

The presidential campaign of Donald J. Trump (“Trump Campaign” or “Campaign”) showed interest in WikiLeaks’s releases of documents and welcomed their potential to damage candidate Clinton. Beginning in June 2016, **Harm to Ongoing Matter** forecast to senior Campaign officials that WikiLeaks would release information damaging to candidate Clinton. WikiLeaks’s first release came in July 2016. Around the same time, candidate Trump announced that he hoped Russia would recover emails described as missing from a private server used by Clinton when she was Secretary of State (he later said that he was speaking sarcastically). **Harm to Ongoing Matter**

Harm to Ongoing Matter WikiLeaks began releasing Podesta’s stolen emails on October 7, 2016, less than one hour after a U.S. media outlet released video considered damaging to candidate Trump. Section III of this Report details the Office’s investigation into the Russian hacking operations, as well as other efforts by Trump Campaign supporters to obtain Clinton-related emails.

RUSSIAN CONTACTS WITH THE CAMPAIGN

The social media campaign and the GRU hacking operations coincided with a series of contacts between Trump Campaign officials and individuals with ties to the Russian government. The Office investigated whether those contacts reflected or resulted in the Campaign conspiring or coordinating with Russia in its election-interference activities. Although the investigation established that the Russian government perceived it would benefit from a Trump presidency and worked to secure that outcome, and that the Campaign expected it would benefit electorally from information stolen and released through Russian efforts, the investigation did not establish that members of the Trump Campaign conspired or coordinated with the Russian government in its election interference activities.

The Russian contacts consisted of business connections, offers of assistance to the Campaign, invitations for candidate Trump and Putin to meet in person, invitations for Campaign officials and representatives of the Russian government to meet, and policy positions seeking improved U.S.-Russian relations. Section IV of this Report details the contacts between Russia and the Trump Campaign during the campaign and transition periods, the most salient of which are summarized below in chronological order.

2015. Some of the earliest contacts were made in connection with a Trump Organization real-estate project in Russia known as Trump Tower Moscow. Candidate Trump signed a Letter of Intent for Trump Tower Moscow by November 2015, and in January 2016 Trump Organization executive Michael Cohen emailed and spoke about the project with the office of Russian government press secretary Dmitry Peskov. The Trump Organization pursued the project through at least June 2016, including by considering travel to Russia by Cohen and candidate Trump.

Spring 2016. Campaign foreign policy advisor George Papadopoulos made early contact with Joseph Mifsud, a London-based professor who had connections to Russia and traveled to Moscow in April 2016. Immediately upon his return to London from that trip, Mifsud told Papadopoulos that the Russian government had “dirt” on Hillary Clinton in the form of thousands

The presidential campaign of Donald J. Trump (“Trump Campaign” or “Campaign”) showed interest in WikiLeaks’s releases of documents and welcomed their potential to damage candidate Clinton. Beginning in June 2016, **former Campaign member Roger Stone** forecast to senior Campaign officials that WikiLeaks would release information damaging to candidate Clinton. WikiLeaks’s first release came in July 2016. Around the same time, candidate Trump announced that he hoped Russia would recover emails described as missing from a private server used by Clinton when she was Secretary of State (he later said that he was speaking sarcastically). **Stone stayed in regular contact with the Campaign claiming to have information about future releases by WikiLeaks, while privately asking his own associates to contact WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange and publicly boasting of his access to Assange.** WikiLeaks began releasing Podesta’s stolen emails on October 7, 2016, less than one hour after a U.S. media outlet released video considered damaging to candidate Trump. Section III of this Report details the Office’s investigation into the Russian hacking operations, as well as other efforts by Trump Campaign supporters to obtain Clinton-related emails.

RUSSIAN CONTACTS WITH THE CAMPAIGN

The social media campaign and the GRU hacking operations coincided with a series of contacts between Trump Campaign officials and individuals with ties to the Russian government. The Office investigated whether those contacts reflected or resulted in the Campaign conspiring or coordinating with Russia in its election-interference activities. Although the investigation established that the Russian government perceived it would benefit from a Trump presidency and worked to secure that outcome, and that the Campaign expected it would benefit electorally from information stolen and released through Russian efforts, the investigation did not establish that members of the Trump Campaign conspired or coordinated with the Russian government in its election interference activities.

The Russian contacts consisted of business connections, offers of assistance to the Campaign, invitations for candidate Trump and Putin to meet in person, invitations for Campaign officials and representatives of the Russian government to meet, and policy positions seeking improved U.S.-Russian relations. Section IV of this Report details the contacts between Russia and the Trump Campaign during the campaign and transition periods, the most salient of which are summarized below in chronological order.

2015. Some of the earliest contacts were made in connection with a Trump Organization real-estate project in Russia known as Trump Tower Moscow. Candidate Trump signed a Letter of Intent for Trump Tower Moscow by November 2015, and in January 2016 Trump Organization executive Michael Cohen emailed and spoke about the project with the office of Russian government press secretary Dmitry Peskov. The Trump Organization pursued the project through at least June 2016, including by considering travel to Russia by Cohen and candidate Trump.

Spring 2016. Campaign foreign policy advisor George Papadopoulos made early contact with Joseph Mifsud, a London-based professor who had connections to Russia and traveled to Moscow in April 2016. Immediately upon his return to London from that trip, Mifsud told Papadopoulos that the Russian government had “dirt” on Hillary Clinton in the form of thousands

and whether prosecution would serve a substantial federal interest that could not be adequately served by prosecution elsewhere or through non-criminal alternatives. See Justice Manual § 9-27.220.

Section V of the report provides detailed explanations of the Office's charging decisions, which contain three main components.

First, the Office determined that Russia's two principal interference operations in the 2016 U.S. presidential election—the social media campaign and the hacking-and-dumping operations—violated U.S. criminal law. Many of the individuals and entities involved in the social media campaign have been charged with participating in a conspiracy to defraud the United States by undermining through deceptive acts the work of federal agencies charged with regulating foreign influence in U.S. elections, as well as related counts of identity theft. See *United States v. Internet Research Agency, et al.*, No. 18-cr-32 (D.D.C.). Separately, Russian intelligence officers who carried out the hacking into Democratic Party computers and the personal email accounts of individuals affiliated with the Clinton Campaign conspired to violate, among other federal laws, the federal computer-intrusion statute, and they have been so charged. See *United States v. Netyksho, et al.*, No. 18-cr-215 (D.D.C.). Harm to Ongoing Matter

Personal Privacy

Second, while the investigation identified numerous links between individuals with ties to the Russian government and individuals associated with the Trump Campaign, the evidence was not sufficient to support criminal charges. Among other things, the evidence was not sufficient to charge any Campaign official as an unregistered agent of the Russian government or other Russian principal. And our evidence about the June 9, 2016 meeting and WikiLeaks's releases of hacked materials was not sufficient to charge a criminal campaign-finance violation. Further, the evidence was not sufficient to charge that any member of the Trump Campaign conspired with representatives of the Russian government to interfere in the 2016 election.

Third, the investigation established that several individuals affiliated with the Trump Campaign lied to the Office, and to Congress, about their interactions with Russian-affiliated individuals and related matters. Those lies materially impaired the investigation of Russian election interference. The Office charged some of those lies as violations of the federal false-statements statute. Former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn pleaded guilty to lying about his interactions with Russian Ambassador Kislyak during the transition period. George Papadopoulos, a foreign policy advisor during the campaign period, pleaded guilty to lying to investigators about, *inter alia*, the nature and timing of his interactions with Joseph Mifsud, the professor who told Papadopoulos that the Russians had dirt on candidate Clinton in the form of thousands of emails. Former Trump Organization attorney Michael Cohen pleaded guilty to making false statements to Congress about the Trump Moscow project. Harm to Ongoing Matter

And in February 2019, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia found that

and whether prosecution would serve a substantial federal interest that could not be adequately served by prosecution elsewhere or through non-criminal alternatives. See Justice Manual § 9-27.220.

Section V of the report provides detailed explanations of the Office's charging decisions, which contain three main components.

First, the Office determined that Russia's two principal interference operations in the 2016 U.S. presidential election—the social media campaign and the hacking-and-dumping operations—violated U.S. criminal law. Many of the individuals and entities involved in the social media campaign have been charged with participating in a conspiracy to defraud the United States by undermining through deceptive acts the work of federal agencies charged with regulating foreign influence in U.S. elections, as well as related counts of identity theft. See *United States v. Internet Research Agency, et al.*, No. 18-cr-32 (D.D.C.). Separately, Russian intelligence officers who carried out the hacking into Democratic Party computers and the personal email accounts of individuals affiliated with the Clinton Campaign conspired to violate, among other federal laws, the federal computer-intrusion statute, and they have been so charged. See *United States v. Netyksho, et al.*, No. 18-cr-215 (D.D.C.). (b) (5)

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Second, while the investigation identified numerous links between individuals with ties to the Russian government and individuals associated with the Trump Campaign, the evidence was not sufficient to support criminal charges. Among other things, the evidence was not sufficient to charge any Campaign official as an unregistered agent of the Russian government or other Russian principal. And our evidence about the June 9, 2016 meeting and WikiLeaks's releases of hacked materials was not sufficient to charge a criminal campaign-finance violation. Further, the evidence was not sufficient to charge that any member of the Trump Campaign conspired with representatives of the Russian government to interfere in the 2016 election.

