counterintelligence and Export Control Section and the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Northern District of California, with support from the Justice Department's Office of International Affairs.

Defendants: At all times relevant to the charges, the Indictment alleges as follows:

- **Dmitry Aleksandrovich Dokuchaev**, 33, was an officer in the FSB Center for Information Security, aka "Center 18." Dokuchaev was a Russian national and resident.
- **Igor Anatolyevich Sushchin**, 43, was an FSB officer, a superior to Dokuchaev within the FSB, and a Russian national and resident. Sushchin was embedded as a purported employee and Head of Information Security at a Russian investment bank.
- **Alexsey Alexseyevich Belan**, aka "Magg," 29, was born in Latvia and is a Russian national and resident. U.S. Federal grand juries have indicted Belan twice before, in 2012 and 2013, for computer fraud and abuse, access device fraud and aggravated identity theft involving three U.S.-based e-commerce companies and the FBI placed Belan on its "Cyber Most Wanted" list. Belan is currently the subject of a pending "Red Notice" requesting that Interpol member nations (including Russia) arrest him pending extradition. Belan was also one of two criminal hackers named by President Barack Obama on Dec. 29, 2016, pursuant to Executive Order 13694, as a Specially Designated National subject to sanctions.
- **Karim Baratov**, aka "Kay," "Karim Taloverov" and "Karim Akehmek Tokbergenov," 22. He is a Canadian national and a resident of Canada.

Victims: Yahoo; more than 500 million Yahoo accounts for which account information about was stolen by the defendants; more than 30 million Yahoo accounts for which account contents were accessed without authorization to facilitate a spam campaign; and at least 18 additional users at other webmail providers whose accounts were accessed without authorization.

Time Period: As alleged in the Indictment, the conspiracy began at least as early as 2014 and, even though the conspirators lost their access to Yahoo's networks in September 2016, they continued to utilize information stolen from the intrusion up to and including at least December 2016.

Crimes:

Count (s)	Defendant (s)	Charge	Statute U.S.C.	18	Conduct	Maximum Penalty
1.	All	Conspiring to commit computer fraud and abuse	§ 1030(b)		Defendants conspired to hack into the computers of Yahoo and accounts maintained by Yahoo, Google and other providers to steal information from them. First, Belan gained access to Yahoo's servers and stole information that allowed him, Dokuchaev, and Sushchin to gain unauthorized access to individual Yahoo user	10 years

accounts.

Then, Dokuchaev and Sushchin tasked Baratov with gaining access to individual user accounts at Google and other Providers (but not Yahoo) and paid Baratov for providing them with the account passwords. In some instances, Dokuchaev and Sushchin tasked Baratov with targeting accounts that they learned of through access to Yahoo's UDB and AMT (e.g., Gmail accounts that served as a Yahoo user's secondary account).

2	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Conspiring to engage in economic espionage	§ 1831(a)(5)	Starting on Nov. 4, 2014, Belan stole, and the defendants thereafter transferred, received and possessed the following Yahoo trade secrets: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Yahoo UDB, which was proprietary and confidential Yahoo technology and information, including subscriber names, secondary accounts, phone numbers, challenge questions and answers; the AMT, Yahoo's interface to the UDB; and Yahoo's cookie "minting" source code, which enabled the defendants to manufacture account cookies to then gain access to individual Yahoo user accounts. 	15 years
3	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Conspiring to engage in theft of trade secrets	§ 1832(a)(5)	See Count 2	10 years
4-6	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Economic espionage	§§ 1831(a)(1), (a)(4), and 2	See Count 2	15 years (each count)

7-9	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Theft of trade secrets	§§ 1832(a)(1), and 2	See Count 2	10 years (each count)
10	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Conspiring to commit wire fraud	§ 1349	The defendants fraudulently schemed to gain unauthorized access to Yahoo's network through compromised Yahoo employee accounts and then used the Yahoo trade secrets to gain unauthorized access to valuable non-public information in individual Yahoo user accounts.	20 years
11-13	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Accessing (or attempting to access) a computer without authorization to obtain information for the purpose of commercial advantage and private financial gain.	§§ 1030(a)(2)(C), 1030(c)(2)(B)(i)-(iii), and 2	The defendants gained unauthorized access to Yahoo's corporate network and obtained information regarding Yahoo's network architecture and the UDB.	5 years (each count)
14-17	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Transmitting code with the intent to cause damage to computers.	§§ 1030(a)(5)(A), 1030(c)(4)(B), and 2	During the course of their unauthorized access to Yahoo's network, the defendants transmitted code on Yahoo's network in order to maintain a persistent presence, to redirect Yahoo search engine users and to mint cookies for individual Yahoo accounts.	10 years (each count)
18-24	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Accessing (or attempting to access) a computer without authorization to obtain information for the	§§ 1030(a)(2)(C), 1030(c)(2)(B)(i)-(iii), and 2	Defendants obtained unauthorized access to individual Yahoo user accounts.	5 years (each count)

purpose or
commercial
advantage
and private
financial gain.

25-36	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Counterfeit access device fraud	§§ 1029(a)(1), 1029 (b)(1), and 2	Defendants used minted cookies to gain unauthorized access to individual Yahoo user accounts.	10 years (each count)
37	Dokuchaev Sushchin Belan	Counterfeit access device making equipment	§§ 1029(a)(4)	Defendants used software to mint cookies for unauthorized access to individual Yahoo user accounts.	15 years
38	Dokuchaev Sushchin Baratov	Conspiring to commit access device fraud	§§ 1029(b)(2)	Defendants Dokuchaev and Sushchin tasked Baratov with gaining unauthorized access to individual user accounts at Google and other Providers and then paid Baratov for providing them with the account passwords. In some instances, Dokuchaev and Sushchin tasked Baratov with targeting accounts that they learned of through access to Yahoo's UDB and AMT (e.g., Gmail accounts that served as a Yahoo user's secondary account).	7 ½ years.
39	Dokuchaev Sushchin Baratov	Conspiring to commit wire fraud	§ 1349	See Count 38	20 years
40-47	Dokuchaev Baratov	Aggravated identity theft	§ 1028A(a)(1)	See Count 38	2 years

The language of this release was updated to reflect the current citizenship of Karim Baratov.

Peter P. Strzok II
Deputy Assistant Director, Branch I
Counterintelligence Division

(O)
(C)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, May 03, 2017 7:00 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Late

With whom?

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 05/03/2017 6:50 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Late

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

You gotta get well so you can help keep [redacted] on schedule. :)

Also had an interesting convo last night following on to what we talked about at the last meeting, let me know when you can talk.

----- Original message -----

From: [redacted] (OGC) (FBI) [redacted]
Date: 5/3/17 6:04 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]
Subject: Late

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I'm going to be late today (boot camp) so I'll probably miss the 830, but I'll swing by when I get in.

...

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 12:22 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE:

Thanks for the reminder. I'll check in with folks.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/05/2017 12:06 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject:

Can we push weekly tag up next Mon until a 2:30 start?

Peter P. Strzok II
Deputy Assistant Director, Branch 1
Counterintelligence Division

[REDACTED] (O)
[REDACTED] (C)

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 6:53 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Cc: Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Proposed clarification language

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Date: 05/05/2017 5:47 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Cc: "Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Proposed clarification language

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thanks for the catch on that!

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2017 5:33 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Proposed clarification language

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

FBI (18-cv-154)-4336

FROM: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Date: 05/05/2017 4:53 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok,

Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Cc: "Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: Proposed clarification language

For consideration:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

FBI National Press Office

[REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b5 -1, 3

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Sunday, May 07, 2017 5:27 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

Ha. Yeah, I thought that was a little odd, but no worries. See you tomorrow regardless. Did you want OCA there too? If so, I would send another email and clarify.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/07/2017 2:00 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I just noticed my word sequencing below was poor. I meant to convey that the three of us discussed this topic (in fact you sent the article), not that I was saying to you that [REDACTED] and I had talked about it. In other words, Everyone, Lisa and [REDACTED] and I discussed this. It's fine I think, but wanted to make sure you understood.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/7/17 10:33 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -6

[REDACTED] Can you meet at 10:30?

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From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/07/2017 10:25 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
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b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Lisa, [REDACTED] and I briefly discussed the article below earlier this weekend.

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -6

[REDACTED] 8-cv-154)-4343

<https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page>

Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG and MAGGIE HABERMAN

May 5, 2017

Senator Richard M. Burr, left, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, and Senator Mark Warner, the ranking Democrat.

Gabriella Demczuk for The New York Times

WASHINGTON — The Senate Intelligence Committee has asked a number of high-profile Trump campaign associates to hand over emails and other records of dealings with Russians as part of its investigation into Russian meddling in the presidential election and is prepared to subpoena those who refuse to cooperate, officials said.

The requests for the materials were made in letters sent by the committee in the past 10 days, said two officials with knowledge of the contents of the letters. The move is designed to accelerate the committee's investigation, and represents a new bipartisan challenge to the Trump administration, which has sought to use Republican allies in

challenge to the Trump administration, which has sought to use Republican allies in Congress to blunt the inquiries.

Among those who said they had received the requests were Roger J. Stone Jr., an informal adviser to President Trump, and Carter Page, a businessman and former foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign. Paul Manafort, the former campaign chairman, and Michael T. Flynn, the former national security adviser, were also sent letters, the officials with knowledge of the investigation said. Representatives for those two men declined to comment.

Any decision to issue subpoenas would require a majority vote by members of the intelligence committee.

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Mr. Stone said he planned to comply with the request, noting that he has said in the past that he will testify voluntarily. "I am eager, indeed anxious, to testify in full public session, have requested no immunity and am ready to go," he said in a brief interview.

Mr. Stone says that he has had no communications with Russian officials other than previously disclosed communications with Guccifer 2.0, the online persona that officials believe was a front for Russian intelligence. Mr. Stone has acknowledged trading messages with Guccifer on Twitter, though he has repeatedly dismissed allegations from the intelligence community that Guccifer was a Russian front.

"I recognize that the reputation I have cultivated as an extreme partisan and a rogue make me a convenient fall guy for the Democrats, but I refuse to play the patsy role they have in mind for me," said Mr. Stone, a self-professed dirty trickster.

"I had no contact with the Russians or their cutout at any time and the idea that my tweets prove otherwise is ludicrous," he added.

Mr. Page was more circumspect about whether he would cooperate. In an email, he

said, "Although I will help in any way that I can, please note that any records I may have saved as a private citizen with limited technology capabilities will be minuscule in comparison to the full database of information which has already been collected under last year's completely unjustified FISA warrant."

Roger J. Stone said that he had received a request from the Senate Intelligence Committee for records and that he planned to comply.

Jenna Schoenefeld for The New York Times

He was referring to a warrant issued by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court that allowed the Justice Department to secretly wiretap his communications. The warrant was issued after investigators concluded that Mr. Page was no longer part of the Trump campaign, and it was based on evidence that he might have been operating as a Russian agent, officials have said.

"As a lone individual, I can assure you that my personal administrative capabilities pale in comparison to those of the numerous staff in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the U.S. government," Mr. Page added.

Mr. Page, Mr. Stone and Mr. Manafort are all under scrutiny in an F.B.I. investigation into Russian election meddling and allegations of collusion by Trump associates. There are two other separate congressional investigations — one by the Senate panel and the other by the House intelligence committee.

President Trump has dismissed talk of Russian election interference as "fake news" meant to undermine his presidency.

The letters from the Senate committee were jointly signed by Senator Richard M. Burr, the North Carolina Republican, and Senator Mark Warner, the Virginia Democrat, who are the committee's two senior members. The letters instruct recipients to list all the

meetings they had with Russian officials or Russian businesspeople from June 16, 2015, through Jan. 20, 2017. It set a May 9 deadline for a response.

The committee also requested that, by May 19, the recipients hand over records of all communications — including emails, text messages and phone logs — with Russian officials or businesspeople from the same period. It also asks them for information on any of their financial or real estate holdings related to Russia and to list any meetings they know of between other Trump campaign associates and Russians.

Both Mr. Burr and Mr. Warner declined to comment on the requests, which officials said went to a number of other people associated with the Trump campaign and presidential transition.

In February, the White House sought to enlist Mr. Burr to refute news stories about ties between Trump associates and Russia. The senator characterized his conversations with reporters as an appropriate part of his job as the chairman of the intelligence committee.

Yet in public comments since then, he has committed to following the intelligence wherever it leads, including examining any links between Trump associates and Russia. Officials say that, in private, Mr. Burr has expressed no qualms about pressing forward with the investigation and has told Mr. Warner that he is ready to issue subpoenas if necessary.

In recent weeks there have been reports that Mr. Warner and other Democrats on the committee were frustrated with the pace of the investigation, and were pressing Mr. Burr to send letters requesting emails, memos, phone records and other materials from the Trump campaign and transition.

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counsel at the National Security Agency. She is April F. Doss, not April F. Dawes.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Sunday, May 07, 2017 8:17 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

And who is [REDACTED]

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/07/2017 8:06 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Got this from Bill earlier. I'm telling you, it feels off. Not sure what to make of it.

----- Original message -----

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Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Pete: I'm meeting with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] at 7:30 AM in my office. I will let you know what comes out of it. Thanks, Bill

...

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/07/2017 10:25 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
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Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
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b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Lisa [REDACTED] and I briefly discussed the article below earlier this weekend.

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1

8-cv-154)-4355

<https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page>

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May 5, 2017

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Gabriella Demczuk for The New York Times

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The requests for the materials were made in letters sent by the committee in the past 10 days, said two officials with knowledge of the contents of the letters. The move is designed to accelerate the committee's investigation, and represents a new bipartisan challenge to the Trump administration, which has sought to use Republican allies in

Congress to blunt the inquiries.

Among those who said they had received the requests were Roger J. Stone Jr., an informal adviser to President Trump, and Carter Page, a businessman and former foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign. Paul Manafort, the former campaign chairman, and Michael T. Flynn, the former national security adviser, were also sent letters, the officials with knowledge of the investigation said. Representatives for those two men declined to comment.

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Mr. Page, Mr. Stone and Mr. Manafort are all under scrutiny in an F.B.I. investigation into Russian election meddling and allegations of collusion by Trump associates. There are two other separate congressional investigations — one by the Senate panel and the other by the House intelligence committee.

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The committee also requested that, by May 19, the recipients hand over records of all communications — including emails, text messages and phone logs — with Russian officials or businesspeople from the same period. It also asks them for information on any of their financial or real estate holdings related to Russia and to list any meetings they know of between other Trump campaign associates and Russians.

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Yet in public comments since then, he has committed to following the intelligence wherever it leads, including examining any links between Trump associates and Russia. Officials say that, in private, Mr. Burr has expressed no qualms about pressing forward with the investigation and has told Mr. Warner that he is ready to issue subpoenas if necessary.

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Sent: Sunday, May 07, 2017 8:33 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

I'm sorry, I know that's really frustrating. I don't know what that's about.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/07/2017 8:28 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Nah, he's specific about who he's meeting with and not asking me.

I'll be there at 730 and see if he invites me in. I don't think he will, which is his call.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/7/17 8:16 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I believe you. Maybe say you're happy to attend if he thinks you can add value?

----- Original message -----

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b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Definitely meeting with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] at 7:30 AM in my office. I will let you know what

FBI (18-cv-154)-4361

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b6 -1
b7C -1

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b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1

<https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page>

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Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 08, 2017 8:08 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI);
Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians -
NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1

I was planning to try to walk down the hall with him to update. I'm not sure we can do any better given the timing.

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Date: 05/08/2017 8:05 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC)
(FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians -
NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I recommend you ensure that EAD Ghattas is up to speed on your discussions. It's not clear to me who will be in the prep with the Director at 11:15 this morning.

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Sunday, May 07, 2017 11:37 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I'm available.

----- Original message -----

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Date: 05/07/2017 10:33 AM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"

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Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] Can you meet at 10:30?

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b5 -1, -3
b6 -1
b7C -1

<https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page>

Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG and MAGGIE HABERMAN

May 5, 2017



Senator Richard M. Burr, left, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, and Senator Mark Warner, the ranking Democrat.

Gabriella Demczuk for The New York Times

WASHINGTON — The Senate Intelligence Committee has asked a number of high-profile Trump campaign associates to hand over emails and other records of dealings with Russians as part of its investigation into Russian meddling in the presidential election and is prepared to subpoena those who refuse to cooperate, officials said.

The requests for the materials were made in letters sent by the committee in the past 10 days, said two officials with knowledge of the contents of the letters. The move is designed to accelerate the committee's investigation, and represents a new bipartisan challenge to the Trump administration, which has sought to use Republican allies in Congress to blunt the inquiries.

Among those who said they had received the requests were Roger J. Stone Jr., an informal adviser to President Trump, and Carter Page, a businessman and former foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign. Paul Manafort, the former campaign chairman, and Michael T. Flynn, the former national security adviser, were also sent letters, the officials with knowledge of the investigation said. Representatives for those two men declined to comment.

Any decision to issue subpoenas would require a majority vote by members of the intelligence committee.

Document | The Senate Intelligence Committee Letter Lawmakers investigating Russian election meddling wrote to a number of high-profile Trump campaign associates over the past 10 days, asking them to hand over records of communications and dealings with Russian officials and business people.

Mr. Stone said he planned to comply with the request, noting that he has said in the past that he will testify voluntarily. "I am eager, indeed anxious, to testify in full public session, have requested no immunity and am ready to go," he said in a brief interview.

Mr. Stone says that he has had no communications with Russian officials other than previously disclosed communications with Guccifer 2.0, the online persona that officials believe was a front for Russian intelligence. Mr. Stone has acknowledged trading messages with Guccifer on Twitter, though he has repeatedly dismissed allegations from the intelligence community that Guccifer was a Russian front.

"I recognize that the reputation I have cultivated as an extreme partisan and a rogue make me a convenient fall guy for the Democrats, but I refuse to play the patsy role they have in mind for me," said Mr. Stone, a self-professed dirty trickster.

"I had no contact with the Russians or their cutout at any time and the idea that my tweets prove otherwise is ludicrous," he added.

Mr. Page was more circumspect about whether he would cooperate. In an email, he said, "Although I will help in any way that I can, please note that any records I may have saved as a private citizen with limited technology capabilities will be minuscule in comparison to the full database of information which has already been collected under last year's completely unjustified FISA warrant."



``

Roger J. Stone said that he had received a request from the Senate Intelligence Committee for records and that he planned to comply.

Ienna Schoenefeld for The New York Times

He was referring to a warrant issued by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court that allowed the Justice Department to secretly wiretap his communications. The warrant was issued after investigators concluded that Mr. Page was no longer part of the Trump campaign, and it was based on evidence that he might have been operating as a Russian agent, officials have said.

"As a lone individual, I can assure you that my personal administrative capabilities pale in comparison to those of the numerous staff in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the U.S. government," Mr. Page added.

Mr. Page, Mr. Stone and Mr. Manafort are all under scrutiny in an F.B.I. investigation into Russian election meddling and allegations of collusion by Trump associates. There are two other separate congressional investigations — one by the Senate panel and the other by the House intelligence committee.

President Trump has dismissed talk of Russian election interference as "fake news" meant to undermine his presidency.

The letters from the Senate committee were jointly signed by Senator Richard M. Burr, the North Carolina Republican, and Senator Mark Warner, the Virginia Democrat, who are the committee's two senior members. The letters instruct recipients to list all the meetings they had with Russian officials or Russian businesspeople from June 16, 2015, through Jan. 20, 2017. It set a May 9 deadline for a response.

The committee also requested that, by May 19, the recipients hand over records of all communications — including emails, text messages and phone logs — with Russian officials or businesspeople from the same period. It also asks them for information on any of their financial or real estate holdings related to Russia and to list any meetings they know of between other Trump campaign associates and Russians.

Both Mr. Burr and Mr. Warner declined to comment on the requests, which officials said went to a number of other people associated with the Trump campaign and presidential transition.

In February, the White House sought to enlist Mr. Burr to refute news stories about ties between Trump associates and Russia. The senator characterized his conversations with reporters as an appropriate part of his job as the chairman of the intelligence committee.

Yet in public comments since then, he has committed to following the intelligence wherever it leads, including examining any links between Trump associates and Russia.

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In recent weeks there have been reports that Mr. Warner and other Democrats on the committee were frustrated with the pace of the investigation, and were pressing Mr. Burr to send letters requesting emails, memos, phone records and other materials from the Trump campaign and transition.

Late last month, the Democrats on the committee hired April F. Doss, a former associate general counsel at the National Security Agency, to serve as a special counsel on the Russia investigation.

Correction: May 5, 2017

An earlier version of this article misstated the surname of a former associate general counsel at the National Security Agency. She is April F. Doss, not April F. Dawes.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 08, 2017 10:34 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

Copy. Headed down now.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/08/2017 10:26 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Need to give you back story on this....

From: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 08, 2017 9:45 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI)
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] spoke to EAD Ghattas, and he, Greg Brower, and I will attend the 11:15 AM meeting with the Director this morning. Thank you, Bill

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 08, 2017 8:06 AM
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

I recommend you ensure that EAD Ghattas is up to speed on your discussions. It's not clear to me who will be in the prep with the Director at 11:15 this morning.

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Sunday, May 07, 2017 11:37 AM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I'm available.

----- Original message -----
From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/07/2017 10:33 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] Can you meet at 10:30?

----- Original message -----
From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/07/2017 10:25 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: Fwd: Senate Asks Trump Associates for Records of Communication With Russians - NYTimes.com

Lisa [REDACTED] and I briefly discussed the article below earlier this weekend.

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1

<https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/05/05/us/politics/senate-russia-trump-associates.html?smprod=nytcore-iphone&smid=nytcore-iphone-share&r=0&referrer=https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/may/05/trump-russia-investigation-senate-carter-page>

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The requests for the materials were made in letters sent by the committee in the past 10 days, said two officials with knowledge of the contents of the letters. The move is designed to accelerate the committee's investigation, and represents a new bipartisan challenge to the Trump administration, which has sought to use Republican allies in Congress to blunt the inquiries.

Among those who said they had received the requests were Roger J. Stone Jr., an informal adviser to President Trump, and Carter Page, a businessman and former foreign policy adviser to the Trump campaign. Paul Manafort, the former campaign chairman, and Michael T. Flynn, the former national security adviser, were also sent letters, the officials with knowledge of the investigation said. Representatives for those two men declined to comment.

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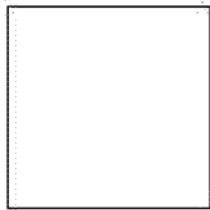
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"I had no contact with the Russians or their cutout at any time and the idea that my tweets prove otherwise is ludicrous," he added.

Mr. Page was more circumspect about whether he would cooperate. In an email, he said, "Although I will help in any way that I can, please note that any records I may have saved as a private citizen with limited technology capabilities will be minuscule in comparison to the full database of information which has already been collected under last year's completely unjustified FISA warrant."



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He was referring to a warrant issued by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court that allowed the Justice Department to secretly wiretap his communications. The warrant was issued after investigators concluded that Mr. Page was no longer part of the Trump campaign, and it was based on evidence that he might have been operating as a Russian agent, officials have said.

