All information unclassified exe shown.	n is considered cept where otherwise TOP SECRET//NOFORN U.S. FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE	
	UNITED STATES SURVEILLANCE COURT	5
Classify By: J2		*
Reason: (C) Derived From:	FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT <u>FBI NSICG</u> , dated 102016	b1-1
Declassify On:		b3-1 b7A-1
	(S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S. Docket Number:	. *
,	PERSON.	b1-1
	TERSON.	b3-1
n K		b7A-1
н 5	(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION	
	(\$) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority	to
	conduct as described herein, pursuar	nt
* *	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
×		



OI Tracking No. 143045

2. (5) <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 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. (s) 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.

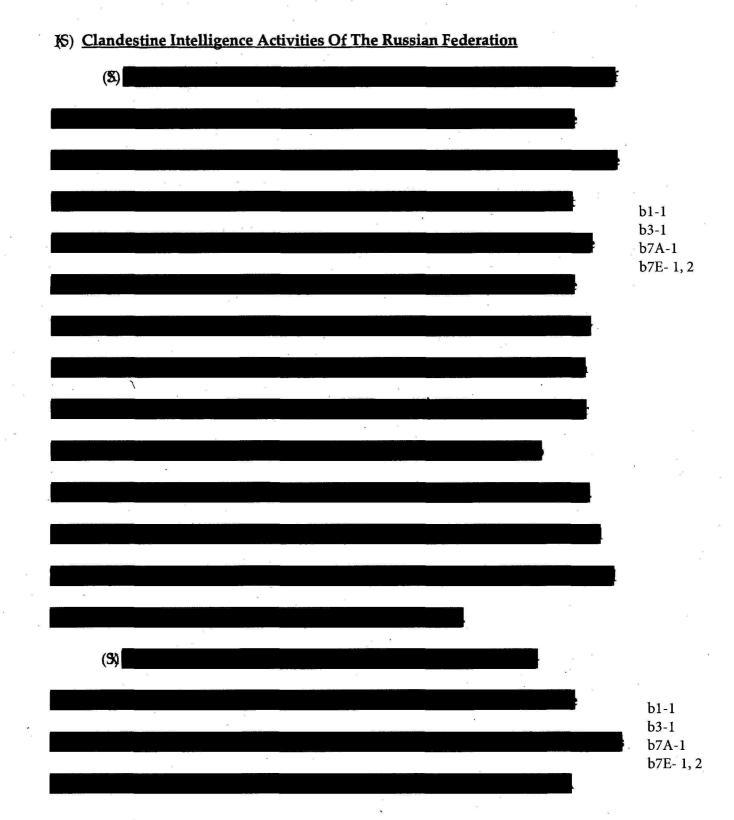
(U) (U) (U) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

(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.

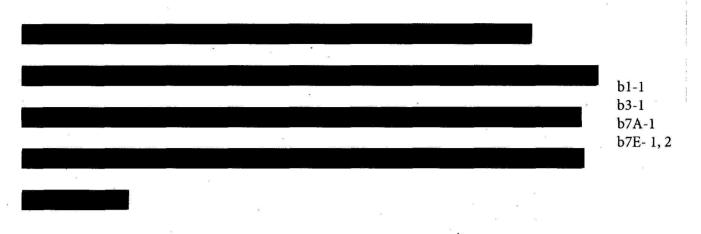
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(U) (S) Carter W. Page

knowingly engage in b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

b3-1

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).

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

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	b3-1
and ampine and influence the subserve of the 2016 LTC. Descidential shorts in	b6-2
undermine and influence 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).	8 B

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

(MMMR) 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."

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

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

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

Democratic National Committee (DNC). ¹	
	b1-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1
There has been speculation in U.S. media that the Russian Government was	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

¹ (SX/XE) 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.

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

In addition, according to b1-1

b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1,2,3

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.

(SMNX) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence U.S. elections, ______, and the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination with Carter Page

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

to undermine and improperly and illegally	b1-1 b3-1
(U) (SXNX)	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. ^(U)XX/NX) <u>The Russian Government's Attempts to Influence the 2016 U.S.</u> <u>Presidential Election</u>.

(SXAVF) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos² and Carter Page (the

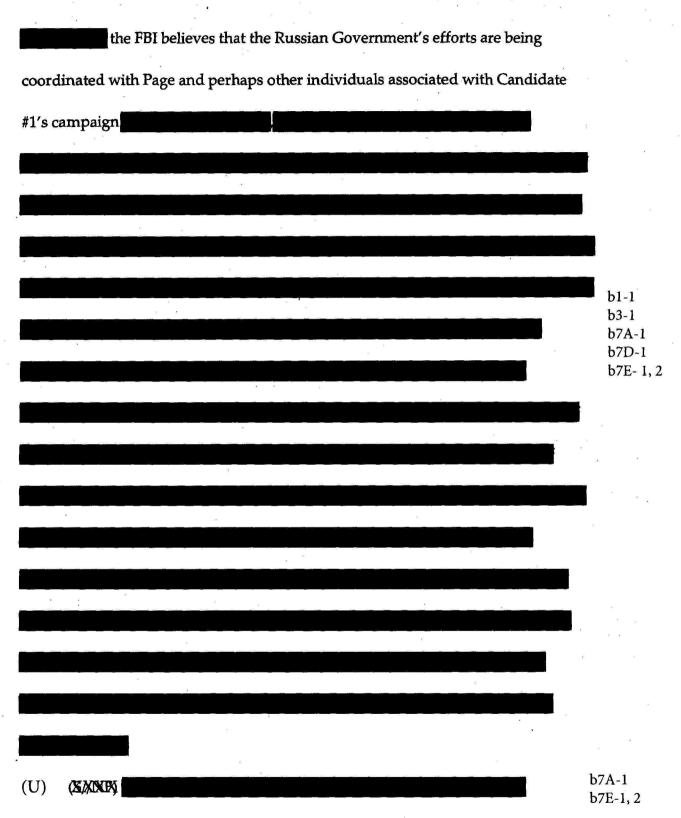
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her foreign policy team. b1-1b3-1b7A-1b7D-1b7E-1, 2 b1-1b7E-1, 2

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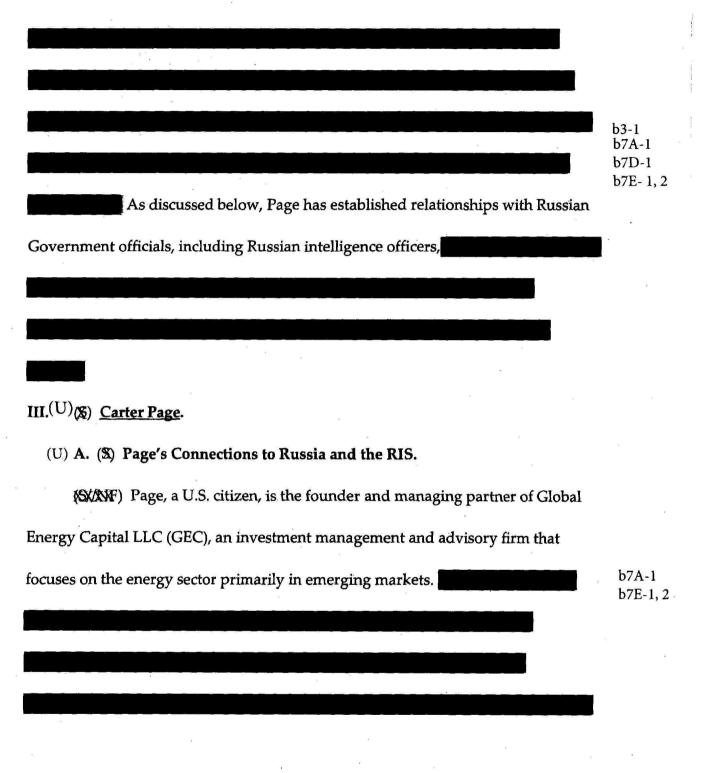
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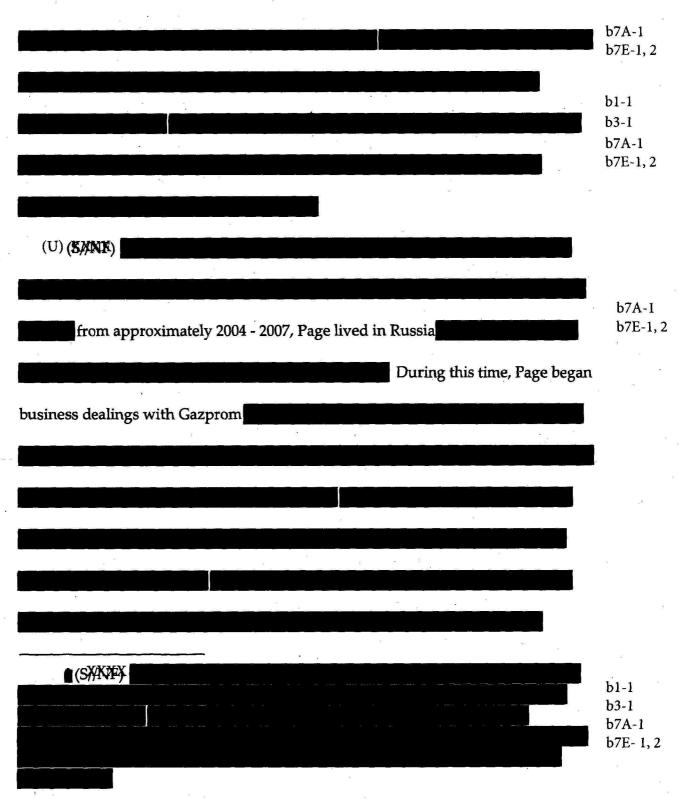


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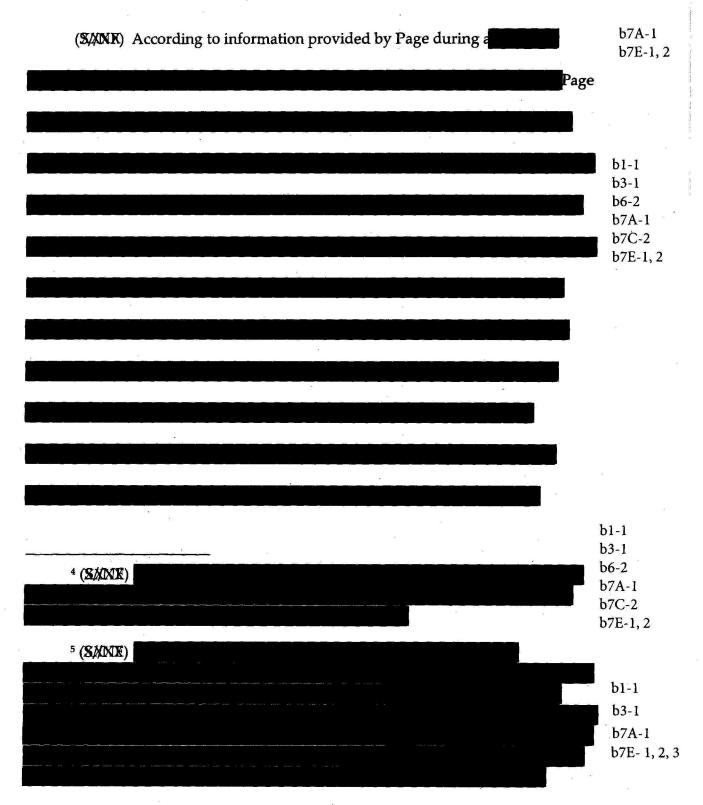
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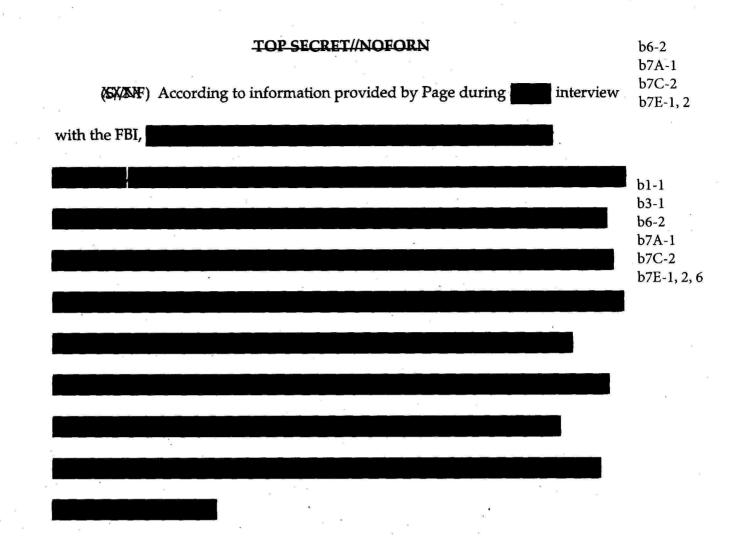


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(U) **XXXXXX** In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring 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

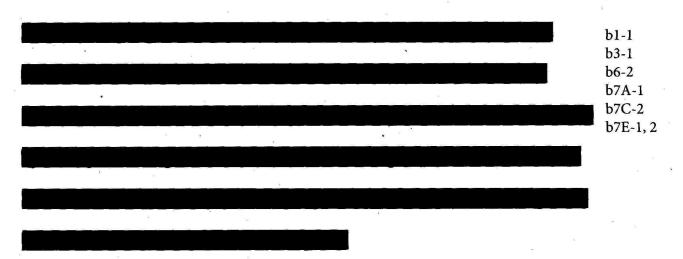
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Russia.⁶ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.

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(U) ⁶ (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. (SANY Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.

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

 Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School.⁷ In
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 addition to giving this address, the FBI has learned that Page met with at least two
 b7A-1

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 Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI
 b7E-1, 2

 confidential human source (Source #1),⁸
 reported that Page had a

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(U) 7 (SANK)	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 4
⁸ (XISAINTEX Source #1	b1-1
and has been an FBI source since	b3-1
Source #1's reporting has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings	b7A-1
and the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable. Source #1 has been compensated	b7E- 1, 2, 5
by the FBI and the FBI is unaware of any derogatory	

information pertaining to Source #1.

(TSX/XXE) 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

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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) (US//XMP) 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.

XESTAXE) 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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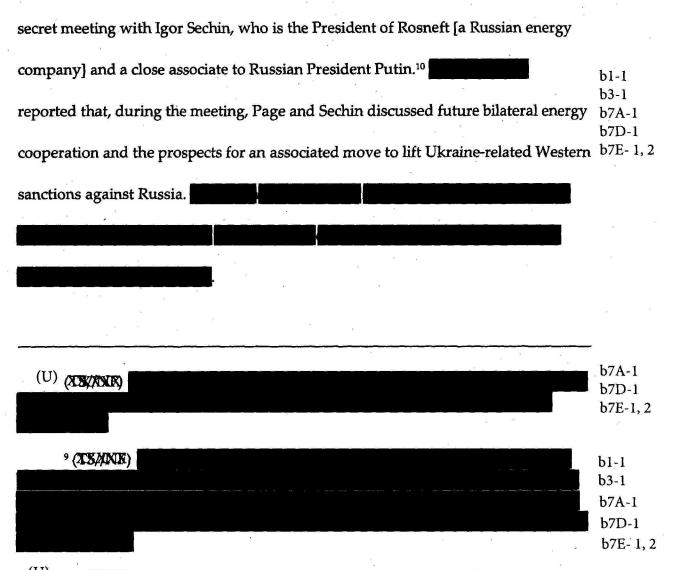
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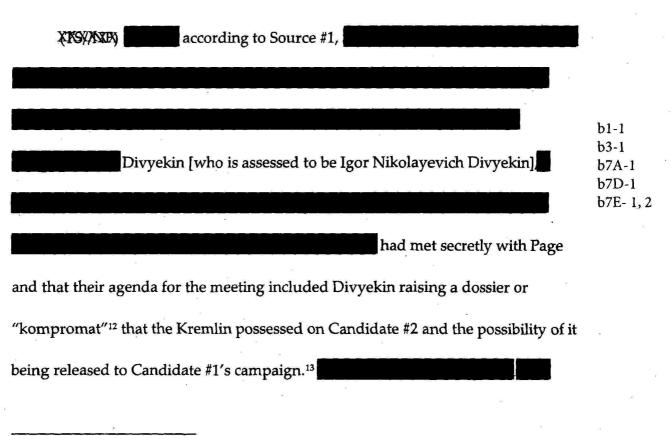


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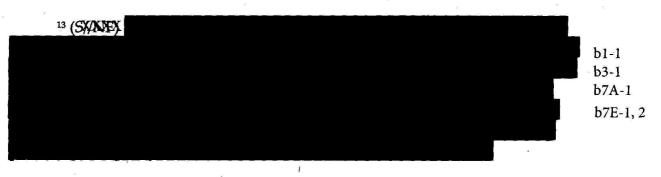
^(U) ¹⁰ (SMNE) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further 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."

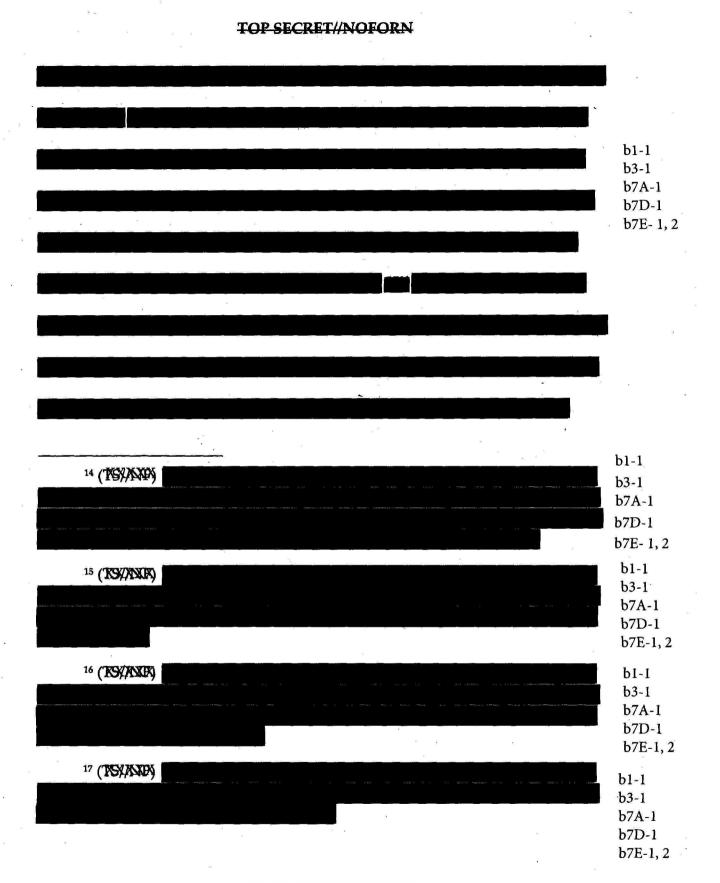
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^(U) ¹² (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.





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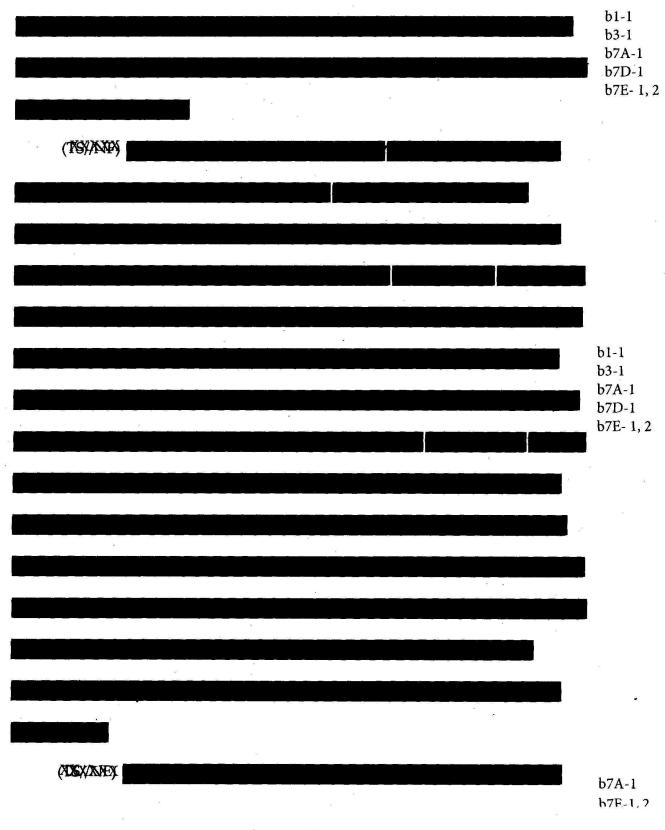
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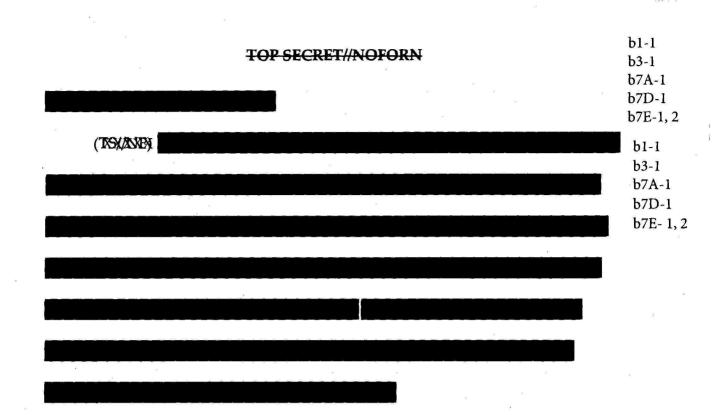
a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign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

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(U) (SMNE) 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. ¹⁸ (U) (MARE) 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

¹⁸ (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.

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

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.

(SX/NR) 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"

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

(U) (SMAXX 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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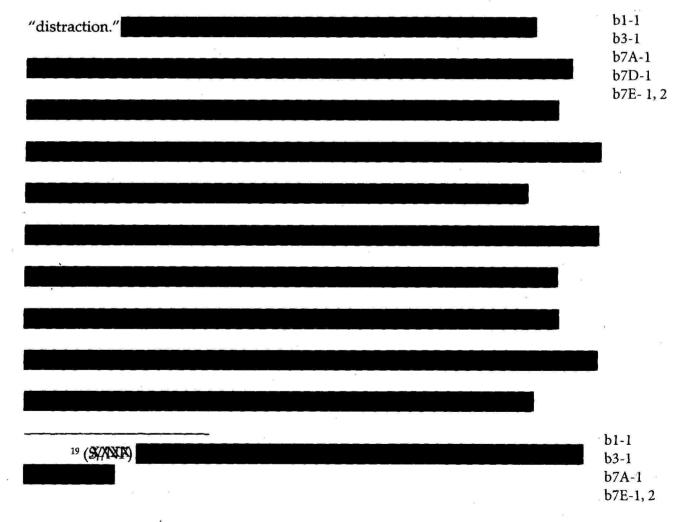
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discuss any "final" questions the FBI may have.¹⁹

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(SX/XXE) 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



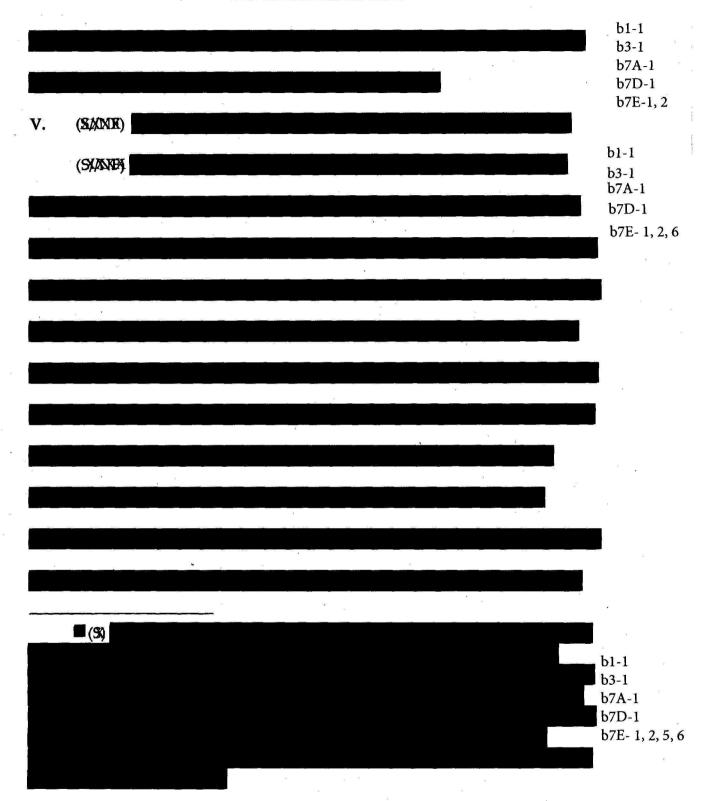
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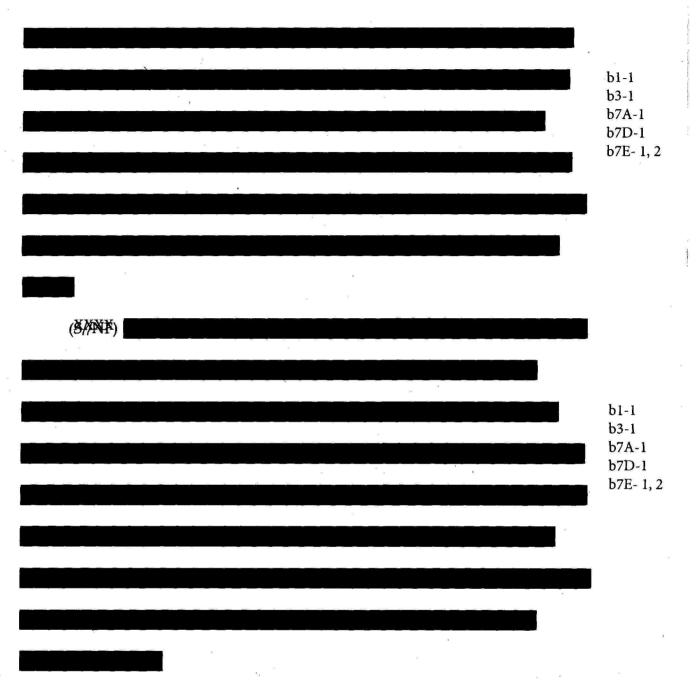


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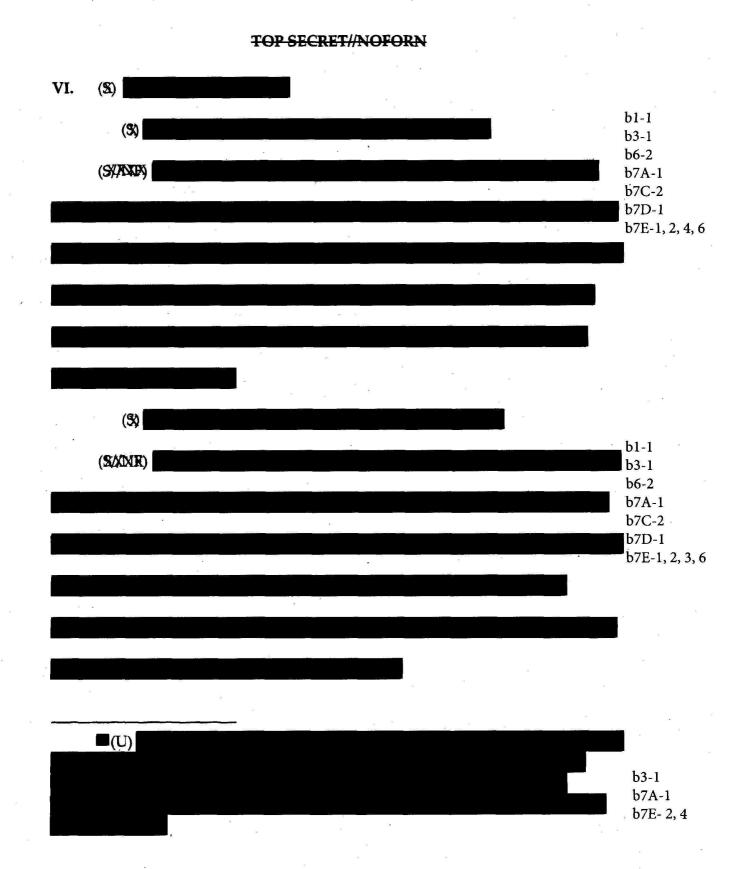
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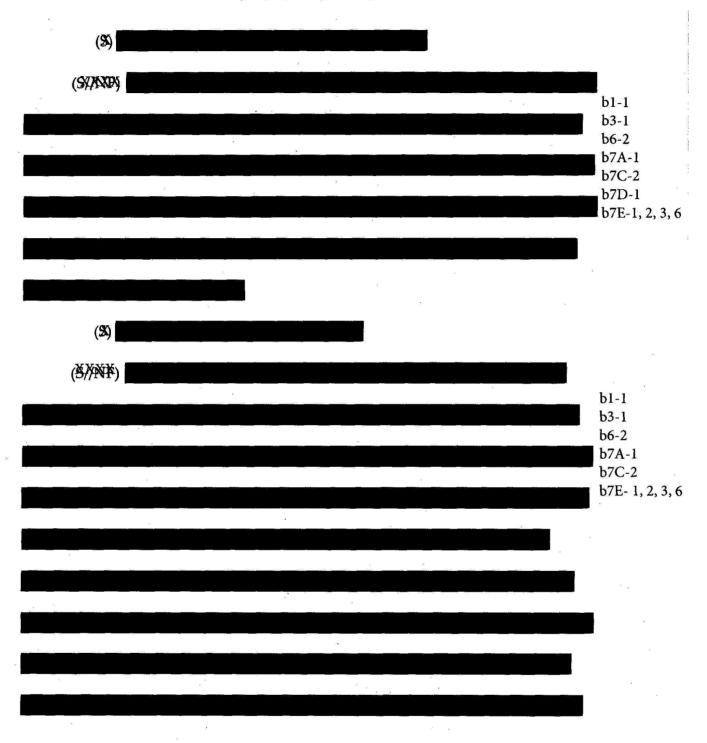
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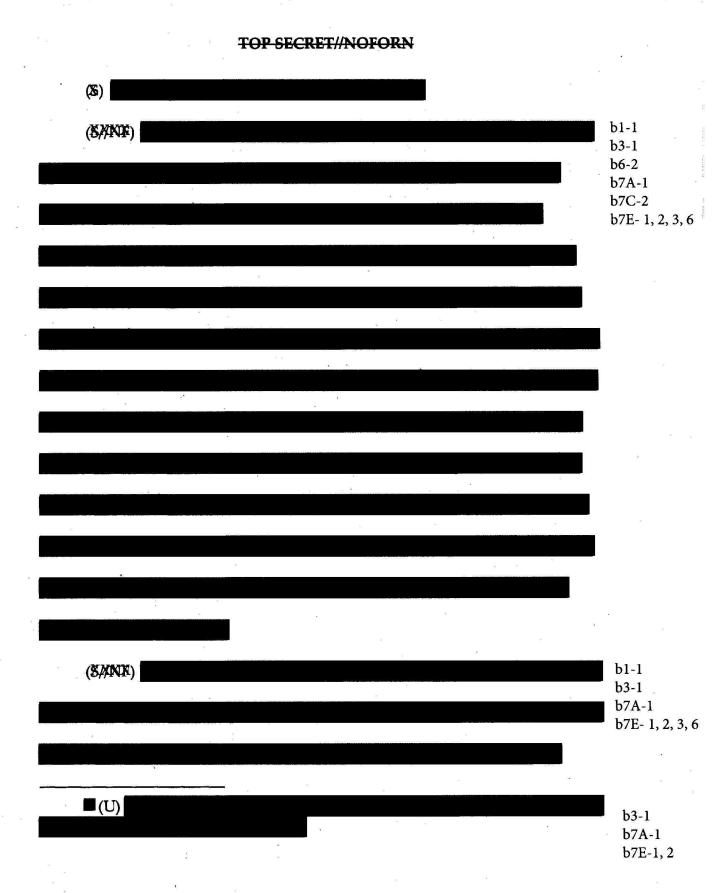
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 (U) <u>Conclusion</u>. (W/XXE) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating 	a P
and conspiring with the Russian Government,	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to	
believe that Page	• • •
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or	s N
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).	- -
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such activities involve or are about to involve violations of the criminal statutes of	

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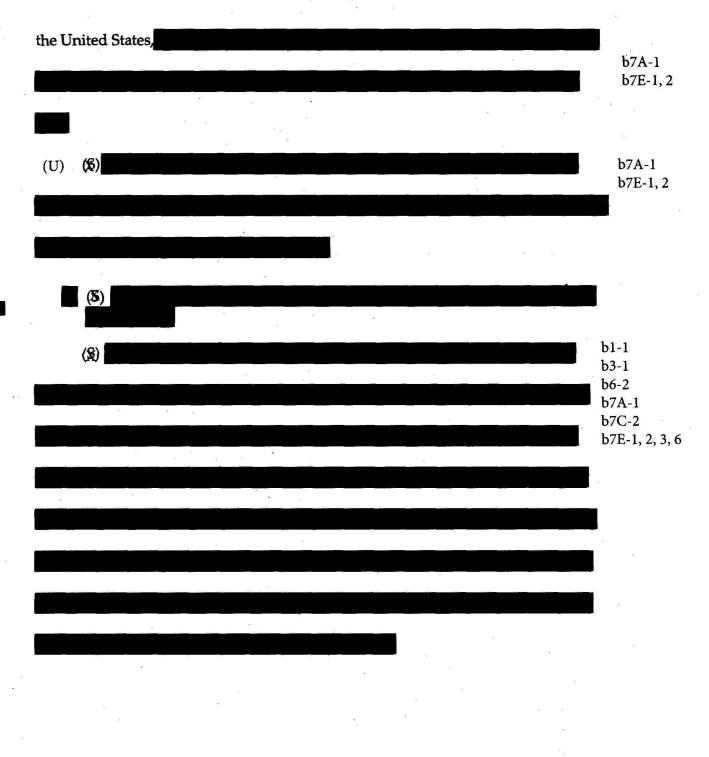
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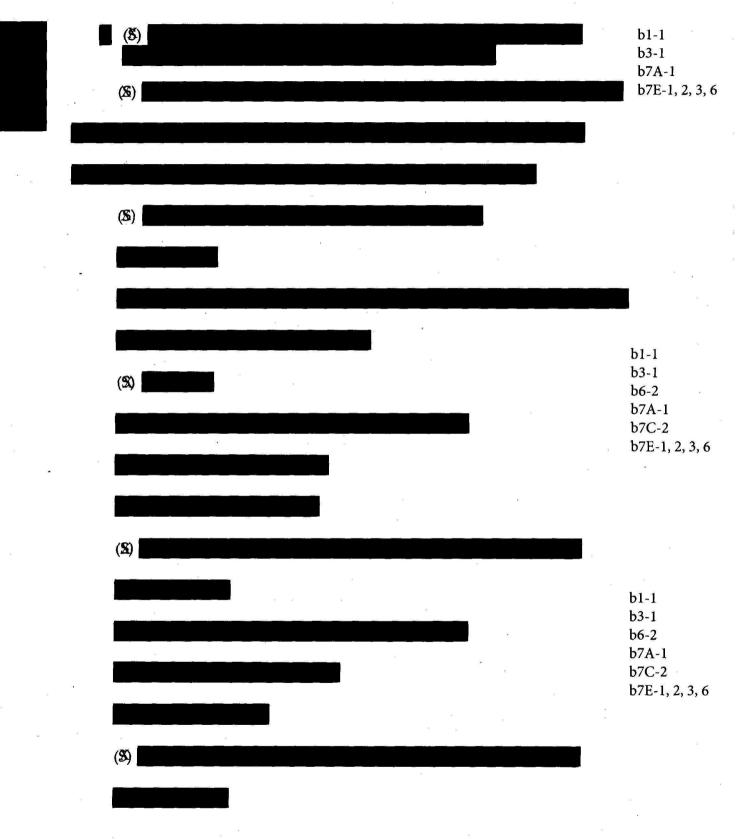
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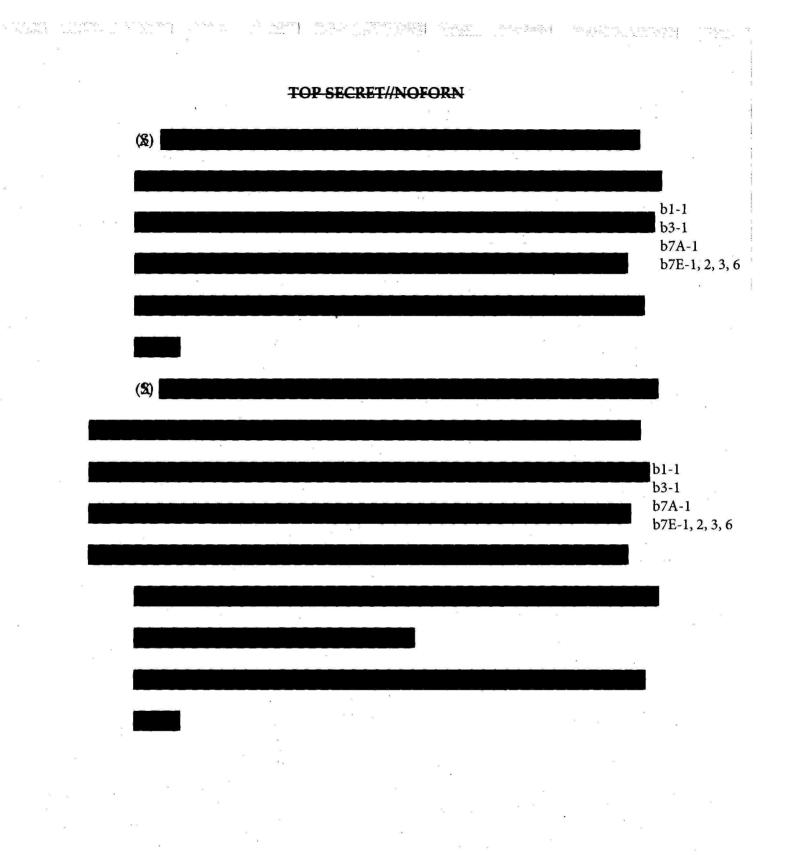


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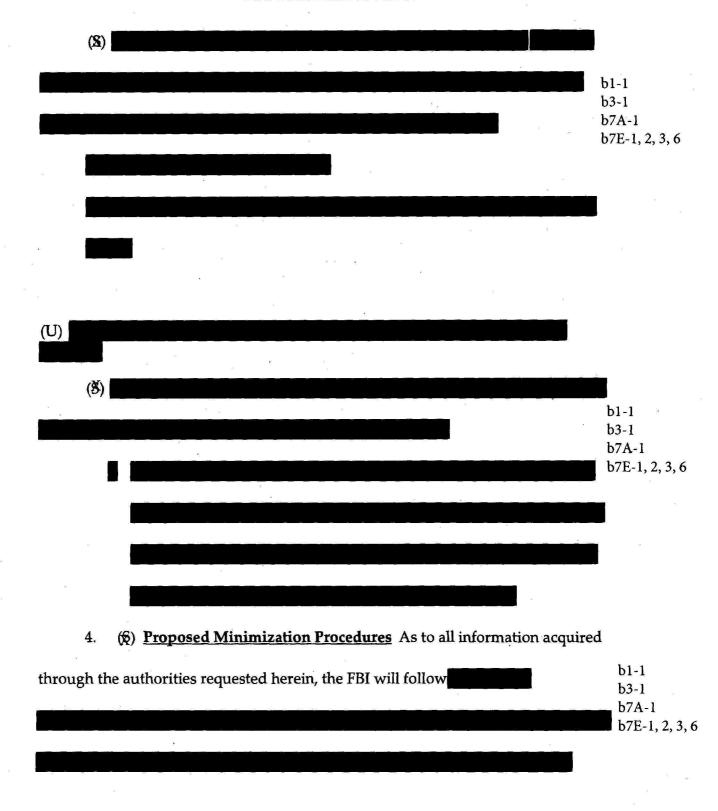


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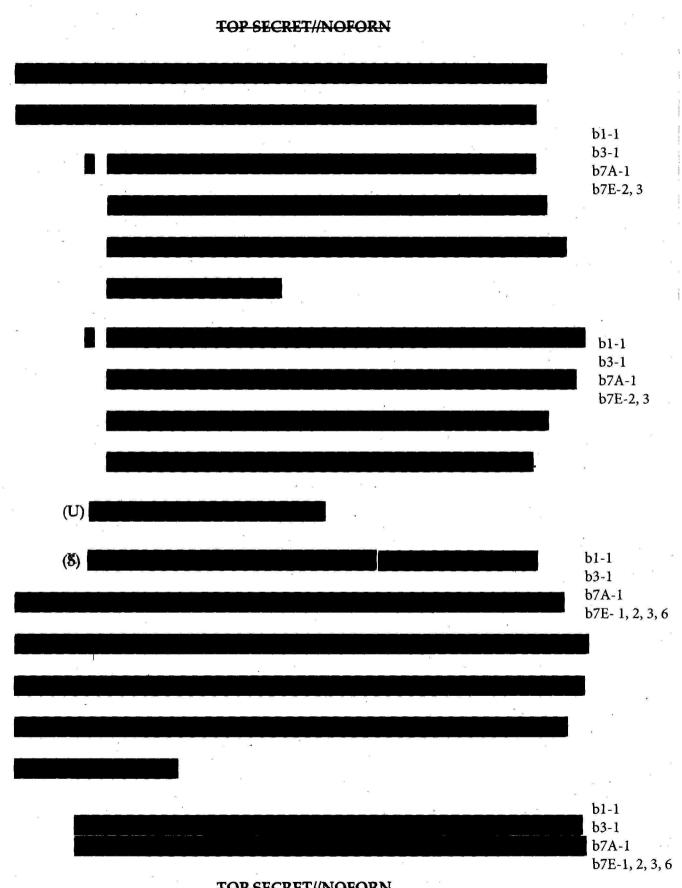
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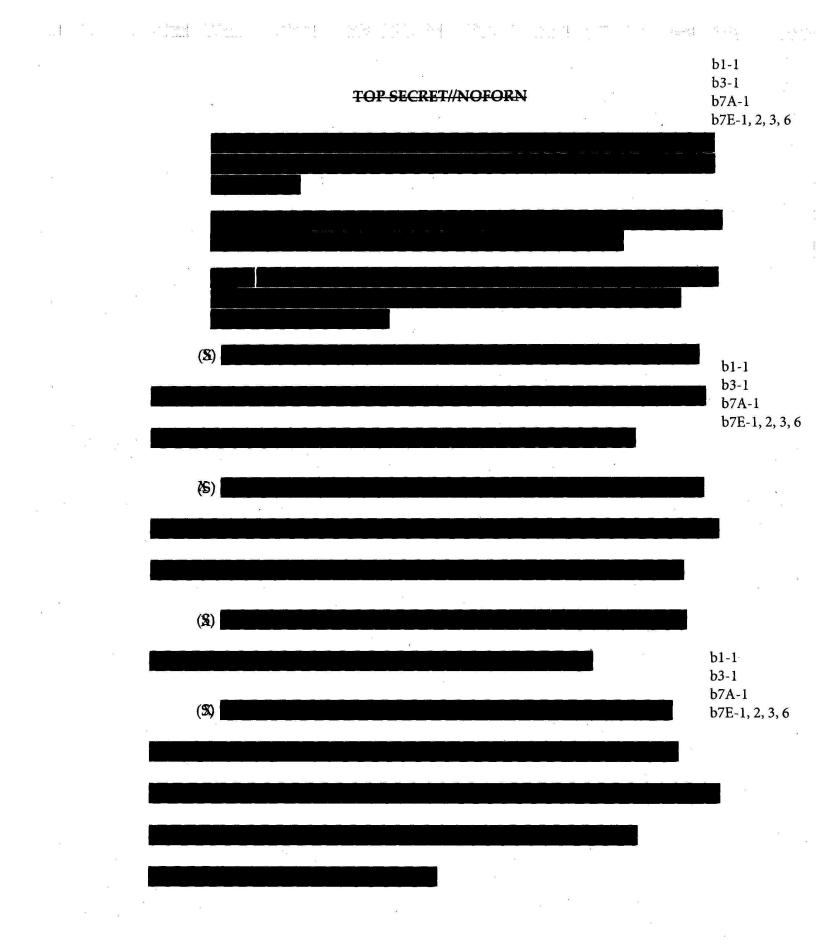
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b1-1 5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities b3-1 b7A-1 requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed 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 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.

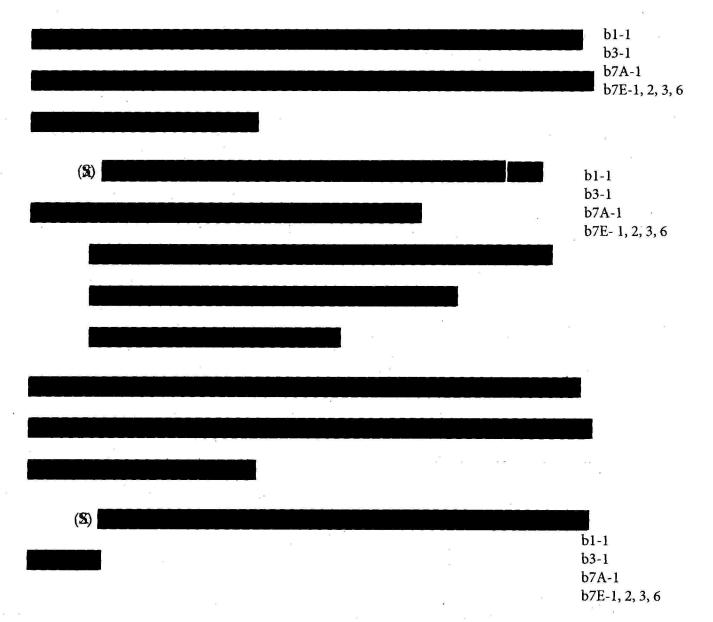
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			e 2	b1-1
5 				b3-1 b7A-1
			s i i	b7E-1, 2, 3,
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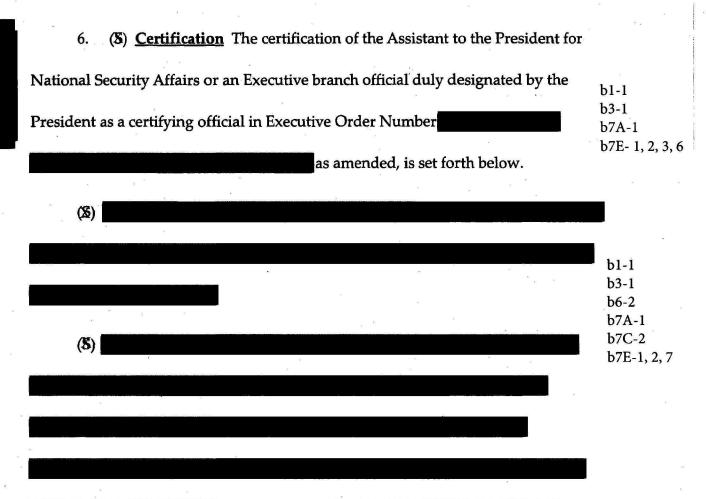
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(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(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 violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual

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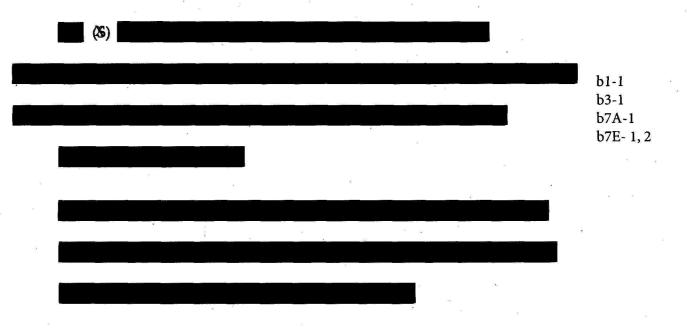
criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for **sector sector secto**



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9. (S) <u>Duration of the Authorities Requested</u> (See also,

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

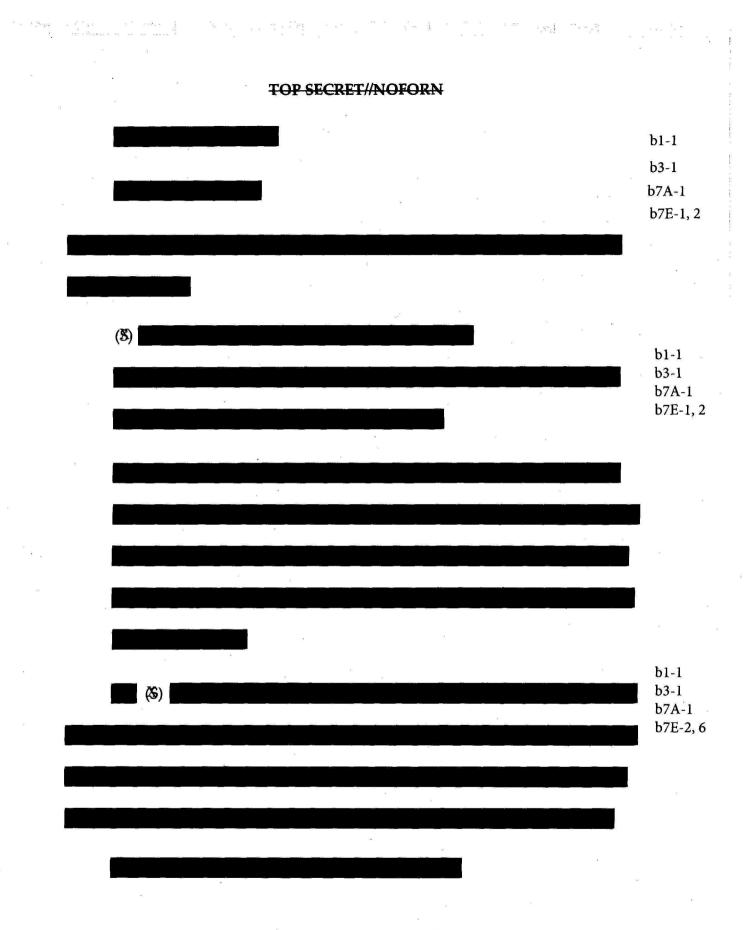


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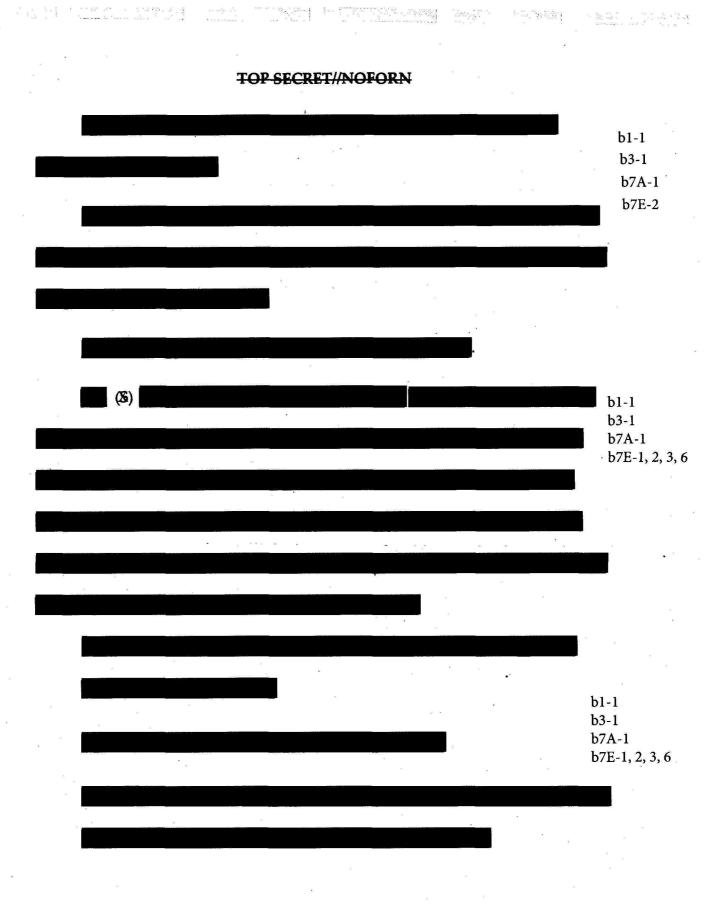
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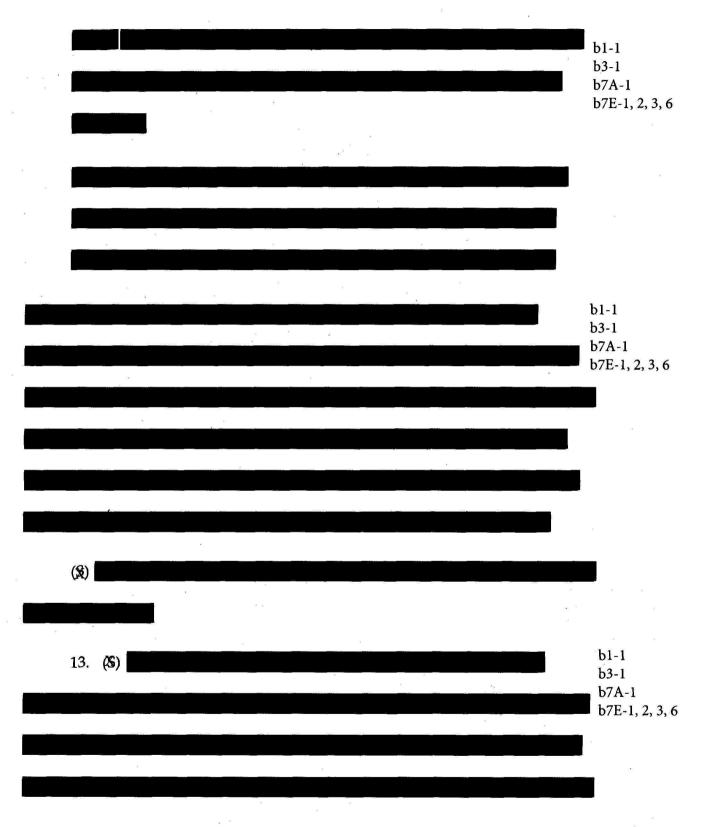
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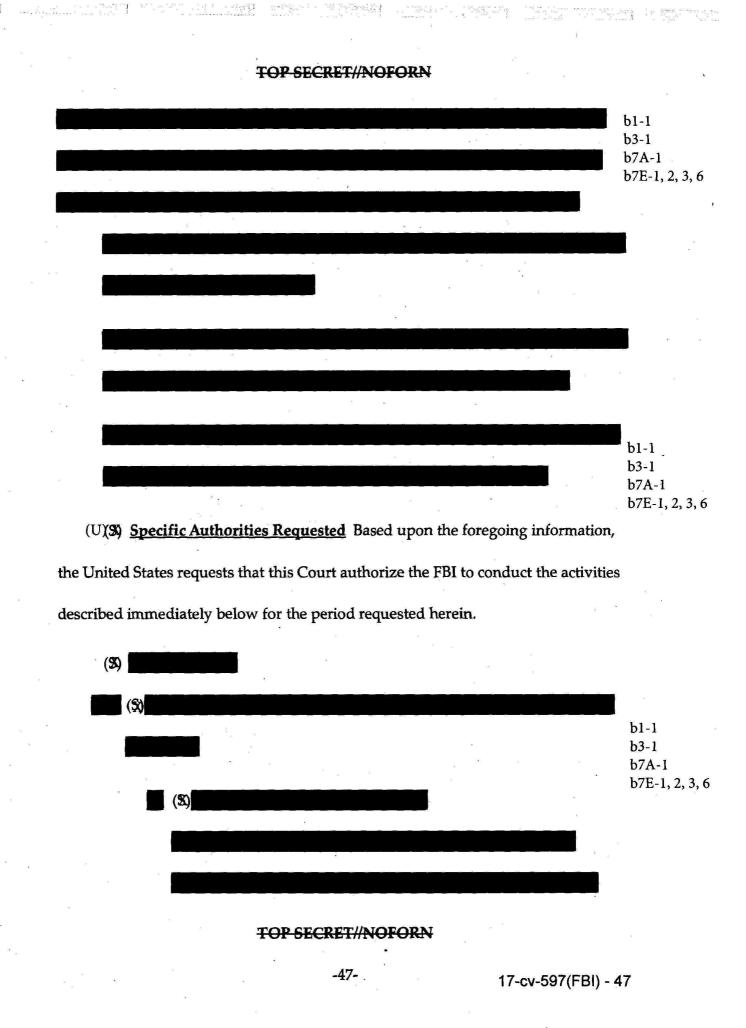
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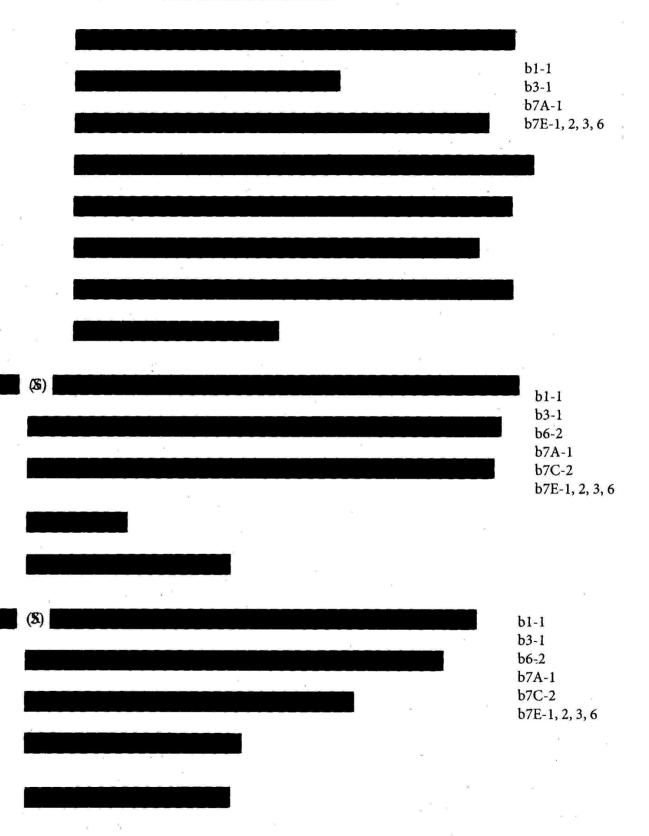


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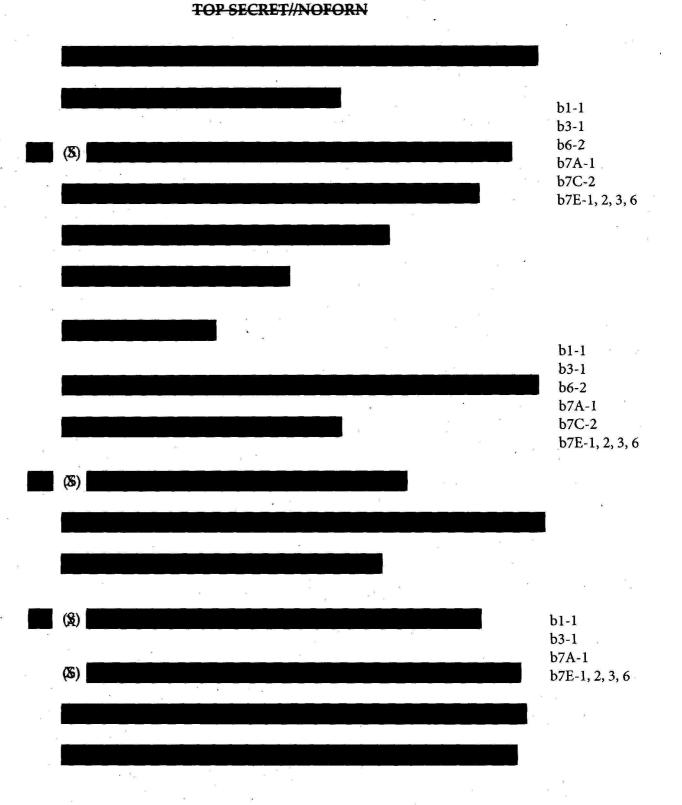
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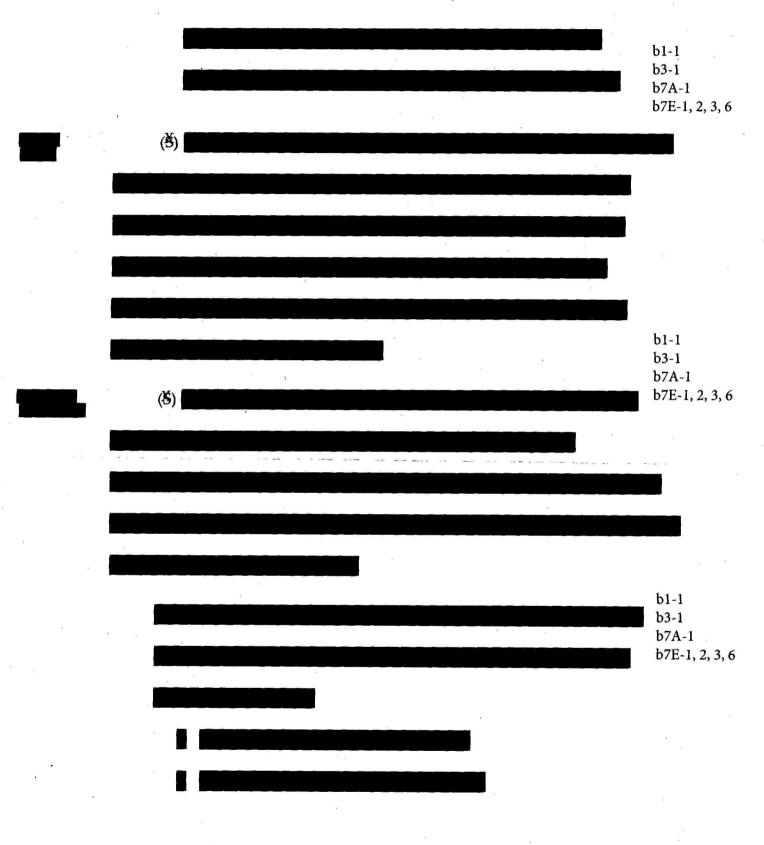
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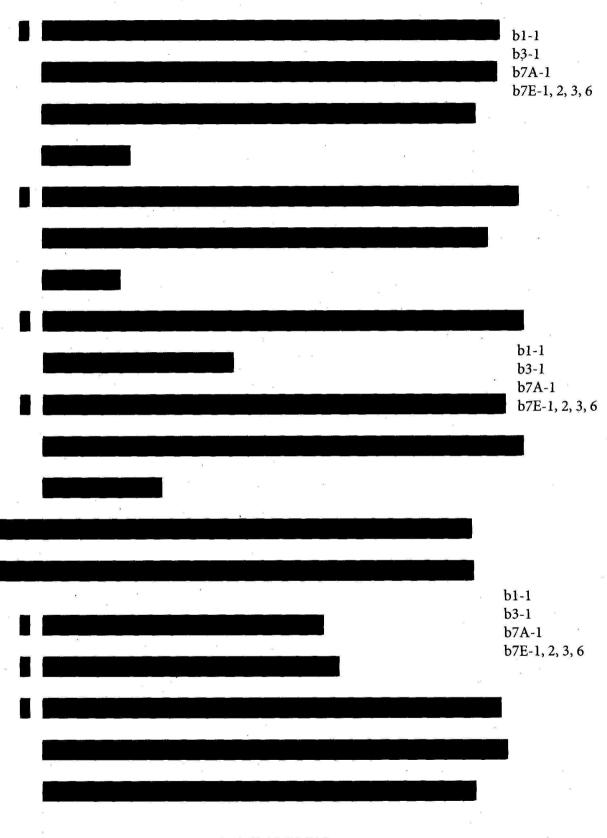


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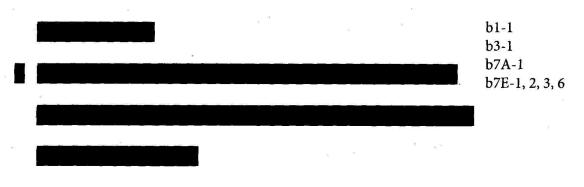
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e di la Relativa

(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	b1-1
States Code, § 1746 on	b3-1 b7A-1

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	b6-1
	b7A-1
Supervisory Special A cont	b7C-1
Supervisory Special Agent	

Federal Bureau of Investigation

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

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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
 Interface (1978)
 (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 authorities b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

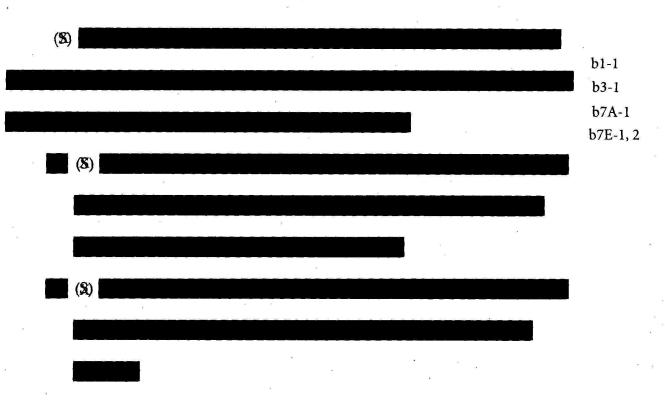
(D) (\mathfrak{A}) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