Third, the investigation established that several individuals affiliated with the Trump Campaign lied to the Office, and to Congress, about their interactions with Russian-affiliated individuals and related matters. Those lies materially impaired the investigation of Russian election interference. The Office charged some of those lies as violations of the federal false-statements statute. Former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn pleaded guilty to lying about his interactions with Russian Ambassador Kislyak during the transition period. George Papadopoulos, a foreign policy advisor during the campaign period, pleaded guilty to lying to investigators about, *inter alia*, the nature and timing of his interactions with Joseph Mifsud, the professor who told Papadopoulos that the Russians had dirt on candidate Clinton in the form of thousands of emails. Former Trump Organization attorney Michael Cohen pleaded guilty to making false statements to Congress about the Trump Moscow project. Based on evidence of his lies to Congress and efforts to influence witnesses in the various Russia investigations, a grand jury charged Roger Stone with making false statements, obstruction of justice, and witness tampering. And in February 2019, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia found that

(b)(5)-2
(b)(6)/(b)(7)(C)-2

III. RUSSIAN HACKING AND DUMPING OPERATIONS

Beginning in March 2016, units of the Russian Federation's Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (GRU) hacked the computers and email accounts of organizations, employees, and volunteers supporting the Clinton Campaign, including the email account of campaign chairman John Podesta. Starting in April 2016, the GRU hacked into the computer networks of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) and the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The GRU targeted hundreds of email accounts used by Clinton Campaign employees, advisors, and volunteers. In total, the GRU stole hundreds of thousands of documents from the compromised email accounts and networks.¹⁰⁹ The GRU later released stolen Clinton Campaign and DNC documents through online personas, "DCLeaks" and "Guccifer 2.0," and later through the organization WikiLeaks. The release of the documents was designed and timed to interfere with the 2016 U.S. presidential election and undermine the Clinton Campaign.

The Trump Campaign showed interest in the WikiLeaks releases and, in the summer and fall of 2016, **Harm to Ongoing Matter**. After **HOM** WikiLeaks's first Clinton-related release **HOM**, the Trump Campaign stayed in contact **HOM** about WikiLeaks's activities. The investigation was unable to resolve **Harm to Ongoing Matter** WikiLeaks's release of the stolen Podesta emails on October 7, 2016, the same day a video from years earlier was published of Trump using graphic language about women.

A. GRU Hacking Directed at the Clinton Campaign

1. GRU Units Target the Clinton Campaign

Two military units of the GRU carried out the computer intrusions into the Clinton Campaign, DNC, and DCCC: Military Units 26165 and 74455.¹¹⁰ Military Unit 26165 is a GRU cyber unit dedicated to targeting military, political, governmental, and non-governmental organizations outside of Russia, including in the United States.¹¹¹ The unit was sub-divided into departments with different specialties. One department, for example, developed specialized malicious software ("malware"), while another department conducted large-scale spearphishing campaigns.¹¹² **Investigative Technique** a bitcoin mining operation to

¹⁰⁹ As discussed in Section V below, our Office charged 12 GRU officers for crimes arising from the hacking of these computers, principally with conspiring to commit computer intrusions, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§1030 and 371. See Volume I, Section V.B, *infra*; Indictment, *United States v. Netyksho*, No. 1:18-cr-215 (D.D.C. July 13, 2018), Doc. 1 ("Netyksho Indictment").

¹¹⁰ *Netyksho* Indictment ¶ 1.

¹¹¹ Separate from this Office's indictment of GRU officers, in October 2018 a grand jury sitting in the Western District of Pennsylvania returned an indictment charging certain members of Unit 26165 with hacking the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency, the World Anti-Doping Agency, and other international sport associations. *United States v. Aleksei Sergeevich Morenets*, No. 18-263 (W.D. Pa.).

¹¹² A spearphishing email is designed to appear as though it originates from a trusted source, and solicits information to enable the sender to gain access to an account or network, or causes the recipient to

III. RUSSIAN HACKING AND DUMPING OPERATIONS

Beginning in March 2016, units of the Russian Federation's Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (GRU) hacked the computers and email accounts of organizations, employees, and volunteers supporting the Clinton Campaign, including the email account of campaign chairman John Podesta. Starting in April 2016, the GRU hacked into the computer networks of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) and the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The GRU targeted hundreds of email accounts used by Clinton Campaign employees, advisors, and volunteers. In total, the GRU stole hundreds of thousands of documents from the compromised email accounts and networks.¹⁰⁹ The GRU later released stolen Clinton Campaign and DNC documents through online personas, "DCLeaks" and "Guccifer 2.0," and later through the organization WikiLeaks. The release of the documents was designed and timed to interfere with the 2016 U.S. presidential election and undermine the Clinton Campaign.

The Trump Campaign showed interest in the WikiLeaks releases and, in the summer and fall of 2016, **Roger Stone tried to connect with WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange through intermediaries. Stone boasted to senior Campaign officials about his access to Assange. After Stone's prediction of WikiLeaks's first Clinton-related release proved true, the Trump Campaign stayed in contact with Stone about WikiLeaks's activities. The investigation was unable to resolve whether Stone played a role in WikiLeaks's release of the stolen Podesta emails on October 7, 2016, the same day a video from years earlier was published of Trump using graphic language about women.**

A. GRU Hacking Directed at the Clinton Campaign

1. GRU Units Target the Clinton Campaign

Two military units of the GRU carried out the computer intrusions into the Clinton Campaign, DNC, and DCCC: Military Units 26165 and 74455.¹¹⁰ Military Unit 26165 is a GRU cyber unit dedicated to targeting military, political, governmental, and non-governmental organizations outside of Russia, including in the United States.¹¹¹ The unit was sub-divided into departments with different specialties. One department, for example, developed specialized malicious software ("malware"), while another department conducted large-scale spearphishing campaigns.¹¹² **(b) (7)(A), (b) (7)(E)** a bitcoin mining operation to

(b)(7)(E)-2

¹⁰⁹ As discussed in Section V below, our Office charged 12 GRU officers for crimes arising from the hacking of these computers, principally with conspiring to commit computer intrusions, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§1030 and 371. See Volume I, Section V.B, *infra*; Indictment, *United States v. Netyksho*, No. 1:18-cr-215 (D.D.C. July 13, 2018), Doc. 1 ("Netyksho Indictment").

¹¹⁰ *Netyksho* Indictment ¶ 1.

¹¹¹ Separate from this Office's indictment of GRU officers, in October 2018 a grand jury sitting in the Western District of Pennsylvania returned an indictment charging certain members of Unit 26165 with hacking the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency, the World Anti-Doping Agency, and other international sport associations. *United States v. Aleksei Sergeevich Morenets*, No. 18-263 (W.D. Pa.).

¹¹² A spearphishing email is designed to appear as though it originates from a trusted source, and solicits information to enable the sender to gain access to an account or network, or causes the recipient to

The GRU was also in contact through the Guccifer 2.0 persona with **HOM** a former Trump Campaign member **Harm to Ongoing Matter**

¹⁵⁴ In early August 2016, **HOM** Twitter's suspension of the Guccifer 2.0 Twitter account. After it was reinstated, GRU officers posing as Guccifer 2.0 wrote **HOM** via private message, "thank u for writing back . . . do u find anyt[h]ing interesting in the docs i posted?" On August 17, 2016, the GRU added, "please tell me if i can help u anyhow . . . it would be a great pleasure to me." On September 9, 2016, the GRU—again posing as Guccifer 2.0—referred to a stolen DCCC document posted online and asked **HOM** "what do u think of the info on the turnout model for the democrats entire presidential campaign." **HOM** responded, "pretty standard."¹⁵⁵ The investigation did not identify evidence of other communications between **HOM** and Guccifer 2.0.

3. Use of WikiLeaks

In order to expand its interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the GRU units transferred many of the documents they stole from the DNC and the chairman of the Clinton Campaign to WikiLeaks. GRU officers used both the DCLeaks and Guccifer 2.0 personas to communicate with WikiLeaks through Twitter private messaging and through encrypted channels, including possibly through WikiLeaks's private communication system.

a. WikiLeaks's Expressed Opposition Toward the Clinton Campaign

WikiLeaks, and particularly its founder Julian Assange, privately expressed opposition to candidate Clinton well before the first release of stolen documents. In November 2015, Assange wrote to other members and associates of WikiLeaks that "[w]e believe it would be much better for GOP to win . . . Dems+Media+liberals woudl [sic] then form a block to reign in their worst qualities. . . . With Hillary in charge, GOP will be pushing for her worst qualities., dems+media+neoliberals will be mute. . . . She's a bright, well connected, sadisitic sociopath."¹⁵⁶

In March 2016, WikiLeaks released a searchable archive of approximately 30,000 Clinton emails that had been obtained through FOIA litigation.¹⁵⁷ While designing the archive, one WikiLeaks member explained the reason for building the archive to another associate:

¹⁵⁴ **HOM**

¹⁵⁵ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**

¹⁵⁶ 11/19/15 Twitter Group Chat, Group ID 594242937858486276, @WikiLeaks et al. Assange also wrote that, "GOP will generate a lot oposition [sic], including through dumb moves. Hillary will do the same thing, but co-opt the liberal opposition and the GOP opposition. Hence hillary has greater freedom to start wars than the GOP and has the will to do so." *Id.*

¹⁵⁷ WikiLeaks, "Hillary Clinton Email Archive," available at <https://wikileaks.org/clinton-emails/>.

The GRU was also in contact through the Guccifer 2.0 persona with **Roger Stone**, a former Trump Campaign member whose interest in material stolen from the Clinton Campaign is further discussed in Volume I, Section III.D.1, *infra*. After the GRU had published stolen DNC documents through Guccifer 2.0, Stone told members of the Campaign that he was in contact with Guccifer 2.0.¹⁵⁴ In early August 2016, Stone publicly protested Twitter's suspension of the Guccifer 2.0 Twitter account. After it was reinstated, GRU officers posing as Guccifer 2.0 wrote to Stone via private message, "thank u for writing back . . . do u find anyt[h]ing interesting in the docs i posted?" On August 17, 2016, the GRU added, "please tell me if i can help u anyhow . . . it would be a great pleasure to me." On September 9, 2016, the GRU—again posing as Guccifer 2.0—referred to a stolen DCCC document posted online and asked Stone, "what do u think of the info on the turnout model for the democrats entire presidential campaign." Stone responded, "pretty standard."¹⁵⁵ The investigation did not identify evidence of other communications between Stone and Guccifer 2.0.