"As a lone individual, I can assure you that my personal administrative capabilities pale in comparison to those of the numerous staff in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the U.S. government," Mr. Page added.

Mr. Page, Mr. Stone and Mr. Manafort are all under scrutiny in an F.B.I. investigation into Russian election meddling and allegations of collusion by Trump associates. There are two other separate congressional investigations — one by the Senate panel and the other by the House intelligence committee.

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Both Mr. Burr and Mr. Warner declined to comment on the requests, which officials said went to a number of other people associated with the Trump campaign and presidential transition.

In February, the White House sought to enlist Mr. Burr to refute news stories about ties between Trump associates and Russia. The senator characterized his conversations with reporters as an appropriate part of his job as the chairman of the intelligence committee.

Yet in public comments since then, he has committed to following the intelligence wherever it leads, including examining any links between Trump associates and Russia. Officials say that, in private, Mr. Burr has expressed no qualms about pressing forward with the investigation and has told Mr. Warner that he is ready to issue subpoenas if necessary.

In recent weeks there have been reports that Mr. Warner and other Democrats on the committee were frustrated with the pace of the investigation, and were pressing Mr. Burr to send letters requesting emails, memos, phone records and other materials from the Trump campaign and transition.

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Correction: May 5, 2017

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Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 08, 2017 8:20 PM
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: D mtg

b6 -1
b7C -1

11 in my office?

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Date: 05/08/2017 8:06 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: D mtg

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yes, please. Tuesdays are sorta bad. I can do 9, 11, 12, or after 3.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/08/2017 7:20 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: D mtg

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yes please. I'm stunningly open except from 1-2. AM and/or lunch work.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/8/17 7:04 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: D mtg

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Lots of details about the D's meeting with two members today. Let's meet tomorrow and I'll give a read-out.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 08, 2017 8:50 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Bad News

He just told me and Andy separately.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/08/2017 8:40 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Bad News

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

In the cone, of course.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/8/17 8:39 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Bad News

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/8/17 8:36 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Corsi, Dina M. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED]
Subject: Bad News

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6, 10

Bill,

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 6:53 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate - ProPublica

I would add Baker, or I can just forward.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/09/2017 6:34 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate - ProPublica

Published last night at 10:39

<https://www.propublica.org/article/comeys-testimony-on-huma-abedin-forwarding-emails-was-inaccurate>

Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate

The FBI hasn't decided how to correct the director's false claim that she forwarded thousands of Clinton emails to the laptop computer of her husband, former Congressman Anthony Weiner.

by Peter Elkind, special to ProPublica, May 8, 2017, 10:39 p.m.



b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

FBI Director James Comey testifies before the Senate Judiciary Committee on May 3, 2017. (Jim Watson/AFP/Getty Images)

FBI director James Comey generated national headlines last week with his dramatic testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee, explaining his “incredibly painful” decision to go public about the Hillary Clinton emails found on Anthony Weiner’s laptop.

Perhaps Comey’s most surprising revelation was that Huma Abedin — Weiner’s wife and a top Clinton deputy — had made “a regular practice” of forwarding “hundreds and thousands” of Clinton messages to her husband, “some of which contain classified information.” Comey testified that Abedin had done this so that the disgraced former congressman could print them out for her boss. (Weiner’s laptop was seized after he came under criminal investigation for sex crimes, following a media report about his online relationship with a teenager.)

The New York Post plastered its story on the front page with a photo of an underwear-clad Weiner and the headline: “HARD COPY: Huma sent Weiner classified Hillary emails to print out.” The Daily News went with a similar front-page screamer: “HUMA ERROR: Sent classified emails to sext maniac Weiner.”

The problem: Much of what Comey said about this was inaccurate. Now the FBI is trying to figure out what to do about it.

FBI officials have privately acknowledged that Comey misstated what Abedin did and what the FBI investigators found. On Monday, the FBI was said to be preparing to correct the record by sending a letter to Congress later this week. But that plan now appears on hold, with the bureau undecided about what to do.

ProPublica is reporting a story on the FBI’s handling of the Clinton emails and raised questions with government officials last week about possible inaccuracies in Comey’s statements about Abedin.

It could not be learned how the mistake occurred. The FBI and Abedin declined ProPublica’s requests for comment on the director’s misstatements.

How We’re Learning To Do Journalism Differently in the Age of Trump



Here are four ideas we've used to guide our Trump administration coverage.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 2:21 PM
To: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: DRAFT ltr re testimony

b6 -1
b7C -1

I just tried to correct.

From: [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 2:15 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: DRAFT ltr re testimony
Importance: High

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Just now reading the Wash Post analysis of this. [REDACTED]

From: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 2:02 PM
To: Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Mendenhall, Bradley G. (CTD) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: DRAFT ltr re testimony
Importance: High

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED] Please review. thx

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1

Gregory A. Brower
Assistant Director
FBI Congressional Affairs
(Direct [REDACTED])
(Mobile [REDACTED])

From: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 2:00 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Baker, James A.
(OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED] Page,
Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] McCabe, Andrew G. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: DRAFT ltr re testimony

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

This reflects edits to date.

RE: [REDACTED]

FBI Office of Congressional Affairs

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)

Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 1:34 PM

To: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R.

(DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Page,

Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

[REDACTED] McCabe, Andrew G. (DO) (FBI)

Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)

[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)

Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

Subject: RE: DRAFT ltr re testimony

Here's the update, clean. Beth, please use this (same is in attachment).

b5 -1, 3

From: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)

Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 12:38 PM

To: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD)

(FBI)

[REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)

(DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Page, Lisa C.

(OGC) (FBI)

Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)

[REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)

Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Subject: RE: DRAFT ltr re testimony

The DD would like discuss this in a meeting at 1pm to discuss this letter. Standby for invite.

From: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)

Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 12:29 PM

To: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD)

(FBI) [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

(DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C.

(OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: DRAFT ltr re testimony

[REDACTED] Thanks.

Gregory A. Brower
Assistant Director
FBI Congressional Affairs
(Direct: [REDACTED])
(Mobile: [REDACTED])

From: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)

Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 12:12 PM

To: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)

[REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P.

(CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page,

Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]

Subject: RE: DRAFT ltr re testimony

----- Original message -----

From: "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 5/9/17 12:00 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Baker, James A.

(OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

(DO) (FBI) "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)"
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" (OGC) (FBI)
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: DRAFT ltr re testimony

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thanks, Beth. I think Pete said

Thanks,
Jim

From: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 11:53 AM
To: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI) Kortan, Michael P. (DO)
(FBI) (DO) (FBI)
(DO) (FBI) Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) Rybicki, James E. (DO)
(FBI)
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) (OGC) (FBI)
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: DRAFT ltr re testimony

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

See attached draft letter based on Jim R's email below

I'm happy to take the pen if there are additional edits / comments.

Thanks,

Beth Beers
FBI Office of Congressional Affairs

From: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 8:56 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)
Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) (DO)
(FBI) (DO) (FBI) Page, Lisa C. (OGC)
(FBI) Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) (OGC) (FBI)
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate - ProPublica

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Apologies in advance for the caps. Below is a draft that has been reviewed by the Director. Please let me know your thoughts. I'm going to be out of pocket until approximately noon today in a meeting so please discuss amongst the group as necessary.

Thanks,
Jim

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2017 7:31 AM

To: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO)
(FBI) [REDACTED] Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC)
(FBI) [REDACTED] Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate - ProPublica

b5 -1
b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/9/17 7:27 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Brower, Gregory
(OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C.
(OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate - ProPublica

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Thanks.

Where are we with sending out the supplemental letter?

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/9/17 7:00 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Baker, James A.
(OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C.
(OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate - ProPublica

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Plus Jim, from original conversation

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/9/17 6:34 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Page, Lisa C.
(OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate - ProPublica

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Published last night at 10:39


<https://www.propublica.org/article/comeys-testimony-on-huma-abedin-forwarding-emails-was-inaccurate>

Comey's Testimony on Huma Abedin Forwarding Emails Was Inaccurate

The FBI hasn't decided how to correct the director's false claim that she forwarded thousands of Clinton emails to the laptop computer of her husband, former Congressman Anthony Weiner.

by Peter Elkind, special to ProPublica, May 8, 2017, 10:39 p.m.

[REDACTED]

 FBI Director James Comey testifies before the Senate Judiciary Committee on May 3, 2017. (Jim Watson/AFP/Getty Images)

FBI director James Comey generated national headlines last week with his dramatic testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee, explaining his “incredibly painful” decision to go public about the Hillary Clinton emails found on Anthony Weiner’s laptop.

Perhaps Comey’s most surprising revelation was that Huma Abedin — Weiner’s wife and a top Clinton deputy — had made “a regular practice” of forwarding “hundreds and thousands” of Clinton messages to her husband, “some of which contain classified information.” Comey testified that Abedin had done this so that the disgraced former congressman could print them out for her boss. (Weiner’s laptop was seized after he came under criminal investigation for sex crimes, following a media report about his online relationship with a teenager.)

The New York Post plastered its story on the front page with a photo of an underwear-clad Weiner and the headline: “HARD COPY: Huma sent Weiner classified Hillary emails to print out.” The Daily News went with a similar front-page screamer: “HUMA ERROR: Sent classified emails to sext maniac Weiner.”

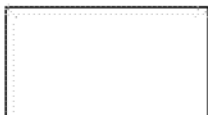
The problem: Much of what Comey said about this was inaccurate. Now the FBI is trying to figure out what to do about it.

FBI officials have privately acknowledged that Comey misstated what Abedin did and what the FBI investigators found. On Monday, the FBI was said to be preparing to correct the record by sending a letter to Congress later this week. But that plan now appears on hold, with the bureau undecided about what to do.

ProPublica is reporting a story on the FBI’s handling of the Clinton emails and raised questions with government officials last week about possible inaccuracies in Comey’s statements about Abedin.

It could not be learned how the mistake occurred. The FBI and Abedin declined ProPublica’s requests for comment on the director’s misstatements.

How We’re Learning To Do Journalism Differently in the Age of Trump





Here are four ideas we've used to guide our Trump administration coverage.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 7:46 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Unmasking statement

Sorry, typing too fast. Thanks.

From: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 7:45 PM
To: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Unmasking statement

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

b5 -1

And drive home together, now. We're all physically and emotionally exhausted.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/10/17 7:39 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO)
(FBI)" [REDACTED] "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Unmasking statement

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Let me know what you guys think. Thanks.

In response to a question conflating "unmasking" with 702, here is a proposed response:

b5 -1, 3

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 7:48 PM
To: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED] Strzok,
Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Rybicki, James E.
[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Unmasking statement

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Sorry, was typing too fast and had typos. Please review this version:

In response to a question conflating "unmasking" with 702, here is a proposed response:

b5 -1, 3

-----Original Message-----

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 7:39 PM
To: Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
[REDACTED] Rybicki, James E [REDACTED]
Subject: Unmasking statement
Importance: High

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Let me know what you guys think. Thanks.

In response to a question conflating "unmasking" with 702, here is a proposed response:

b5 -1, 3

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 10:22 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Comey Farewell Letter

Of course. Same same.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/10/2017 9:20 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Comey Farewell Letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I know. I want you to read my draft whenever I get brave enough. ☹

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/10/17 9:14 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Comey Farewell Letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

God, I can't even bare the thought right now.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/10/2017 9:10 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Comey Farewell Letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Yeah I need to write him a letter but not sure what to say yet. It's intimidating.

----- Original message -----

From: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/10/17 9:00 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Comey Farewell Letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Wow.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/10/2017 8:53 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Comey Farewell Letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

So, some questions about the distro on this, along the lines of [redacted] comments

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Haertel, Paul H. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]

Date: 5/10/17 8:50 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] "Campi, Andrew C. (CD) (FBI)"

[redacted] "Lemons, Roy L. (HQ) (FBI)" [redacted]

(CD) (FBI)" [redacted] (WF) (FBI)" [redacted]

Subject: Fwd: Comey Farewell Letter

----- Original message -----

From: [redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]

Date: 5/10/17 20:36 (GMT-05:00)

To: "Haertel, Paul H. (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] (CD) (FBI)"

[redacted] (WF) (FBI)"

[redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]

[redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] (CD) (FBI)"

[redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]

[redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]

[redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]

[redacted] (DL) (FBI)" [redacted] (CD) (FBI)"

[redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] (CD)

(FBI)" [redacted]

Subject: Fwd: Comey Farewell Letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

In case you have not already received this:

----- Original message -----

From: "Feghali, Rouda M. (BA) (FBI)" [redacted]

Date: 05/10/2017 8:25 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: [redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted] (CV) (FBI)"

[redacted] (BS) (FBI)"

(CD) (FBI)" [redacted] (CD) (FBI)" [redacted]

[redacted] (WF) (FBI)" [redacted] (CD) (FBI)"

[redacted] (SF) (FBI)" [redacted]

Subject: Fwd: Comey Farewell Letter

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Letter from Comey.

----- Original message -----

From: "Vorndran, Bryan A. (BA) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 05/10/2017 8:08 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: [REDACTED] (CG) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (WF) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Hinckley, Scott M. (BA) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Nadeau,

Brian J. (BA) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Johnson, Gordon B. (BA) (FBI)"

[REDACTED] "Feghali, Rouda M. (BA) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (BA) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "McPherson, Michael F. (CTD) (FBI)"

[REDACTED]

Subject: Comey Farewell Letter

If you haven't seen this, please forward.

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Date: 5/10/17 7:29 PM (GMT-05:00)

To: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]

Subject: Farewell Letter

Friends:

Former Director Comey asked this evening that I share the attached note in reply to those who have reached out inquiring about him.

Thanks for all the words of support for such an inspirational leader.

Respectfully,

[REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

[REDACTED]
Special Assistant to the Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

[REDACTED] cell
[REDACTED] desk.

[REDACTED]

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, May 11, 2017 7:12 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: NYT profile - A/Dir McCabe

[redacted] apparently doing his penance...;}

----- Original message -----

From: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted]
Date: 05/11/2017 7:07 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "McCabe, Andrew G. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted] "Bowdich, David L. (DO) (FBI)"
[redacted] "Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI)" [redacted] "Page, Lisa C.
(OGC) (FBI)" [redacted] (DO) (FBI) [redacted]
Subject: NYT profile - A/Dir McCabe

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

From: [redacted] (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

All FYI.....

A short NYT profile of the A/D is in the works, prob for tonight. It will include on the record comments from McJunkin and Gagliano, maybe others. It will report he is a very effective briefer, understands depth of issues, has a precision accuracy and an ability to grasp very complicated matters. Also, kudos for today's testimony. Criticism will include that he is understated in a macho organization, rose too quickly. Also described as a tri-athlete who has biked to work from Loudoun county.

M.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Recap
Location: [redacted] ofc
Start: Friday, May 12, 2017 10:30 AM
End: Friday, May 12, 2017 11:00 AM
Show Time As: Tentative

Recurrence: (none)

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI) [redacted]
(OGC) (FBI) [redacted] (DO) (FBI)

When: May 12, 2017 10:30:00 AM
Where: [redacted] ofc

b6 -1
b7C -1

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Subject: Recap

Location: [redacted] ofc

b6 -1
b7C -1

Start: Friday, May 12, 2017 10:00 AM

End: Friday, May 12, 2017 10:30 AM

Show Time As: Tentative

Recurrence: (none)

Meeting Status: Not yet responded

Organizer: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

Required Attendees: Rybicki, James E. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI);

[redacted] OGC) (FBI); [redacted] (DO) (FBI)

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, May 12, 2017 2:03 PM
To: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI); Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (PT) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Chairman Grassley request to DOJ/FBI

b5 -1, 3
b6 -1
b7C -1

[REDACTED]

From: Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, May 12, 2017 12:55 PM
To: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]; Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]; Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED] (PT) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]; Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI); [REDACTED]; Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Chairman Grassley request to DOJ/FBI

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/12/17 12:34 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; [REDACTED] (PT) (FBI); [REDACTED] (OGC) (FBI); [REDACTED]; "Moffa, Jonathan C. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); [REDACTED]; "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Chairman Grassley request to DOJ/FBI

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

See attached from Chairman Grassley to DOJ and FBI requesting a response by COB to the Committee's request for a briefing about the FBI's investigations of Russian interference in the 2016 election. Be advised that SJC staffer Jason Foster spoke to Greg Brower yesterday and raised this request which was made by the Chairman to Director Comey at last week's hearing. [REDACTED]

b5 -1, 3

Back Page

For Office of Congressional Affairs

b6 -1
b7C -1

FBI (18-cv-154)-4413

----- Original message -----

From: "Davis, Patrick (Judiciary-Rep)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/12/2017 11:47 AM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Ramer, Sam (OLA) (JMD)" [REDACTED]

b6 -1, 2, 3
b7C -1, 2, 3
b7E -6

Cc: "CEG (Judiciary-Rep)" <CEG@judiciary-rep.senate.gov>, "Foster, Jason (Judiciary-Rep)" [REDACTED]

(Judiciary-Dem)" [REDACTED]

(DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]

(OLA) [REDACTED]

(JMD) [REDACTED] (OLA) (JMD) [REDACTED]

Subject: Urgent: 2017-05-12 CEG DF to DOJ FBI (Briefings)

Greg and Sam,

Attached is a letter from Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Feinstein to Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein and Acting Director McCabe. Please confirm receipt, and please send all formal follow-up correspondence electronically in PDF format to CEG@judiciary-rep.senate.gov [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and me.

b6 -3
b7C -3
b7E -6

The letter is time-sensitive and requests a response call by the of the day. Also, to clarify, Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Feinstein are not asking for this to be a Gang of Eight Briefing.

Thanks,
-Patrick

Patrick D. Davis
Investigative Counsel
Chairman Charles E. Grassley
U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary
[REDACTED]

b6 -3
b7C -3

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Monday, May 15, 2017 12:02 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)

Have a solution, but need a little bit more information from you. Call me when you get this.

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Tuesday, May 16, 2017 11:14 PM
To: Ghattas, Carl (CTD) (FBI); Priestap, E. W. [REDACTED] Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); Rybicki, James E.
[REDACTED]
Subject: TPs

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

I just sent TPs on the red side. Please take a look and let me know what you think. We will need to coordinate them with DOJ in advance of the Wednesday afternoon briefing. Thanks all.

Lisa

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, May 19, 2017 7:23 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI); Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI); Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)
Subject: RE: Email address

No, I don't. Sorry.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/19/17 6:47 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Baker, James A. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]; "Anderson, Trisha B. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Email address

Do any of you have McGahn's WHC email address?
Thanks, Pete

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Saturday, May 20, 2017 7:31 AM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: Fwd: Flynn PFD 2/17
Attachments: document-10.pdf

Did Kortan forward this to you as well?

----- Original message -----

From: "Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/19/17 2:12 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Flynn PFD 2/17

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

FYI....

From: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Friday, May 19, 2017 1:53 PM
To: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Flynn PFD 2/17

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Politico is asking about Flynn's financial disclosure form which was released by the White House. Page 5 indicates he did work for the FBI. So Politico wants to know what he did for us, what he was paid, any other details.

New Entrant Report | U.S. Office of Government Ethics; 5 C.F.R. part 2634 | Form Approved: OMB No. (3209-0001) (March 2014)

Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure Report (OGE Form 278e)

Filer's Information

Flynn, Michael

National Security Advisor, White House

Date of Appointment: 01/22/2017

Other Federal Government Positions Held During the Preceding 12 Months:

None

Electronic Signature - I certify that the statements I have made in this form are true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge.

/s/ Flynn, Michael T [electronically signed on 02/11/2017 by Flynn, Michael T in integrity.gov]

Agency Ethics Official's Opinion - On the basis of information contained in this report, I conclude that the filer is in compliance with applicable laws and regulations (subject to any comments below).