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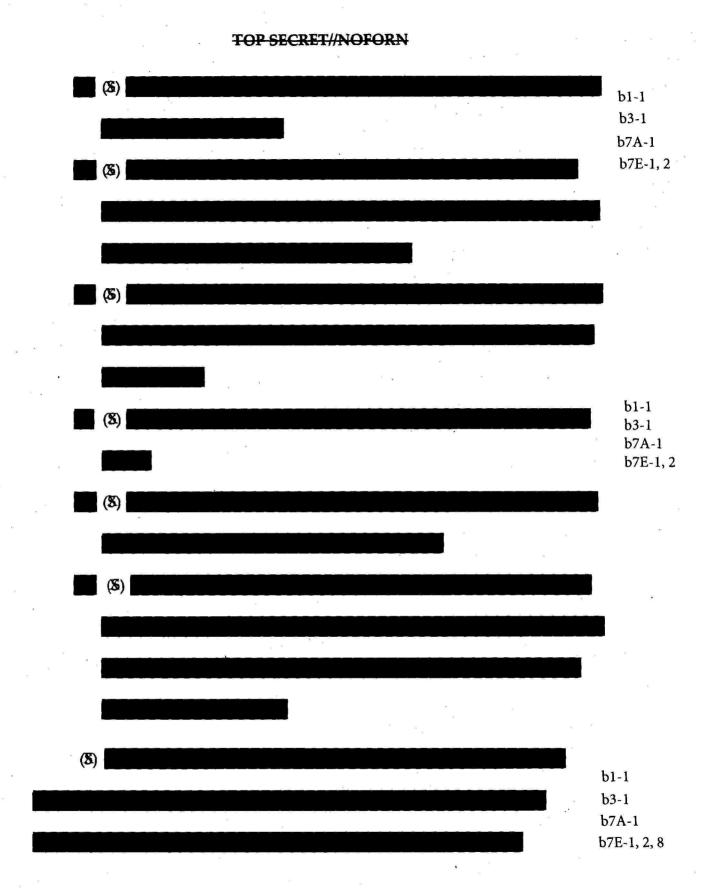
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information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), 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 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



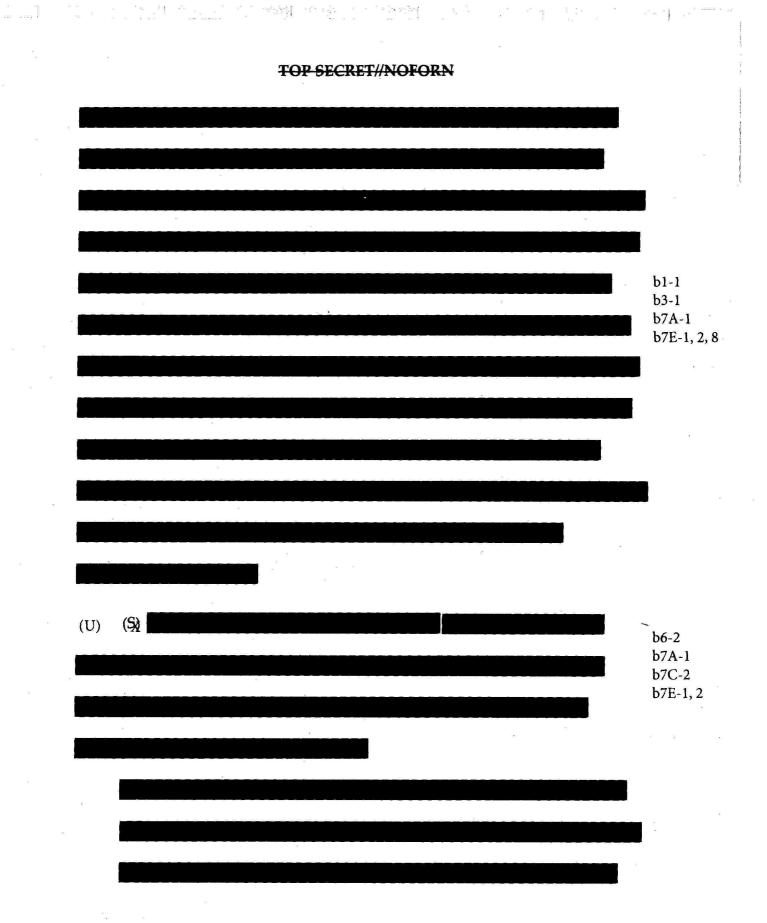
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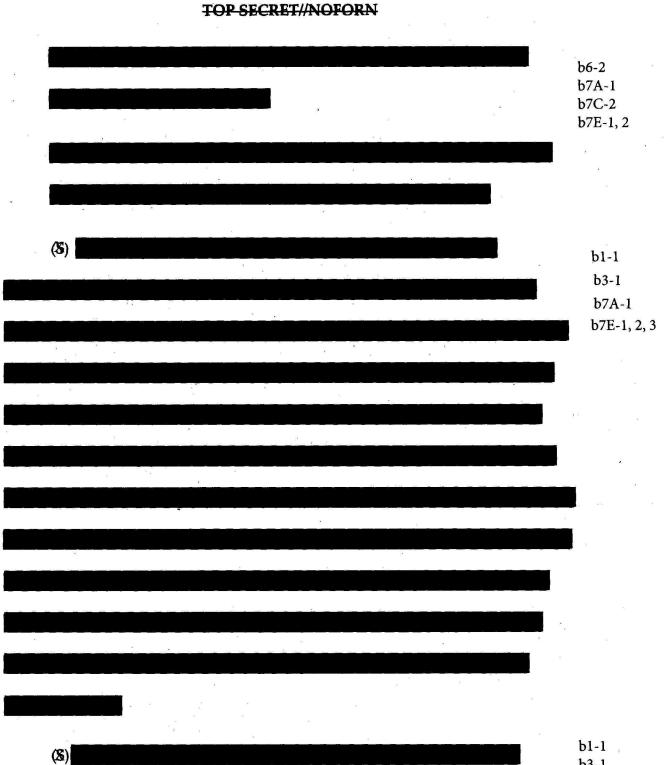
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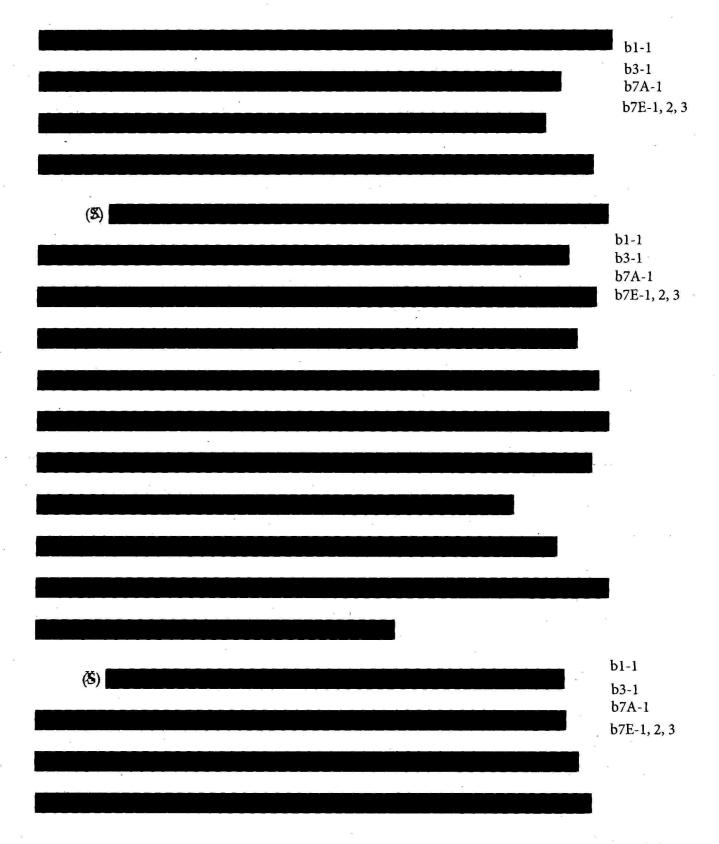
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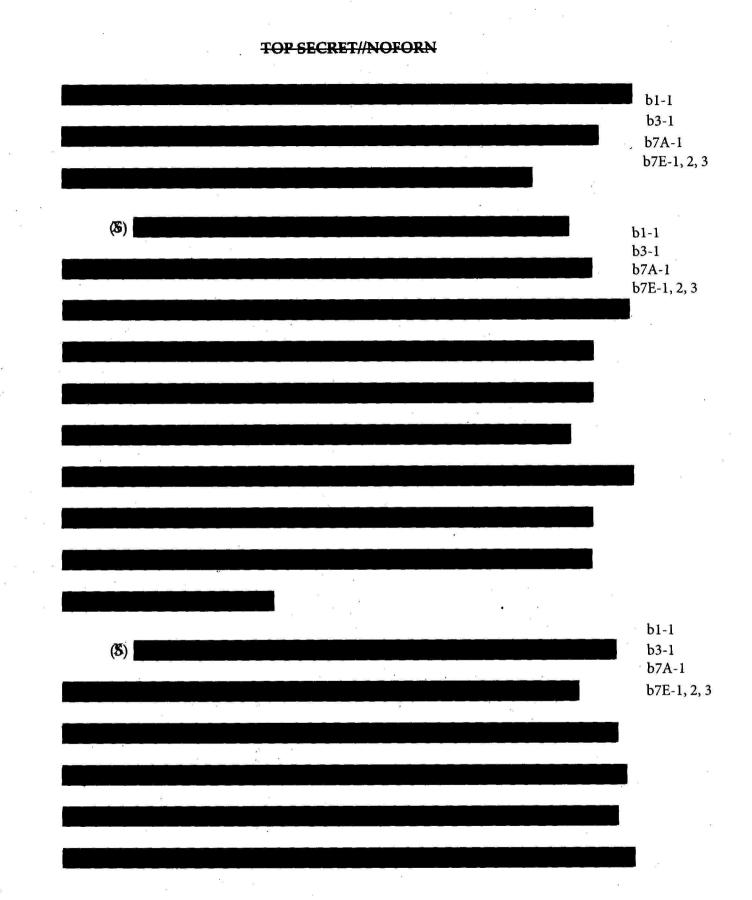
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(U) (S) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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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 Ash Carter

John F. Kerry

Secretary of State

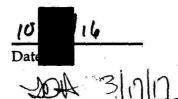
Antony J. Blinken

Deputy Secretary of State

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



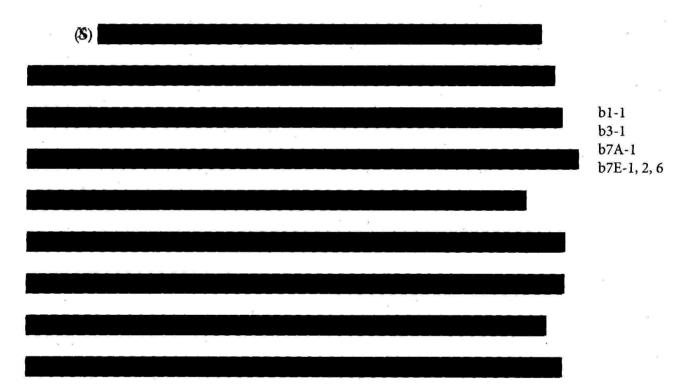
I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

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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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(\$) 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

I

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

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Assistant Attorney General for National Security

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, 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 is considered unclassifie except where otherwise shown		SECRET Inte		Filed United States Foreign Billgence Burvelliance Court	
	UNITEL	O STATES	001	2016	
Classify By: J23J98T32			LeeAnn Flyn	in Hail, Clerk of	Court
Reason: (C) FOREIGN	-2016	VTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE C 16 WASHINGTON, D. C.		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	
IN RE CARTER W. PA	GE, A U.S.	Docket Numb	er:		L.I. 1
PERSON	. !	a a	2		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	RIMARY ORDE	R AND WARRAN	r T	e L	£

1. 2786.35

1. An application having been made by the United States of America	
pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50	a te
U.S.C. §§ 1999 Control of the Set of the Act), for an order and warrant	• • •
(hereinafter "order") for and full	
consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds	1
as follows:	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Attorney General;	ā

3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

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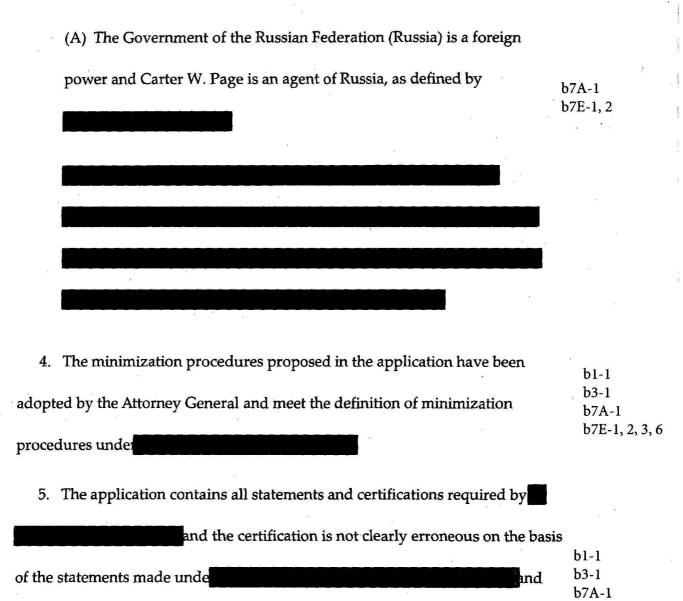
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Application to the USFISCb1-1in Docket Number captioned aboveb3-1b7A-1

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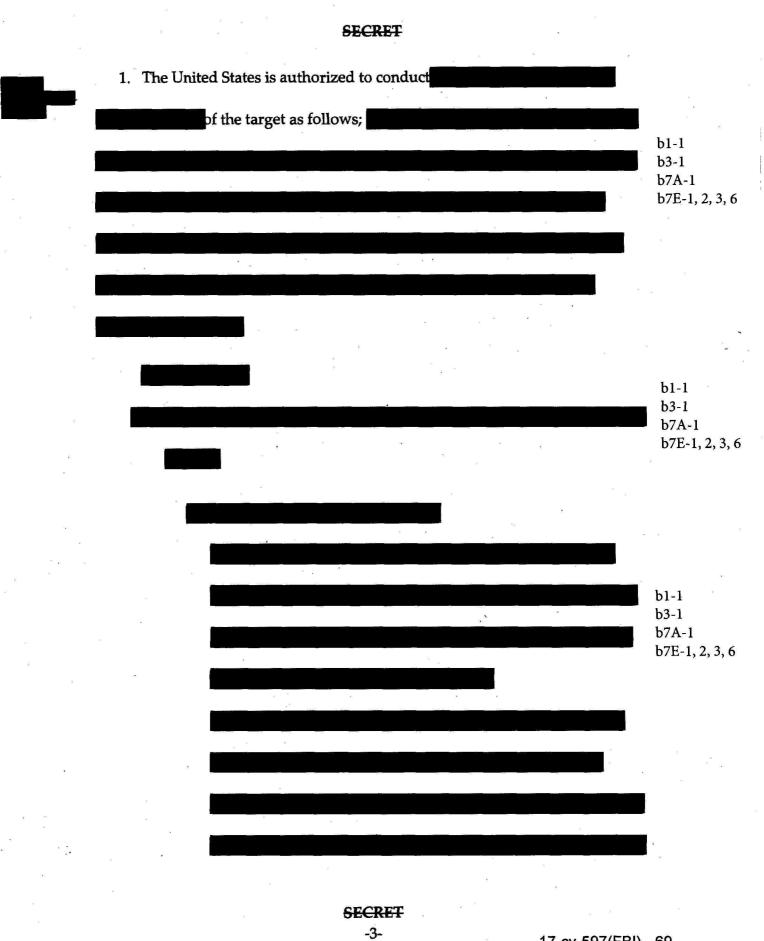
any other information furnished under

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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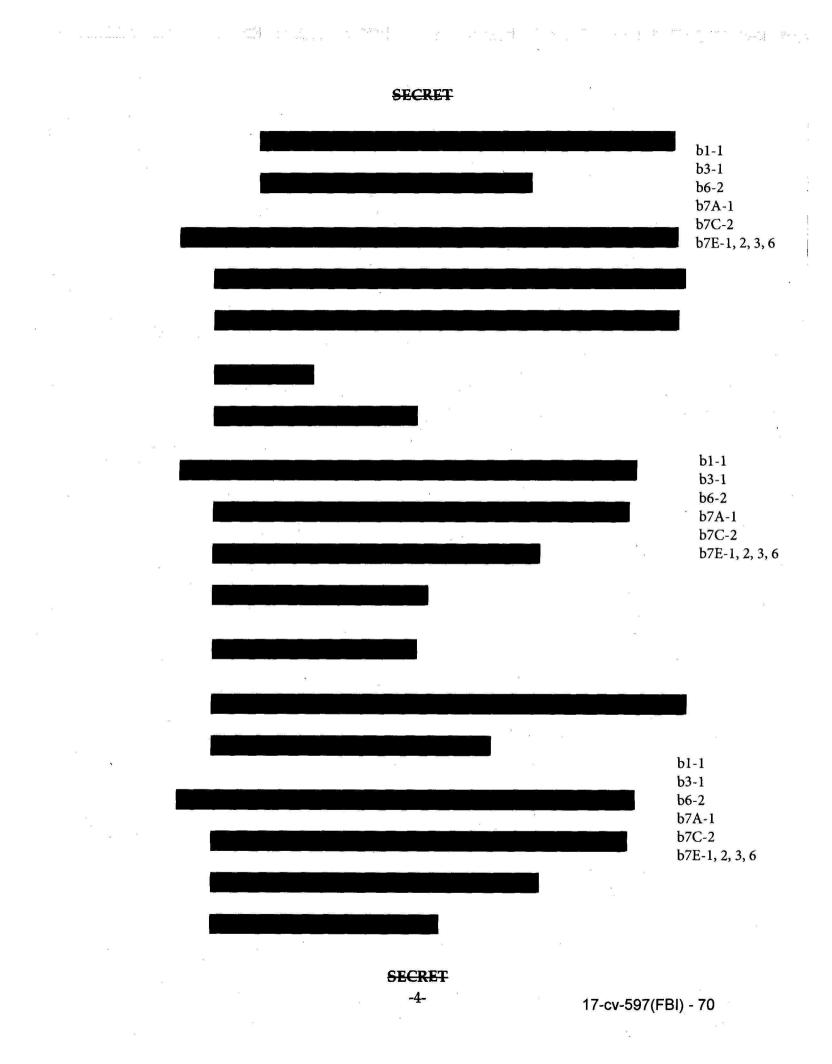
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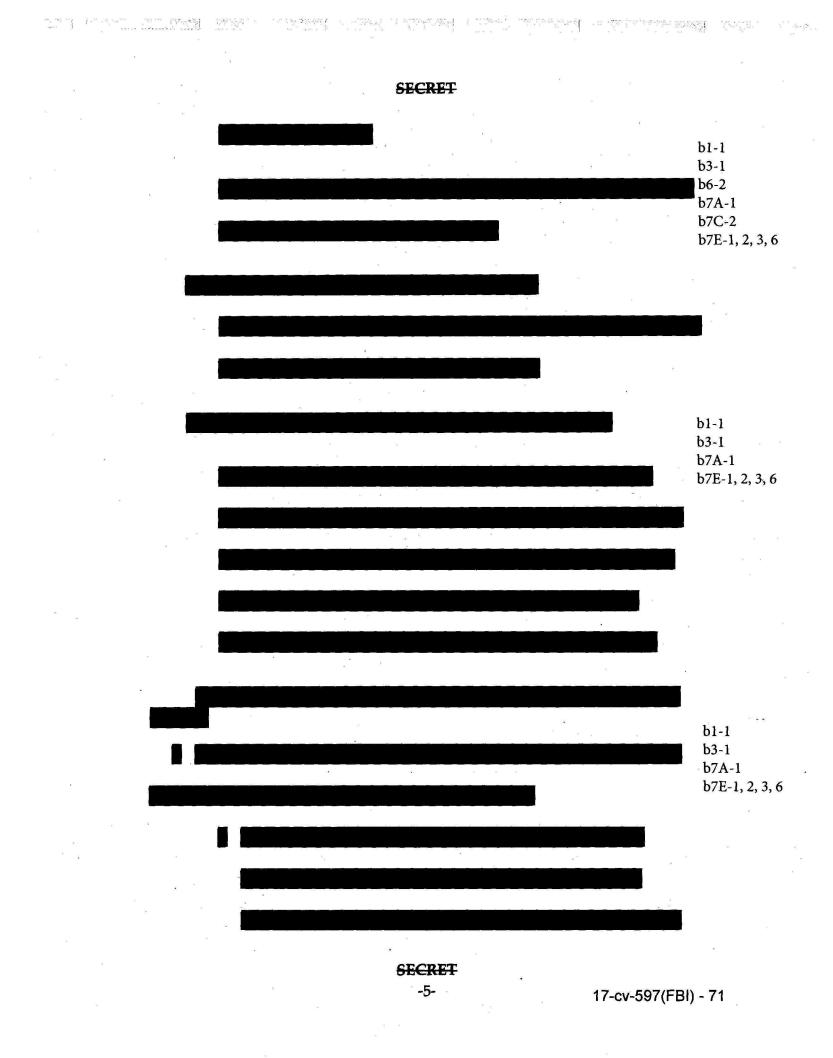


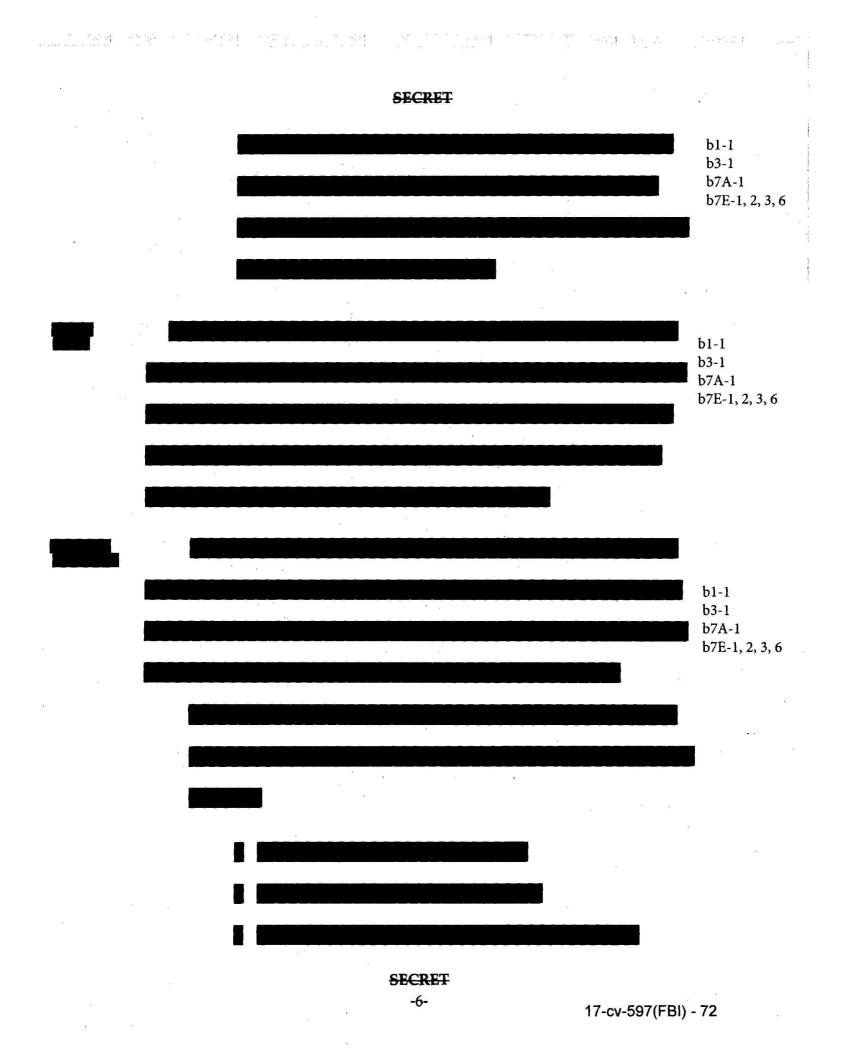
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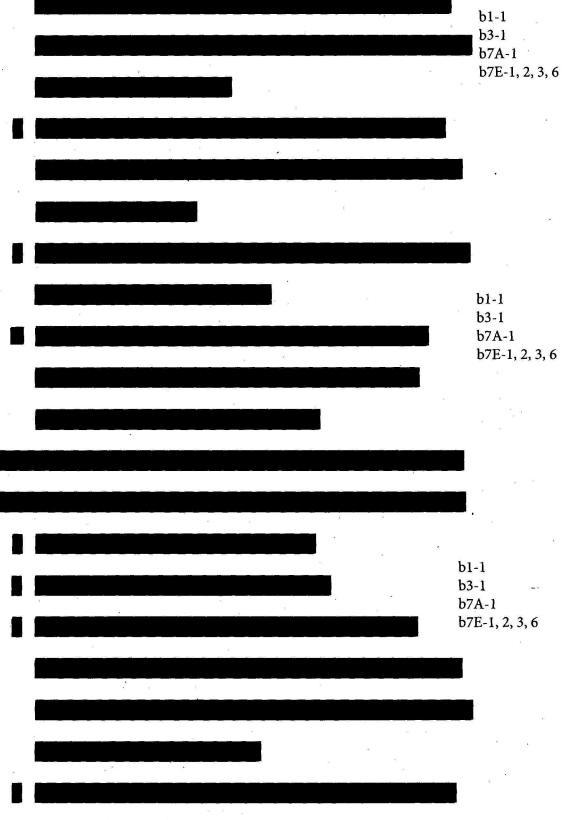








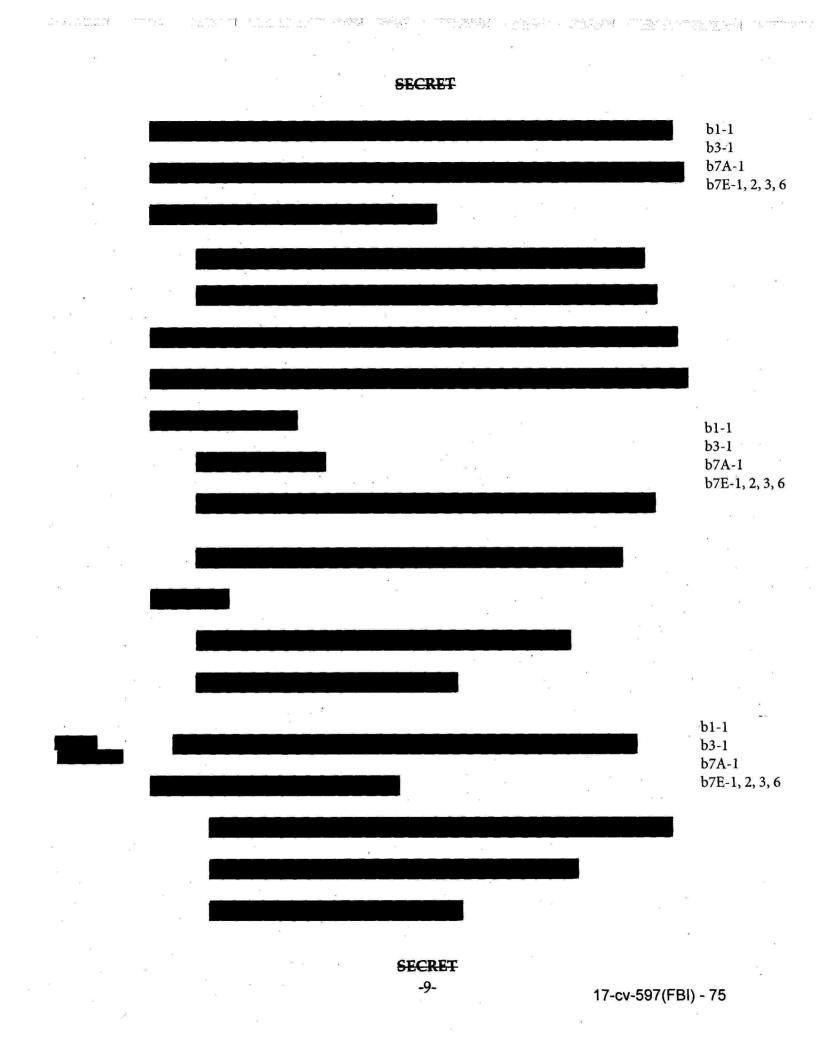
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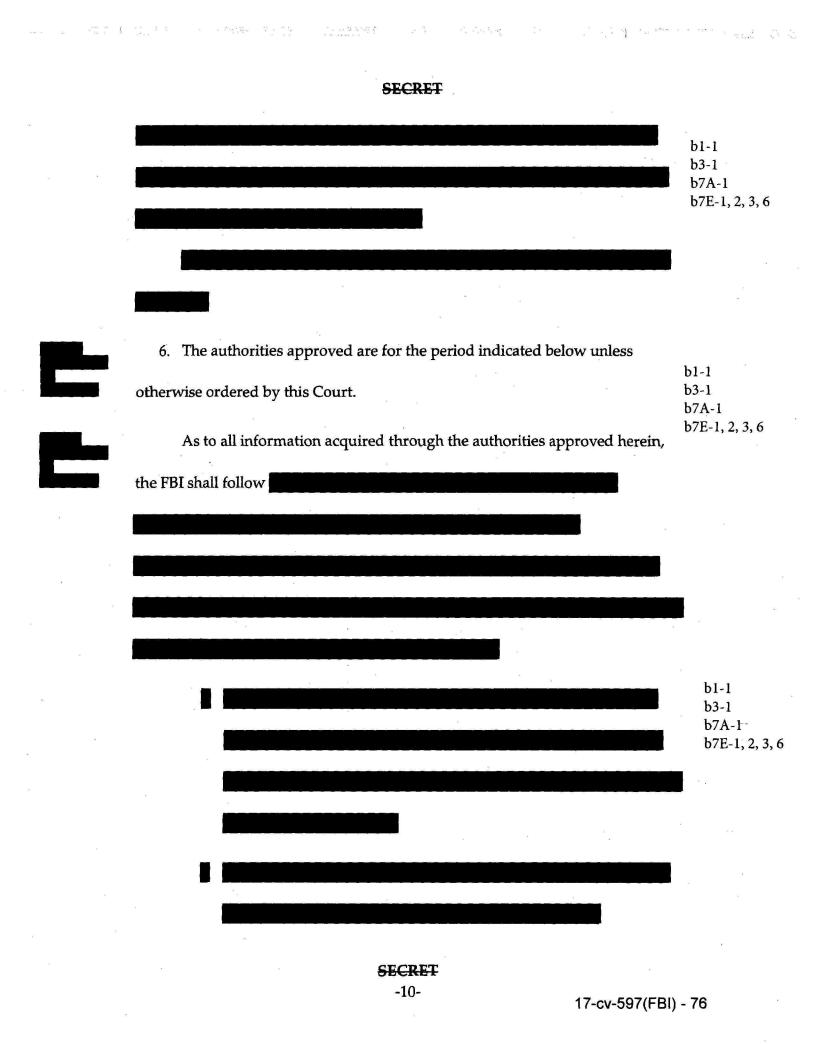


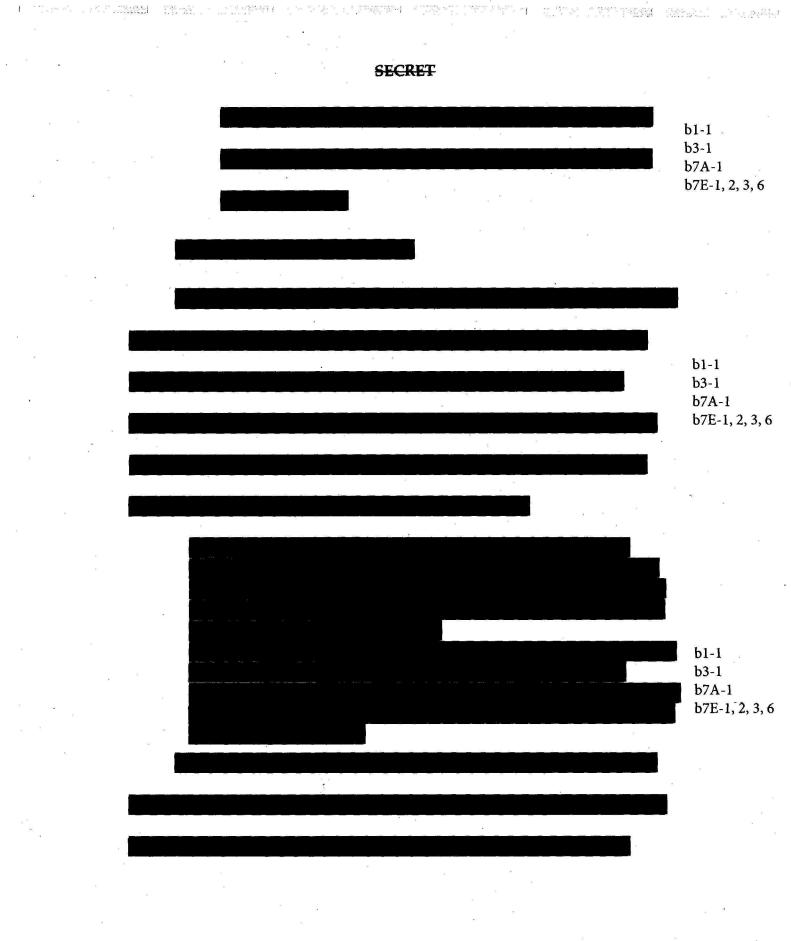
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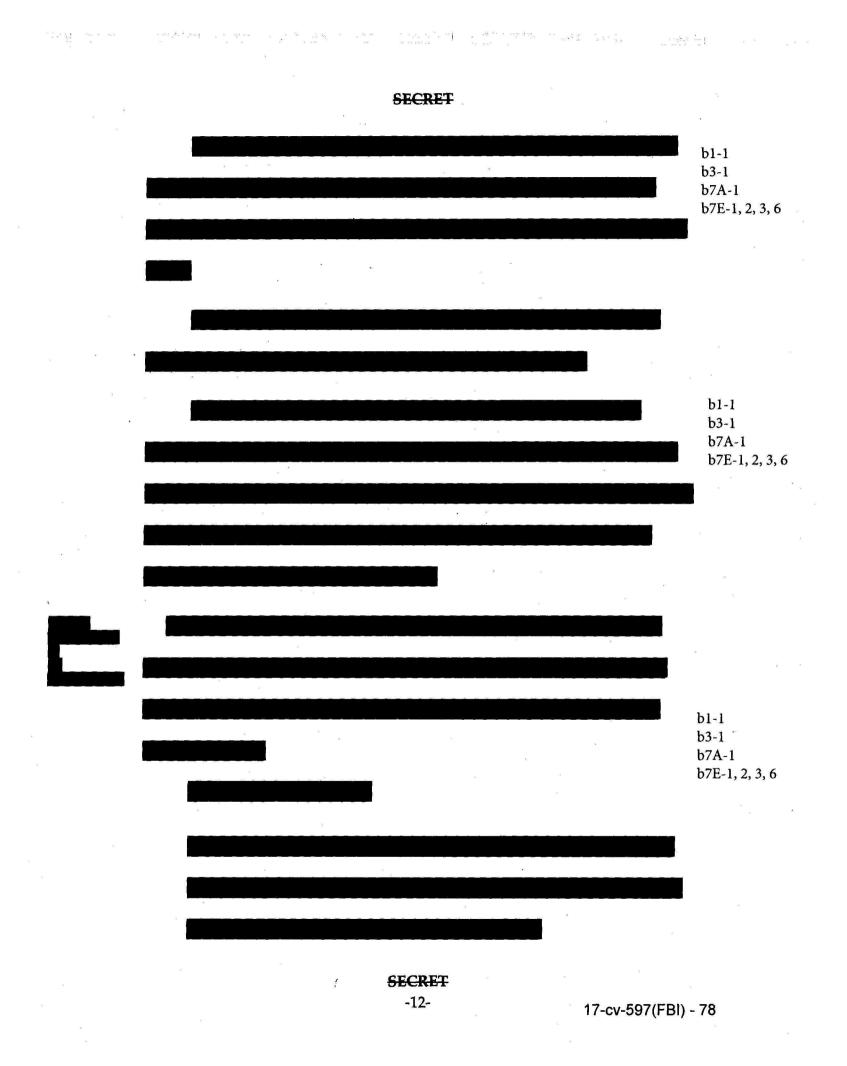
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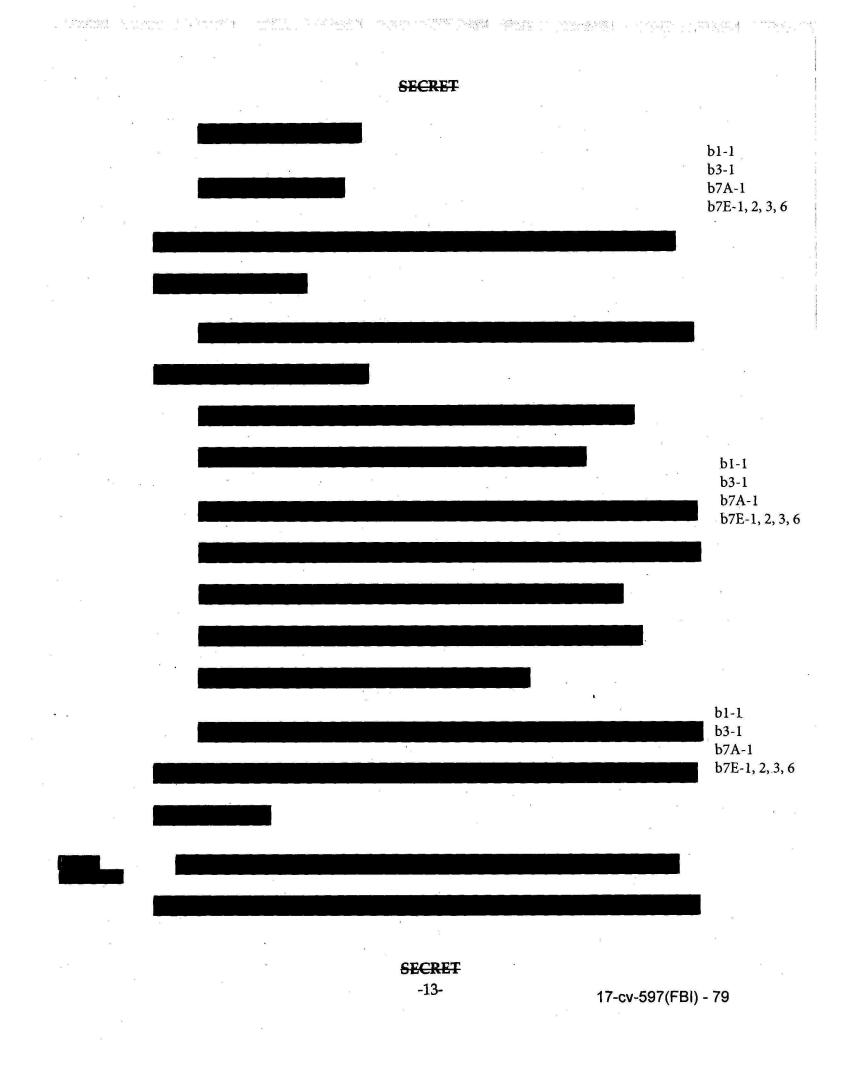


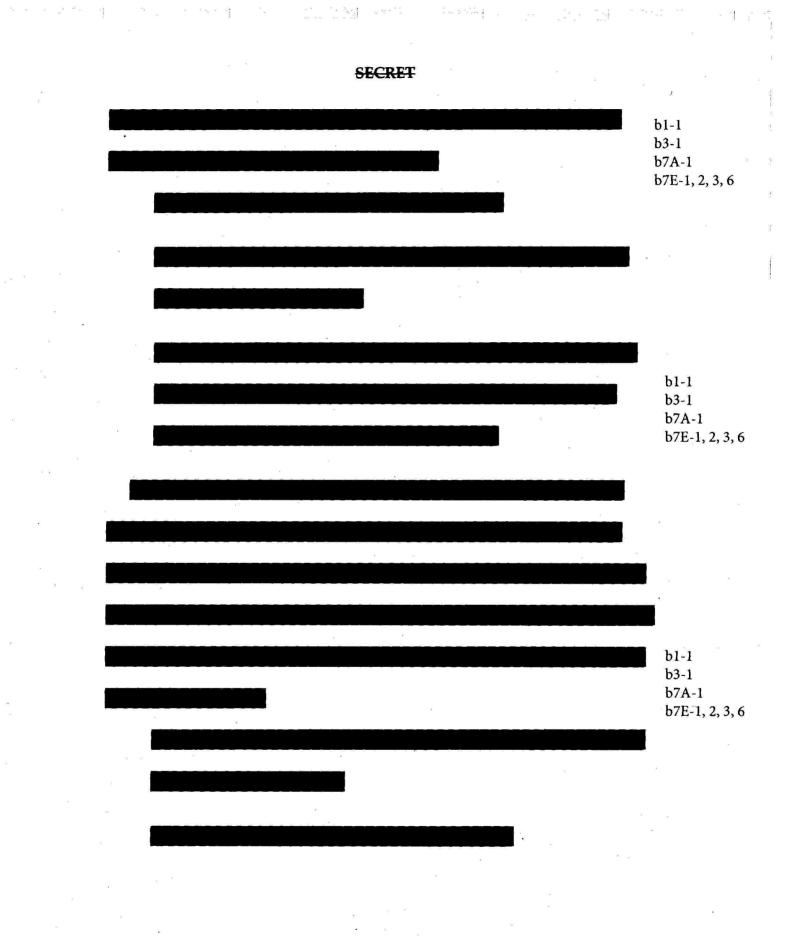




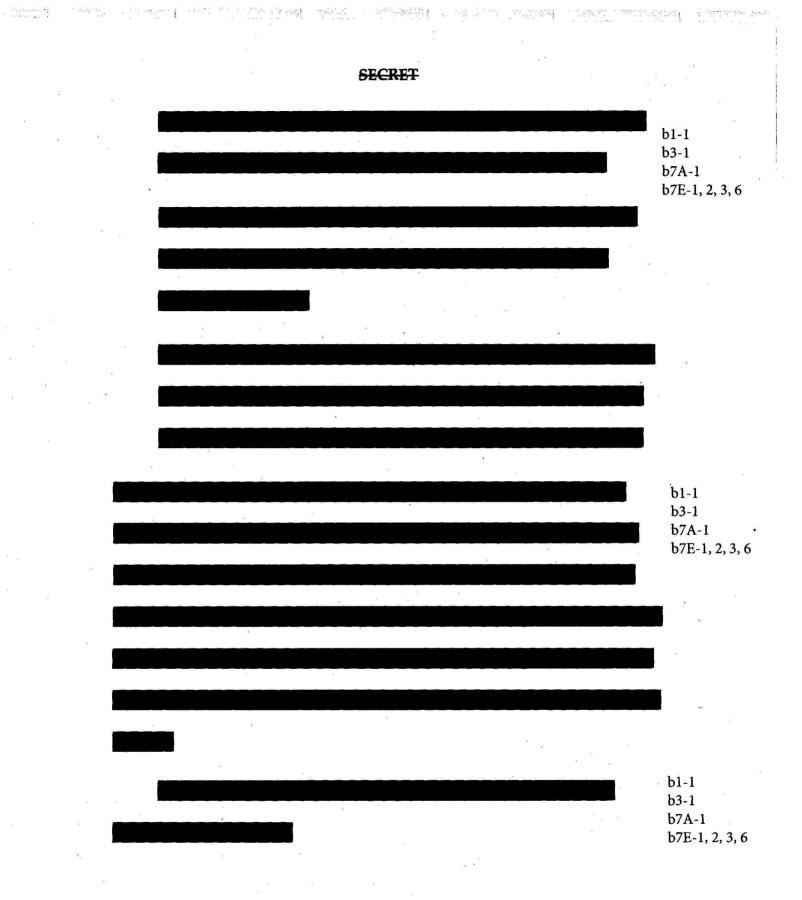
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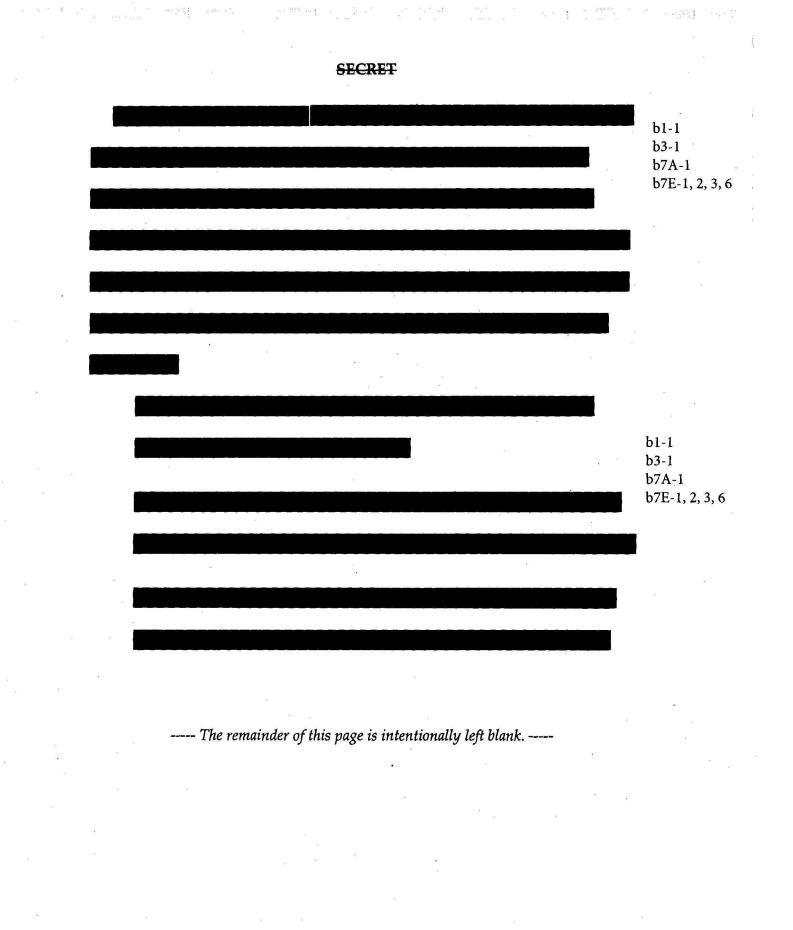




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This authorization regarding Carter W. Page expires at Eastern Time	
on the day of January, 2017.	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1

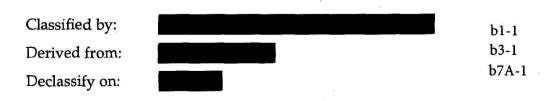
Signed	10-2016	Eastern Time
· ·	Date Time	

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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Classify By: J2 Reason: (C) Derived From: Declassify On:	THE FBI NSICG, dated 01-2017	
	WASHINGTON, D.C. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	
	(S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S. Docket Number:	
		01-1 03-1 07A-1
	(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION	
	(3) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority	o
* . 	conduct described herein, pursuan	: :
	to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United	b1-1 b3-1
л а	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 made by second a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau	b1-1 b3-1
ĩ	of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervisio	n b6-1 b7A-1
	of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon information	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
,	officially furnished to	



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

(§) 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 status of the target was determined in or about December 2016 from information
 provided by the U.S. Department of State.

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

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

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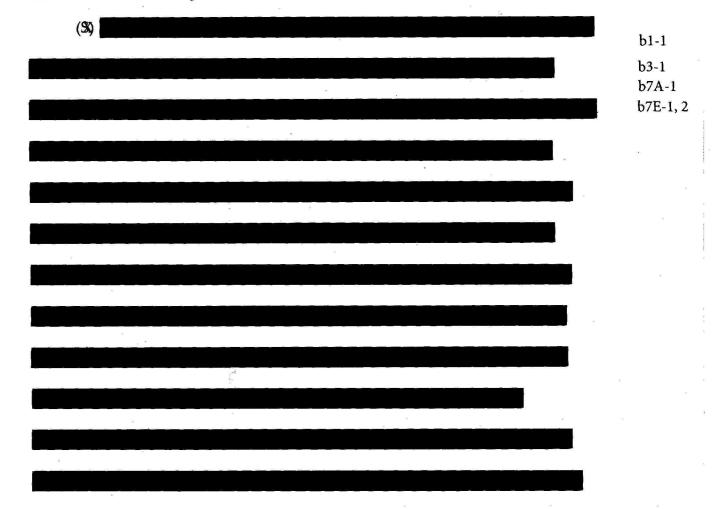
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b3-1 b7A-1

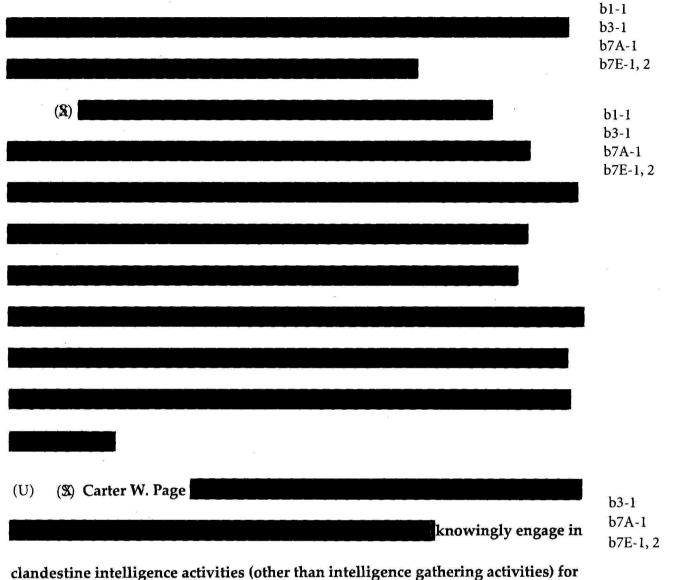
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(U) (**§**) 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.

(U) (3) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation



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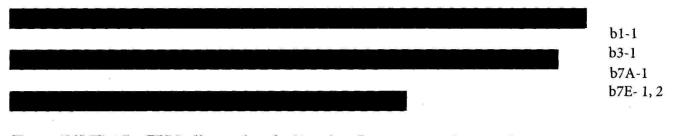
or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

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I. (U) Overview.

(SMXX) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct	b1-1
of Carter Page. The FBI believes Page has been the	b3-1 b6-2
subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Page is	0, 2, 1, 2, 0, 0
a former foreign policy advisor to a Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1). ¹	
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
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1 (3) 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 originalb1-1
b3-1
b7A-1remain the same as in the initial application filed in this matter (see docket number



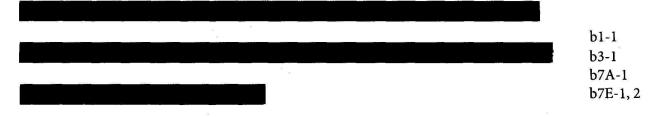
II.(SX/XVF) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in
Influence Operations Against the United States.

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

(\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$\During an 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."

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

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

Democratic National Committee (DNC).²

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. Bussian 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

² (SAXIEX 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.

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

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

In

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].

(SXXXX 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.	đ
	ξ.
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	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.

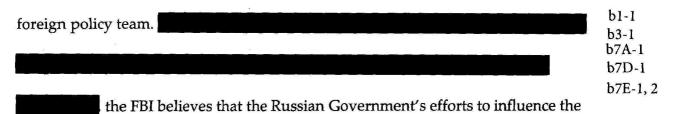
H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

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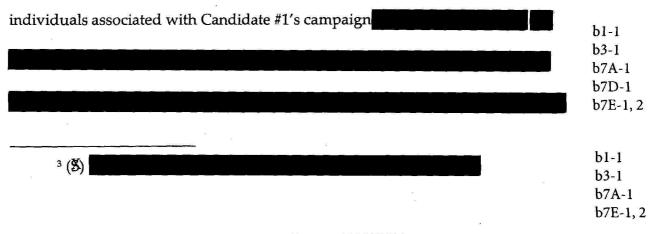
B. (SX/XXEX The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(the XSX/XXIP) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the

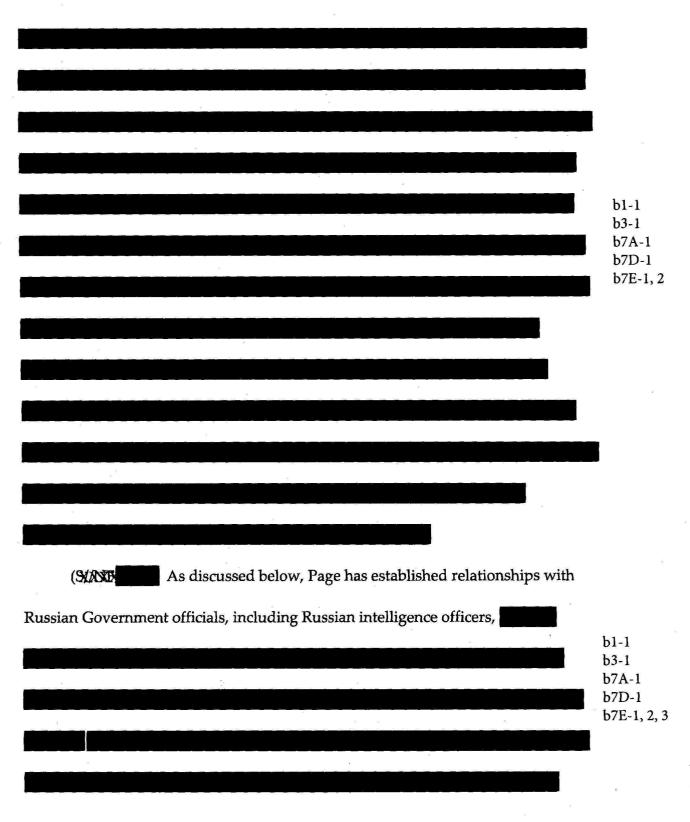
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her



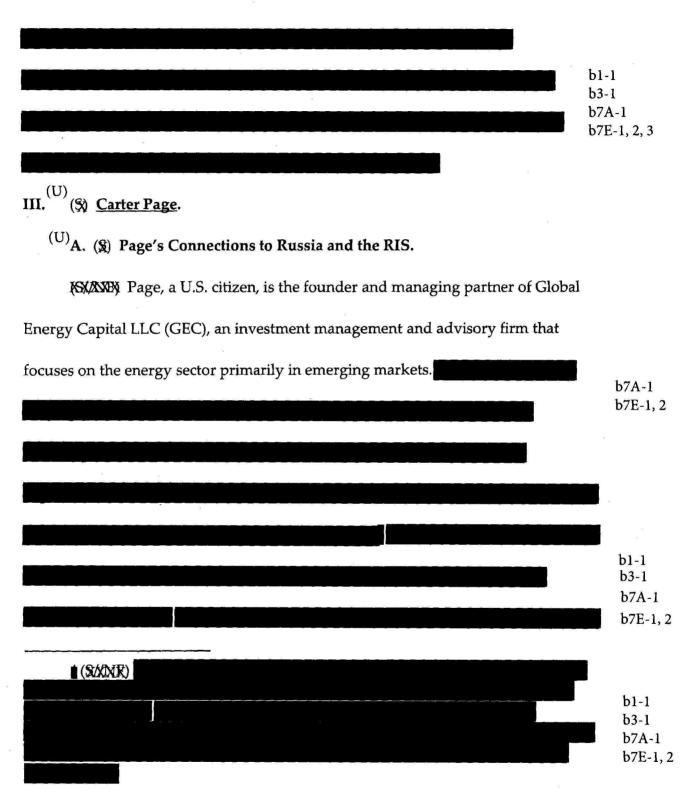
2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other

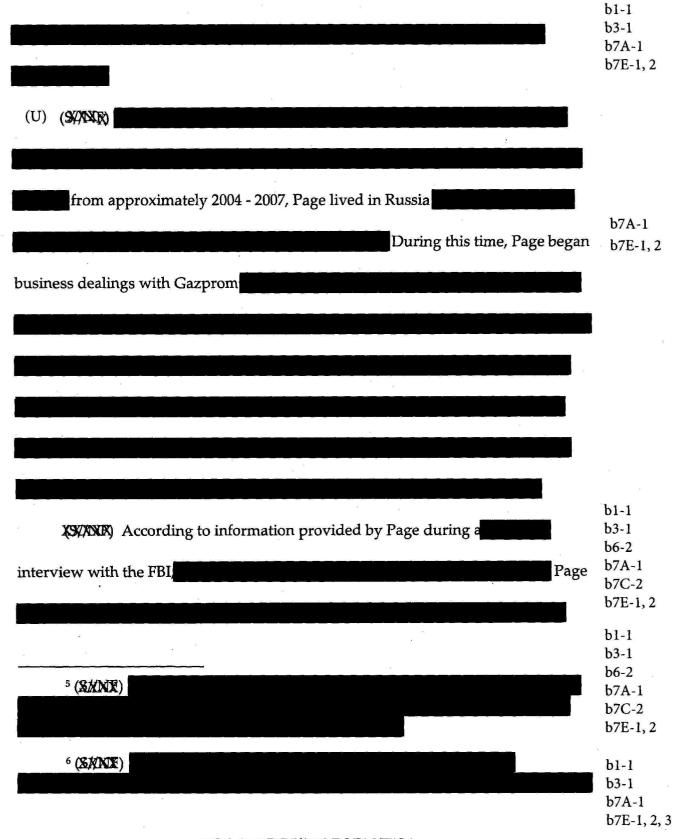


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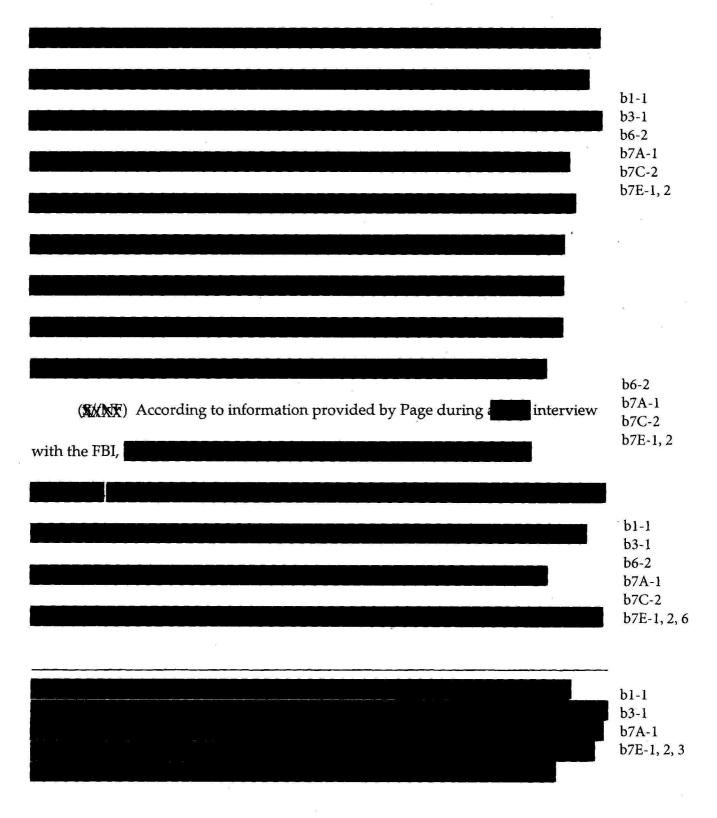


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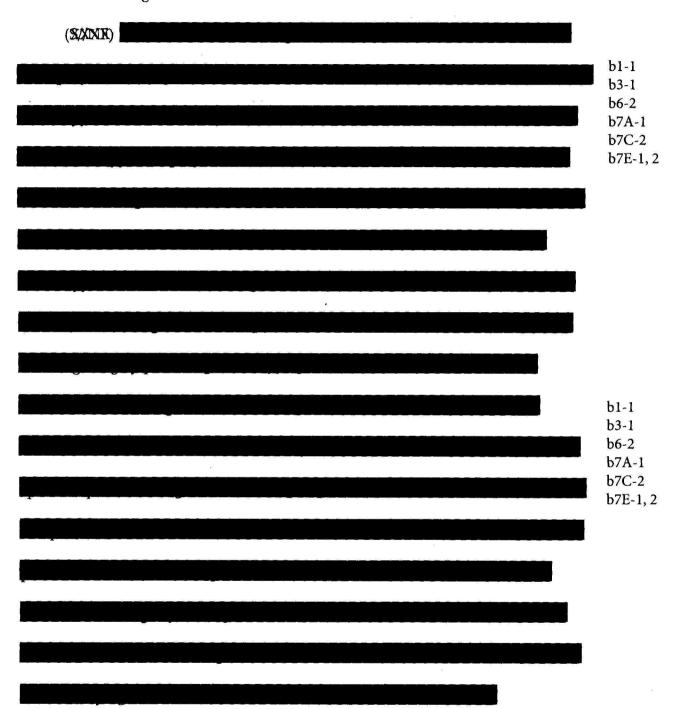
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b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 6

(U) (SXANF) 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.⁷ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City

⁽U) ⁷ (SALE) 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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residents as intelligence sources for Russia.

(U)

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. ⁸ In	
	b1-1
addition to giving this address, the FBI learned that Page met with at least two	b3-1
	b7A-1
Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI	b7D-1
confidential human source (Source #1), ⁹ and the reported that Page had a	

(U) & (SX/XXEX

 X(XSXXXE)
 Source #1

 has been an FBI source since

 Source #1 has been compensated

 in or about October 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/XNF)** 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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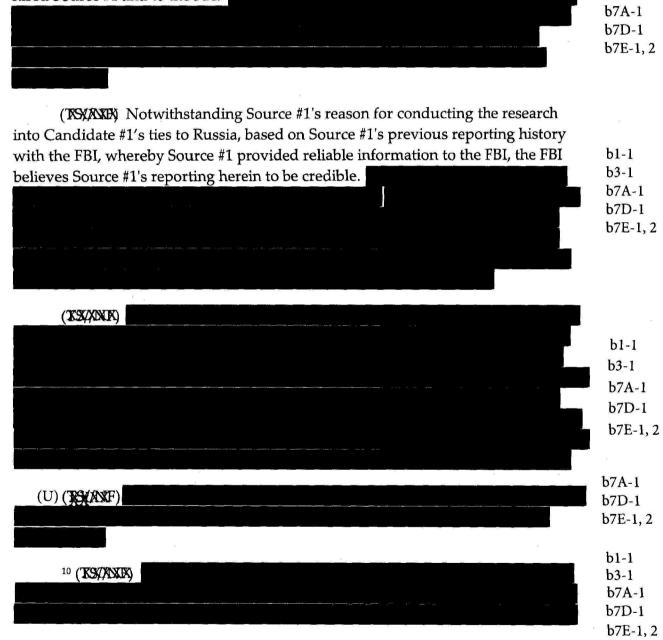
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b7E-1, 2, 4

b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 5

(U) **XFS/AXP** 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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b3-1

secret meeting with Igor Sechin, who is the President of Rosneft [a Russian energy	y
	b1-1
company] and a close associate to Russian President Putin. ¹¹	ted b3-1
	b7A-1 b7D-1
that, during the meeting, Page and Sechin discussed future bilateral energy	b7E-1, 2
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cooperation and the prospects for an associated move to lift Ukraine-related West	tern
sanctions against Russia.	
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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	b3-1 b7A-1
	b7D-1
	b7E-1, 2
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	'A-1
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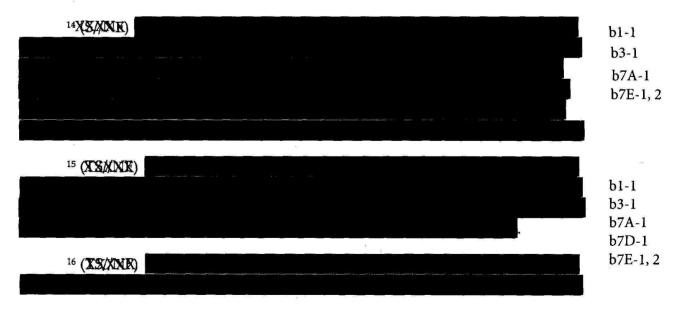
(U) ¹¹ (SANK) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury b7E-1, 2 (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and 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."

