	on is considered acept where otherwise TOP SECRET//NOFORN U.S. FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE UNITED STATES SURVEILLANCE COURT	
Classify By: J2 Reason: (C) Derived From Declassify On:	23J98T32 FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT E FBI NSICG, dated 10-2016	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
• .	(S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S. Docket Number:	. •
	PERSON.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION	
	(\$) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority conduct	
	to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United	b1-1 b3-1
	States Code (U.S.C.), §§ (FISA or the Act).	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	1. (U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application	is
	made by the second second a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal	
	Bureau of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include	b1-1 b3-1
	supervision of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon	b6-1 b7A-1
	information officially furnished to	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
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Declassify on:

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OI Tracking No. 143045

2. (5) Identity of the Target The target of this application is Carter W.
 Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
 status of the target was determined in or about October 2016 from information

3. (§) <u>Statement of Facts</u> The United States relies upon the following facts and circumstances in support of this application. b3-1 b7A-1

a. (x) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.

(§) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.

(U) (3) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

(U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the <u>Diplomatic List</u>, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

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## (U) (S) Carter W. Page

knowingly engage in b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2

clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

(SMNR) This application targets Carter Page. The FBI believes Page has been the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government

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undermine and influence the outcome of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election in	b6-2
undernimie and minderice the outcome of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election in	b7A-1
	b7C-2
violation of U.S. criminal law. Page is a former foreign policy advisor to a	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1).	

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# I. (U) (S//MR) <u>RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections</u>.

(SAXIX) During a recent interview with an identified news organization, the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, … I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."

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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1,2

(SAXING In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the

Democratic National Committee (DNC). <sup>1</sup>	
	b1-1
	b3-1
There has been speculation in U.S. media that the Russian Government was	b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2, 3
behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack. Russian	

President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was not

responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a net

positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public." Despite

Russia's denial, b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

<sup>1</sup> (SX/XME) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.

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In addition, according to b3-1

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an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures are intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow – the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement states that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities.

(SMMX) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence

U.S. elections,

the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination with Carter Page

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and

to undermine and improperly and illegally	b1-1
influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election.	b3-1 b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

As stated in the legislative history of FISA:

Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor or the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

# II. <sup>(U)</sup>XX/NX) <u>The Russian Government's Attempts to Influence the 2016 U.S.</u> <u>Presidential Election</u>.

(SXXXF) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos<sup>2</sup> and Carter Page (the

target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her



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the FBI believe	es that the Russian Go	vernment's efforts	are being	
coordinated with Page and	perhaps other individ	luals associated wi	th Candidate	
#1's campaign				
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(U) XXXXXXXIII or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov
and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court
for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951
(conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government).
According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the
SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an
employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two
other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

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Russia.<sup>6</sup> The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.

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(U) <sup>6</sup> (SAMEX Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia, without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison.

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(U) B. (SANAN Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.

XSXXX) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School.<sup>7</sup> In b1-1 b3-1 addition to giving this address, the FBI has learned that Page met with at least two b7A-1 Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI b7E-1, 2 confidential human source (Source #1),<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> (XX/NIXX Source #1	b1-1

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(TSX/XXX) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a

U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

(U) **(TSX/XVP)** Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s), described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI.

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b7E-1, 2	b7A-1
	b7D-1
	b7E-1, 2

**XRS/AXR)** Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible.





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secret meeting with Igor Sechin, who is the President of Rosneft [a Russian energy	
company] and a close associate to Russian President Putin. <sup>10</sup>	b1-1 b3-1
reported that, during the meeting, Page and Sechin discussed future bilateral energy	b7A-1 b7D-1
cooperation and the prospects for an associated move to lift Ukraine-related Western	b7E- 1, 2
sanctions against Russia.	
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(U) <sup>10</sup> (SMNEX) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin – a key component to his current standing."

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<sup>(U)</sup> <sup>12</sup> (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.



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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter Page.

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# IV.(U) (STATE) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government.

(U) (SMNR) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former

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Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election. <sup>18</sup> (U) (SWNE) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut 'U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports

<sup>18</sup> (S) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

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The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly

provided this information to the press.

of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

(SXANE) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as (U) in other recent articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly has made public statements in an attempt to create the appearance of distance between Page and Candidate #1's campaign. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's current campaign manager (the September 25th News

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Article). During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page is not part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page has been meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign ...."