3. Use of WikiLeaks

In order to expand its interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the GRU units transferred many of the documents they stole from the DNC and the chairman of the Clinton Campaign to WikiLeaks. GRU officers used both the DCLeaks and Guccifer 2.0 personas to communicate with WikiLeaks through Twitter private messaging and through encrypted channels, including possibly through WikiLeaks's private communication system.

a. WikiLeaks's Expressed Opposition Toward the Clinton Campaign

WikiLeaks, and particularly its founder Julian Assange, privately expressed opposition to candidate Clinton well before the first release of stolen documents. In November 2015, Assange wrote to other members and associates of WikiLeaks that "[w]e believe it would be much better for GOP to win . . . Dems+Media+liberals woudl [sic] then form a block to reign in their worst qualities. . . . With Hillary in charge, GOP will be pushing for her worst qualities., dems+media+neoliberals will be mute. . . . She's a bright, well connected, sadisitic sociopath."¹⁵⁶

In March 2016, WikiLeaks released a searchable archive of approximately 30,000 Clinton emails that had been obtained through FOIA litigation.¹⁵⁷ While designing the archive, one WikiLeaks member explained the reason for building the archive to another associate:

¹⁵⁴ Gates 4/10/18 302, at 3.

¹⁵⁵ 8/15/16 – 9/9/16 Twitter DMs, @Guccifer_2 & @RogerJStoneJr.

¹⁵⁶ 11/19/15 Twitter Group Chat, Group ID 594242937858486276, @WikiLeaks et al. Assange also wrote that, "GOP will generate a lot oposition [sic], including through dumb moves. Hillary will do the same thing, but co-opt the liberal opposition and the GOP opposition. Hence hillary has greater freedom to start wars than the GOP and has the will to do so." *Id.*

¹⁵⁷ WikiLeaks, "Hillary Clinton Email Archive," available at <https://wikileaks.org/clinton-emails/>.

Investigative Technique

Similar IT for vulnerabilities continued through the election.

Unit 74455 also sent spearphishing emails to public officials involved in election administration and personnel at companies involved in voting technology. In August 2016, GRU officers targeted employees of [REDACTED], a voting technology company that developed software used by numerous U.S. counties to manage voter rolls, and installed malware on the company network. Similarly, in November 2016, the GRU sent spearphishing emails to over 120 email accounts used by Florida county officials responsible for administering the 2016 U.S. election.¹⁹¹ The spearphishing emails contained an attached Word document coded with malicious software (commonly referred to as a Trojan) that permitted the GRU to access the infected computer.¹⁹² The FBI was separately responsible for this investigation. We understand the FBI believes that this operation enabled the GRU to gain access to the network of at least one Florida county government. The Office did not independently verify that belief and, as explained above, did not undertake the investigative steps that would have been necessary to do so.

D. Trump Campaign and the Dissemination of Hacked Materials

The Trump Campaign showed interest in WikiLeaks's releases of hacked materials throughout the summer and fall of 2016. Harm to Ongoing Matter

[REDACTED]

1. HOM

a. Background

Harm to Ongoing Matter
[REDACTED]

¹⁹¹ Netyksho Indictment ¶ 76; Investigative Technique

¹⁹² Investigative Technique

(b) (7)(A), (b) (7)(E)

Similar [REDACTED] for vulnerabilities continued through the election.

Unit 74455 also sent spearphishing emails to public officials involved in election administration and personnel at companies involved in voting technology. In August 2016, GRU officers targeted employees of [REDACTED] a voting technology company that developed software used by numerous U.S. counties to manage voter rolls, and installed malware on the company network. Similarly, in November 2016, the GRU sent spearphishing emails to over 120 email accounts used by Florida county officials responsible for administering the 2016 U.S. election.¹⁹¹ The spearphishing emails contained an attached Word document coded with malicious software (commonly referred to as a Trojan) that permitted the GRU to access the infected computer.¹⁹² The FBI was separately responsible for this investigation. We understand the FBI believes that this operation enabled the GRU to gain access to the network of at least one Florida county government. The Office did not independently verify that belief and, as explained above, did not undertake the investigative steps that would have been necessary to do so.

D. Trump Campaign and the Dissemination of Hacked Materials

The Trump Campaign showed interest in WikiLeaks's releases of hacked materials throughout the summer and fall of 2016. Trump associate Roger Stone made several attempts to contact WikiLeaks founder Assange, boasted of his access to Assange, and was in regular contact with Campaign officials about the releases that Assange made and was believed to be planning.

(b) (5)
[REDACTED]

1. Role of Roger Stone

a. Background

Roger Stone has known President Trump for many years and was an advisor to the Trump Campaign from close to its inception until approximately August 2015. After leaving the Campaign in August 2015, Stone continued to promote the Campaign and maintained regular contact with Trump Campaign members, including candidate Trump and, when they joined the Campaign, with campaign officials Paul Manafort, Steve Bannon, and Rick Gates. According to multiple witnesses involved with the Campaign, beginning in June 2016 and continuing through October 2016, Stone spoke about WikiLeaks with senior Campaign officials, including candidate Trump.

¹⁹¹ Netyksho Indictment ¶ 76; (b) (7)(A), (b) (7)(E)
(b) (7)(A), (b) (7)(E), (b) (3)(b) (7)(A), (b) (7)(E)

¹⁹² (b) (7)(A), (b) (7)(E)

(b) (7)(A), (b) (7)(E), (b) (3)

b. Contacts with the Campaign about WikiLeaks

Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter

On June 12, 2016, Assange claimed in a televised interview to “have emails relating to Hillary Clinton which are pending publication,”¹⁹⁴ but provided no additional context.

In debriefings with the Office, former deputy campaign chairman Rick Gates said that,

Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter

Gates recalled candidate Trump being generally frustrated that the Clinton emails had not been found.¹⁹⁶

Paul Manafort, who would later become campaign chairman, Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter

¹⁹³ Harm to Ongoing Matter

¹⁹⁴ See Mahita Gajanan, *Julian Assange Timed DNC Email Release for Democratic Convention*, Time (July 27, 2016) (quoting the June 12, 2016 television interview).

¹⁹⁵ In February 2018, Gates pleaded guilty, pursuant to a plea agreement, to a superseding criminal information charging him with conspiring to defraud and commit multiple offenses (*i.e.*, tax fraud, failure to report foreign bank accounts, and acting as an unregistered agent of a foreign principal) against the United States, as well as making false statements to our Office. Superseding Criminal Information, *United States v. Richard W. Gates III*, 1:17-cr-201 (D.D.C. Feb. 23, 2018), Doc. 195 (“*Gates Superseding Criminal Information*”); Plea Agreement, *United States v. Richard W. Gates III*, 1:17-cr-201 (D.D.C. Feb. 23, 2018), Doc. 205 (“*Gates Plea Agreement*”). Gates has provided information and in-court testimony that the Office has deemed to be reliable.

¹⁹⁶ Gates 10/25/18 302, at 1-2.

¹⁹⁷ As explained further in Volume I, Section IV.A.8, *infra*, Manafort entered into a plea agreement with our Office. We determined that he breached the agreement by being untruthful in proffer sessions and before the grand jury. We have generally recounted his version of events in this report only when his statements are sufficiently corroborated to be trustworthy; to identify issues on which Manafort’s untruthful responses may themselves be of evidentiary value; or to provide Manafort’s explanations for certain events, even when we were unable to determine whether that explanation was credible. His account appears here principally because it aligns with those of other witnesses.

¹⁹⁸ Grand Jury

b. Contacts with the Campaign about WikiLeaks

Stone has publicly denied having any direct contact with Assange and claimed not to have had any discussions with an intermediary connected to Assange until July or August 2016.¹⁹³ Other members and associates of the Trump Campaign, however, told the Office that Stone claimed to the Campaign as early as June 2016—before any announcement by Assange or WikiLeaks—that he had learned that WikiLeaks would release documents damaging to the Clinton Campaign. On June 12, 2016, Assange claimed in a televised interview to “have emails relating to Hillary Clinton which are pending publication,”¹⁹⁴ but provided no additional context.

In debriefings with the Office, former deputy campaign chairman Rick Gates said that, before Assange’s June 12 announcement, Gates and Stone had a phone conversation in which Stone said something “big” was coming and had to do with a leak of information.¹⁹⁵ Stone also said to Gates that he thought Assange had Clinton emails. Gates asked Stone when the information was going to be released. Stone said the release would happen very soon. According to Gates, between June 12, 2016 and July 22, 2016, Stone repeated that information was coming. Manafort and Gates both called to ask Stone when the release would happen, and Gates recalled candidate Trump being generally frustrated that the Clinton emails had not been found.¹⁹⁶

Paul Manafort, who would later become campaign chairman, provided similar information about the timing of Stone’s statements about WikiLeaks.¹⁹⁷ According to Manafort, sometime in June 2016, Stone told Manafort that he was dealing with someone who was in contact with WikiLeaks and believed that there would be an imminent release of emails by WikiLeaks.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ *Executive Session, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives*, 116th Cong. 39-40 (Sept. 26, 2017) (Statement of Roger J. Stone, Jr.).

¹⁹⁴ See Mahita Gajanan, *Julian Assange Timed DNC Email Release for Democratic Convention*, Time (July 27, 2016) (quoting the June 12, 2016 television interview).

¹⁹⁵ In February 2018, Gates pleaded guilty, pursuant to a plea agreement, to a superseding criminal information charging him with conspiring to defraud and commit multiple offenses (*i.e.*, tax fraud, failure to report foreign bank accounts, and acting as an unregistered agent of a foreign principal) against the United States, as well as making false statements to our Office. Superseding Criminal Information, *United States v. Richard W. Gates III*, 1:17-cr-201 (D.D.C. Feb. 23, 2018), Doc. 195 (“*Gates Superseding Criminal Information*”); Plea Agreement, *United States v. Richard W. Gates III*, 1:17-cr-201 (D.D.C. Feb. 23, 2018), Doc. 205 (“*Gates Plea Agreement*”). Gates has provided information and in-court testimony that the Office has deemed to be reliable.

¹⁹⁶ Gates 10/25/18 302, at 1-2.

¹⁹⁷ As explained further in Volume I, Section IV.A.8, *infra*, Manafort entered into a plea agreement with our Office. We determined that he breached the agreement by being untruthful in proffer sessions and before the grand jury. We have generally recounted his version of events in this report only when his statements are sufficiently corroborated to be trustworthy; to identify issues on which Manafort’s untruthful responses may themselves be of evidentiary value; or to provide Manafort’s explanations for certain events, even when we were unable to determine whether that explanation was credible. His account appears here principally because it aligns with those of other witnesses.