Other review conducted by

U.S. Office of Government Ethics Certification

1. Filer's Positions Held Outside United States Government

#	ORGANIZATION NAME	CITY, STATE	ORGANIZATION TYPE	POSITION HELD	FROM	TO
1	Drone Aviation Holding Corp.	Jacksonville, Florida	Corporation	Board Member	4/2016	12/2016
2	GreenZone Systems Inc.	Arlington, Virginia	Corporation	Board Member	11/2014	12/2016
3	HALO Privacy LLC	Seattle, Washington	Corporation	Board Member	10/2015	12/2016
4	Palo Alto Networks Inc.	Santa Clara, California	Corporation	Advisory Council Member	9/2014	12/2016
5	Patriot Capital LLC	Orlando, Florida	Corporation	Advisory Board Member	8/2015	12/2016
6	X-Co Dynamics Inc./Iron Bridge Group	Washington, District of Columbia	Corporation	Board Member, Consultant	8/2015	12/2016
7	Quaestor Federal Consulting LLC	Springfield, Virginia	Corporation	Advisor	10/2015	9/2016
8	Flynn Intel Group Inc.	See Endnote	Alexandria, Virginia	Chairman	6/2015	Present
9	Flynn Intel Group LLC	See Endnote	Alexandria, Virginia	Member	10/2014	Present
10	Adobe Systems Inc.	Palo Alto, California	Corporation	Advisory Board Member	2/2015	12/2016
11	OSY Technologies SARL	Luxembourg, Outside U.S.	Corporation	Advisory Board Member	5/2016	1/2017

2. Filer's Employment Assets & Income and Retirement Accounts

#	DESCRIPTION	EIF	VALUE	INCOME TYPE	INCOME AMOUNT
1	Drone Aviation Holding Corp.	N/A		Director Fees	\$24,000

#	DESCRIPTION	EIF	VALUE	INCOME TYPE	INCOME AMOUNT
2	Drone Aviation Holding Corp.	N/A	None (or less than \$1,001)		None (or less than \$201)
3	GreenZone Systems Inc., stock options	N/A	None (or less than \$1,001)		None (or less than \$201)
4	HALO Privacy LLC, stock options	N/A	None (or less than \$1,001)		None (or less than \$201)
5	HALO Privacy LLC (Privacy / Security)	N/A	None (or less than \$1,001)		None (or less than \$201)
6	Palo Alto Networks Inc.	N/A		Consulting Fees	\$40,280
7	Flynn Intel Group LLC (Consulting)	N/A		Salary/Bonus	\$827,055
8	Quaestor Federal Consulting LLC (Federal services contractor)	N/A		Salary	\$90,000
9	Adobe Systems Inc.	N/A		Salary	\$125,250
10	OSY Technologies SARL	N/A		Salary	\$40,280
11	Flynn Intel Group Inc.	No			\$50,001 - \$100,000
12	Flynn Intel 401(k) - MTF	Yes	\$50,001 - \$100,000		
13	Flynn Intel Defined Benefit Plan	Yes	\$250,001 - \$500,000		
14	IRA - MTF	Yes	\$15,001 - \$50,000		
15	2016 S Corp/K-1 - MTF	N/A		Capital Gains	\$50,001 - \$100,000

3. Filer's Employment Agreements and Arrangements

None

4. Filer's Sources of Compensation Exceeding \$5,000 in a Year

#	SOURCE NAME	CITY, STATE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES
1	Drone Aviation Holding Corp.	Jacksonville, Florida	Board Member
2	Palo Alto Networks Inc.	Santa Clara, California	Advisory Council Member
3	Flynn Intel Group LLC	Alexandria, Virginia	Member
4	Quaestor Federal Consulting LLC	Springfield, Virginia	Employee and consultant
5	Adobe Systems Inc.	Palo Alto, California	Advisory Board Member
6	OSY Technologies SARL	Luxembourg, Outside U.S.	Advisory Board Member
7	Flynn Intel Group Inc.	Alexandria VA, Virginia	Chairman
8	Babel Street Incorporated	Reston, Virginia	Advisor
9	Brainwave Sciences LLC	Southborough, Massachusetts	Advisor
10	Francisco Partners Management LP	San Francisco, California	Consultant
11	McChrystal Group LLC	Alexandria, Virginia	Consultant
12	NJK Holding Corporation	Minneapolis, Minnesota	Consultant
13	Novetta, Inc.	McLean, Virginia	Consultant
14	Pechter Pollis LLC	Princeton, New Jersey	Consultant
15	The Ulysses Group LLC	Charleston, South Carolina	Advisor
16	I3 Integrative Creative Solutions, LLC	Springfield, Virginia	Consultant

#	SOURCE NAME	CITY, STATE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES
17	Anadarko Petroleum Co.	Woodlands, Texas	Advisor
18	BlackDuck Software Inc.	Burlingame, Massachusetts	Consultant
19	Center for a New American Security	Washington, District of Columbia	Consultant
20	Halifax Investment Management Inc.	Washington, District of Columbia	Consultant
21	Norton Rose Fulbright LLC	Houston, Texas	Consultant
22	Federal Bureau of Investigation	Washington, District of Columbia	Consultant
23	Museum Armor	Old Bethpage, New York	Speaking engagement
24	Youth of Americas Foundation	Reston, Virginia	Speaking engagements
25	Ibrahim Kurtulus	New York, New York	Speaking engagement
26	Creative Artists Agency	Los Angeles, California	Speaking engagement
27	Writer's Representatives	New York, New York	Writer's fees
28	MacMillan Publishing Company	New York, New York	Royalties
29	Leading Authorities LLC	Washington, District of Columbia	Speaking fees
30	INOVO BV	Utrecht, Outside U.S.	Consultant

5. Spouse's Employment Assets & Income and Retirement Accounts

#	DESCRIPTION	EIF	VALUE	INCOME TYPE	INCOME AMOUNT
1	Flynn Intel Group LLC (Consulting)	N/A		salary	
2	Flynn Intel Group LLC (Consulting)	N/A		partnership share	
3	Roth IRA	Yes	\$15,001 - \$50,000		
4	401(k)	Yes	\$50,001 - \$100,000		

6. Other Assets and Income

#	DESCRIPTION	EIF	VALUE	INCOME TYPE	INCOME AMOUNT
1	Flynn Intel Group LLC Business Checking Account	No	\$50,001 - \$100,000	Interest	\$1,001 - \$2,500
2	Personal Checking Account	No	\$50,001 - \$100,000	Interest	\$1,001 - \$2,500
3	Savings and Investment Account	No	\$250,001 - \$500,000	Interest	\$5,001 - \$15,000
4	Savings Account 1	No	None (or less than \$1,001)	Interest	None (or less than \$201)
5	Savings Account 2	No	\$15,001 - \$50,000	Interest	None (or less than \$201)
6	Residential Rental House	No	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	Rent or Royalties	\$5,001 - \$15,000
7	Savings Account 3	No	None (or less than \$1,001)	Interest	None (or less than \$201)

7. Transactions

(N/A) - Not required for this type of report

8. Liabilities

#	CREDITOR NAME	TYPE	AMOUNT	YEAR INCURRED	RATE	TERM
1	Bank of America	Mortgage (investment/rental property)	\$250,001 - \$500,000	2014	3.88 fixed	15 year
2	Amerihome (formerly Equity Loans)	Mortgage on Personal Residence	\$500,001 - \$1,000,000	2016	3.25 fixed	30 year
3	Merrill Lynch	Exercised Line of Credit	\$15,001 - \$50,000	2016	4.64 variable	N/A

9. Gifts and Travel Reimbursements

(N/A) - Not required for this type of report

Endnotes

PART	#	ENDNOTE
1.	8	Flynn Intel Group Inc. will be dissolved once all taxes are paid and books are closed for 2016. The entity has been inactive since December 2016.
1.	9	Flynn Intel Group LLC became inactive in December 2016.

Summary of Contents

1. Filer's Positions Held Outside United States Government

Part 1 discloses positions that the filer held at any time during the reporting period (excluding positions with the United States Government). Positions are reportable even if the filer did not receive compensation.

This section does not include the following: (1) positions with religious, social, fraternal, or political organizations; (2) positions solely of an honorary nature; (3) positions held as part of the filer's official duties with the United States Government; (4) mere membership in an organization; and (5) passive investment interests as a limited partner or non-managing member of a limited liability company.

2. Filer's Employment Assets & Income and Retirement Accounts

Part 2 discloses the following:

- 1 Sources of earned and other non-investment income of the filer totaling more than \$200 during the reporting period (e.g., salary, fees, partnership share, honoraria, scholarships, and prizes)
- 1 Assets related to the filer's business, employment, or other income-generating activities that (1) ended the reporting period with a value greater than \$1,000 or (2) produced more than \$200 in income during the reporting period (e.g., equity in business or partnership, stock options, retirement plans/accounts and their underlying holdings as appropriate, deferred compensation, and intellectual property, such as book deals and patents)

This section does not include assets or income from United States Government employment or assets that were acquired separately from the filer's business, employment, or other income-generating activities (e.g., assets purchased through a brokerage account). Note: The type of income is not required if the amount of income is \$0 - \$200 or if the asset qualifies as an excepted investment fund (EIF).

3. Filer's Employment Agreements and Arrangements

Part 3 discloses agreements or arrangements that the filer had during the reporting period with an employer or former employer (except the United States Government), such as the following:

- 1 Future employment
- 1 Leave of absence
- 1 Continuing payments from an employer, including severance and payments not yet received for previous work (excluding ordinary salary from a current employer)
- 1 Continuing participation in an employee welfare, retirement, or other benefit plan, such as pensions or a deferred compensation plan
- 1 Retention or disposition of employer-awarded equity, sharing in profits or carried interests (e.g., vested and unvested stock options, restricted stock, future share of a company's profits, etc.)

4. Filer's Sources of Compensation Exceeding \$5,000 in a Year

Part 4 discloses sources (except the United States Government) that paid more than \$5,000 in a calendar year for the filer's services during any year of the reporting period.

The filer discloses payments both from employers and from any clients to whom the filer personally provided services. The filer discloses a source even if the source made its payment to the filer's employer and not to the filer. The filer does not disclose a client's payment to the filer's employer if the filer did not provide the services for which the client is paying.

5. Spouse's Employment Assets & Income and Retirement Accounts

Part 5 discloses the following:

- 1 Sources of earned income (excluding honoraria) for the filer's spouse totaling more than \$1,000 during the reporting period (e.g., salary, consulting fees, and partnership share)
- 1 Sources of honoraria for the filer's spouse greater than \$200 during the reporting period
- 1 Assets related to the filer's spouse's employment, business activities, other income-generating activities that (1) ended the reporting period with a value greater than \$1,000 or (2) produced more than \$200 in income during the reporting period (e.g., equity in business or partnership, stock options, retirement plans/accounts and their underlying holdings as appropriate, deferred compensation, and intellectual property, such as book deals and patents)

This section does not include assets or income from United States Government employment or assets that were acquired separately from the filer's spouse's business, employment, or other income-generating activities (e.g., assets purchased through a brokerage account). Note: The type of income is not required if the amount of income is \$0 - \$200 or if the asset qualifies as an excepted investment fund (EIF). Amounts of income are not required for a spouse's earned income (excluding honoraria).

6. Other Assets and Income

Part 6 discloses each asset, not already reported, that (1) ended the reporting period with a value greater than \$1,000 or (2) produced more than \$200 in investment income during the reporting period. For purposes of the value and income thresholds, the filer aggregates the filer's interests with those of the filer's spouse and dependent children.

This section does not include the following types of assets: (1) a personal residence (unless it was rented out during the reporting period); (2) income or retirement benefits associated with United States Government employment (e.g., Thrift Savings Plan); and (3) cash accounts (e.g., checking, savings, money market accounts) at a single financial institution with a value of \$5,000 or less (unless more than \$200 of income was produced). Additional exceptions apply. Note: The type of income is not required if the amount of income is \$0 - \$200 or if the asset qualifies as an excepted investment fund (EIF).

7. Transactions

Part 7 discloses purchases, sales, or exchanges of real property or securities in excess of \$1,000 made on behalf of the filer, the filer's spouse or dependent child during reporting period.

This section does not include transactions that concern the following: (1) a personal residence, unless rented out; (2) cash accounts (e.g., checking, savings, CDs, money market accounts) and money market mutual funds; (3) Treasury bills, bonds, and notes; and (4) holdings within a federal Thrift Savings Plan account. Additional exceptions apply.

8. Liabilities

Part 8 discloses liabilities over \$10,000 that the filer, the filer's spouse or dependent child owed at any time during the reporting period.

This section does not include the following types of liabilities: (1) mortgages on a personal residence, unless rented out (limitations apply for PAS filers); (2) loans secured by a personal motor vehicle, household furniture, or appliances, unless the loan exceeds the item's purchase price; and (3) revolving charge accounts, such as credit card balances, if the outstanding liability did not exceed \$10,000 at the end of the reporting period. Additional exceptions apply.

9. Gifts and Travel Reimbursements

This section discloses:

- 1. Gifts totaling more than \$375 that the filer, the filer's spouse, and dependent children received from any one source during the reporting period.
- 1. Travel reimbursements totaling more than \$375 that the filer, the filer's spouse, and dependent children received from any one source during the reporting period.

For purposes of this section, the filer need not aggregate any gift or travel reimbursement with a value of \$150 or less. Regardless of the value, this section does not include the following items: (1) anything received from relatives; (2) anything received from the United States Government or from the District of Columbia, state, or local governments; (3) bequests and other forms of inheritance; (4) gifts and travel reimbursements given to the filer's agency in connection with the filer's official travel; (5) gifts of hospitality (food, lodging, entertainment) at the donor's residence or personal premises; and (6) anything received by the filer's spouse or dependent children totally independent of their relationship to the filer. Additional exceptions apply.

Privacy Act Statement

Title I of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, as amended (the Act), 5 U.S.C. app. 5 101 et seq., as amended by the Stop Trading on Congressional Knowledge Act of 2012 (Pub. L. 112-105) (STOCK Act), and 5 C.F.R. Part 2634 of the U. S. Office of Government Ethics regulations require the reporting of this information. The primary use of the information on this report is for review by Government officials to determine compliance with applicable Federal laws and regulations. This report may also be disclosed upon request to any requesting person in accordance with sections 105 and 402(b)(1) of the Act or as otherwise authorized by law. You may inspect applications for public access of your own form upon request. Additional disclosures of the information on this report may be made: (1) to any requesting person, subject to the limitation contained in section 208(d)(1) of title 18, any determination granting an exemption pursuant to sections 208(b)(1) and 208(b)(3) of title 18; (2) to a Federal, State, or local law enforcement agency if the disclosing agency becomes aware of violations or potential violations of law or regulation; (3) to another Federal agency, court or party in a court or Federal administrative proceeding when the Government is a party or in order to comply with a judge-issued subpoena; (4) to a source when necessary to obtain information relevant to a conflict of interest investigation or determination; (5) to the National Archives and Records Administration or the General Services Administration in records management inspections; (6) to the Office of Management and Budget during legislative coordination on private relief legislation; (7) to the Department of Justice or in certain legal proceedings when the disclosing agency, an employee of the disclosing agency, or the United States is a party to litigation or has an interest in the litigation and the use of such records is deemed relevant and necessary to the litigation; (8) to reviewing officials in a new office, department or agency when an employee transfers or is detailed from one covered position to another; (9) to a Member of Congress or a congressional office in response to an inquiry made on behalf of an individual who is the subject of the record; (10) to contractors and other non-Government employees working on a contract, service or assignment for the Federal Government when necessary to accomplish a function related to an OGE Government-wide system of records; and (11) on the OGE Website and to any person, department or agency, any written ethics agreement filed with OGE by an individual nominated by the President to a position requiring Senate confirmation. See also the OGE/GOVT-1 executive branch-wide Privacy Act system of records.

Public Burden Information

This collection of information is estimated to take an average of three hours per response, including time for reviewing the instructions, gathering the data needed, and completing the form. Send comments regarding the burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to the Program Counsel, U.S. Office of Government Ethics (OGE), Suite 500, 1201 New York Avenue, NW., Washington, DC 20005-3917.

Pursuant to the Paperwork Reduction Act, as amended, an agency may not conduct or sponsor, and no person is required to respond to, a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number (that number, 3209-0001, is displayed here and at the top of the first page of this OGE Form 278e).

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Saturday, May 20, 2017 3:50 PM
To: Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: RE: NYT article out

Indeed.

----- Original message -----

From: "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/20/17 3:48 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: NYT article out

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Hmmm

----- Original message -----

From: [REDACTED] (WF) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 5/20/17 2:53 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: "Priestap, E. W. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] "Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)"
[REDACTED] "Haertel, Paul H. (CD) (FBI)" [REDACTED] (CD)
(FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: NYT article out

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

----- Original message -----

From: "Kable, Charles H. (WF) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Date: 05/20/2017 1:52 PM (GMT-05:00)
To: [REDACTED] (WF) (FBI)" [REDACTED]
Subject:

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/20/world/asia/china-cia-spies-espionage.html>

S. Kable

TSC

[REDACTED]
D
M

b6 -1
b7C -1

Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)

From: Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, June 08, 2017 5:44 PM
To: Rybicki, James E. [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI); Strzok, Peter P. (CD) (FBI)
Subject: FW: Transcript from today's SSCI hearing
Attachments: SSCI Comey 6-8-2017.docx

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

-----Original Message-----

From: Beers, Elizabeth R. (DO) (FBI)
Sent: Thursday, June 08, 2017 5:25 PM
To: Kortan, Michael P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] Quinn, Richard P. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Mrose, Yonina A. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Brower, Gregory (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Page, Lisa C. (OGC) (FBI) [REDACTED] Kelly, Stephen D. (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (DO) (FBI) [REDACTED]
Subject: Transcript from today's SSCI hearing

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7E -6

Is attached. Please share as appropriate.

Beth Beers
FBI Office of Congressional Affairs
[REDACTED]

b6 -1
b7C -1

CQ CONGRESSIONAL TRANSCRIPTS

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Senate Select Intelligence Committee Holds Hearing on Russian Election Interference

Congressional Hearings

June 8, 2017 - Final

BURR:

I'd like to call this hearing to order.

Director Comey, I appreciate your willingness to appear before the committee today, and more importantly, I thank you for your dedicated service and leadership to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Your appearance today speaks to the trust we have built over the years, and I'm looking forward to a very open and candid discussion today.

BURR:

I'd like to remind my colleagues that we will reconvene in closed session at 1 PM today and I ask that you reserve for that venue any questions that might get into classified information. The director has been very gracious with his time, but the vice chairman and I have worked out a very specific timeline for his commitment to be on the Hill, so we will do everything we can to meet that agreement.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence exists to certify for the other 85 members of the United States Senate and the American people that the intelligence community is operating lawfully and has the necessary authorities and tools to accomplish its mission and keep America safe. Part of our mission, beyond the oversight we continue to provide to the intelligence community and its activities, is to investigate Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. elections. The committee's work continues. This hearing represents part of that effort.

Jim, allegations have been swirling in the press for the last several weeks, and today's your opportunity to set the record straight. Yesterday, I read with interest your statement for the record. And I think it provides some helpful details surrounding your interactions with the president.

It clearly lays out your understanding of those discussions, actions you took following each conversation and your state of mind. I very much appreciate your candor, and I think it's helpful as we work through to determine the ultimate truth behind possible Russian interference in the 2016 elections.

Your statement also provides texture and context to your interactions with the president, from your vantage point, and outlines a strained relationship. The American people need to hear your side of the story just as they need to hear the president's descriptions of events.

These interactions also highlight the importance of the committee's ongoing investigation. Our experienced staff is interviewing all relevant parties and some of the most sensitive intelligence in our country's possession.

We will establish the facts, separate from rampant speculation, and lay them out for the American people to make their own judgment. Only then will we as a nation be able to move forward and to put this episode to rest.

There are several outstanding issues not addressed in your statement that I hope you'll clear up for the American people today. Did the president's request for loyalty -- your impression that -- that the one-on-one dinner of January 27th was, and I quote, "at least in part an effort to create some sort of patronage relationship," or his March 30th phone call asking what you could do to lift the cloud of Russia investigation in any way, alter your approach of the FBI's investigation into General Flynn or the broader investigation into Russia and possible links to the campaign?

In your opinion, did potential Russian efforts to establish links with individuals in the Trump orbit rise to the level we could define as collusion? Or was it a counterintelligence concern?

There's been a significant public speculation about your decision-making related to the Clinton e-mail investigation. Why did you decide publicly -- to publicly announce FBI's recommendations that the Department of Justice not pursue criminal charges? You have described it as a choice between a bad decision and a worse decision. The American people need to understand the facts behind your action.

This committee is uniquely suited to investigate Russia's interference in the 2016 elections. We also have a unified, bipartisan approach to what is a highly charged partisan issue. Russian activities during 2016 election may have been aimed at one party's candidate, but as my colleague, Senator Rubio, says frequently, in 2018 and 2020, it could be aimed at anyone, at home or abroad.

My colleague, Senator Warner, and I have worked in -- have worked to to stay in lockstep on this investigation. We've had our differences on approach at times. But I've constantly stressed that we need to be a team. And I think Senator Warner agrees with me.

We must keep these questions above politics and partisanship. It's too important to be tainted by anyone trying to score political points.

With that, again, I welcome you, Director.

And I turn to the vice chairman for any comments he might have.

WARNER:

Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And let me start by, again, absolutely (ph) thanking all the members of the committee for the seriousness in which they've taken on this task.

WARNER:

Mr. Comey, thank you for agreeing to come testify as part of this committee's investigation into Russia. I realize that this hearing has been, obviously, the focus of a lot of Washington in the last few days. But the truth is many Americans who may be tuning in today probably haven't focused on every twist and turn of the investigation.

So I'd like to briefly describe, at least from this senator's standpoint, what we already know and what we're still investigating. To be clear, this whole (ph) investigation is not about relitigating the election. It's not about who won or lost. And it sure as heck is not about Democrats versus Republicans.

We're here because a foreign adversary attacked us right here at home, plain and simple, not by guns or missiles, but by foreign operatives seeking to hijack our most important democratic process -- our presidential election.

Russian spies engaged in a series of online cyber raids and a broad campaign of disinformation, all ultimately aimed at sowing chaos to us to undermine public faith in our process, in our leadership and ultimately in ourselves.

And that's not just this senator's opinion, it is the unanimous determination of the entire U.S. intelligence community. So we must find out the full story, what the Russians did, and, candidly, as some other colleagues have mentioned, why they were so successful. And, more importantly, we must determine the necessary steps to take to protect our democracy and ensure they can't do it again.

Chairman mentioned elections in 2018 and 2020. In my home state of Virginia, we have elections this year, in 2017. Simply put, we cannot let anything or anyone prevent us from getting to the bottom of this.

Now, Mr. Comey, let me say at the outset we haven't always agreed on every issue. In fact, I've occasionally questioned some of the actions you've taken. But I've never had any reason to question your integrity, your expertise or your intelligence.

You've been a straight shooter with this committee, and have been willing to speak truth to power, even at the risk of your own career, which makes the way in which you were fired by the president ultimately shocking.

WARNER:

Recall, we began this entire process with the president and his staff first denying that the Russians were ever involved, and then falsely claiming that no one from his team was never in touch with any Russians.

We know that's just not the truth. Numerous Trump associates had undisclosed contacts with Russians before and after the election, including the president's attorney general, his former national security adviser and his current senior adviser, Mr. Kushner.

That doesn't even begin to count the host of additional campaign associates and advisers who've also been caught up in this massive web. We saw Mr. Trump's campaign manager, Mr. Manafort, forced to step down over ties to Russian-backed entities. The national security adviser, General Flynn, had to resign over his lies about engagements with the Russians.

And we saw the candidate him -- himself, express an odd and unexplained affection for the Russian dictator, while calling for the hacking of his opponent. There's a lot to investigate. Enough, in fact that then Director Comey publicly acknowledged that he was leading an investigation into those links between Mr. Trump's campaign and the Russian government.

As the director of the FBI, Mr. Comey was ultimately responsible for conducting that investigation, which might explain why you're sitting now as a private citizen.

What we didn't know was, at the same time that this investigation was proceeding, the president himself appears to have been engaged in an effort to influence, or at least co-opt, the director of the FBI. The testimony that Mr. Comey has submitted for today's hearing is very disturbing.

For example, on January 27th, after summoning Director Comey to dinner, the president appears to have threatened the (ph) director's job while telling him, quote, "I need loyalty. I expect loyalty."

WARNER:

At a later meeting, on February 14th, the president asked the attorney general to leave the Oval Office so that he could privately ask Director Comey, again, quote, "to see way clear (ph) to letting Flynn go."

That is a statement that Director Comey interpreted as a -- as a request that he drop the investigation, connected to General Flynn's false statements. Think about it: the president of the United States asking the FBI director to drop an ongoing investigation.

And, after that, the president called the FBI director on two additional occasions, March 30th and April 11th, and asked him again, quote, "to lift the cloud" on the Russian investigation.

Now, Director Comey denied each of these improper requests. The loyalty pledge, the admonition to drop the Flynn investigation, the request to lift the cloud on the Russia investigation. Of course, after his refusals, Director Comey was fired.

The initial explanation for the firing didn't pass any smell test. So now Director Comey was fired because (ph) he didn't treat Hillary Clinton appropriately. Of course, that explanation lasted about a day, because the president himself then made very clear that he was thinking about Russia when he decided to fire Director Comey.

Shockingly, reports suggest that the president admitted as much in an Oval Office meeting with the Russians the day after Director Comey was fired, disparaging our country's top law enforcement official as a, quote/unquote, "nut job." The president allegedly suggested that his firing relieved great pressure on his feelings about Russia.

This is not happening in isolation. At the same time the president was engaged in these efforts with Director Comey, he was also, at least allegedly, asking senior leaders of the intelligence community to downplay the Russia investigation or to intervene with the director.

Yesterday, we had DNI Director Coats and NSA Director Admiral Rogers, who were offered a number of opportunities to flatly deny those press reports. They expressed their opinions, but they did not take

that opportunity to deny those reports. They did not take advantage of that opportunity. In my belief, that's not how the president of the United States should behave.

Regardless of the outcome of our investigation into the Russia links, Director Comey's firing and his testimony raise separate and troubling questions that we must get to the bottom of.