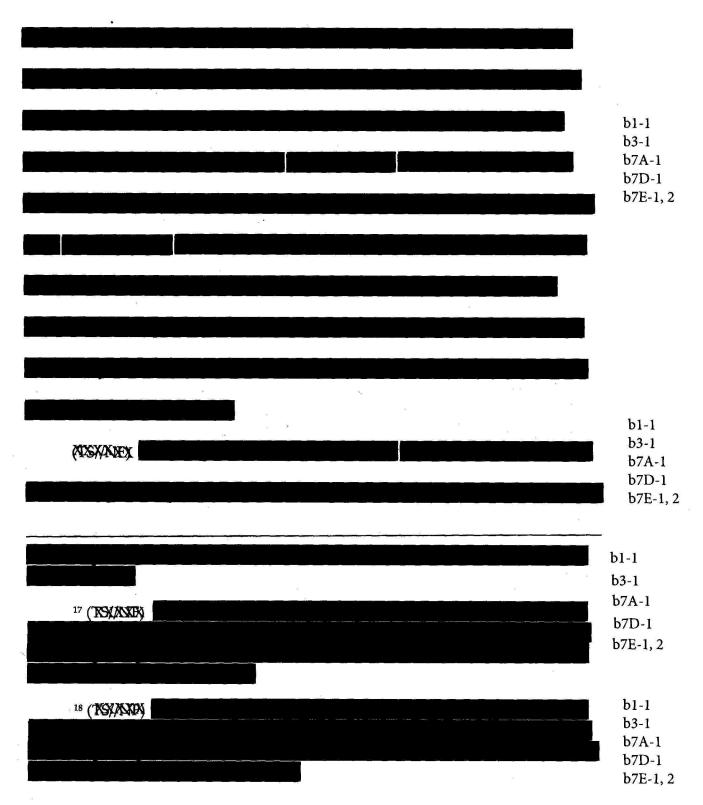


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Divyekin [who is assessed to be Igor Nikolayevich Divyekin],	
had met secretly with Page	b1-1 b3-1
and that their agenda for the meeting included Divyekin raising a dossier or	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
"kompromat" ¹³ that the Kremlin possessed on Candidate #2 and the possibility of it	
being released to Candidate #1's campaign. ¹⁴	
(TS)	

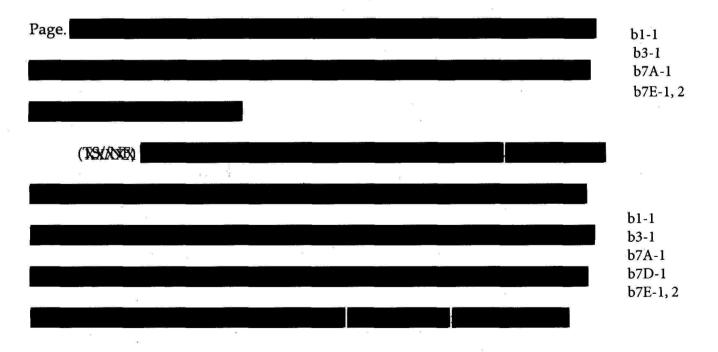
(U) ¹³ (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.





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	b3-1 b7A-1
	b7D-1
	b7E-1, 2
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(DSX/XVF)	b7A-1
i.	b7E-1, 2
a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that	e
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



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

(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.¹⁹

(U) (SXAND) 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

¹⁹ (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.

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

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) **(EXANF)** 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"

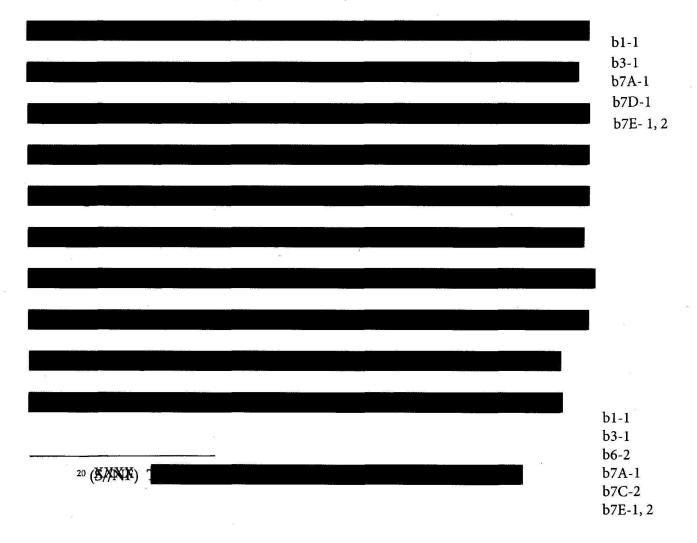
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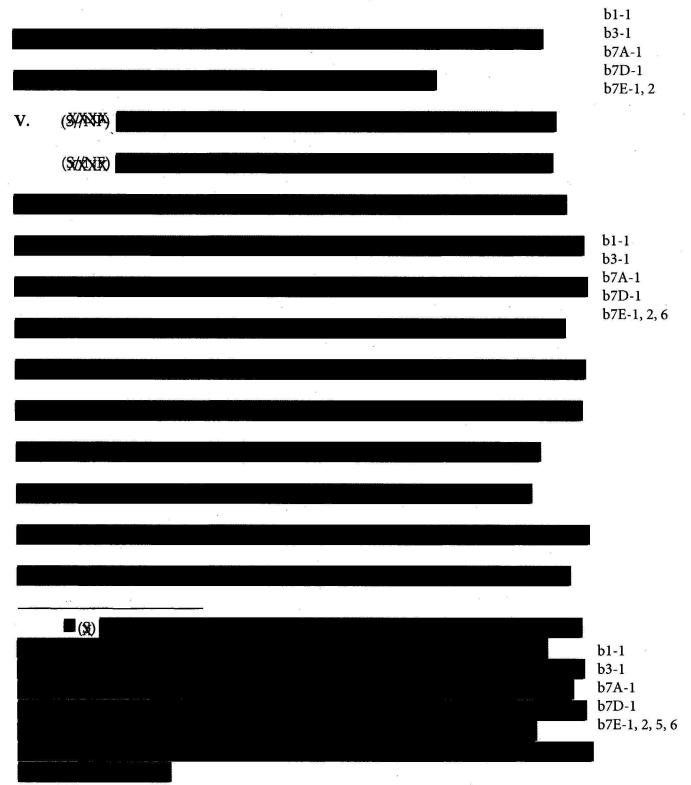
(U) (SVANF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing more than completely false media reports and that he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

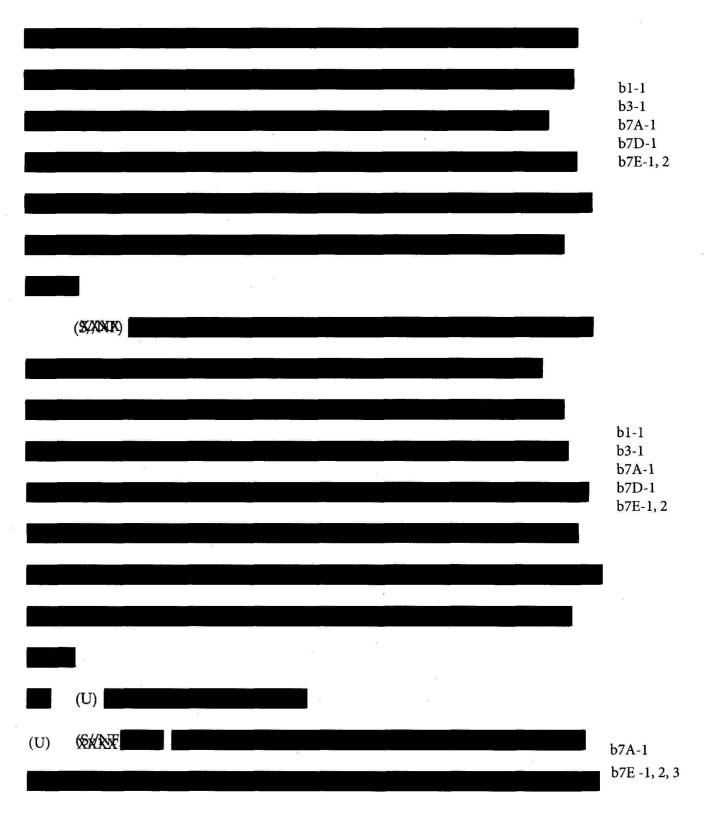
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any "final" questions the FBI may have.²⁰

(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."



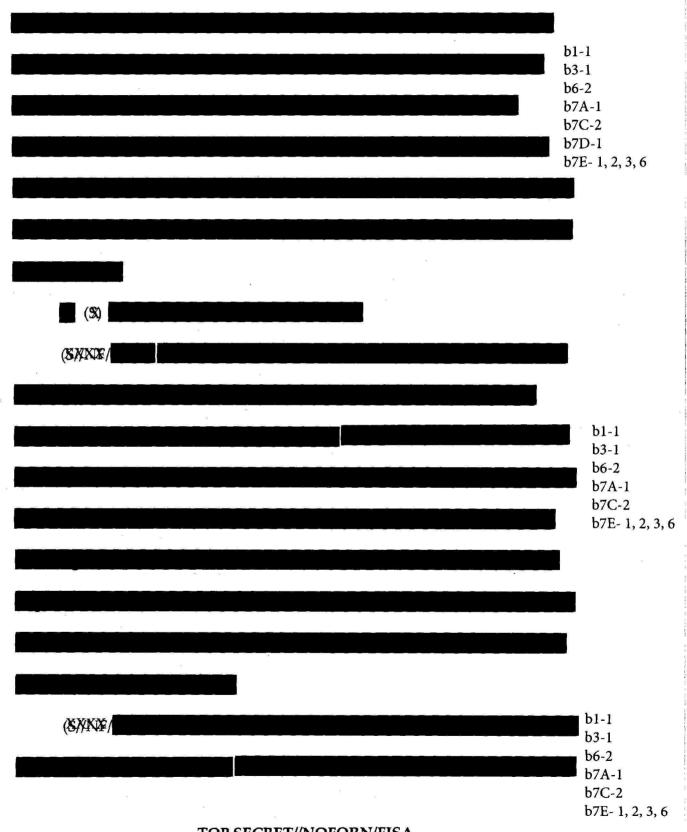




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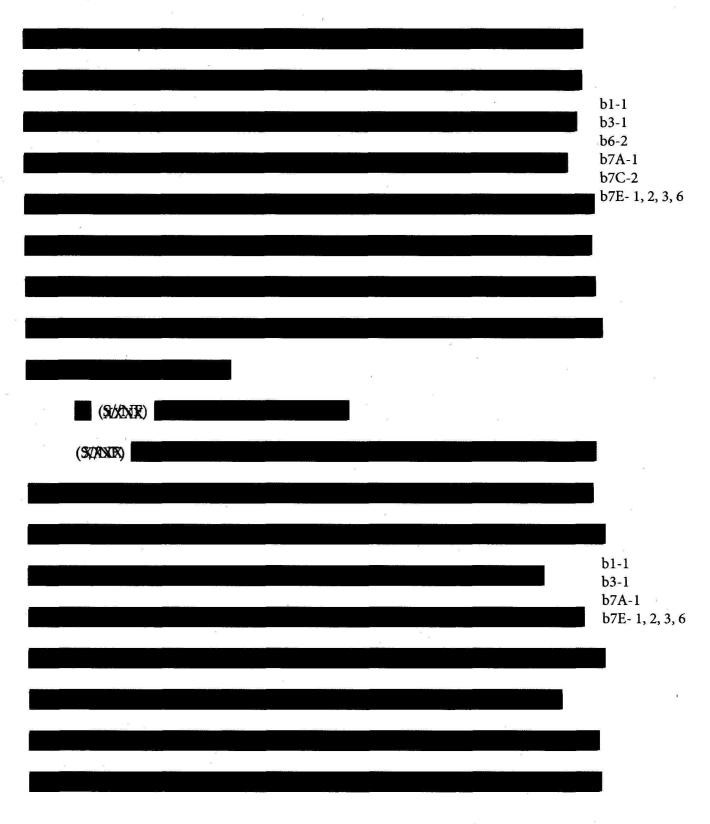
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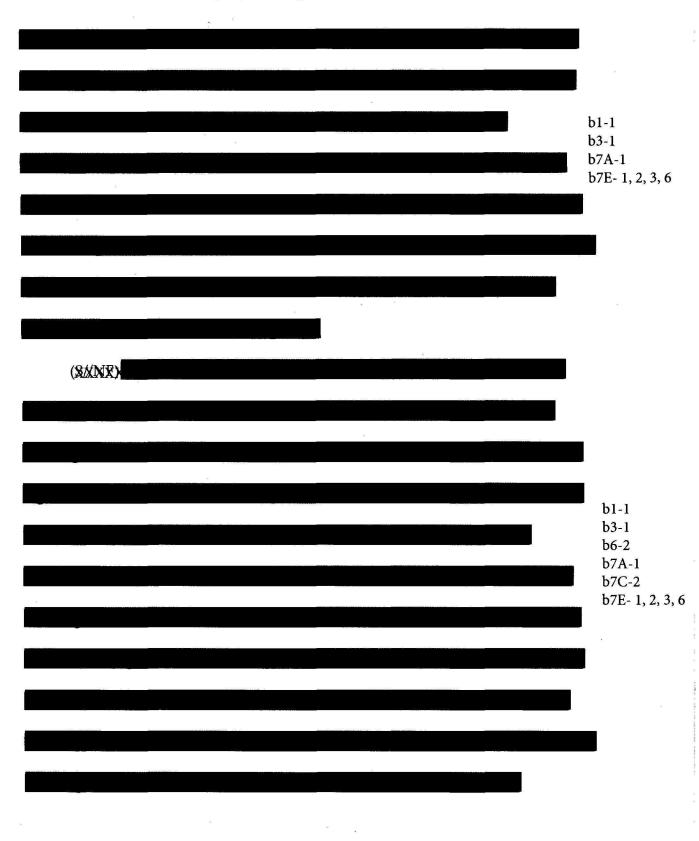
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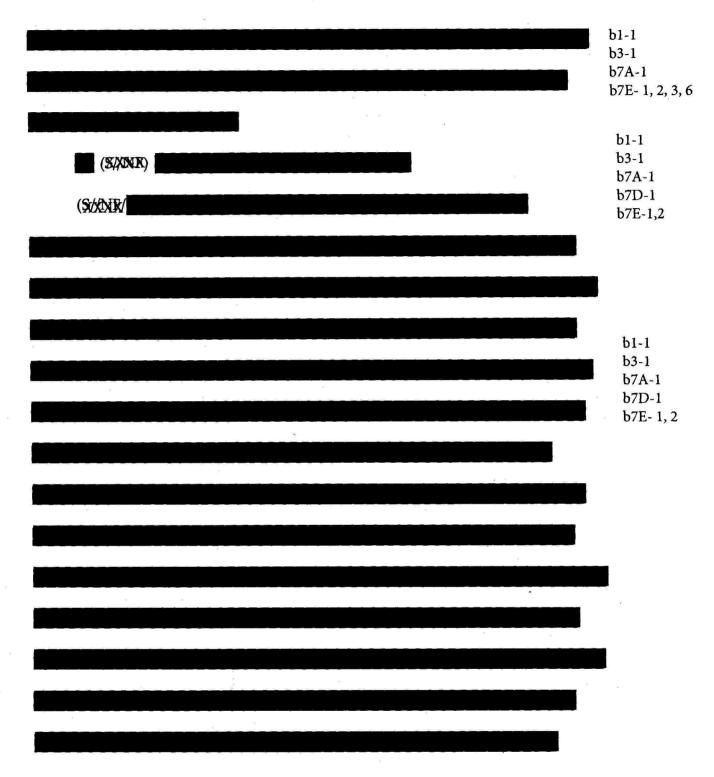
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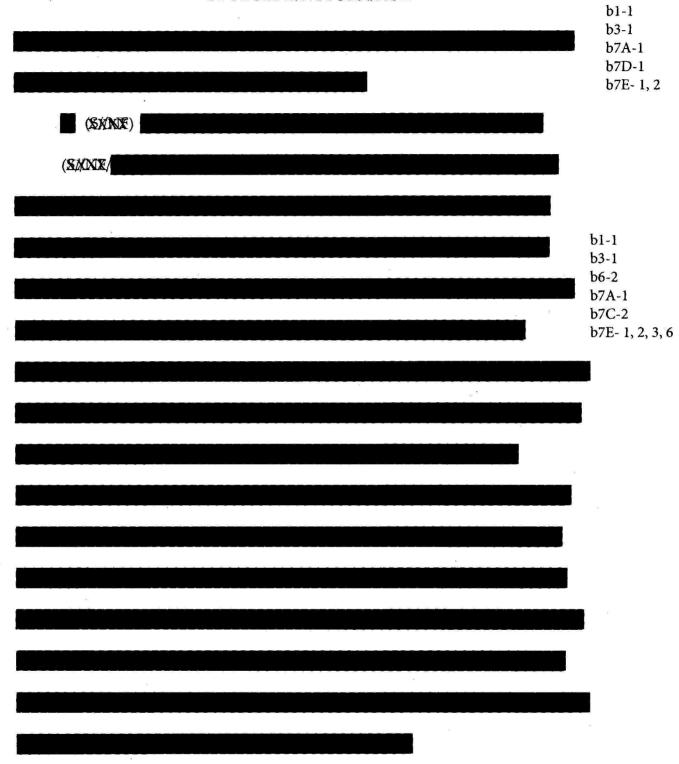


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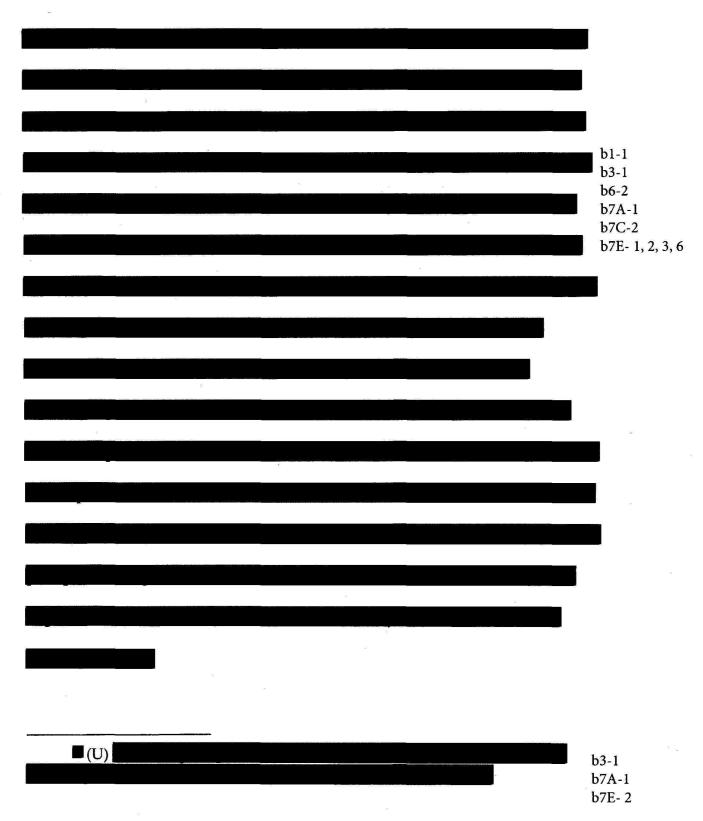
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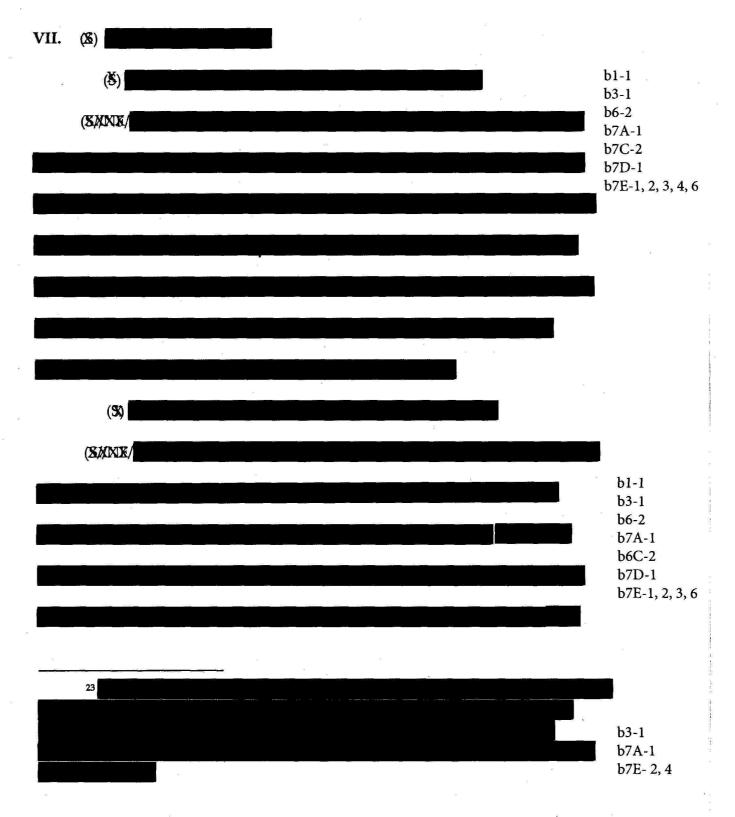


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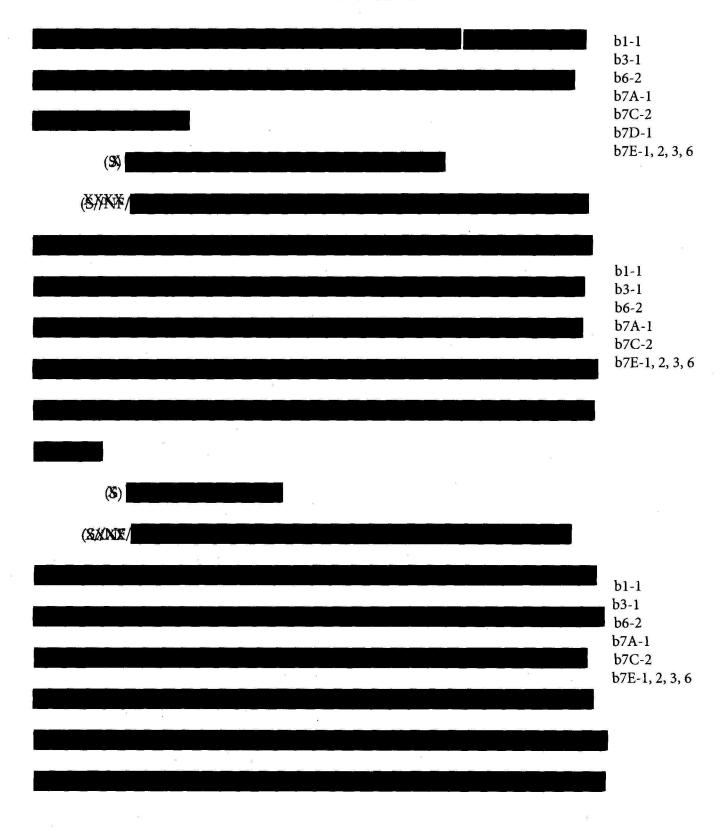
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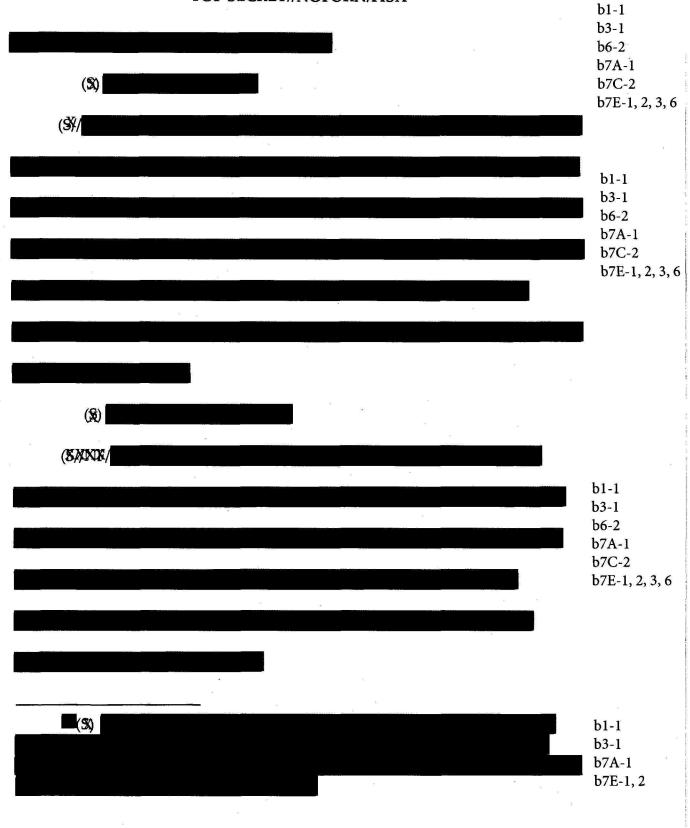


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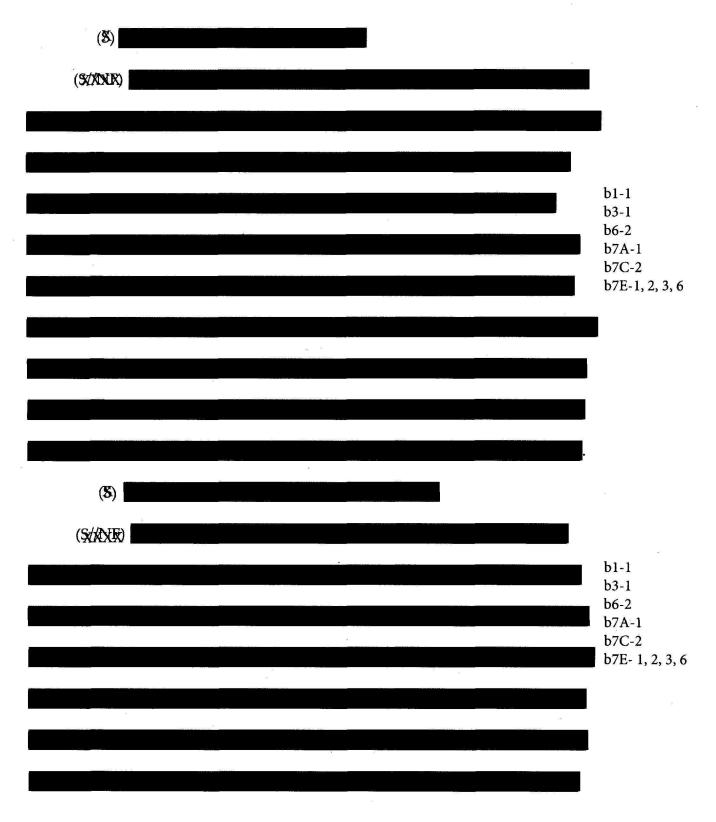


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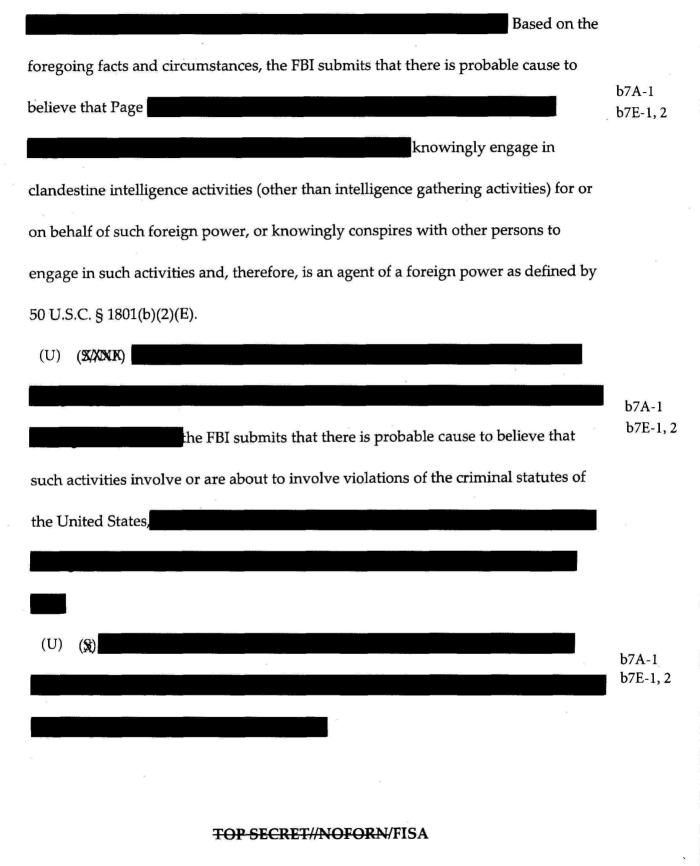
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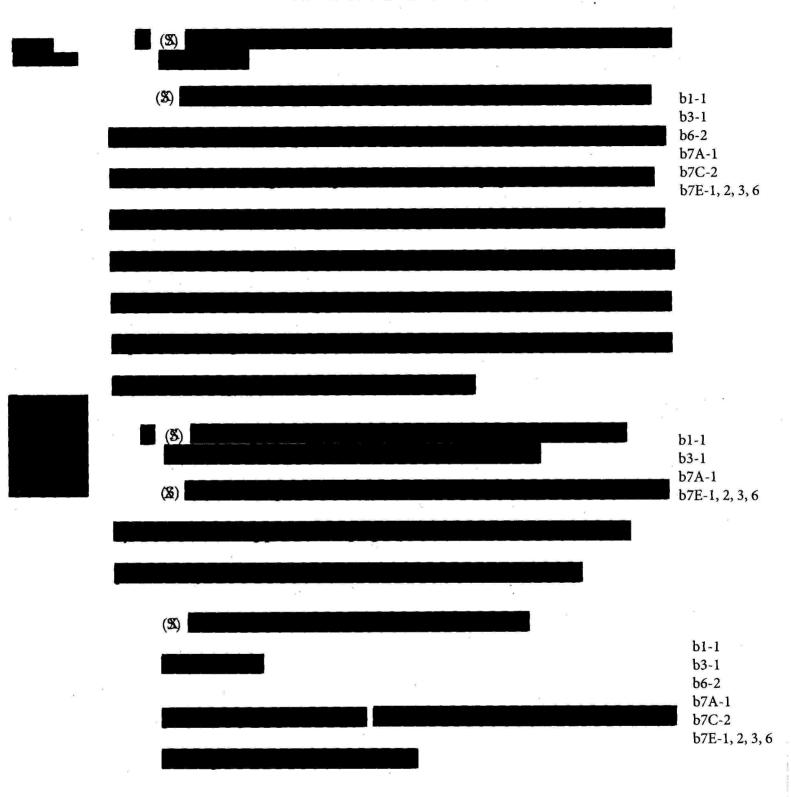
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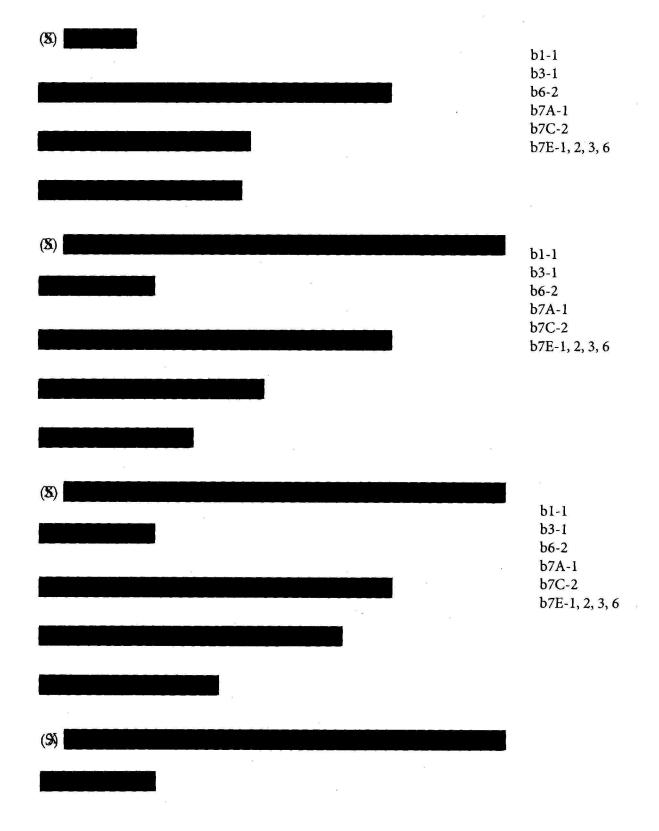
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b7A-1 b7C-2
b7C-2
b7E- 1, 2, 3, 6
(SAINK)
b1-1
b3-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
VIII. (U) <u>Conclusion</u> .
(U) (STATIR) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating b7A-1
(U) (SXXXX) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
(U) (STATIR) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating b7A-1



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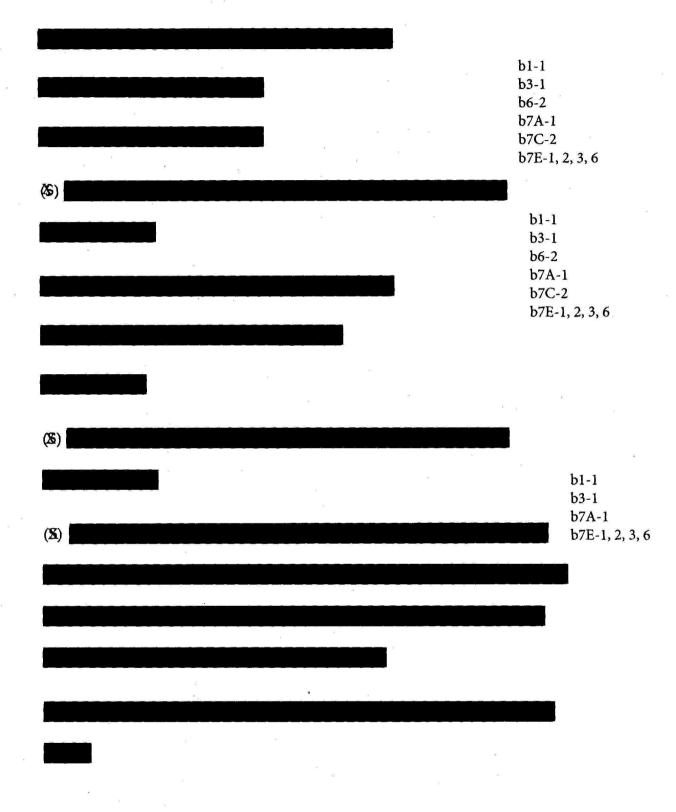


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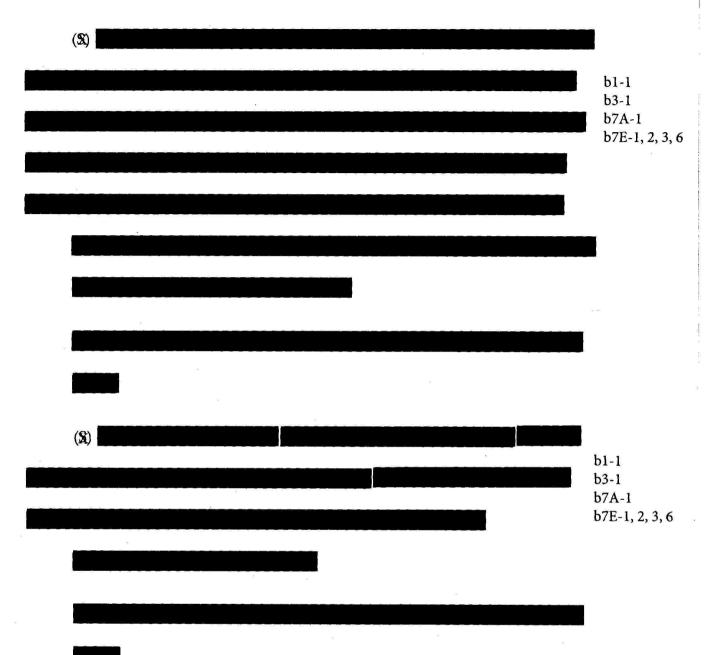
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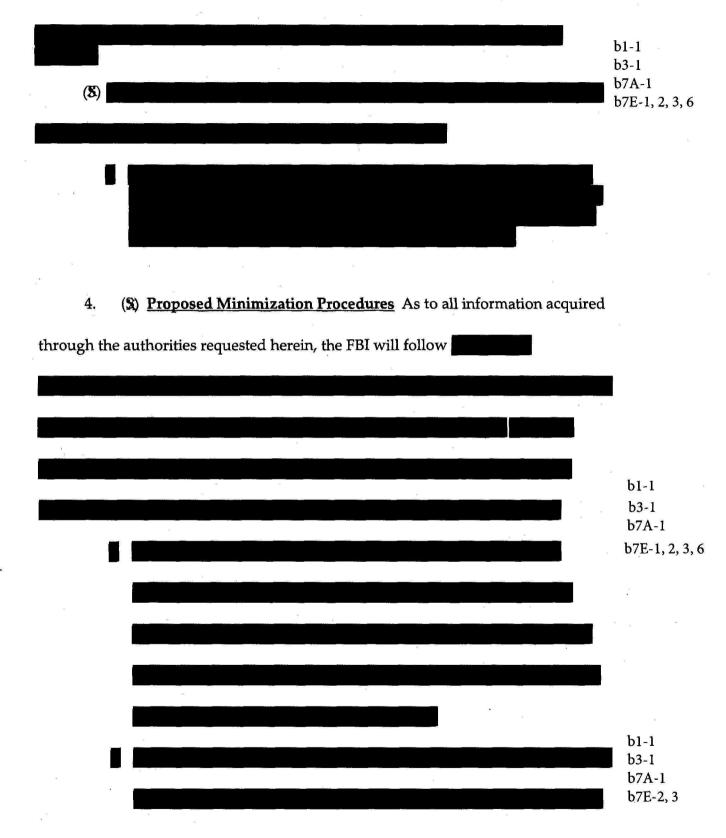


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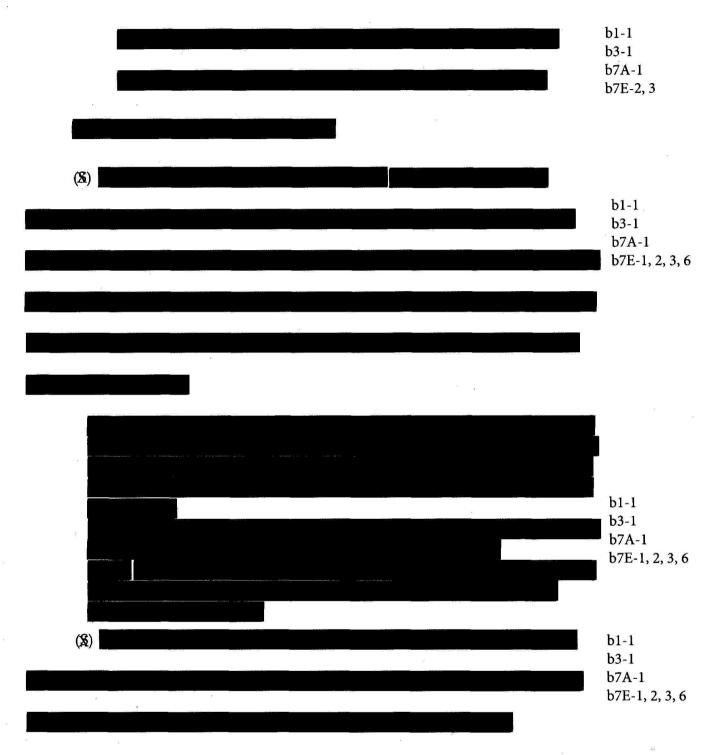
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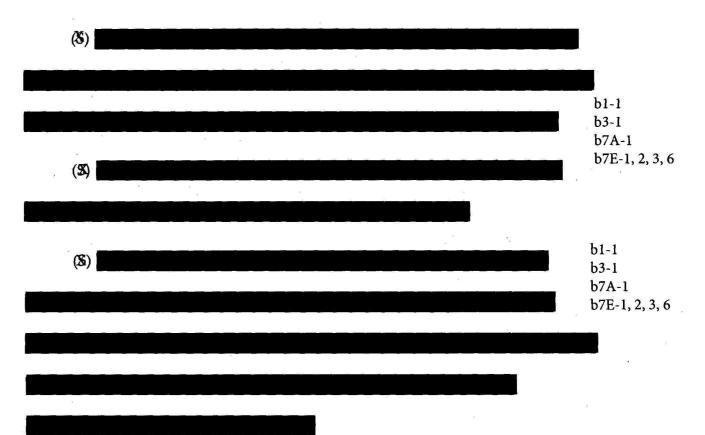
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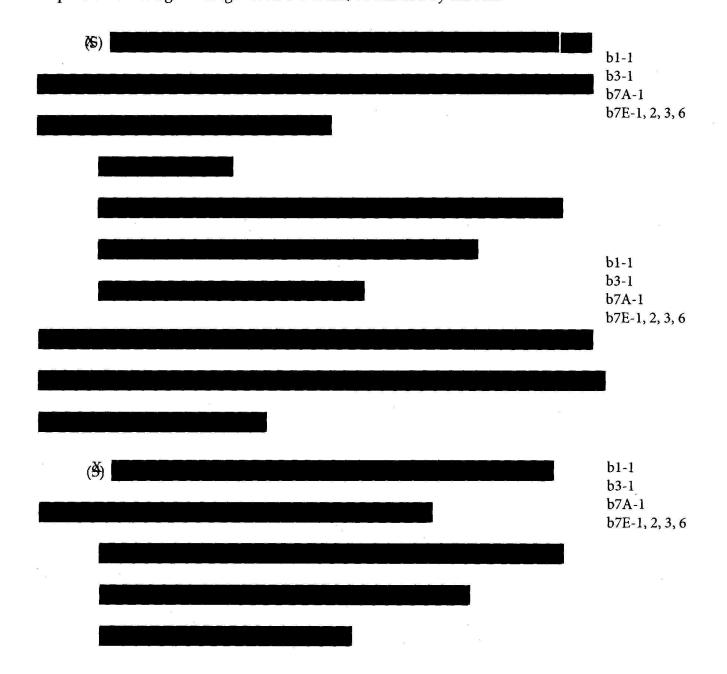


(U) 5. (x) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities
 requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with
 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the
 certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set 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

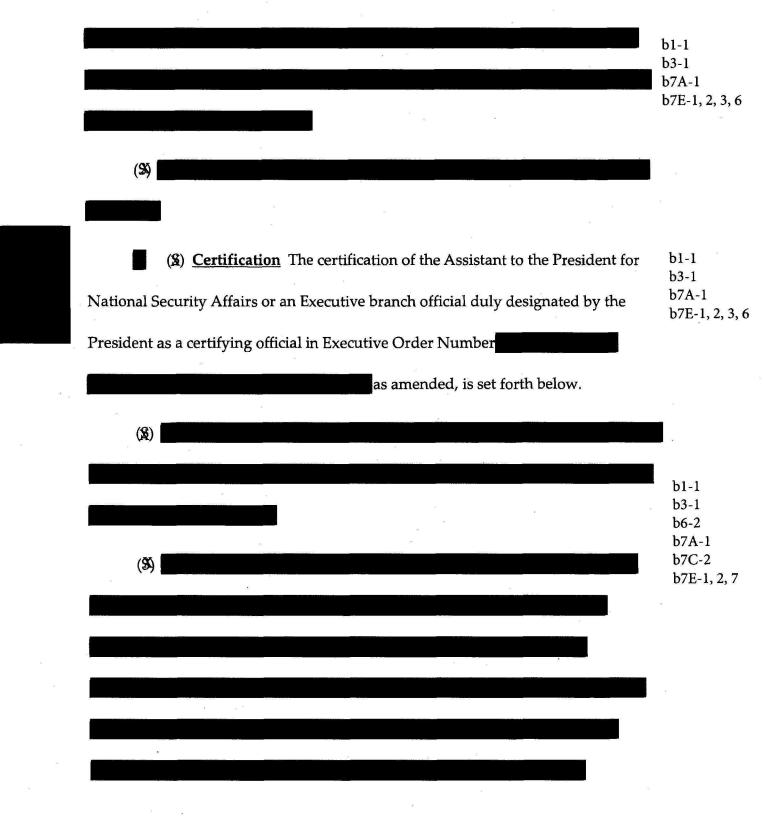
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foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.



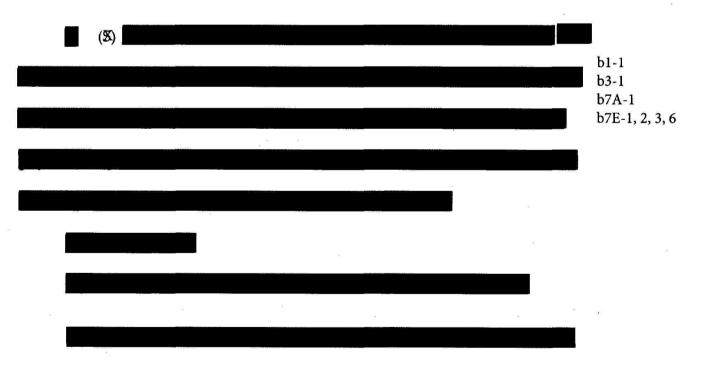
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(U) <u>The Purpose of the Authorities Requested</u>

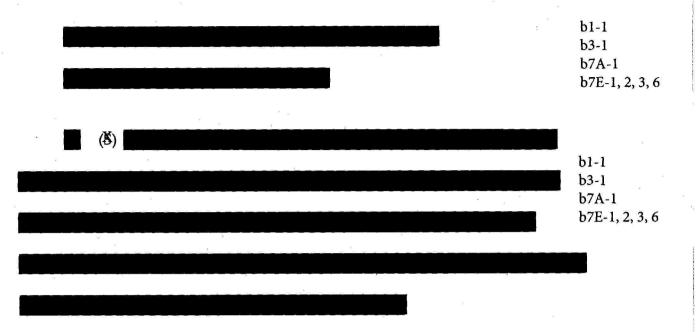
(S) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for **b**1-1

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	b1-1 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.	a a
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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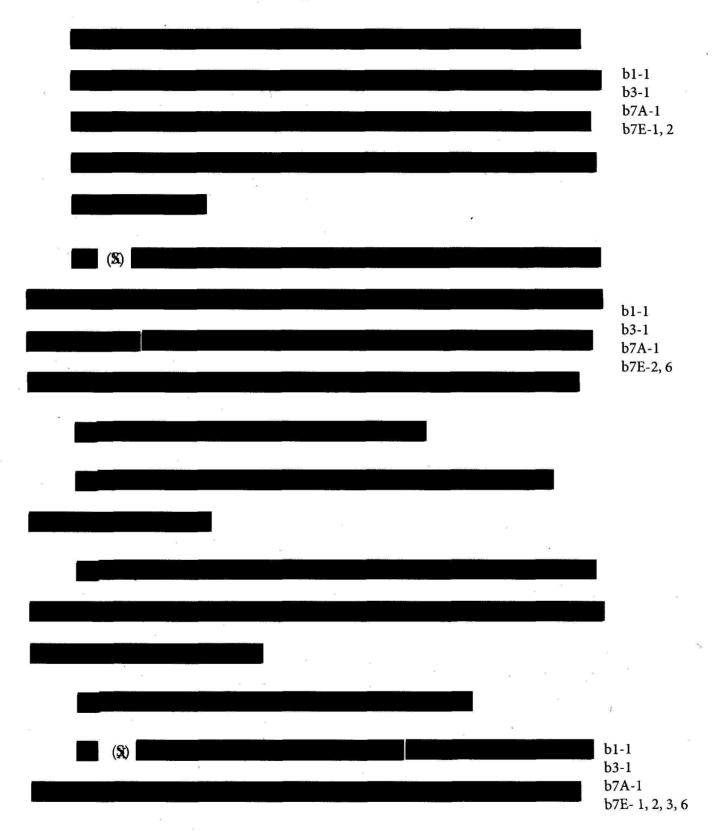
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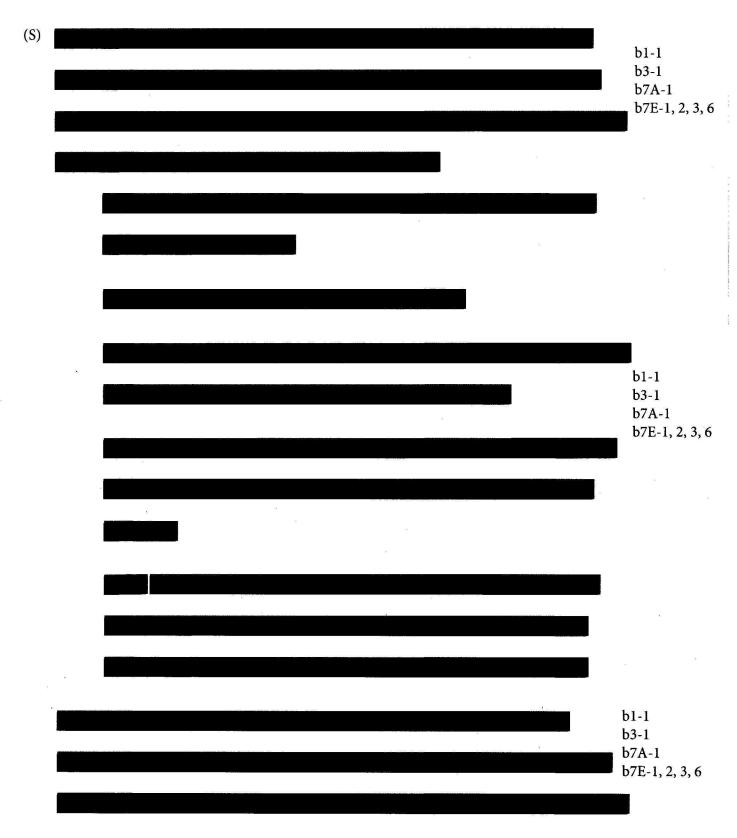


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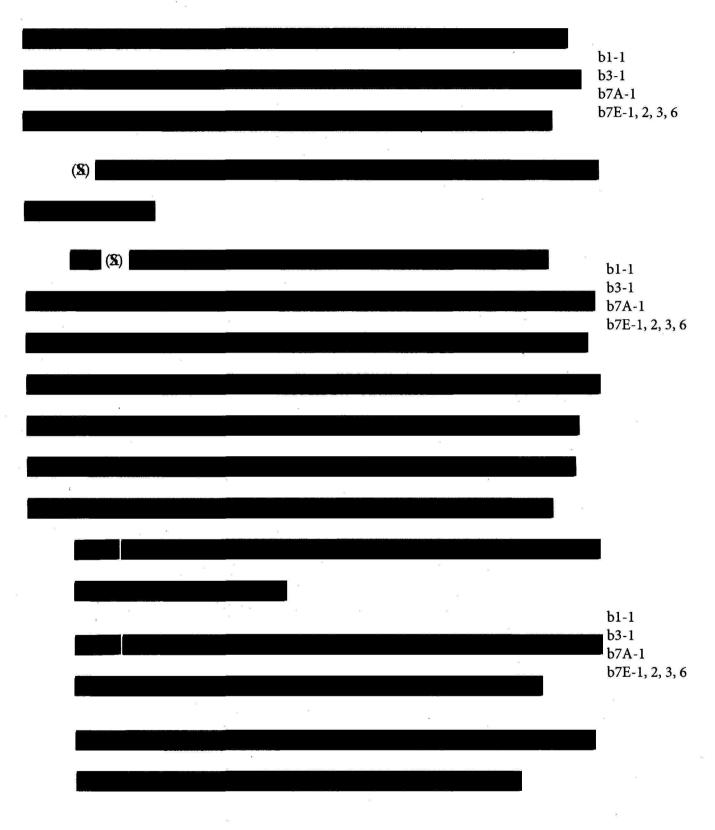
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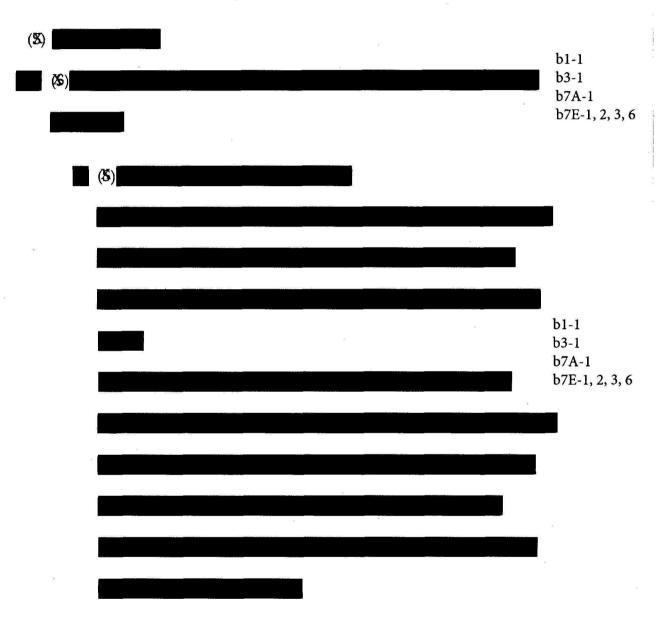
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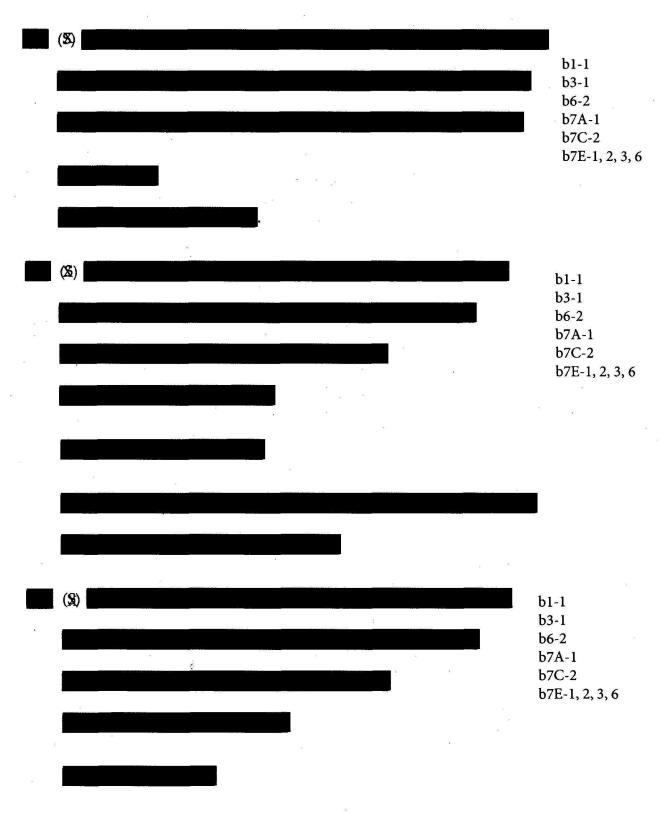
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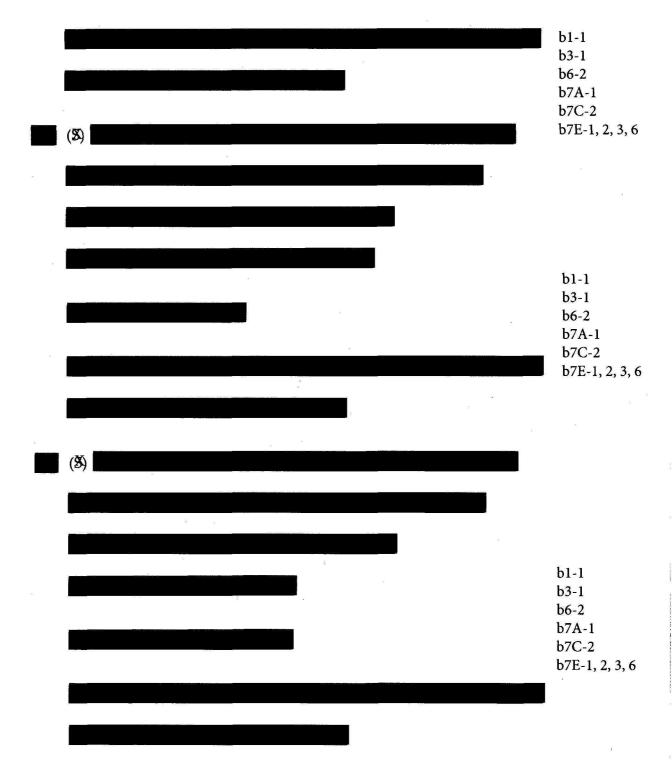
(U)(**S**) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.



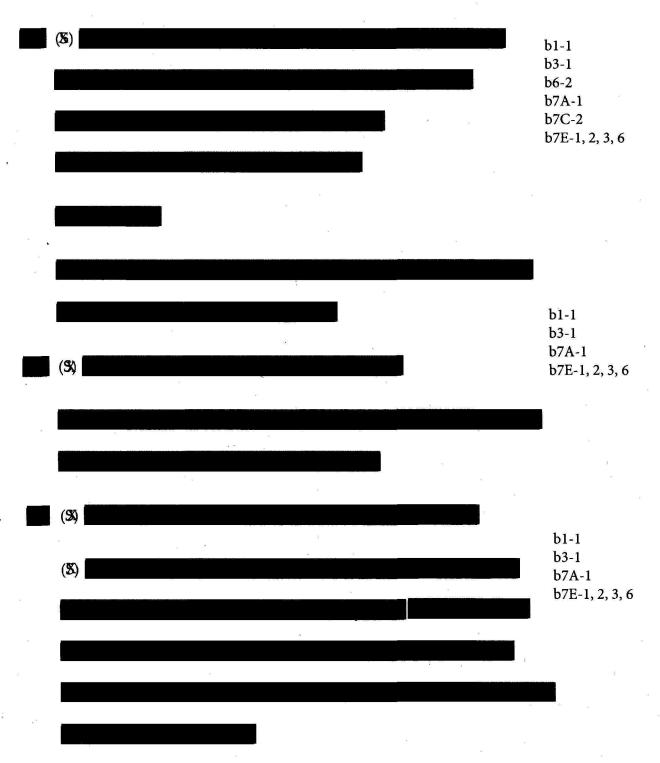


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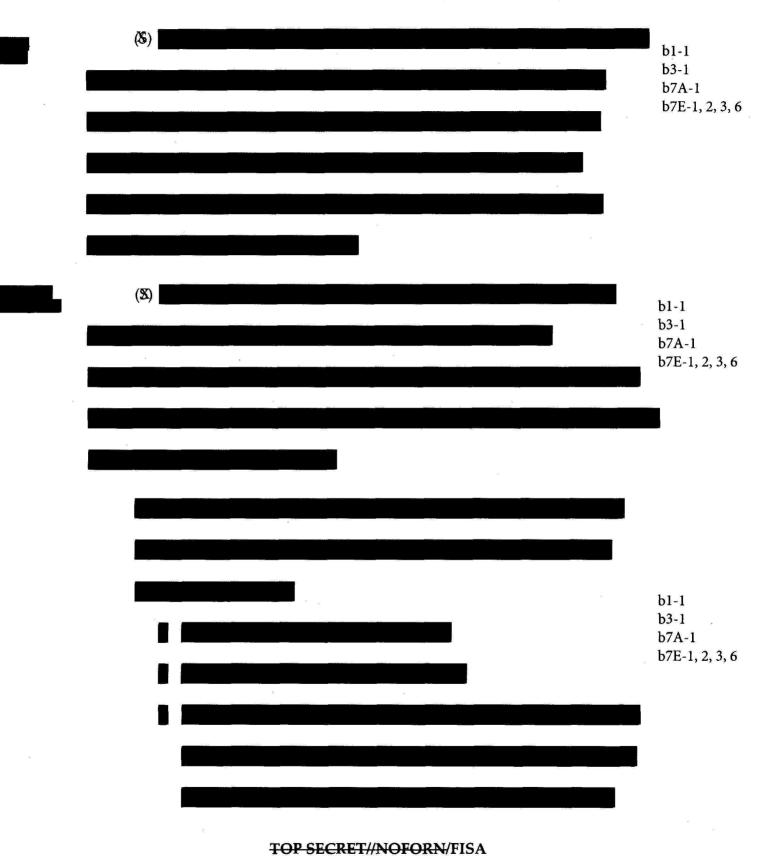


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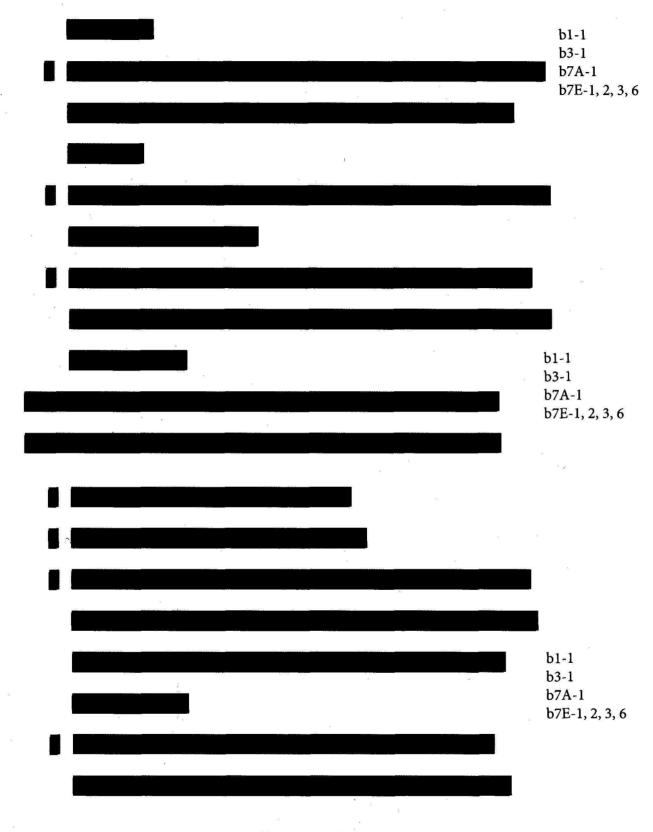


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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to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

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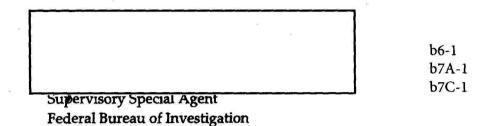
b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(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 b7A-1



I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk 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 second

(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.