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(U) (SAXIEX On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations is nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet this year with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to

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discuss any "final" questions the FBI may have.<sup>19</sup>

(SX/XNE) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations are complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he would be taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations are a



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VII. (U) <u>Conclusion</u> .	
(U) (MANY) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaboration	ng
and conspiring with the Russian Government,	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2
Based on th	ie
foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to	
believe that Page	
knowingly engage in	
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or	
on behalf of such foreign power, or knowingly conspires with other persons to	•
engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by	Ÿ
50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).	
	b7A-1

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the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that

such activities involve or are about to involve violations of the criminal statutes of

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5. (3) <u>Nature of the Information Sought</u> Through the authorities	b1-1 b3-1
requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the	
certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is	
seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability o	of
the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an	
intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign	
power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that	
relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the	
foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally	
acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.	

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#### (U) <u>The Purpose of the Authorities Requested</u>

(S) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual

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criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for

of this target.



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(S) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also, 9. b1-1 b3-1 The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended. Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.



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the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.





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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to

the Court.

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## (U) VERIFICATION

 $(\mathbf{x})$  I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United

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States Code, § 1746 on/0,//6	b3-1
	b7A-1

	b6-1
	b7A-1
Supervisory Special Agent	b7C-1
Federal Provent (T	

Federal Bureau of Investigation

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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## (U) CERTIFICATION

(a) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials
authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence
Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the <a href="https://www.selfied.application.com">https://www.selfied.application.</a>
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:
(A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.

(B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.

(C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authoritiesb1-1b3-1b3-1b7A-1b7A-1b7E-1, 2, 3, 6b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(D) (2) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

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information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b1-1b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



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		b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 8
(U) <b>(S)</b>		b6-2
		b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
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(U) (S) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(S) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding **Carter W. Page** in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of

1978, as amended.

James B. Comey

Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

John O. Brennan Director of the Central Intelligence Agency

James R. Clapper, Jr. Director of National Intelligence John F. Kerry Secretary of State

Antony J. Blinken Deputy Secretary of State

Ash Carter Secretary of Defense

Susan E. Rice Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Stephanie O'Sullivan Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence



I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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b7A-1

### (U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding **Carter W. Page** satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



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(2) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

W. Page with the Court,

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1

Loretta E. Lynch Attorney General of the United States

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Sally Quillian Vates () Deputy Attorney General of the United States

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Assistant Attorney General for National Security b1-1 b3-1

b3-1 b7A-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, IFISC certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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(U) (§) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,

b6-3 b7A-1 b7C-3

U.S. Department of Justice

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Olerk, FISC, certify that this document is

a true and correct copy of the original.

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All Information except where ot	is considered unclassified herwise shown	SE	CRET	United Sta	lled Ites Foreign Irvellance Court
•		UNITE	D STATES	DCT 1	2016
Classify By: J23 Reason: (C)	FOREI <u>GN</u> IN I	ELLIGEN	CE SURVEILLANCE C	OURT b	lail, Clerk of Court
Derived From: Declassify On:	FBI NSICG, dated 102016	WASHIN	GTON, D. C.		3-1 7A-1
	IN RE CARTER W. PAGE,	AU.S.	Docket Number:		b1-1 b3-1
	PERSON				b7A-1
	PRIM	ARY ORD	ER AND WARRANT		
· · ·	1. An application having	ng been ma	de by the United States	s of America	
	pursuant to the Foreign Int	elligence S	urveillance Act of 1978,	, as amended,	50
	U.S.C. §§	1	SA or the Act), for an o		
	(hereinafter "order") for			and	
	consideration having been	given to th	ne matters set forth ther	ein, the Court	finds b1-1
	as follows:			· .	b3-1 b7A-1
	2. The application has	been mad	e by a Federal officer a	nd approved b	y the b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	Attorney General;				·
	3. On the basis of the	facts subm	itted in the verified app	olication, there	is
	probable cause to believe	that:			
			SECRET	:	
	Derived from	n: A in	pplication to the USFIS Docket Number captic	ned above b	1-1 3-1 57A-1

Declassify on:

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b3-1 b7A-1



procedures under

5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis	s
of the statements made unde	b1-1 b3-1
any other information furnished under	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



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### **SECRET**

This authorization	regarding Carter W. Page expires at	Eastern Time
on the	day of January, 2017.	b1-1 b3-1
		b7A-1