Again, as I said at the outset, I've seen firsthand how seriously every member of this committee is taking his work. I'm proud of the committee's efforts so far. Let me be clear: This is not a witch hunt. This is not fake news. It is an effort to protect our country from a new threat that, quite honestly, will not go away any time soon.

So, Mr. Comey, your testimony here today will help us move towards that goal. I look forward to that testimony.

WARNER:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Thank you, Vice Chairman.

Director, as discussed, when you agreed to appear before the committee, it would be under oath. I'd ask you to please stand. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

COMEY:

(OFF-MIKE)

BURR:

Please be seated.

Director Comey, you're now under oath.

And I would just note to members, you will be recognized by seniority for a period up to seven minutes. And again, it is the intent to move to a closed session no later than 1 p.m.

With that, Director Comey, you are recognized. You have the floor for as long as you might need.

COMEY:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ranking Member Warner, members of the committee, thank you for inviting me here to testify today. I've submitted my statement for the record and I'm not going to repeat it here

this morning. I thought I would just offer some very brief introductory remarks and then I would welcome your questions.

When I was appointed FBI director in 2013, I understood that I served at the pleasure of the president. Even though I was appointed to a 10 year term, which Congress created in order to underscore the importance of the FBI being outside of politics and independent, I understood that I could be fired by a president for any reason, or for no reason at all.

And on May the 9th, when I learned that I had been fired, for that reason, I immediately came home as a private citizen. But then, the explanations, the shifting explanations, confused me and increasingly concerned me.

COMEY:

They confused me because the president and I had had multiple conversations about my job, both before and after he took office. And he had repeatedly told me I was doing a great job and he hoped I would stay. And I had repeatedly assured him that I did intend to stay and serve out the remaining six years of my term.

He told me repeatedly that he had talked to lots of people about me, including our current attorney general, and had learned that I was doing a great job and that I was extremely well-liked by the FBI workforce.

So it confused me when I saw on television the president saying that he actually fired me because of the Russia investigation and learned, again, from the media that he was telling, privately, other parties that my firing had relieved great pressure on the Russia investigation.

I was also confused by the initial explanation that was offered publicly, that I was fired because of the decisions I had made during the election year. That didn't make sense to me for a whole bunch of reasons, including the time and all the water that had gone under the bridge since those hard decisions that had to be made. That didn't make any sense to me.

And although the law required no reason at all to fire an FBI director, the administration then chose to defame me and, more importantly, the FBI by saying that the organization was in disarray, that it was poorly led, that the workforce had lost confidence in its leader.

Those were lies, plain and simple, and I am so sorry that the FBI workforce had to hear them and I'm so sorry that the American people were told them.

I worked every day at the FBI to help make that great organization better. And I say "help" because I did nothing alone at the FBI. There are no indispensable people at the FBI. The organization's great strength is that its values and abilities run deep and wide.

The FBI will be fine without me. The FBI's mission will be relentlessly pursued by its people, and that mission is to protect the American people and uphold the Constitution of the United States.

COMEY:

I will deeply miss being part of that mission, but this organization and its mission will go on long beyond me and long beyond any particular administration.

I have a message before I close for the -- my former colleagues at the FBI. But first, I want the American people to know this truth: The FBI is honest. The FBI is strong. And the FBI is, and always will be, independent.

And now to my former colleagues, if I may. I am so sorry that I didn't get the chance to say goodbye to you properly. It was the honor of my life to serve beside you, to be part of the FBI family. And I will miss it for the rest of my life.

Thank you for standing watch. Thank you for doing so much good for this country. Do that good as long as ever you can.

And, Senators, I look forward to your questions.

BURR:

Director, thank you for that testimony, both oral and the written testimony that you provided to the committee yesterday and made public to the American people.

The chair would recognize himself, first, for 12 minutes, vice chair for 12 minutes, based upon the agreement we have.

Director, did the Special Counsel's Office review and/or edit your written testimony?

COMEY:

No.

BURR:

Do you have any doubt that Russia attempted to interfere in the 2016 elections?

COMEY:

None.

BURR:

Do you have any doubt that the Russian government was behind the intrusions in the DNC and the DCCC systems, and the subsequent leaks of that information?

COMEY:

No, no doubt.

BURR:

Do you have any doubt that the Russian government was behind the cyber intrusion in the state voter files?

COMEY:

No.

BURR:

Do you have any doubt that officials of the Russian government were fully aware of these activities?

COMEY:

No doubt.

BURR:

Are you confident that no votes cast in the 2016 presidential election were altered?

COMEY:

I'm confident. By the time -- when I left as director, I had seen no indication of that whatsoever.

BURR:

Director Comey, did the president at any time ask you to stop the FBI investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 U.S. elections?

COMEY:

Not to my understanding, no.

BURR:

Did any individual working for this administration, including the Justice Department, ask you to stop the Russian investigation?

COMEY:

No.

BURR:

Director, when the president requested that you, and I quote, "let Flynn go," General Flynn had an unreported contact with the Russians, which is an offense. And if press accounts are right, there might have been discrepancies between facts and his FBI testimony.

In your estimation, was General Flynn, at that time, in serious legal jeopardy? And in addition to that, do you sense that the president was trying to obstruct justice, or just seek for a way for Mike Flynn to save face, given he had already been fired?

COMEY:

General Flynn, at that point in time, was in legal jeopardy. There was an open FBI criminal investigation of his statements in connection with the Russian contacts and the contacts themselves. And so that was my assessment at the time.

I don't think it's for me to say whether the conversation I had with the president was an effort to obstruct. I took it as a very disturbing thing, very concerning, but that's a conclusion I'm sure the special counsel will work towards, to try and understand what the intention was there, and whether that's an offense.

BURR:

Director, is it possible that, as part of this FBI investigation, the FBI could find evidence of criminality that is not tied to -- to the 2016 elections -- possible collusion or coordination with Russians?

COMEY:

Sure.

BURR:

So there could be something that just fits a criminal aspect to this that doesn't have anything to do with the 2016 election cycle?

COMEY:

Correct. In any complex investigation, when you start turning over rocks, sometimes you find things that are unrelated to the primary investigation, that are criminal in nature.

BURR:

Director Comey, you have been criticized publicly for the decision to present your findings on the e-mail investigation directly to the American people. Have you learned anything since that time that would've changed what you said, or how you chose to inform the American people?

COMEY:

Honestly, no. I mean, it caused a whole lot of personal pain for me, but, as I look back, given what I knew at the time and even what I've learned since, I think it was the best way to try and protect the justice institution, including the FBI.

BURR:

In the public domain is this question of the Steele dossier, a document that has been around, now, for over a year. I'm not sure when the FBI first took possession of it, but the media had it before you had it and we had it.

At the time of your departure from the FBI, was the FBI able to confirm any criminal allegations contained in the Steele document?

COMEY:

Mr. Chairman, I don't think that's a question I can answer in an open setting because it goes into the details of the investigation.

BURR:

Director, the term we hear most often is "collusion." When people are describing possible links between Americans and Russian government entities related to the interference in our election, would you say that it's normal for foreign governments to reach out to members of an incoming administration?

COMEY:

Yes.

BURR:

At what point does the normal contact cross the line into an attempt to recruit agents or influence (ph) or spies?

COMEY:

Difficult to say in the abstract. It depends upon the context, whether there's an effort to keep it covert, what the nature of the requests made of the American by the foreign government are. It's a -- it's a judgment call based on a whole lot of facts.

BURR:

At what point would that recruitment become a counterintelligence threat to our country?

COMEY:

Again, difficult to answer in the abstract. But when -- when a foreign power is using especially coercion or some sort of pressure to try and co-opt an American, especially a government official, to act on its behalf, that's a serious concern to the FBI and at the heart of the FBI's counterintelligence mission.

BURR:

So if you've got a -- a -- a 36-page document of -- of specific claims that are out there, the FBI would have to, for counterintelligence reasons, try to verify anything that might be claimed in there. One, and probably first and foremost, is the counterintelligence concerns that we have about blackmail. Would that be an accurate statement?

COMEY:

Yes. If the FBI receives a credible allegation that there is some effort to co-opt, coerce, direct, employ covertly an American on behalf of the foreign power, that's the basis on which a counterintelligence investigation is opened.

BURR:

And when you read the dossier, what was your reaction, given that it was 100 percent directed at the president-elect?

COMEY:

Not a question I can answer in an open setting, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

OK. When did you become aware of the cyber intrusion?

COMEY:

The first cyber -- it was all kinds of cyber intrusions going on all the time. The first Russia-connected cyber intrusion, I became aware of in the late summer of 2015.

BURR:

And in that timeframe, there were more than the DNC and the DCCC that were targets.

COMEY:

Correct. There was a massive effort to target government and nongovernmental -- near-governmental agencies like nonprofits.

BURR:

What would be the estimate of how many entities out there the Russians specifically targeted in that timeframe?

COMEY:

It's hundreds. I suppose it could be more than 1,000, but it's at least hundreds.

BURR:

When did you become aware that data had been exfiltrated?

COMEY:

I'm not sure, exactly. I think either late '15 or early '16.

BURR:

And did -- did you, the director of the FBI, have conversations with the last administration about the risk that this posed?

COMEY:

Yes.

BURR:

And share with us, if you will, what actions they took.

COMEY:

Well, the FBI had already undertaken an effort to notify all the victims -- and that's what we consider the entities that were attacked as part of this massive spear phishing campaign. And so we notified them in an effort to disrupt what might be ongoing.

Then there was a series of continuing interactions with entities through the rest of '15 into '16, and then, throughout '16, the administration was trying to decide how to respond to the intrusion activity that it saw.

BURR:

And the FBI, in this case, unlike other cases that you might investigate -- did you ever have access to the actual hardware that was hacked? Or did you have to rely on a third party to provide you the data that they had collected?

COMEY:

In the case of the DNC, and, I believe, the DCCC, but I'm sure the DNC, we did not have access to the devices themselves. We got relevant forensic information from a private party, a high-class entity, that had done the work. But we didn't get direct access.

BURR:

But no content?

COMEY:

Correct.

BURR:

Isn't content an important part of the forensics from a counterintelligence standpoint?

COMEY:

It is, although what was briefed to me by my folks -- the people who were my folks at the time is that they had gotten the information from the private party that they needed to understand the intrusion by the spring of 2016.

BURR:

Let me go back, if I can, very briefly, to the decision to publicly go out with your results on the e-mail.

Was your decision influenced by the attorney general's tarmac meeting with the former president, Bill Clinton?

COMEY:

Yes. In -- in an ultimately conclusive way, that was the thing that capped it for me, that I had to do something separately to protect the credibility of the investigation, which meant both the FBI and the Justice Department.

BURR:

Were there other things that contributed to that that you can describe in an open session?

COMEY:

There were other things that contributed to that. One significant item I can't, I know the committee's been briefed on. There's been some public accounts of it, which are nonsense, but I understand the committee's been briefed on the classified facts.

Probably the only other consideration that I guess I can talk about in an open setting is, at one point, the attorney general had directed me not to call it an investigation, but instead to call it a matter, which confused me and concerned me.

But that was one of the bricks in the load that led me to conclude, I have to step away from the department if we're to close this case credibly.

BURR:

Director, my last question: You're not only a seasoned prosecutor, you've led the FBI for years. You understand the investigative process. You've worked with this committee closely, and we're grateful to you because I think we've -- we've mutually built trust in what your organization does and -- and what we do.

Is there any doubt in your mind that this committee can carry out its oversight role in the 2016 Russian involvement in the elections in parallel with the -- now -- special counsel that's been set up?

COMEY:

No -- no doubt. It can be done. It requires lots of conversations, but Bob Mueller is one of this country's great, great pros. And I'm sure you all will be able to work it out with him to run it in parallel.

BURR:

I want to thank you once again, and I want to turn to the vice chairman.

WARNER:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And, again, Director Comey, thank you for your service.

And your comments to your FBI family, I know, were heartfelt. Know that, even though there are some in the administration who've tried to smear your reputation, you had Acting Director McCabe, in public testimony a few weeks back and in public testimony yesterday, reaffirm that the vast majority of the (ph) FBI community had great trust in your leadership and, obviously, trust in your integrity.

I want to go through a number of the meetings that you referenced in your testimony. And let's start with the January 6th meeting in Trump Tower, where you went up with a series of officials to brief the president-elect on the Russia investigation. My understanding is you remained afterwards to brief him on, again, quote, "some personally sensitive aspects" of the information you relayed.

Now, you said, after that briefing, you felt compelled to document that conversation, that you actually started documenting it soon as you got into the car.

Now, you've had extensive experience at the Department of Justice and at the FBI. You've worked under presidents of both parties. What was it about that meeting that led you to determine that you needed to start putting down a written record?

COMET:

A combination of things, I think -- the circumstances, the subject matter and the person I was interacting with. Circumstances first: I was alone with the president of the United States -- or the president-elect, soon to be president.

The subject matter: I was talking about matters that touch on the FBI's core responsibility and that relate to the president -- president-elect personally.

And then the nature of the person: I was honestly concerned that he might lie about the nature of our meeting, and so I thought it really important to document.

That combination of things, I'd never experienced before, but it led me to believe I've got to write it down, and I've got to write it down in a very detailed way.

WARNER:

I think that's a very important statement you just made. And my understanding is that then, again, unlike your dealings with presidents of either parties in your past experience, in every subsequent meeting or conversation with this president, you created a written record.

Did you feel that you needed to create this written record or (ph) these memos because they might need to be relied on at some future date?

COMEY:

Sure. I created records after conversations, and I think I did it after each of our nine conversations. If I didn't, I did it for nearly all of them, especially the ones that were substantive.

I knew that there might come a day when I would need a record of what had happened, not just to defend myself, but to defend the FBI and -- and our integrity as an institution and the independence of our investigative function. That's what made this so -- so difficult, is it was a combination of circumstances, subject matter, and the particular person.

WARNER:

And so, in all your experience, this was the only president that you felt like, in every meeting, you needed to document, because at some point, using your words, he might put out a non-truthful representation of that meeting?

Now...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

That's right, Senator.

And I -- I -- as I said in my written testimony, as FBI director, I interacted with President Obama. I spoke only twice in three years, and didn't document it. When I was deputy attorney general, I had one one-on-one meeting with President Bush about a very important and difficult national security matter.

I didn't write a memo documenting that conversation either -- sent a quick e-mail to my staff to let them know there was something going on, but I didn't feel, with President Bush, the need to document it in that way, again (ph), because of -- the combination of those factors just wasn't present with either President Bush or President Obama.

WARNER:

I -- I think that is very significant. I think others will probably question that.

Now, our chairman and I have requested those memos. It is our hope that the FBI will get this committee access to those memos so that, again, we can read that contemporaneous rendition, so that we've got your side of the story.

Now, I know members have said, and press has said, that if you were -- a great deal's been made of whether the president -- you were asked to, in effect, indicate whether the president was the subject of any investigation.

And my understanding is, prior to your meeting on January 6th, you discussed with your leadership team whether or not you should be prepared to assure then President-Elect Trump that the FBI was not investigating him personally.

Now, my understanding is your leadership team agreed with that. But was that a unanimous decision? Was there any debate about that?

COMEY:

Was it unanimous? One of the members of the leadership team had a view that, although it was technically true, we did not have a counterintelligence file case open on then-President-elect Trump.

His concern was, because we're looking at the potential -- again, that's the subject of the investigation -- coordination between the campaign and Russia, because it was President Trump -- President-elect Trump's campaign, this person's view was, inevitably, his behavior, his conduct will fall within the scope of that work.

And so he was reluctant to make the statement that I made. I disagreed. I thought it was fair to say what was literally true: There is not a counterintelligence investigation of Mr. Trump. And I decided, in the moment, to say it, given the nature of our conversation.

WARNER:

At that moment in time, did you ever revisit that as a -- in -- in these subsequent sessions?

COMEY:

With the FBI leadership team?

WARNER:

With the team -- with your (ph) team.

COMEY:

Sure, and -- and the -- the leader who had that view -- it didn't change. His view was still that it was probably -- although literally true, his concern was it could be misleading, because the nature of the investigation was such that it might well touch -- obviously, it would touch the campaign, and the person at the head of the campaign would be the candidate. And so that was his view throughout.

WARNER:

Let me move to the January 27th dinner, where you said, quote, "The president began by asking me whether I wanted to stay on as FBI director. He also indicated that lots of people" -- again, your words -- "wanted the job."

You go on to say that the dinner itself was seemingly an effort to, quote, "have you ask him for your job," and create some sort of, quote-unquote, "patronage relationship."

The president's (ph) -- seems, from my reading of your memo, to be holding your job, or your possibility of continuing in your job, over your head in a fairly direct way. What was your impression, and what did you mean by this notion of a patronage relationship?

COMEY:

Well, my impression -- and, again, it's my impression. I could always be wrong. But my common sense told me that what was going on is either he had concluded, or someone had told him, that you didn't -- you've already asked Comey to stay, and you didn't get anything for it, and that the dinner was an effort to build a relationship -- in fact, he asked specifically -- of loyalty in the context of asking me to stay.

And, as I said, what was odd about that is we'd already talked twice about it by that point. And he'd said, I very much hope you'll stay, I hope you'll stay.

In fact, I just remembered, sitting here, a third one. When -- you've seen the picture of me walking across the Blue Room. And what the president whispered in my ear was, "I really look forward to working with you." So, after those encounters...

WARNER:

And that was just a few days before you were fired.

COMEY:

... yeah, that was on the 20 -- the Sunday after the inauguration.

The next Friday, I have dinner, and the president begins by wanting to talk about my job. And so I'm sitting there, thinking, wait a minute, three times, we've already -- you've already asked me to stay, or talked about me staying.

COMEY:

And my common sense -- again, I could be wrong, but my common sense told me what's going on here is that he's looking to get something in exchange for granting my request to stay in the job.

WARNER:

And again, we all understand -- I was a governor, I had people work for me. But this constant request -- and, again, quoting you, him saying that he -- despite you explaining your independence, he kept coming back to "I need loyalty." "I expect loyalty."

Had you ever had any of those kind of requests before, from anyone else you'd worked for in the government?

COMEY:

No, and what made me uneasy was I'm, at that point, the director of the FBI. The reason that Congress created a ten-year term is so that the director is not feeling as if they're serving at -- with political loyalty owed to any particular person.

The -- the statue of Justice has a blindfold on because you're not supposed to be peeking out to see whether your patron is pleased or not with what you're doing.

It should be about the facts and the law. That's why I was -- that's why I became FBI director: to be in that kind of position. So that's why I was so uneasy.

WARNER:

Well, let me -- let me move on. My time's running out. February 14th -- again, it seems a bit strange. You were in a meeting. And your direct superior, the attorney general, was in that meeting, as well.

Yet the president asked everyone to leave, including the attorney general -- to leave, before he brought up the matter of General Flynn. What was your impression of that type of action? Had you ever seen anything like that before?

COMEY:

No. My impression was, something big is about to happen. I need to remember every single word that is spoken. And, again, I could be wrong, but I'm 56 years old. I've been -- seen a few things.

My sense was the attorney general knew he shouldn't be leaving, which is why he was lingering. And I don't know Mr. Kushner well, but I think he picked up on the same thing. And so I knew something was about to happen that I needed to pay very close attention to.

WARNER:

And I -- I found it very interesting that, in the memo that you wrote after this February 14th pull-aside, you made clear that you wrote that memo in a way that was unclassified.

If you affirmatively made the decision to write a memo that was unclassified, was that because you felt, at some point, the facts of that meeting would have to come clean and come clear and actually be able to be cleared in a way that could be shared with the American people?

COMEY:

Well, I remember thinking, this is a very disturbing development, really important to our work. I need to document it and preserve it in a way -- and -- and this committee gets this, but sometimes when things are classified, it tangles them up. It's hard...

WARNER:

Amen.

COMEY:

... to share it within an investigative team. It's -- you have to be very careful about how you handle it, for good reason.

So my thinking was, if I write it in such a way that I don't include anything that would trigger a classification, that'll make it easier for us to discuss, within the FBI and the government, and to -- to hold on to it in a way that makes it accessible to us.

WARNER:

Well, again, it's our hope, particularly since you're a pretty knowledgeable guy and you wrote this in a way that was unclassified, that this committee will get access to that unclassified document. I think it'll be very important to our investigation.

Let me just ask this in closing: How many ongoing investigations, at any time, does the FBI have going on?

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

Tens of thousands.

WARNER:

Tens of thousands. Did the president ever ask about any other ongoing investigation?

COMEY:

No.

WARNER:

Did he ever ask about you trying to interfere on any other investigation?

COMEY:

No.

WARNER:

I think, again, this speaks volumes. This doesn't even get to the questions around the -- the phone calls about lifting the cloud. I know other members will get to that, but I really appreciate your testimony and appreciate your service to our nation.

COMEY:

Thank you, Senator Warner.

You know, I just -- I'm sitting here, going through my contacts with him. I had one conversation with the president that was classified, where he asked about our -- an ongoing intelligence investigation. It was brief and entirely professional.

WARNER:

But he didn't ask you to take any specific action on that...

COMEY:

No, no.

WARNER:

... unlike what he had done vis-a-vis Mr. Flynn and the overall Russia investigation?

COMEY:

Correct.

WARNER:

Thank you, sir.

BURR:

Senator Risch?

RISCH:

Thank you very much.

Mr. Comey, thank you for your service. America needs more like you, and we really appreciate it.

RISCH:

Yesterday, I got, and everybody got, the seven pages of your direct testimony that's now a part of the record, here. And the first -- I read it, then I read it again, and all I could think was, number one, how much I hated the class of legal writing when I was in law school.

And you were the guy that probably got the A, after -- after reading this. So I -- I find it clear, I find it concise and, having been a prosecutor for a number of years and handling hundred -- maybe thousands of cases and read police reports, investigative reports, this is as good as it gets.

And -- and I really appreciate that -- not only -- not only the conciseness and the clearness of it, but also the fact that you have things that were written down contemporaneously when they happened, and you actually put them in quotes, so we know exactly what happened and we're -- and we're not getting some rendition of it that -- that's in your mind. So...

COMEY:

Thank you, Senator.

RISCH:

... so you're -- you're to be complimented for that.

COMEY:

I had great parents and great teachers who beat that into me.

(CROSSTALK)

RISCH:

That's obvious, sir.

The -- the chairman walked you through a number of things that -- that the American people need to know and want to know. Number one, obviously we're -- all know about the active measures that the Russians have taken.

I think a lot of people were surprised at this. Those of us that work in the intelligence community didn't - it didn't come as a surprise. But now, the American people know this, and it's good they know this, because this is serious and it's a problem.

I -- I think, secondly, I gather from all this that you're willing to say now that, while you were director, the president of the United States was not under investigation. Is that a fair statement?

COMEY:

That's correct.

RISCH:

All right. So that's a fact that we can rely at this...

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

RISCH:

... OK.

On -- I remember, you -- you talked with us shortly after February 14th, when the New York Times wrote an article that suggested that the Trump campaign was colluding with the Russians. You remember reading that article when it first came out?

COMEY:

I do. It was about allegedly extensive electronic surveillance...

RISCH:

Correct.

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

... communications. Yes, sir.