¹⁹⁸ (b) (3)

Michael Cohen, former executive vice president of the Trump Organization and special counsel to Donald J. Trump,¹⁹⁹ told the Office that he recalled an incident in which he was in candidate Trump's office in Trump Tower Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁰¹ Cohen further told the Office that, after WikiLeaks's subsequent release of stolen DNC emails in July 2016, candidate Trump said to Cohen something to the effect of, HOM

Harm to Ongoing Matter

According to Gates, Manafort expressed excitement about the release HOM ²⁰³ Manafort, for his part, told the Office that, shortly after WikiLeaks's July 22 release, Manafort also spoke with candidate Trump

Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁰⁴ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁰⁵ Manafort also HOM wanted to be kept apprised of any

¹⁹⁹ In November 2018, Cohen pleaded guilty pursuant to a plea agreement to a single-count information charging him with making false statements to Congress, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a) & (c). He had previously pleaded guilty to several other criminal charges brought by the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Southern District of New York, after a referral from this Office. In the months leading up to his false-statements guilty plea, Cohen met with our Office on multiple occasions for interviews and provided information that the Office has generally assessed to be reliable and that is included in this report.

²⁰⁰ HOM

²⁰¹ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁰² Cohen 9/18/18 302, at 10. Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁰³ Gates 10/25/18 302 (serial 241), at 4.

²⁰⁴ Grand Jury

²⁰⁵ Grand Jury

Michael Cohen, former executive vice president of the Trump Organization and special counsel to Donald J. Trump,¹⁹⁹ told the Office that he recalled an incident in which he was in candidate Trump's office in Trump Tower when Stone called. Cohen believed the call occurred before July 22, 2016, when WikiLeaks released its first tranche of Russian-stolen DNC emails.²⁰⁰ Stone was patched through to the office and placed on speakerphone. Stone then told the candidate that he had just gotten off the phone with Julian Assange and in a couple of days WikiLeaks would release information. According to Cohen, Stone claimed that he did not know what the content of the materials was and that Trump responded, "oh good, alright" but did not display any further reaction.²⁰¹ Cohen further told the Office that, after WikiLeaks's subsequent release of stolen DNC emails in July 2016, candidate Trump said to Cohen something to the effect of, "I guess Roger was right."²⁰²

After WikiLeaks's July 22, 2016 release of documents, Stone participated in a conference call with Manafort and Gates. According to Gates, Manafort expressed excitement about the release and congratulated Stone.²⁰³ Manafort, for his part, told the Office that, shortly after WikiLeaks's July 22 release, Manafort also spoke with candidate Trump and mentioned that Stone had predicted the release and claimed to have access to WikiLeaks. Candidate Trump responded that Manafort should stay in touch with Stone.²⁰⁴ Manafort relayed the message to Stone, likely on July 25, 2016.²⁰⁵ Manafort also told Stone that he wanted to be kept apprised of any

¹⁹⁹ In November 2018, Cohen pleaded guilty pursuant to a plea agreement to a single-count information charging him with making false statements to Congress, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a) & (c). He had previously pleaded guilty to several other criminal charges brought by the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Southern District of New York, after a referral from this Office. In the months leading up to his false-statements guilty plea, Cohen met with our Office on multiple occasions for interviews and provided information that the Office has generally assessed to be reliable and that is included in this report.

²⁰⁰ Cohen 8/7/18 302, at 8-9.

²⁰¹ Cohen described the content of the call in an initial interview with our Office and its timing in a later interview. With respect to timing, Cohen stated that he believed the call would have been in July 2016, based on his own travel schedule and other factors. Cohen 8/7/18 302, at 8. Cohen believes that WikiLeaks had not released any campaign-related documents at the time, and that Stone's telephone call was prior to the release of stolen DNC documents on July 22, 2016. In February 2019 congressional testimony, Cohen stated he believed the conversation in question occurred on "either the 18th or 19th and I would guess that it would be on the 19th" of July. See *Testimony of Michael D. Cohen, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives*, 116th Cong. 5 (Feb. 27, 2019).

²⁰² Cohen 9/18/18 302, at 10. During his February 2019 congressional testimony, Cohen stated:

Mr. Stone told Mr. Trump that he had just gotten off the phone with Julian Assange and that Mr. Assange told Mr. Stone that within a couple of days there would be a massive dump of emails that would damage Hillary Clinton's campaign. Mr. Trump responded by stating to the effect, wouldn't that be great.

See *Testimony of Michael D. Cohen, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives*, 116th Cong. 5 (Feb. 27, 2019).

²⁰³ Gates 10/25/18 302 (serial 241), at 4.

²⁰⁴ (b) (3)

²⁰⁵ (b) (3)

developments with WikiLeaks and separately told Gates to keep in touch with **HOM** about future WikiLeaks releases.²⁰⁶

According to Gates, by the late summer of 2016, the Trump Campaign was planning a press strategy, a communications campaign, and messaging based on the possible release of Clinton emails by WikiLeaks.²⁰⁷ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
Harm to Ongoing Matter²⁰⁸ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
Harm to Ongoing Matter while Trump and Gates were driving to LaGuardia Airport. **Harm to Ongoing Matter**, shortly after the call candidate Trump told Gates that more releases of damaging information would be coming.²⁰⁹

Harm to Ongoing Matter

c. **Harm to Ongoing Matter**

Harm to Ongoing Matter

Corsi is an author who holds a doctorate in political science.²¹² In 2016, Corsi also worked for the media outlet WorldNetDaily (WND). **Harm to Ongoing Matter**

²⁰⁶ **Grand Jury**

²⁰⁷ Gates 4/10/18 302, at 3; Gates 4/11/18 302, at 1-2 (SM-2180998); Gates 10/25/18 302, at 2.

²⁰⁸ **HOM**

²⁰⁹ Gates 10/25/18 302 (serial 241), at 4.

²¹⁰ **HOM**

²¹¹ **HOM**

²¹² Corsi first rose to public prominence in August 2004 when he published his book *Unfit for Command: Swift Boat Veterans Speak Out Against John Kerry*. In the 2008 election cycle, Corsi gained prominence for being a leading proponent of the allegation that Barack Obama was not born in the United States. Corsi told the Office that Donald Trump expressed interest in his writings, and that he spoke with Trump on the phone on at least six occasions. Corsi 9/6/18 302, at 3.

²¹³ Corsi 10/31/18 302, at 2; **Grand Jury** Corsi was first interviewed on September 6, 2018 at the Special Counsel's offices in Washington, D.C. He was accompanied by counsel throughout the interview. Corsi was subsequently interviewed on September 17, 2018; September 21, 2018; October 31, 2018; November 1, 2018; and November 2, 2018. Counsel was

developments with WikiLeaks and separately told Gates to keep in touch with Stone about future WikiLeaks releases.²⁰⁶

According to Gates, by the late summer of 2016, the Trump Campaign was planning a press strategy, a communications campaign, and messaging based on the possible release of Clinton emails by WikiLeaks.²⁰⁷ Gates also stated that Stone called candidate Trump multiple times during the campaign.²⁰⁸ Gates recalled one lengthy telephone conversation between Stone and candidate Trump that took place while Trump and Gates were driving to LaGuardia Airport. Although Gates could not hear what Stone was saying on the telephone, shortly after the call candidate Trump told Gates that more releases of damaging information would be coming.²⁰⁹

Stone also had conversations about WikiLeaks with Steve Bannon, both before and after Bannon took over as the chairman of the Trump Campaign. Bannon recalled that, before joining the Campaign on August 13, 2016, Stone told him that he had a connection to Assange. Stone implied that he had inside information about WikiLeaks. After Bannon took over as campaign chairman, Stone repeated to Bannon that he had a relationship with Assange and said that WikiLeaks was going to dump additional materials that would be bad for the Clinton Campaign.²¹⁰

c. **Roger Stone's Known Efforts to Communicate with WikiLeaks**

Three days after WikiLeaks released stolen DNC documents on July 22, 2016, Stone sent an email to his associate Jerome Corsi directing him to "[g]et to Assange [a]t Ecuadorian Embassy in London and get the pending [WikiLeaks] emails . . . they deal with Foundation, allegedly."²¹¹ Corsi is an author who holds a doctorate in political science.²¹² In 2016, Corsi also worked for the media outlet WorldNetDaily (WND). Corsi first met Stone in early 2016 and began having recorded conversations with Stone that Corsi intended to use as content for WND. According to Corsi, by March 2016, Corsi stopped making recordings with Stone and began to be more of a self-described "operative" for Stone, seeking to assist the Trump Campaign in a personal capacity.²¹³

²⁰⁶ **(b) (3)**

²⁰⁷ Gates 4/10/18 302, at 3; Gates 4/11/18 302, at 1-2 (SM-2180998); Gates 10/25/18 302, at 2.

²⁰⁸ Gates 10/25/18 302 (serial 241), at 4.

²⁰⁹ Gates 10/25/18 302 (serial 241), at 4.

²¹⁰ Bannon 10/26/18 302, at 1-2.

²¹¹ 7/25/16 Email, Stone to Corsi.

²¹² Corsi first rose to public prominence in August 2004 when he published his book *Unfit for Command: Swift Boat Veterans Speak Out Against John Kerry*. In the 2008 election cycle, Corsi gained prominence for being a leading proponent of the allegation that Barack Obama was not born in the United States. Corsi told the Office that Donald Trump expressed interest in his writings, and that he spoke with Trump on the phone on at least six occasions. Corsi 9/6/18 302, at 3.

²¹³ Corsi 10/31/18 302, at 2; **(b) (3)** Corsi was first interviewed on September 6, 2018 at the Special Counsel's offices in Washington, D.C. He was accompanied by counsel throughout the interview. Corsi was subsequently interviewed on September 17, 2018; September 21, 2018; October 31, 2018; November 1, 2018; and November 2, 2018. Counsel was

Harm to Ongoing Matter
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]¹⁴ Corsi told the Office during interviews that he “must have” previously discussed Assange with Malloch.²¹⁵
Harm to Ongoing Matter
[REDACTED]²¹⁶ Harm to Ongoing Matter
[REDACTED]²¹⁷

Grand Jury
[REDACTED]
According to Malloch, Corsi asked him to put Corsi in touch with Assange, whom Corsi wished to interview. Malloch recalled that Corsi also suggested that individuals in the “orbit” of U.K. politician Nigel Farage might be able to contact Assange and asked if Malloch knew them. Malloch told Corsi that he would think about the request but made no actual attempt to connect Corsi with Assange.²¹⁸

Harm to Ongoing Matter
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]¹⁹
Harm to Ongoing Matter
[REDACTED]²⁰

present for all interviews, and the interviews beginning on September 21, 2018 were conducted pursuant to a proffer agreement that precluded affirmative use of his statements against him in limited circumstances.