Signed	10-2016		Eastern Time
	Date	Time	

ROSEMARY M. COLLYER Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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All informatior unclassified exc otherwise show Classify By: J2 Reason: (C) Derived From: Declassify On:	tept where m. TOP SECRET//N 3J98T32 UNITED FBI NSICG, dated 01-2017	STATES SURVEILLANCE COURT b1-1 CLERN OF COURT TON, D.C. b3-1	
	(S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.	b7A-1 Docket Number:	
	PERSON.	bi	l-1 3-1 7A-1
	(U) VERIFIED	APPLICATION	
	(S) The United States of America he	ereby applies to this Court for authority to	)
	conduct	as described herein, pursuant	
	to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Ac	t of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United	b1-1 b3-1
	States Code (U.S.C.), §§	FISA or the Act).	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	1. (U) Identity of Federal Office	er Making Application This application is	S
	made by a Supervisory S	Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau	b1-1 b3-1
	of Investigation (FBI) whose official dutie	s at FBI Headquarters include supervisior	1 < 1
	of the FBI's investigation of the above-cap	tioned target based upon information	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	officially furnished to		



OI Tracking No. 144610 17-cv-597(FBI)-84

3. (S) <u>Statement of Facts</u> The United States relies upon the following facts and circumstances in support of this application.

	b3-1
a. ( $\mathbf{X}$ ) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
( <b>S</b> ) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a	

description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.

(U) (3) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.

(U) (2) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

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b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(U) (3) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in Permanent Missions to the United Nations, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(U) (3) <u>Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation</u>





or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

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### I. (U) Overview.

(SMARX This application seeks renewed authority to conduct	
(XXXXXX This application seeks reliewed addroins) to at	b1-1
t Got De The EBI boliovos Page has been the	b3-1
of Carter Page. The FBI believes Page has been the	b6-2
	b7A-1
subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	b7C-2
	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Page is	\$

a former foreign policy advisor to a Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1).<sup>1</sup> As discussed in greater detail below, the FBI believes that the Russian Government engaged in efforts to undermine and influence the outcome of the 2016 U.S.

Presidential election.	;		b1-1
			b3-1 b7A-1
			b7E- 1, 2
			, ,

<sup>1</sup> (S) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President. Although Candidate #1 is now the President-elect, in order to maintain the historical accuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the original references to Candidate #1 and members of Candidate #1's campaign team will remain the same as in the initial application filed in this matter (*see* docket number

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# Influence Operations Against the United States.

(U) A. (SMNEX RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

> b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



(SMNF) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the

Democratic National Committee (DNC).<sup>2</sup>

There has been speculation in the U.S. media that the Russian Government	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1
was behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack.	b7E- 1, 2, 3
Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was	
not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a	
net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public."	
Despite Russia's denial	

b-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

<sup>2</sup> (SMNEX According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.

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addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the current U.S. Presidential Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia

took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].

(SXNEX Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence

. and foreign elections,					
and the information of	discussed herei	in regarding	Russia's coor	dination	b1-1 b3-1
h Carter Page					b7A-1 b7E-1,
		to attempt t	o undermine	and	
properly and illegally influe	ence the 2016 U	S. President	ial election.		
			•	······································	
			•		
			·		
					b7A
					b7A b7E-

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Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

(U)

### B. (SX/XXFX The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(the XSY/XXP) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos<sup>3</sup> and Carter Page (the

target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her



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	_
(State As discussed below, Page has established relationships with	
Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	
Russian Government official, and b	b1-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1
	b7D-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3



	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
from approximately 2004 - 2007, Page lived in Russia During this time, Page b	b7A-1 began b7E-1, 2
business dealings with Gazprom	
	b1-1 b3-1
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	b6-2
interview with the FBI	Page b/A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1 b3-1 b6-2
<sup>5</sup> (SXNX)	b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
<sup>6</sup> (SXNX)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

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(U) (SMANF) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government). According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of Russia.<sup>7</sup> The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City

<sup>(</sup>U) <sup>7</sup> (SAME) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison.

residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



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### B. (SMANF) Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.

(SANK) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to

Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School. <sup>8</sup> In		
Russia and delivered the commencement address at the rice Decision of Subora		
addition to giving this address, the FBI learned that Page met with at least two		
		Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI
	b7E-1, 2	
confidential human source (Source #1), <sup>9</sup> <b>Constant and a</b> reported that Page had a		

 (U) 8 (SX/XXE)
 b3-1

 b7A-1
 b7E-1, 2, 4

XXXXXXXX Source #1	
has been an FBI sou	rce since
Source #1 has been compensated	by the FBI.
in or about Octob	per 2016, the FBI suspended its

relationship with Source #1 due to Source #1's unauthorized disclosure of information to the press. Notwithstanding the suspension of its relationship with Source #1, the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable as previous reporting from Source #1 has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings. Moreover, the FBI notes that the incident that led to the FBI suspending its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

(U) **(XS/XXF)** Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

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(U) **(U) (U) (U)** Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI.



(TSXAXE) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible.