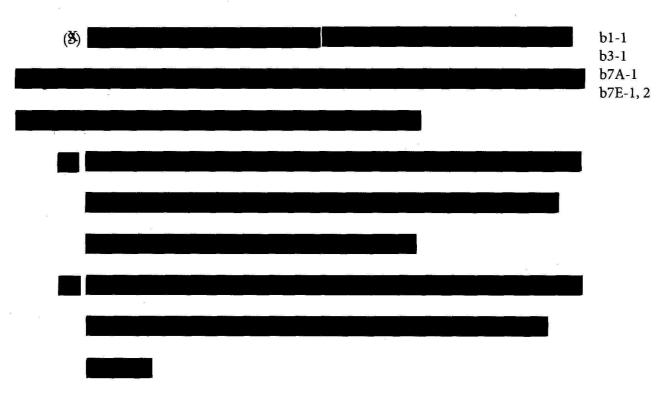
 (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities
 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques.
 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
 (U) (D) (X) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described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

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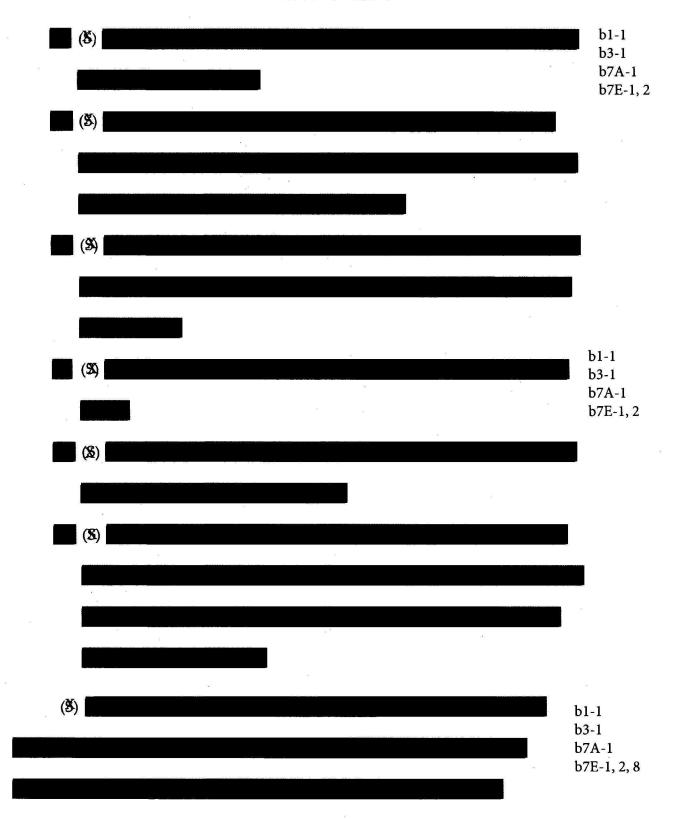
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign 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 b1-1of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7A-1b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



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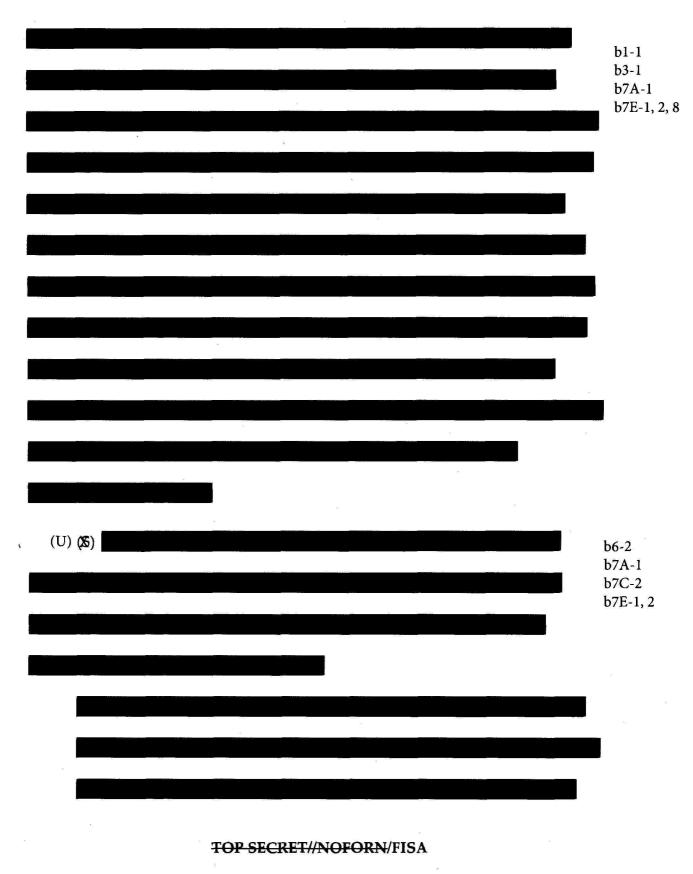
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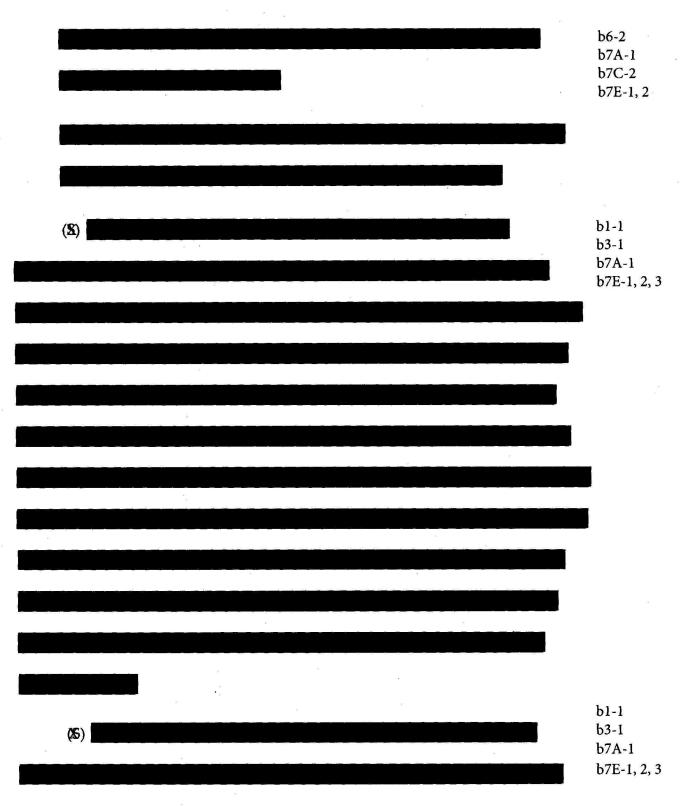
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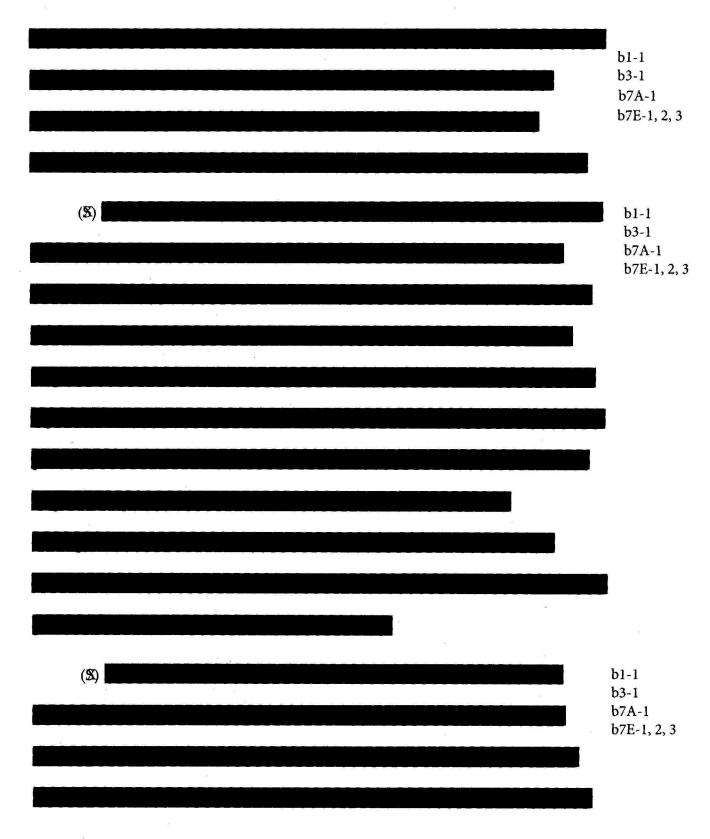
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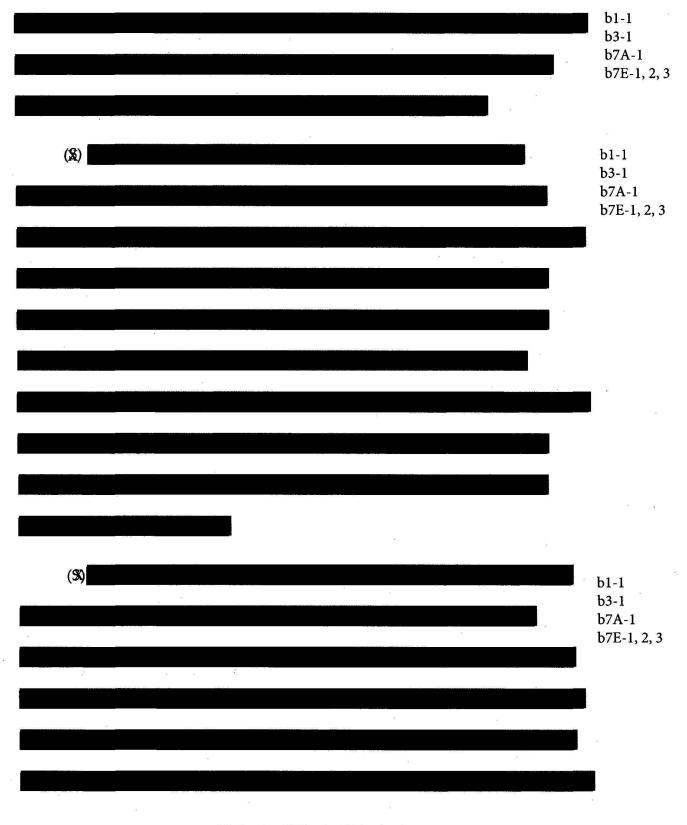


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(U) (S) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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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.

Iames B. Comey Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

John F. Kerry Secretary of State

Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director 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. b1-1 b3-1 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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(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

Loretta E. Lynch Attorney General of the United States

el 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

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,

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	b7A-1
а.	b7C-3

Attorney U.S. Department of Justice

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

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Classify By: J23J Reason: (C) Derived From: H Declassify On:	98T32 BI NSICG, dated 01	SECRI	Ŧ	Filed United States Intelligence Surve	Foreign	
All information is unclassified except otherwise shown.	t where	UNITED ST	TATES URVEILLANCE C	JAN M 2017 LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk of Con NCE COURT		
	V	VASHINGTO	DN, D. C.			
	IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U	J.S.	Docket Number:		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	
	PRIMAR	Y ORDER A	ND WARRANT			
	1. An application having h pursuant to the Foreign Intellig U.S.C. §§	gence Surveil		as amended, 50		
	(hereinafter "order") for	INDA OF	the Act, for an or	and full		
	 consideration having been give as follows: 2. The application has been Attorney General; 3. On the basis of the facts 	n made by a l	Federal officer and	approved by the	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7F-1 2 3 6	
	probable cause to believe that:					
	Derived from:	SECRE Applicati	.T on to the USFISC	a		
			Number captione	d above b1-	1	

Declassify on:

17-cv-597(FBI)-163

b3-1

b7A-1

(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

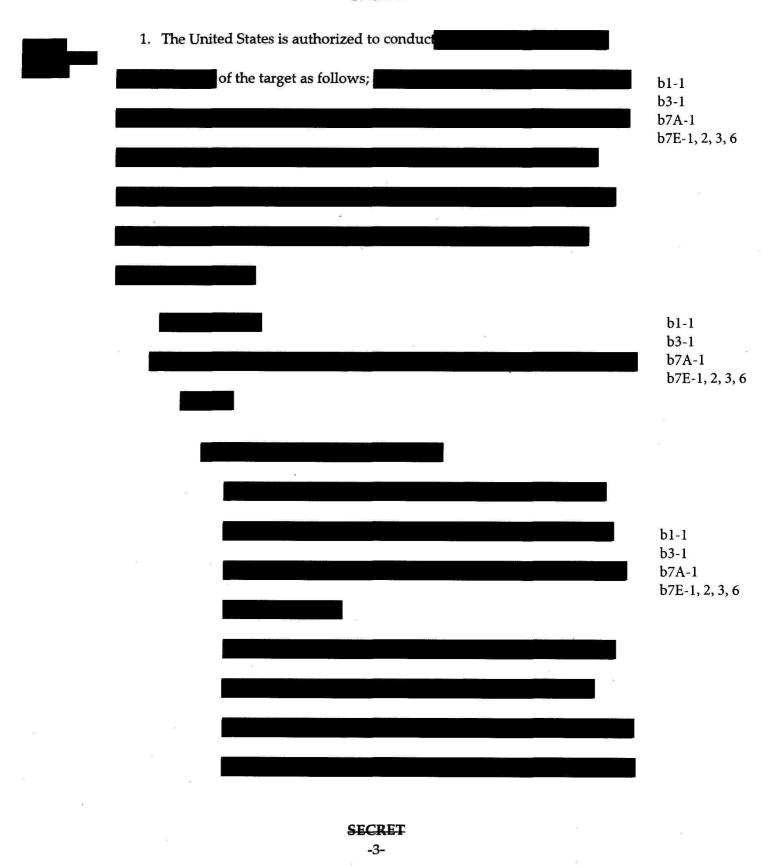
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

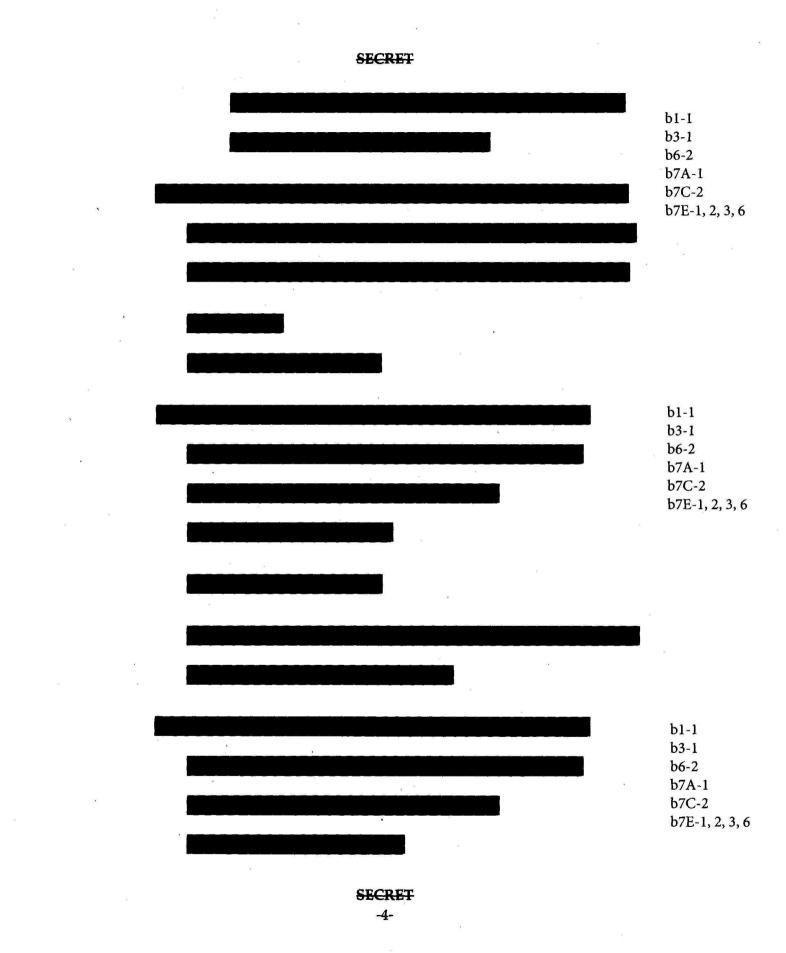
FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

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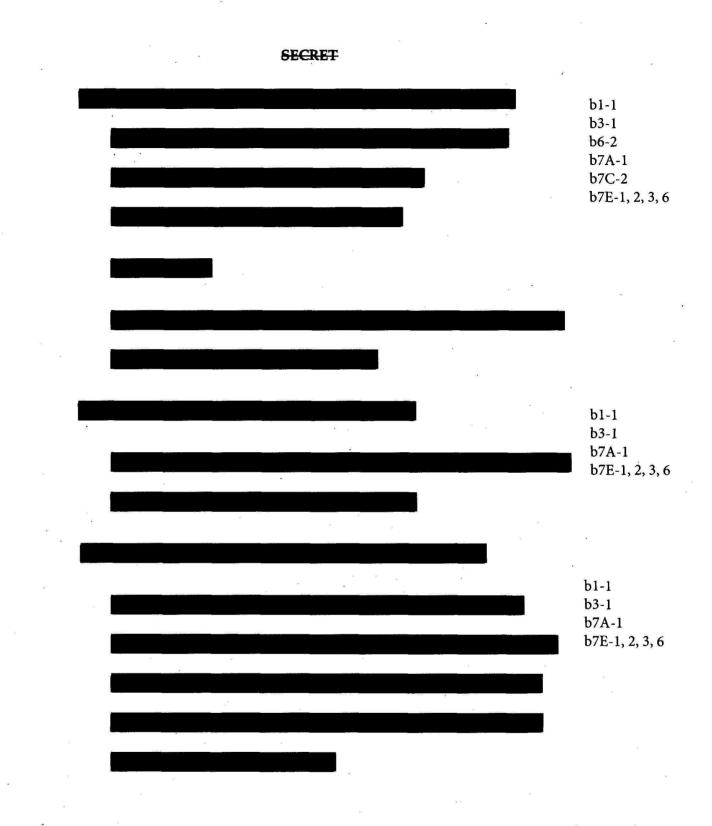
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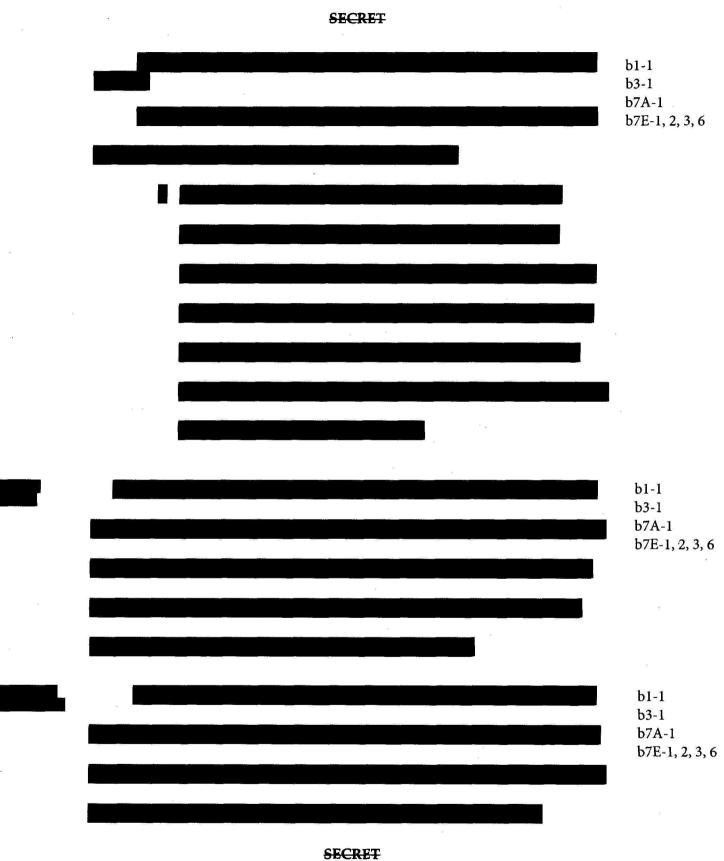


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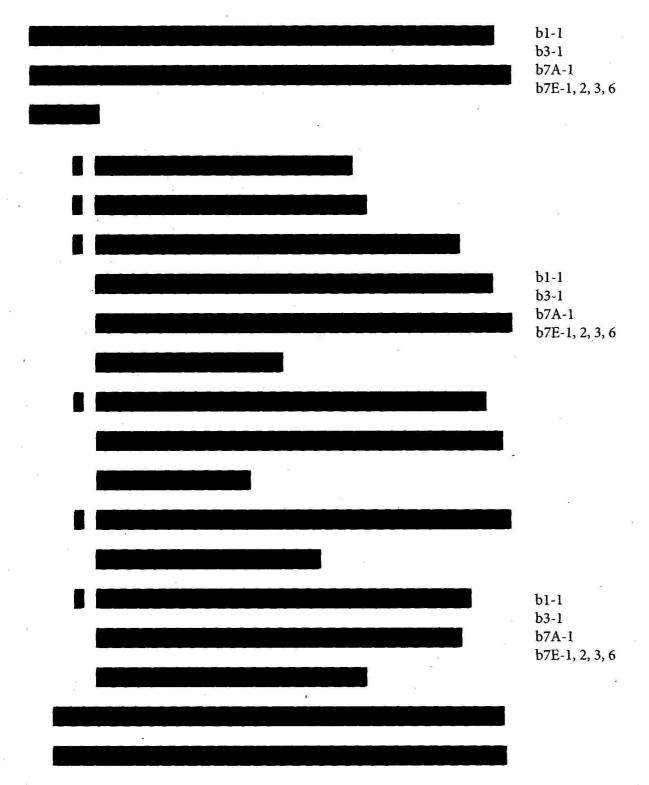
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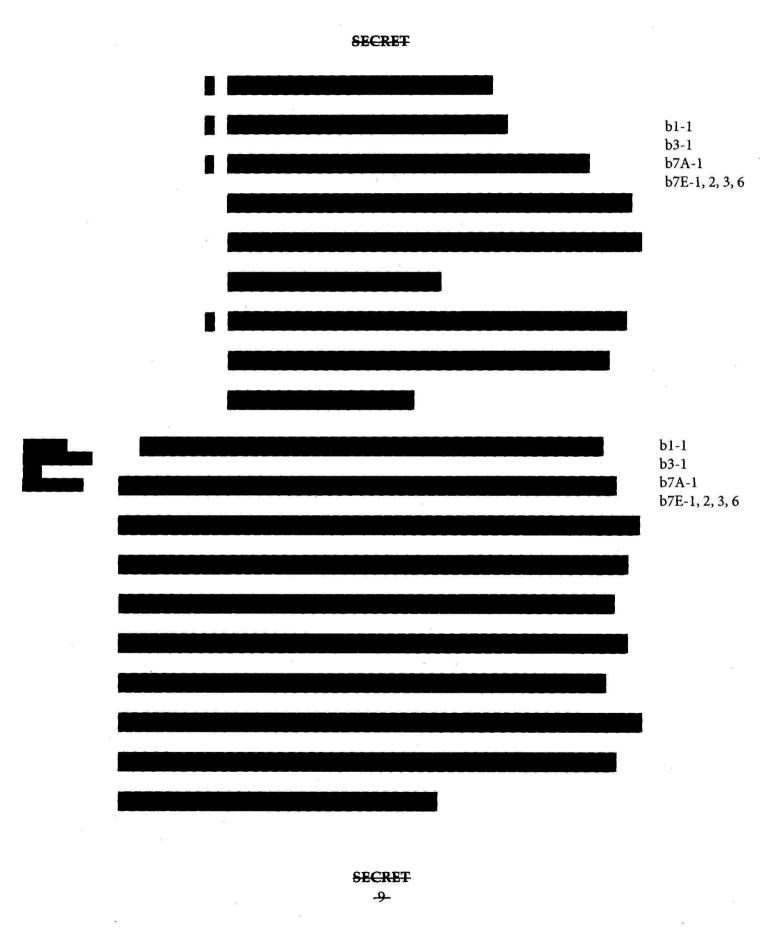
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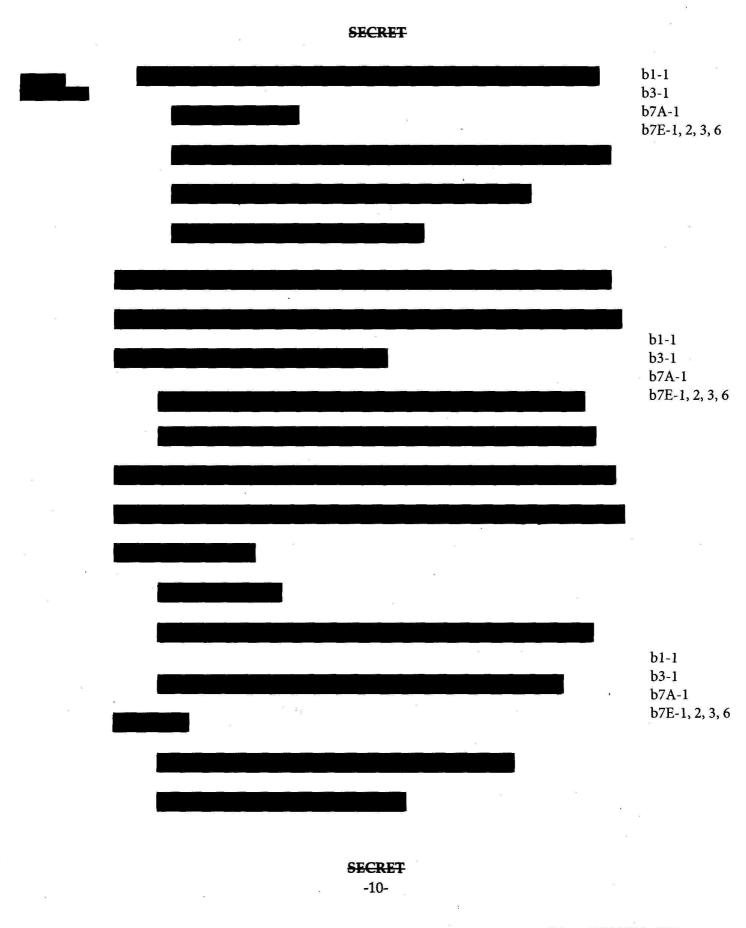
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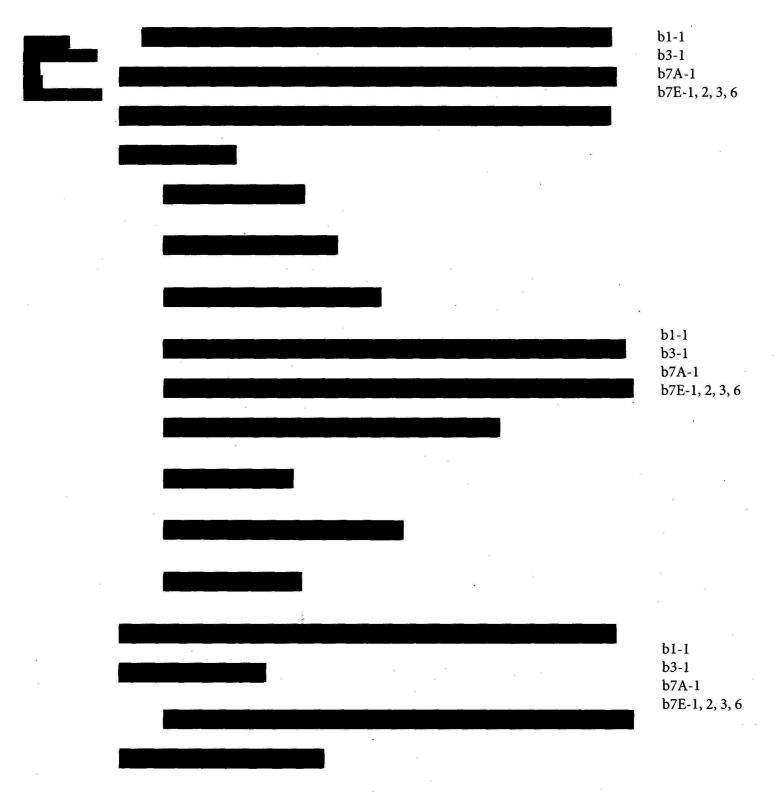
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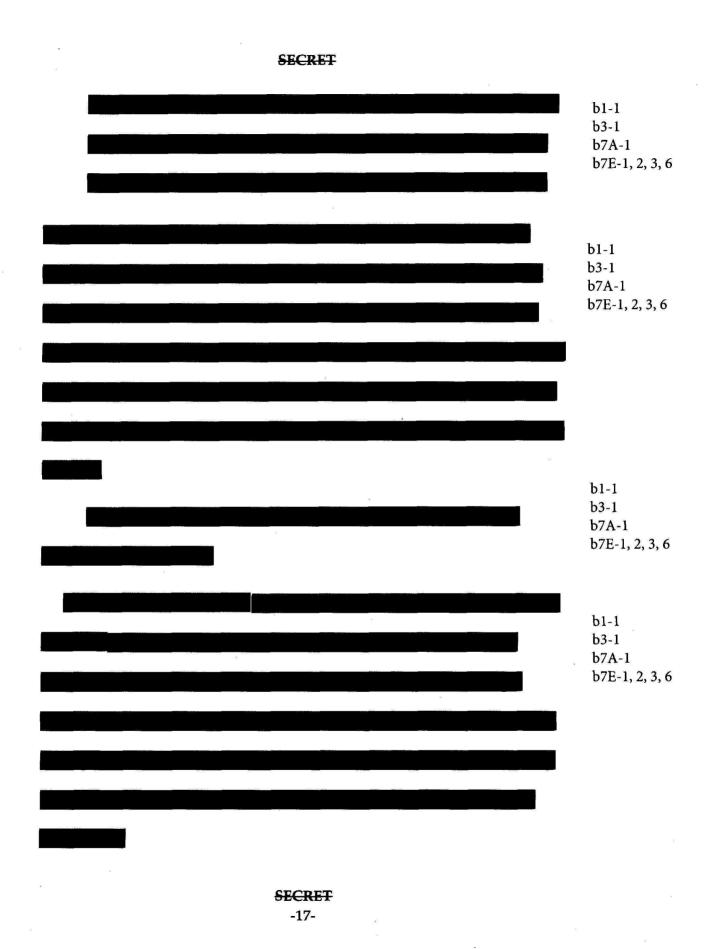
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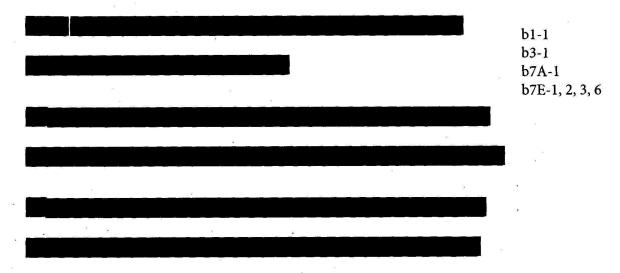
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This authoria	orization regarding Carte	r W. Page expires	Eastern Time	
on the	day of Apr	il, 2017.		b1-1 b3-1
				b7A-1
Signed	01 - 2017		Eastern Time	
4	Date	Time		

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

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Declassify On:	Ŀ		WASHING	ION, D.C.	1.1	EEAMM FLY CLENK OF		
	(6) IN RE CAI	RTER W. PAGE	E, A U.S.	Docket Numbe	er:			5
×	PERSON.			e.		b1-1 - b3-1 b7A		×
		(U)	VERIFIED A	APPLICATION				
	(Š) The	United States of	of America he	reby applies to t	his Court for	authority t	0	
	conduc		Contraction of the second s	, as des	scribed hereiı	1	: b1-1	
×	to the Foreign	Intelligence Su	rveillance Act	of 1978, as ame	nded, Title 50), United	b3-1 b7A-1	ŝ
	States Code (L	J.S.C.), §§		FISA or t	he Act).	. 1	b7E-1, 2	, 3, 6
	1. (U) Identity of Fe	ederal Officer	Making Applic	cation This a	pplication	is	
	made by	, a S	Supervisory Sj	pecial Agent (SSA	A) of the Fede	eral Bureau	b1-1 b3-1 b6-1	
u.	of Investigatio	n (FBI) whose	official duties	at FBI Headqua	rters include	supervisio		
	of the FBI's in	vestigation of t	he above-capt	ioned target base	ed upon info	rmation		, 2, 3, 6
е ж.	officially furn	ished to			y a		ja	
		Ŧť)P SECRET//]	NOFORN /FISA	×	۹ ۲		



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

(%) <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.

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

a. (5) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power. b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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

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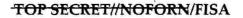
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(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 <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.

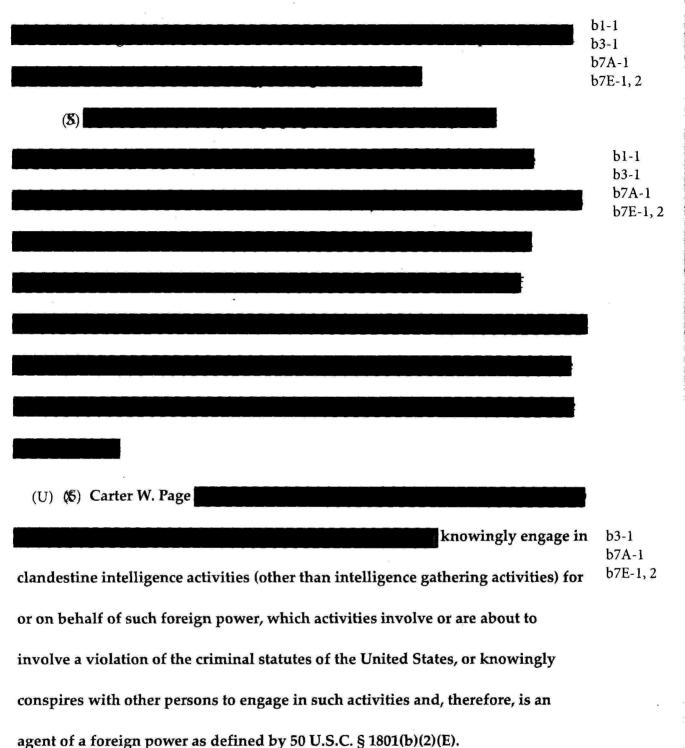
(U) (3) <u>Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation</u>



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I. (U) Overview. (SAXINI) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct b1-1 b3-1 of Carter Page. The FBI believes that Page has been b6-2 b7A-1 the 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).¹ 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

1 (3) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President.Although Candidate #1 is now the President, in order to maintain the historicalaccuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the originalreferences to Candidate #1 and members of Candidate #1's campaign team willremain the same as in previous applications filed in this matter (see docket numbers

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II. (U) (U) (U) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.

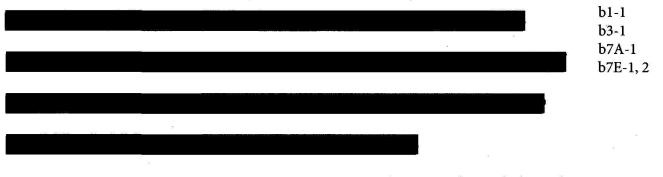
(U) A. XXXXF) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

(SXMX) 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."

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

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KSK/XXEX In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the

Democratic National Committee (DNC).²

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."

^{b1-1} b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3 ² (SKNX) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multi-

² (SXXXF) 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.

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

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In

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].

(S/XXX) 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.	
		1
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		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).

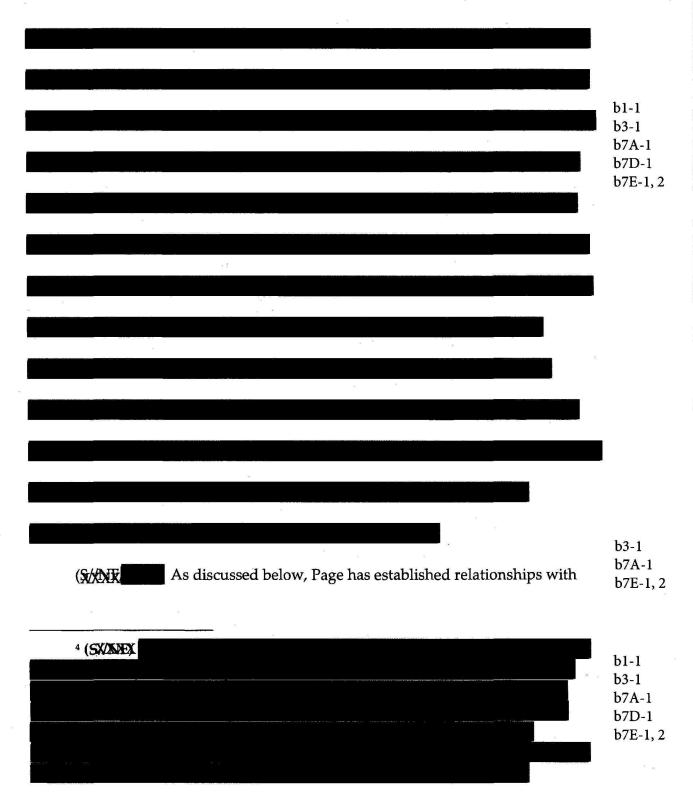
(U) B. XSXXXX The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(SX/XHX In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the

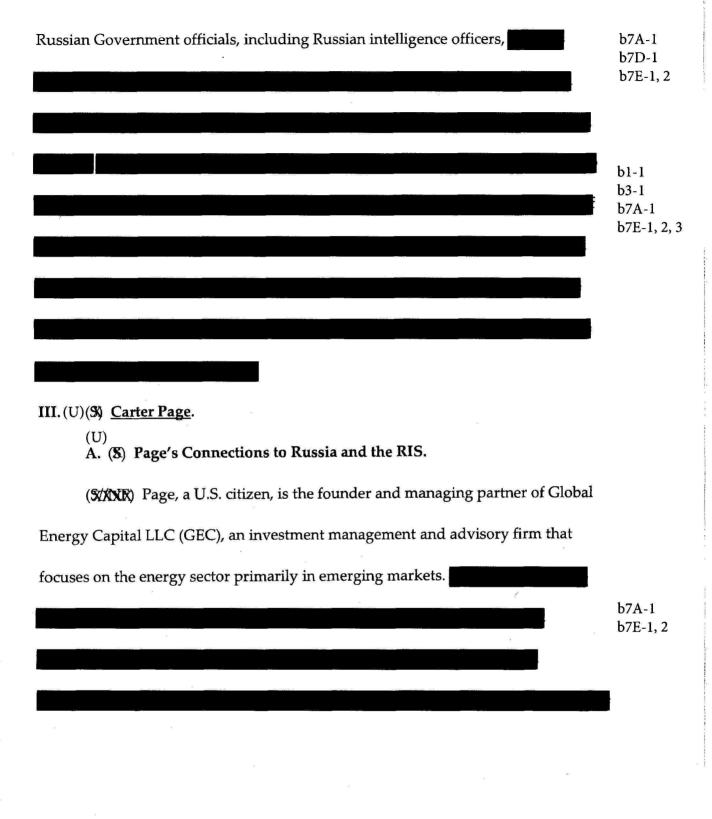
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her

foreign policy team.	b1-1 b3-1
2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
³ (3)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

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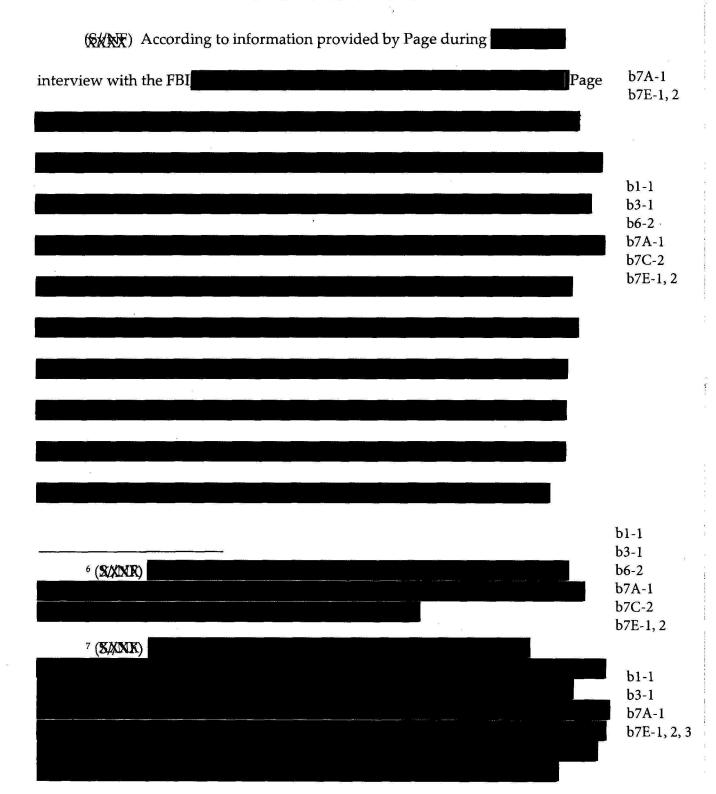
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	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
from approximately 2004 - 2007, Page lived in Russia	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
business dealings with Gazprom	
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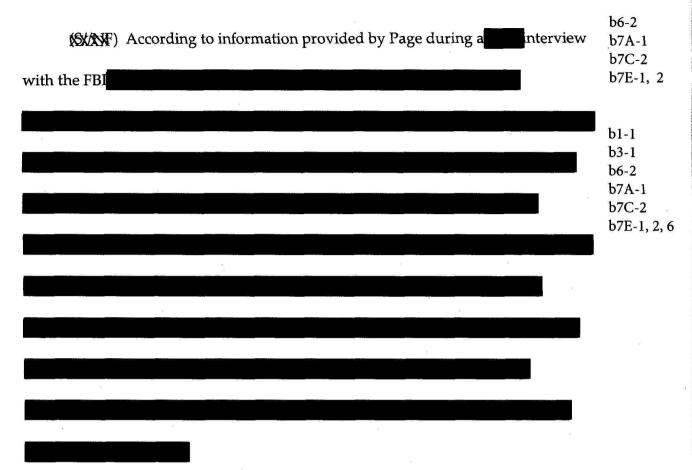
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(U) (SXINX) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring 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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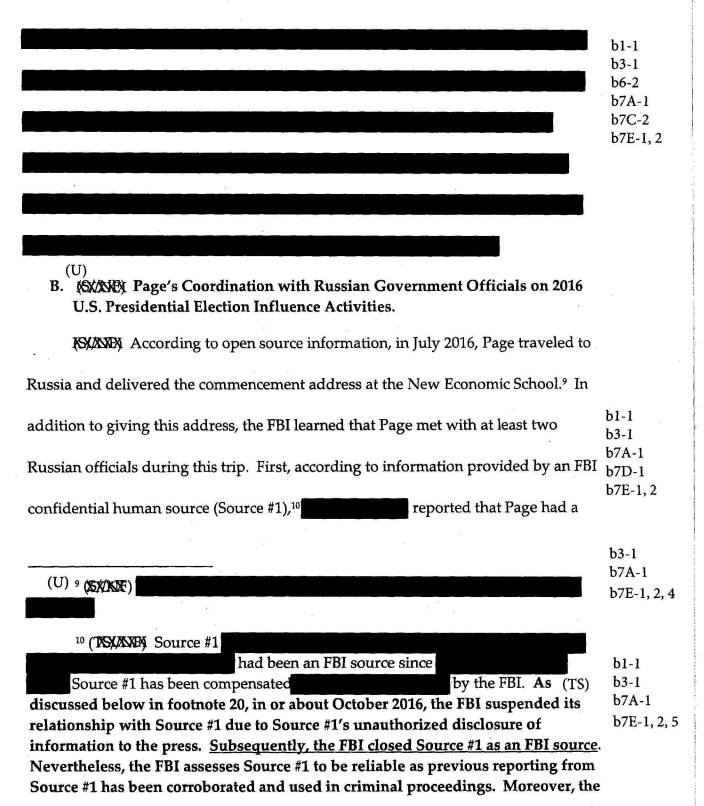
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Russia.⁸ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.

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⁽U) ⁸ (SX/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) (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) **(USX/XXF**) 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.

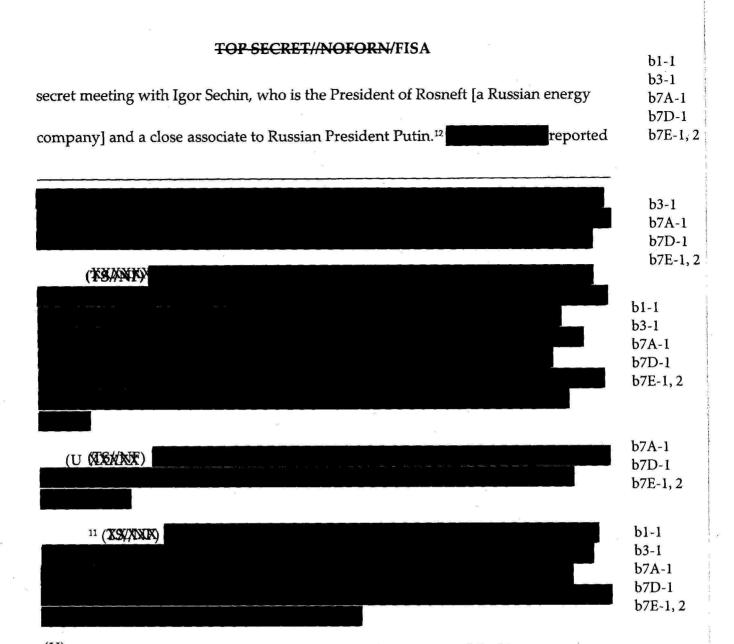
hired Source #1 and to the FBI. b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

(**X**SXXXX) 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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that, during the meeting, Page and Sechin discussed future bilateral energy	b1-1 b3-1
cooperation and the prospects for an associated move to lift Ukraine-related Western	b7A-1 b7D-1
sanctions against Russia.	b7E-1, 2
(TSXANF) according to Source #1,	
Divyekin [who is assessed to be Igor Nikolayevich Divyekin],	b1-1 b3-1 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" ¹⁴ that the Kremlin possessed on Candidate #2 and the possibility of it	
¹³ (XSX/XXX)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

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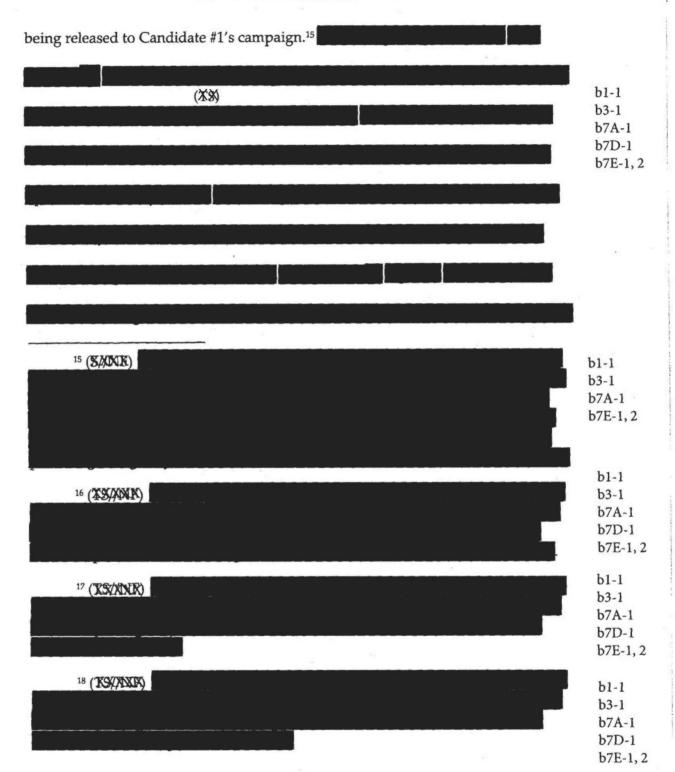
(U) ¹⁴ (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.

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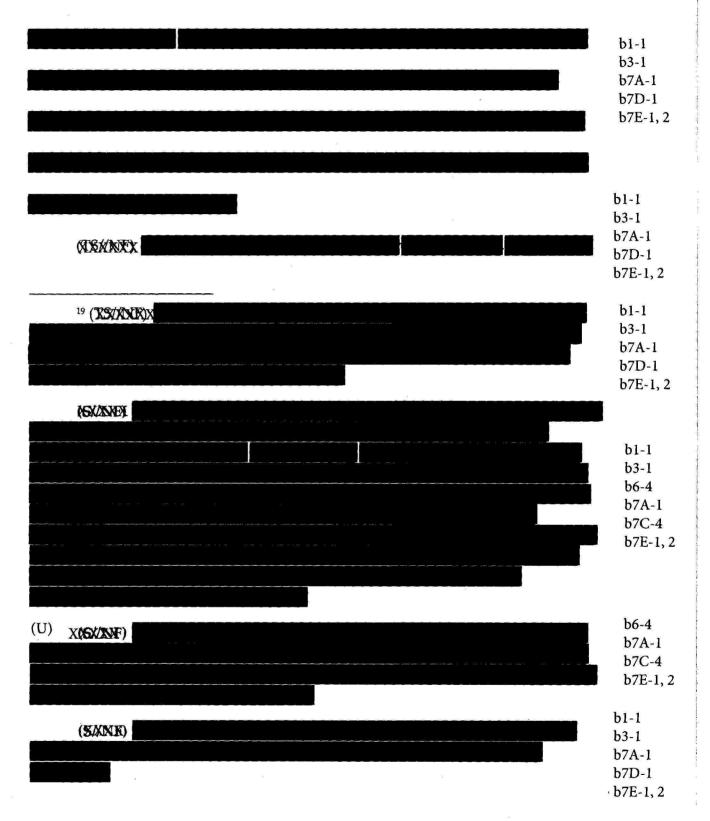
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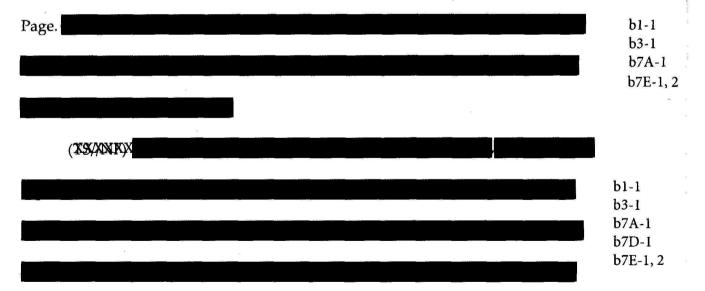
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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting 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) (SV/XVX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(U) (SXAND) 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.²⁰

(U) (SANK) 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

²⁰ (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) **(XSMNX)** 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) (SCANCE) 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"

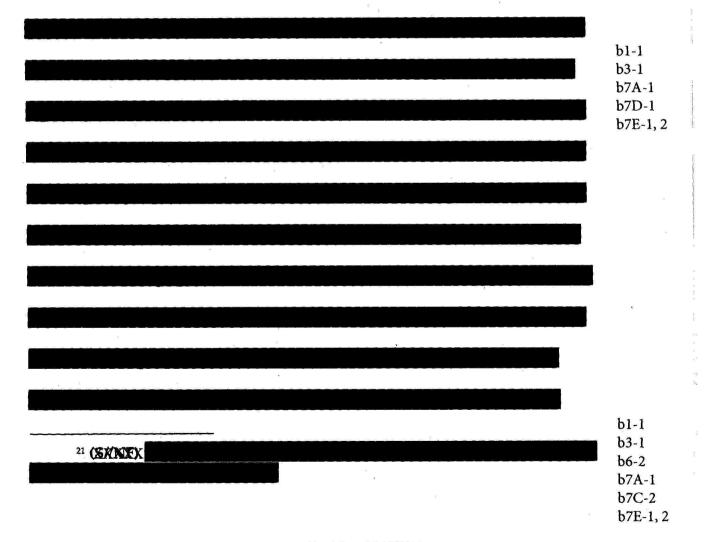
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(U) (SX/XX) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing 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.²¹

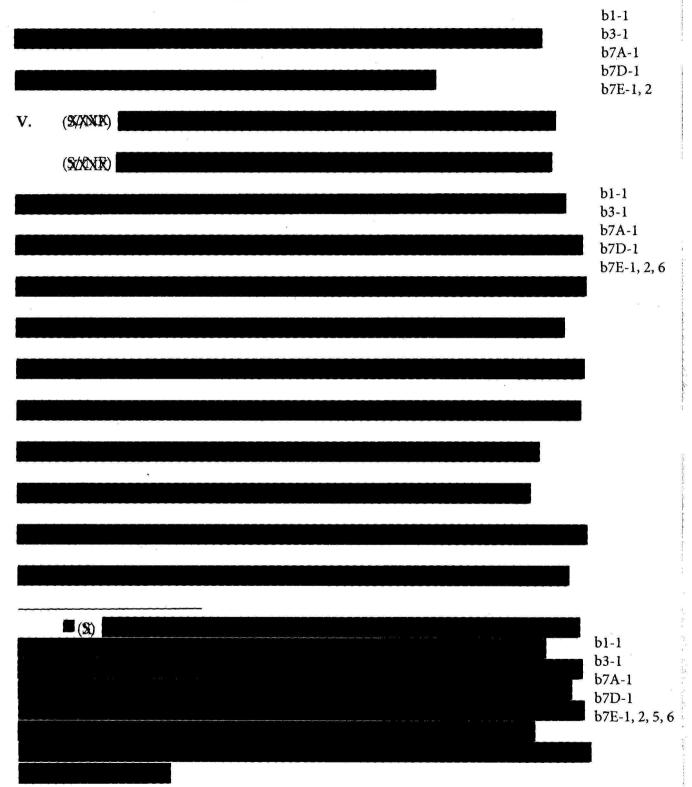
(SANK) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet 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."



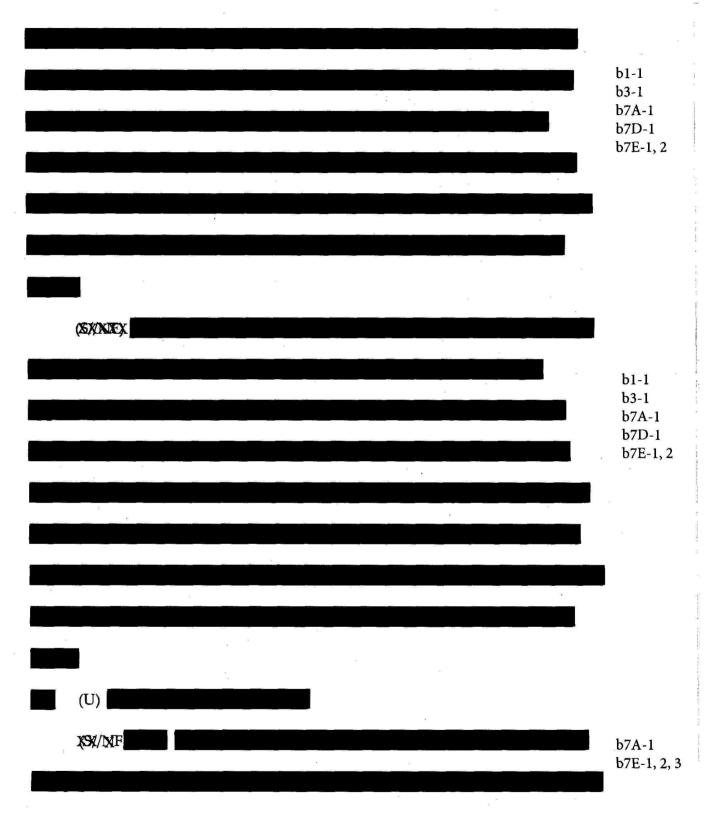
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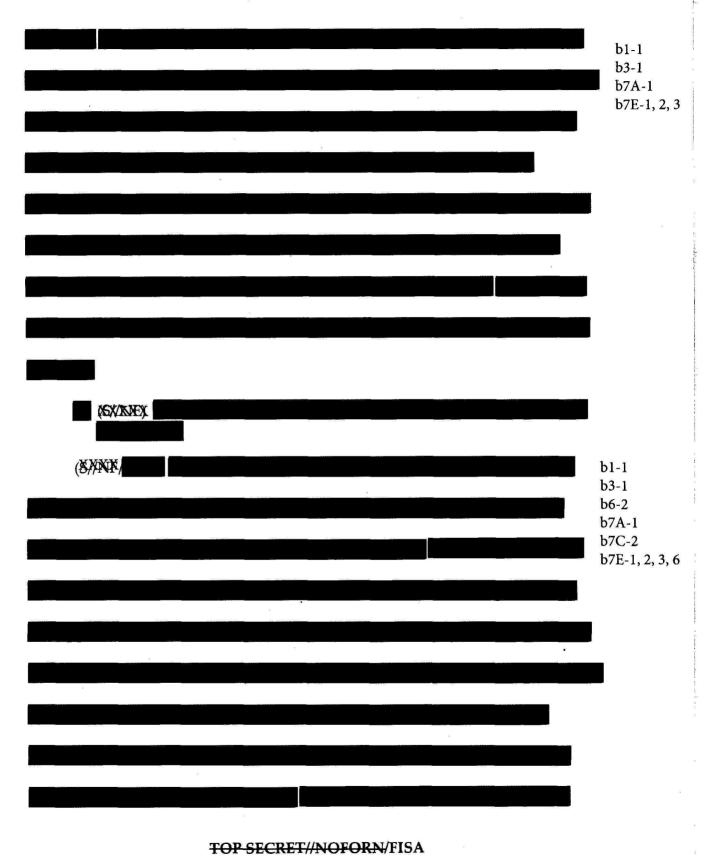
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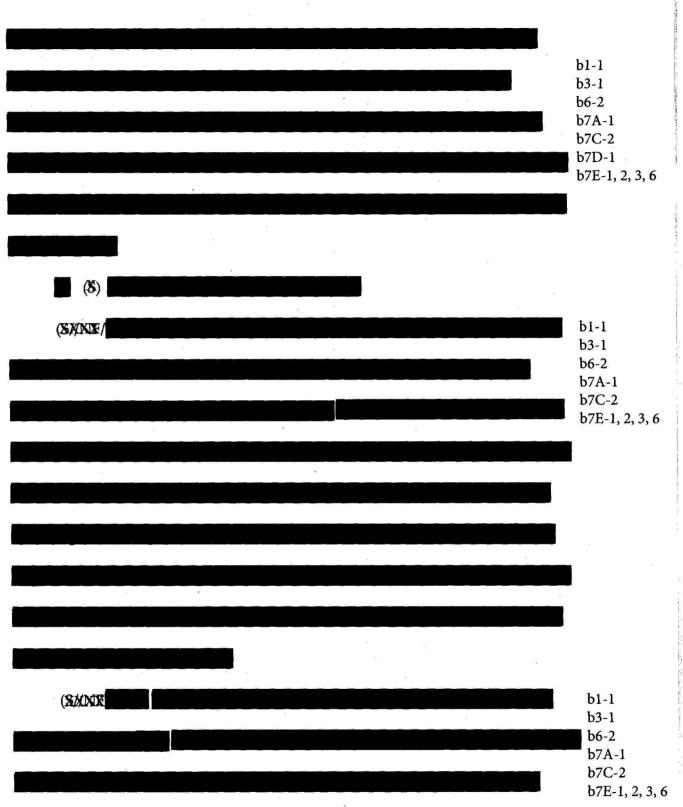
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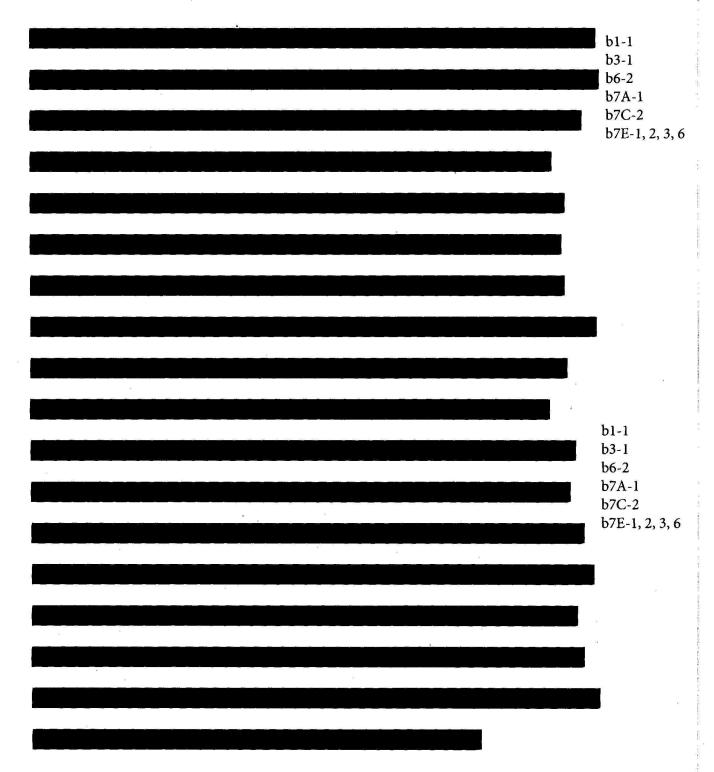
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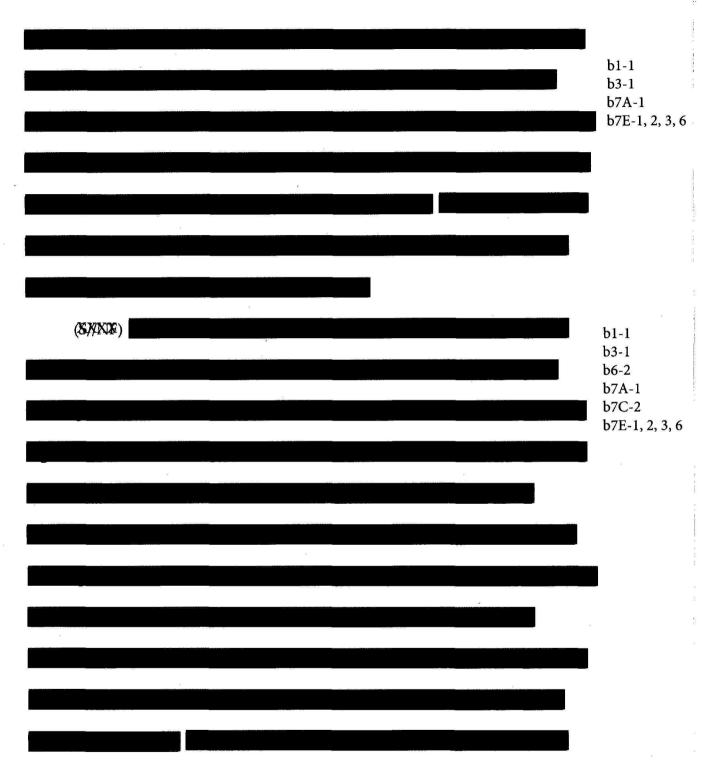
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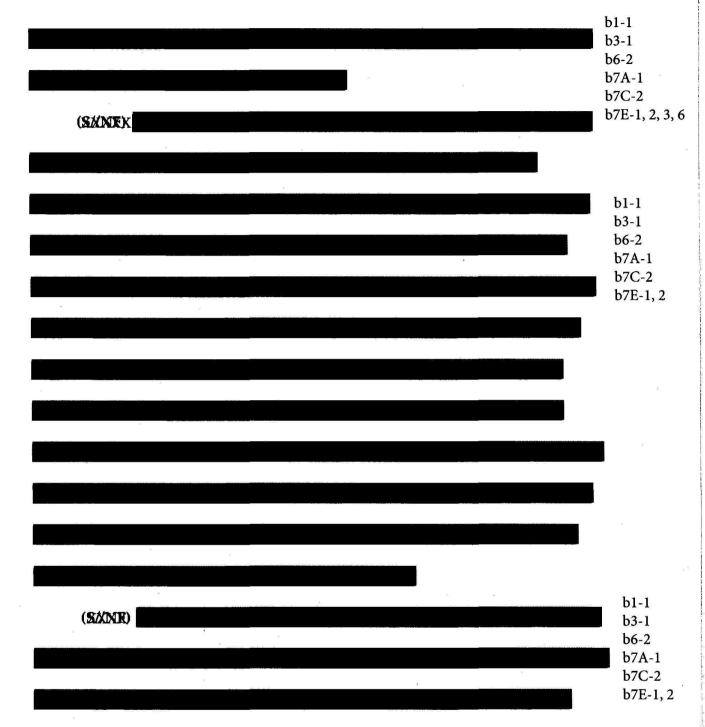
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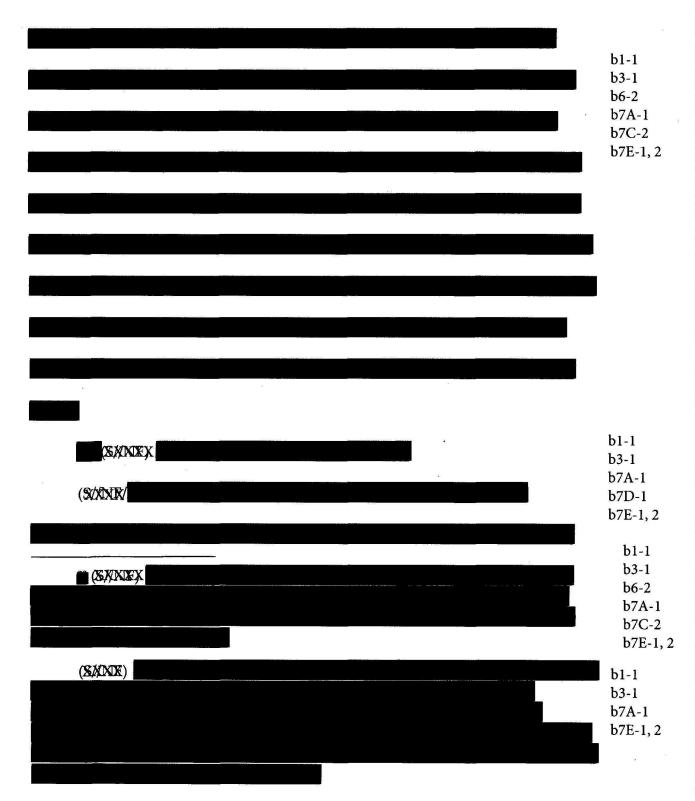


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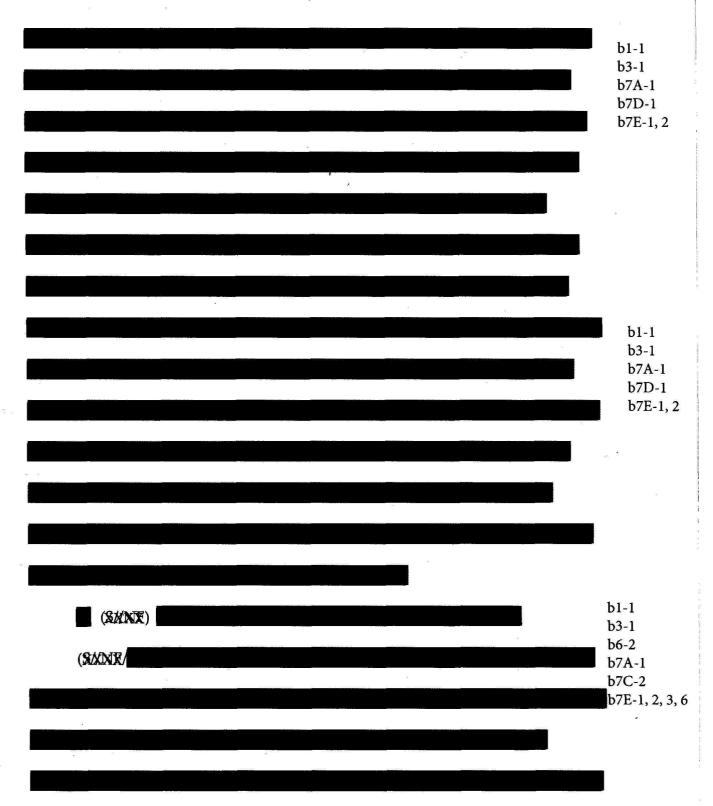
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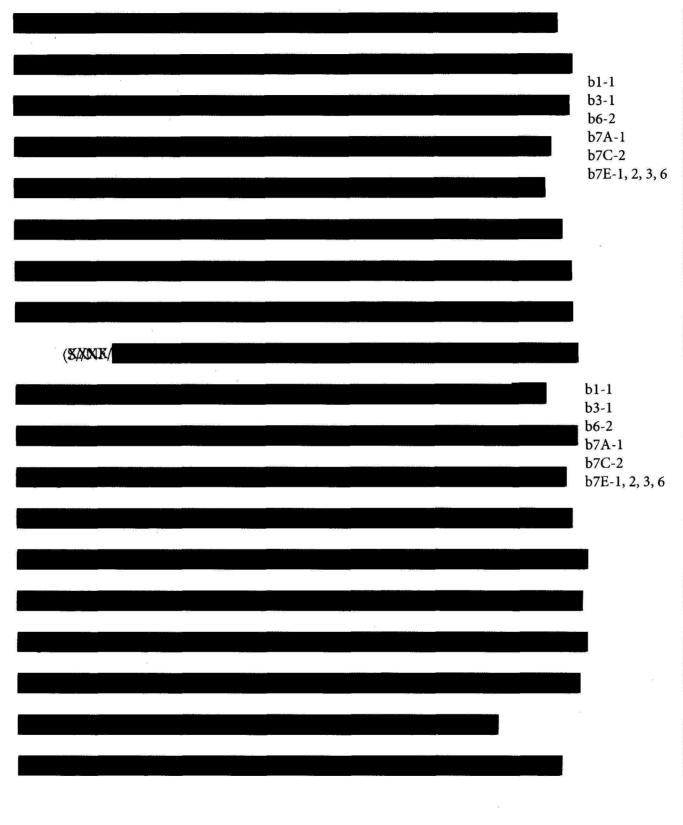
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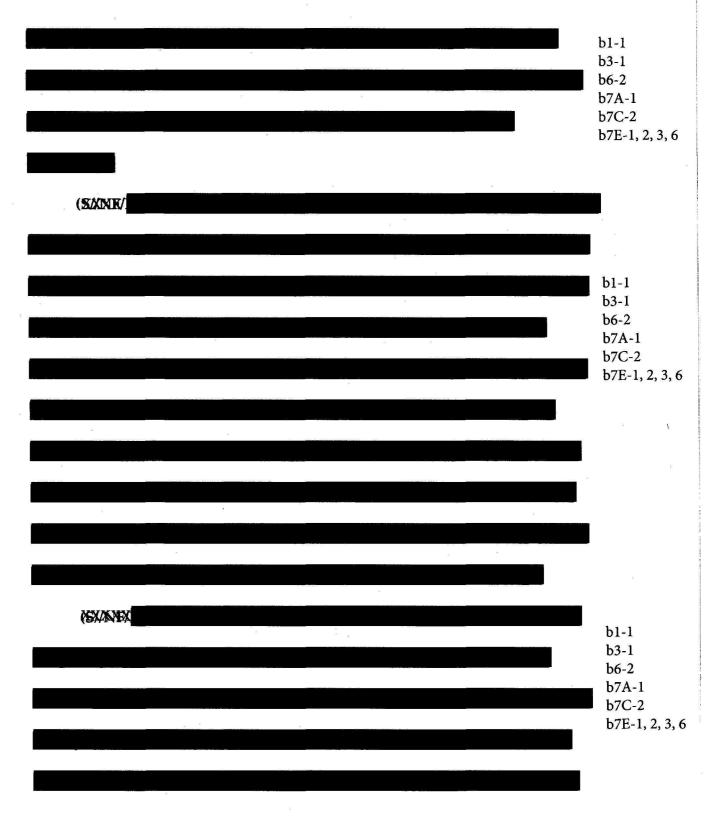
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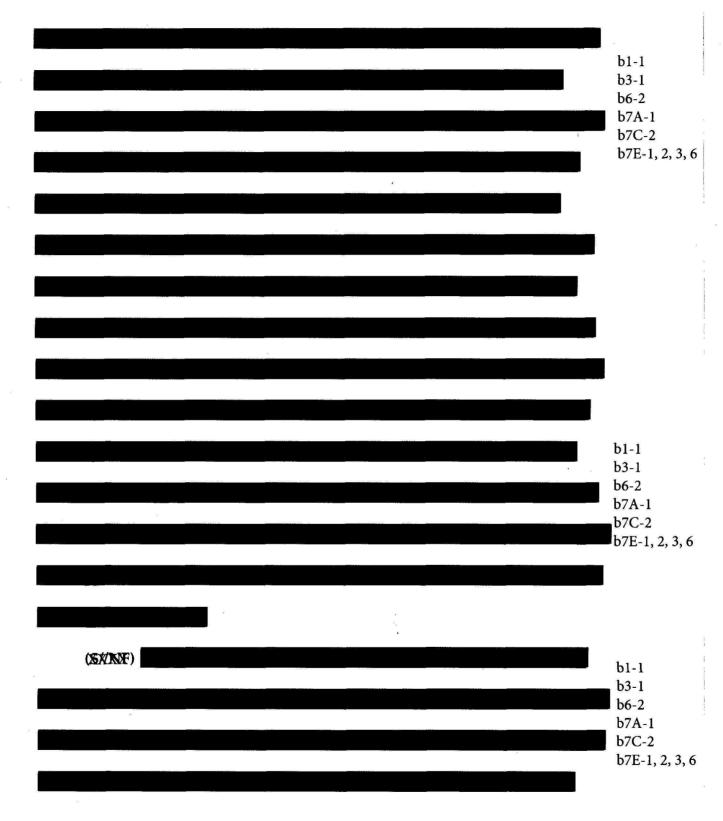
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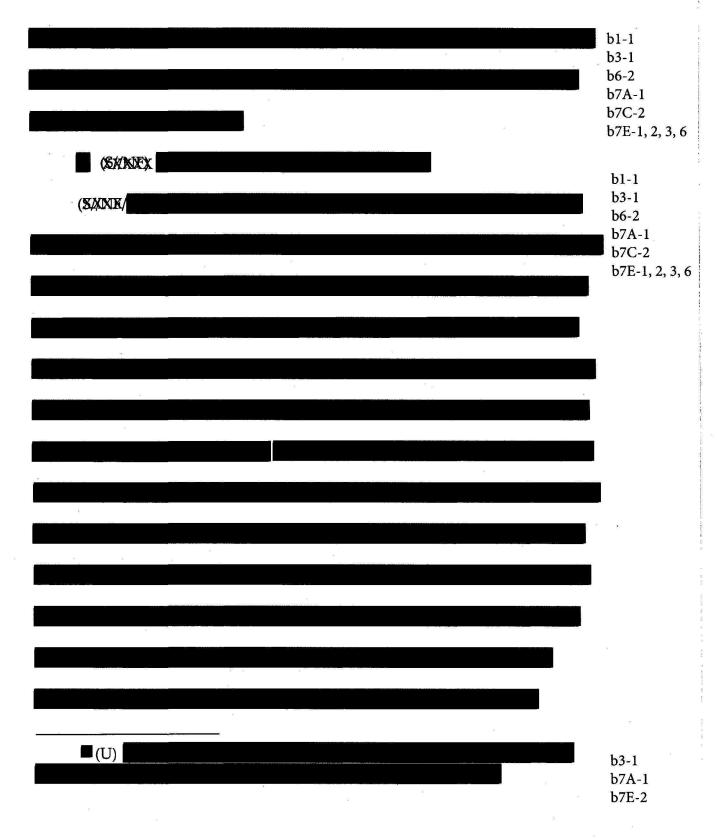
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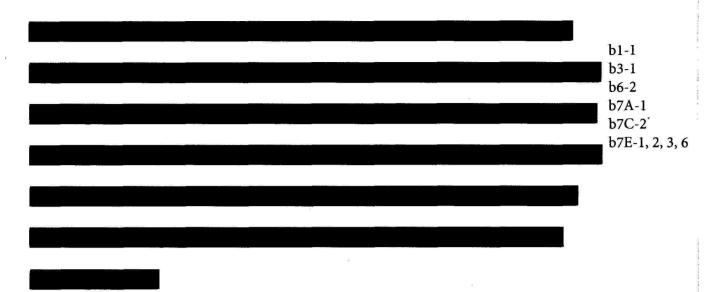
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(U) G. (§//NF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

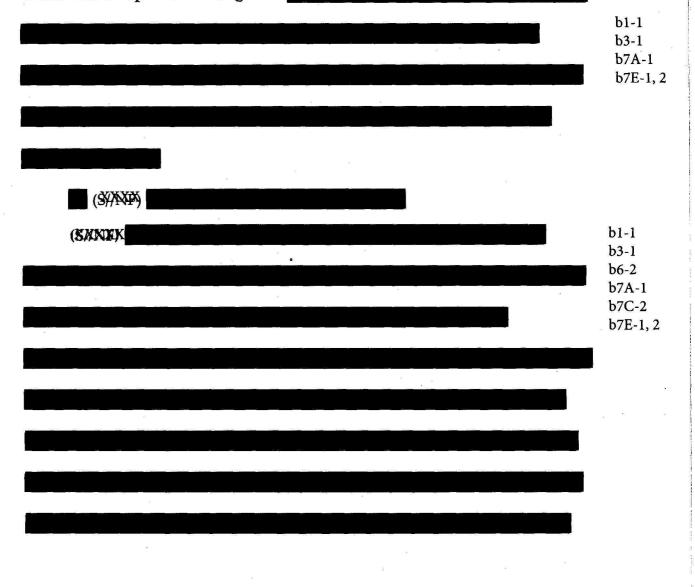
(SXXXXXXIn or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S.