²¹⁴ HOM [REDACTED]
²¹⁵ Corsi 10/31/18 302, at 4.
²¹⁶ HOM [REDACTED]
²¹⁷ HOM [REDACTED]
²¹⁸ Grand Jury [REDACTED] Malloch denied ever communicating with Assange or WikiLeaks, stating that he did not pursue the request to contact Assange because he believed he had no connections to Assange. Grand Jury [REDACTED]
²¹⁹ HOM [REDACTED]
²²⁰ Harm to Ongoing Matter [REDACTED]

After receiving Stone’s July 25, 2016 email, Corsi forwarded the email to another associate, Theodore Malloch, who lived in London at the time.²¹⁴ Corsi told the Office during interviews that he “must have” previously discussed Assange with Malloch.²¹⁵ Corsi also told the Office that he introduced Malloch and Stone earlier in 2016, when Malloch wanted to become involved in the Campaign.²¹⁶ On July 31, 2016, Stone sent another email to Corsi, this one stating that Malloch “should see Assange.”²¹⁷

(b) (3)
[REDACTED] (b)(3)-1
According to Malloch, Corsi asked him to put Corsi in touch with Assange, whom Corsi wished to interview. Malloch recalled that Corsi also suggested that individuals in the “orbit” of U.K. politician Nigel Farage might be able to contact Assange and asked if Malloch knew them. Malloch told Corsi that he would think about the request but made no actual attempt to connect Corsi with Assange.²¹⁸

On August 2, 2016, Corsi sent Stone an email reading, in part, “Word is friend in embassy plans 2 more dumps. One shortly after I’m back. 2nd in Oct. Impact planned to be very damaging.” Corsi added, “Time to let more than Podesta to be exposed as in bed w[ith] enemy if they are not ready to drop HRC [Hillary Rodham Clinton]. That appears to be the game hackers are now about. Would not hurt to start suggesting HRC old, memory bad, has stroke -- neither he nor she well. I expect that much of next dump focus, setting stage for Foundation debacle.”²¹⁹ At a public event held on August 8, 2016, Stone made his first of several public statements that he had been in contact with Assange—a claim that he later amended to indicate the communication was via a “mutual friend.”²²⁰

present for all interviews, and the interviews beginning on September 21, 2018 were conducted pursuant to a proffer agreement that precluded affirmative use of his statements against him in limited circumstances.

²¹⁴ 7/25/16 Email, Corsi to Malloch.
²¹⁵ Corsi 10/31/18 302, at 4.
²¹⁶ Corsi 9/6/18 302, at 5.
²¹⁷ 7/31/16 Email, Stone to Corsi.
²¹⁸ (b) (3) [REDACTED] Malloch denied ever communicating with Assange or WikiLeaks, stating that he did not pursue the request to contact Assange because he believed he had no connections to Assange. (b) (3) [REDACTED] (b)(3)-1
²¹⁹ 8/2/16 Email, Corsi to Stone.
²²⁰ At the August 8, 2016 event, Stone stated, “I actually have communicated with Assange. I believe the next tranche of his documents pertain to the Clinton Foundation, but there’s no telling what the October surprise may be.” “Roger Stone at the Southwest Broward Republican Organization,” YouTube Channel “Stone Cold Truth,” Posted 8/10/16, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6gM_cyR0nto (starting at 46:50). On August 16, 2016, Stone stated during an interview, “I had communicated with Mr. Assange,” then adding, “I never said I met with him or that I spoke with him,” but said “we have a mutual acquaintance who is a fine gentleman.” “Roger Stone Discusses the Future Plans of WikiLeaks,” YouTube Channel TheBlaze, Posted 8/16/16, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=18&v=HfrzKmeXsrI (starting at 0:00).

Malloch stated to investigators that beginning in or about August 2016, he and Corsi had multiple FaceTime discussions about WikiLeaks **Harm to Ongoing Matter** had made a connection to Assange and that the hacked emails of John Podesta would be released prior to Election Day and would be helpful to the Trump Campaign. In one conversation in or around August or September 2016, Corsi told Malloch that the release of the Podesta emails was coming, after which “we” were going to be in the driver’s seat.²²¹

Harm to Ongoing Matter
²²² **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²³ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁴ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁵

Harm to Ongoing Matter
²²⁶ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁷ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁸

Harm to Ongoing Matter
²²⁹ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**

²²¹ **Grand Jury**
²²² **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²³ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁴ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁵ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁶ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁷ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**
²²⁸ **HOM**
²²⁹ **Harm to Ongoing Matter**

Malloch stated to investigators that beginning in or about August 2016, he and Corsi had multiple FaceTime discussions about WikiLeaks and Stone. On these calls, Corsi stated that Stone had made a connection to Assange and that the hacked emails of John Podesta would be released prior to Election Day and would be helpful to the Trump Campaign. In one conversation in or around August or September 2016, Corsi told Malloch that the release of the Podesta emails was coming, after which “we” were going to be in the driver’s seat.²²¹

Beginning in August 2016, Stone began to communicate with another associate, Randy Credico, about WikiLeaks. Credico, a New York radio show host, interviewed Assange on August 25, 2016.²²² On August 26, 2016, Credico sent a text message to Stone that read “Julian Assange talk[ed] about you last night.”²²³ Stone asked what Assange said, to which Credico responded, “He didn’t say anything bad we were talking about how the Press is trying to make it look like you and he are in cahoots.”²²⁴ The following day, Credico sent a text message stating, “Julian Assange has kryptonite on Hillary.”²²⁵

In September 2016, Stone asked Credico to pass along a request to Assange for any emails from the State Department or candidate Clinton that pertained to an event in 2011 when Clinton was serving as Secretary of State.²²⁶ Credico agreed to pass along the request and sent the request to an attorney who had regular contact with WikiLeaks. He included Stone on the email as a blind copy.²²⁷ (In an interview with the Office, the attorney stated that she did not communicate the request to WikiLeaks.²²⁸)

In late September and early October 2016, Credico and Stone communicated about possible upcoming WikiLeaks releases. On October 1, 2016, Credico sent Stone text messages that read, “big news Wednesday . . . now pretend u don’t know me . . . Hillary’s campaign will die this week.”²²⁹ After a planned WikiLeaks press conference on October 2, 2016 was postponed, Stone

²²¹ **(b) (3)**

(b)(3)-1

²²² *Interview of Julian Assange by Randy Credico on WBAI*, Posted 8/25/16, available at <https://www.weblinenews.com/julian-assange-hillary-clinton-donald-trump/>. Credico discussed the interview with Stone a few days before the interview. On August 19, 2016, Credico sent a text message to Stone that read in part, “I’m going to have Assange on my show next Thursday.” On August 21, 2016, Credico sent another text message to Stone, writing in part “I have Assange on Thursday so I’m completely tied up on that day.” 8/19-20/16 Text Messages, Credico to Stone.

²²³ 8/26/16 Text Message, Credico to Stone.

²²⁴ 8/26/16, Text Message, Credico to Stone.

²²⁵ 8/27/16, Text Message, Credico to Stone.

²²⁶ 9/18-19/16 Text Messages, Stone & Credico); 9/18/16 Email, Stone to Credico.

²²⁷ 9/20/16 Email, Credico to Kunstler, bcc: Stone.

²²⁸ Kunstler 10/3/18 302, at 1.

²²⁹ The day before, on September 30, 2016, Credico sent Stone a photograph of Credico standing outside the Ecuadorian Embassy in London, where Assange was living. Credico visited London in September 2016 and stopped by the Ecuadorian Embassy to drop off a letter thanking Assange for

Harm to Ongoing Matter ²³⁰
Harm to Ongoing Matter
²³¹ Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter
²³²
²³³ Harm to Ongoing Matter
²³⁴ Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter ²³⁵
²³⁶ Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter ²³⁷
²³⁸

Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³⁰ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³¹ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³² HOM

²³³ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³⁴ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³⁵ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³⁶ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³⁷ HOM

²³⁸ Harm to Ongoing Matter

emailed Credico to ask about the delay. Credico responded, “head fake.”²³⁰ On October 3, 2016, Stone wrote Credico asking, “Did Assange back off.” Credico initially responded, “I can’t tal[k] about it,” but later wrote, “I think its on for tomorrow.” Credico added, “Off the Record Hillary and her people are doing a full-court press they keep Assange from making the next dump . . . that’s all I can tell you on this line . . . Please leave my name out of it.”²³¹ During an interview in December 2018, Credico told the Office that he had not heard that claim from anyone specific and did not recall why he wrote it to Stone.²³²

Stone repeated Credico’s October 2016 predictions about WikiLeaks to multiple people, including persons involved with the Trump Campaign.²³³ On October 3, 2016, Stone received an email from a reporter asking, “[Assange] – what’s he got? Hope it’s good.” Stone responded, “It is. I’d tell Bannon but he doesn’t call me back.”²³⁴ On October 3, 2016, Stone emailed Erik Prince—a campaign donor and occasional informal advisor, *see* Volume I, Section IV.B.2.a—to say “Spoke to my friend in London last night. The payload is still coming.”²³⁵ The following day, Prince emailed Stone to ask whether he had “hear[d] anymore from London.” Stone responded, “Yes – want to talk on a secure line – got Whatsapp.”²³⁶ According to Prince, Stone and Prince did speak subsequently, and Stone said that WikiLeaks would release more materials that would be damaging to the Clinton Campaign. Stone also indicated to Prince that he had what Prince described as almost “insider stock trading” type information about Assange.²³⁷ On October 4, 2016, after Assange completed a press conference without announcing new releases, Bannon emailed Stone, “What was that this morning???” and asked if Assange had “cut a deal w/ Clintons.” Stone emailed Bannon back telling him Assange was afraid, but that there would be a dump coming once a week.²³⁸

participating in the August 2016 radio interview. According to Credico, he never spoke with Assange or anyone from WikiLeaks that day. Credico 12/6/18 302, at 8. **(b) (3), (b) (7)(E)**

(b)(3)-2
(b)(7)(E)-1

²³⁰ 10/2/16 Email, Credico to Stone.