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	b7E-1, 2



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secret meeting with Igor Sechin, who is the President of Rosneft [a Russian energy	b1-1
company] and a close associate to Russian President Putin. <sup>11</sup>	1.0.1
that, during the meeting, Page and Sechin discussed future bilateral energy	b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
cooperation and the prospects for an associated move to lift Ukraine-related Western	n
sanctions against Russia.	
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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	b3-1 b7A-1
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(U) <sup>11</sup> (SANK) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury b7E-1, 2 (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin – a key component to his current standing."



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	had met secretly with Page	b1-1 b3-1
and that their agenda for the meeting included Div	vyekin raising a dossier or	b7A-1 b7D-1
"kompromat" <sup>13</sup> that the Kremlin possessed on Can	ndidate #2 and the possibility of it	b7E-1,
peing released to Candidate #1's campaign. <sup>14</sup>		
(TS)		

politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.



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		b7E-1, 2
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(ALSX/INEX		b7A-1
		b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
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		b1-1
		b3-1
		b7A-1
<sup>17</sup> ( <b>TS(2)(SE)</b> )		b7D-1
		b7E-1, 2
N		
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18 (TRSX ANDA)		 b1-1 b3-1
		b7A-1
		b7D-1
		b7E-1, 2

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	b3-1
	b7A-1
	b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
	0712-1, 2
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	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2
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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that	
Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's	
platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel	
forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders	

in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make

sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter



b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

## IV.<sup>(U)</sup> (SX/XXX) <u>Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to</u> <u>Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election</u>.

(U) (SX/XXXX) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have

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responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.<sup>19</sup>

(U) (SXXXX) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article

<sup>19</sup> (S) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

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The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) **(XSXNR)** In or about late October 2016, however, after the Director of the FBI sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI has suspended its relationship with Source #1 because of this disclosure.
also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

(U) **(BXANF**) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was

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based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager. During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign ...."

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(U) (SX/XXF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss

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any "final" questions the FBI may have.<sup>20</sup>

(SMAN) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."



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(U)5. (**x**) Nature of the Information SoughtThrough the authoritiesb1-1<br/>b3-1<br/>b7A-1<br/>b7A-1<br/>b7E-1, 2, 3, 6requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with<br/>respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in theb1-1<br/>b3-1<br/>b7A-1<br/>b7E-1, 2, 3, 6certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is<br/>seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability ofIthe United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an<br/>intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign<br/>power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that<br/>relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the

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foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.





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#### (U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(S) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for

of this target. b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



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# 9. (S) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,

 

 The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign
 b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1

 intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same
 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

 type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested.
 The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental

 and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised
 to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and

 the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a
 given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

 Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period
 of ninety (90) days.

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(U)(**S**) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.





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(U) (**3**) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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## (U) VERIFICATION

(S) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1



Federal Bureau of Investigation

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC,

certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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## (U) CERTIFICATION

(S) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials
 authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence
 Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the second requested in this verified application targeting
 Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

 (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
 foreign intelligence information.

(B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is <u>not</u> to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.

 (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities
 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques.
 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
 (U) (D) (X) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the
 authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

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information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type
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 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



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(U) (S) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(S) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding **Carter W. Page** in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended.

James B. Comey Director

John F. Kerry Secretary of State

Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Antony J. Blinken Deputy Secretary of State

John O. Brennan Director of the Central Intelligence Agency

Ash Carter Secretary of Defense

James R. Clapper, Jr. Director of National Intelligence

Susan E. Rice Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Stephanie O'Sullivan Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, TOP SECRET//NOFORN/FISA certify that this document is a true and correct copy -76of the original.

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## (U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign
 Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



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(5) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

W. Page with the Court, b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1

Loretta E. Lynch Attorney General of the United States e

Sally Quillian Yates Deputy Attorney General of the United States

Date

Assistant Attorney General for National Security b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC,

certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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(U) (S) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



Attorney U.S. Department of Justice

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC,

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hail, Clerk, Flo certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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Classify By: J23J98T32 Reason: (C)		the second second	•	
Derived From: FBI NSICG, c Declassify On:		ECRET	Filed United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court	
All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.		ED STATES		2017 b1-1 Clerk of Court <sup>b3-1</sup>
	FOREIGN INTELLIGEN WASHIN	CE SURVEILLANCE C	COURT	b7A-1
IN RE CAR PERSON	TER W. PAGE, A U.S.	Docket Number:		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	PRIMARY ORDE	R AND WARRANT		
	plication having been made			
pursuant to t U.S.C. §§	he Foreign Intelligence Surv		*	
(hereinafter "		or the Act), for an orde		- -
consideration	having been given to the m	atters set forth therein,	the Court finds	
as follows:	plication has been made by a			b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
3. On the b probable cause	pasis of the facts submitted i to believe that:	n the verified applicati	on, there is	
	SECRE			
De	minut I C	on to the USFISC		