RISCH:

And -- and that upset you to the point where you actually went out and surveyed the intelligence community to see whether -- whether you were missing something in that. Is that correct?

COMEY:

That's correct. I want to be careful in open setting. But...

RISCH:

I -- I'm -- I'm not going to any further than that with it.

COMEY:

OK.

RISCH:

So thank you.

In addition to that, after that, you sought out both Republican and Democrat senators to tell them that, hey, I don't know where this is coming from, but this is not the -- this is not factual. Do you recall that?

COMEY:

Yes.

RISCH:

OK. So -- so, again, so the American people can understand this, that report by the New York Times was not true. Is that a fair statement?

COMEY:

In -- in the main, it was not true. And, again, all of you know this, maybe the American people don't. The challenge -- and I'm not picking on reporters about writing stories about classified information, is that people talking about it often don't really know what's going on.

And those of us who actually know what's going on are not talking about it. And we don't call the press to say, hey, you got that thing wrong about this sensitive topic. We just have to leave it there.

I mentioned to the chairman the nonsense around what influenced me to make the July 5th statement. Nonsense, but I can't go explaining how it's nonsense.

RISCH:

Thank you.

All right. So -- so those three things, we now know, regarding the active measures, whether (ph) the president's under investigation and the collusion between the -- the Russian -- the Trump campaign and the Russians.

I -- I want to drill right down, as my time is limited, to the most recent dust-up regarding allegations that the president of the United States obstructed justice. And, boy, you nailed this down on page 5, paragraph 3. You put this in quotes -- words matter.

You wrote down the words so we can all have the words in front of us now. There's 28 words there that are in quotes, and it says, quote, "I hope" -- this is the president speaking -- "I hope you can see your way clear to letting this go, to letting Flynn go. He is a good guy. I hope you can let this go."

Now those are his exact words, is that correct?

COMEY:

Correct.

RISCH:

And you wrote them here, and you put them in quotes?

COMEY:

Correct.

RISCH:

Thank you for that. He did not direct you to let it go.

COMEY:

Not in his words, no.

RISCH:

He did not order you to let it go.

COMEY:

Again, those words are not an order.

RISCH:

He said, "I hope." Now, like me, you probably did hundreds of cases, maybe thousands of cases charging people with criminal offenses. And, of course, you have knowledge of the thousands of cases out there that -- where people have been charged.

Do you know of any case where a person has been charged for obstruction of justice or, for that matter, any other criminal offense, where this -- they said, or thought, they hoped for an outcome?

COMEY:

I don't know well enough to answer. And the reason I keep saying his words is I took it as a direction.

RISCH:

Right.

COMEY:

I mean, this is the president of the United States, with me alone, saying, "I hope" this. I took it as, this is what he wants me to do.

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

Now I -- I didn't obey that, but that's the way I took it.

RISCH:

You -- you may have taken it as a direction, but that's not what he said.

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

Correct. I -- that's why...

RISCH:

He said -- he said, "I hope."

COMEY:

Those are exact words, correct.

RISCH:

OK, do you (ph) -- you don't know of anyone that's ever been charged for hoping something. Is that a fair statement?

COMEY:

I don't, as I sit here.

RISCH:

Yeah. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Senator Feinstein?

FEINSTEIN:

Thanks very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Comey, I just want you to know that I have great respect for you. Senator Cornyn and I sit on the Judiciary Committee, so we have occasion to have you before us. And I know that you're a man of strength and integrity, and I really regret the situation that we all find ourselves in. I just want to say that.

Let me begin with one overarching question. Why do you believe you were fired?

COMEY:

Guess I don't know for sure. I believe the -- I take the president at his word, that I was fired because of the Russia investigation. Something about the way I was conducting it, the president felt, created pressure on him that he wanted to relieve.

Again, I didn't know that at the time, but I watched his interview, I've read the press accounts of his conversations. So I take him at his word there.

Now, look, I -- I could be wrong. Maybe he's saying something that's not true. But I take him at his word, at least based on what I know now.

FEINSTEIN:

Talk for a moment about his request that you pledge loyalty, and your response to that and what impact you believe that had.

COMEY:

I -- I don't know for sure, because I don't know the president well enough to read him well. I think it was -- because our relationship didn't get off to a great start, given the conversation I had to have on January 6th, this was not -- this didn't improve the relationship, because it was very, very awkward.

He was asking for something, and I was refusing to give it. But again, I don't know him well enough to know how he reacted to that, exactly.

FEINSTEIN:

Do you believe the Russia investigation played a role?

COMEY:

In why I was fired?

FEINSTEIN:

Yes.

COMEY:

Yes, because I've seen the president say so.

FEINSTEIN:

OK. Let's -- let's go to the Flynn issue.

Senator Risch outlined a -- "I hope you could see your way (sic) to letting Flynn go. He's a good guy. I hope you can let this go."

But you also said, in your written remarks, and I quote, that you had "understood the president to be requesting that we drop any investigation of Flynn in connection with false statements about his conversations with the Russian ambassador in December," end quote.

FEINSTEIN:

Please go into that with more detail.

COMEY:

Well, the -- the context and the president's words are what led me to that conclusion.

As I said in my statement, I could be wrong, but Flynn had been forced to resign the day before, and -- and the controversy around General Flynn at that point in time was centered on whether he had lied to the vice president about the nature of his conversations with the Russians, whether he had been candid with others in the course of that.

And so that happens on the day before. On the 14th, the president makes specific reference to that. And so that's why I understood him to be saying that what he wanted me to do was drop any investigation connected to Flynn's account of his conversations with the Russians.

FEINSTEIN:

Now, here's the question: You're big. You're strong. I know the Oval Office, and I know what happens to people when they walk in. There is a certain amount of intimidation. But why didn't you stop and say, "Mr. President, this is wrong. I cannot discuss this with you"?

COMEY:

It's a great question. Maybe if I were stronger, I would have. I was so stunned by the conversation that I just...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

... took it in. And the only thing I could think to say, because I was playing in my mind, because I could (ph) remember every word he said -- I was playing in my mind, what should my response be? And that's why I very carefully chose the words.

And, look, I -- I've seen the tweet about tapes. Lordy, I hope there are tapes. I -- I remember saying, "I agree he's a good guy," as a way of saying, "I'm not agreeing with what you just asked me to do."

Again, maybe other people would be stronger in that circumstance but that -- that was -- that's how I conducted myself. I -- I hope I'll never have another opportunity. Maybe if I did it again, I would do it better.

FEINSTEIN:

You described two phone calls that you received from President Trump, one on March 30 and one on April 11, where he, quote, "described the Russia investigation as a cloud that was impairing his ability," end quote, as president, and asked you, quote, "to lift the cloud," end quote.

What -- how did you interpret that? And what did you believe he wanted you to do?

COMEY:

I interpreted that as he was frustrated that the Russia investigation was taking up so much time and energy, I -- I think he meant, of the executive branch, but in the -- in the public square in general, and it was making it difficult for him to focus on other priorities of his. But what he asked me was actually narrower than that.

COMEY:

So I think what he meant by the cloud, and again, I could be wrong, but what I think he meant by the cloud was the entire investigation is -- is taking up oxygen and making it hard for me to focus on the things I want to focus on.

The ask was to get it out that I, the president, am not personally under investigation.

FEINSTEIN:

After April 11th, did he ask you more, ever, about the Russia investigation? Did he ask you any questions?

COMEY:

We never spoke again after April 11th.

FEINSTEIN:

You told the president, I -- I would see what we could do. What did you mean?

COMEY:

Well, it (ph) was kind of a slightly cowardly way of trying to avoid telling him, we're not going to do that - that I would see what we could do. It was a way of kind of getting off the phone, frankly. And then I turned and handed it to the acting deputy attorney general, Mr. Boente.

FEINSTEIN:

So I wanted to go into that. Who did you talk with about that -- lifting the cloud, stopping the investigation -- back at the FBI, and what was their response?

COMEY:

Well, the FBI, during one of the two conversations -- I'm not remembering exactly. I think the first -- my chief of staff was actually sitting in front of me, and heard my end of the conversation, because the president's call was a surprise.

And I discussed the lifting the cloud and the request with the senior leadership team, who in -- in -- typically, and I think in all these circumstances, was the deputy director, my chief of staff, the general counsel, the deputy director's chief counsel and, I think, in a number of circumstances, the number three in the FBI, and a few of the conversations included the head of the national security branch, so that group of us that lead the FBI when it comes to national security.

FEINSTEIN:

OK. You have the president of the United States asking you to stop an investigation that's an important investigation. What was the response of your colleagues?

COMEY:

I think they were as shocked and troubled by it as I was. Some said things that led me to believe that. I don't remember exactly, but the reaction was similar to mine. They're all experienced people who had never experienced such a thing. So they were very concerned.

And then the conversation turned to about, so what should we do with this information? And that was a struggle for us, because we are the leaders of the FBI. So it's been reported to us, in that I heard it and now I've shared it with the leaders of the FBI -- our -- our conversation was, should we share this with any senior officials at the Justice Department?

Our -- our absolute primary concern was, we can't infect the investigative team. We don't want the agents and analysts working on this to know the president of the United States has -- has asked -- and when it comes from the president, I took it as a direction -- to get rid of this investigation, because we're not going to follow that -- that request.

And so we decided we gotta keep it away from our troops. But is there anybody else we ought to tell at the Justice Department? And, as I laid out in my -- in my statement, we considered whether to tell the attorney general, decided that didn't make sense because we believed, rightly, that he was shortly going to recuse.

There were no other Senate-confirmed leaders in the Justice Department at that point. The deputy attorney general was Mr. Boente, who was acting and going to be shortly in that seat. And we decided the best move would be to hold it, keep it in a box, document it as we'd already done, and then this investigation's going to go on -- figure out what to do with it down the road.

Is there way to corroborate this? Our view, at the time, was, look, it's your word against the president's. There's no way to corroborate this. That -- my view of that changed when the prospect of tapes was raised, but that's how we thought about it then.

FEINSTEIN:

Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Senator Rubio.

RUBIO:

Thank you.

Director Comey, the meeting in the Oval Office where he made the request about Mike Flynn -- was that the only time he asked you to hopefully let it go?

COMEY:

Yes.

RUBIO:

And in that meeting, as you understood it, that was -- he was asking not about the general Russia investigation, he was asking very specifically about the jeopardy that Flynn was in himself?

COMEY:

That's how I understood it, yes, sir.

RUBIO:

And as you perceived it, while it was a request that -- he hoped you did away with it, you perceived it as an order, given his position, the setting and the like, and some of the circumstances?

COMEY:

Yes.

RUBIO:

At the time, did you say anything to the president about -- that is not an appropriate request, or did you tell the White House counsel, that is not an appropriate request, someone needs to go tell the president that he can't do these things?

COMEY:

I didn't, no.

RUBIO:

OK. Why?

COMEY:

I don't know. I think the -- as I said earlier, I think the circumstances were such that it was -- I was a bit stunned, and didn't have the presence of mind.

And I don't know -- you know, I don't want to make you -- sound like I'm Captain Courageous. I don't know whether, even if I had the presence of mind, I would have said to the president, "Sir, that's wrong." I don't know whether I would have.

RUBIO:

OK.

COMEY:

But in the moment, it -- it didn't -- it didn't come to my mind. What came to my mind is, be careful what you say. And so I said, "I agree Flynn is a good guy."

RUBIO:

So, on the cloud -- we keep talking about this cloud -- you perceived the cloud to be the Russian investigation in general, correct?

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

RUBIO:

But the specific ask was that you would tell the American people what you had already told him, what you had already told the leaders of Congress, both Democrats and Republicans: that he was not personally under investigation.

COMEY:

Yes, sir, that's how I...

RUBIO:

In fact (ph), he was asking you to do what you have done here today.

COMEY:

... correct. Yes, sir.

RUBIO:

OK. And again, at that setting, did you say to the president that it would be inappropriate for you to do so, and then talk to the White House counsel or anybody so hopefully they would talk to him and tell him that he couldn't do this?

COMEY:

First time, I said, "I'll see what we can do." Second time, I explained how it should work, that the White House counsel should contact the deputy attorney general.

RUBIO:

You told him that?

COMEY:

The president said, OK, then I think that's what I'll do.

RUBIO:

And just to be clear, for you to make a public statement that he was not under investigation would not have been illegal, but you felt it made no sense because it could potentially create a duty to correct, if circumstances changed?

COMEY:

Yes, sir. We wrestled with it before my testimony where I confirmed that there was an investigation. And there were two primary concerns. One was it creates a duty to correct, which I've lived before, and you want to be very careful about doing that.

And second, it's a slippery slope, because if we say the president and the vice president aren't under investigation, what's the principled basis for -- for stopping?

RUBIO:

OK.

COMEY:

And so the leadership at -- at justice, Acting Attorney General Boente, said, "You're not going to do that."

RUBIO:

Now, on March 30th, during the phone call about General Flynn, you said he abruptly shifted and brought up something that you call, quote, unquote, "the McCabe thing." Specifically, the McCabe thing, as you understood it, was that McCabe's wife had received campaign money from what I assume means Terry McAuliffe...

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

(CROSSTALK)

RUBIO:

... who (ph) was very close to the Clintons. And -- and so why did you -- had the president at any point in time expressed to you concern, opposition, potential opposition to McCabe? "I don't like this guy because he got money from someone this close to Clinton?"

COMEY:

He had asked me, during previous conversations, about Andy McCabe, and said, in essence, "How's he going to be with me as president? I was pretty rough on them (ph) on the campaign trail." And...

RUBIO:

He was rough on McCabe?

COMEY:

... he was -- by his own account, he said he was rough on McCabe and Mrs. McCabe on the campaign trail -- how's he going to be? And I assured the president, Andy is a total pro. No issue at all. You got to know the people of the FBI, they are not...

(CROSSTALK)

RUBIO:

So -- so, when the president turns to you and says, "Remember, I never brought up the McCabe thing because you said he was a good guy," did you perceive that to be a statement that -- I took care of you, I -- I didn't do something because you told me he was a good guy. So now, you know, I'm asking you, potentially, for something in return? Is that how you perceived it?

COMEY:

I wasn't sure what to make of it, honestly. That's possible, but it -- it was so out of context that I didn't have a clear view of what it was.

RUBIO:

Now, on a number of occasions here, you bring up -- let's talk (ph) now about the general Russia investigation, OK? In page 6 of your testimony, you say -- the first thing you say is, he asked what we could do to, quote/unquote, "lift the cloud," the general Russia investigation.

And you responded that we were investigating the matter as quickly as we could and that there would be great benefit, if we didn't find anything, to having done the work well. And he agreed. He reemphasized the problems it was causing him, but he agreed.

So, in essence, the president agreed with your statement that it would be great if we could have an investigation, all the facts came out and we found nothing. So he agreed that that would be ideal, but this cloud is still messing up my ability to do the rest of my agenda. Is that an accurate assessment of...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

Yes, sir. He actually went farther than that. He -- he said, "And if some of my satellites did something wrong, it'd be good to find that out."

RUBIO:

Well, that's the second part, and that is the satellites. He said, "If (ph) one of my satellites" -- I imagine, by that, he meant some of the other people surrounding his campaign -- "did something wrong, it would be great to know that, as well"?

COMEY:

Yes, sir. That's what he said.

RUBIO:

So are those the other -- are those the only two instances in which that sort of back-and-forth happened, where the president was basically saying, and I'm paraphrasing here, it's OK, do the Russia investigation. I hope it all comes out. I have nothing to do with anything Russia. It'd be great if it all came out, if people around me were doing things that were wrong.

COMEY:

Yes. As I -- I recorded it accurately there. That was the sentiment he was expressing. Yes, sir.

RUBIO:

So what it basically (ph) comes down to is the president has asked three things of you. He asked for your loyalty, and you said you would be loyally honest.

COMEY:

Honestly loyal.

RUBIO:

Honestly loyal. The -- the -- he asked you, on one occasion, to let the Mike Flynn thing go because he was a good guy -- but (ph) you're aware that he said the exact same thing in the press the next day. "He's a good guy," "He's been treated unfairly," et cetera, et cetera. So I imagine your FBI agents read that.

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

I'm sure they did.

RUBIO:

Your -- the president's wishes were known to them, certainly, by the next day, when he had a press conference with the prime minister.

RUBIO:

But going back, the three requests were; number one, be loyal; number two, let the Mike Flynn thing go, he's a good guy, he's been treated unfairly; and, number three, can you please tell the American people

what these leaders in Congress already know, what you already know, what you've told me three times -
- that I'm not under -- personally under investigation?

COMEY:

Those are the three things he asked. Yes, sir.

RUBIO:

You know, this investigation is full of leaks, left and right. I mean, we've learned more from the newspapers sometimes than we do from our open hearings, for sure.

You ever wonder why, of all the things in this investigation, the only thing that's never been leaked is the fact that the president was not personally under investigation, despite the fact that both Democrats and Republicans in (ph) the leadership of Congress knew that, and have known that for weeks?

COMEY:

I don't know. I find matters that are briefed to the Gang of Eight are pretty tightly held, in my experience.

RUBIO:

Finally, who are those senior leaders at the FBI that you shared these conversations with?

COMEY:

As I said in response to Senator Feinstein's question, deputy director, my chief of staff, general counsel, the deputy director's chief counsel, and then, more often than not, the number three person at the FBI, who is the associate deputy director, and then, quite often, the head of the national security branch.

BURR:

Senator Wyden.

WYDEN:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Comey, welcome. You and I have had significant policy differences over the years, particularly protecting Americans' access to secure encryption. But I believe the timing of your firing stinks.

And yesterday, you put on the record testimony that demonstrates why the odor of presidential abuse of power is so strong.

Now, to my questions. In talking to Senator Warner about this dinner that you had with president, I believe, January 27th, all in one dinner, the president raised your job prospects, he asked for your loyalty and denied allegations against him -- all took place over one supper.

WYDEN:

Now, you told Senator Warner that the president was looking to, quote, "get something." Looking back, did that dinner suggest that your job might be contingent on how you handled the investigation?

COMEY:

I don't know that I'd go that far. I -- I got the sense my job would be contingent upon how he felt I -- excuse me -- how he felt I conducted myself and whether I demonstrated loyalty. But I don't know whether I'd go so far as to connect it to the investigation (ph).

(CROSSTALK)

WYDEN:

You said the president was trying to create some sort of patronage relationship. In a patronage relationship isn't the underling expected to behave in a manner consistent with the wishes of the boss?

COMEY:

Yes.

WYDEN:

OK.

COMEY:

Or at least consider how what you're doing will affect the boss as a significant consideration.

WYDEN:

Let me turn to the Attorney General. In your statement, you said that you and the FBI leadership team decided not to discuss the president's actions with Attorney General Sessions, even though he had not recused himself.

What was it about the Attorney General's own interactions with the Russians, or his behavior with regard to the investigation, that would have led the entire leadership of the FBI to make this decision?

COMEY:

Our judgment, as I recall, was that he was very close to and inevitably going to recuse himself for a variety of reasons. We also were aware of facts that I can't discuss in an open setting that would make his continued engagement in a Russia-related investigation problematic.

And so we were -- we were convinced -- and, in fact, I think we had already heard that the career people were recommending that he recuse himself -- that he was not going to be in contact with Russia-related matters much longer, and that turned out to be the case.

WYDEN:

How would you characterize Attorney General Sessions's adherence to his recusal, in particular with regard to his involvement in your firing, which the president has acknowledged was because of the Russian investigation?

COMEY:

That's a question I can't answer. I think it's a reasonable question. If -- if, as the president said, I was fired because of the Russia investigation, why was the attorney general involved in that chain? I don't know, and so I don't have an answer for the question.

WYDEN:

Your testimony was that the president's request about Flynn could infect the investigation. Had the president got what he wanted and what he asked of you, what would have been the effect on the investigation?

COMEY:

Well we would have closed any investigation of General Flynn in connection with his statements and encounter -- statements about and encounters (ph) with Russians in the late part of December.

WYDEN:

Well...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

So we -- we would have dropped an open criminal investigation.

WYDEN:

So, in effect, when you talk about infecting the enterprise, you would have dropped something major that would have spoken to the overall ability of the American people to get the facts?

COMEY:

Correct. And -- and, as good as our people are, our judgment was we don't want them hearing that the president of the United States wants this to go away, because it might have an effect of their ability to be fair and impartial and aggressive.

WYDEN:

Now, the -- Acting Attorney General Yates found out that Michael Flynn could be blackmailed by the Russians, and she went immediately to warn the White House.

Flynn is gone, but other individuals with contacts with the Russians are still in extremely important positions of power. Should the American people have the same sense of urgency now, with respect to them?

COMEY:

I think all I can say, Senator, is it's a -- the special counsel's investigation is very important. Understanding what efforts there were or are by the Russian government to influence our government is a critical part of the FBI's mission, so -- and you've got the right person in Bob Mueller to lead it.

So it's a very important piece of work.

WYDEN:

Vice President Pence was the head of the transition. To your knowledge, was he aware of the concerns about Michael Flynn prior to or during General Flynn's tenure as national security adviser?

COMEY:

I don't -- you're asking -- including up to the time when Flynn was...

WYDEN:

Right (ph).

COMEY:

... forced to resign? My understanding is that he was, and I'm trying to remember where I get that understanding from -- I think from Acting Attorney General Yates.

WYDEN:

So former Acting Attorney General Yates testified that concerns about General Flynn were discussed with the intelligence community. Would that have included anyone at the CIA or Dan Coats's office at the DNI?

COMEY:

I would assume yes.

WYDEN:

Michael Flynn resigned four days after Attorney General Sessions was sworn in. Do you know if the attorney general was aware of the concerns about Michael Flynn during that period?

COMEY:

I don't, as I sit here -- I don't -- I don't recall that he was. I could be wrong, but I don't remember that he was.

WYDEN:

And, finally, let's see if you can give us some sense of who recommended your firing. Besides the letters from the attorney general, the deputy attorney general, do you have any information on who may have recommended or have been involved in your firing?

COMEY:

I don't. I don't.

WYDEN:

OK (ph).

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Senator Collins.

COLLINS:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Comey, let me begin by thanking you for your voluntary compliance with our request to appear before this committee, and it's discussing (ph) this very important investigation.

I want, first, to ask you about your conversations with the president, the three conversations in which you told him that he was not under investigation.

The first was during your January 6th meeting, according to your testimony, in which it appears that you actually volunteered that assurance. Is that correct?

COMEY:

That's correct.

COLLINS:

Did you limit that statement to counterintelligence investigations, or were you talking about any kind of FBI investigation?

COMEY:

I didn't -- I didn't use the term "counterintelligence." I was speaking to him, and briefing him about some salacious and unverified material. It was in the context of that that he had a strong and defensive reaction about that not being true.

And my reading of it was it was important for me to assure him we were not personally investigating him. And so the context then was actually narrower, focused on what I had just talked to him about.

It was very important because it was, first, true. And second, I was worried very much about being in kind of a -- kind of a J. Edgar Hoover-type situation. I didn't want him thinking that I was briefing him on this to sort of hang it over him in some way. I was briefing him on it because we were (ph) -- had been told by the media it was about to launch. We didn't want to be keeping that from him.