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

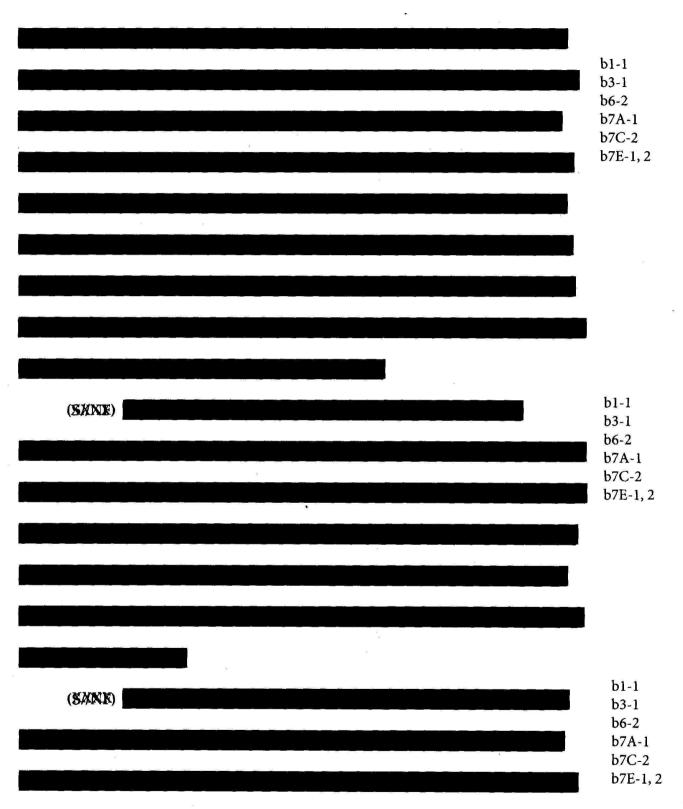
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(i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate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



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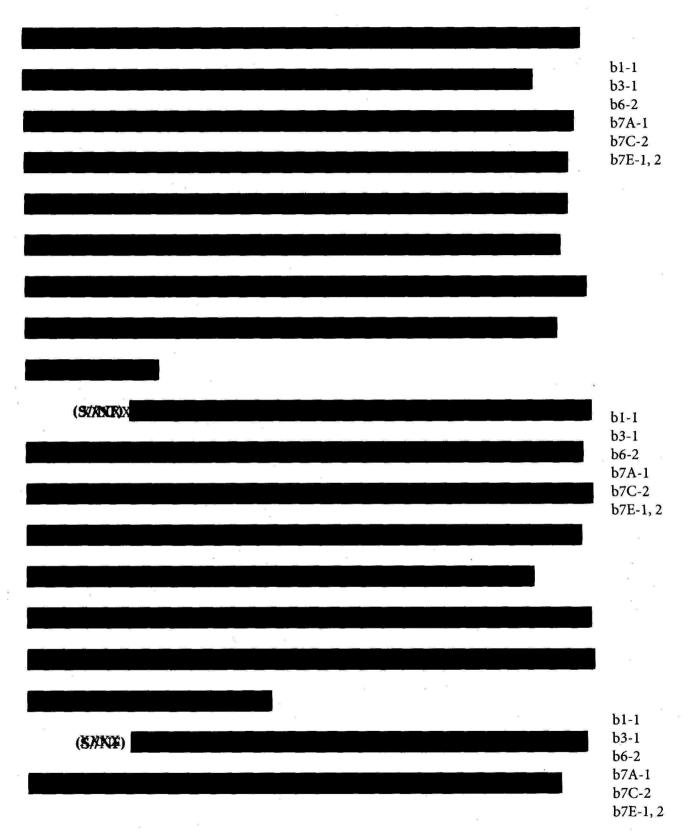
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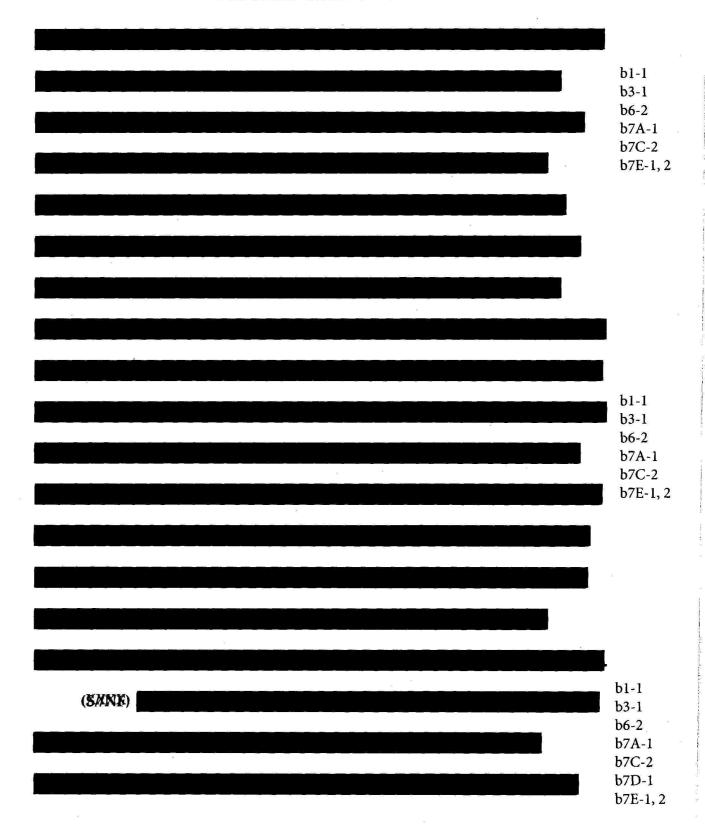
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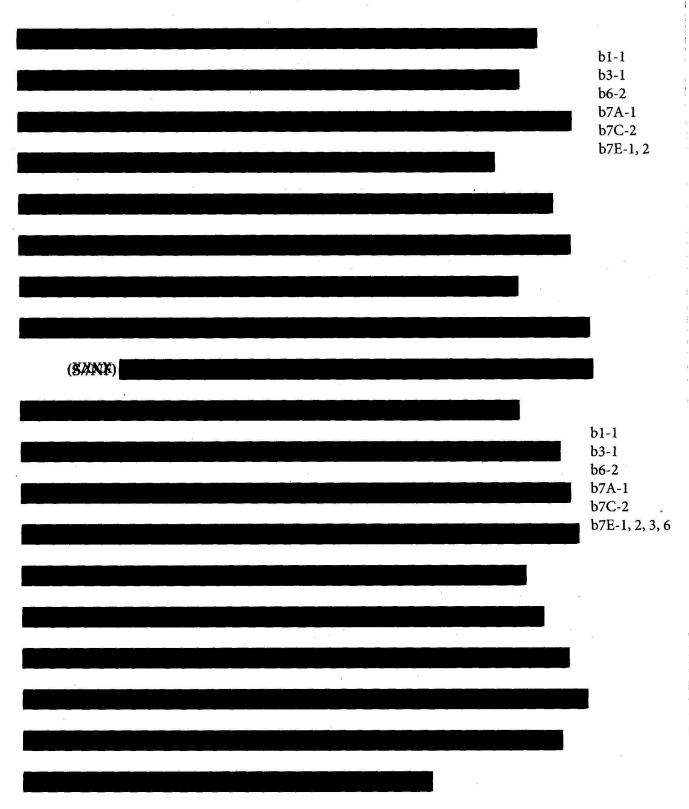
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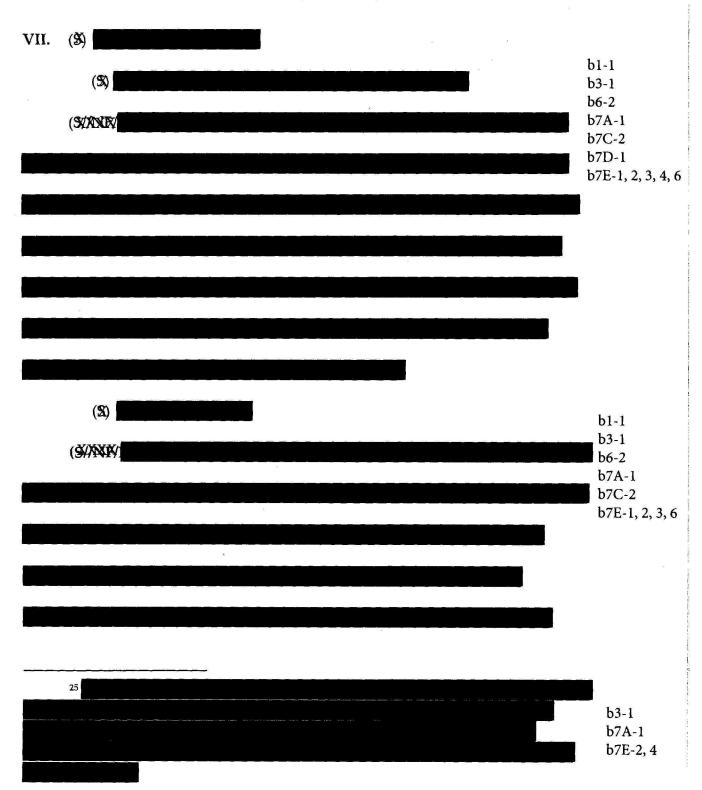
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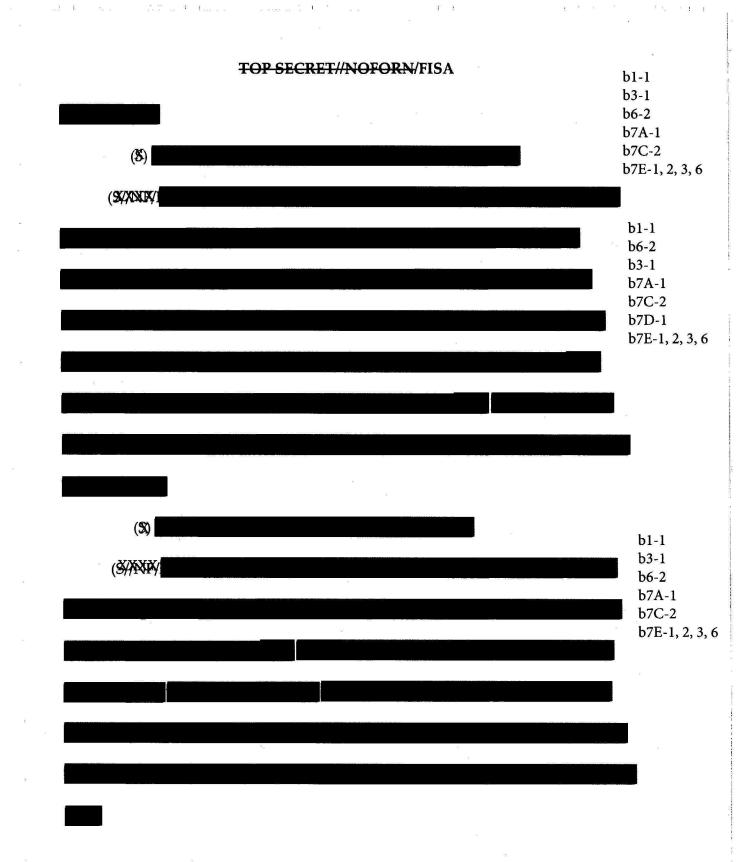
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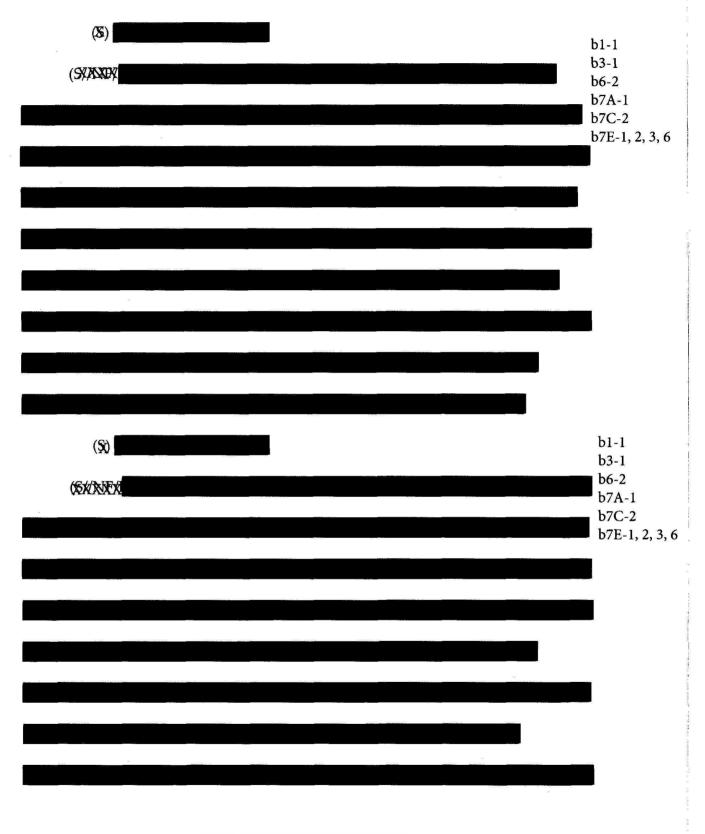
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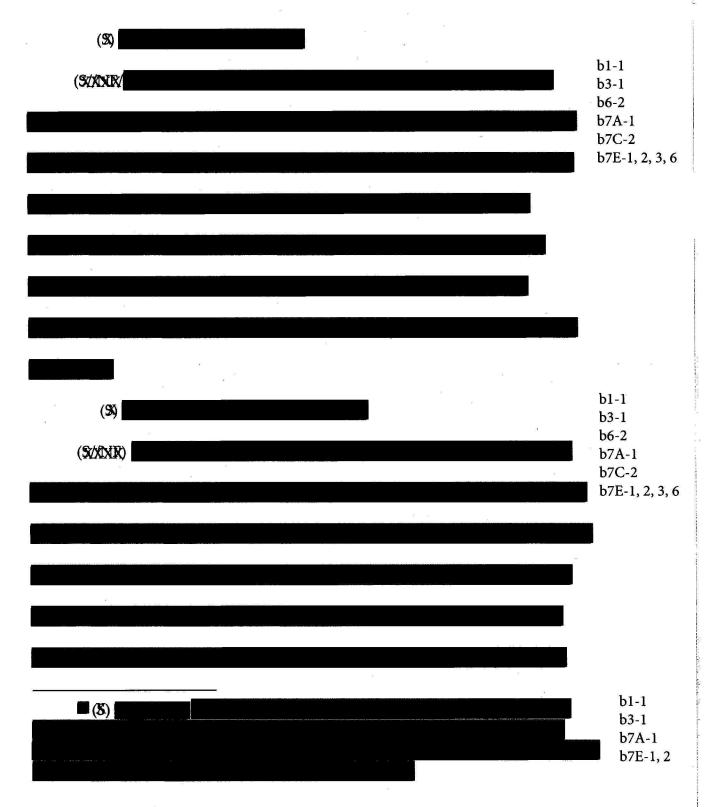


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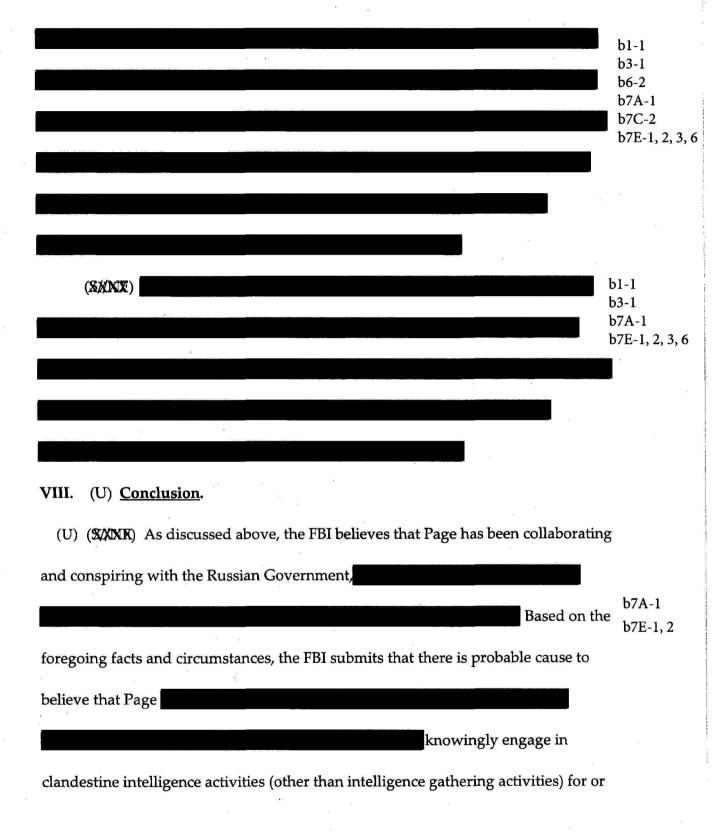
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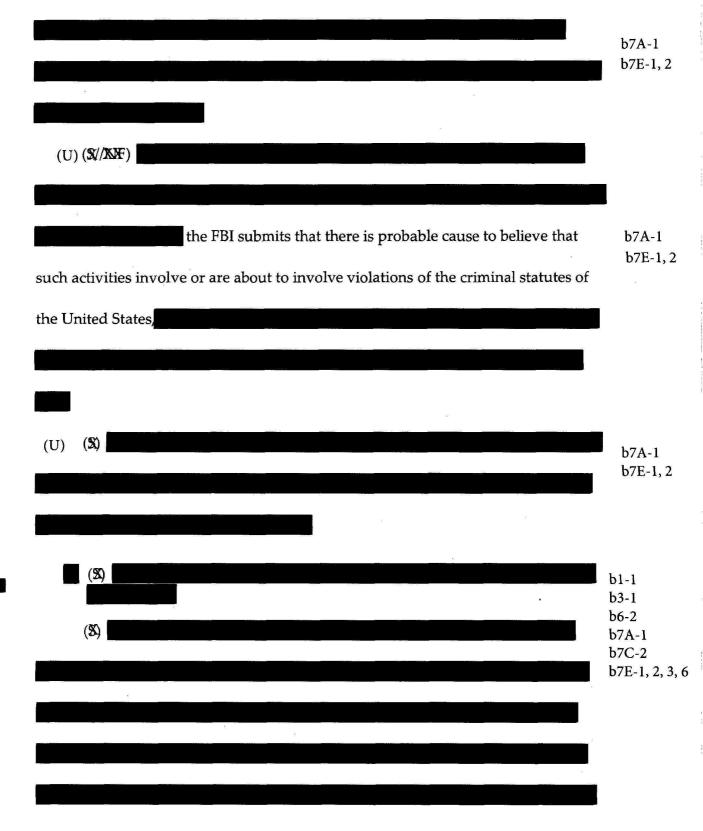
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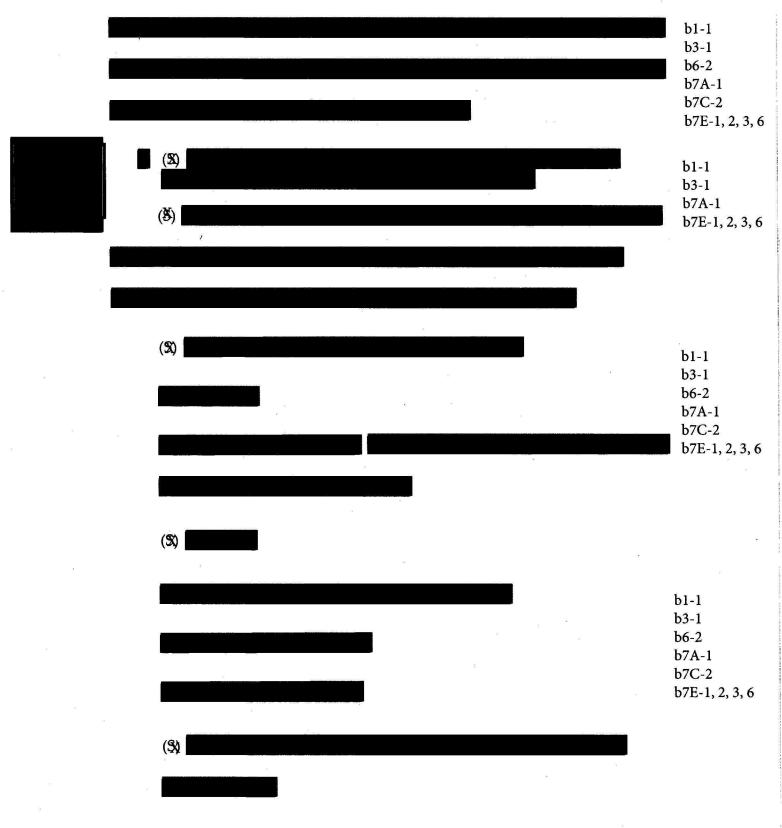
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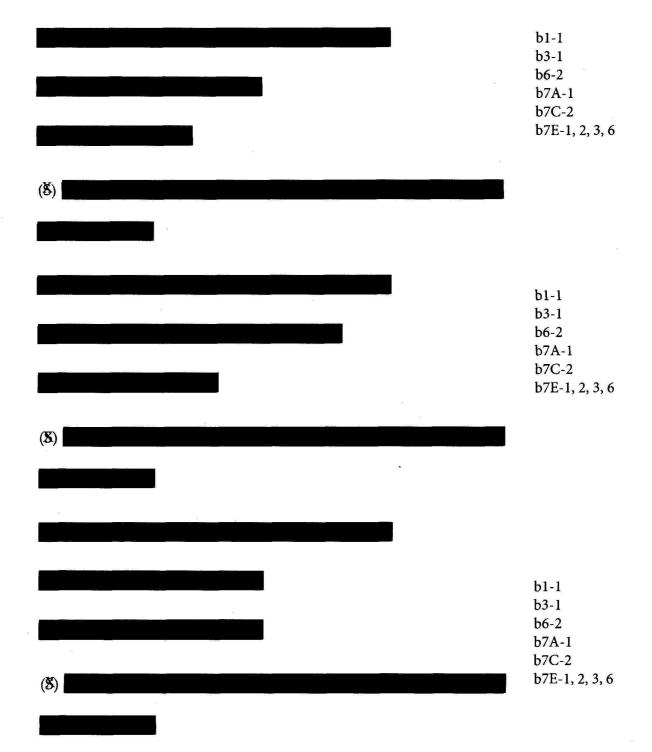
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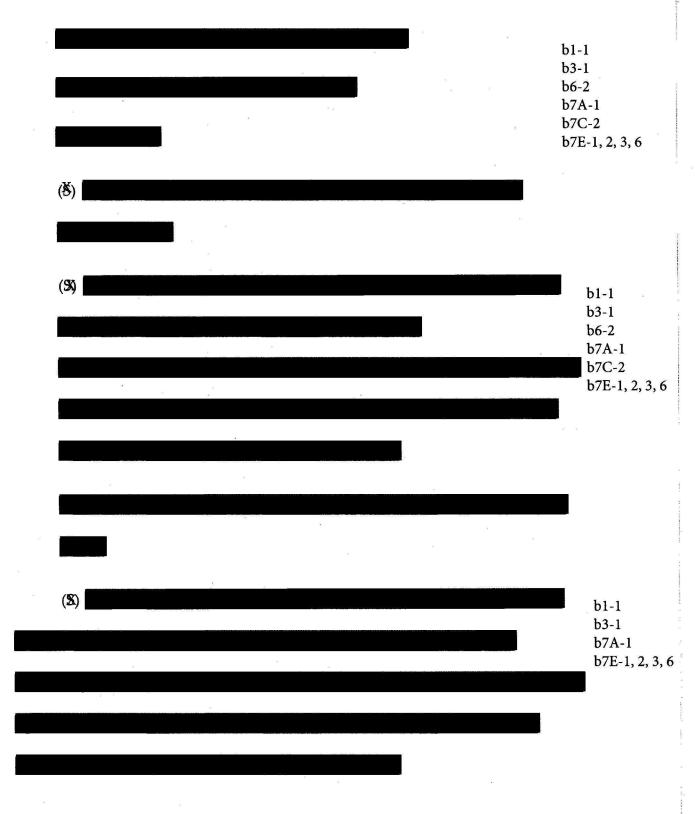
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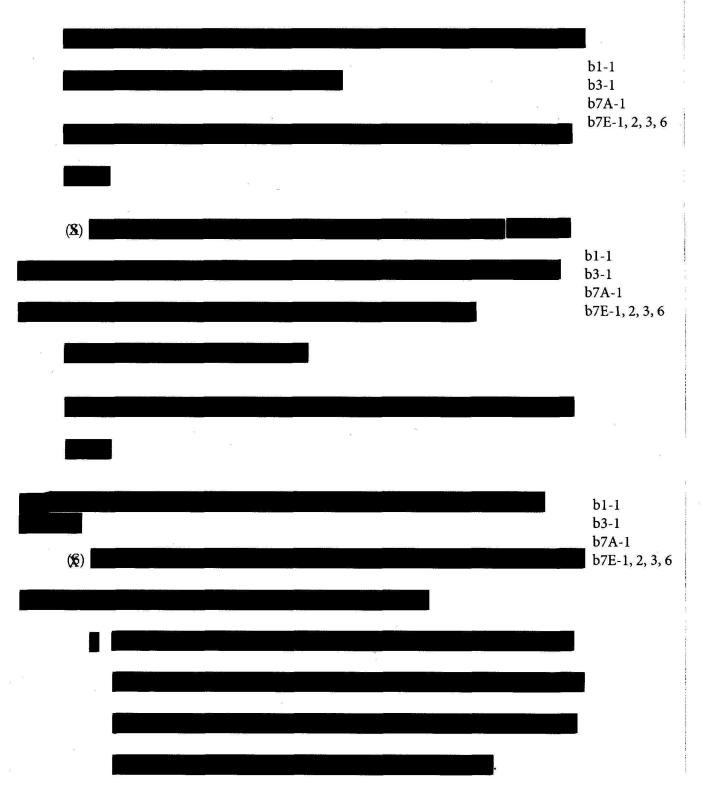
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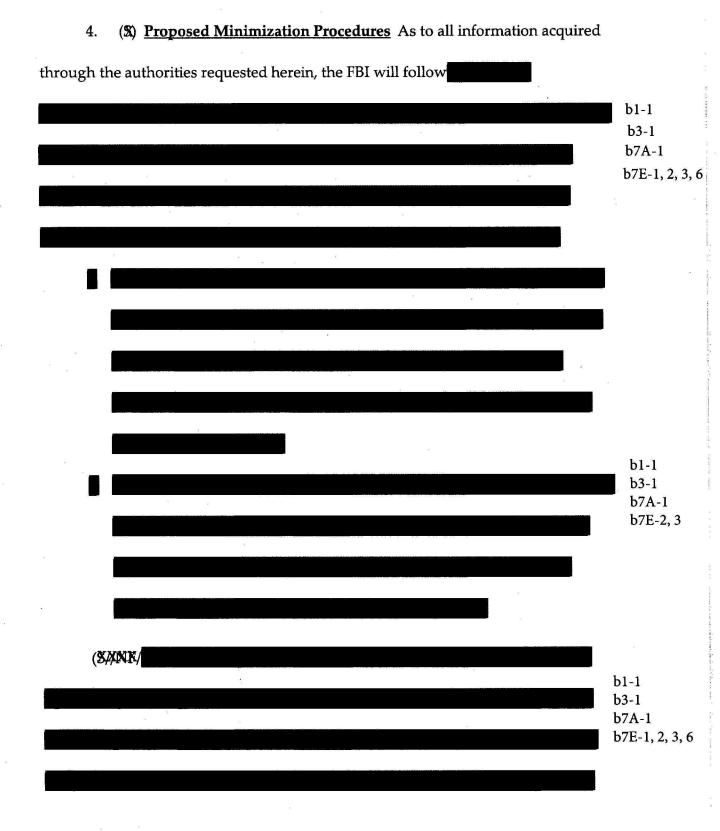
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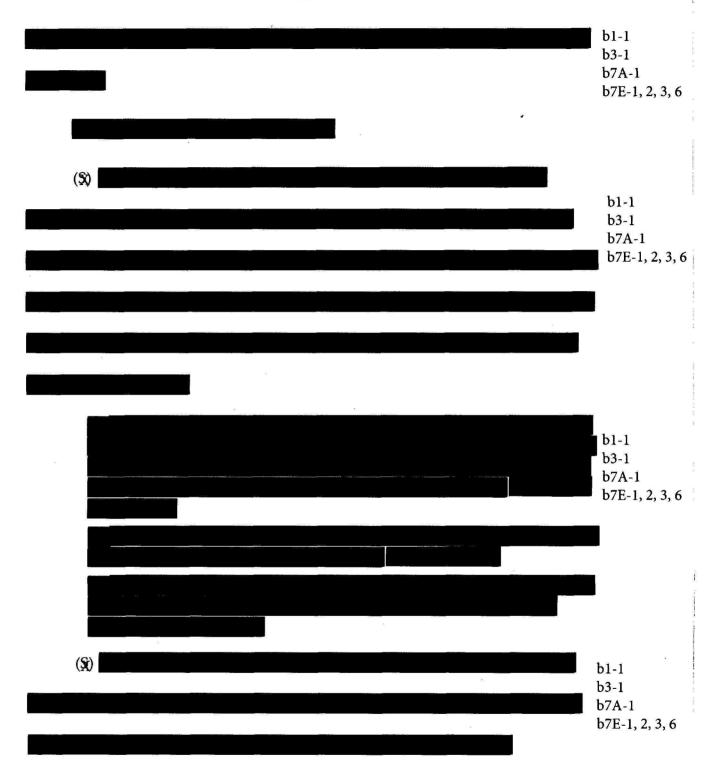






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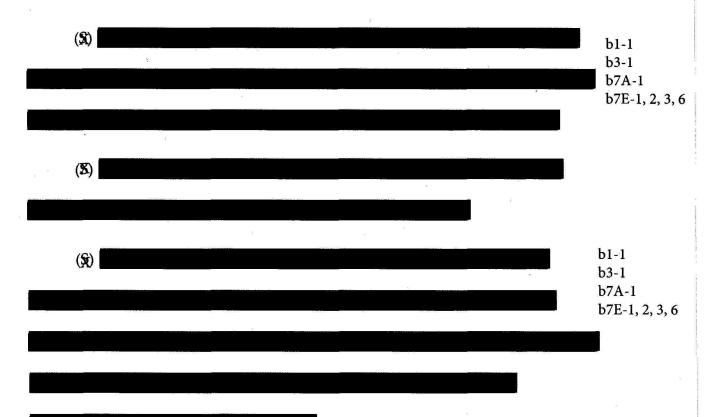
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5. (a) <u>Nature of the Information Sought</u> Through the authorities b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability 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

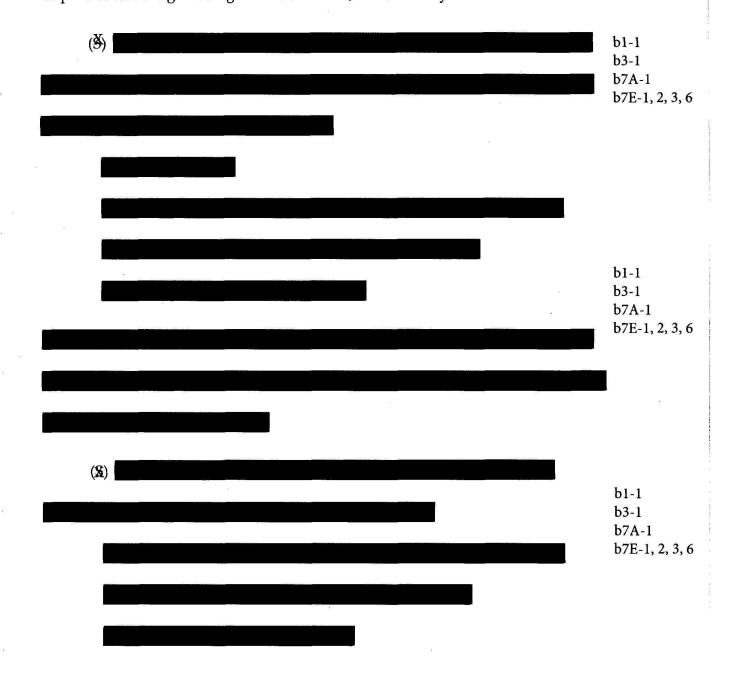
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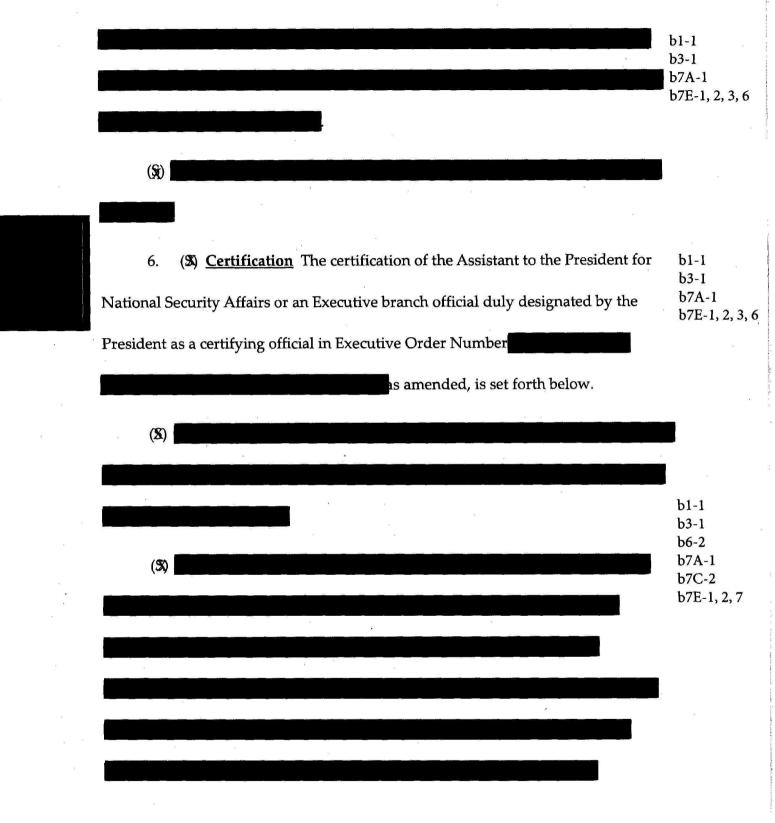
foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.

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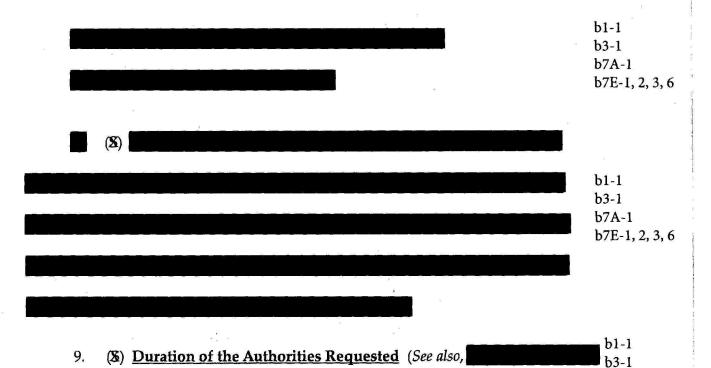
(U) <u>The Purpose of the Authorities Requested</u>

(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
 criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at
 least a significant purpose of this request for the formation as part of the FBI's investigation
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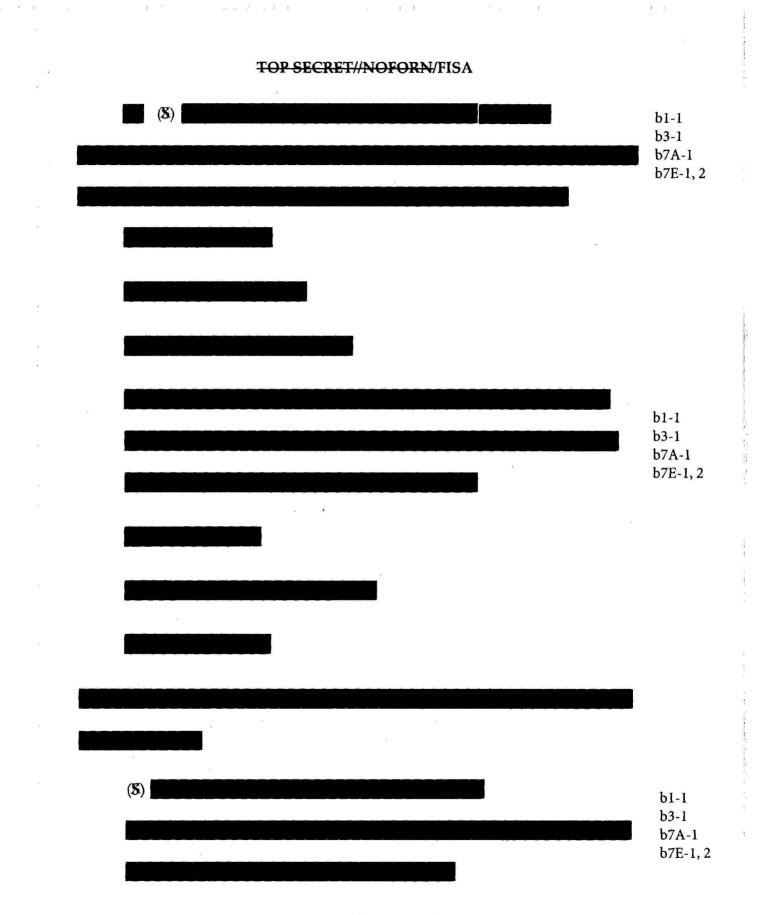
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The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities 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**.

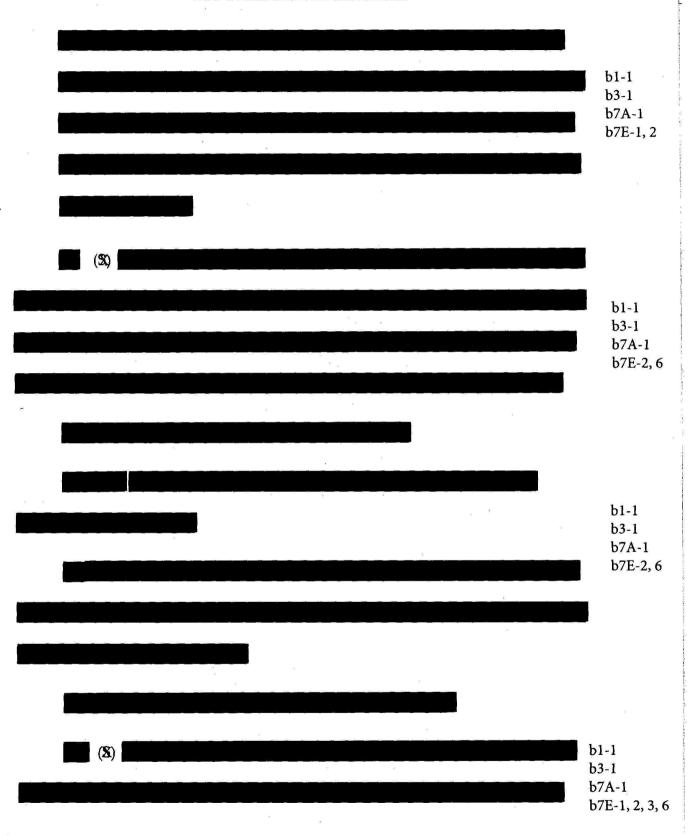
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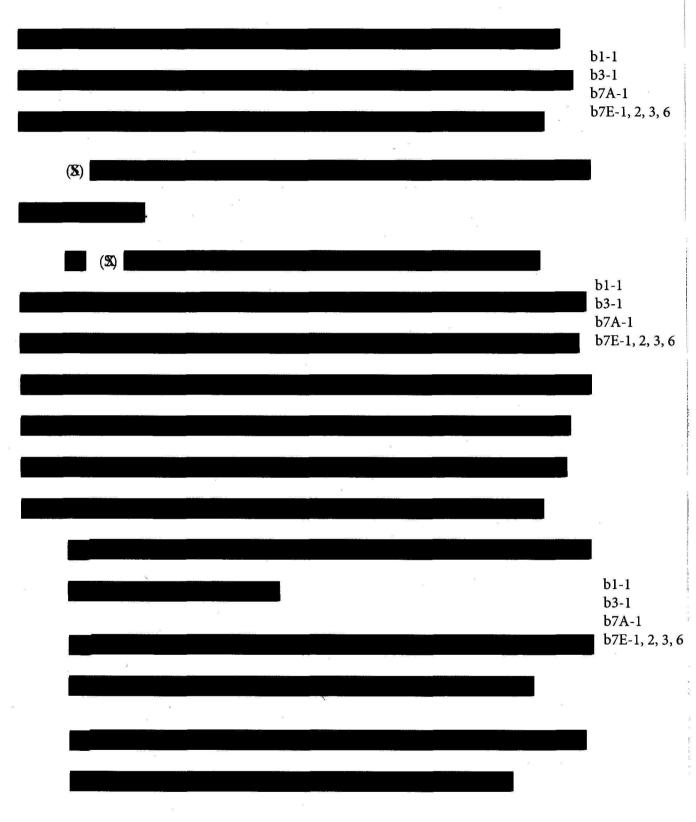


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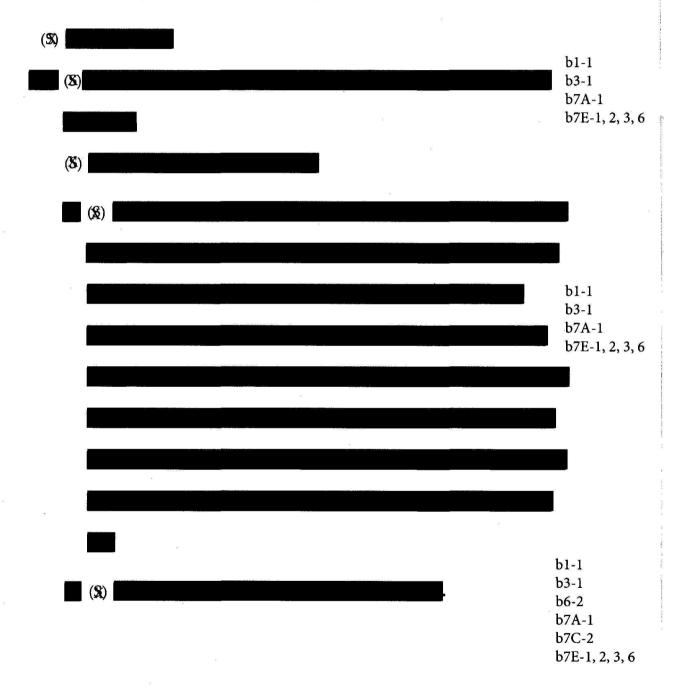
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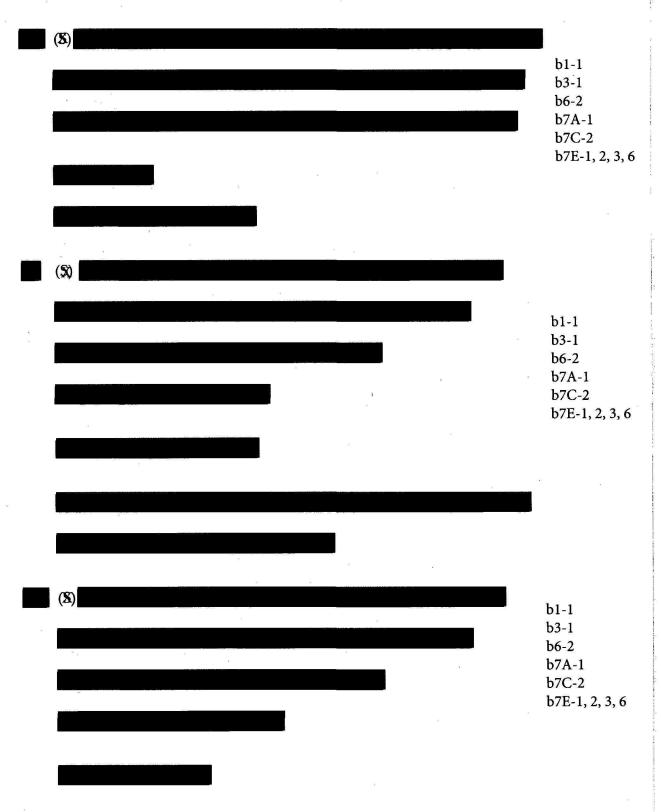
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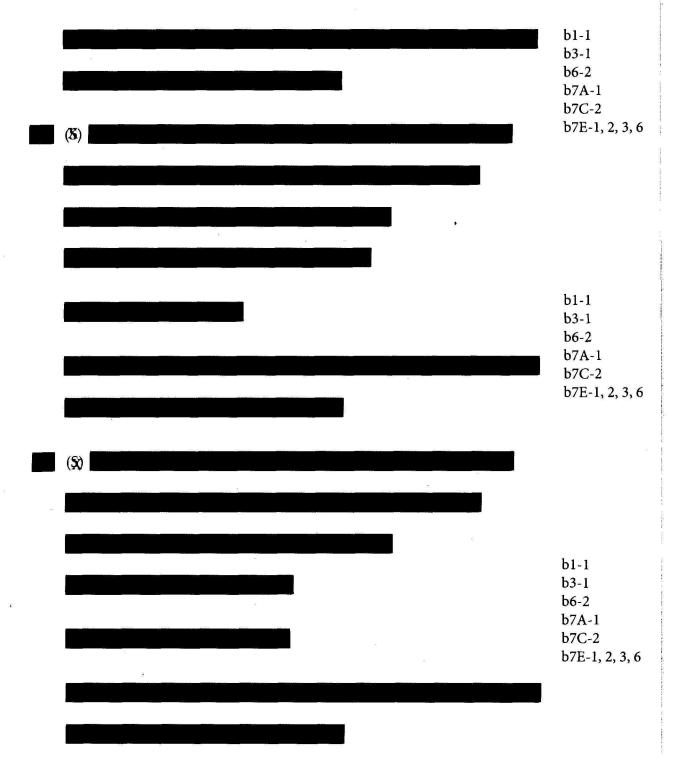
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(S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.



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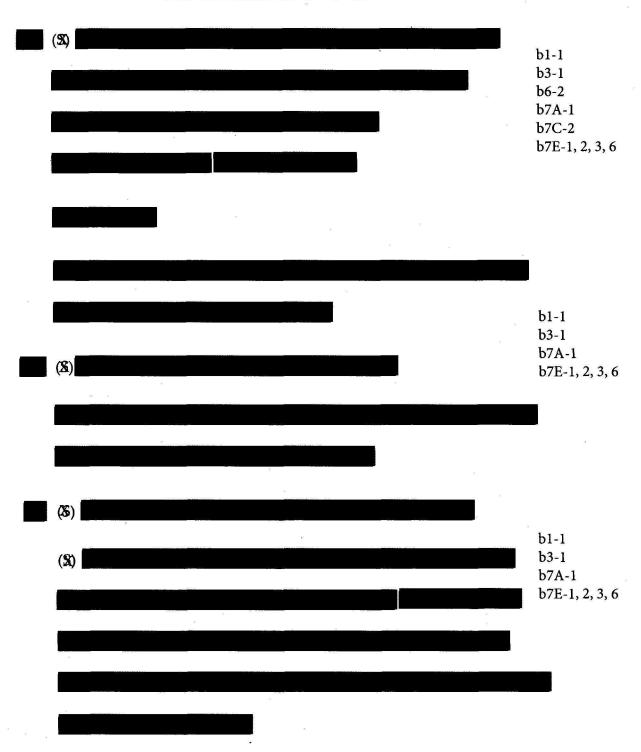
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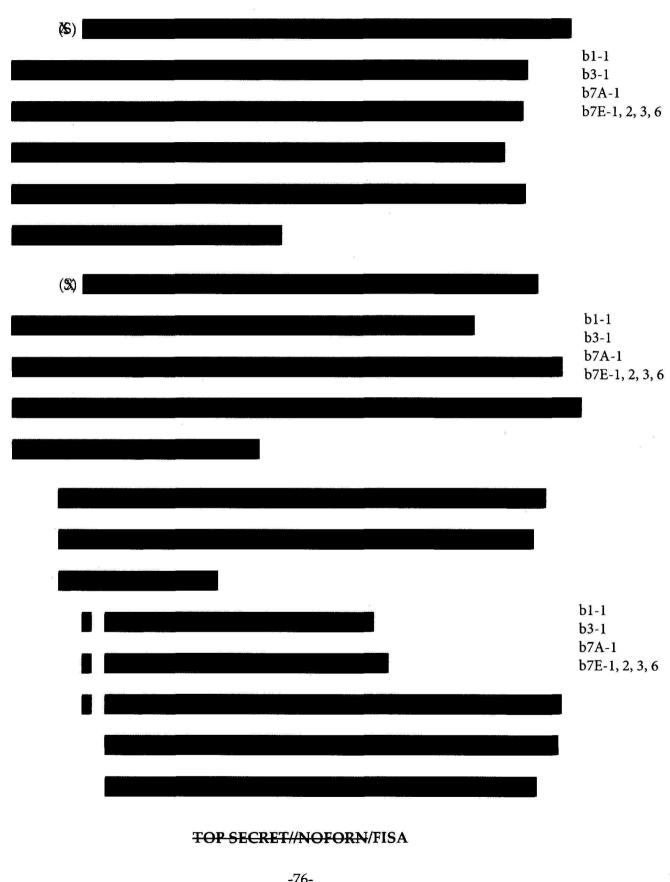
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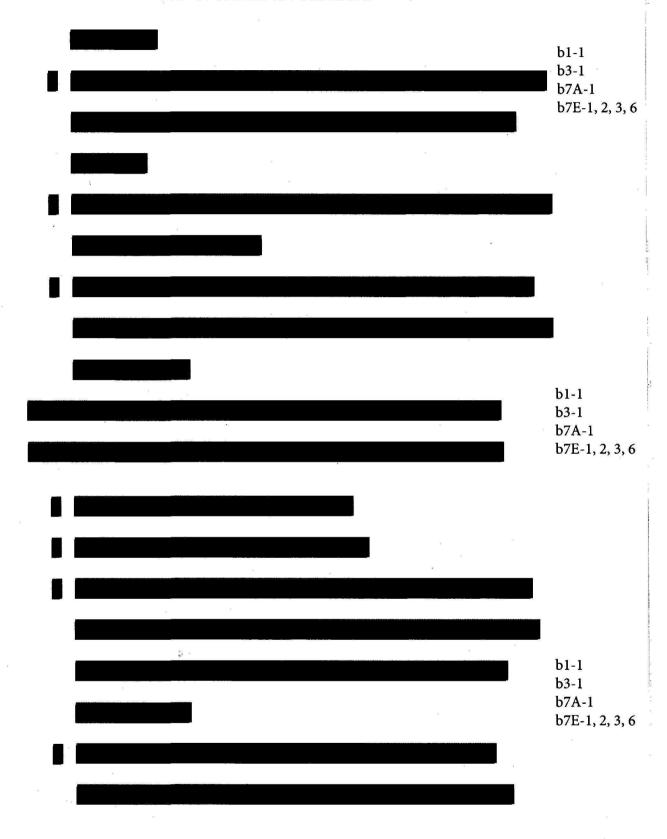
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(U) (**S**) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided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

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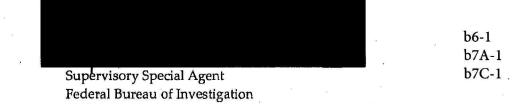
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(U) VERIFICATION

(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

(\mathfrak{S}) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials	8 1 1	
authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence		1
Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the		
requested in this verified application targeting	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	化化学 化铁
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6	s Ba
(A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is		10 au 10 au
foreign intelligence information.		i I I
(B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to		many and address address
obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal		
matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities	8	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
requested baroin is not to obtain information for the propagation of crimes other		1

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.

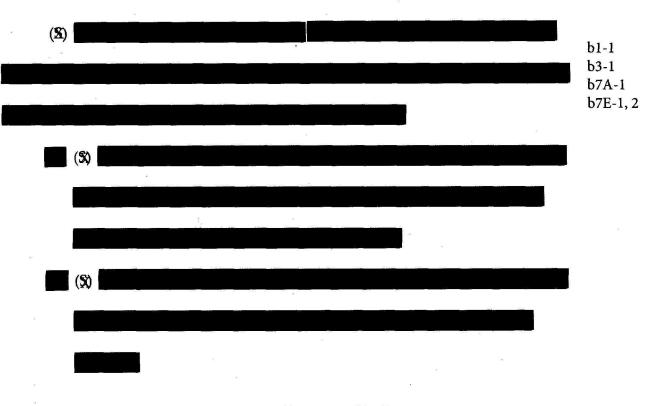
(C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b1-1
 b3-1
 b7A-1
 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(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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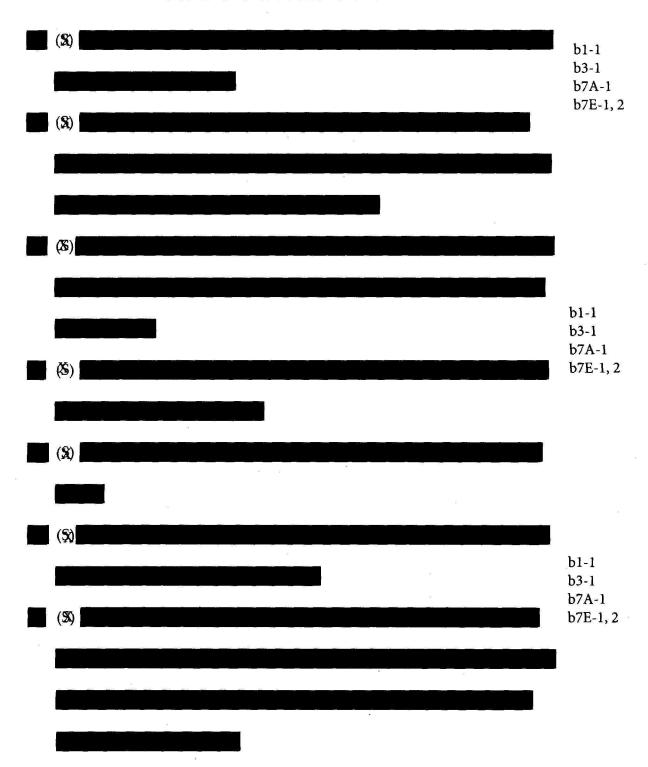
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign 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 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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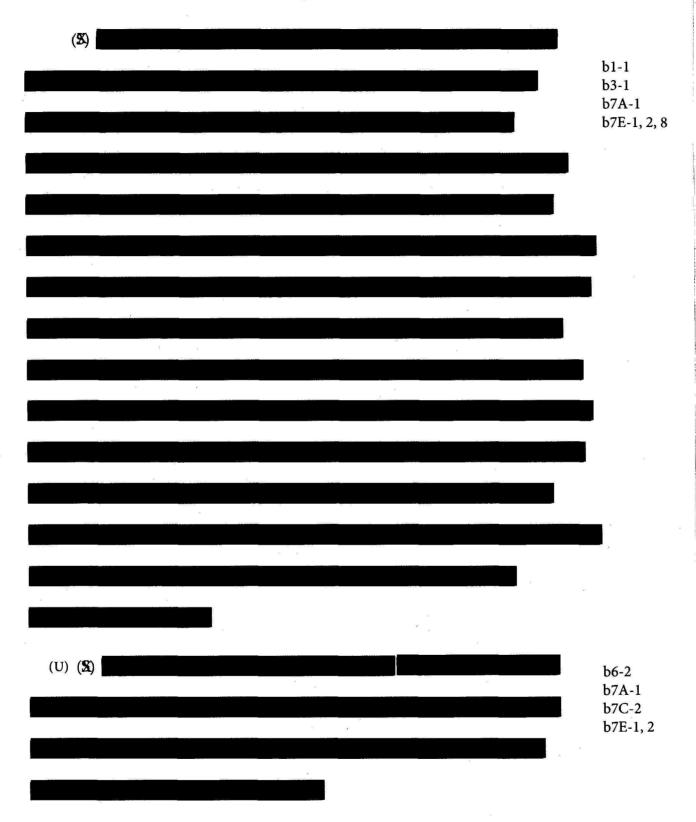
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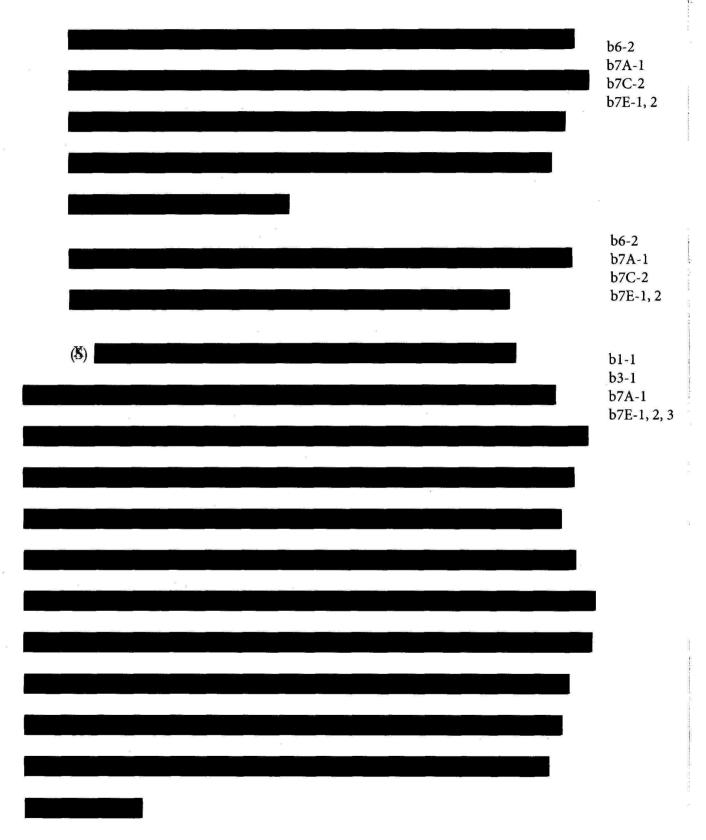
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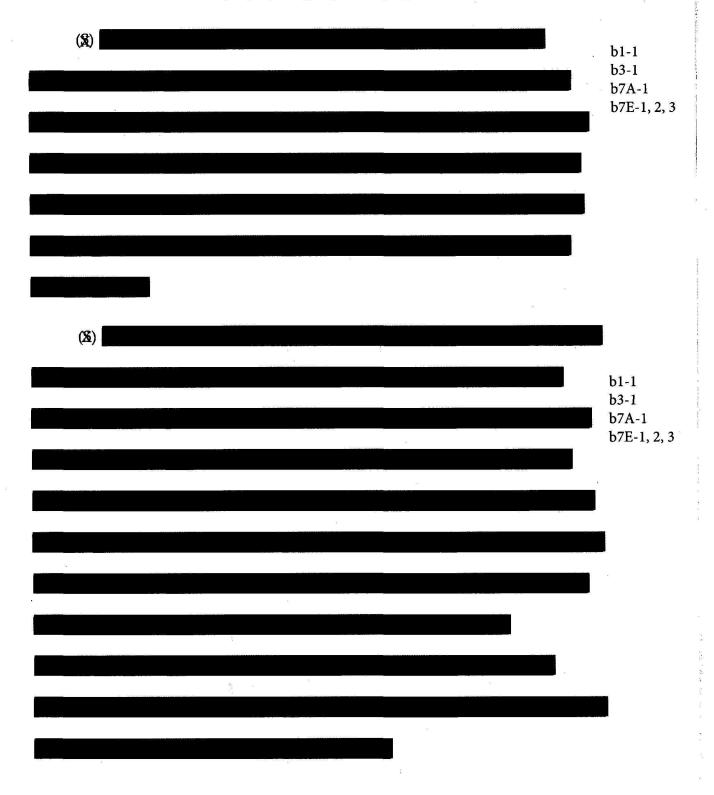


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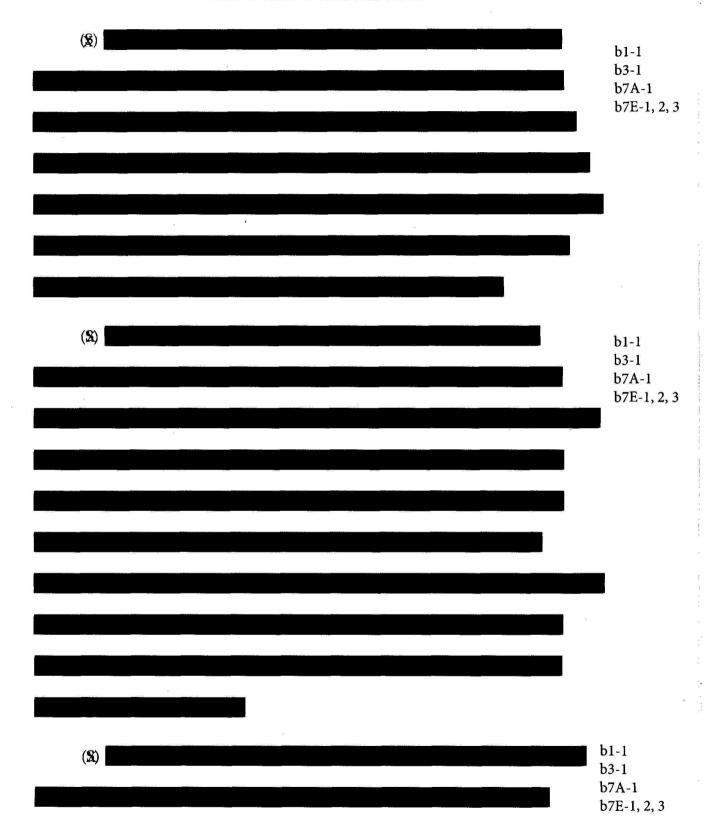
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	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
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(U) (3) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(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.