Application to the USFISC	
in Docket Number captioned above	b1-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1

Declassify on:

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign b7A-1 b7E-1,2 power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by 4. The minimization procedures proposed in the application have been b1-1 adopted by the Attorney General and meet the definition of minimization b3-1 b7A-1 procedures under b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis b1-1 b3-1 of the statements made unde b7A-1 and b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 any other information furnished unde

WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

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This authoriza	ation regarding Ca	arter W. Page exp	ires Eastern Ti	me
on the	day of A	April, 2017.		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed	01 - 20 Date	Time	Eastern Time	

MICHAEL W. MOSMAN Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

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	(\$) IN RE CARTER W	. PAGE, A U.S.	Docket Number:		
	PERSON.			b1- - b3- b7 <i>F</i>	1
		(U) VERIFIED	APPLICATION		
	(Š) The United S	States of America he	reby applies to this C	Court for authority	to
	conduc		, as describ	ed herein, pursuar	
	to the Foreign Intellige	nce Surveillance Act	of 1978, as amended	, Title 50, United	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	States Code (U.S.C.), §		FISA or the A	ct).	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	1. (U) <u>Identii</u>	y of Federal Office	Making Application	n This application	is
	made by	, a Supervisory Sp	pecial Agent (SSA) of	the Federal Bureau	03-1
	of Investigation (FBI) v	whose official duties	at FBI Headquarters	include supervisic	b6-1 on b7A-1 b7C-1
	of the FBI's investigation	on of the above-capt	ioned target based up	oon information	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	officially furnished to				



OI Tracking No. 146281 17-cv-597(FBI)-182

2. (S) <u>Identity of the Target</u> The target of this application is Carter W.
Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The status of the target was determined in or about December 2016 from information
provided by the U.S. Department of State.

b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

3. (X) <u>Statement of Facts</u> The United States relies upon the following facts and circumstances in support of this application. b1-1 b3-1

a. 
(𝔅) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
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b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(**x**) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign

power.

(U) (S) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.

(U) (\$ The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

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(U) (St The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in Permanent Missions to the United Nations, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(U) (S) <u>Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation</u>



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agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

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I. (U) <u>Overview</u> .	
(\$/XINK) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct	b1-1
of Carter Page. The FBI believes that Page has been	b3-1 b6-2
the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Page is a former foreign policy advisor to a Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate	
#1). <sup>1</sup> As discussed in greater detail below, the FBI believes that the Russian	
Government engaged in efforts to undermine and influence the outcome of the 2016	,

 U.S. Presidential election.
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 b7A-1

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 b7E-1, 2

<sup>1</sup>(**S**) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President. Although Candidate #1 is now the President, in order to maintain the historical accuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the original references to Candidate #1 and members of Candidate #1's campaign team will remain the same as in previous applications filed in this matter (*see* docket numbers

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(U) A. XS/XXF) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

(\$\$%\X\$) During a September 2016 interview with an identified news organization, the then Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The then DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The then DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."

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(SXAXE) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the

Democratic National Committee (DNC).<sup>2</sup>

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There has been speculation in the U.S. media that the Russian Government	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
was behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack.	
Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was	
not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a	
net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public."	

Despite Russia's denial

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<sup>2</sup> (SXINF) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.

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addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow – the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the U.S. Presidential

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Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].

(STAXE) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence

U.S. and foreign elections,	
, and the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
with Carter Page	b7E-1, 2
to attempt to undermine and	
improperly and illegally influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election.	J
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As stated in the legislative history of FISA:	
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Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

### (U) B. XSXXXX The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(SX/XHE) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos<sup>3</sup> and Carter Page (the

target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her

foreign policy team.	b1-1
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	b7E-1, 2
, the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the	

2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other



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from approximately 2004 - 2007, Page lived in Russia During this time, Page began	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
business dealings with Gazprom	-
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(U) (SXINE) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government). According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

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Russia.<sup>8</sup> The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.

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<sup>(</sup>U) <sup>6</sup> (SX/XXF) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison. According to information provided by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Buryakov was released on March 31, 2017.



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# FBI notes that the incident that led the FBI to terminate its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

(U) **(US#XXEX** Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

(U) **XXXXF**) Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI.