COMEY:

And if there was some -- he needed to know this was being said. But I was very keen not to leave him with an impression that the bureau was trying to do something to him. And so that's the context in which I said, "Sir, we're not personally investigating you."

COLLINS:

And then, on -- and that's why you volunteered the information...

COMEY:

Yes, ma'am.

COLLINS:

... correct?

Then, on the January 27th dinner, you show -- you told the president that he should be careful about asking you to investigate, because, quote, "You might create a narrative that we are investigating him personally," which we weren't.

Again, were you limiting that statement to counterintelligence investigations, or more broadly, such as a criminal investigation?

COMEY:

The context was very similar. I didn't -- I didn't modify the word "investigation." It was -- again, he was reacting strongly again to that unverified material, saying, "I'm tempted to order you to investigate it." And that -- in the context of that, I said "Sir, you want to be careful about that, because it might create a narrative we're investigating you personally."

COLLINS:

And then there was the March 30th phone call in -- with the president, in which you reminded him that congressional leaders have been briefed that we were not personally -- the FBI was not personally investigating President Trump.

And again, was that statement to congressional leaders and to the president limited to counterintelligence investigations? Or was it a broader statement?

(CROSSTALK)

COLLINS:

I'm trying to understand whether there was any kind of investigation of the president under way.

COMEY:

No. I'm sorry, and -- and if I misunderstood, I apologize. We briefed the congressional leadership about what Americans we had opened counterintelligence investigation cases on, and we specifically said the president is not one of those Americans, but -- that there was no other investigation of the president that we were not mentioning at that time.

What (ph) -- the context was counterintelligence, but I wasn't trying to hide some criminal investigation of the president.

COLLINS:

And was the president under investigation at the time of your dismissal on May 9th?

COMEY:

No.

COLLINS:

I'd like to now turn to the conversations with the president about Michael Flynn, which have been discussed at great length. And, first, let me make very clear that the president never should have cleared the room, and he never should have asked you, as you reported, to let it go -- to let the investigation go.

But I remain puzzled by your response. Your response was, "I agree that Michael Flynn is a good guy." You could have said, "Mr. President, this meeting is inappropriate. This response could compromise the investigation. You should not be making such a request."

It's fundamental to the operation of our government that the FBI be insulated from this kind of political pressure. And you've talked a bit today about that you were stunned by the president making the request.

But my question to you is, later on, upon reflection, did you go to anyone at the Department of Justice and ask them to call the White House counsel's office and explain that the president had to have a far better understanding and appreciation of his role vis-a-vis the FBI?

COMEY:

In general, I did. I spoke to the attorney general, and I spoke to the new deputy attorney general, Mr. Rosenstein, when he took office, and explained my serious concern about the way in which the president is interacting, especially with the FBI.

And I specifically, as I said my testimony, asked the -- told the attorney general, it can't happen that you get kicked out of the room and the president talks to me.

Look, in the room -- and -- and -- but why didn't we raise the specific (ph)? It was of investigative interest us to try and figure out, so -- what just happened with the president's request. So I would not have wanted to alert the White House that it had happened until we figured out, what are we going to do with this investigatively?

COLLINS:

Your testimony was that you went to Attorney General Sessions and said, "Don't ever leave me alone with him again." Are you saying that you also told him that he had made a request that you let it go, with regard to part of the investigation of Michael Flynn?

COMEY:

No, I specifically did not. I did not.

COLLINS:

OK, you mentioned that, from your very first meeting with the president, you decided to write a memo memorializing the conversation. What was it about that very first meeting that made you write a memo, when you had not done that with two previous presidents?

COMEY:

As I said, a combination of things. A gut feeling is an important overlay on it (ph). But the circumstances -- that I was alone, the subject matter, and the nature of the person that I was interacting with and my read of that person.

(UNKNOWN)

The nature of that person (ph)?

COMEY:

Yeah, and -- and -- and, really, just a gut feel, laying on top of all of that, that this -- it's going to be important, to protect this organization, that I make records of this.

COLLINS:

And finally, did you show copies of your memos to anyone outside of the Department of Justice?

COMEY:

Yes.

COLLINS:

And to whom did you show copies?

COMEY:

I asked -- the president tweeted on Friday, after I got fired, that I better hope there's not tapes. I woke up in the middle of the night on Monday night, because it didn't dawn on me originally that there might be corroboration for our conversation. There might be a tape.

And my judgment was, I needed to get that out into the public square. And so I asked a friend of mine to share the content of the memo with a reporter. Didn't do it myself, for a variety of reasons. But I asked him to, because I thought that might prompt the appointment of a special counsel. And so I asked a close friend of mine to do it.

COLLINS:

And was that Mr. Wittes?

COMEY:

No, no.

COLLINS:

Who was that?

COMEY:

A good friend of mine who's a professor at Columbia Law School.

COLLINS:

Thank you.

BURR:

Senator Heinrich?

HEINRICH:

Mr. Comey, prior to January 27th of this year, have you ever had a one-on-one meeting or -- or a private dinner with a president of the United States?

COMEY:

No, I met -- dinner, no. I had two one-on-ones with President Obama that I laid out in my testimony: once, to talk about law enforcement issues -- law enforcement and race, which was an important topic throughout for me and for the president; and then once, very briefly, for him to say goodbye.

HEINRICH:

Were those brief interactions?

COMEY:

No. The one about law enforcement and race in policing, we spoke for probably over an hour, just the two of us.

HEINRICH:

How unusual is it to have a -- a one-on-one dinner with the president? Did that strike you as odd?

COMEY:

Yeah, so much so that I assumed there would be others -- that he couldn't possibly be having dinner with me alone.

HEINRICH:

If -- do you have an impression that, if you had found -- if you had behaved differently in that dinner -- and I am quite pleased that you did not -- but if you had found a way to express some sort of expression of loyalty, or given some suggestion that the Flynn criminal investigation might be pursued less vigorously, do you think you would've still been fired?

COMEY:

I don't know. I -- it's impossible to say, looking back. I don't know.

HEINRICH:

But you felt like those two things were -- were directly relevant to your -- the kind of relationship that the president was seeking to establish with you?

COMEY:

Sure, yes.

HEINRICH:

The -- the president has repeatedly talked about the Russian investigation into the U.S. -- or the Russian -- Russia's involvement in the U.S. election cycle as a hoax and as fake news.

Can you talk a little bit about what you saw as FBI director -- and, obviously, only the parts that you can share in this setting -- that -- that demonstrate how serious this action actually was, and why there was an investigation in the first place?

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

The -- there should be no fuzz on this whatsoever. The Russians interfered in our election during the 2016 cycle. They did it with purpose. They did it with sophistication. They did it with overwhelming technical efforts. And it was an active-measures campaign driven from the top of that government. There is no fuzz on that.

It is a high-confidence judgment of the entire intelligence community, and -- and the members of this committee have -- have seen the intelligence. It's not a close call. That happened. That's about as unfake as you can possibly get, and is very, very serious, which is why it's so refreshing to see a bipartisan focus on that, because this is about America, not about any particular party.

HEINRICH:

So that was a hostile act by the Russian government against this country?

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

HEINRICH:

Did the president, in any of those interactions that you've shared with us today, ask you what you should be doing, or what our government should be doing, or the intelligence community, to protect America against Russian interference in our election system?

COMEY:

I don't recall a conversation like that.

HEINRICH:

Never?

COMEY:

No.

HEINRICH:

Do you -- do you find it odd...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

Not with -- not with -- not with President Trump.

HEINRICH:

Right.

COMEY:

I attended a fair number of meetings on that with President Obama.

HEINRICH:

Do you find it odd that the president seemed unconcerned by Russia's actions in our election?

COMEY:

I -- I can't answer that, because I don't know what other conversations he had with other advisers or other intelligence community leaders. So I -- I -- I just don't know, sitting here.

HEINRICH:

Did you have any interactions with the president that suggested he was taking that hostile action seriously?

COMEY:

I don't remember any interactions with the president, other than the initial briefing on January the 6th. I don't remember -- could be wrong, but I don't remember any conversations with him at all about that.

HEINRICH:

As you're very aware, it was only the two of you in the room for that dinner. You've told us the president asked you to back off the Flynn investigation. The president told a reporter...

COMEY:

Not in that dinner.

HEINRICH:

Fair enough -- told the (ph) reporter he did -- never did that. You've testified that the president asked for your loyalty in that dinner. The White House denies that. A lot of this comes down to, who should we believe? Do you want to say anything as to why we should believe you?

COMEY:

Probably (ph) -- my mother raised me not to say things like this about myself, so not I'm going to. I think people should look at the whole body of my testimony, because, as I used to say to juries, and when I talked about a witness, you can't cherry-pick it. You can't say, "I like these things he said, but on this, he's a -- he's a dirty, rotten liar."

HEINRICH:

Right.

COMEY:

You got to take it all together. And I've tried to be open and fair and transparent and accurate. A really significant fact to me is, so why did he kick everybody out of the Oval Office?

Why would you kick the attorney general, the president (ph), the chief of staff out, to talk to me, if it was about something else? And so that -- that, to me, is -- as an investigator, is a very significant fact.

HEINRICH:

And as we look at -- at testimony, or as -- communication from both of you, we should probably be looking for consistency.

COMEY:

Well, in looking at any witness, you look at consistency, track record, demeanor, record over time, that sort of thing.

HEINRICH:

Thank you.

So there are reports that the incoming Trump administration, either during the transition and/or after the inauguration, attempted to set up a sort of back-door communication channel with the Russian government using their infrastructure, their devices or facilities.

What would be the risks particularly for a transition, someone not actually in the office of the president yet, to setting up unauthorized channels with a hostile foreign government, especially if they were to evade our own American intelligence services?

COMEY:

I'm not going to comment on whether that happened in an open setting. But the risk is -- primary risk is obvious: you spare the Russians the cost and effort of having to break into our communications channels by using theirs.

And so you make it a whole lot easier for them to capture all of your conversations, and then to use those to the benefit of Russia against the United States.

HEINRICH:

The memos that you wrote -- you wrote, did you write all nine of them in a way that was designed to prevent them from needing classification?

COMEY:

No. And -- and, on a few of the occasions, I wrote -- I sent e-mails to my chief of staff or others on some of the brief phone conversations that I recall. The first one was a classified briefing.

Although it wasn't in a SCIF, it was in a conference room at Trump Tower. It was a classified briefing and so I wrote that on a classified device. The one I started typing...

HEINRICH:

Got you.

COMEY:

... in the car -- that was a classified laptop that I started working on.

HEINRICH:

Any reason, in a classified environment, in a SCIF, that this committee would -- it would not be appropriate to see those communications, from -- at least from your perspective as the author?

COMEY:

No.

HEINRICH:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Senator Blunt.

BLUNT:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Comey, when you were terminated at the FBI, I said, and still continue to feel, that you have provided years of great service to the country.

I also said that I'd had significant questions, over the last year, about some of the decision you made. If - if the president hadn't terminated your service, would you still be, in your opinion, the director of the FBI today?

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

BLUNT:

So you took as a direction from the president something that you thought was serious and troublesome, but continued to show up for work the next day?

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

BLUNT:

And, six weeks later we're still telling the -- we're telling the president, on March the 30th, that he was not personally the target of any investigation?

COMEY:

Correct. On March the 30th, and I think again on -- I think on April 11th as well, I told him we're not investigating him personally. That was true.

BLUNT:

Well, the point to me -- the concern to me there is that all these things are going on. You, now, in retrospect -- or at you, now, to this committee -- that these were -- you had serious concerns about what the president had, you believed, directed you to do, and had taken no action -- hadn't even reported up the chain of command, assuming you believe there is an "up the chain of command," that these things had happened.

Do you have a sense of that, looking back, that that was a mistake?

COMEY:

No. In fact, I think no action was the most important thing I could do to make sure there was no interference with the investigation.

BLUNT:

And on the -- on the Flynn issue specifically, I believe you said earlier that you believed the president was suggesting you drop any investigation of Flynn's account of his conversation with the Russian ambassador, which was essentially misleading the vice president and others?

COMEY:

Correct, and -- and I'm not going to go into the details, but whether there were false statements made to government investigators, as well.

BLUNT:

The -- any suggestion that the -- that General Flynn had violated the Logan Act, I always find pretty incredible. The Logan Act's been on the books for over 200 years. Nobody's ever been prosecuted for violating the Logan Act.

My sense would be that the discussion -- not the problem -- misleading investigators or the vice president might have been.

COMEY:

That's fair. Yes, sir.

BLUNT:

And -- and you're -- had you previously, on February the 14th, discussed with the president, in the previous meeting, anything your investigators had learned, or their impressions from talking to Flynn?

COMEY:

No, sir.

BLUNT:

So he said, "He's a good guy." You said, "He's a good guy." And that was -- no further action taken on that?

COMEY:

Well, he said more than that. But there was no -- the action was I wrote it up, briefed our senior team, tried to figure out what to do with it and just (ph) made a decision, we're going to hold this and then see what we make of it down the road.

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

BLUNT:

Was it your view that not briefing up (ph) meant you really had no responsibility to report that to the Justice Department in some way?

COMEY:

I think, at some point -- and -- and I don't know what Director Mueller is going to do with it, but at some point I was sure we were going to brief it to the team in charge of the case.

But our judgment was, in the short term, doesn't make sense to -- no fuzz on the fact that I reported it to the attorney general. That's why I stressed he shouldn't be kicked out of the room. But -- didn't make sense to report to him now.

BLUNT:

You know, you said the attorney general said (ph), "I don't want to be in the room with him alone again," but you continued to talk to him on the phone. What is the difference in being in the room alone with him and talking to him on the phone alone?

COMEY:

Yeah, I think that what I stressed (ph) to the attorney general was a little broader than just the room. I said "You -- I report to you. It's very important you be between me and the White House, between..."

(CROSSTALK)

BLUNT:

After that discussion with the attorney general, did you take phone calls from the president?

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

BLUNT:

So why did you just say you need to talk to -- why didn't you say, "I'm not taking that call. You need to talk to the attorney general"?

COMEY:

Well, I -- I did, on the April 11th call, and I reported the calls -- the March 30th call and the April 11th call -- to my superior, who was the acting deputy attorney general.

BLUNT:

I -- I don't want to run out of time here. Let me make one other point.

In reading your testimony, January the 3rd, January the 27th and March the 30th -- it appears to me that, on all three of those occasions, you, unsolicited by the president, made the point to him that he was not a target of the -- of an investigation.

COMEY:

Correct. Yes, sir.

BLUNT:

One, I thought the March 30th very interesting. You said, well, even though you don't want -- you may not want us -- that was the 27th, where he said, "Why don't you look into that dossier thing more?" You said, "Well, you may not want that, because then we couldn't tell you -- couldn't say with -- we couldn't answer the question about you being a target of the investigation."

But you didn't seem to be answering that question anyhow. As Senator Rubio pointed out, the one unanswered, leaked question seems to have been that, in this whole period of time.

But you said something earlier I don't want to fail to follow up on. You said, after you were dismissed, you gave information to a friend so that friend could get that information into the public media.

COMEY:

Correct.

BLUNT:

What kind of information was that? Wasn't that (ph) -- what kind of information did you give to a friend?

COMEY:

That the -- the -- the Flynn conversation, that the president asked me to let the -- the Flynn -- I'm forgetting my exact own words, but the -- the conversation in the Oval Office.

BLUNT:

So you didn't consider your memo or your sense of that conversation to be a government document? You consider it to be somehow your own personal document that you could share with the media as you wanted to?

COMEY:

Correct. I...

BLUNT:

Through a friend?

COMEY:

... I understood this to be my recollection, recorded, of my conversation with the president. As a private citizen, I felt free to share that. I thought it very important to get it out.

BLUNT:

So were all of your memos that you've recorded on classified or other documents memos that might be yours as a private citizen?

COMEY:

I'm sorry, I'm not following the question.

BLUNT:

Well, I think you said you'd used classified -- a classified...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

Not the classified documents. Unclassified -- I don't have any of them anymore. I gave them to the special counsel. But, yeah, my view was that the content of those unclassified -- the memorialization of those conversations was my recollection recorded.

BLUNT:

So why didn't you give those to somebody yourself, rather than give them through a third party?

COMEY:

Because I was worried the media was camping at the end of my driveway at that point, and I was actually going out of town with my wife to hide, and I worried it would be like feeding seagulls at the beach...

(LAUGHTER)

...if -- if it was -- if it was I who gave it to the media. So I asked my friend, "Make sure this gets out."

BLUNT:

It does seem to me that what you do there is create a source close to the former director of the FBI, as opposed to just taking responsibility yourself for saying, "Here are these records."

And, like everybody else, I have other things I'd like to get into, but I'm out of time.

COMEY:

OK.

BURR:

Senator King.

KING:

Thank you.

First I'd like to acknowledge Senator Blumenthal and, earlier, Senator Nelson. I think the one principal thing you'll learn today, Senator, is that the chairs there are less comfortable than the chairs here. But I welcome you to the hearing.

Mr. Comey, a broad question. Was the Russian activity in the 2016 election a one-off proposition? Or is this part of a long-term strategy? Will they be back?

COMEY:

Oh, it's a long-term practice of theirs. It -- it stepped up a notch in a significant way in '16. They'll be back.

KING:

I think that's very important for the American people to understand, that this is -- this is very much a forward-looking investigation in terms of how do we understand what they did and how do we prevent it. Would you agree that that's a big part of our role here?

COMEY:

Yes, sir, and it's not a Republican thing or Democratic thing. It really is an American thing. They're going to come for whatever party they choose to try and work on behalf of. And they're -- they're not devoted to either, in my experience. They're just about their own advantage. And they will be back.

KING:

That's my observation. I don't think Putin is a Republican or a Democrat. He's an opportunist.

COMEY:

I think that's a fair statement.

KING:

With regard to the -- several of these conversations, in his interview with Lester Holt on NBC, the president said, "I had dinner with him. He wanted to have dinner because he wanted to stay on." Is this an accurate statement?

COMEY:

No, sir.

KING:

Did you, in any way, initiate that dinner?

COMEY:

No, he -- he called me at my desk at lunchtime, and asked me was I free for dinner that night. I called himself (ph) and said, "Can you come over for dinner tonight?"

And I said, "Yes, sir."

He said, "Will 6 work?" I think he said 6 first. And then he said, "I was going to invite your whole family, but we'll do that next time. I wanted (ph) you to come over. And is -- is that a good time?"

I said, "Sir, whatever works for you."

And he then said, "How about 6:30?"

And I -- I said, "Whatever works for you, sir." And then I hung up and had to call my wife and break a date with her. I was supposed to take her out to dinner that night, and (OFF-MIKE).

KING:

That's one of the all-time great excuses for breaking a date.

(LAUGHTER)

COMEY:

In retrospect, I would have -- I love spending time my wife. I wish I'd been there that night.

(LAUGHTER)

KING:

That's one question I'm not going follow up, Mr. Comey.

But, in that same interview, the president said, "In one case, I called him, and in one case, he called me." Is that an accurate statement?

COMEY:

No.

KING:

Did you ever call the president?

COMEY:

No. I -- I might -- the only reason I'm hesitating is I think there was a least one conversation where I was asked to call the White House switchboard to be connected to him, but I -- I never initiated a communication with the president.

KING:

And, in his press conference on May 18th, the president was asked whether he had urged you to shut down the investigation into Michael Flynn. The president responded, quote, "No, no. Next question." Is that an accurate statement?

COMEY:

I don't believe it is.

KING:

Thank you.

With regard to the question of him being under personal -- personally under investigation, does that mean that the dossier is not being reviewed or investigated or followed up on in any way?

COMEY:

I obviously can't -- I can't comment either way. I can't talk in an open setting about the investigation as it was when I was the head of the FBI. And obviously it's -- it's Director Mueller's -- Bob Mueller's responsibility now, so I just -- I don't know.

KING:

So clearly your statements to the president back in those -- these various times when you assured him he wasn't under investigation were as of that moment. That -- that correct, is it not?

COMEY:

Correct -- correct.

KING:

Now, on the Flynn investigation, is it not true that Mr. Flynn was and is a central figure in this entire investigation of the relationship between the Trump campaign and the Russians?

COMEY:

I can't answer that in an open setting, sir.

KING:

And certainly Mr. Flynn was part of the so-called Russian investigation. Can you answer that question?

COMEY:

I have to give you the same answer.

KING:

All right. We'll be having a closed session shortly, so we will follow up on that.

In terms of his comments to you about -- I think in response to Mr. Risch -- to Senator Risch, you said he said, "I hope you will hold back on that." But when you get a -- when a president of the United States in the Oval Office says something like "I hope" or "I suggest" or -- or "would you," do you take that as a -- as a -- as a directive?

COMEY:

Yes. Yes, it rings in my ear as kind of, "Will no one rid me of this meddlesome priest?"

KING:

I was just going to quote that. In 1170, December 29, Henry II said, "Who will rid me of this meddlesome priest?" and then, the next day, he was killed -- Thomas Becket. That's exactly the same situation. You're -- we're thinking along the same lines.

Several other questions, and these are a little bit more detailed. What do you know about the Russian bank, VEB?

COMEY:

Nothing that I can talk about in an open setting. I mean, I know it...

(CROSSTALK)

KING:

Well, that takes care of my next three questions.

COMEY:

I know it exists. Yes, sir.

KING:

You know it exists. What is the relationship of Ambassador -- the ambassador from Russia to the United States, to the Russian intelligence infrastructure?

COMEY:

Well, he's a diplomat who is the chief of mission at the Russian embassy, which employs a robust cohort of intelligence officers. And so, surely, he's witting of their very, very aggressive intelligence operations, at least some of it in the United States. I don't -- I don't consider him to be an intelligence officer himself. He's a diplomat.

KING:

Did you ever -- did the FBI ever brief the Trump administration about the -- the advisability of interacting directly with Ambassador Kislyak?

COMEY:

Look (ph), all I can say sitting here is there were a variety of defensive briefings given to the incoming administration about the counterintelligence risk.

KING:

Back to Mr. Flynn, would the -- would closing out the Flynn investigation have impeded the overall Russian investigation?

COMEY:

No. Well, unlikely, except to the extent -- there's always a possibility, if you have a criminal case against someone and you bring in and squeeze them, you flip them, and they give you information about something else. But I saw the two as touching each other, but separate.

KING:

With regard to your memos, isn't it true that in a -- in a court case, when you're weighing evidence, contemporaneous memos and contemporaneous statements to third parties are considered probative in terms of the -- the -- the validity of -- of testimony?

COMEY:

Yes.

KING:

Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Senator Cotton?

Or -- excuse me, Senator Lankford?

LANKFORD:

Well, Director Comey, good to see you again.

COMEY:

You, too.

LANKFORD:

We've had multiple opportunities to be able to visit, as everyone on this dais has. And I appreciate you and your service and what you have done for the nation for a long time, which you continue to do.

I've told you before in the heat (ph) of last year, when we had an opportunity to visit personally, that I pray for you and for your family, because you do carry a tremendous amount of stress. And that is still true today.

COMEY:

Thank you.