James 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

417 Date b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

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

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

Dana J. Boente²⁷

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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			b7C-3

U.S. Department of Justice

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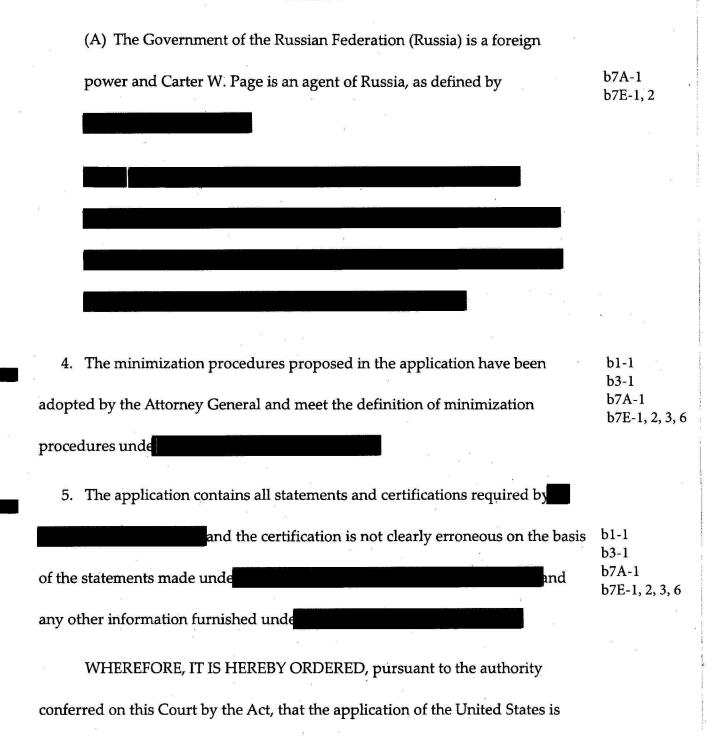
All information is except where other	considered unclassified erwise shown.	SECRET	Filed United States For Intelligence Surveillan	èign
Classify By: J23	J98T32	- JECKET	Guivellian	ce Court
Reason: (C)	FBI NSICG, dated	UNITED STATES	APR 2017	
04 1 -2017		UNITED STATES	LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk	
Declassify On:	FOREIGN INTELI	LIGENCE SURVEILLANC	E COURT b1-1	or Court
-5		2	b3-1	
	W W	ASHINGTON, D. C.	b7A-1	τ
	IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.	.S. Docket Numl	per:	
	-	ν.		b1-1
	PERSON			b3-1 b7A-1
			5	
*	PRIMARY	ORDER AND WARRAM	VT	
	1. An application having be	en made by the United Sta	ates of America	
,	pursuant to the Foreign Intellige	ence Surveillance Act of 19	78, as amended, 50	
ä	U.S.C. §§	FISA or the Act), for an	n order and warrant	
ł	(hereinafter "order") for		and full	
	consideration having been giver	n to the matters set forth th	erein, the Court finds	
8	as follows:			b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	2. The application has been	made by a Federal officer	and approved by the	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	Attorney General;			
	3. On the basis of the facts s	ubmitted in the verified a	oplication, there is	x

probable cause to believe that:

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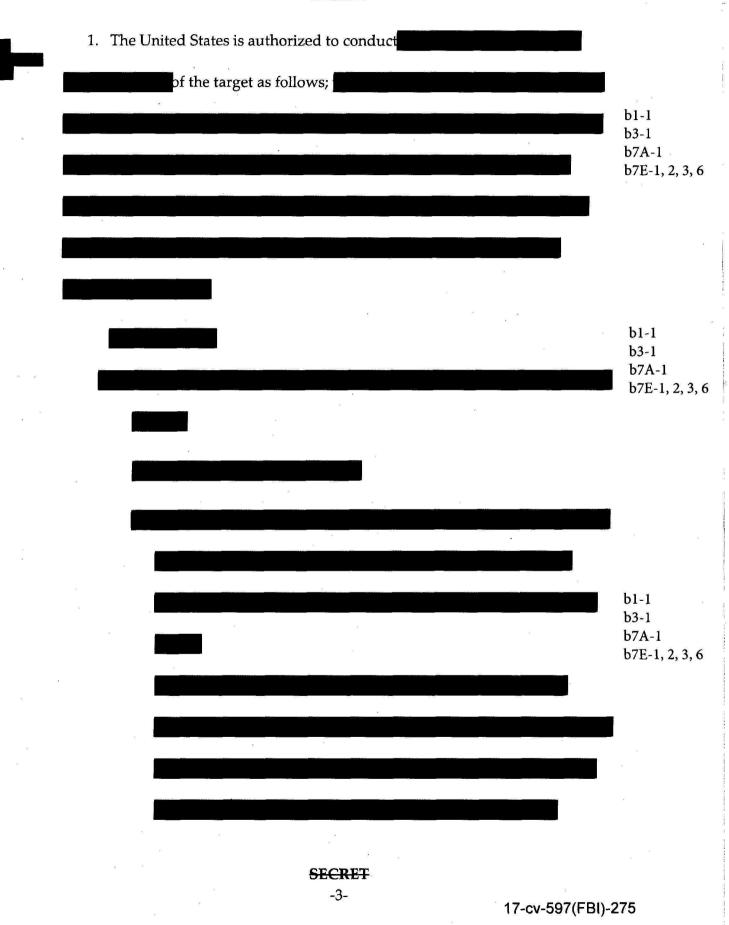
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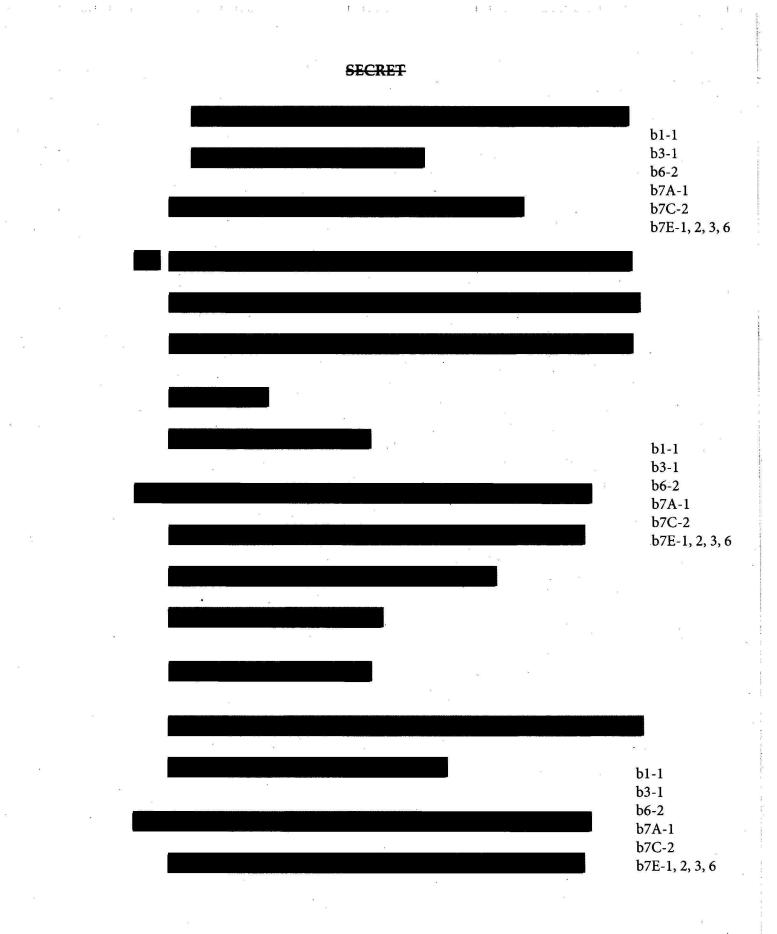


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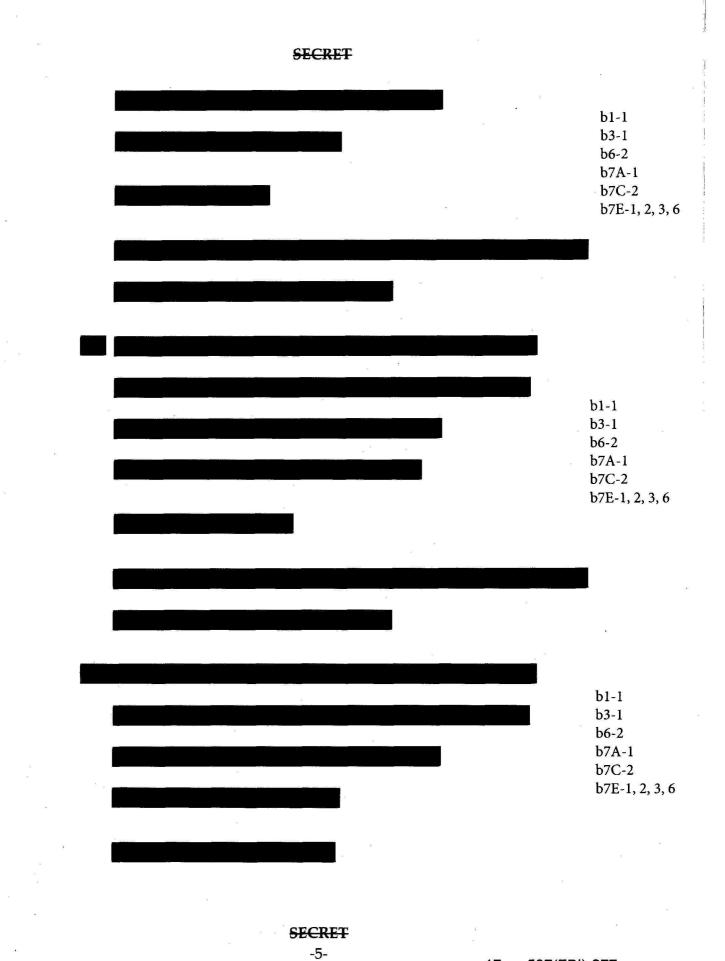
FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

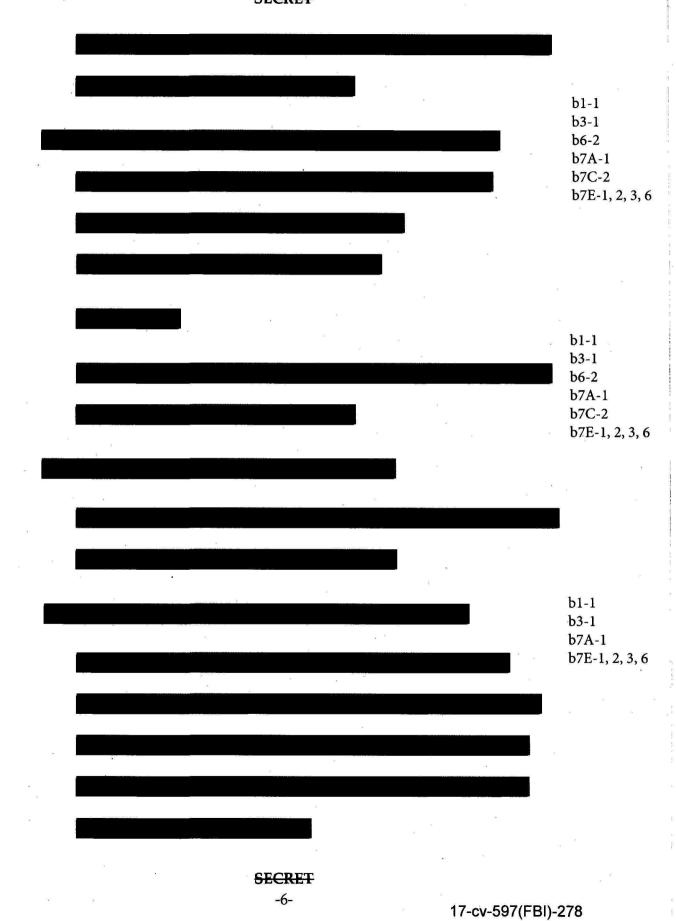


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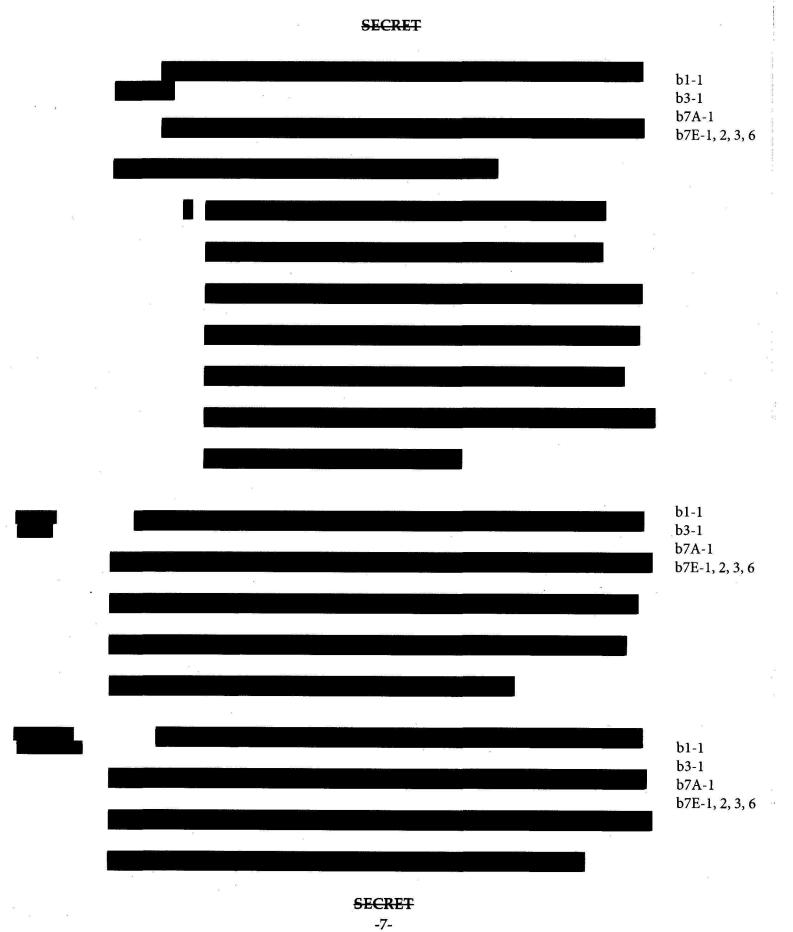
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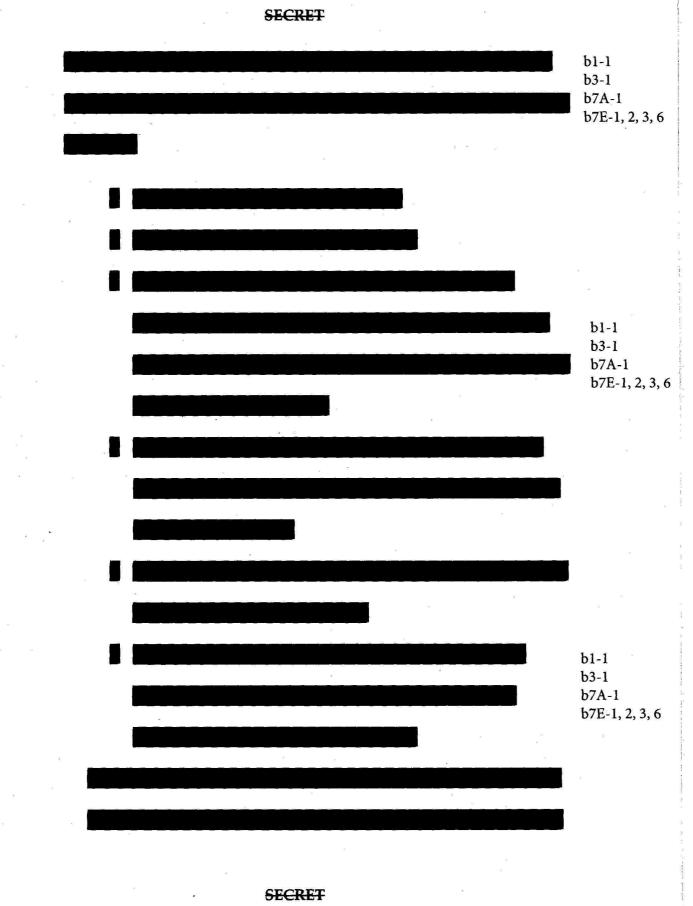
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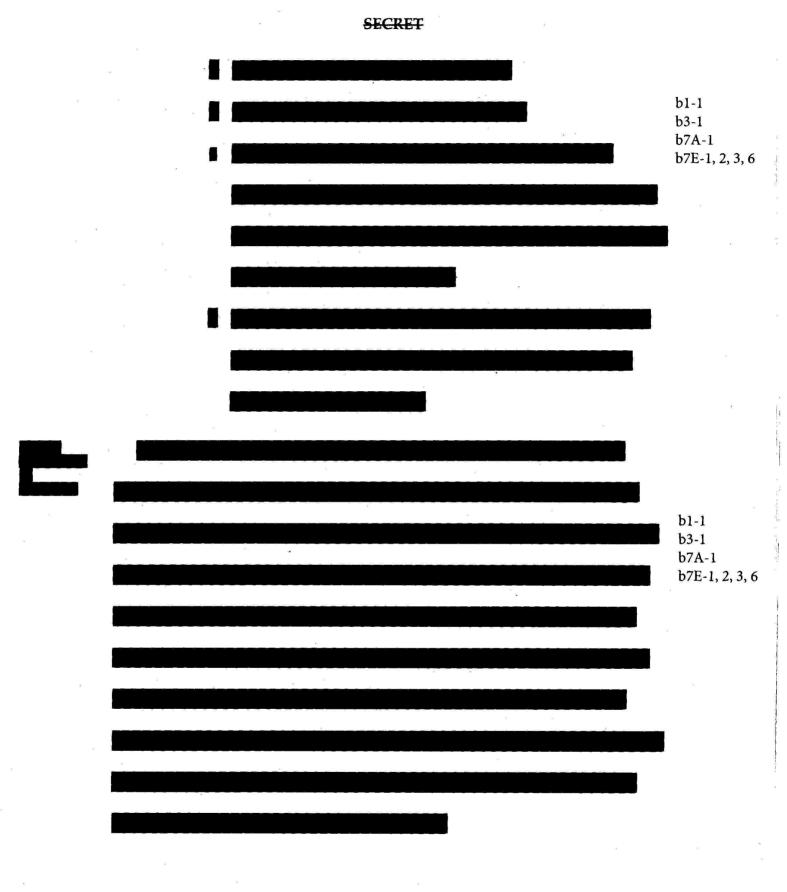
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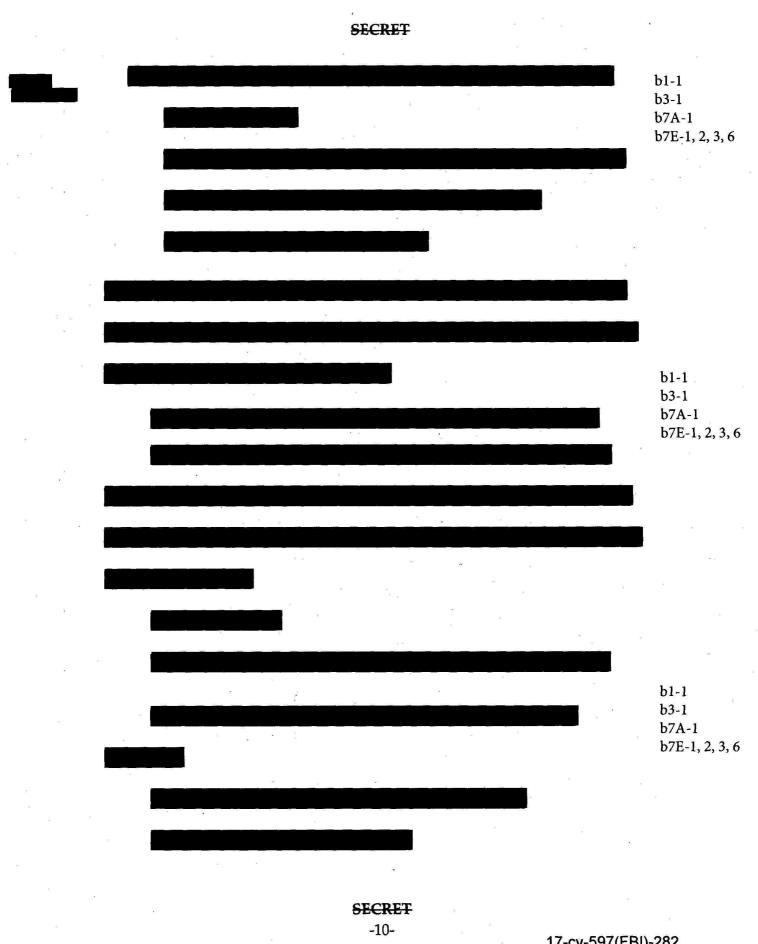




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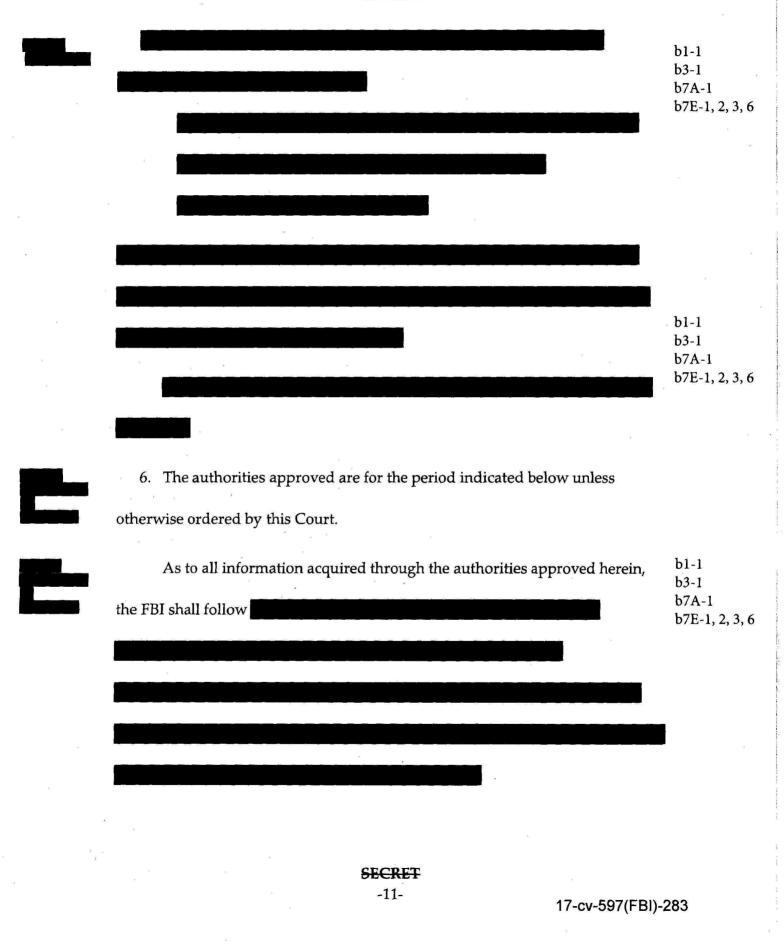


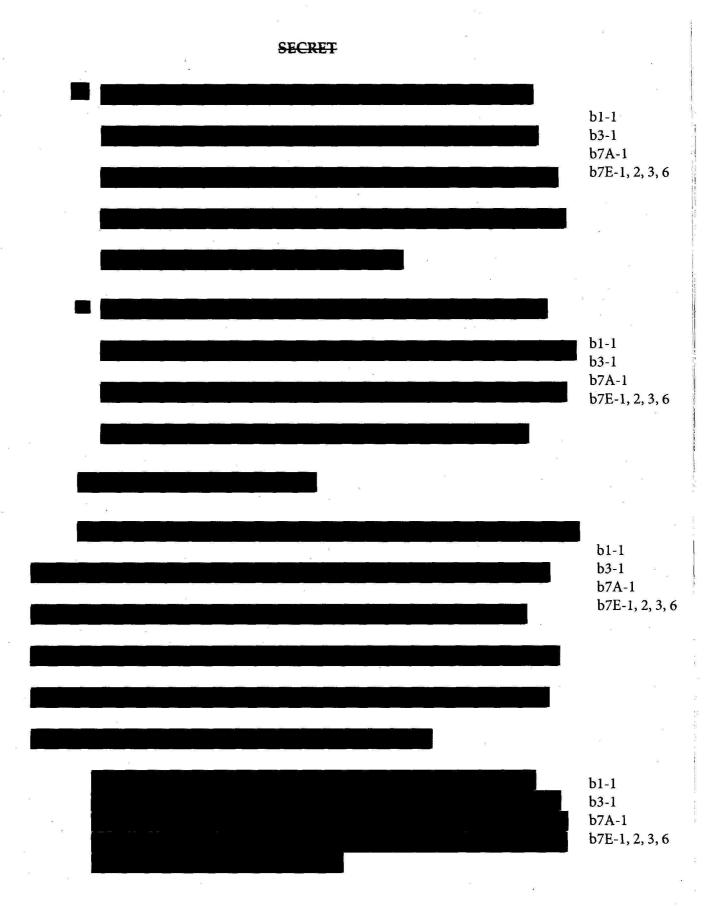
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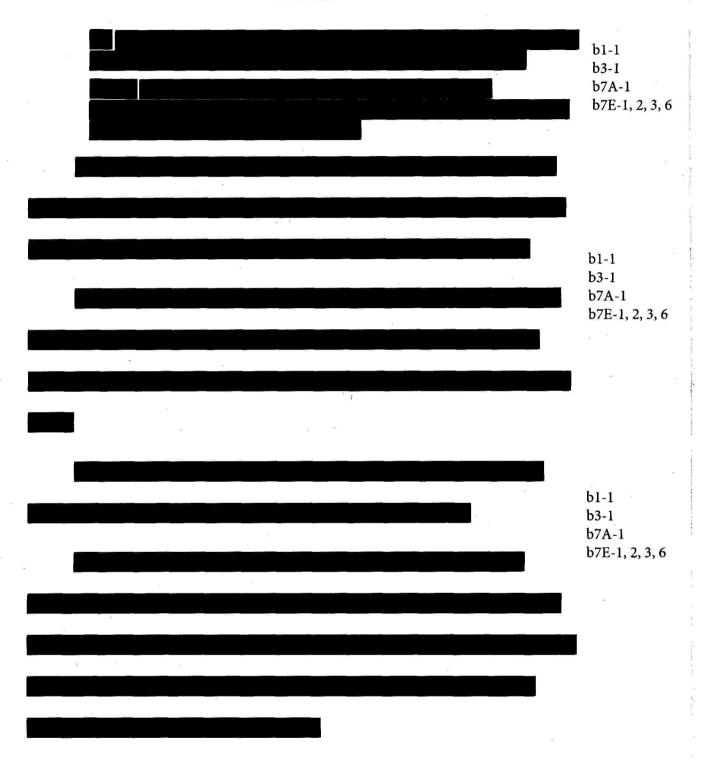
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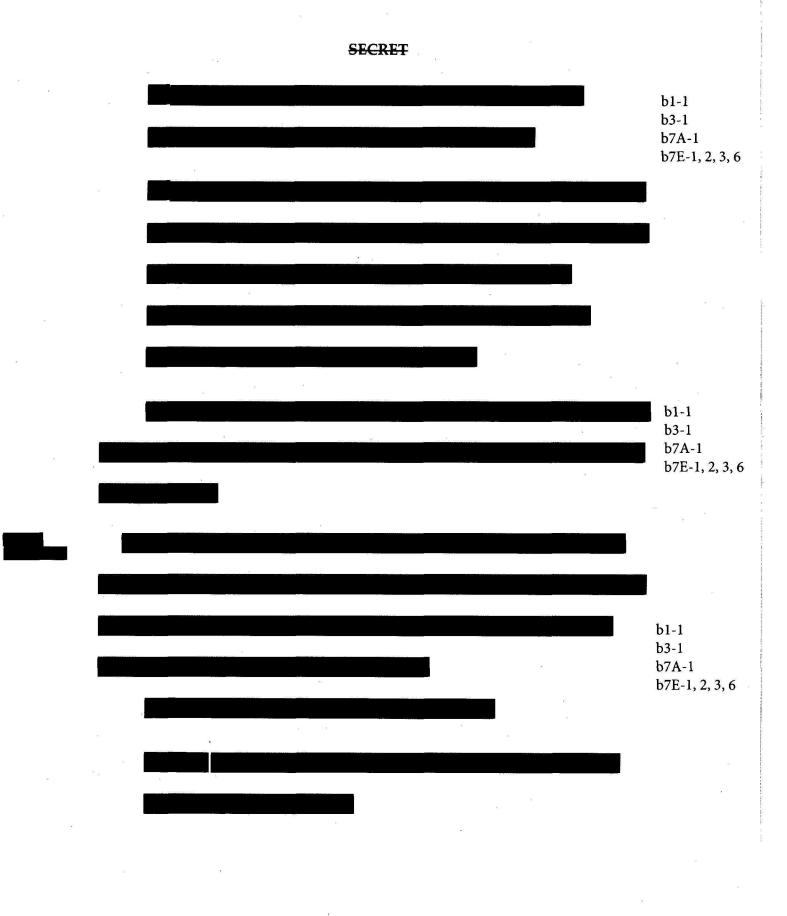


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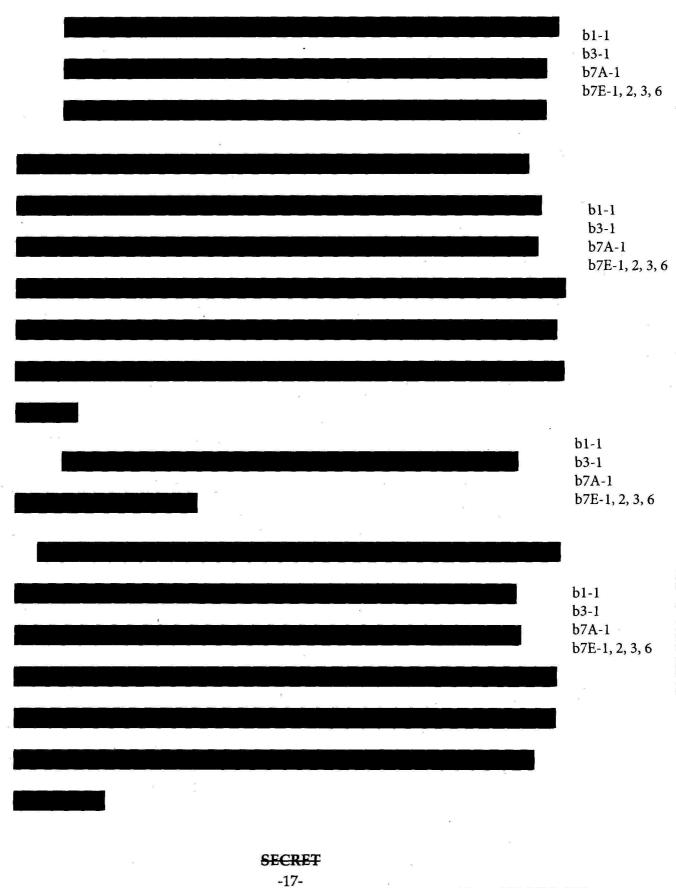


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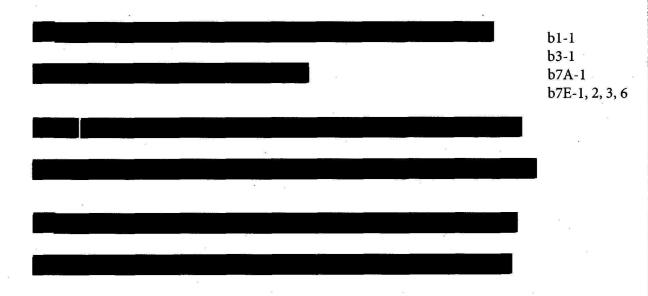
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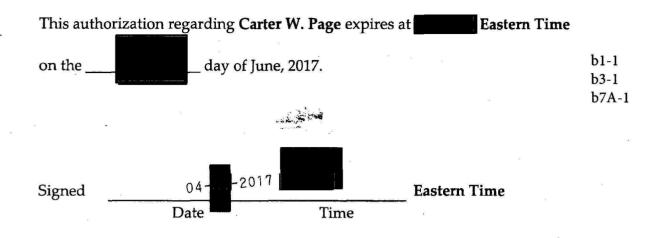




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Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

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UNITED STATES

All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

Classify By: J23J98T32 Reason: (C) Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 06-0-2017 Declassify On:

WASHINGTON, D.C. b3-1 b7A-1

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

PERSON.

Docket Number:

(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

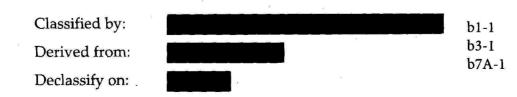
(5) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to

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

1. (U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is		
	b1-1	
	b3-1	
made by second a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau	b6-1	
	b7A-1	
of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervision		
	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. (8) <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 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 status of the target was determined in or about June 2017 from information provided by the U.S. Department of State.

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(X) Statement of Facts The United States relies upon the following facts b1-1 3. b3-1 and circumstances in support of this application. b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



a. (3) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.

(3) 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) (§) 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.

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



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b7A-1 clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for b7E-1, 2 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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knowingly engage in

b3-1

I.

(U) Overview. (X//XX) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct b1-1 b3-1 of Carter Page. The FBI believes that Page has been b6-2 b7A-1 the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(S//XR) Page is a former foreign policy advisor to a Candidate for U.S.

President (Candidate #1).¹ 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. Presidentia	al election.			b3-1 b7A-1
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		b7E-1, 2
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¹ (§) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President. b1-1 Although Candidate #1 is now the President, in order to maintain the historical b3-1 accuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the original b7A-1 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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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

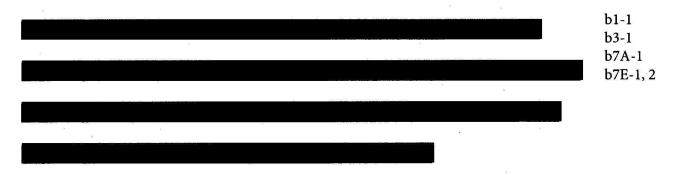
II. (U) (\$//NR) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.

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

(\$//MY) 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."

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





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

Democratic National Committee (DNC). ²	b1-1
и	b3-1
	b7A-1
T T	b7E-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."

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

² (S//NK) 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

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].

(\$%/N\$F) 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)	1
	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.

(S/NF) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the

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

foreign policy team.	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1 b7D-1
the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the	b7E-1, 2
2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other	1
individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign.	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1 b7D-1
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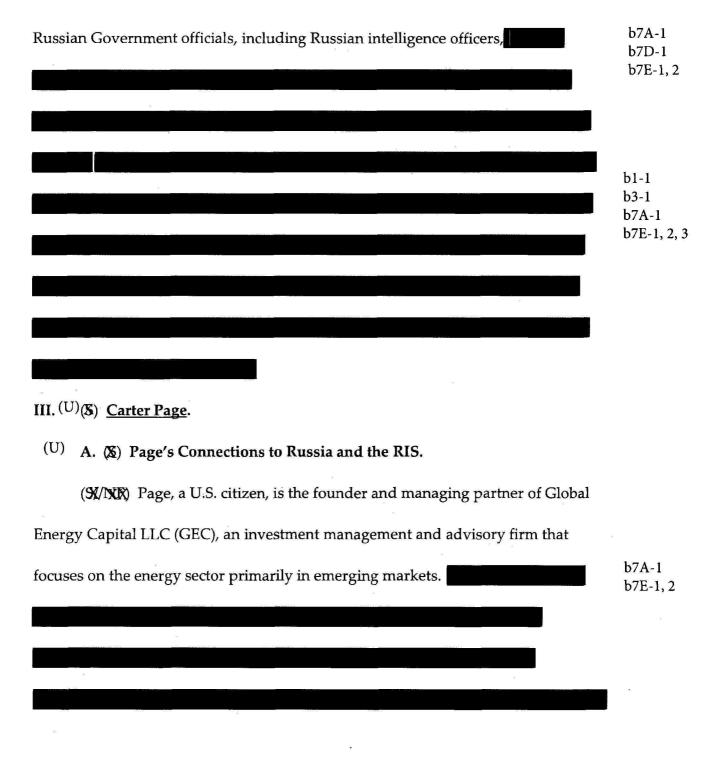
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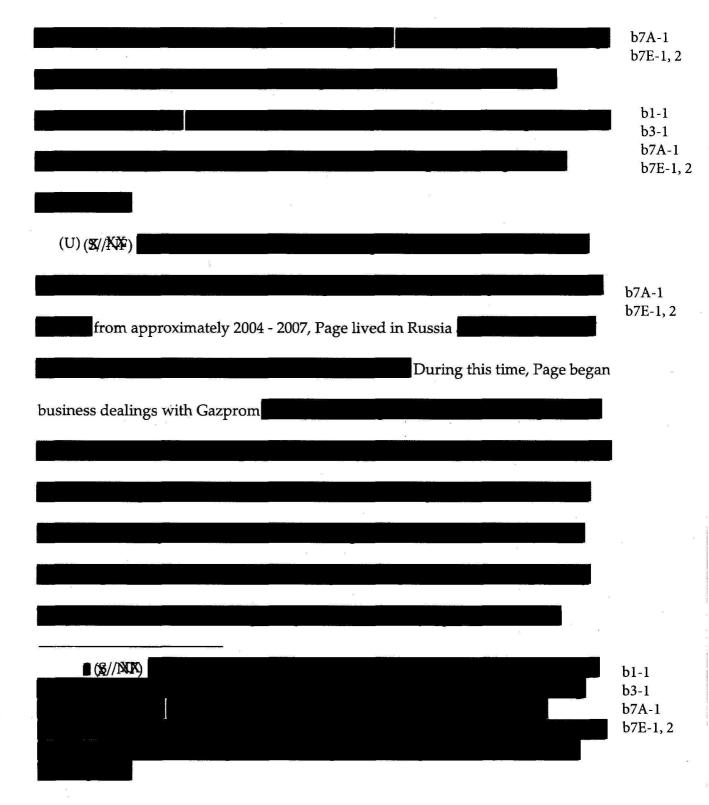
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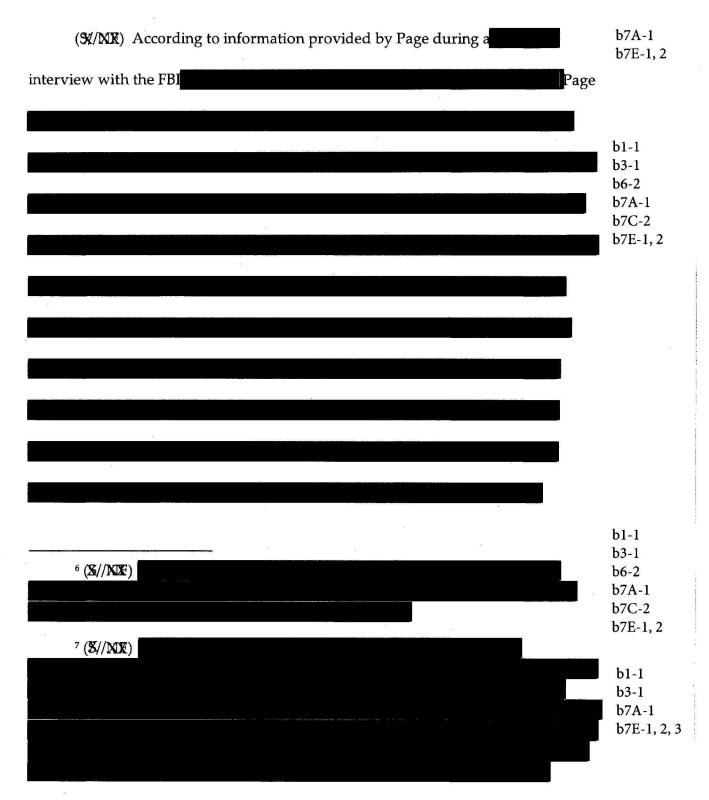
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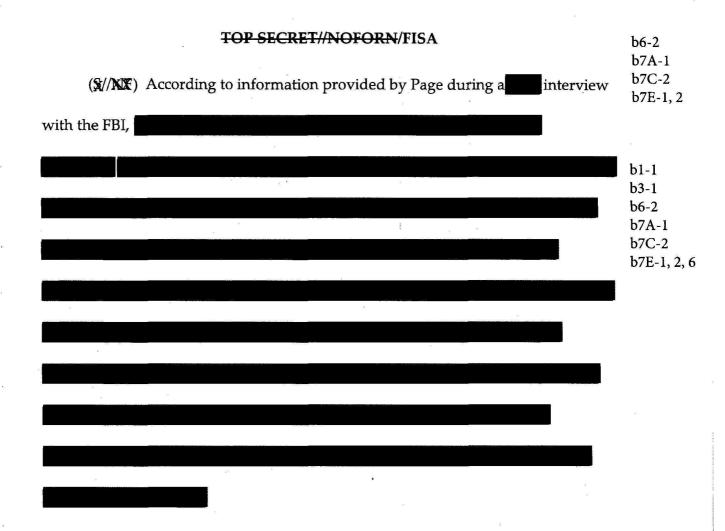
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(ST/XXF As discussed below, Page has established relationships with	b3-1 b7E-1, 2
4 (S//XXX)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

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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

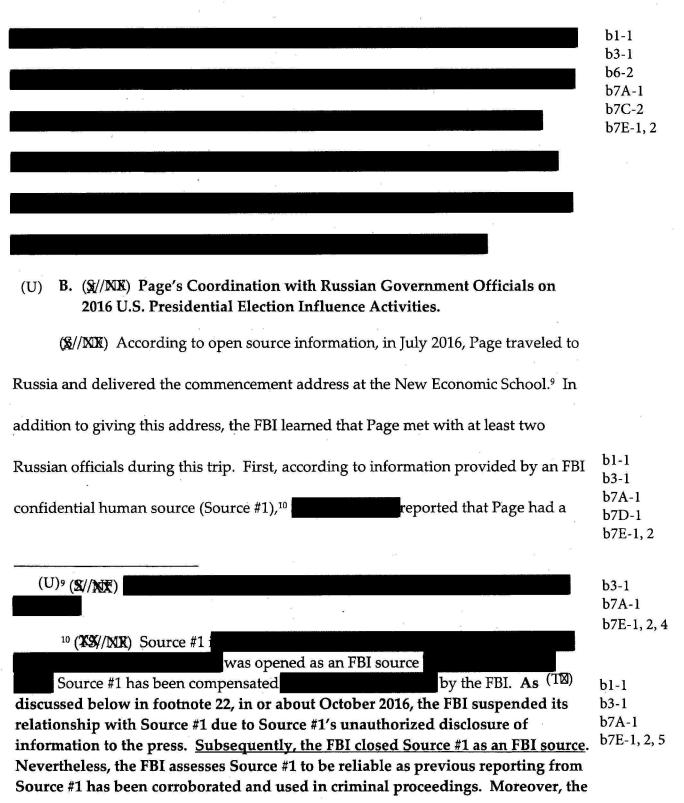
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Russia.⁸ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.

(\$//\$)	F)	b1-1
		b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1
		b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
		07E-1, 2
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⁽U) ⁸ (X/XX) 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.



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) (K%//NK) 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)(**XX**/**IXR**) 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.

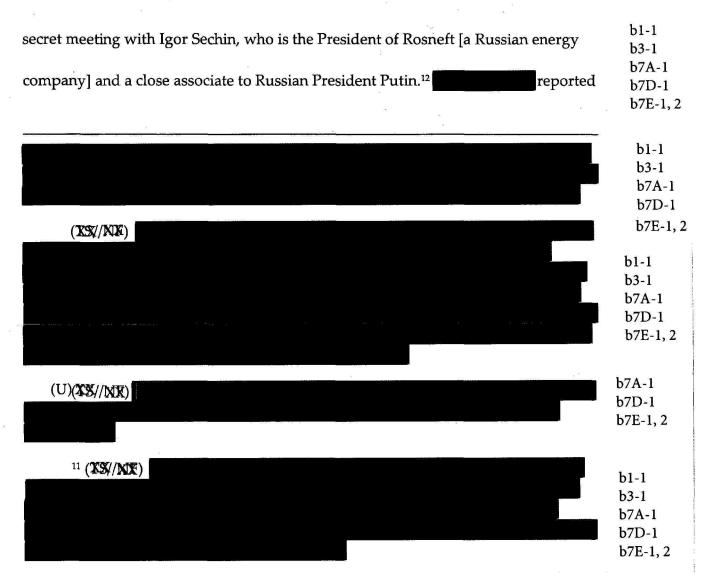
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(XX//XX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI believes Source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

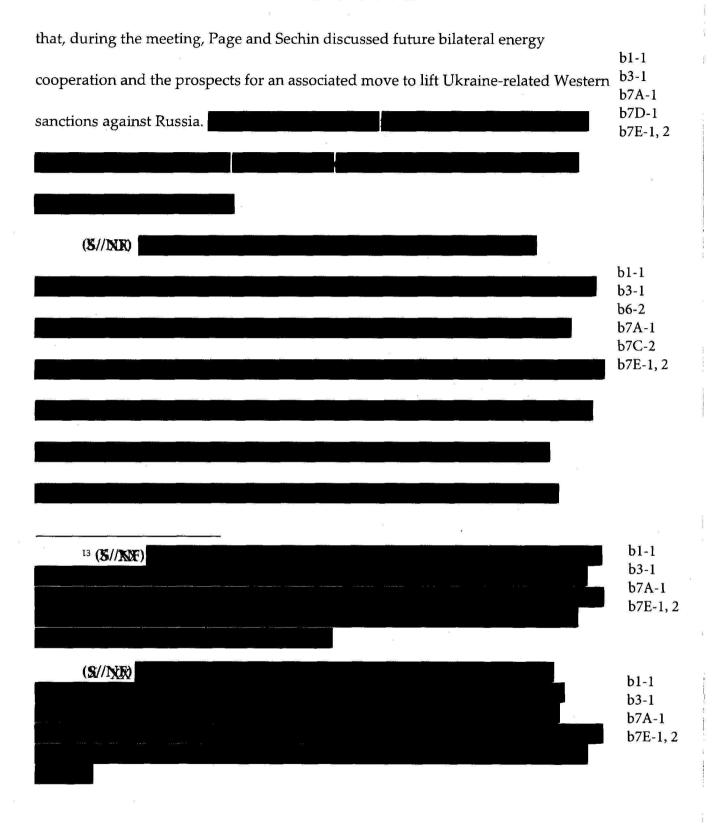


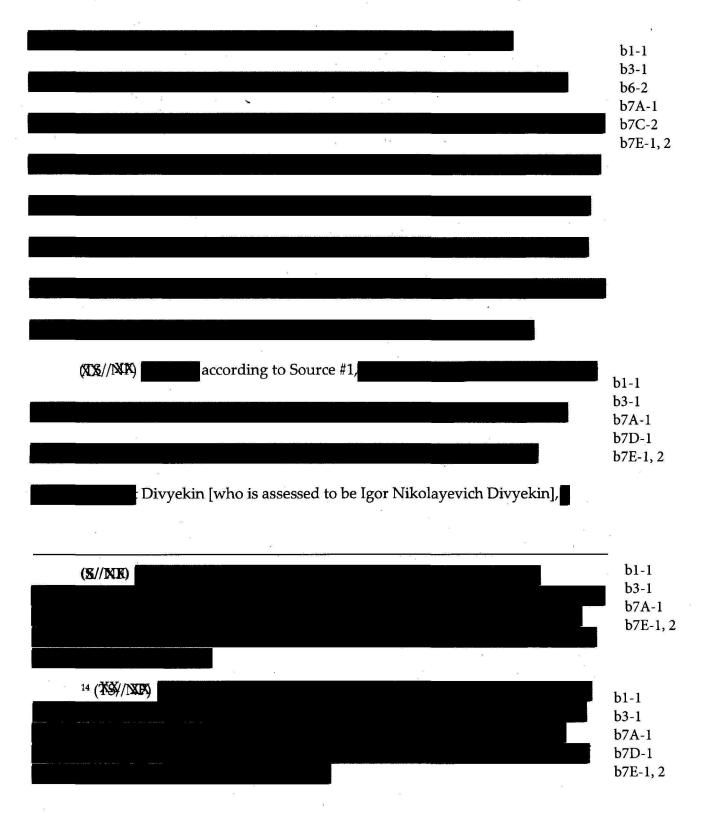
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¹² (S//NX) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as 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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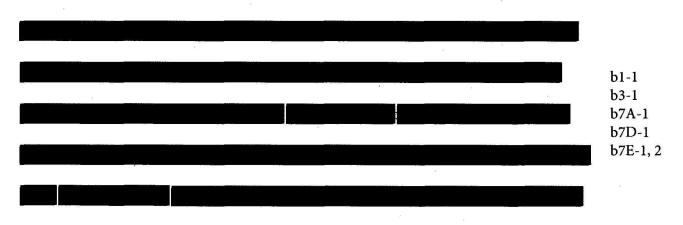
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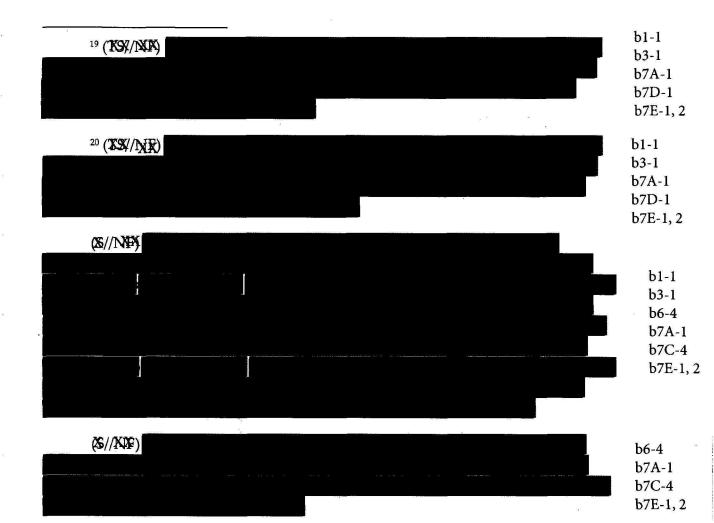
had met secretly with Page	b1-1
and that their agenda for the meeting included Divyekin raising a dossier or	b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1
"kompromat" ¹⁵ that the Kremlin possessed on Candidate #2 and the possibility of it	b7E-1, 2
being released to Candidate #1's campaign. ¹⁶	
(U) ¹⁵ (3) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.	
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	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
¹⁷ (XS//NR)	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1
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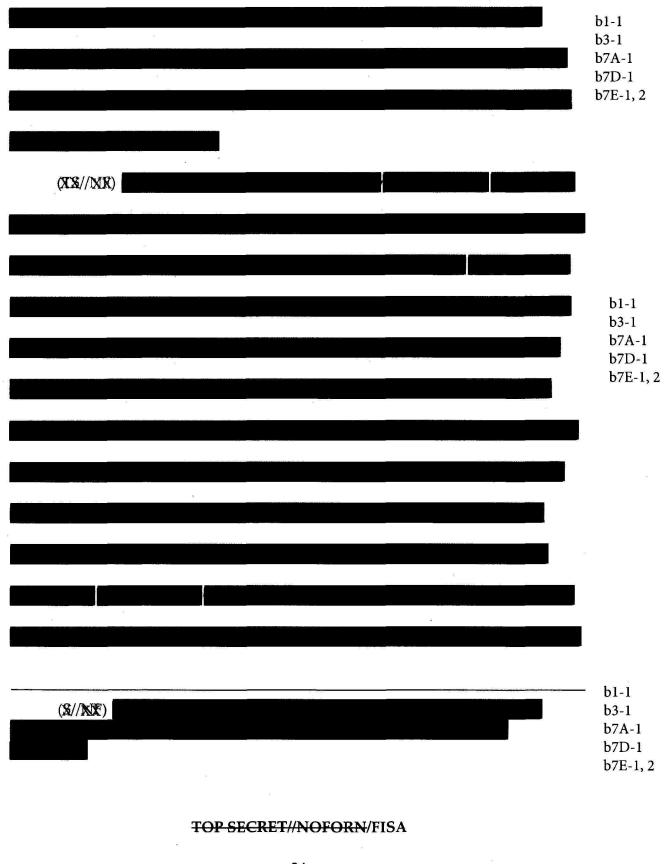
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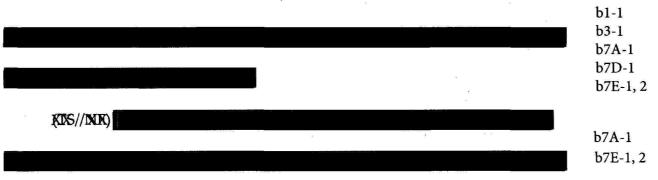
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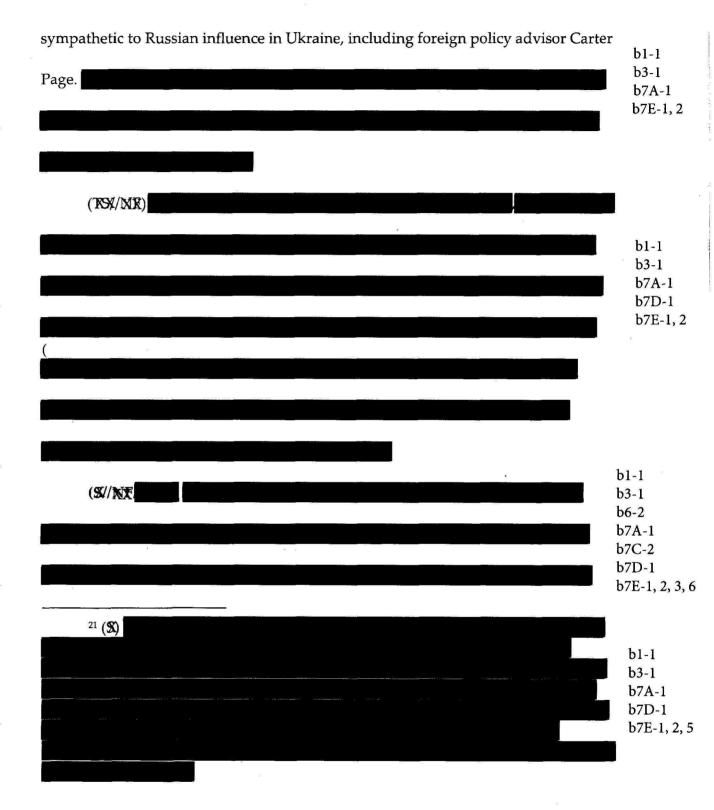




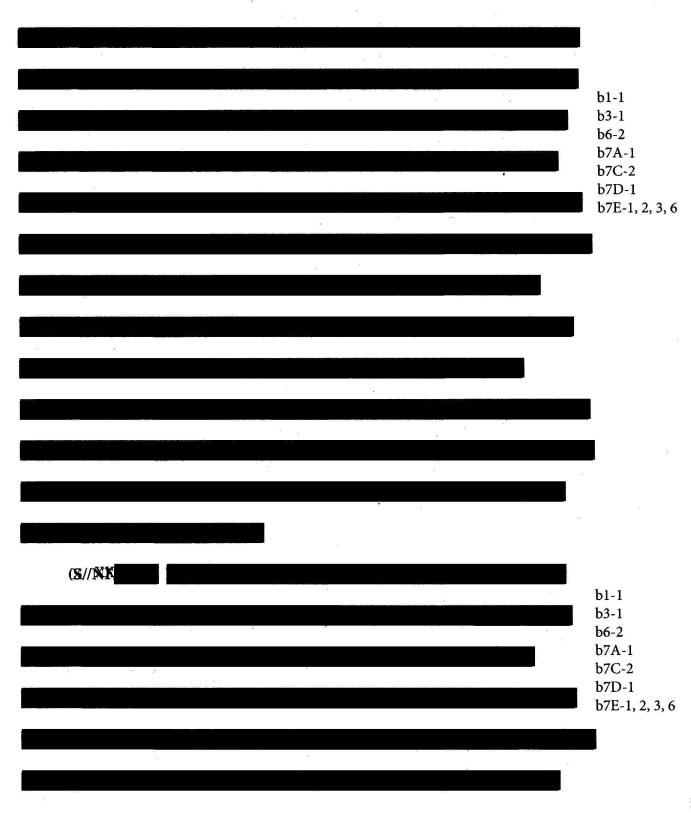
a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign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

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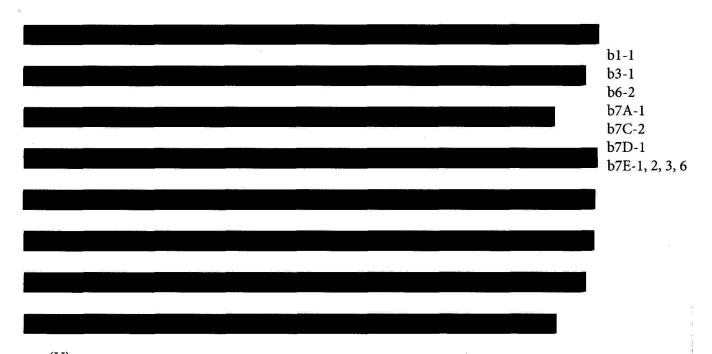


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IV. ^(U)(S//XX) <u>Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to</u> <u>Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election</u>.

(U) (%/MR) 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.²²

²² (**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.

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

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//NK) 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) (§//NXE) 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"

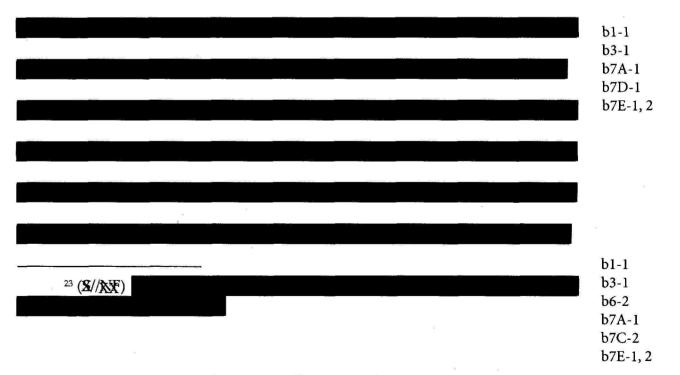
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(U) (S//XVF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director.