²³¹ 8/19/16 – 10/8/16 Text Messages, Credico & Stone.

²³² Credico 12/6/18 302, at 9.

²³³ Stone also made one public statement that appears to have been spurred by his conversations with Credico. On October 2, 2016, Stone participated in an InfoWars interview and said, “An intermediary met with him in London recently who is a friend of mine and a friend of his, a believer in freedom. And I am assured that the motherlode is coming Wednesday.” *Trump Advisor Roger Stone Says He’s Been ‘Assured’ Through an Assange Intermediary that ‘The Mother Lode is Coming*, Media Matters, Posted 10/3/16, available at <https://www.mediamatters.org/video/2016/10/03/trump-advisor-roger-stone-says-he-s-been-assured-through-assange-intermediary-mother-lode-coming/213488>.

²³⁴ 10/3/16 Email, Stone to **(b) (7)(C), (b) (6)**

(b)(6)/
(b)(7)(C)-4

²³⁵ 10/3/16 Email, Stone to Prince.

²³⁶ 10/4/16 Email, Stone to Bannon.

²³⁷ Prince 5/3/18 302, at 7.

²³⁸ The communication followed a press conference by Assange in which he made no mention of releasing materials related to candidate Clinton. Stone answered that Assange had a “[s]erious security

d. WikiLeaks's October 7, 2016 Release of Stolen Podesta Emails

On October 7, 2016, four days after the Assange press conference ^{HOM} [REDACTED], the Washington Post published an *Access Hollywood* video that captured comments by candidate Trump some years earlier and that was expected to adversely affect the Campaign.²³⁹ Less than an hour after the video's publication, WikiLeaks released the first set of emails stolen by the GRU from the account of Clinton Campaign chairman John Podesta.

Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁴⁰ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁴¹ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁴²

Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁴³ Harm to Ongoing Matter

[REDACTED] Corsi said that, because he had no direct means of communicating with WikiLeaks, he told members of the news site WND—who were participating on a conference call with him that day—to reach Assange immediately.²⁴⁴ Corsi claimed that the pressure was

Harm to Ongoing Matter

²³⁹ Candidate Trump can be heard off camera making graphic statements about women.

²⁴⁰ HOM

²⁴¹ HOM

²⁴² HOM

²⁴³ HOM

²⁴⁴ In a later November 2018 interview, Corsi stated ^{Harm to Ongoing Matter} [REDACTED] that he believed Malloch was on the call but then focused on other individuals who were on the call-invitation, which Malloch was not. (Separate travel records show that at the time of the call, Malloch was aboard a transatlantic flight). Corsi at one point stated that after WikiLeaks's release of stolen emails on October 7, 2016, he concluded Malloch had gotten in contact with Assange. Corsi 11/1/18 302, at 6.

d. WikiLeaks's October 7, 2016 Release of Stolen Podesta Emails

On October 7, 2016, four days after the Assange press conference that Stone had discussed with Trump Campaign officials, the Washington Post published an *Access Hollywood* video that captured comments by candidate Trump some years earlier and that was expected to adversely affect the Campaign.²³⁹ Less than an hour after the video's publication, WikiLeaks released the first set of emails stolen by the GRU from the account of Clinton Campaign chairman John Podesta.

The Office investigated whether Roger Stone played any role in WikiLeaks's dissemination of the Podesta emails at that time. During his first September 2018 interview, Corsi stated that he had refused Stone's July 25, 2016 request to contact Assange, and that had been the last time they had talked about contacting Assange.²⁴⁰ Email and text communications between Stone and Corsi show that was false. During a later September 2018 interview, Corsi told the Office that one of his WikiLeaks-related communications with Stone had occurred on October 7, 2016, just prior to WikiLeaks's release.²⁴¹ Corsi told the Office that he spoke with Stone before publication of the *Access Hollywood* video and that Stone knew about the tape's content and its imminent release, both of which he relayed to Corsi.²⁴²

Corsi gave conflicting accounts of what happened after Stone purportedly informed him about the video.²⁴³ Initially, Corsi told investigators that he had instructed Stone to have WikiLeaks release information to counteract the expected reaction to the video's release, and that Stone said that was a good idea and would get it done. Later during the same interview, Corsi stated that Stone had told Corsi to have WikiLeaks drop the Podesta emails immediately, and Corsi told Stone he would do it. Corsi said that, because he had no direct means of communicating with WikiLeaks, he told members of the news site WND—who were participating on a conference call with him that day—to reach Assange immediately.²⁴⁴ Corsi claimed that the pressure was

concern" but that WikiLeaks would release "a load every week going forward." 10/4/16 Email, Stone to Bannon; Bannon 2/14/18 302, at 33.

²³⁹ Candidate Trump can be heard off camera making graphic statements about women.

²⁴⁰ Corsi 9/6/18 302, at 5–6.

²⁴¹ Corsi 9/21/18 302, at 6.

²⁴² Corsi 9/21/18 302, at 6.

²⁴³ Corsi 9/21/18 302, at 6.

²⁴⁴ In a later November 2018 interview, Corsi stated that he relayed Stone's information in a different conference call. Corsi initially stated that he believed Malloch was on the call but then focused on other individuals who were on the call-invitation, which Malloch was not. (Separate travel records show that at the time of the call, Malloch was aboard a transatlantic flight). Corsi at one point stated that after WikiLeaks's release of stolen emails on October 7, 2016, he concluded Malloch had gotten in contact with Assange. Corsi 11/1/18 302, at 6.

enormous and recalled telling the conference call the *Access Hollywood* tape was coming.²⁴⁵ Corsi stated that he was convinced that his efforts had caused WikiLeaks to release the emails when they did.²⁴⁶ In a later November 2018 interview, Corsi stated that he thought that he had told people on a WND conference call about the forthcoming tape and had sent out a tweet asking whether anyone could contact Assange, but then said that maybe he had done nothing.²⁴⁷

The Office investigated Corsi's allegations about the events of October 7, 2016 but found little corroboration for his allegations about the day.²⁴⁸ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁴⁹ Harm to Ongoing Matter
²⁴⁹ Harm to Ongoing Matter
²⁴⁹ Harm to Ongoing Matter
²⁴⁹ Harm to Ongoing Matter
However, the phone records themselves do not indicate that the conversation was with any of the reporters who broke the *Access Hollywood* story, and the Office has not otherwise been able to identify the substance of the conversation. Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁵⁰ However, the phone records themselves do not indicate that the conversation was with any of the reporters who broke the *Access Hollywood* story, and the Office has not otherwise been able to identify the substance of the conversation. Harm to Ongoing Matter
²⁵¹ However, the Office has not identified any conference call participant, or anyone who spoke to Corsi that day, who says that they received non-public information about the tape from Corsi or acknowledged having contacted a member of WikiLeaks on October 7, 2016 after a conversation with Corsi.

e. Donald Trump Jr. Interaction with WikiLeaks

Donald Trump Jr. had direct electronic communications with WikiLeaks during the campaign period. On September 20, 2016, an individual named Jason Fishbein sent WikiLeaks the password for an unlaunched website focused on Trump's "unprecedented and dangerous" ties

²⁴⁵ During the same interview, Corsi also suggested that he may have sent out public tweets because he knew Assange was reading his tweets. Our Office was unable to find evidence of any such tweets.

²⁴⁶ Corsi 9/21/18 302, at 6-7.

²⁴⁷ Corsi 11/1/18 302, at 6.

²⁴⁸ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁴⁸ Harm to Ongoing Matter
Grand Jury

²⁴⁹ Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁴⁹ Harm to Ongoing Matter
Grand Jury

²⁵⁰ HOM Grand Jury Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁵⁰ HOM Grand Jury Harm to Ongoing Matter
Grand Jury

²⁵¹ HOM Grand Jury Harm to Ongoing Matter

²⁵¹ HOM Grand Jury Harm to Ongoing Matter
Grand Jury
Harm to Ongoing Matter

enormous and recalled telling the conference call the *Access Hollywood* tape was coming.²⁴⁵ Corsi stated that he was convinced that his efforts had caused WikiLeaks to release the emails when they did.²⁴⁶ In a later November 2018 interview, Corsi stated that he thought that he had told people on a WND conference call about the forthcoming tape and had sent out a tweet asking whether anyone could contact Assange, but then said that maybe he had done nothing.²⁴⁷

The Office investigated Corsi's allegations about the events of October 7, 2016 but found little corroboration for his allegations about the day.²⁴⁸ In public statements, Stone has denied having advance knowledge of the *Access Hollywood* tape.²⁴⁹ Telephone records show that, on the morning of October 7, 2016, Stone had a conversation with a reporter from the Washington Post (the first media outlet to publish the *Access Hollywood* video).²⁵⁰ However, the phone records themselves do not indicate that the conversation was with any of the reporters who broke the *Access Hollywood* story, and the Office has not otherwise been able to identify the substance of the conversation. Telephone records show communication between Stone and Corsi on October 7, 2016, as well as Corsi's participation in two conference calls that day.²⁵¹ However, the Office has not identified any conference call participant, or anyone who spoke to Corsi that day, who says that they received non-public information about the tape from Corsi or acknowledged having contacted a member of WikiLeaks on October 7, 2016 after a conversation with Corsi.

e. Donald Trump Jr. Interaction with WikiLeaks

Donald Trump Jr. had direct electronic communications with WikiLeaks during the campaign period. On September 20, 2016, an individual named Jason Fishbein sent WikiLeaks the password for an unlaunched website focused on Trump's "unprecedented and dangerous" ties

²⁴⁵ During the same interview, Corsi also suggested that he may have sent out public tweets because he knew Assange was reading his tweets. Our Office was unable to find evidence of any such tweets.

²⁴⁶ Corsi 9/21/18 302, at 6-7.

²⁴⁷ Corsi 11/1/18 302, at 6.