LANKFORD:

Let me -- let me walk through a couple things with you. Your notes were obviously exceptionally important, because they give a very rapid account of what you -- what you wrote down and what you perceived to happen in those different meetings.

Have you had the opportunity to be able to reference those notes when you were preparing the written statement that you put -- for us today?

COMEY:

Yes, I -- yes. I think nearly all of my written recordings of my conversations -- had a chance to review them before filing my statement.

LANKFORD:

Do you have a copy of any those notes, personally?

COMEY:

I don't. I turned them over to Bob Mueller's investigators.

LANKFORD:

The individual that you told about your memos, that then sent on to the New York Times -- do they have a copy of those memos, or were they told orally of those memos?

COMEY:

Had a copy -- had a copy at the time.

LANKFORD:

Do they -- do they still have a copy of those memos?

COMEY:

That's a good question. I think so. I guess I can't say for sure, sitting here, but I -- I -- I guess I don't know, but I think so.

LANKFORD:

So the question is, could you ask them to hand that copy right back to you, so you could hand them over to this committee?

COMEY:

Potentially.

LANKFORD:

I would like to move that from "potential" to "see if we can ask that question," so we can have a copy of those. Obviously those notes are exceptionally important to us to be able to go through the process so we can -- we can continue to get to the facts as -- as we see it. As you know, the written documents are exceptionally important.

LANKFORD:

Are there other documents that we need to be aware of that you used in your preparation for your written statement that we should also have, that would assist us in helping with this?

COMEY:

Not that I'm aware of, no.

LANKFORD:

Past the February the 14th meeting which is a very important meeting obviously, as we discuss the conversations here about Michael Flynn. When the president asked you about he hopes that you would let this go, and the conversation back and forth about him being a good guy.

After that time did the president ever bring up anything about Michael Flynn again to you? You had multiple other conversations you have (inaudible) with the president.

COMEY:

No, I don't remember him ever bringing it up again.

LANKFORD:

Did any member of the White House staff ever come to you and talk to you about letting go of the Michael Flynn case, or dropping it or anything referring to that?

COMEY:

No, nope.

LANKFORD:

Did the director of national intelligence come to you and talk to you about that?

COMEY:

No.

LANKFORD:

Did anyone from the Attorney General's office, the Department of Justice ask you about that?

COMEY:

No.

LANKFORD:

Did the head of NSA talk to you about that?

COMEY:

No.

LANKFORD:

The -- the key aspect here is, if -- if -- if this seems to be something the president's trying to get you to drop it, this seems like a pretty light touch to drop it, to bring it up at that moment the day after he had just fired Flynn to come back in and say I hope we can let this go.

But then it never reappears again. Did -- did it slow down your investigation or any investigation that may or may not be occurring with Michael Flynn?

COMEY:

No, although I don't know there're any manifestations -- our (ph) manifestations of the investigation between February 14th and when I was fired. So I -- I don't know that the president had any way of knowing whether it was effective or not.

LANKFORD:

OK. That's fair enough. If -- if the president wanted to stop an investigation, how would he do that? Knowing it's an ongoing criminal investigation or counterintelligence investigation.

Would that be a matter of trying to go to you -- you perceive and to say you make it stop because he doesn't have the authority to stop or how -- how would the president make an ongoing investigation stop?

COMEY:

Again, I'm not a legal scholar. So smarter people answer this better, but I think as a legal matter, president is the head of the executive branch and could direct, in theory, we have important norms against this, but direct that anybody be investigated or anybody not be investigated.

I think he has the legal authority because all of us ultimately report in the executive branch up to the president.

LANKFORD:

OK. Would that be to you, would that be the attorney general? Would that be to who that would do that?

COMEY:

Suppose he could do it to -- if he wanted to issue a direct order, could do it in any way, could do it through the attorney general or issue it directly to me.

LANKFORD:

Well -- well, is there any question that the president is not real fond of this investigation? I -- I can think of multiple 140 word -- character expressions that he's done publicly to express he's not fond of the investigation.

So I've heard you share before in this conversation that you're trying to keep the agents that are working on it away from any comment the president might have made. Quite frankly, the president has informed around 6 billion people that he's not real fond of this investigation.

Do you think there's a difference in that?

COMEY:

Yes.

LANKFORD:

OK.

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

I think there's a big difference in kicking superior officers out of the Oval Office, looking the FBI director in the eye and saying, "Hope you'll let this go."

I think if our -- if the agents, as good as they are, heard the president of the United States did that...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

... there's a real risk of a chilling effect on their work. That's why we kept it so tight.

LANKFORD:

OK. OK. You had mentioned before about some news stories and news accounts, but, without having to go into all the names and the specific times and to be able dip into all that, have there been news accounts about the Russia investigation, about collusion, about this whole event or accusations that, as you read the story, you were stunned about how wrong they got the facts?

COMEY:

Yes. There have been many, many stories purportedly based on classified information about -- well, about lots of stuff, but especially about Russia, that are just dead wrong.

LANKFORD:

I was interested in your comment that you made, as well, that the president said to you, if there were some satellite associates of his that did something wrong, it would be good to find that out.

That -- the president seemed to talk to you specifically on March the 30th and say, I'm frustrated that the word is not getting out that I'm not under investigation, but if there are people that are in my circle that are, let's finish the investigation. Is that how you took it, as well?

COMEY:

Yes, sir. Yes.

LANKFORD:

And then you made a comment earlier about the attorney general -- previous attorney general -- asking you about the investigation on the Clinton e-mails, saying that you'd been asked not to call it an "investigation" anymore, but to call it a "matter."

And you had said that confused you. Can you give us additional details on that?

COMEY:

Well, it concerned me, because we were at the point where we had refused to confirm the existence, as we typically do, of an investigation, for months, and it was getting to a place where that looked silly, because the campaigns were talking about interacting with the FBI in the course of our work.

The -- the Clinton campaign, at the time, was using all kind of euphemisms -- security review, matters, things like that, for what was going on. We were getting to a place where the attorney general and I were both going to have to testify and talk publicly about. And I wanted to know, was she going to authorize us to confirm we had an investigation?

And she said, yes, but don't call it that, call it a matter. And I said, why would I do that? And she said, just call it a matter.

And, again, you look back in hindsight, you think should I have resisted harder? I just said, all right, it isn't worth -- this isn't a hill worth dying on and so I just said, OK, the press is going to completely ignore it. And that's what happened.

When I said, we have opened a matter, they all reported the FBI has an investigation open. And so that concerned me because that language tracked the way the campaign was talking about FBI's work and that's concerning.

LANKFORD:

It gave the impression that the campaign was somehow using the same language as the FBI, because you were handed the campaign language and told to be able (ph) to use the campaign language...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

Yeah -- and -- and again, I don't know whether it was intentional or not, but it gave the impression that the attorney general was looking to align the way we talked about our work with the way a political campaign was describing the same activity, which was inaccurate.

We had a criminal investigation open with -- as I said before, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We had an investigation open at the time, and so that gave me a queasy feeling.

LANKFORD:

Thank you.

BURR:

Senator Manchin.

MANCHIN:

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Comey. I appreciate very much your being here.

West Virginia is very interested in this -- in this hearing that we're having today. I've had over 600 requests for questions to ask you...

(LAUGHTER)

... from my fellow West Virginians and most of them have been asked. And there's a quite a few of them that were quite detailed that I'll (ph) ask in our classified hearing.

I want to thank you, first of all, for coming and agreeing to be here, volunteering. But also volunteering to stay into the classified hearing.

I don't know if you had a chance to watch our hearing yesterday.

COMEY:

I watched part of it, yes, sir.

MANCHIN:

And it was quite troubling. My colleagues here at some very pointed questions they wanted answers to. They weren't classified. They could have answered in this open setting. They refused to do so.

So that even much -- makes us much more appreciative of your cooperation.

Sir, the seriousness of the Russian aggressions in our past elections and knowing that it'll be ongoing as senator King had alluded to, does -- what's your concerns there? I mean, what should American public understand?

MANCHIN:

People said, "Well, this is a -- why are we worried about this? Why make such a big deal out of this Russian investigation?" Can you tell me what your thoughts would be?

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

MANCHIN:

And then the final thing is on this same topic. Did the president ever show any concern or interest or curiosity about what the Russians were doing?

COMEY:

Thank you, Senator.

As I said earlier, I don't remember any conversations with the president about the Russia election interference.

MANCHIN:

Did he ever ask you any questions concerning this?

COMEY:

Well, there was an initial briefing of our findings, and I think there was conversation there -- I don't remember it exactly -- where he asked questions about what we had found and what our sources were and what our confidence level was. But after that, I don't remember anything.

The reason this is such a big deal has -- we have this big, messy, wonderful country where we fight with each other all the time, but nobody tells us what to think, what to fight about, what to vote for, except other Americans, and that's wonderful and often painful.

But we're talking about a foreign government that, using technical intrusion, lots of other methods, tried to shape the way we think, we vote, we act. That is a big deal. And people need to recognize it.

It's not about Republicans or Democrats. They're coming after America, which I hope we all love equally. They want to undermine our credibility in the face of the world. They think that this great experiment of ours is a threat to them, and so they're going to try to run it down and dirty it up as much as possible.

That's what this is about. And they will be back, because we remain -- as difficult as we can be with each other, we remain that shining city on the hill, and they don't like it.

(CROSSTALK)

MANCHIN:

This is extremely important. It's extremely dangerous, what we're -- what we're dealing with, and it's needed, is what you're saying.

COMEY:

Yes, sir.

MANCHIN:

Do you believe there were any tapes or recordings of your conversations with the president?

COMEY:

It never occurred to me until the president's tweet. I -- I'm not being facetious, I hope there are, and I'll consent to the release of them.

(CROSSTALK)

MANCHIN:

So both of you -- both of you are in the same findings here -- you both hope there's tapes and recordings?

COMEY:

Well, I mean, all I can do is hope. The president surely knows whether he taped me, and if he did, my feelings aren't hurt. Release the entire -- release all the tapes, I'm good with it.

MANCHIN:

Got you. Got you.

Sir, do you believe that Robert Mueller, the -- our new special investigator on Russia, will be thorough and complete, without political intervention? And would you be confident (ph) on these findings and recommendations?

COMEY:

Yes. Bob Mueller is one of the finest people and public servants this country's ever produced. He will do it well. He is a dogged, tough person, and you can have high confidence that, when it's done, he's turned over all the rocks.

MANCHIN:

You've been asked a wide variety of -- of questions today and we're going to be hearing more, I'm sure, in our classified hearing. Something I'll often (ph) ask folks when they come here -- what details of this saga would be -- should we be focusing on, and what would you recommend us do differently? Or to adjust (ph) our perspective on this?

COMEY:

I don't know. I -- and one of the reasons that I'm pleased to be here is I think this committee has shown the American people, although we have two parties and we disagree about important things, we can work together when it involves the core interests of the country.

So I would hope you'll just keep doing what you're doing. It's -- it's good in and of itself, but it's also a model, especially for kids, that we -- we are a functioning, adult democracy.

MANCHIN:

And you also mentioned you had -- I think, what, six -- six meetings -- three times in person, six on the phone, nine times (ph) in conversation with the president. Did he ever, at that time, allude that you were not performing adequately -- ever indicate that at all?

COMEY:

No. In fact, the contrary, quite often. Yeah, he called me one day. I was about to get on a helicopter, the head of the DEA was waiting in the helicopter for me, and he just called to check in and tell me I was doing an awesome job, and wanted to see how I was doing. And I said, "I'm doing fine, sir." And then I finished the call and got on the helicopter.

MANCHIN:

Mr. Comey, do you believe you would have been fired if Hillary Clinton had become president?

COMEY:

That's a great question. I don't know. I don't know.

MANCHIN:

You have any thoughts about it?

COMEY:

I might have been. I -- I don't know. Look, I -- I've said before, that was an extraordinarily difficult and painful time. I think I did what I had to do. I knew it was going to be very bad for me personally, and the consequences of that might have been, if Hillary Clinton was elected, I might have been terminated. I don't know. I really don't.

MANCHIN:

My final question will be, after the (ph) February 14th meeting in the Oval Office, you mentioned that you asked Attorney General Sessions to ensure that you were never left alone with the president. Did you ever consider why Attorney General Sessions was not asked to stay in the room?

COMEY:

Sure, I did, and -- and have. And, in that moment, I...

MANCHIN:

You ever talk to him about it?

COMEY:

No.

MANCHIN:

You never had a discussion with -- with Jeff Sessions on this?

COMEY:

No, not at all.

MANCHIN:

On any of your meetings?

COMEY:

No, I don't...

(CROSSTALK)

MANCHIN:

Did he inquire -- did he -- did he show any inquiry whatsoever what was that meeting about?

COMEY:

No. You're right, I did say to him -- I'd forgotten this -- when I talked to him and said, "You have to be between me and the president, and that's incredibly important," and I forget my exact words, I passed along the president's message about the importance of aggressively pursuing leaks of classified information, which is a -- a goal I share.

And I passed that along to -- to the attorney general, I think it was the next morning, in our -- in a meeting. And -- but I did not tell him about the Flynn part.

MANCHIN:

Do you believe this will rise to obstruction of justice?

COMEY:

I don't know. That -- that's Bob Mueller's job to sort that out.

MANCHIN:

Thank you, sir.

Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Senator Cotton.

COTTON:

Mr. Comey, you encouraged the president to release the tapes. Will you encourage the Department of Justice or your friend at Columbia or Mr. Mueller to release your memos?

COMEY:

Sure.

COTTON:

You said that there -- you did not record your conversations with President Obama or President Bush in memos. Did you do so with Attorney General Sessions or any other senior member of the Trump Department of Justice?

COMEY:

No.

COTTON:

Did you...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

I think it -- I'm sorry.

COTTON:

... did you record conversations in memos with Attorney General Lynch or any other senior member of the Obama Department of Justice?

COMEY:

No, not that I recall.

COTTON:

In your statement for the record, you cite nine private conversations with the president, three meetings and two phone calls. There are four phone calls that are not discussed in your statement for the record. What happened in those phone calls?

COMEY:

The president called me, I believe, shortly before he was inaugurated, as a follow-up to our conversation -- private conversation on January the 6th. He just wanted to reiterate his rejection of the allegation and talk about -- he thought about it more, and why he thought it wasn't true -- the -- the -- the verified -- unverified and salacious parts.

And -- and during that call, he asked me again, "Hope you're going to stay, you're doing a a great job." And I told him that I intended to. There was another phone call that I mentioned, I think was -- could have the date wrong -- March the 1st, where he called just to check in with me as I was about to get on the helicopter.

COMEY:

There was a secure call we had about an -- an operational matter that was not related to any of this, about something the FBI was working on. He wanted to make sure that I understood how important he thought it was -- a totally appropriate call. And then the fourth call -- I'm probably forgetting.

May have been the -- I may have meant the call, when he called to invite me to dinner. I'll think about as I'm answering other questions, but I think I got that right.

COTTON:

Let's turn our attention to the underlying activity at issue here: Russia's hacking into those e-mails and releasing them, and the allegations of collusion. Do you believe Donald Trump colluded with Russia?

COMEY:

That's a question I don't think I should answer in an open setting. As I said, that -- we didn't -- that (ph) when I left, we did not have an investigation focused on President Trump. But that's a question that'll be answered by the investigation, I think.

COTTON:

Let me turn to a couple of statements by one of my colleagues, Senator Feinstein. She was the ranking member on this committee until January, which means she had access to information that only she and Chairman Burr did. She's now the senior Democrat on the -- on the Judiciary Committee, meaning she has access to the FBI that most of us don't.

On May 3rd, on CNN's Wolf Blitzer's show, she was asked, "Do you believe, do you have evidence that there was in fact collusion between Trump associates and Russia during the campaign?"

She answered, "Not at this time."

On May 18th, the same show, Mr. Blitzer said, "The last time we spoke, Senator, I asked if you had actually seen any evidence of collusion between the Trump campaign and the Russians, and you said to me, and I'm quoting you now -- you said, 'Not at this time.' Has anything changed since we last spoke?"

Senator Feinstein said, "Well, no. No, it hasn't." Do you have any reason to doubt those statements?

COMEY:

I don't doubt that Senator Feinstein was saying what -- what she understood. I just don't want to go down that path, first of all, because I'm not in the government anymore, and answering in the negative, I just worry, leads me deeper and deeper into talking about the investigation in an open setting.

I don't -- I -- I want to be...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

... I'm always trying to be fair. I don't want to be unfair to President Trump. I'm not trying to suggest, by my answer, something nefarious, but I don't want to get into the business of saying not as to this person, not as to that person.

COTTON:

On February 14th, the New York Times published a story, the headline of which was, "Trump Campaign Aides Had Repeated Contacts With Russian Intelligence."

You were asked earlier if that was an inaccurate story, and you said, in the main. Would it be fair to characterize that story as almost entirely wrong?

COMEY:

Yes.

COTTON:

Did you have, at the time that story was published, any indication of any contact between Trump people and Russians, intelligence officers, other government officials or close associates of the Russian government?

COMEY:

This one, I can't answer, sitting here.

COTTON:

We can discuss that in a classified setting, then.

I want to turn attention now to Mr. Flynn and the allegations of his underlying conduct: to be specific, his alleged interactions with the Russian ambassador on the telephone, and then what he said to senior Trump administration officials and Department of Justice officials.

I understand there are other issues with Mr. Flynn, related to his receipt of foreign monies or disclosure of potential advocacy activity on behalf of foreign governments. Those are serious and credible allegations that I'm sure will be pursued, but I want to speak specifically about his interactions with the Russian ambassador.

There was a story on January 23rd in the Washington Post that says -- entitled, "FBI reviewed Flynn's calls with Russian ambassador but found nothing illicit." Is this story accurate?

COMEY:

I don't want to comment on that, Senator, because I -- I'm pretty sure the bureau has not confirmed any interception of communications. And so I don't want to talk about that in an open setting.

COTTON:

Would it be improper for an incoming national security adviser to have a conversation with a foreign ambassador?

COMEY:

In my -- in my experience, no.

COTTON:

But you can't confirm or deny that the conversation happened, and we would need to know the contents of that conversation to know if it was, in fact, improper?

COMEY:

Yeah, I don't think I can talk about that in an open setting. And again, I've been out of government, now, a month, so I don't -- I also don't want to talk about things when it's now somebody's -- else's responsibility. But maybe in the -- in the classified setting, we can talk more about that.

COTTON:

You stated earlier that there wasn't an open investigation of Mr. Flynn in (ph) the FBI. Did you or any FBI agent ever sense that Mr. Flynn attempted to deceive you, or made false statements to an FBI agent?

COMEY:

I don't want to go too far. That was the subject of the criminal inquiry.

COTTON:

Did you ever come close to closing investigation on Mr. Flynn?

COMEY:

I don't think I can talk about that in an open setting, either.

COTTON:

I can discuss these more in a closed setting, then.

Mr. Comey, in -- in 2004, you were a part of a well-publicized event about a intelligence program that had been recertified several times, and you were acting attorney general when Attorney General John Ashcroft was incapacitated due to illness. There was a dramatic showdown at the hospital here.

The next day, you've said that you wrote a letter of resignation, and signed it, before you -- went to meet with President Bush to explain why he (ph) refused to certify it. Is that accurate?

COMEY:

Yes, I think so.

COTTON:

At any time in the three and half months you were the FBI director during the Trump administration, did you ever write and sign a letter of recommendation, and leave it on your desk?

COMEY:

Letter of resignation? No, sir.

COTTON:

Letter of resignation.

COMEY:

No, sir.

COTTON:

So despite all of the things that you've testified to here today, you didn't feel this rose to the level of an honest but serious difference of legal opinion between accomplished and skilled lawyers in that 2004 episode?

COMEY:

I wouldn't characterize the circumstances of 2004 that way. But to answer, no, I -- I didn't find -- encounter any circumstance that led me to intend to resign, consider to resign. No, sir.

COTTON:

Thank you.

BURR:

Senator Harris.

HARRIS:

Director Comey, I want to thank you. You are now a private citizen, and you are enduring a Senate Intelligence Committee hearing, and each of us get seven minutes instead of five, as yesterday, to ask you questions. So thank you.

COMEY:

Now I'm -- I'm between opportunities now, so...

HARRIS:

Well, you're -- you are...

(LAUGHTER)

... I'm sure you'll have future opportunities.

You know, you and I are both former prosecutors. Not going to require you to answer, I just want make a statement that, in -- in my -- my experience of prosecuting cases, when a robber held a gun to somebody's head, and -- and said, "I hope you will give me your wallet," the word "hope" was not the most operative word at that moment. But you don't have to respond to that point.

I have a series of questions to ask you, and -- and they're going to start with, are you aware of any meetings between the Trump administration officials and Russian officials during the campaign that have not been acknowledged by those officials in the White House?

COMEY:

That's not a -- even if I remember clearly, that's a not a question I can answer in an open setting.

HARRIS:

Are you aware of any efforts by Trump campaign officials or associates of the campaign to hide their communications with Russian officials through encrypted communications or other means?

COMEY:

I have to give you same answer, Senator.

HARRIS:

Sure.

In the course of the FBI's investigation, did you ever come across anything that suggested that communications, records, documents or other evidence had been destroyed?

COMEY:

I think I've got to give you the same answer, because it -- it would touch investigative matters.

HARRIS:

And are you aware of any efforts or potential efforts to conceal communications between campaign officials and Russian officials?

COMEY:

I think I have to give you the same answer, Senator.

HARRIS:

Thank you.

As a former attorney general, I have a series of questions about your connection with the attorney general during the course of your tenure as director.

What is your understanding of the parameters of General Sessions' recusal from the Russia -- Russia investigation?

COMEY:

I think it's described in a written release or statement from DOJ, which I don't remember, sitting here, but the gist was he would be recused from all matters relating to Russia and the -- and the campaign, or activities of Russia and the '16 election, I think. Something like that.

HARRIS:

Is -- so is your knowledge of the extent of his recusal based on the public statements he's made? Or the...

COMEY:

Correct.

HARRIS:

... OK. So was there any kind of memorandum issued from the attorney general or the Department of Justice to the FBI, outlining the parameters of his recusal?

COMEY:

Not that I'm aware of.

HARRIS:

And do you know if he reviewed any FBI or DOJ documents pertaining to the investigation before he was recused?

COMEY:

I don't. I don't know.

HARRIS:

And after he was recused, I'm assuming it's the same answer.

COMEY:

Same answer.

HARRIS:

And as -- aside from any notice or memorandum that was not sent or was, what mechanism or processes were in place to ensure that the attorney general would not have any connection with the investigation, to your knowledge?

COMEY:

I don't know for sure. I know that he had consulted with career ethics officials that know how to run a recusal at DOJ, but I don't know what mechanism they set up.

HARRIS:

And the attorney general recused himself from the investigation, but do you believe it was appropriate for him to be involved in the firing of the chief investigator of that case -- of that Russia interference?

COMEY:

That's something I can't answer, sitting here. It -- it's a reasonable question, but that would depend on a lot of things I don't know, like what did he know, what was he told, did he realize that the president was doing it because of the Russia investigation -- things like that. I just don't know the answer.