Infed Source #1 and to the FBI.	b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
( <b>XS//XXX</b> ) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
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that, during the meeting, Page and Sechin discussed future bilateral energy	b1-1	
cooperation and the prospects for an associated move to lift Ukraine-related Weste		
sanctions against Russia.	b7D-1 b7E-1, 2	
(TSX/XXF) according to Source #1		
(INSERVER) according to Source #1,		
	b1-1 b3-1	
Divyekin [who is assessed to be Igor Nikolayevich Divyekin],	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2	
had met secretly with Page		
and that their agenda for the meeting included Divyekin raising a dossier or		
"kompromat" <sup>14</sup> that the Kremlin possessed on Candidate #2 and the possibility of it		
<sup>13</sup> (XSX/XXX)	b1-1	

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(U) <sup>14</sup> (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.

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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel	

forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders

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in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter



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# IV. (U) (SX/XXX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(U) (SX/XMP) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as

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deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have

responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.<sup>20</sup>

(U) (XXXX) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article

<sup>20</sup> (**S**) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to

conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

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The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly

provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) **(XSMNK)** In or about late October 2016, however, after the Director of the FBI sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI has now closed Source #1 as an active source.

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also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

(U) (SCANNER) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was

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based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager. During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign ...."

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(U) (SX/XX) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss

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any "final" questions the FBI may have.<sup>21</sup>

(SXXXX) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."



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(U) G. (S//NF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

(\$XXXXXXIII or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members of [Candidate #2's] campaign and their political allies last year." In his letter, Page claims that he has not directly supported a political campaign since September 2016, but continues to be subjected to personal attacks by former members of Candidate #2's campaign based on fictitious information. Page wrote that his academic lecture and related meetings with scholars and business people in Moscow had no connection to the U.S. election. Page attributes the assertions in the September 23rd News Article that Page met with two senior Russian officials

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(i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate #2's campaign, certain members of the U.S. Congress, and the media are lies that were completely fabricated by Candidate #2's paid



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 5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought
 Through the authorities
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 requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with
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 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the

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foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally

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acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.

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## (U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(\$) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for the FBI's investigation is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target.

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(S) <u>Duration of the Authorities Requested</u> (See also, b7A-1 The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended. Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.

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(3) Specific Authorities Requested Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.







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(U) (\$) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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## (U) VERIFICATION

(S) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United	b1-1
States Code, § 1746 on April 2017	b3-1 b7A-1



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### (U) CERTIFICATION

(\$) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials	
authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence	
Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the	I
requested in this verified application targeting	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.

(B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is <u>not</u> to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.

(C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b1-1requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. b7A-1b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

 (E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot
be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



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( <b>X</b> )			b1-1
			b3-1 b7A-1
			b7E-1, 2, 3

(U) (3) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

(6) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of

1978, as amended.

Iames B. Comey Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Rex Tillerson Secretary of State

Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Michael R. Pompeo Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Deputy Secretary of State

James N. Mattis Secretary of Defense

Daniel R. Coats Director of National Intelligence H.R. McMaster Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence

Date

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# (U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.

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		 	 _	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 6
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(S) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding **Carter** 

W. Page with the Court,

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1 oral

Dana J. Boente<sup>27</sup> Acting Attorney General of the United States

 $^{27}$  (U) Pursuant to Executive Order 13787 (March 31, 2017), Dana J. Boente is serving as the Acting Attorney General with respect to this matter by virtue of the Attorney General's recusal.

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(U) (3) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,

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U.S. Department of Justice

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All information except where oth	is considered unclassified nerwise shown.			United States Intelligence Sume	
Classify By: J2	3J98T32	-SECI	RET	Intelligence Surve	illance Court
Reason: (C) Derived From: 04 2017	FBI NSICG, dated	UNITED	STATES	APR 2	017
Declassify On:	FOREIG	N INTELLIGENCE	SURVEILLANC	LeeAnn Flynn Hall, C E COURT b1-1	lerk of Court
		WASHINGT	ON, D. C.	b3-1 b7A-	1
	IN RE CARTER W. PA	AGE, A U.S.	Docket Numb	er:	
	PERSON				b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	P	RIMARY ORDER	AND WARRAN	T	
	1. An application	having been made b	y the United Sta	tes of America	
	pursuant to the Foreig	n Intelligence Surve	illance Act of 197	8, as amended, 50	
	U.S.C. §§	FISA o	r the Act), for an	order and warrant	
	(hereinafter "order") fo	Dr		and full	
	consideration having b	een given to the ma	tters set forth the	rein, the Court find	ls
	as follows:				b1-1 b3-1
	2. The application	has been made by a	Federal officer a	nd approved by th	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	Attorney General;				
	3. On the basis of the	he facts submitted ir	n the verified app	lication, there is	
	probable cause to believ	ve that:			

t :

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Derived from:	Application to the USFISC	b1-1
	in Docket Number captioned above	b3-1
Declassify on:		b7A-1

**SECRET** 



FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

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#### **SECRET**



in

Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

HSC, certily that this document is a true and contract copy of the original.