²⁴⁸ (b) (3) that, after the election, Corsi boasted that he and (b)(3)-1

Stone had played an important role in interacting with WikiLeaks during the Campaign, and they should be given credit for what they had done with respect to WikiLeaks during the Campaign. (b) (3)

²⁴⁹ Chuck Ross, *Jerome Corsi Testified That Roger Stone Sought WikiLeaks' Help To Rebut 'Access Hollywood' Tape*, Daily Caller (Nov. 27, 2018) (quoting Stone as claiming that he did not have knowledge of the tape until its publication).

²⁵⁰ Call Records of Roger Stone (b) (3) (reflecting an 18-minute telephone call with a Washington Post number starting at approximately 11:53 a.m.).

²⁵¹ Call Records of Roger Stone (b) (3) (showing a 17-minute telephone call with Jerome Corsi starting at approximately 1:42 p.m., followed by a second twenty-minute telephone call between the two starting at approximately 2:18 p.m.); Call Records of Jerome Corsi (b) (3) (b) (3) (showing a conference line for approximately fifteen minutes starting at approximately 2:00 p.m.).

the releases, the defendants used the Guccifer 2.0 persona to disseminate documents through WikiLeaks. On July 22, 2016, WikiLeaks released over 20,000 emails and other documents that the hacking conspirators had stolen from the DNC. *Netyksho* Indictment ¶ 48. In addition, on October 7, 2016, WikiLeaks began releasing emails that some conspirators had stolen from Clinton Campaign chairman John Podesta after a successful spearphishing operation. *Netyksho* Indictment ¶ 49.

Harm to Ongoing Matter

[REDACTED]

Grand Jury

Harm to Ongoing Matter

b. Charging Decision As to Harm to Ongoing Matter

Harm to Ongoing Matter

[REDACTED]

¹²⁷⁸ Harm to Ongoing Matter

¹²⁷⁸ The Office also considered, but ruled out, charges on the theory that the post-hacking sharing and dissemination of emails could constitute trafficking in or receipt of stolen property under the National Stolen Property Act (NSPA), 18 U.S.C. §§ 2314 and 2315. The statutes comprising the NSPA cover “goods, wares, or merchandise,” and lower courts have largely understood that phrase to be limited to tangible items since the Supreme Court’s decision in *Dowling v. United States*, 473 U.S. 207 (1985). See *United States v. Yijia Zhang*, 995 F. Supp. 2d 340, 344-48 (E.D. Pa. 2014) (collecting cases). One of those post-*Dowling* decisions—*United States v. Brown*, 925 F.2d 1301 (10th Cir. 1991)—specifically held that the NSPA does not reach “a computer program in source code form,” even though that code was stored in tangible items (*i.e.*, a hard disk and in a three-ring notebook). *Id.* at 1302-03. Congress, in turn, cited the *Brown* opinion in explaining the need for amendments to 18 U.S.C. § 1030(a)(2) that “would ensure that the theft of intangible information by the unauthorized use of a computer is prohibited in the same way theft of physical items [is] protected.” S. Rep. 104-357, at 7 (1996). That sequence of events would make it difficult to argue that hacked emails in electronic form, which are the relevant stolen items here, constitute “goods, wares, or merchandise” within the meaning of the NSPA.

the releases, the defendants used the Guccifer 2.0 persona to disseminate documents through WikiLeaks. On July 22, 2016, WikiLeaks released over 20,000 emails and other documents that the hacking conspirators had stolen from the DNC. *Netyksho* Indictment ¶ 48. In addition, on October 7, 2016, WikiLeaks began releasing emails that some conspirators had stolen from Clinton Campaign chairman John Podesta after a successful spearphishing operation. *Netyksho* Indictment ¶ 49.

One witness told the Office at one point that the initial release of Podesta emails on October 7 may have come at the behest of, or in coordination with, Roger Stone, an associate of candidate Trump. As explained in Volume I, Section III.D.1.d, *supra*, phone records show that Stone called Jerome Corsi on October 7, after Stone received a call from the Washington Post. The Washington Post broke a story later that day about a video recording of Trump speaking about women in graphic terms. According to some of Corsi’s statements to the Office (b) (3) Stone (b)(3)-1 said that he had learned about the imminent release of that tape recording, and it was expected to generate significant negative media attention for the Campaign. Corsi told investigators that Stone may have believed from their prior dealings that Corsi had connections to Julian Assange, WikiLeaks’s founder, and that Stone therefore asked Corsi to tell Assange to start releasing the Podesta emails immediately to shift the news cycle away from the damaging Trump recording. Although Corsi denies that he actually had access to Assange, he told the Office at one point that he tried to bring the request to Assange’s attention via public Twitter posts and by asking other contacts to get in touch with Assange. The investigation did not establish that Corsi actually took those steps, but WikiLeaks did release the first batch of Podesta emails later on the afternoon of October 7, within an hour of the publication of the Washington Post’s story on the Trump tape.

b. Charging Decision As to (b)(5)

(b)(5)

[REDACTED]

¹²⁷⁸ (b)(5)

¹²⁷⁸ The Office also considered, but ruled out, charges on the theory that the post-hacking sharing and dissemination of emails could constitute trafficking in or receipt of stolen property under the National Stolen Property Act (NSPA), 18 U.S.C. §§ 2314 and 2315. The statutes comprising the NSPA cover “goods, wares, or merchandise,” and lower courts have largely understood that phrase to be limited to tangible items since the Supreme Court’s decision in *Dowling v. United States*, 473 U.S. 207 (1985). See *United States v. Yijia Zhang*, 995 F. Supp. 2d 340, 344-48 (E.D. Pa. 2014) (collecting cases). One of those post-*Dowling* decisions—*United States v. Brown*, 925 F.2d 1301 (10th Cir. 1991)—specifically held that the NSPA does not reach “a computer program in source code form,” even though that code was stored in tangible items (*i.e.*, a hard disk and in a three-ring notebook). *Id.* at 1302-03. Congress, in turn, cited the *Brown* opinion in explaining the need for amendments to 18 U.S.C. § 1030(a)(2) that “would ensure that the theft of intangible information by the unauthorized use of a computer is prohibited in the same way theft of physical items [is] protected.” S. Rep. 104-357, at 7 (1996). That sequence of events would make it difficult to argue that hacked emails in electronic form, which are the relevant stolen items here, constitute “goods, wares, or merchandise” within the meaning of the NSPA.

Personal Privacy

C. Russian Government Outreach and Contacts

As explained in Section IV above, the Office's investigation uncovered evidence of numerous links (*i.e.*, contacts) between Trump Campaign officials and individuals having or claiming to have ties to the Russian government. The Office evaluated the contacts under several sets of federal laws, including conspiracy laws and statutes governing foreign agents who operate in the United States. After considering the available evidence, the Office did not pursue charges under these statutes against any of the individuals discussed in Section IV above—with the exception of FARA charges against Paul Manafort and Richard Gates based on their activities on behalf of Ukraine.

One of the interactions between the Trump Campaign and Russian-affiliated individuals—the June 9, 2016 meeting between high-ranking campaign officials and Russians promising derogatory information on Hillary Clinton—implicates an additional body of law: campaign-finance statutes. Schemes involving the solicitation or receipt of assistance from foreign sources raise difficult statutory and constitutional questions. As explained below, the Office evaluated those questions in connection with the June 9 meeting. **Harm to Ongoing Matter** The Office ultimately concluded that, even if the principal legal questions were resolved favorably to the government, a prosecution would encounter difficulties proving that Campaign officials or individuals connected to the Campaign willfully violated the law.

Finally, although the evidence of contacts between Campaign officials and Russia-affiliated individuals may not have been sufficient to establish or sustain criminal charges, several U.S. persons connected to the Campaign made false statements about those contacts and took other steps to obstruct the Office's investigation and those of Congress. This Office has therefore charged some of those individuals with making false statements and obstructing justice.

1. Potential Coordination: Conspiracy and Collusion

As an initial matter, this Office evaluated potentially criminal conduct that involved the collective action of multiple individuals not under the rubric of "collusion," but through the lens of conspiracy law. In so doing, the Office recognized that the word "collud[e]" appears in the Acting Attorney General's August 2, 2017 memorandum; it has frequently been invoked in public reporting; and it is sometimes referenced in antitrust law, *see, e.g., Brooke Group v. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.*, 509 U.S. 209, 227 (1993). But collusion is not a specific offense or theory of liability found in the U.S. Code; nor is it a term of art in federal criminal law. To the contrary, even as defined in legal dictionaries, collusion is largely synonymous with conspiracy as that crime is set forth in the general federal conspiracy statute, 18 U.S.C. § 371. *See Black's Law Dictionary* 321 (10th ed. 2014) (collusion is "[a]n agreement to defraud another or to do or obtain something forbidden by law"); 1 Alexander Burrill, *A Law Dictionary and Glossary* 311 (1871) ("An agreement between two or more persons to defraud another by the forms of law, or to employ such forms as means of accomplishing some unlawful object."); 1 *Bouvier's Law Dictionary* 352

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b)(6)(b)(7)(C)-2
(b)(5)-2

C. Russian Government Outreach and Contacts

As explained in Section IV above, the Office's investigation uncovered evidence of numerous links (*i.e.*, contacts) between Trump Campaign officials and individuals having or claiming to have ties to the Russian government. The Office evaluated the contacts under several sets of federal laws, including conspiracy laws and statutes governing foreign agents who operate in the United States. After considering the available evidence, the Office did not pursue charges under these statutes against any of the individuals discussed in Section IV above—with the exception of FARA charges against Paul Manafort and Richard Gates based on their activities on behalf of Ukraine.

One of the interactions between the Trump Campaign and Russian-affiliated individuals—the June 9, 2016 meeting between high-ranking campaign officials and Russians promising derogatory information on Hillary Clinton—implicates an additional body of law: campaign-finance statutes. Schemes involving the solicitation or receipt of assistance from foreign sources raise difficult statutory and constitutional questions. As explained below, the Office evaluated those questions in connection with the June 9 meeting and WikiLeaks's release of stolen materials. The Office ultimately concluded that, even if the principal legal questions were resolved favorably to the government, a prosecution would encounter difficulties proving that Campaign officials or individuals connected to the Campaign willfully violated the law.