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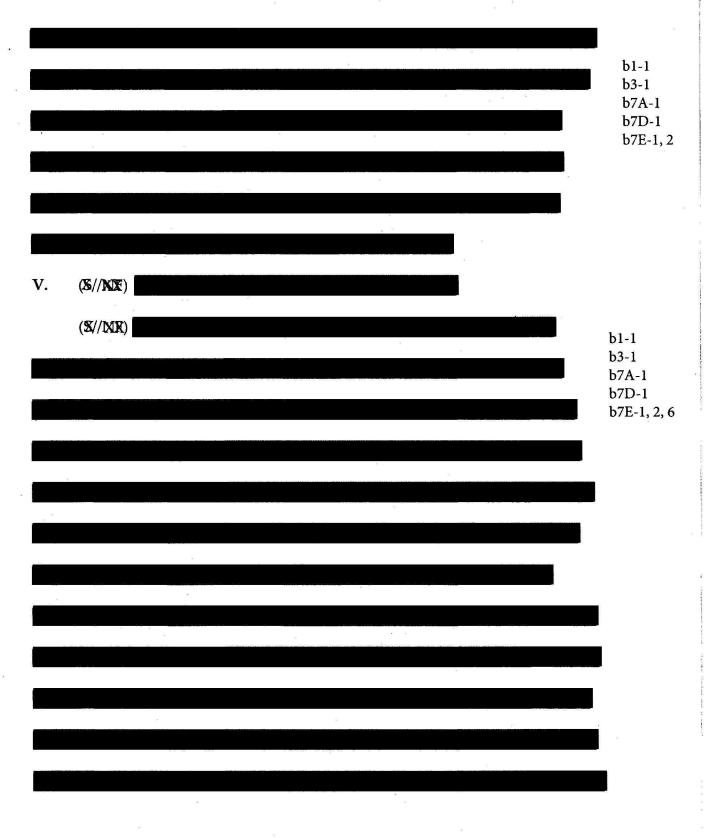
In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would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

(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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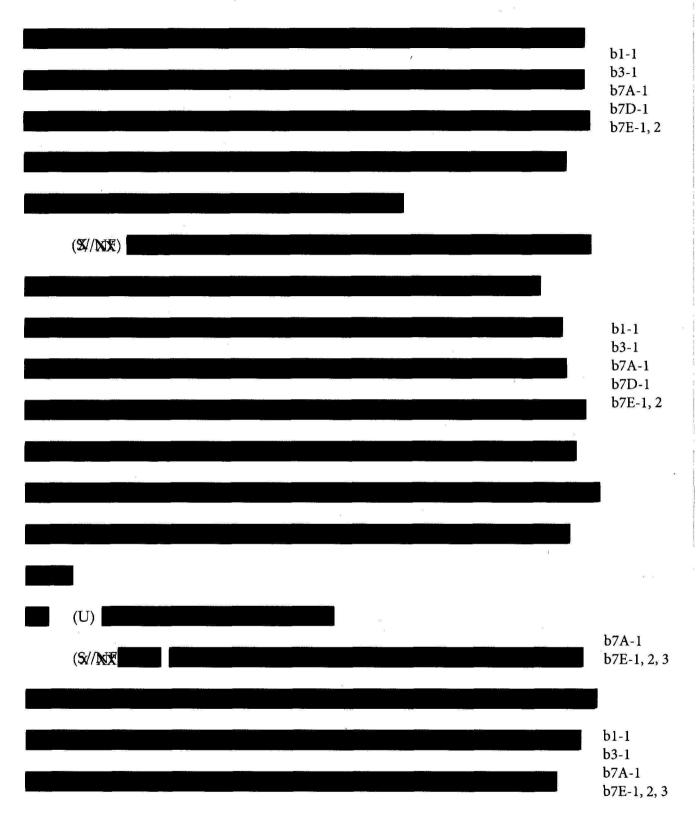
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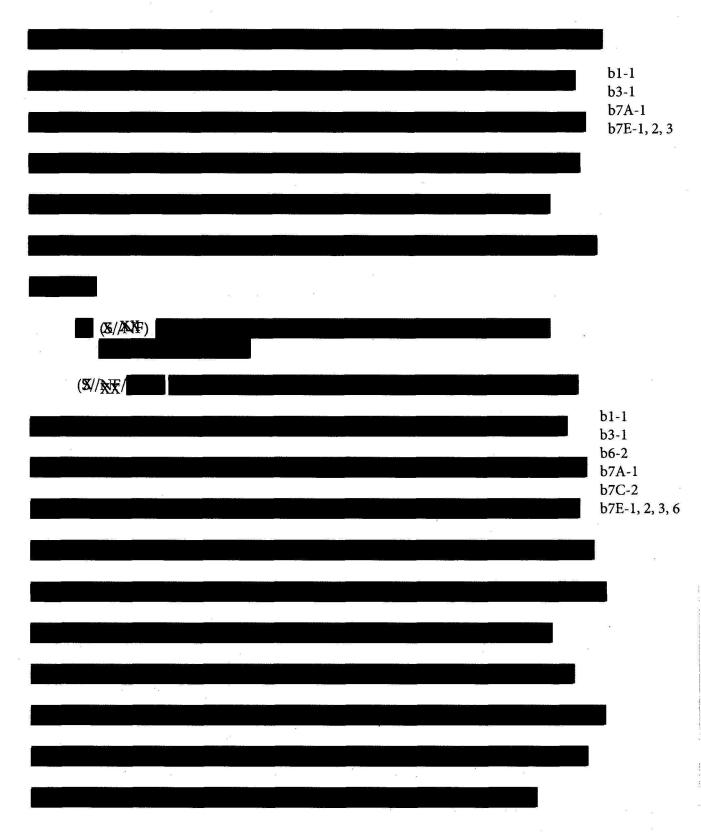
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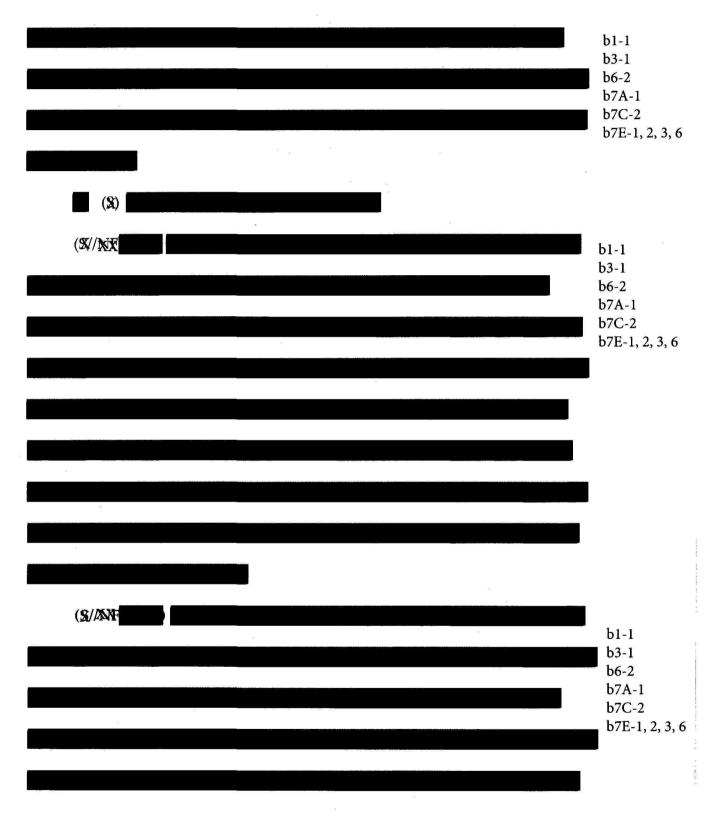
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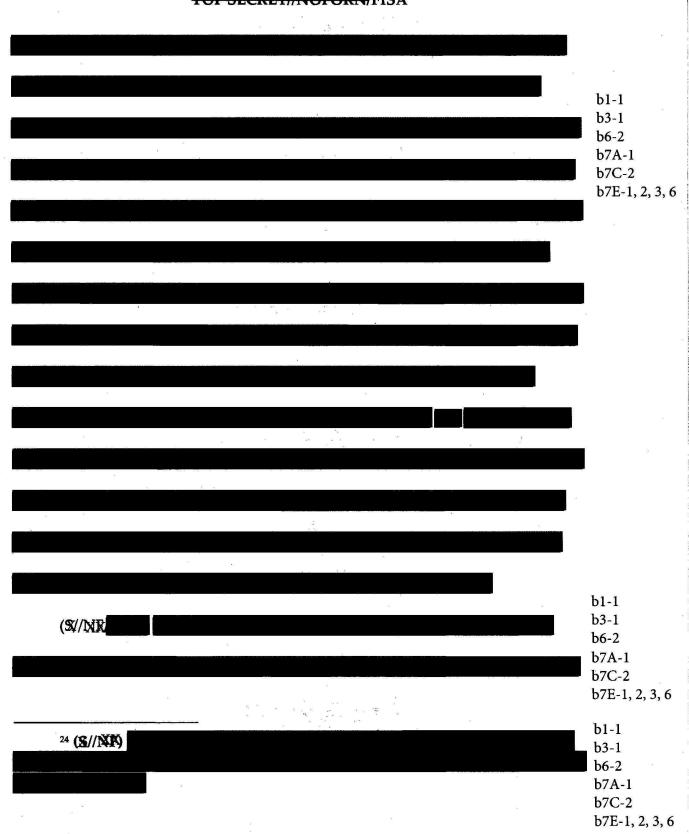
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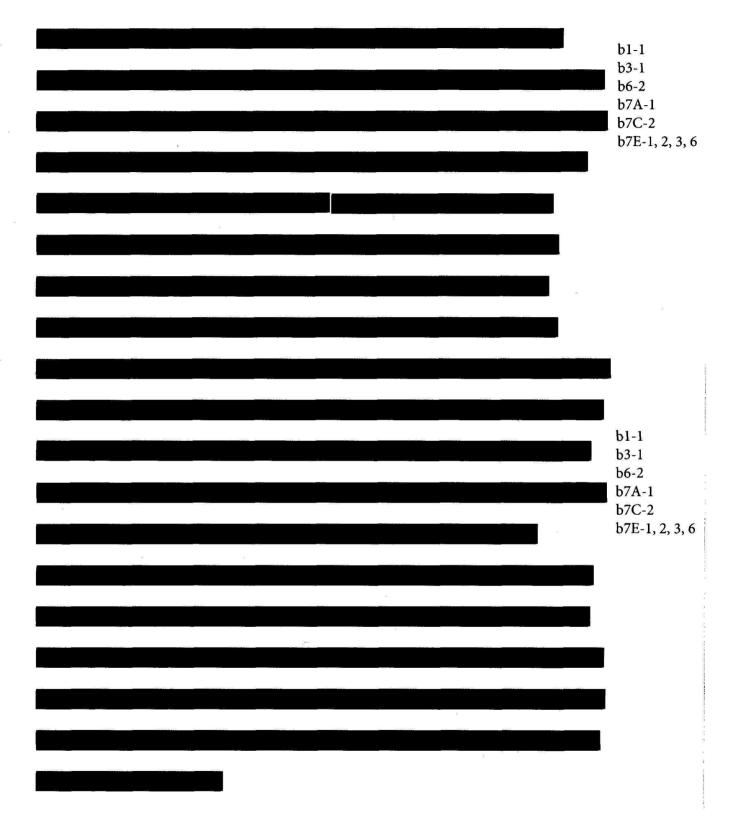
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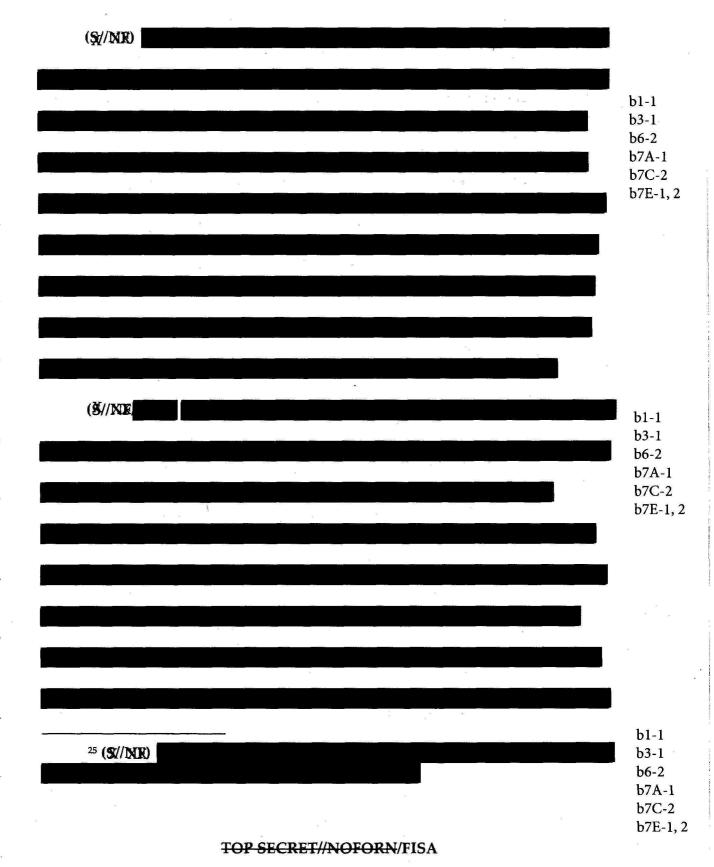
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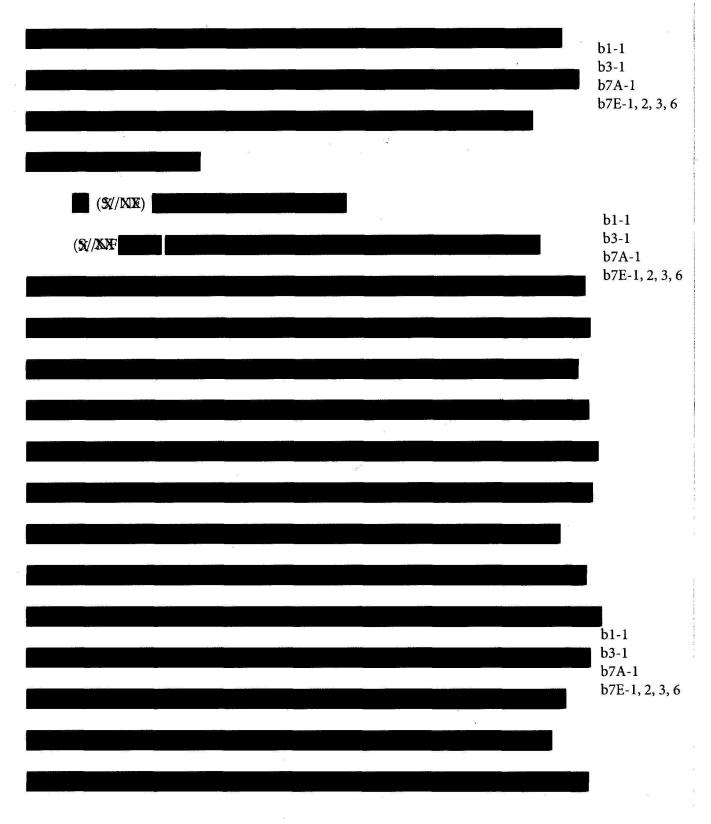




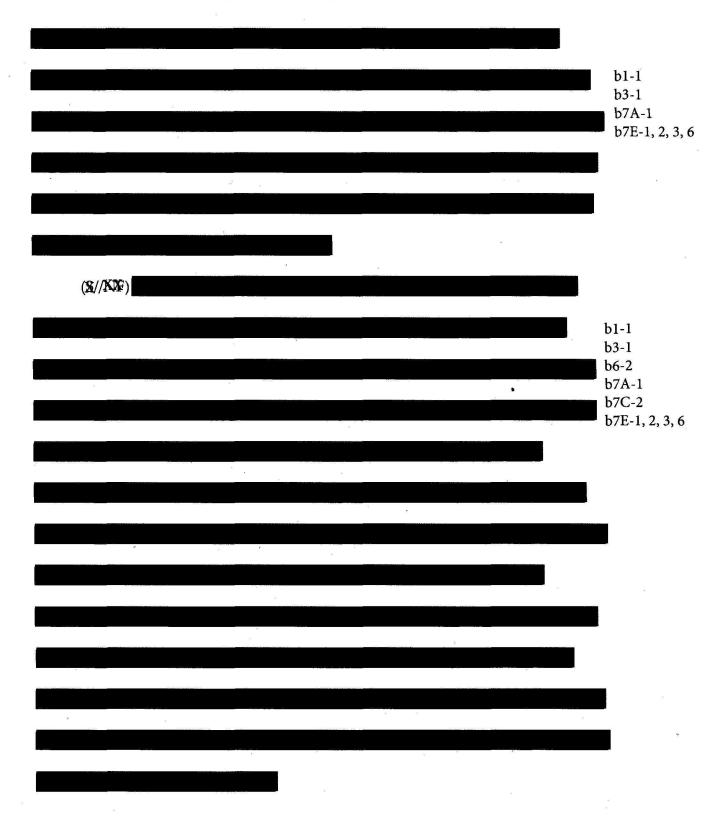
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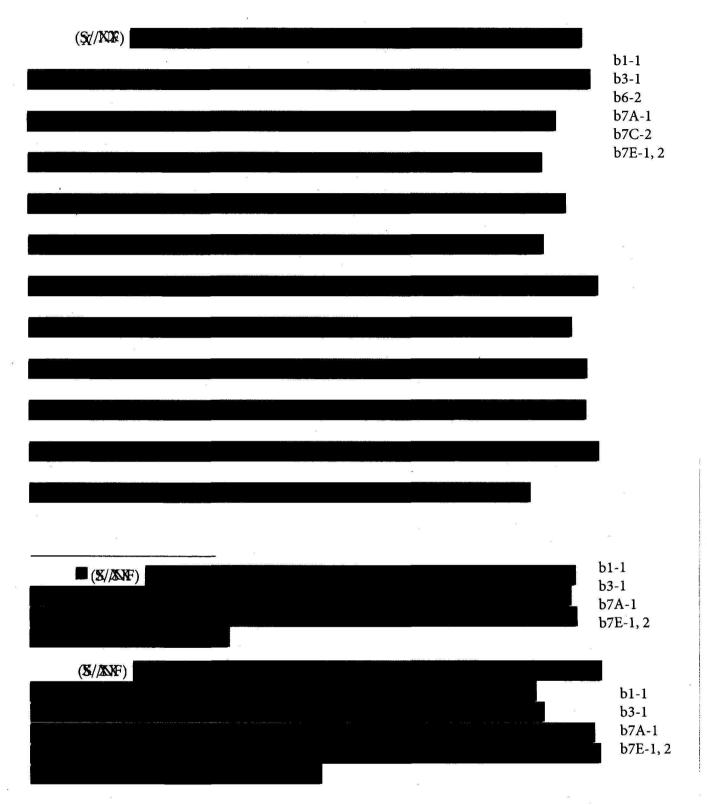


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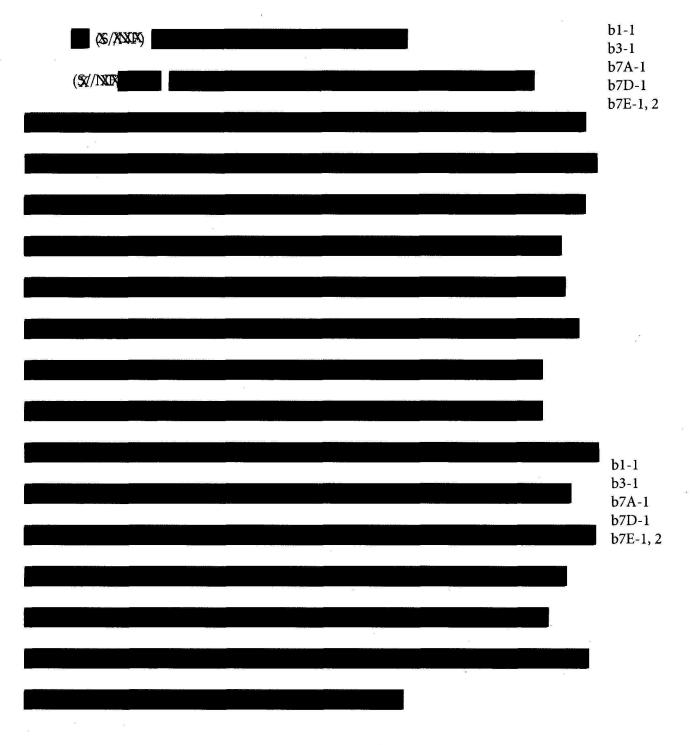
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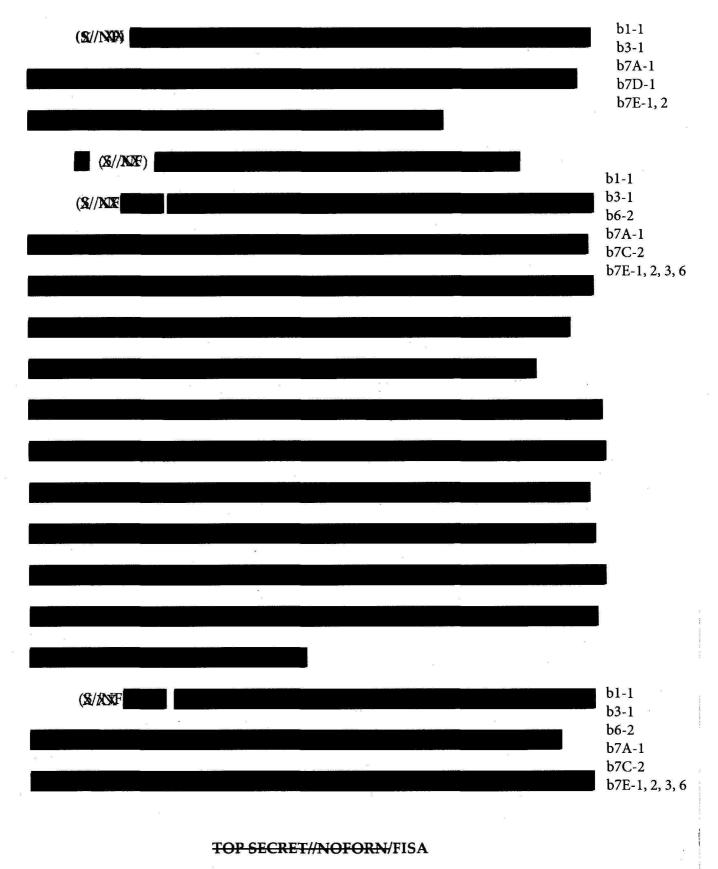
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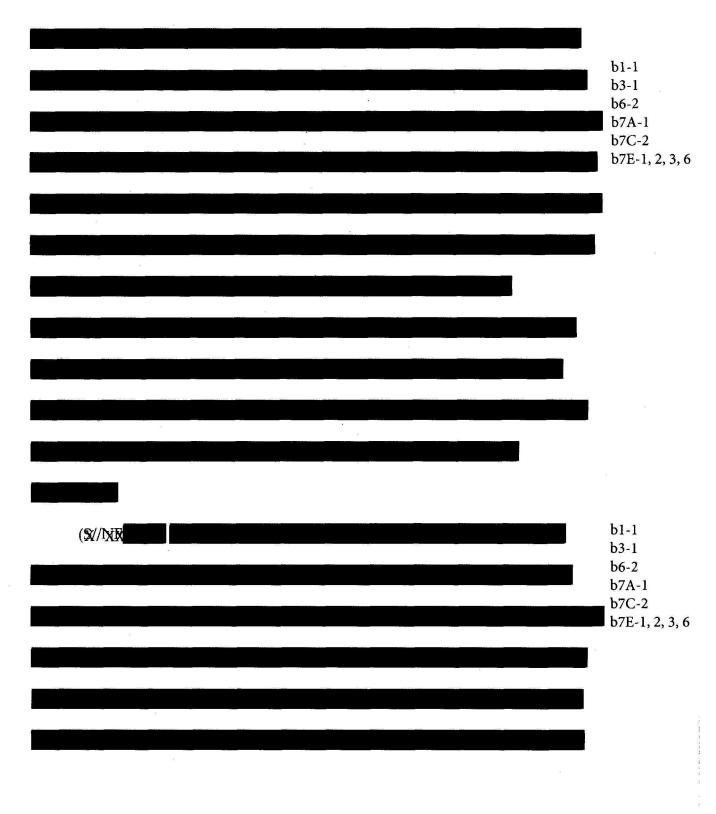
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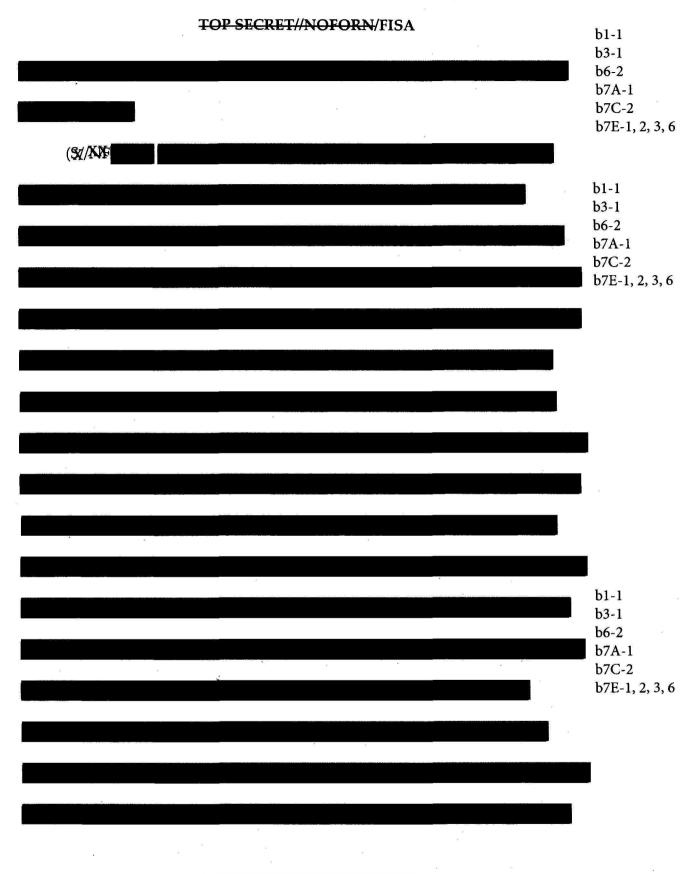
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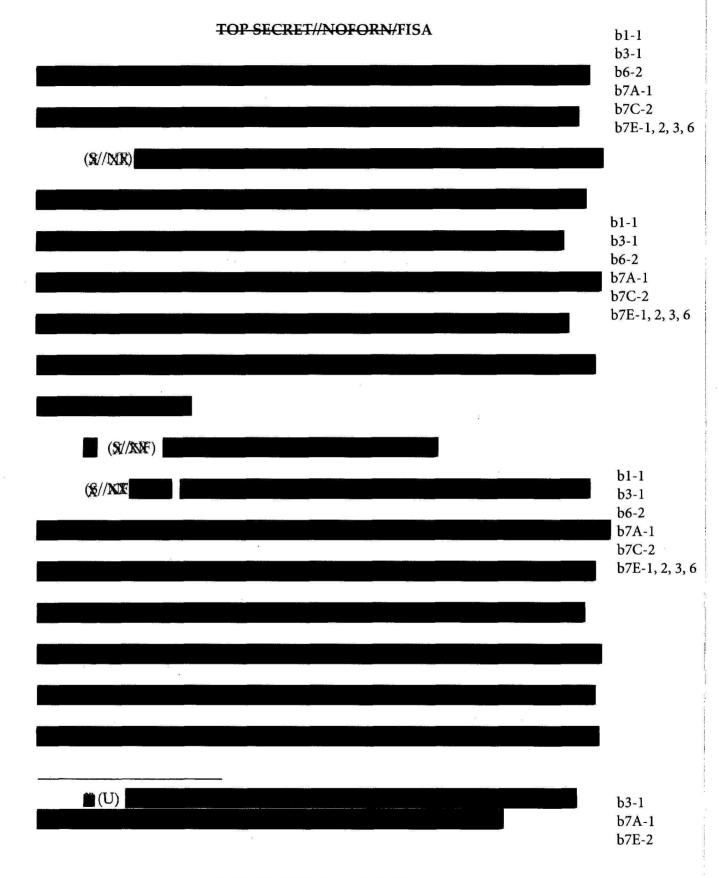
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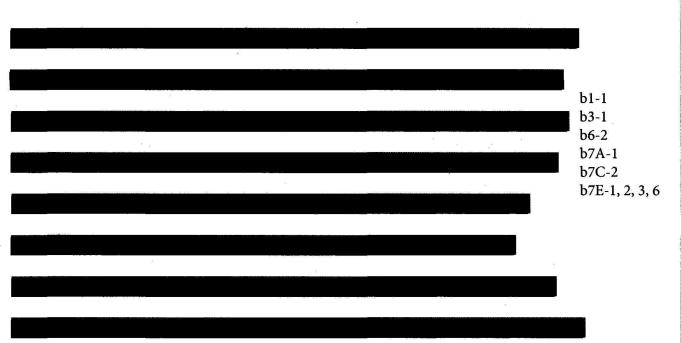
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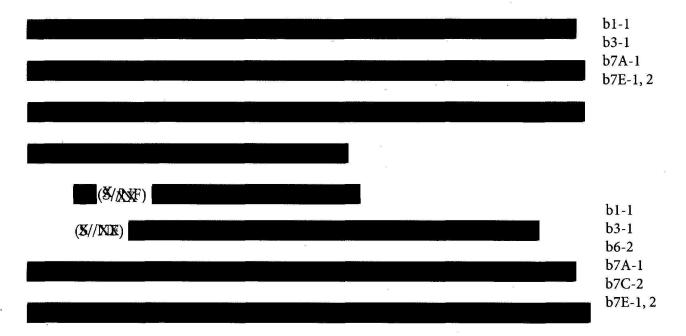


(U) G. (SAXF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

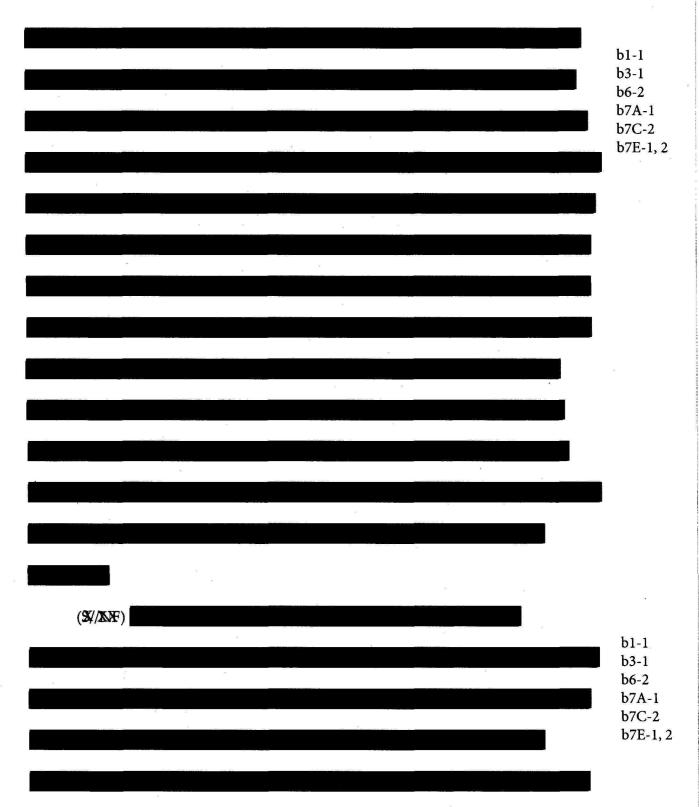
(%//XXF) In or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members 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.



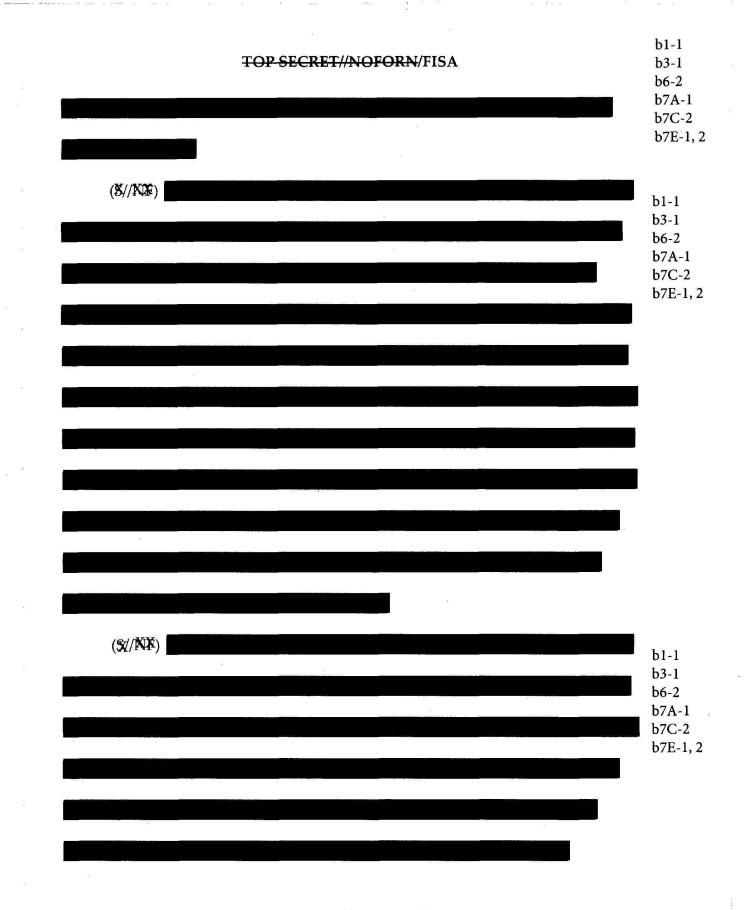
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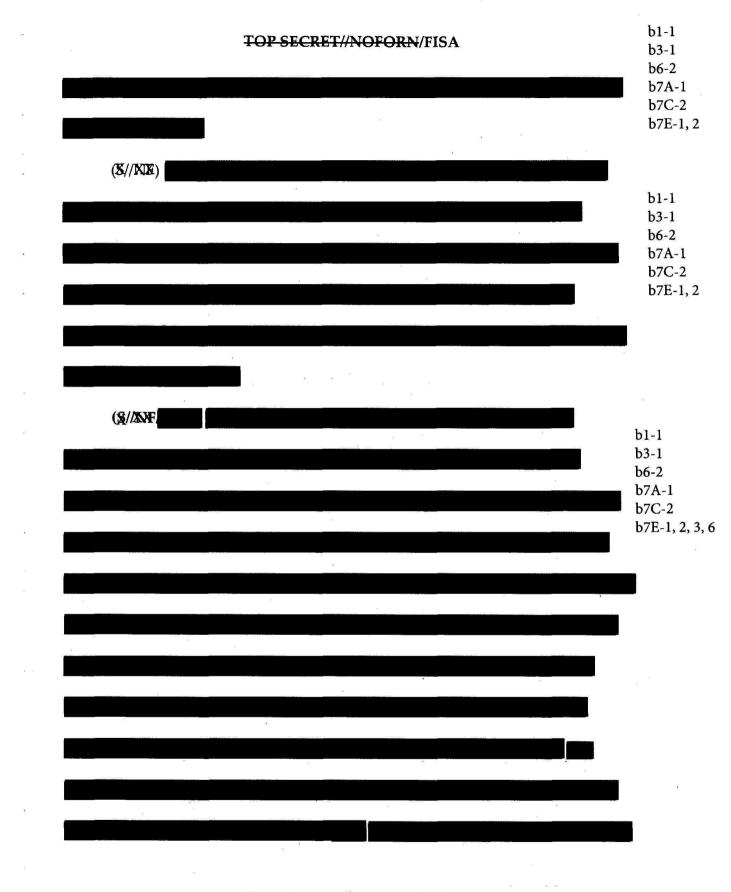
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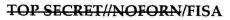


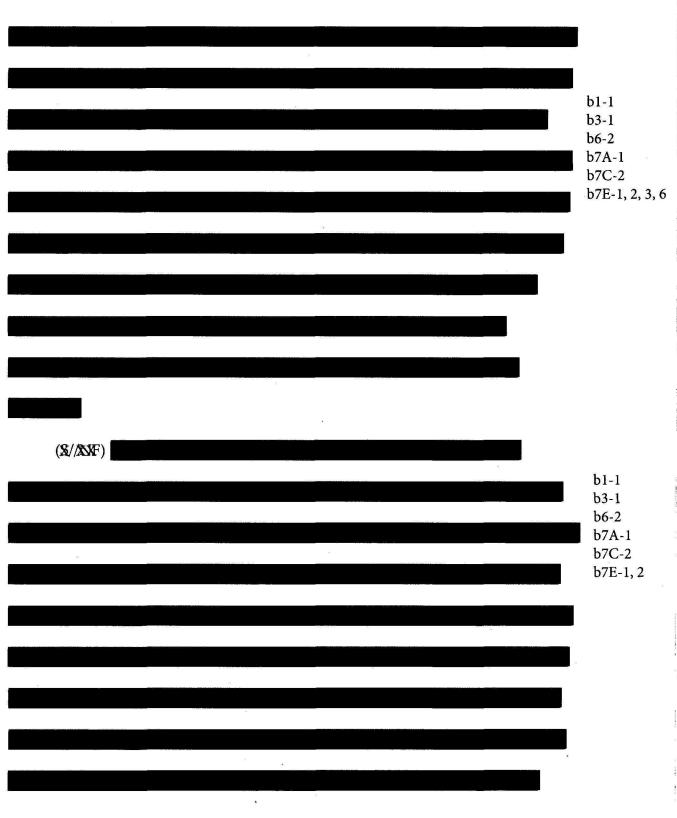
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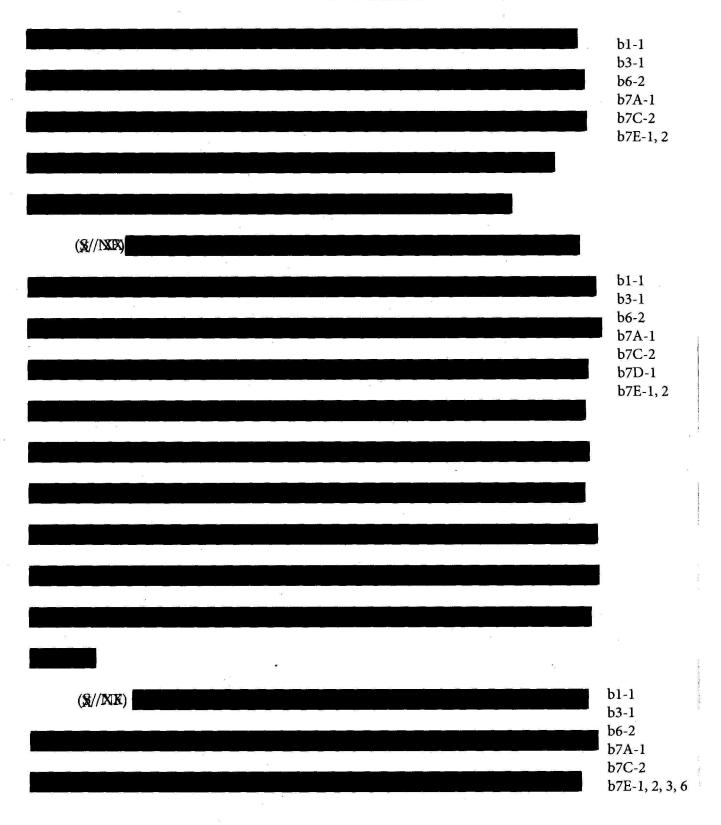
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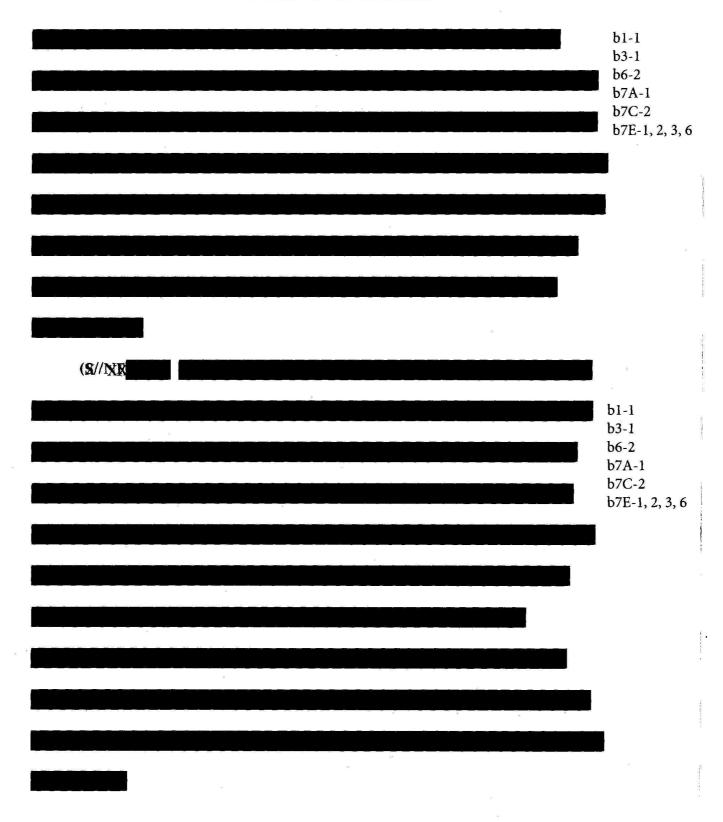




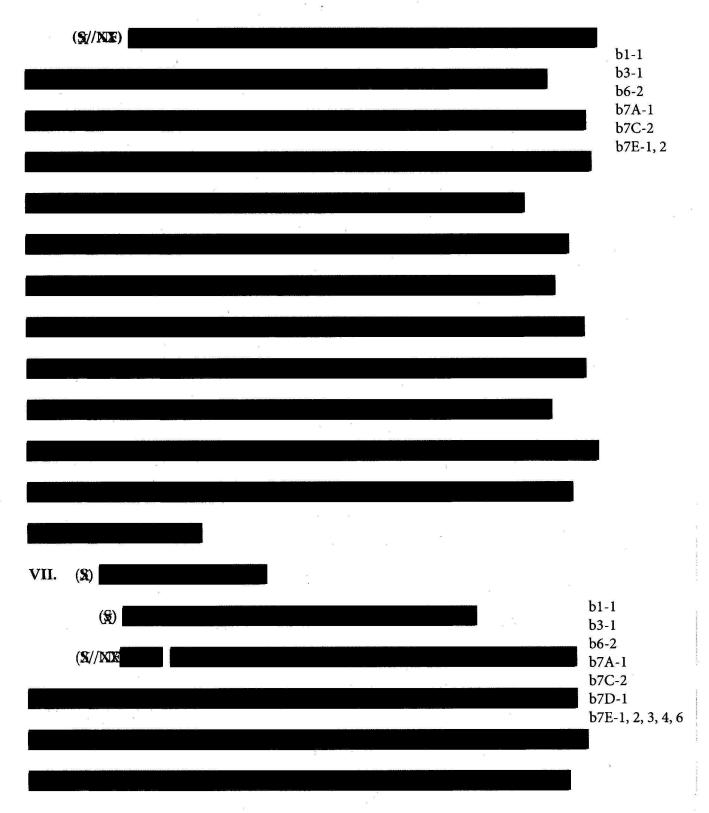
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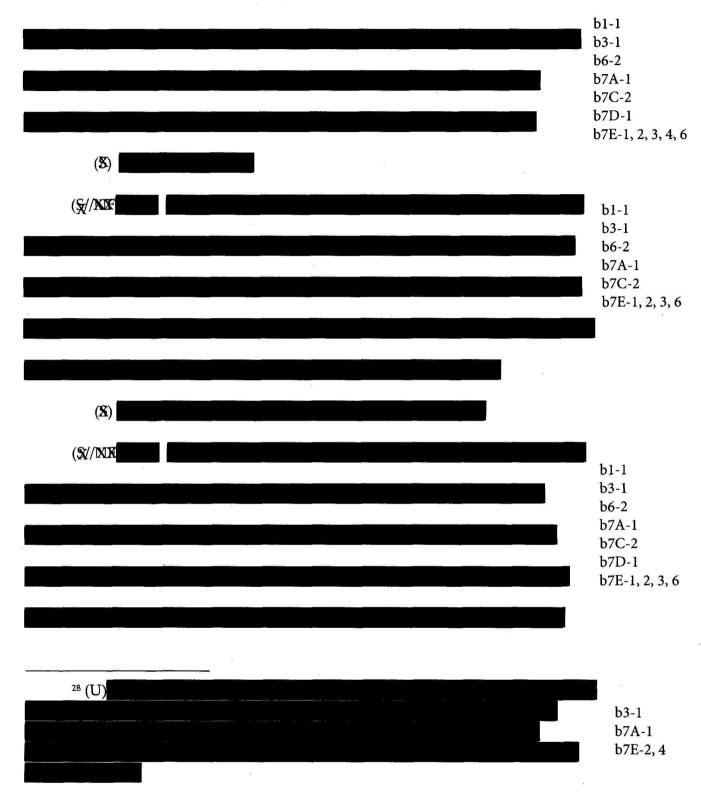


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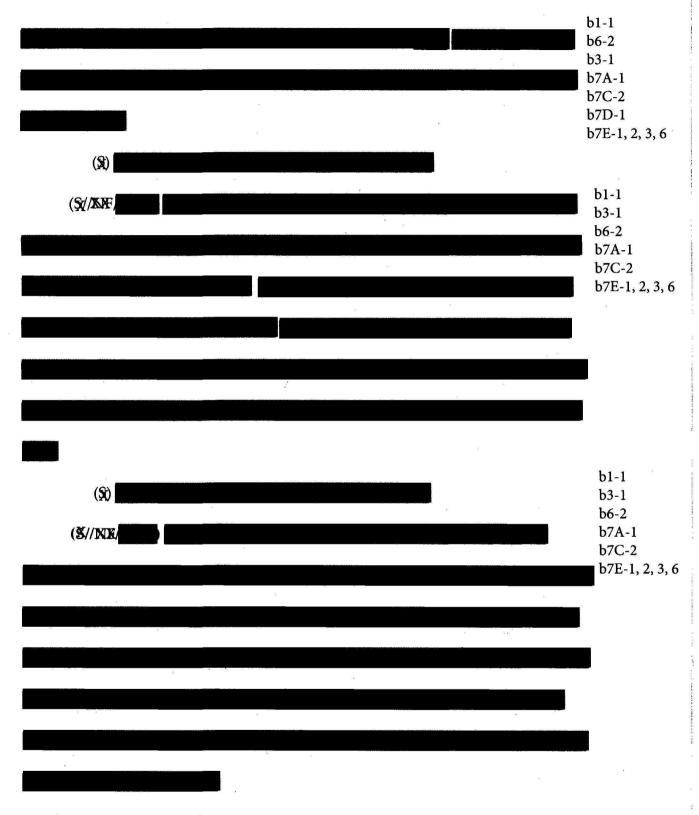
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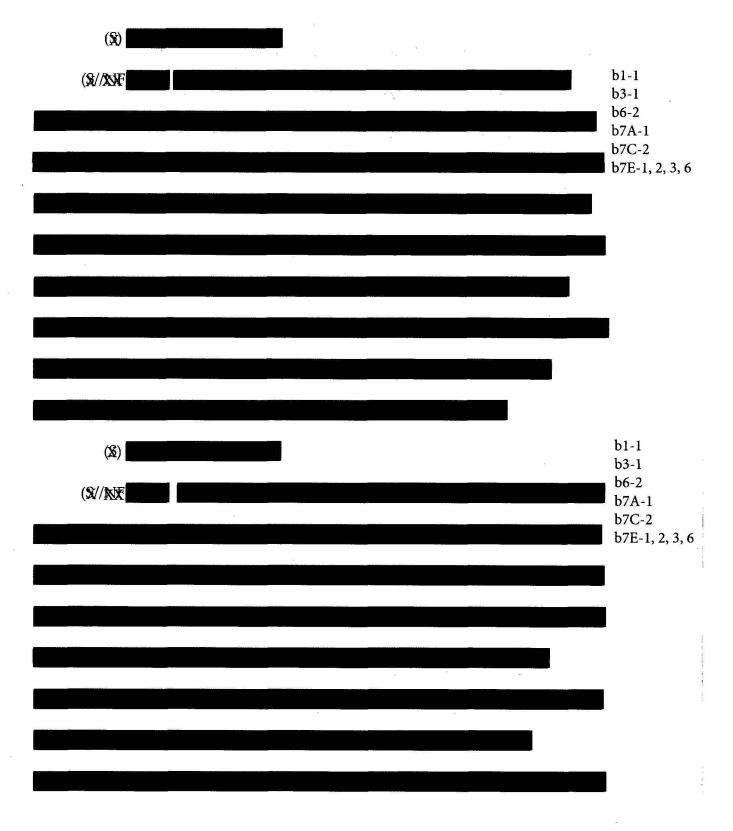


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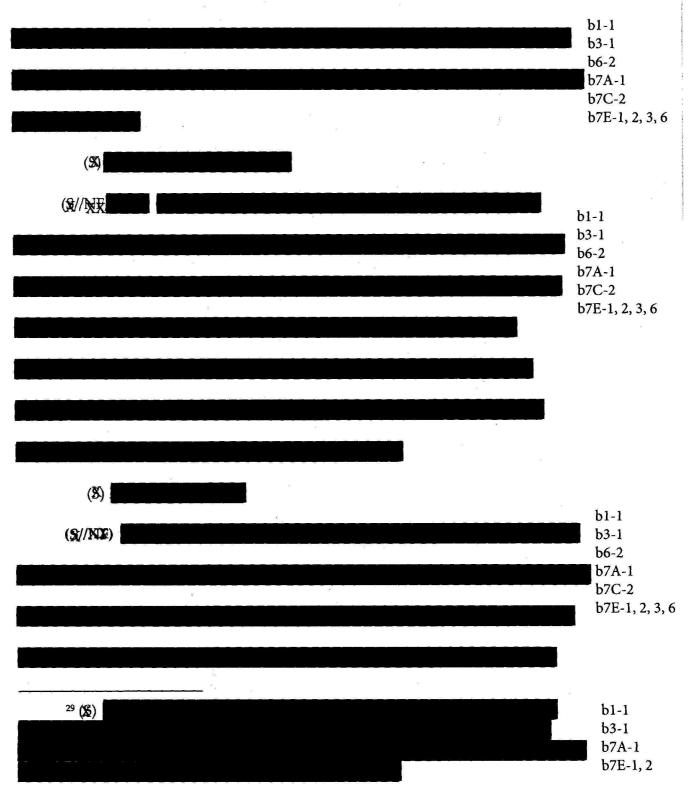


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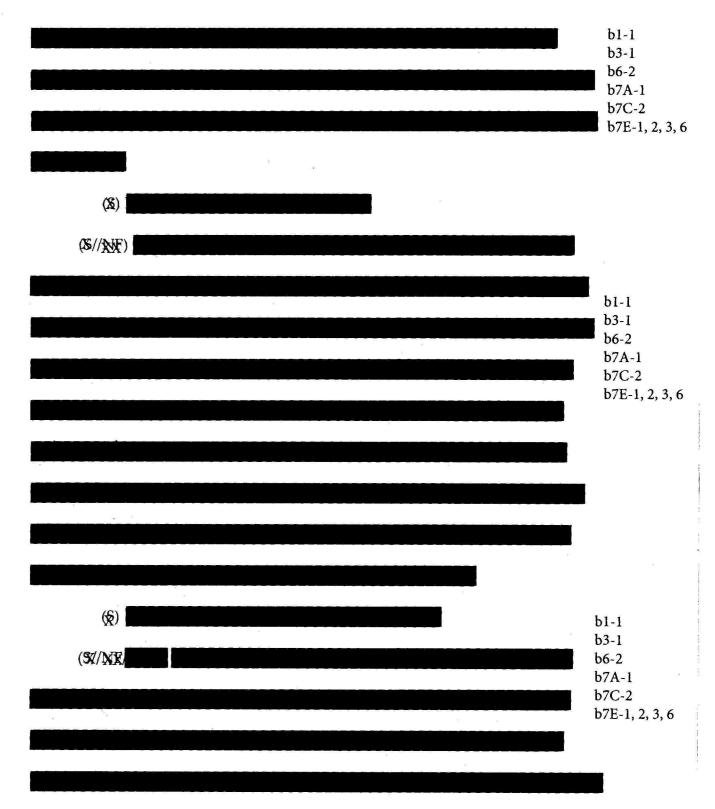
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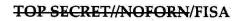


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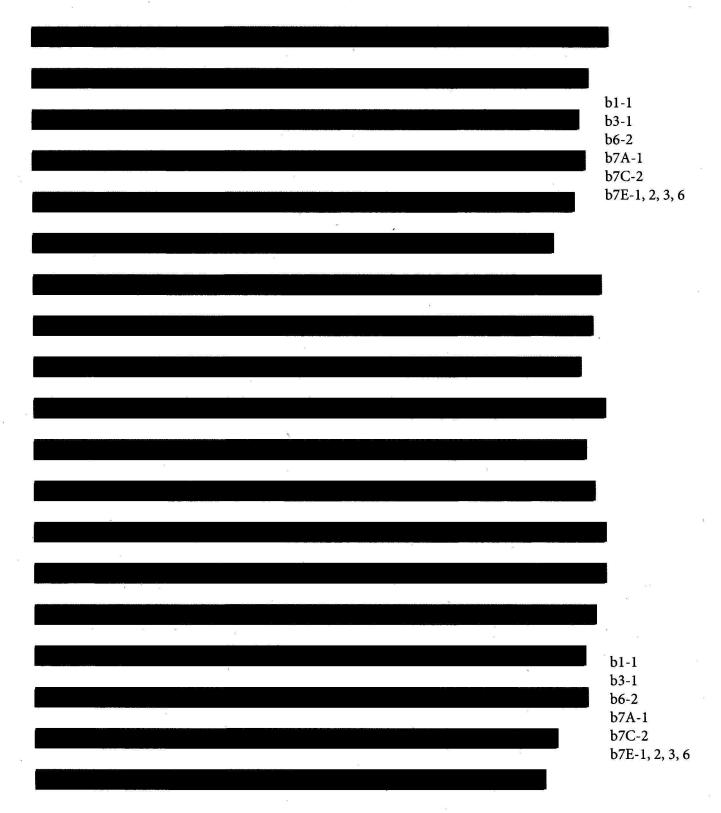
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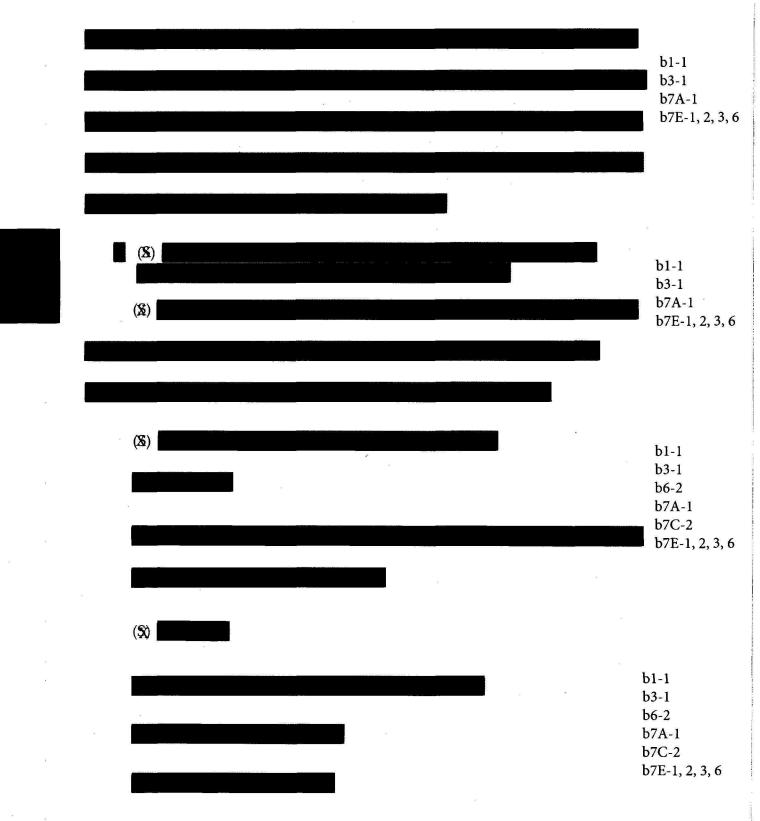
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VIII. (U) <u>Conclusion</u> .				
(U) (S∦/XXE) As discu	ssed above, the FBI belie	eves that Page has b	een collaboratin	g
and conspiring with the	Russian Covernment			
and conspiring with the				b7A-1
	ta	and a second	Based on the	b7E-1, 2 e
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foregoing facts and circ	umstances, the FBI subm	uits that there is prol	bable cause to	
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believe that Page				8
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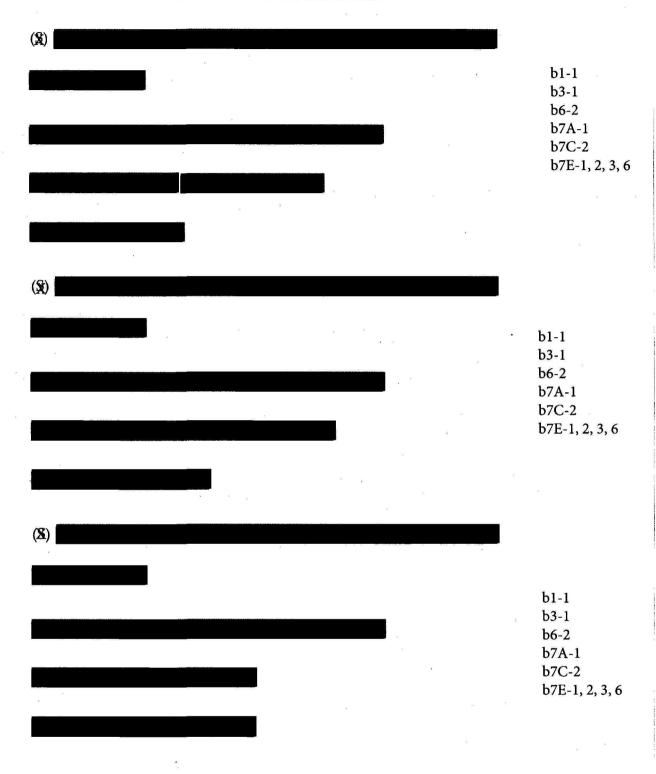
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	the United Stat	es,	2 - N - U 			
	5		re about to involve	e violations of the o	criminal statutes o	f
		the F	BI submits that th	ere is probable cau	ise to believe that	b7E-1, 2
				3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3		b7A-1
	50 U.S.C. § 180 (U) (§//\%)	4	р. а. а. а	e manuer ir -	x	
			nd, therefore, is an	agent of a foreign	power as defined	by
	on behalf of su	ch foreign p	ower, or knowing	ly conspires with c	ther persons to	
	clandestine inte	elligence act	ivities (other than	intelligence gather	ring activities) for	b7E-1, 2 or



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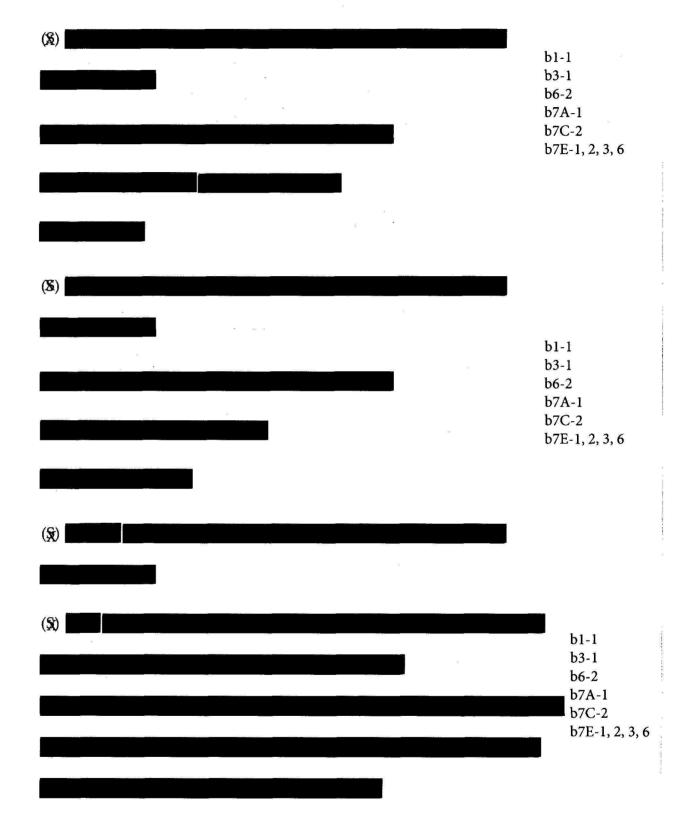
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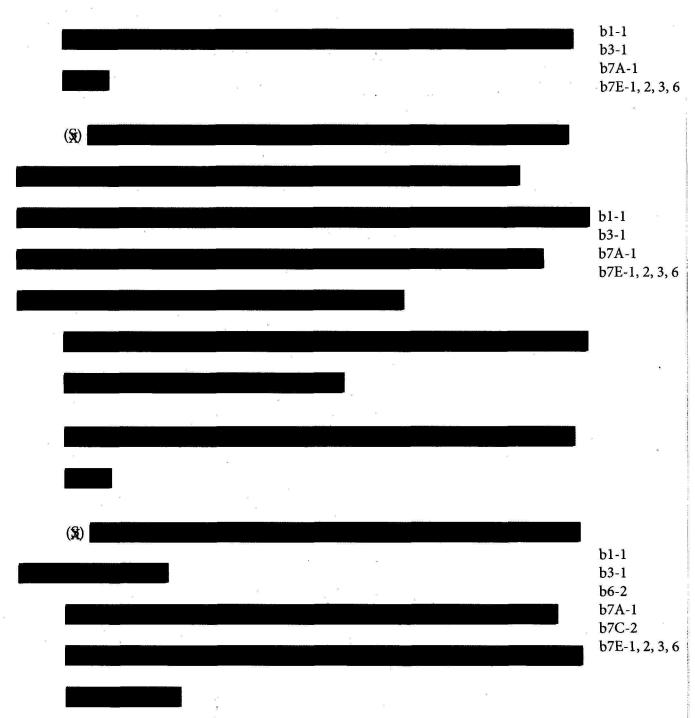
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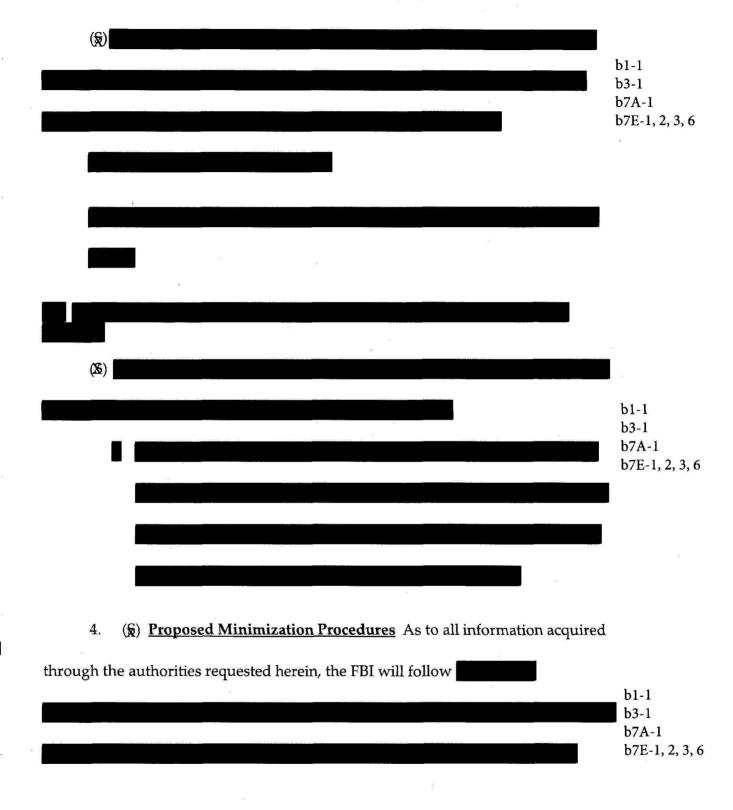
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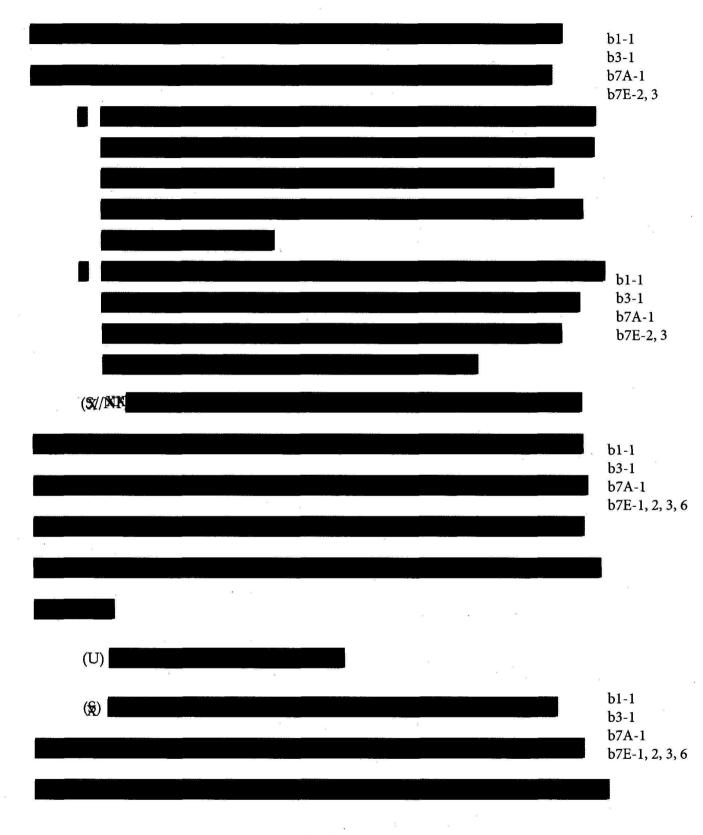


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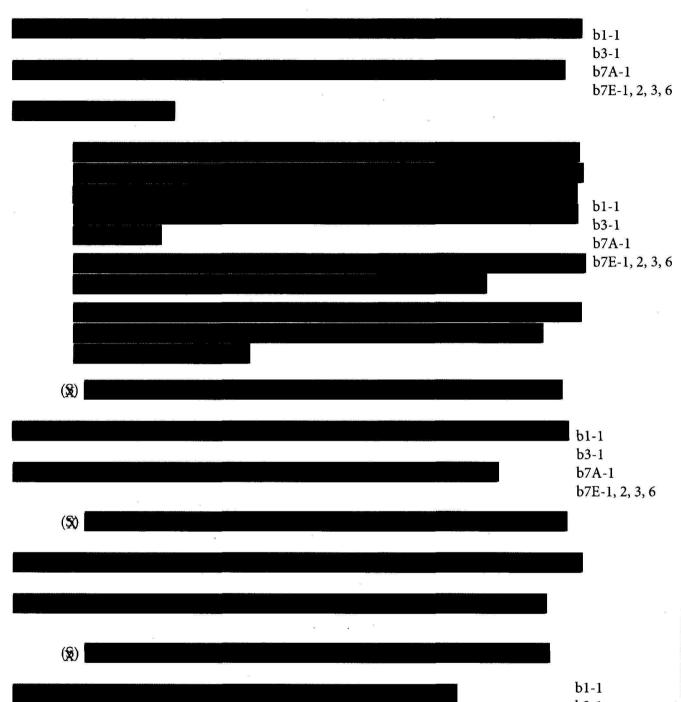
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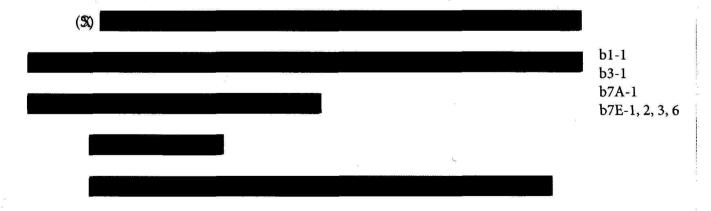
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(S)

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

b1-1 5. (S) Nature of the Information Sought 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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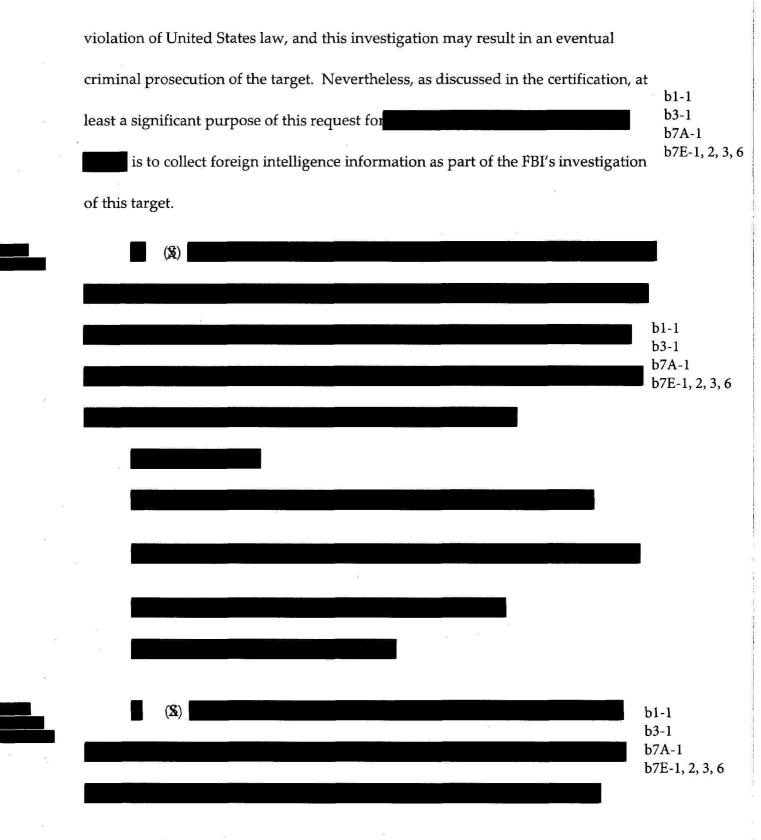
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8	National S	Security A	Affairs or a	n Executiv	ve branch	n official o	duly desi	gnated by t	he	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	President	as a certi	ifying offic	ial in Exec	utive Or	der Num	ber			
					as am	ended, is	set forth	below.		
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(U) 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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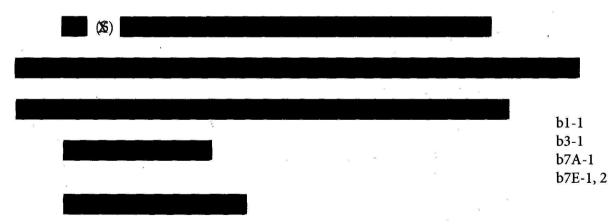
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9. (S) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreignb1-1b3-1b7A-1
intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
type 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.