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# UNITED STATES

All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.

# FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

b1-1 WASHINGTON, D.C. b3-1

Docket Number:

b7A-1

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

assify On:

(S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

PERSON.

# (U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

(S) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to

conduct as described herein, pursuant	b1-1 b3-1
to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
States Code (U.S.C.), §§	

1. (U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is	b1-1
made by <b>Sector Sector</b> a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau	b3-1 b6-1 b7A-1
of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervision	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon information	

officially furnished to

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OI Tracking No. 147743 17-cv-597(FBI)-292

2. (S) Identity of the Target The target of this application is Carter W.
 Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The b1-1 b3-1 b3-1
 status of the target was determined in or about June 2017 from information provided b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

3. (**S**) <u>Statement of Facts</u> The United States relies upon the following facts b1-1 b3-1 and circumstances in support of this application. b7A-1

a.  $(\mathfrak{X})$  The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.

(**S**) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.

(U) (S) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.

(U) (§) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

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(U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the <u>Diplomatic List</u>, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(S) <u>Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation</u>



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or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

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 I. (U) Overview.

 (%/XXF) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct

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 b3-1

 b6-2

 b7A-1

 b7C-2

 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(S//NK) Page is a former foreign policy advisor to a Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1).<sup>1</sup> As discussed in greater detail below, the FBI believes that the Russian Government engaged in efforts to undermine and influence the outcome of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election.

b7E-1, 2

1 (\$) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President.b1-1Although Candidate #1 is now the President, in order to maintain the historicalb3-1accuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the originalb7A-1references to Candidate #1 and members of Candidate #1's campaign team willb7A-1

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b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

# II. (U) (S//NR) <u>The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in</u> <u>Influence Operations Against the United States</u>.

(U) A. (S//NR) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

(\$\%/ME) During a September 2016 interview with an identified news organization, the then Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The then DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The then DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."



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(SX/NX) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the

Democratic National Committee (DNC). <sup>2</sup>	b1-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3
	D/E-1, 2, 3
There has been speculation in the U.S. media that the Russian Government	

was behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack.

Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was

not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a

net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public."

Descrite Descriptor Isola	b1-1
Despite Russia's denial,	b3-1
	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3

<sup>2</sup> (**%**//**N**K) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.

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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

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addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the U.S. Presidential

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Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].

(%/XXF) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence

U.S. and foreign elections,	
and the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination	b1-1 b3-1
with Carter Page	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
to attempt to undermine and	
improperly and illegally influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election.	
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(U) (S/NK)	
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
As stated in the legislative history of FISA:	

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Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

## (U) B. (X/XX) The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

 $(\mathbf{X}/\mathbf{NF})$  In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos<sup>3</sup> and Carter Page (the

target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her



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	I
(%/%) As discussed below, Page has established relationships with	b3-1 b7E-1, 2
4 (S//XX)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2



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	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
(U)(数/松子)	
	7A-1 7E-1, 2
During this time, Page began	
business dealings with Gazprom	
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(U) (%//NK) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government). According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

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Russia.<sup>8</sup> The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.

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		b7C-2
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<sup>(</sup>U) <sup>8</sup> (**X**//**XF**) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison. According to information provided by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Buryakov was released on March 31, 2017.



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# FBI notes that the incident that led the FBI to terminate its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

(U) (KSX/NR) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

(U)(**XS**//**NR**) Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI.

b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

b1-1

b3-1

(XX//XX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible.



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secret meeting with Igor Sechin, who is the President of Rosneft [a Russian energy company] and a close associate to Russian President Putin. <sup>12</sup>	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
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<sup>12</sup> (S//NX) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin – a key component to his current standing."

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had met secretly with Page	b1-1
and that their agenda for the meeting included Divyekin raising a dossier or	b3-1 b7A-1
"kompromat" <sup>15</sup> that the Kremlin possessed on Candidate #2 and the possibility of it	b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
being released to Candidate #1's campaign. <sup>16</sup>	
(U) <sup>15</sup> ( <b>X</b> ) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.	
<sup>16</sup> ( <b>%</b> // <b>NR</b> )	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
<sup>17</sup> ( <b>XX</b> //X <b>K</b> )	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1 b7D-1
	b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
<sup>18</sup> (KS//NF)	b1-1
	b3-1 b7A-1
	b7D-1 b7E-1, 2









a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people

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# IV. <sup>(U)</sup>(\$//NX) <u>Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to</u> <u>Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election</u>.