HARRIS:

You've mentioned in your written testimony and (ph) here that the president essentially asked you for a loyalty pledge. Are you aware of him making the same request of any other members of the Cabinet?

COMEY:

I am not.

HARRIS:

Do you know one way or another what he...

(CROSSTALK)

COMEY:

I don't know one way or another. I never heard anything about it.

HARRIS:

And you mentioned that on -- you had the conversation where he hoped that you would let the Flynn matter go on February 14th or thereabouts. It's my understanding that Mr. Sessions was recused from any involvement in the investigation about a full two weeks later.

To your knowledge, was the attorney general -- did he have access to information about the investigation in those interim two weeks?

COMEY:

I -- I don't -- I -- in theory, sure, because he's the attorney general. I don't know whether he had any contact with any materials related to that.

HARRIS:

To your knowledge, was there any directive that he should not have any contact with any information about the Russia investigation between the February 14th date and the day he was ultimately recused -- or recused himself, on March 2nd?

COMEY:

Not to my knowledge. I don't know one way or another.

HARRIS:

And did you speak to the attorney general about the Russia investigation before his recusal?

COMEY:

I don't think so, no.

HARRIS:

Do you know if anyone in the department, in the FBI, forwarded any documents or information or memos of any sort to the attention of the attorney general before his recusal?

COMEY:

I don't -- I don't know of any, remember any, sitting here. It's possible, but I -- I don't remember any.

HARRIS:

Do you know if the attorney general was involved -- in fact, involved in any aspect of the Russia investigation after his recusal on the 2nd of March?

COMEY:

I don't. I would assume not, but I don't -- I don't -- let me say it this way. I don't know of any information that would lead me to believe he did something to touch the Russia investigation after the recusal.

HARRIS:

In your written testimony, you indicate that you -- when you -- after you were left alone with the president, you mentioned that it was inappropriate and should never happen again to the attorney general. And, apparently, he did not reply, and you write that he did not reply.

What did he do, if anything? Did he just look at you? Was there a pause for a moment? What happened?

COMEY:

I -- I don't remember real clearly. I -- I have a recollection of him just kind of looking at me -- and there's a danger here I'm projecting onto him, so this may be a faulty memory -- but I kind of got -- his body language gave me the sense like, what am I going to do?

HARRIS:

Did he shrug?

COMEY:

I -- I don't remember clearly. I think the reason I have that impression is I have some recollection of almost an imperceptible, like, what am I going to do? But I don't have a clear recollection of that. He didn't say anything.

HARRIS:

And, on that same February 14th meeting, you said you understood the president to be requesting that you drop the investigation.

After that meeting, however, you received two calls from the president -- March 30th and April 11th -- where the president talked about a cloud over his presidency.

Has anything you've learned in the months since your February 14th meeting changed your understanding of the president's request? I guess it would be what he has said in public documents or public interviews?

COMEY:

Correct.

HARRIS:

OK. And is there anything about this investigation that you believe is in any way biased or is -- is -- is not being informed by a -- a process of seeking the truth?

COMEY:

No. The -- the appointment of a special counsel should offer great -- especially given who that person is -
- great comfort to Americans, no matter what your political affiliation is, that this will be done independently, competently and honestly.

HARRIS:

And do you believe that he should have full authority, Mr. Mueller, to be able to pursue that investigation?

COMEY:

Yes, and I -- and, knowing him well over the years, if there's something that he thinks he needs, he will -- he will speak up about it.

HARRIS:

Do you believe he should have full independence?

COMEY:

Yeah. And he wouldn't be part of it if he wasn't going to get full independence.

HARRIS:

Thank you.

BURR:

Senator Cornyn.

CORNYN:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Comey, I'll repeat what I've said at previous hearings, that I believe you're a good and decent man who's been dealt a very difficult hand, starting back with the Clinton e-mail investigation. And I appreciate your willingness to appear here today voluntarily and answer our questions and cooperate with our investigation.

As a general matter, if an FBI agent has reason to believe that a crime has been committed, do they have a duty to report it?

COMEY:

That's a good question. I don't know that there's a legal duty to report it. They certainly have a cultural, ethical duty to report it.

CORNYN:

You're unsure whether they would have a legal duty?

COMEY:

It's a good question. I've not thought about it (ph) before. I don't know where the legal -- there's a statute that prohibits misprision of a felony -- knowing of a felony and taking steps to conceal it -- but this is a different question.

And so, look, let me be clear, I would expect any FBI agent who has reason -- information about a crime being committed to report it.

CORNYN:

Me, too.

COMEY:

But where you rest that obligation, I don't know. It exists.

CORNYN:

And let me ask you as a general proposition, if you're trying to make an investigation go away, is firing an FBI director a good way to make that happen? By that, I mean...

COMEY:

Yeah.

CORNYN:

... doesn't...

COMEY:

It doesn't make a lot of sense to me, but I'm -- I'm obviously hopelessly biased, given that I was the one fired.

(LAUGHTER)

CORNYN:

I understand it's personal.

COMEY:

No (ph), given the nature of the FBI, I meant what I said. There's no indispensable people in the world, including at the FBI. That -- there's lots of bad things about me not being at the FBI. Most of them are for me. But the work's going to go on as before.

CORNYN:

So nothing that's happened that you've testified to here today has impeded the investigation of the FBI or Director Mueller's commitment to get to the bottom of this, from the standpoint of the FBI and the Department of Justice. Would you agree with that?

COMEY:

Correct, especially -- the appointment of Director -- Former Director Mueller is a critical part of that equation.

CORNYN:

Let me take you back to the Clinton e-mail investigation. I think you've been cast as a hero or a villain depending on the -- whose political ox is being gored at many different times during the course of the Clinton e-mail investigation, and even -- even now, perhaps.

But you clearly were troubled by the conduct of the sitting attorney general, Loretta Lynch, when it came to the Clinton e-mail investigation. You mentioned the characterization that you'd been asked to accept that this was a "matter" and not a criminal investigation, which you've said it -- it was.

There was the matter of President Clinton's meeting on the tarmac with the sitting attorney general, at a time when his wife was subject to a criminal investigation, and you've suggested that perhaps there are other matters that you may be able to share with us later on in a classified setting.

But it seems to me that you clearly believe that Loretta Lynch, the attorney general, had a -- an appearance of a conflict of interest on the Clinton e-mail investigation. Is that correct?

COMEY:

I think that's fair. I didn't believe she could credibly decline that investigation -- at least, not without grievous damage to the Department of Justice and to the FBI.

CORNYN:

And, under Department of Justice and FBI norms, wouldn't it have been appropriate for the attorney general, or, if she had recused herself -- which she did not do -- for the deputy attorney general to appoint a special counsel?

That's essentially what's happened now with Director Mueller. Would that have been an appropriate step in the Clinton e-mail investigation, in your opinion?

COMEY:

Yes, certainly a possible step. Yes, sir.

CORNYN:

And were you aware that Ms. Lynch had been requested numerous times to appoint a special counsel, and had refused?

COMEY:

Yes, from -- I think Congress had -- members of Congress had repeatedly asked. Yes, sir.

CORNYN:

Yours truly...

COMEY:

OK.

CORNYN:

... did on multiple occasions. And that heightened your concerns about the appearance of a conflict of interest with the Department of Justice, which caused you to make what you have described as an incredibly painful decision to basically take the matter up yourself, and -- led to that July press conference.

COMEY:

Yes, sir. I can -- after the -- President Clinton -- former President Clinton met on the plane with the attorney general, I considered whether I should call for the appointment of a special counsel, and had decided that that would be an unfair thing to do, because I knew there was no case there.

We had investigated very, very thoroughly. I know this is a subject of passionate disagreement, but I knew there was no case there. And calling for the appointment of special counsel would be brutally unfair because it would send the message, aha (ph), there's something here.

That was my judgment. Again, lots of people have different views of it. But that's how I thought about it.

CORNYN:

Well, if the special counsel had been appointed, they could've made that determination that there was nothing there and declined to pursue it, right?

COMEY:

Sure, but it would've been many months later, or a year later.

CORNYN:

Let me just ask you to -- given the experience of the Clinton e-mail investigation and what happened there, do you think it's unreasonable for anyone -- any president who has been assured on multiple occasions that he's not the subject of an FBI investigation -- do you think it's unreasonable for them to want the FBI director to publicly announce that, so that this cloud over his administration would be removed?

COMEY:

I think that's a reasonable point of view. The concern would be, obviously, because if that boomerang comes back, it's going to be a very big deal, because there will be a duty to correct.

CORNYN:

Well, we -- we saw that in the Clinton e-mail investigation, of course.

COMEY:

Yes, I recall that.

CORNYN:

I know you do. So let me ask you, finally, in the minute that we have left -- there was this conversation back and forth about loyalty, and I think we all appreciate the fact that an FBI director is a unique public official in the sense that he's not -- he's a political appointee in one sense, but he has a duty of independence to pursue the law pursuant to the -- the -- the constitutional laws of the United States.

And so, when the president asked you about loyalty, you got in this back-and-forth about, well, I'll pledge you my honesty. And then it looks like, from what I've read, you agreed upon honest loyalty, or something like that. Is that the characterization?

COMEY:

Yes.

CORNYN:

Thank you very much.

COMEY:

Thank you, sir.

BURR:

Senator Reed.

REED:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Director Comey.

There have been press reports that the president, in addition to asking you to drop the Flynn investigation, has asked other senior intelligence officials to take steps which would tend to undermine the investigation into Russia.

There have been reports that he's asked DNI Coats and Admiral Rogers to make public statements exonerating him or -- or taking the pressure off him, and also reports about Admiral Rogers and Director Pompeo -- to intervene and reach out to the FBI and ask them.

Are you aware of any of these, or do you have any information with respect to any of these allegations?

COMEY:

I don't. I'm aware of the public reporting, but I had no contact, no conversation with any of those leaders about that subject.

REED:

Thank you. You have testified that you interpret the discussion with the president about Flynn as a direction to stop the investigation. Is that correct?

COMEY:

Yes.

REED:

You've testified that the president asked you to lift the cloud by essentially making public statement that exonerated him and perhaps others. You refused, correct?

COMEY:

I didn't -- I didn't do it. I didn't refuse the -- the president. I told him we would see what we could do, and then the second time he called, I told him, in substance, that's something your lawyer will have to take up with the Justice Department.

REED:

All right (ph). And part of the underlying logic was that we've -- we've discussed many times throughout this morning -- is the duty to correct. That is one of -- a theoretical issue, but also a very practical issue. It -- was there -- your feeling that (ph) the direction of the investigation could in fact include the president?

COMEY:

Well, in theory. I mean, as I explained, the concern of one of my senior leader colleagues was, if you're looking at potential coordination between the campaign and Russia, the person at the head of the campaign is the candidate. So, logically, this person argued, the -- the candidate's knowledge, understanding, will logically become a part of your inquiry if it proceeds.

And so I understood that argument. My view was that -- that what I said to the president was accurate and fair, and fair to him. I resisted the idea of publicly saying it, although, if the Justice Department had wanted to, that -- I would've done it, because of the duty to correct and the slippery slope problem.

REED:

And, again, also, you've testified that the president asked you repeatedly to be loyal to him, and you responded you would be honestly loyal, which is, I think, your way of saying, "I'll be honest, and I'll be the head of the FBI and independent." Is that fair?

COMEY:

Correct. I tried "honest" first. And also, I mean, you've -- see it in my testimony -- also tried to explain to him why it's in his interest, and every president's interest, for the FBI to be apart, in a way -- because its credibility is important to a president and to the country.

And so I tried to hold the line, hold the line. It got very awkward, and I then said, "You'll always have honesty from me." He said, "honest loyalty," and then I acceded to that as a way to end this awkwardness.

REED:

At the culmination of all these events, you're summarily fired, without any explanation or anything else?

COMEY:

Well, there was an explanation. I just don't buy it.

REED:

Well, yes. So you're fired. So do you believe that you were fired because you -- you refused to -- to take the president's direction? Is that the ultimate reason?

COMEY:

I don't know for sure. I know I was fired. Again, I take the president's words. I know I was fired because of something about the way I was conducting the Russia investigation was, in some way, putting pressure on him, in some way, irritating him. And he decided to fire me because of that.

REED:

Now...

COMEY:

I -- I can't go farther than that.

REED:

... the Russian investigation, as you have pointed out, and as all my colleagues have reflected, is one of the most serious hostile acts against this country in our history.

Undermining the very core of our democracy and our elections is not a discrete event. It will likely occur -- it's probably being prepared now for '18 and '20 and beyond. And yet the president of the United States fires you because, in your own words -- some relation to this investigation.

And then he shows up in the Oval Office with the Russian foreign minister, first, after classifying you as crazy and a real nut job, which I think you've effectively disproved this morning. He said, "I face great pressure because of Russia. That's taken off." Your conclusion would be that the president, I would think, is downplaying the seriousness of this threat.

In fact, took specific steps to stop a thorough investigation of the Russian -- Russian influence. And also, from what you've said, or what was -- been said this morning, doesn't seem particularly interested in these hostile threats by the Russians? Is that fair?

COMEY:

I don't know that I can agree to that level of detail. There's no doubt that it's a fair judgment -- it's my judgment that I was fired because of the Russia investigation. I was fired, in some way, to change -- or the endeavor was to change the way the Russia investigation was being conducted.

That is a -- that is a very big deal, and not just because it involves me. The nature of the FBI and the nature of its work requires that it not be the subject of political consideration.

And on top of that you have -- the Russia investigation itself is vital, because of the threat. And I know I should've said this earlier, but it's obvious -- if any Americans were part of helping the Russians do that to us, that is a very big deal. And I'm confident that, if that is the case, Director Mueller will find that evidence.

REED:

Finally, the president tweeted that James Comey better hope that there are no tapes of our conversation before he starts leaking to the press. Was that a rather unsubtle attempt to intimidate you from testifying, and intimidate anyone else who seriously crosses his path -- of not doing it?

COMEY:

I -- I'm not going to sit here and try and interpret the president's tweets. It -- to me, its major impact was -- as I said, occurred to me in the middle of the night -- holy cow, there might be tapes. And if there tapes, it's not just my word against his on -- on the direction to get rid of the Flynn investigation.

REED:

Thank you very much.

BURR:

Senator McCain?

MCCAIN:

In the case of -- Hillary Clinton, you made the statement that there wasn't sufficient evidence to bring a suit against her, although it had been very careless -- in their behavior. But you did reach a conclusion in that case that it was not necessary to further pursue her.

Yet, at the same time, in the case of Mr. Comey, you said that there was not enough information to make a conclusion. Tell me the different between your conclusion as far as former Secretary Clinton is concerned and -- and Mr. -- Mr. Trump.

COMEY:

The Clinton investigation was a completed investigation that the FBI been deeply involved in. And so I had an opportunity to understand all the facts and apply those facts against the law as I understood them. This investigation was underway, still going when I was fired. So it's nowhere near in the same place. At least, it wasn't when I was...

MCCAIN:

But it's still ongoing?

COMEY:

... correct, so far as I know. It was when I left.

MCCAIN:

That investigation was going on. This investigation is going on. You reached separate conclusions.

COMEY:

No, that one was done. The...

(CROSSTALK)

MCCAIN:

That investigation of (ph) any involvement of Secretary Clinton or any of her associates is completed?

COMEY:

Yes, as of July the 5th, the FBI completed its investigative work, and that's what I was announcing -- what we had done and what we had found.

MCCAIN:

Well, at least in the minds of this member, there's a whole lot of questions remaining about what went on, particularly considering the fact that, as you mention, it's a quote, "big deal" as to what went on during the campaign.

So I'm glad you concluded that part of the investigation, but I -- I think that the American people have a whole lot of questions out there, particularly since you just emphasized the role that Russia played.

And, obviously, she was a candidate for president at the time, so she was clearly involved in this whole situation where fake news -- as you just described it, "big deal," took place.

MCCAIN:

And you're going to have to help me out here. In other words, we're complete -- the investigation of anything that former Secretary Clinton had to do with the campaign is over and we don't have to worry about it anymore?

COMEY:

With respect to Secretary -- I'm not -- I'm a little confused, Senator. With respect to Secretary Clinton...

MCCAIN:

Yeah.

COMEY:

... we investigated criminal investigation in connection with her use of a personal e-mail server...

MCCAIN:

I understand.

COMEY:

... and that's the investigation I announced the conclusion of on July 5th.

MCCAIN:

So -- but, at the same time, you made the announcement there would be no charges brought against then Secretary Clinton for any activities involved in the Russia involvement in our -- engagement in our election.

I -- I don't quite understand how you could be done with that, but not complete -- done with the whole investigation of their attempt to affect the outcome of our election.

COMEY:

No. I'm sorry, we're not -- at least, when I left -- when I was fired on May the 9th, there was still an open, active investigation to understand the Russian effort, and whether any Americans work with them.

MCCAIN:

But you reached the conclusion that there was no reason to bring charges again Secretary Clinton. So you reached a conclusion.

In the case of Mr. Comey, you -- President Comey (sic)...

COMEY:

No, sir.

MCCAIN:

... I mean (ph) -- excuse me -- case of President Trump, you have an ongoing investigation.

So you got one candidate who you're done with and another candidate that you have a long way to go. Is that correct?

COMEY:

I don't know how far the -- the FBI has to go, but yes, that -- the Clinton e-mail investigation was completed. The investigation of Russia's efforts in connection with the election, and whether there was any coordination, and, if so, with whom, between Russia and the campaign...

(CROSSTALK)

MCCAIN:

You just made it -- you just made it...

COMEY:

... was ongoing when I left.

MCCAIN:

You just made it clear in what you said, this is a, quote, "big deal," unquote.

I think it's hard to reconcile, in once case you reach complete conclusion, and the other side, you have -- you have not, and you -- in fact, obviously, there's a lot there, as -- as we know -- as you called it a, quote, "big deal." She's one of the candidates. But in her case, you say there will be no charges, and in the case of President Trump, there -- the -- the investigation continues.

MCCAIN:

What has been brought out in this hearing is -- is more and more emphasis on the Russian engagement and involvement in this campaign. How serious do you think this was?

COMEY:

Very serious. But -- I want to say some -- be clear. It was -- we have not announced, and there was no predication to announce, an investigation of whether the Russians may have coordinated with Secretary Clinton's campaign.

Secretary Clinton's...

(CROSSTALK)

MCCAIN:

... No, but -- they may not have been involved with her campaign. They were involved with the entire presidential campaign, obviously.

COMEY:

Of course. Yes, sir. And that is an investigation that began last summer, and, so far as I'm aware, continues.

MCCAIN:

So both President Trump and former Candidate Clinton are both involved in the investigation. Yet one of them, you said there's going to be no charges, and the other one, the -- the investigation continues.

Well, I think there's a double standard there, to tell you the truth. Then, when the president said to you -- you talked about the April 11th phone call, and he said, quote, "Because I've been very loyal to you, very loyal. We had that thing, you know," did that arouse your curiosity as what, quote, "that thing" was?

COMEY:

Yes.

MCCAIN:

Why didn't you ask him?

COMEY:

It didn't seem to me to be important for the conversation we were having, to understand it. I took it to be some -- an effort to -- to communicate to me this -- that there is a relationship between us where I've been good to you, you should be good to me.

MCCAIN:

Yeah, but I -- I think it would intensely arouse my curiosity if the president of the United States said "We had that thing, you know" -- I'd like to know what the hell that thing is, particularly if I'm the director of the FBI.

COMEY:

Yeah, I -- I get that, Senator. Honestly, I'll tell you what -- this is speculation, but what I concluded at the time is, in his memory, he was searching back to our encounter at the dinner, and was preparing himself to say, "I offered loyalty to you, you promised loyalty to me," and all of a sudden his memory showed him that did not happen, and I think he pulled up short.

That's just a guess, but I -- I -- a lot of conversations with humans over the years.

MCCAIN:

I think I would have had some curiosity if it had been about me, to be honest with you. So are you aware -- anything that would believe you (ph) -- to believe that the president or the members of the administration or members of the campaign could potentially be used to coerce or blackmail the administration?

COMEY:

That's a subject for investigations, not something I can comment on, sitting here.

MCCAIN:

But you've reached that conclusion as far as Secretary Clinton was concerned. But you're not reaching a conclusion as far as this administration is concerned. Are you aware of anything that would lead you to believe that information exists that could coerce members of the administration or blackmail the administration?

COMEY:

That's not a question I can answer, Senator.

BURR:

Senator's time has expired.

(UNKNOWN)

Thank you.

BURR:

All time's expired for the hearing. Can I say, for members -- we'll reconvene promptly at 1 p.m. in the hearing room. We have a vote scheduled for 1:45. I would suggest that all members promptly be there at 1 o'clock. We have about three minutes.

I'd like to have order. Photographers -- photographers, return to where you were, please. This hearing's not adjourned yet. Either that, or we'll remove you.

To members, we have about three minutes of updates that we would love to cover as soon as we get into the closed session, before we have an opportunity to spend some time with Director Comey.

Based on our agreement, it would be my intentions to adjourn that closed hearing between 2 and 2:10, so that members can go vote, and I would urge you to eat at that time.

Jim, several of us on this committee have had the opportunity to work with you since you walked in the door. I want to say, personally, on behalf of all this -- all the committee members, we're grateful to you for your service to your country, not just in the capacity as FBI director, but as prosecutor, and more importantly, being somebody that loves this country enough to tell it like it is.

BURR:

I want to say to your workforce that we're grateful to them -- with the level of cooperation that they have shown us, with the trust we've built between both organizations, the Congress and -- and the bureau. We couldn't do our job if it wasn't for their willingness to share candidly with us the work that we need to see.

This hearing's the ninth public hearing this committee has had this year. That is twice the historical year-long average of this committee. I think the vice chairman and my's (ph) biggest challenge, when this investigation has concluded, is to return our hearings to the secrecy of a closed hearing, to encourage our members not to freely talk about intelligence matters publicly and to respect the fact that we have a huge job.

And that's to represent the entire body of the United States Senate and the American people, to make sure that we work with the intelligence community to provide you the tools to keep America safe, and that you do it within the legal limit, or those limits that are set by the executive branch.

We could not do it if it wasn't for a trusted partnership that you have been able to lead, and others before you. So as -- as we depart from this, this is a pivotal hearing in our investigation. We're grateful to you for the professionalism you've shown, and your willingness.

I will turn to the vice chairman.

WARNER:

I simply want to echo, one, again the thanks for your appearance. And there clearly still remain a number of questions.

And the one thing I want to commit to you, and more importantly, I think, Chairman, I want to commit to all those who are still potentially watching and following -- there's still a lot of unanswered questions, and we're going to get to the bottom of this.

We're going to get the facts out. The American people deserve to know. There's the questions around implications of Trump officials and the Russians, but there's also the macro issue of what the Russians did and continue to do.

And I think it is very important that all Americans realize that threat is real. It is continuous. It is not just towards our nation. It is all -- towards all Western democracies. And we have to come to a solution set (ph).

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

BURR:

Director Comey, thank you once again on behalf on the committee.

This hearing's adjourned.

List of Panel Members and Witnesses

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WITNESSES:

FORMER FBI DIRECTOR JAMES COMEY