Finally, although the evidence of contacts between Campaign officials and Russia-affiliated individuals may not have been sufficient to establish or sustain criminal charges, several U.S. persons connected to the Campaign made false statements about those contacts and took other steps to obstruct the Office's investigation and those of Congress. This Office has therefore charged some of those individuals with making false statements and obstructing justice.

1. Potential Coordination: Conspiracy and Collusion

As an initial matter, this Office evaluated potentially criminal conduct that involved the collective action of multiple individuals not under the rubric of "collusion," but through the lens of conspiracy law. In so doing, the Office recognized that the word "collud[e]" appears in the Acting Attorney General's August 2, 2017 memorandum; it has frequently been invoked in public reporting; and it is sometimes referenced in antitrust law, *see, e.g., Brooke Group v. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.*, 509 U.S. 209, 227 (1993). But collusion is not a specific offense or theory of liability found in the U.S. Code; nor is it a term of art in federal criminal law. To the contrary, even as defined in legal dictionaries, collusion is largely synonymous with conspiracy as that crime is set forth in the general federal conspiracy statute, 18 U.S.C. § 371. *See Black's Law Dictionary* 321 (10th ed. 2014) (collusion is "[a]n agreement to defraud another or to do or obtain something forbidden by law"); 1 Alexander Burrill, *A Law Dictionary and Glossary* 311 (1871) ("An agreement between two or more persons to defraud another by the forms of law, or to employ such forms as means of accomplishing some unlawful object."); 1 *Bouvier's Law Dictionary* 352

he had sent to a Russian government email account. *Cohen* Information ¶ 4. Cohen later asked that his two-page statement be incorporated into his testimony's transcript before SSCI, and he ultimately gave testimony to SSCI that was consistent with that statement. *Cohen* Information ¶ 5.

Each of the foregoing representations in Cohen's two-page statement was false and misleading. Consideration of the project had extended through approximately June 2016 and included more than three progress reports from Cohen to Trump. Cohen had discussed with Felix Sater his own travel to Russia as part of the project, and he had inquired about the possibility of Trump traveling there—both with the candidate himself and with senior campaign official Corey Lewandowski. Cohen did recall that he had received a response to the email that he sent to Russian government spokesman Dmitry Peskov—in particular, that he received an email reply and had a follow-up phone conversation with an English-speaking assistant to Peskov in mid-January 2016. *Cohen* Information ¶ 7. Cohen knew the statements in the letter to be false at the time, and admitted that he made them in an effort (1) to minimize the links between the project and Trump (who by this time was President), and (2) to give the false impression that the project had ended before the first vote in the Republican Party primary process, in the hopes of limiting the ongoing Russia investigations. *Id.*

Given the nature of the false statements and the fact that he repeated them during his initial interview with the Office, we charged Cohen with violating Section 1001. On November 29, 2018, Cohen pleaded guilty pursuant to a plea agreement to a single-count information charging him with making false statements in a matter within the jurisdiction of the legislative branch, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a)(2) and (c). *Cohen* Information. The case was transferred to the district judge presiding over the separate prosecution of Cohen pursued by the Southern District of New York (after a referral from our Office). On December 7, 2018, this Office submitted a letter to that judge recommending that Cohen's cooperation with our investigation be taken into account in sentencing Cohen on both the false-statements charge and the offenses in the Southern District prosecution. On December 12, 2018, the judge sentenced Cohen to two months of imprisonment on the false-statements count, to run concurrently with a 36-month sentence imposed on the other counts.

v. **HOM**

Harm to Ongoing Matter



he had sent to a Russian government email account. *Cohen* Information ¶ 4. Cohen later asked that his two-page statement be incorporated into his testimony's transcript before SSCI, and he ultimately gave testimony to SSCI that was consistent with that statement. *Cohen* Information ¶ 5.

Each of the foregoing representations in Cohen's two-page statement was false and misleading. Consideration of the project had extended through approximately June 2016 and included more than three progress reports from Cohen to Trump. Cohen had discussed with Felix Sater his own travel to Russia as part of the project, and he had inquired about the possibility of Trump traveling there—both with the candidate himself and with senior campaign official Corey Lewandowski. Cohen did recall that he had received a response to the email that he sent to Russian government spokesman Dmitry Peskov—in particular, that he received an email reply and had a follow-up phone conversation with an English-speaking assistant to Peskov in mid-January 2016. *Cohen* Information ¶ 7. Cohen knew the statements in the letter to be false at the time, and admitted that he made them in an effort (1) to minimize the links between the project and Trump (who by this time was President), and (2) to give the false impression that the project had ended before the first vote in the Republican Party primary process, in the hopes of limiting the ongoing Russia investigations. *Id.*

Given the nature of the false statements and the fact that he repeated them during his initial interview with the Office, we charged Cohen with violating Section 1001. On November 29, 2018, Cohen pleaded guilty pursuant to a plea agreement to a single-count information charging him with making false statements in a matter within the jurisdiction of the legislative branch, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a)(2) and (c). *Cohen* Information. The case was transferred to the district judge presiding over the separate prosecution of Cohen pursued by the Southern District of New York (after a referral from our Office). On December 7, 2018, this Office submitted a letter to that judge recommending that Cohen's cooperation with our investigation be taken into account in sentencing Cohen on both the false-statements charge and the offenses in the Southern District prosecution. On December 12, 2018, the judge sentenced Cohen to two months of imprisonment on the false-statements count, to run concurrently with a 36-month sentence imposed on the other counts.

v. **Roger Stone**

As explained more fully in Volume I, Section III.D.1, *supra*, Roger Stone is a long-time Trump associate, worked for the Trump Campaign briefly in 2015, and remained in contact with senior Campaign officials through the campaign period. By no later than the summer of 2016, Stone communicated with the Campaign about upcoming WikiLeaks releases of hacked materials that were expected to harm Hillary Clinton's candidacy. Indictment ¶ 5, *United States v. Roger Jason Stone, Jr.*, No. 1:19-cr-18 (D.D.C. Jan. 24, 2019), Doc. 1 ("*Stone* Indictment"). Stone sent author Jerome Corsi messages urging him to "[g]et to" Assange at the Ecuadorian Embassy in London, and received back correspondence from Corsi passing along "word [that] friend in embassy plans 2 more dumps" in the summer and fall. *Stone* Indictment ¶ 13. Stone spoke publicly about access to Assange and, after radio host Randy Credico interviewed Assange, Stone asked Credico to contact and obtain information from Assange. *Stone* Indictment ¶¶ 14-15. And in early October 2016, Stone assured individuals involved in the Campaign that a WikiLeaks release was imminent. *Stone* Indictment ¶ 16.

Harm to Ongoing Matter



Harm to Ongoing Matter



Harm to Ongoing Matter



vi. *Jeff Sessions*

As set forth in Volume I, Section IV.A.6, *supra*, the investigation established that, while a U.S. Senator and a Trump Campaign advisor, former Attorney General Jeff Sessions interacted with Russian Ambassador Kislyak during the week of the Republican National Convention in July 2016 and again at a meeting in Sessions's Senate office in September 2016. The investigation also established that Sessions and Kislyak both attended a reception held before candidate Trump's

When asked to appear before HPSCI and provide documents, Stone caused a letter to be submitted to HPSCI in May 2017 stating that he had no relevant records. *Stone* Indictment ¶ 19. During his testimony before HPSCI in September 2017, Stone testified in pertinent part that he did not have emails with third parties about Assange or any documents referring to Assange; that his references in August 2016 to being in contact with Assange had been references to communications with a single "intermediary," whom Stone later identified as Credico; that Stone did not ask this intermediary to communicate anything to Assange or to do anything on Stone's behalf; that the intermediary did not communicate via text message or email about WikiLeaks with Stone; and that Stone had never discussed his conversations with the intermediary with anyone in the Trump Campaign. *Stone* Indictment ¶¶ 20-22, 25, 29, 31, 35. Each of these statements was false. Stone had in his custody or control email communications with Corsi and Credico about Assange and WikiLeaks. Stone's August 2016 public statements about access to Assange were not solely about communications through Credico, who had not yet interviewed or met Assange at the time. Stone had asked Credico to pass along a message to Assange and find out information from him. Stone and Credico had communicated extensively over text message about WikiLeaks. And Stone had discussed his contacts to Assange and an imminent WikiLeaks release with the Trump Campaign, including in the days leading to the October 7, 2016 release of the Podesta emails. *Stone* Indictment ¶¶ 23, 28, 30, 32, 35.

After falsely telling Congress that Credico was his lone "intermediary" or "go-between," Stone repeatedly contacted Credico in an effort to prevent Credico from contradicting Stone's statements to HPSCI. Between November and December 17, 2017, Stone texted Credico urging him to "[s]tonewall" and "[p]lead the Fifth," and stating that he should do a "Frank Pentangeli" before HPSCI, a reference to a character in the *The Godfather: Part II* who testified before a congressional committee and claimed not to know information incriminating a mafia figure in perjury before the same committee. *Stone* Indictment ¶¶ 36-38. In 2018, after Credico advised HPSCI that he would invoke his Fifth Amendment rights, Stone continued to contact Credico, calling him "a rat" and stating that he would "take that dog"—a reference to Credico's support dog—"away" from him. *Stone* Indictment ¶ 39.

Based on the foregoing conduct, on January 24, 2019, a grand jury in the District of Columbia returned a seven-count indictment charging Stone with one count of obstructing and endeavoring to obstruct a congressional proceeding, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1505; five counts of making false statements to Congress, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001(a) and (c); and one count of witness tampering, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1512(b)(1). *Stone* Indictment. Stone has entered a plea of not guilty to all charges and is currently pending trial.

vi. *Jeff Sessions*

As set forth in Volume I, Section IV.A.6, *supra*, the investigation established that, while a U.S. Senator and a Trump Campaign advisor, former Attorney General Jeff Sessions interacted with Russian Ambassador Kislyak during the week of the Republican National Convention in July 2016 and again at a meeting in Sessions's Senate office in September 2016. The investigation also established that Sessions and Kislyak both attended a reception held before candidate Trump's