(U) (第/NR) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former

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Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> (**S**) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

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The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) (XS//NR) In or about late October 2016, however, after the FBI Director sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed

(U) (§//NK) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

(U) (§//NK) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign

herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI closed Source #1 as an active source.

advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager. During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign . . . . "

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(U) (S//XVF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director.

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In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss any "final" questions the FBI may have.<sup>23</sup>

(U)(\$\mathcal{V}/NX) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."





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#### (U) G. (SAXF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

(\$//XXF) In or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members of [Candidate #2's] campaign and their political allies last year." In his letter, Page claims that he has

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not directly supported a political campaign since September 2016, but continues to be subjected to personal attacks by former members of Candidate #2's campaign based on fictitious information. Page wrote that his academic lecture and related meetings with scholars and business people in Moscow had no connection to the U.S. election. Page attributes the assertions in the September 23rd News Article that Page met with two senior Russian officials (i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate #2's campaign, certain members of the U.S. Congress, and the media are lies that were completely fabricated by Candidate #2's paid consultants and private investigators.





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<ul> <li>VIII. (U) <u>Conclusion</u>.</li> <li>(U) (S(/NX) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaboratin and conspiring with the Russian Government,</li> </ul>	b7A-1
Based on the foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that Page	b7E-1, 2 e

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•	knowingly engage in	b7A-1
	clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or	b7E-1, 2
	on behalf of such foreign power, or knowingly conspires with other persons to	
	engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by	,
	50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).	
	$(\mathbf{U})$ $(\mathbf{S}/\mathbf{X}\mathbf{F})$	
	the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
	such activities involve or are about to involve violations of the criminal statutes of	
	the United States,	
	(U) ( <b>S</b> )	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
		b1-1 b3-1 b6-2
		b7A-1 b7C-2
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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

b1-1 5. (**S**) <u>Nature of the Information Sought</u> Through the authorities b3-1 b7A-1 requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with b7E-1, 23, 6 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.



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6.	(8) <u>Certification</u>	on The certificatior	n of the Assista	nt to the President for	b1-1 b3-1
NationalS	Security Affairs o	or an Executive brai	nch official dul	y designated by the	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
President	as a certifying o	fficial in Executive	Order Number		0,2,1,2,0,0
		as a	amended, is set	forth below.	
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					b7A-1
<b>(%</b> )					b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 7
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(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(3) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a

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9. (S) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign b3-1
b7A-1 intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested.
The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental
and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised
to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and
the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a
given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.
Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period
of ninety (90) days.



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(U) (S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.



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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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### (U) VERIFICATION

(S) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United

States Code, § 1746 on \_06 \_\_\_\_\_.

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Supervisory Special Agent	

Federal Bureau of Investigation

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#### (U) CERTIFICATION

(S) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials
authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence
Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the
cequested in this verified application targeting
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:
(A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is
foreign intelligence information.

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(B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is <u>not</u> to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.

(C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities
 b1-1
 b3-1
 b7A-1
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 (D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the
 authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

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information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b1-1b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



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(U) (3) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(X) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of

1978, as amended.

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Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Andrew G. McCabe

Deputy Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Michael Pompeo Director of the Central Intelligence Agency

Daniel R. Coats Director of National Intelligence Rex Tillerson Secretary of State

John J. Sullivan Deputy Secretary of State

James N. Mattis Secretary of Defense

H.R. McMaster Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence

16, 2717 Date

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### (U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.

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(S) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

W. Page with the Court, b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1

Deputy Attorney General of the United States

Date

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WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



U.S. Department of Justice

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Classify By: . Reason: (C)	J23J98T32 FBI NSICG <u>, da</u>		SHINGTO	ON, D. C.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1		
	the China A	ek w. PAGE, A U.S	•	Docket Number:		∎ b1-1	
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		PRIMARY	ORDER .	AND WARRANT			
	1. An ap	plication having bee	en made l	by the United States of	of America		
	pursuant to	the Foreign Intellige	nce Surve	eillance Act of 1978, a	s amended, 5	0	
	U.S.C. §§ 1		FISA	or the Act), for an ord		•	
	(hereinafter	"order") for			and f	ull	
	consideratio	on having been giver	ı to the m	atters set forth therei	n, the Court f	inds b1-1	
	as follows:					b3-1 b7A-1	
	2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the $b7E-1, 2, 3, 6$						
	Attorney G	eneral;					
	3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is						
	probable c	ause to believe that:					
			SEC	CRET			
		Derived from: Declassify on:	Appli in Do	cation to the USFISC cket Number caption	ed above	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	

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