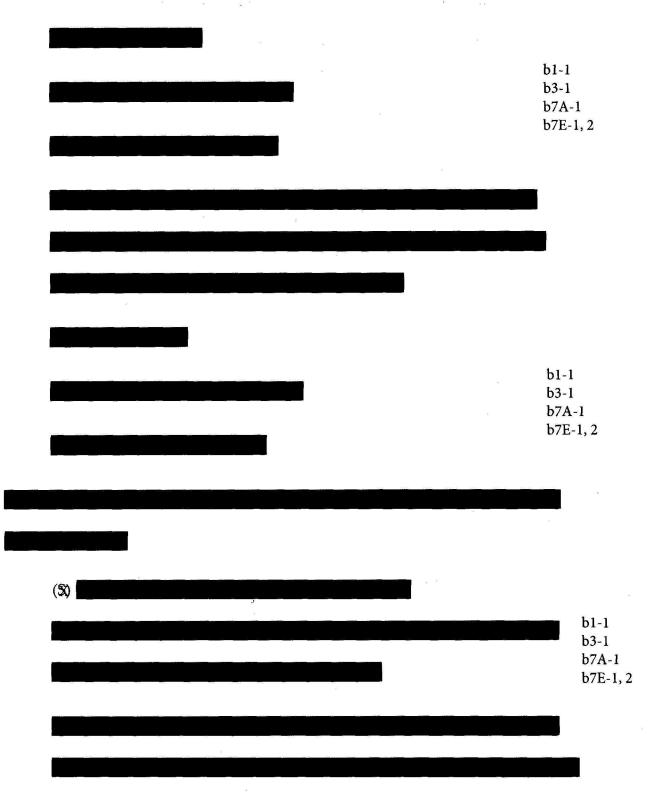
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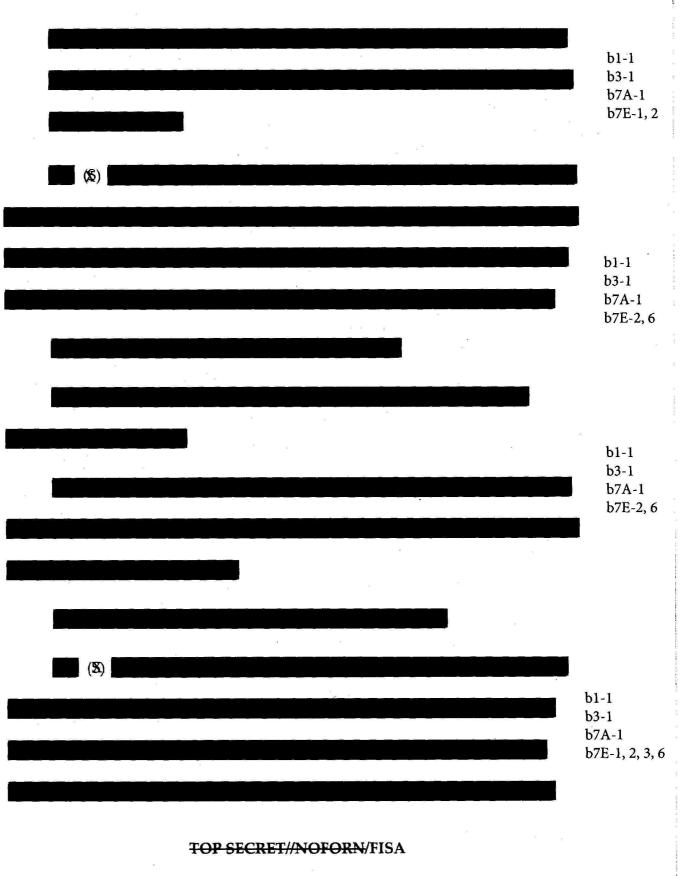


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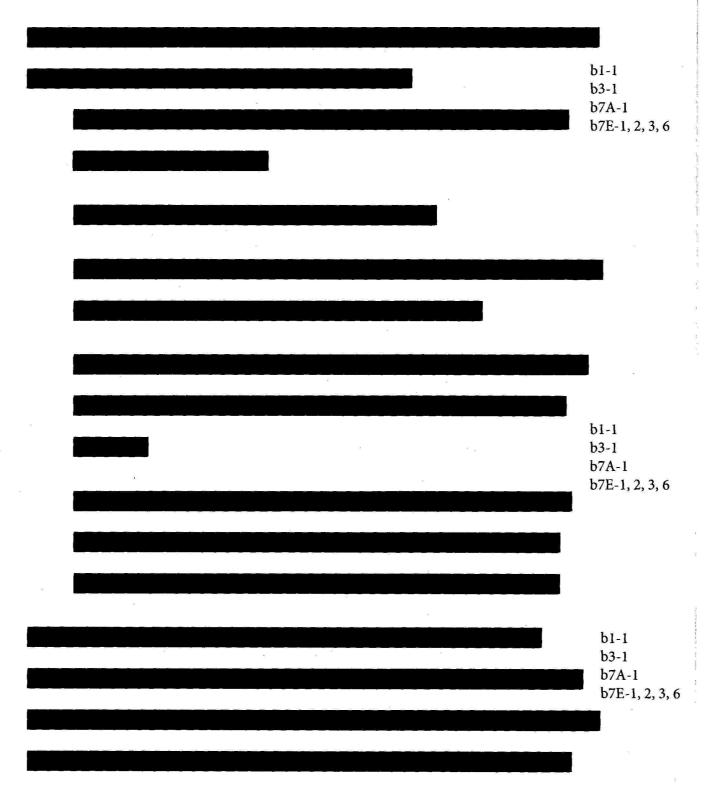


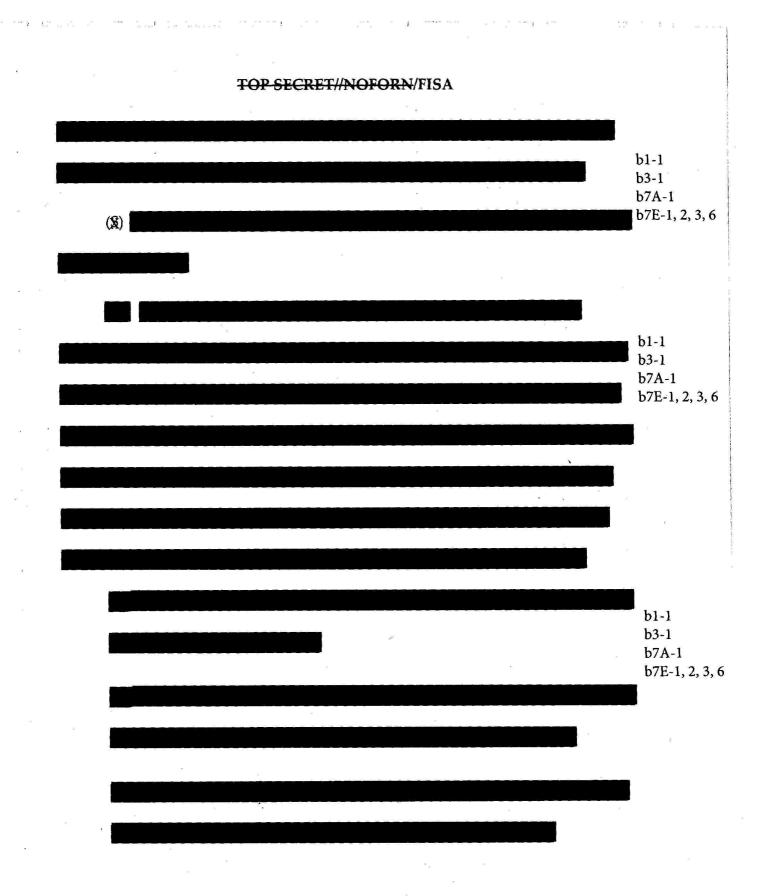
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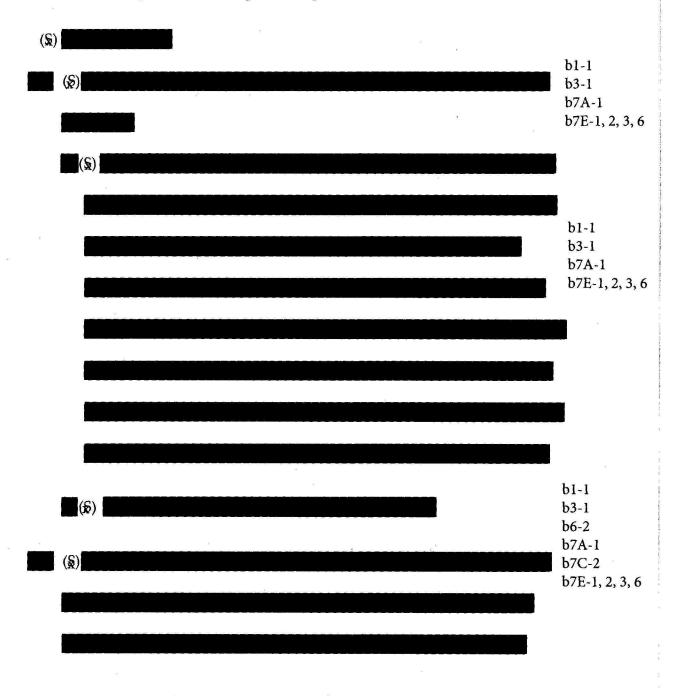




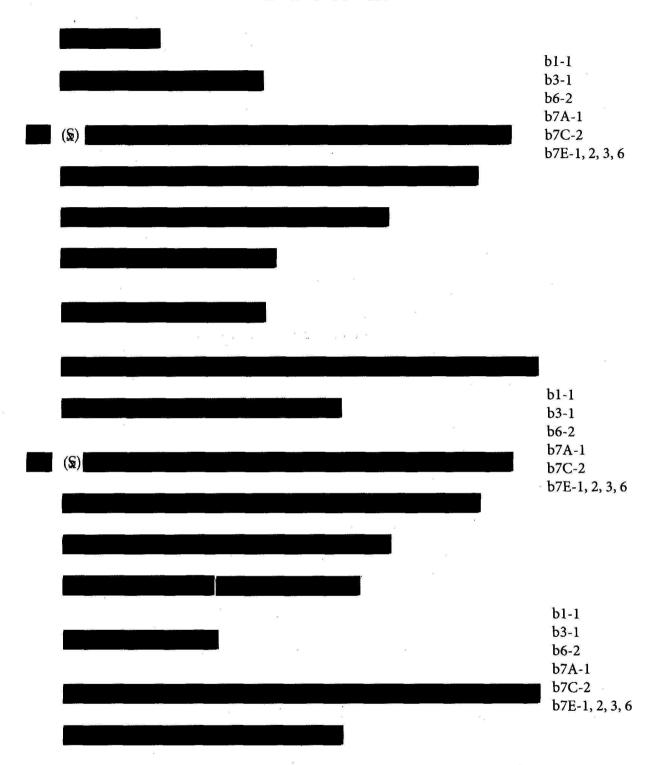


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(U) (S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information,
 the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities
 described immediately below for the period requested herein.

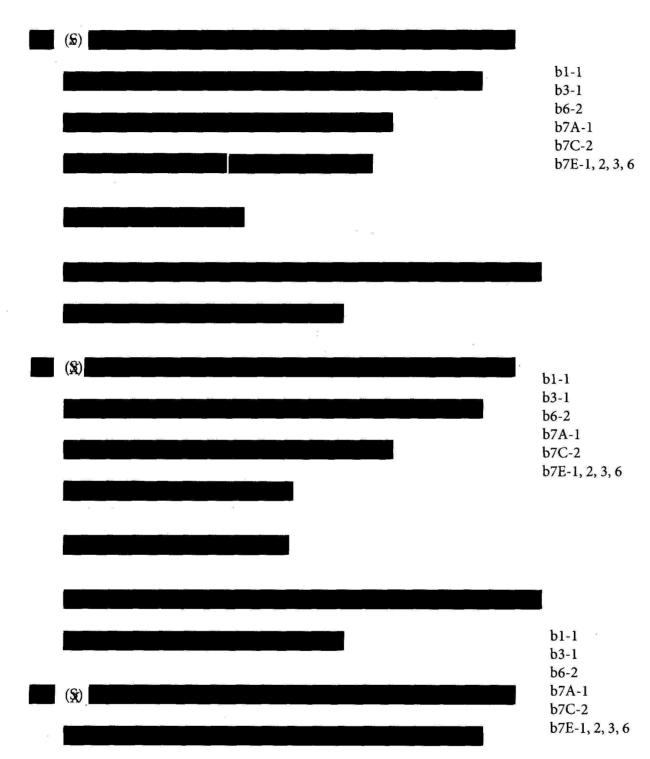


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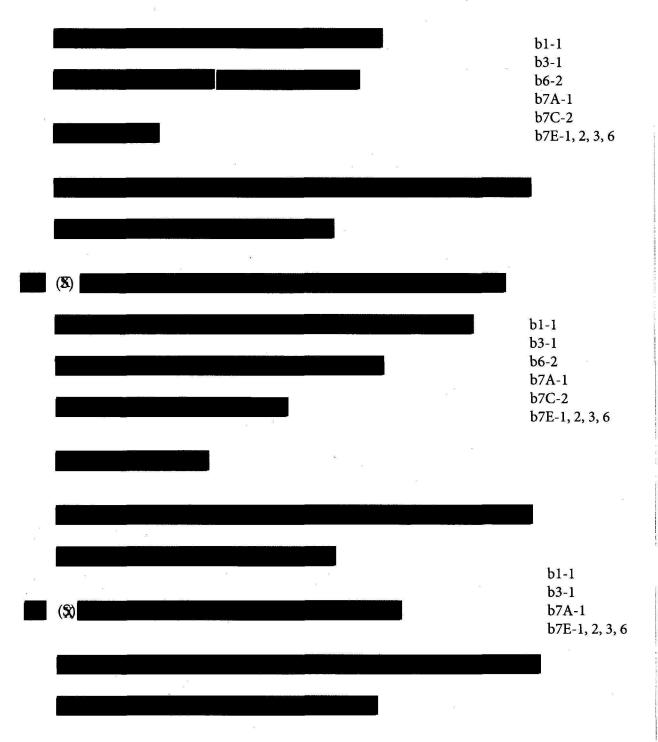


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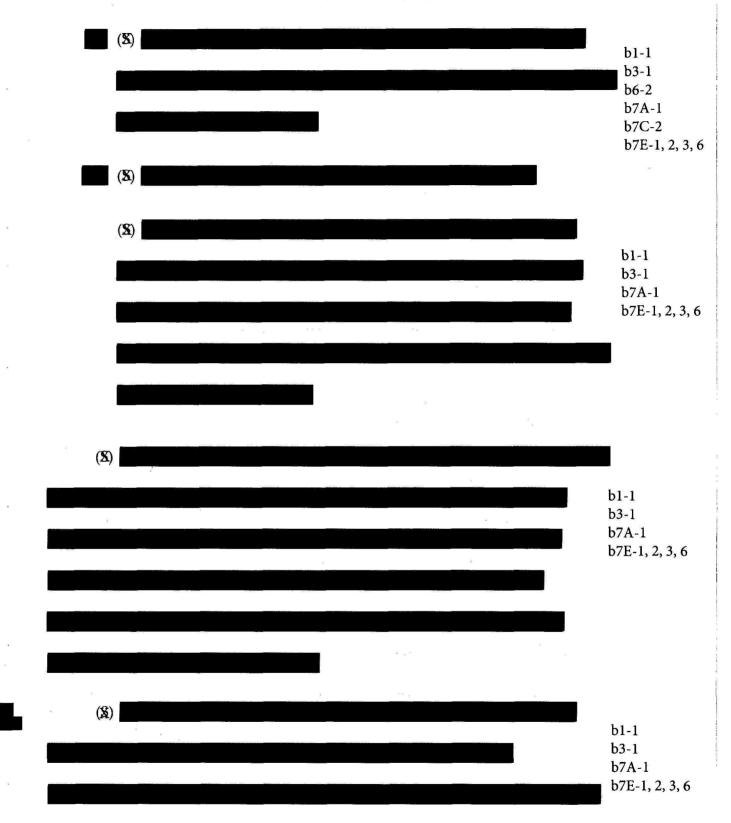
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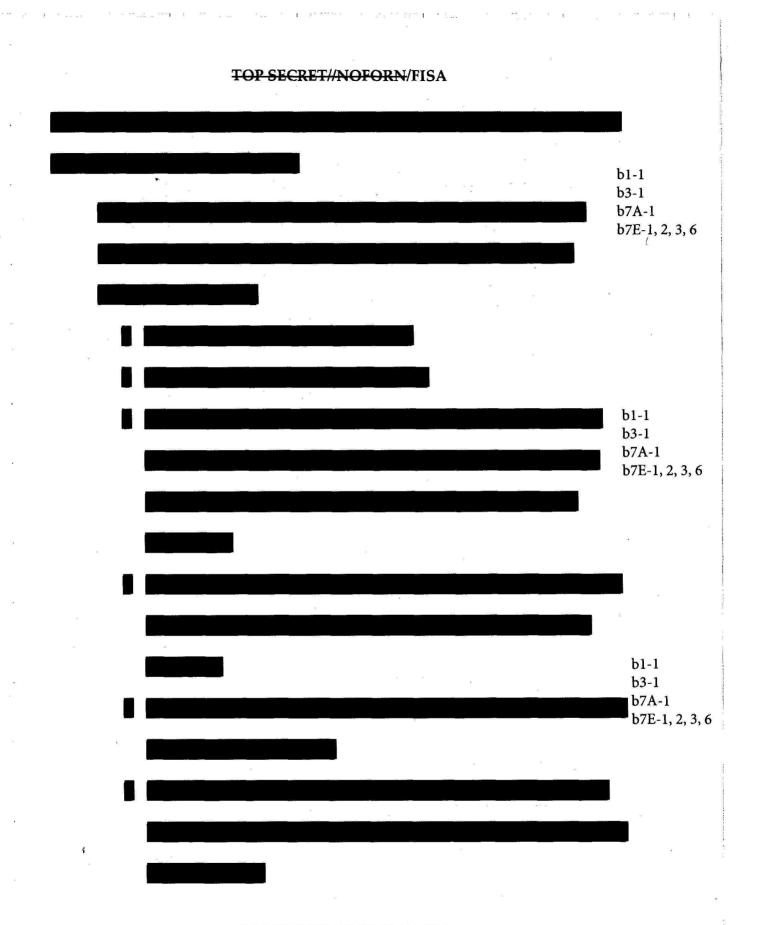
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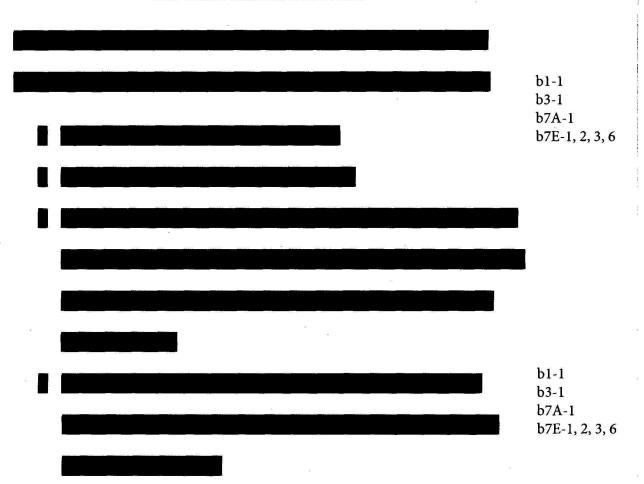


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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to 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 2017

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Supervisory Special Agent		*
Federal Bureau of Investigation	2 ¹⁰ × 2	

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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
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.

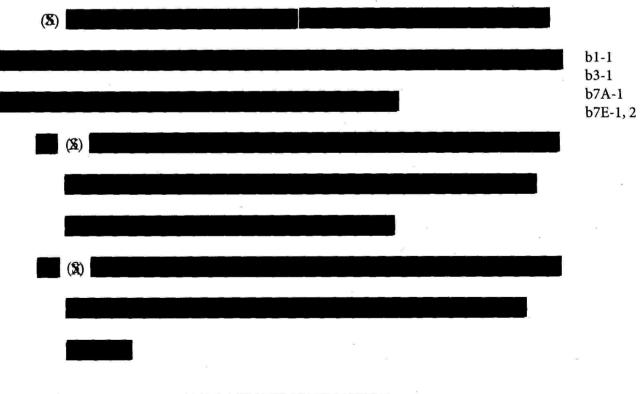
(B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the prosecution 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 authorities
 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques.
 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-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.,

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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 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

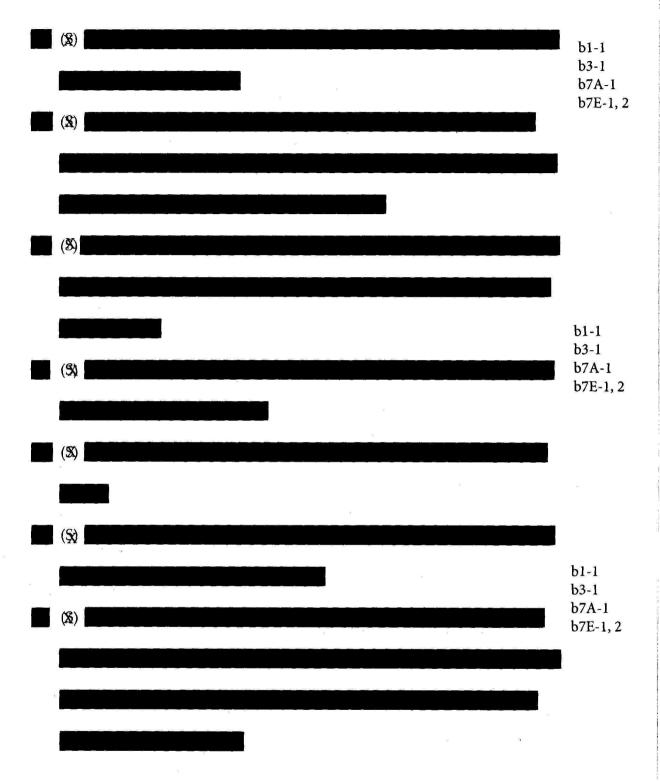


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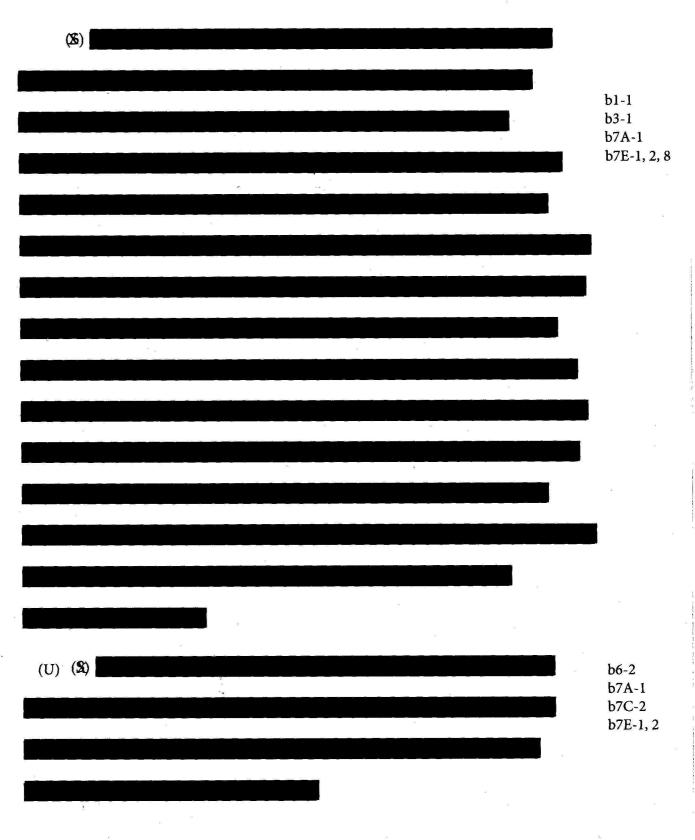
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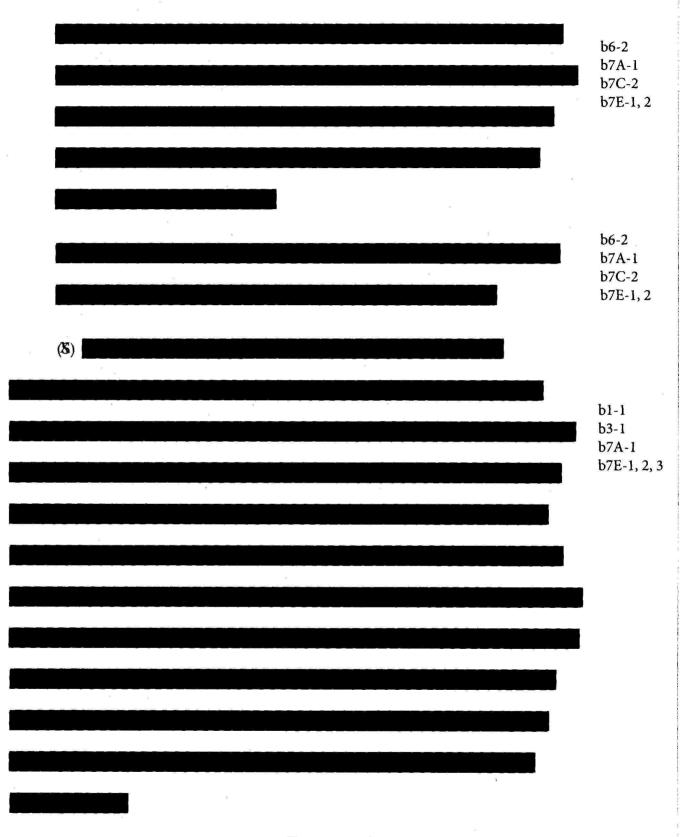
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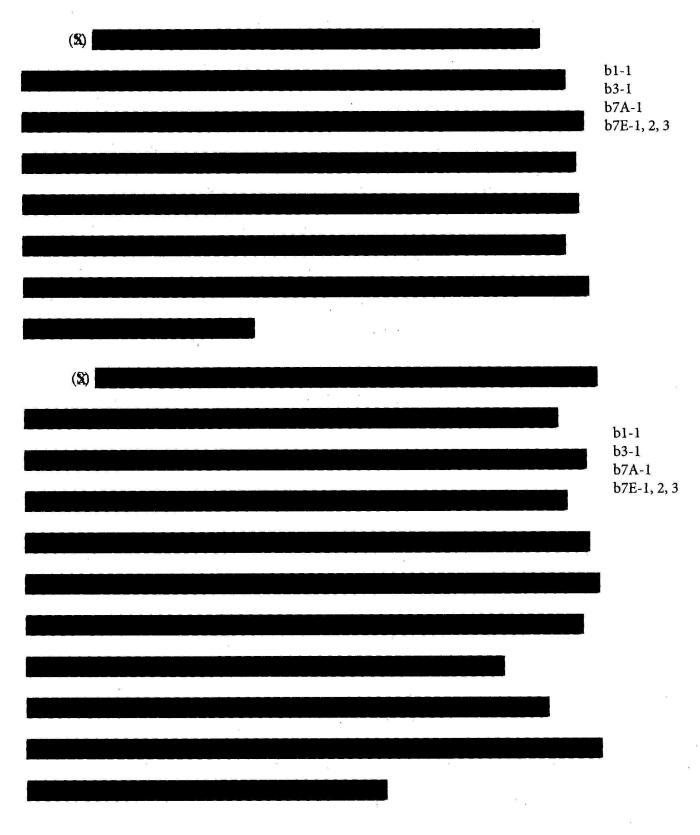
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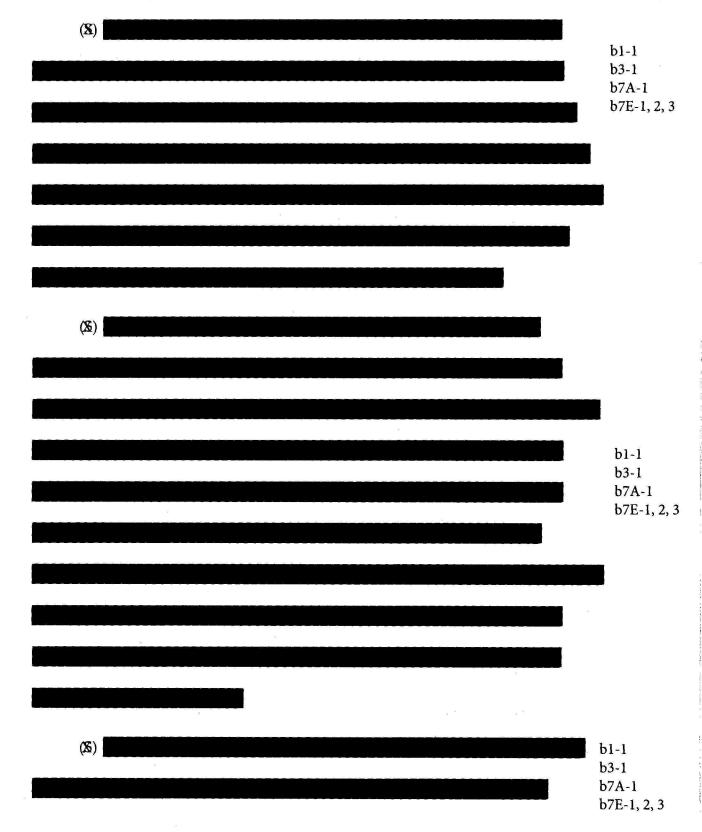
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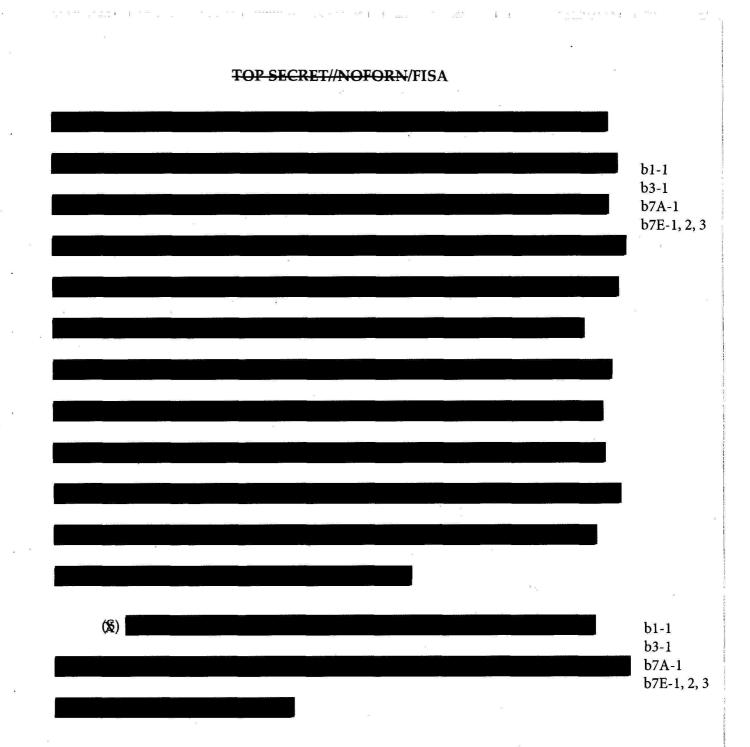
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(U) (S) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(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.

Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Andrew G. McCabe

Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Michael Pompeo Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Rex Tillerson Secretary of State

John J. Sullivan 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

16/271.7 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,
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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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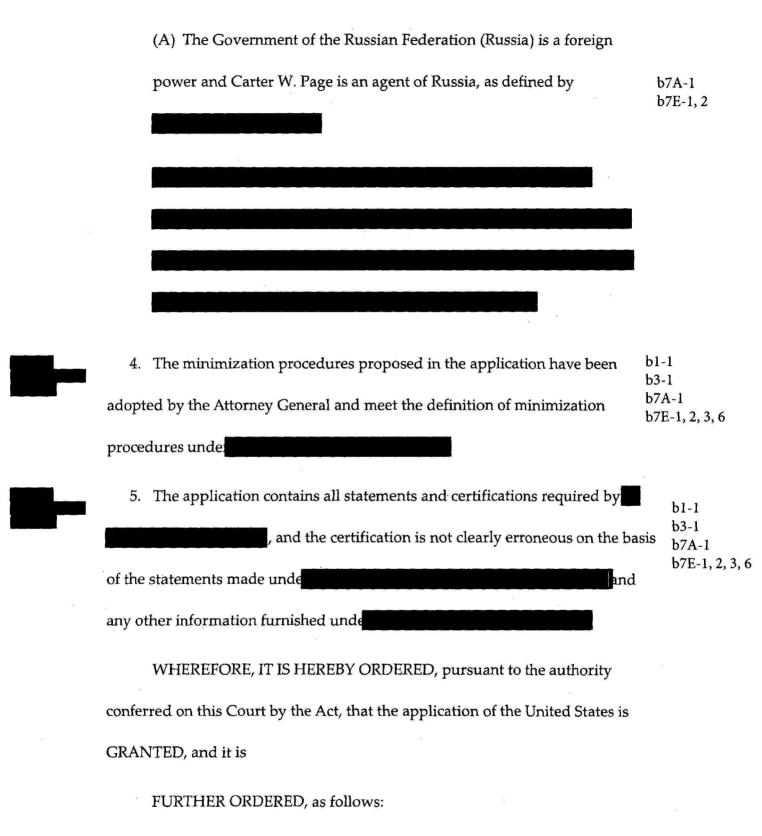
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All Information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown FOREIC		UNITED S	TATES	JUN 2017					
		NTELLIGENCE S	LeeAnn Flynn Hal URT	Ann Flynn Hall, Clerk of Court					
	J23J98T32 FBI NSICG, dated classify On: IN RE CARTER W. PAG	WASHINGT	ON, D. C. Docket Number:	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1					
	PERSON	E, A U.S.			b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1				
	PR	IMARY ORDER A	AND WARRANT						
	1. An application having been made by the United States of America								
	pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50								
	U.S.C. §§	FISA o	r the Act), for an orde	er and warrant	×				
	(hereinafter "order") for			and full	,				
	consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds								
	as follows:				b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1				
	2. The application h	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6							
U.	Attorney General;	*		÷					
	3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is								
	probable cause to believ	e that:			ī				
		er or	נכידי						
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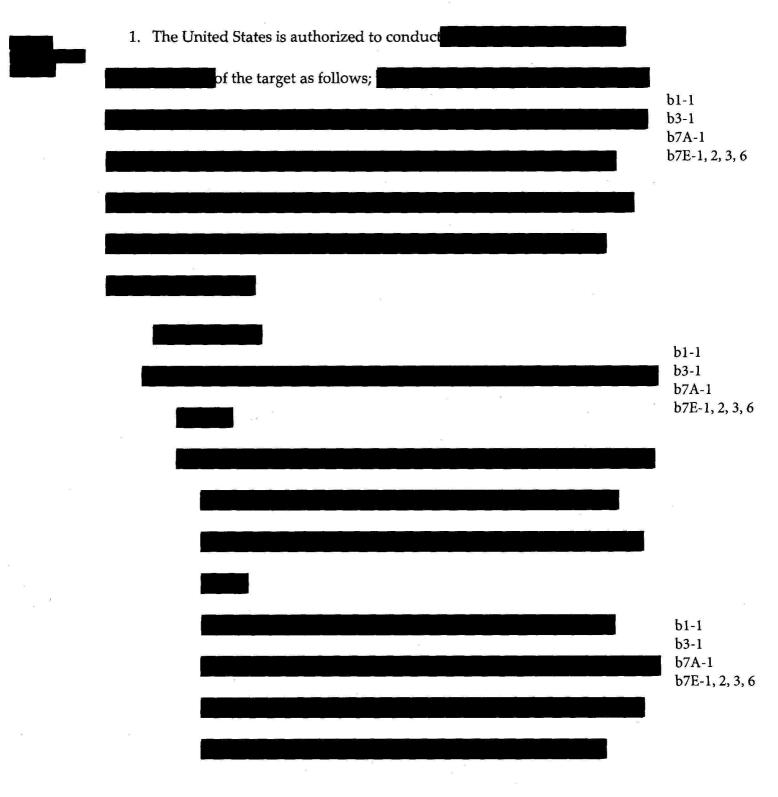
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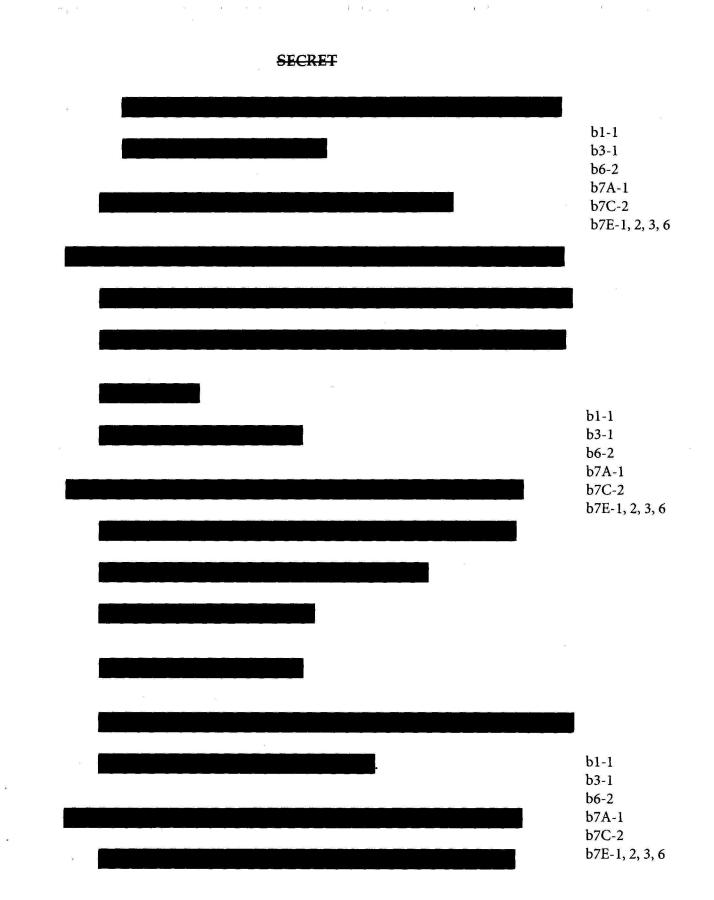
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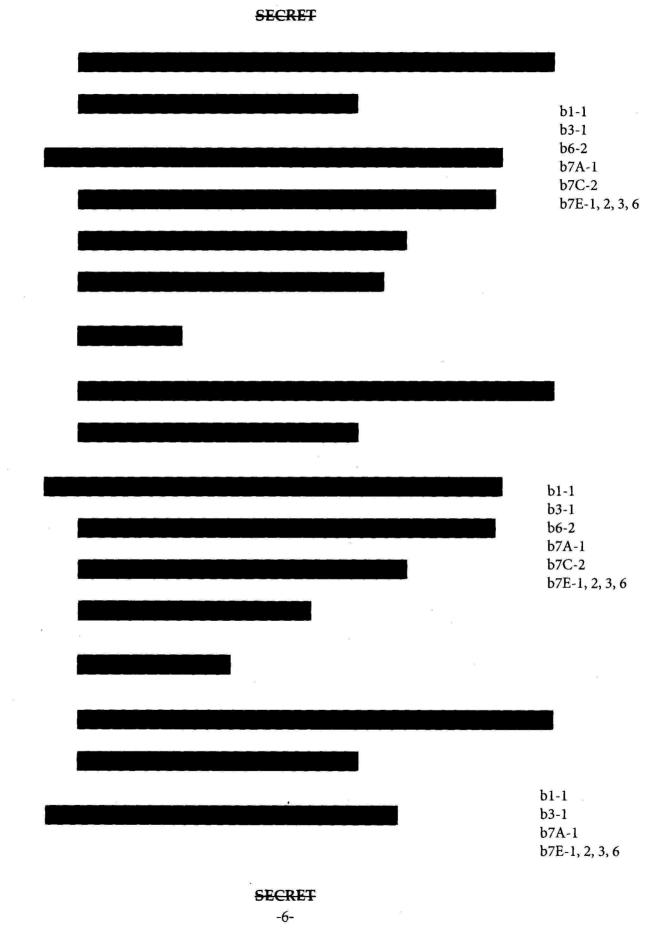
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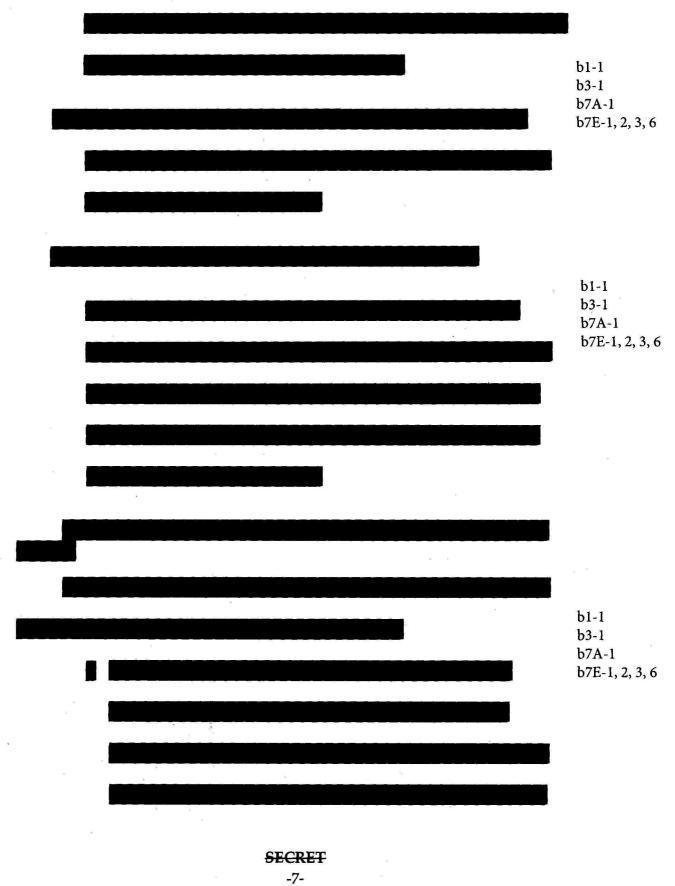
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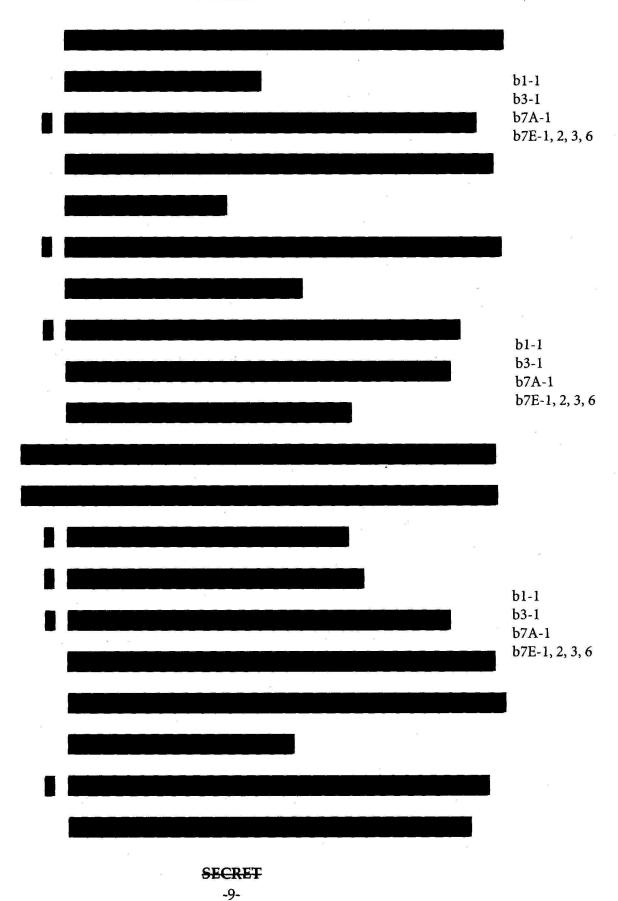


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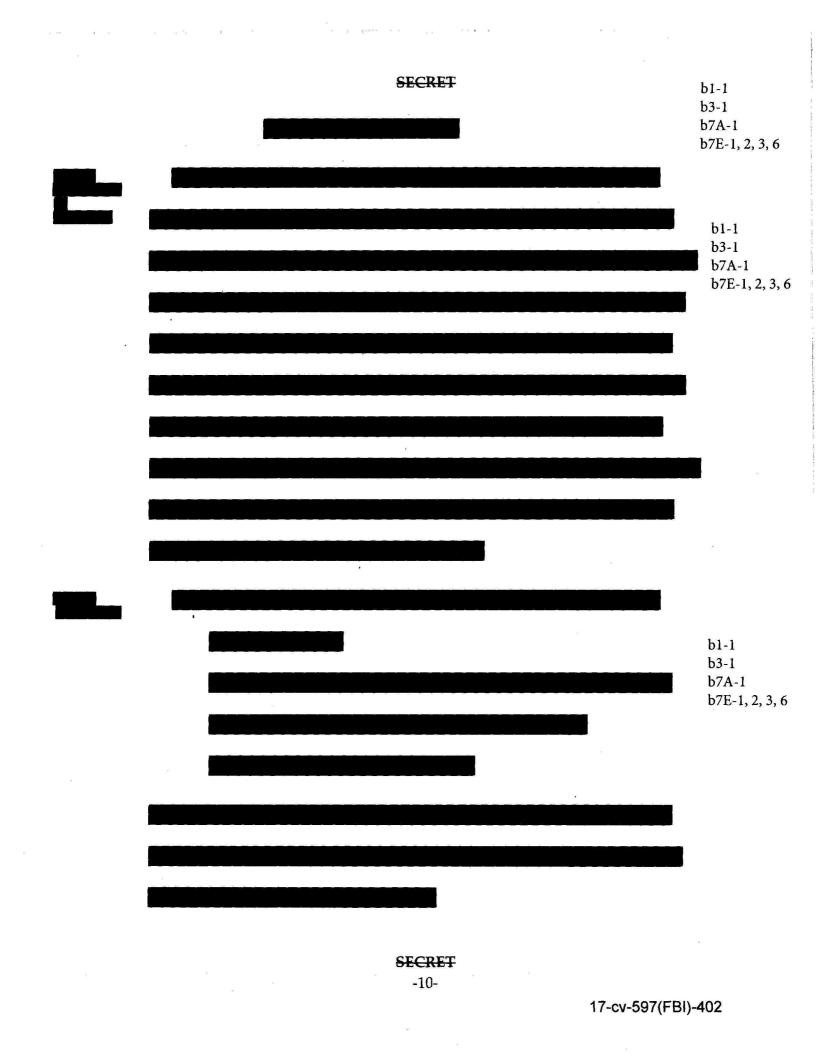


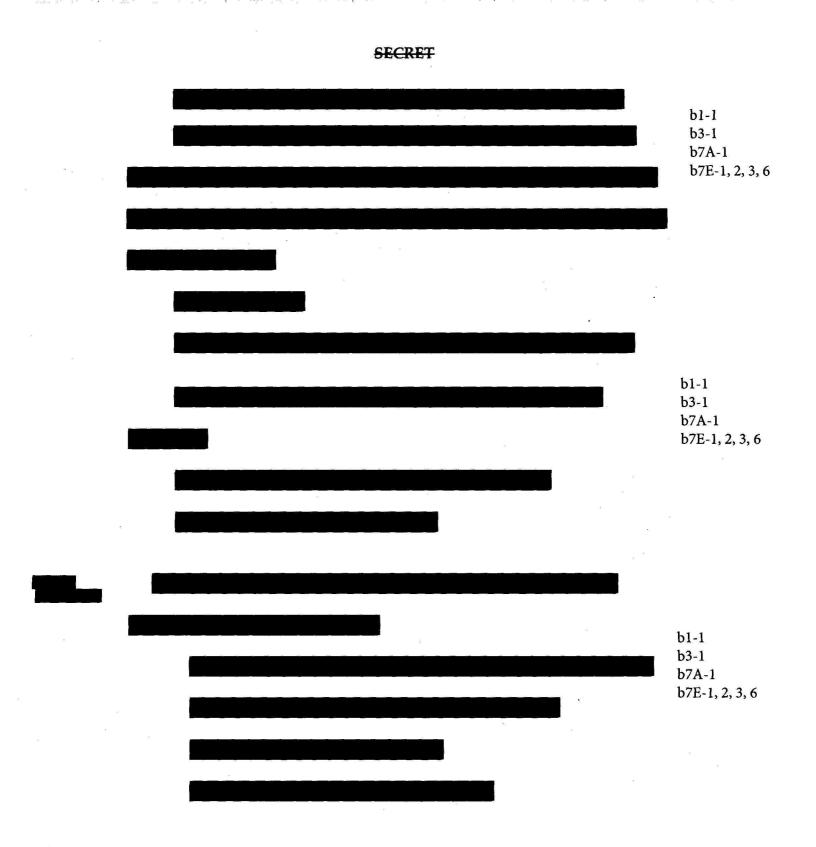


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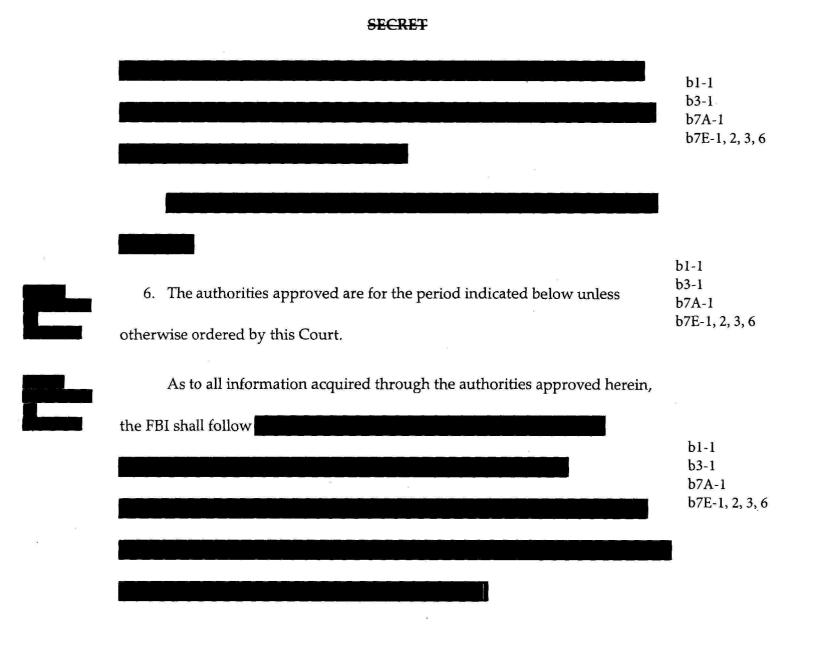


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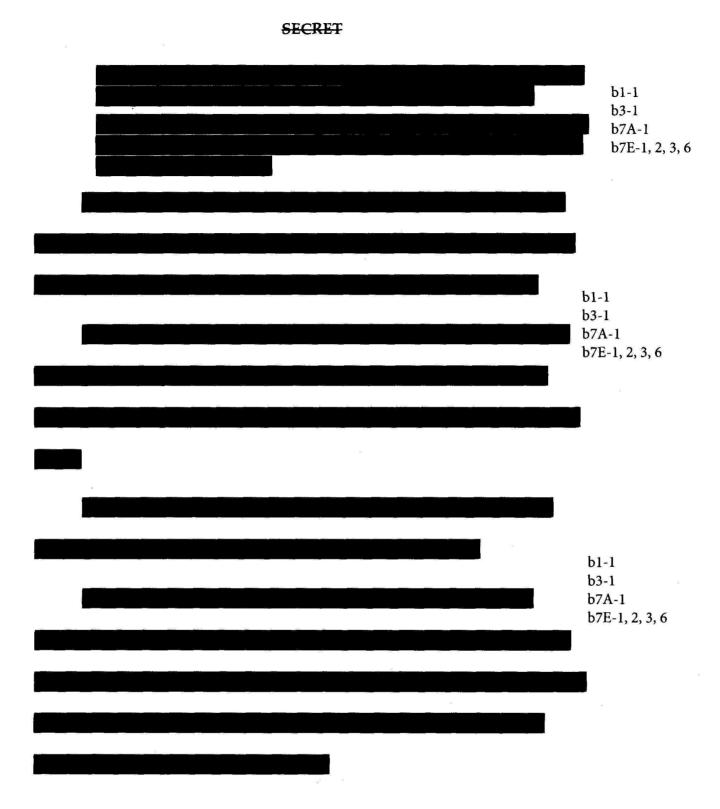
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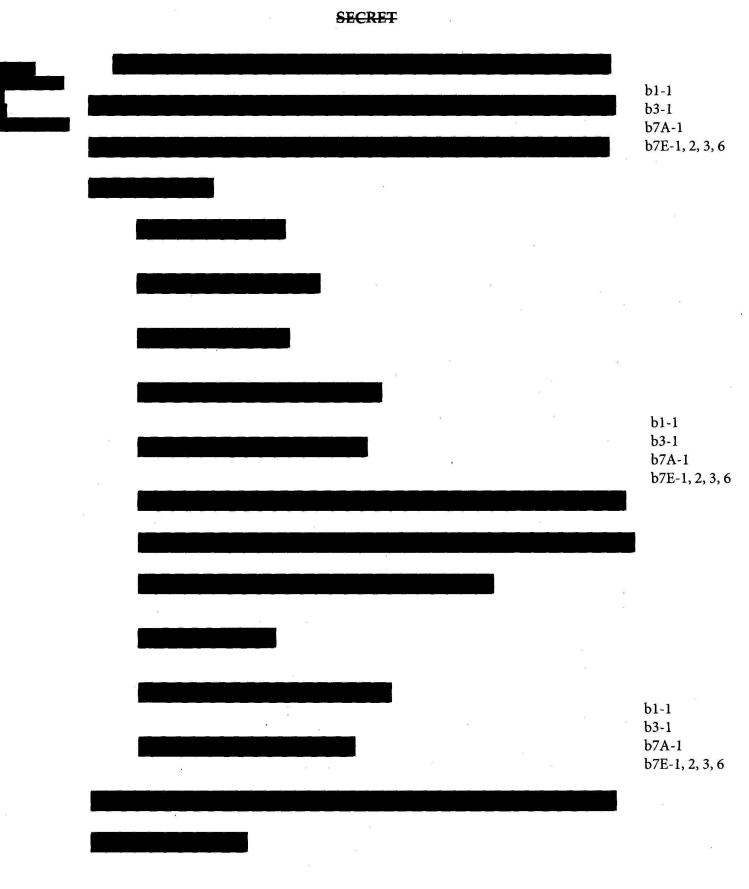
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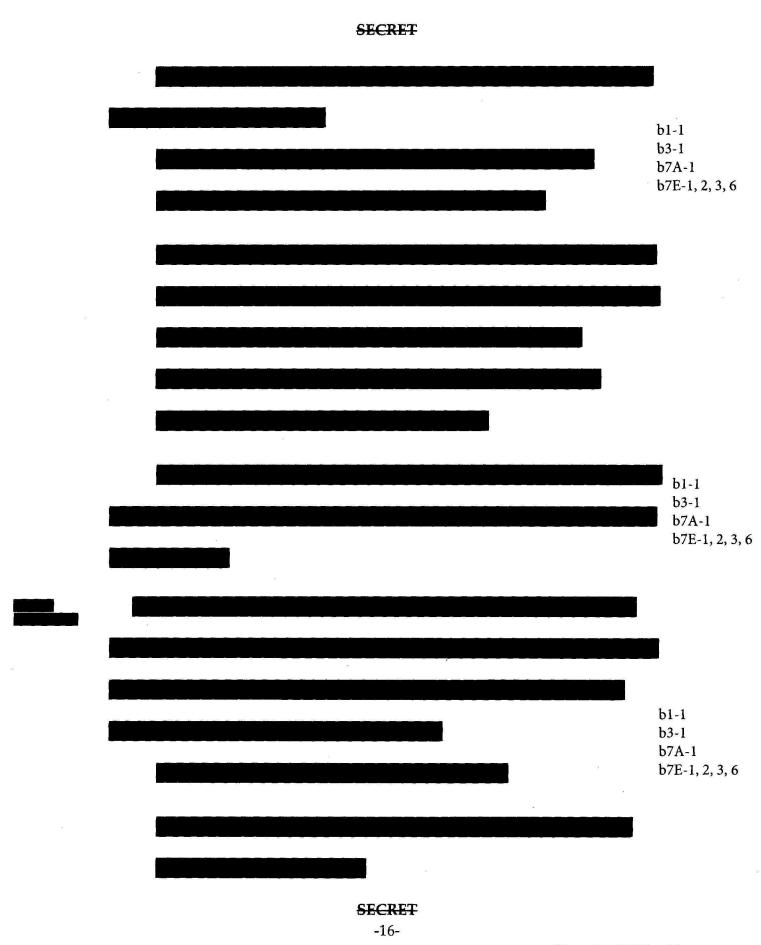
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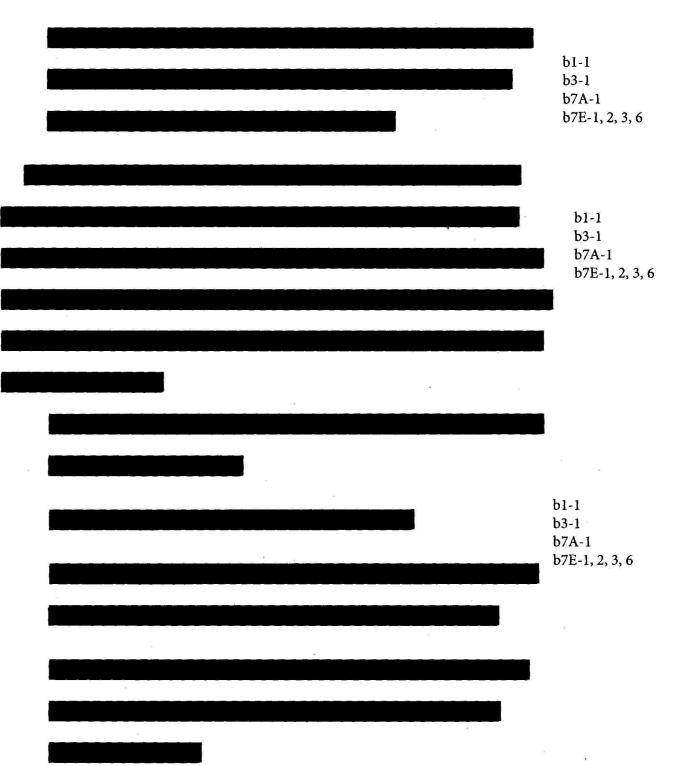
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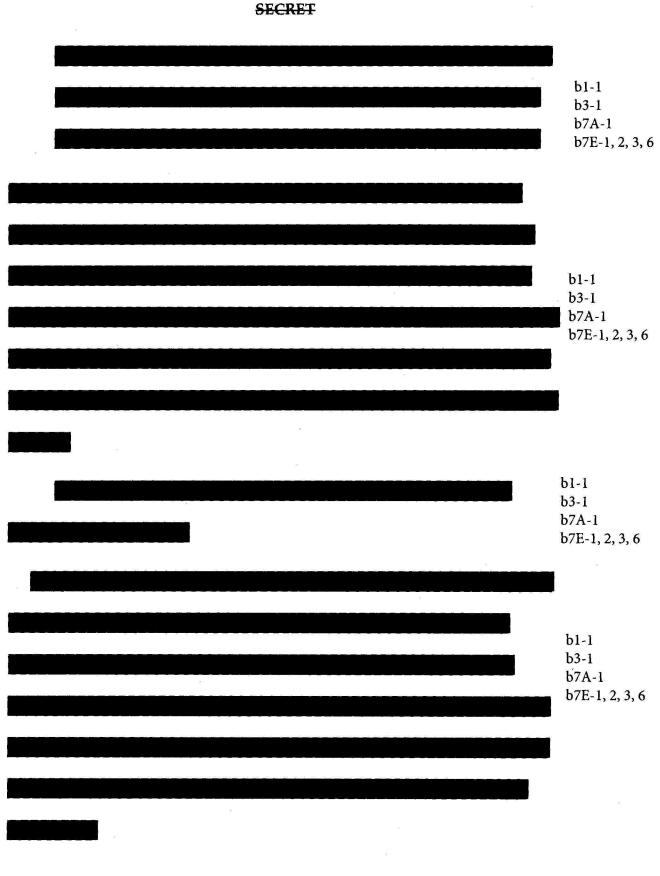
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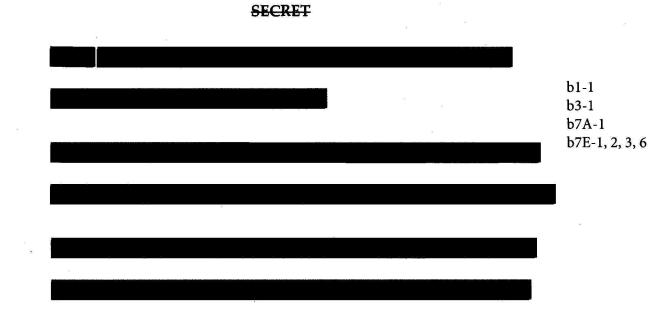
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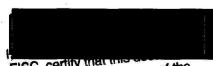


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This autho	orization regarding Carter W. Page expire	es at Eastern Time
on the	day of September, 2017.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed	06 2017 Date Time	Eastern Time
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FISC, certify that this copy of the is a true and correct copy of the origin

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