SECRET/ ORCON/NOFORCE

Title: (S//OC/NF) CD Meeting with FBI CHS Source ID

Re: 97F-NY-2067747, 11/16/2016

Federation.

London, U.K. and Johannesburg, South Africa. The goal of the meeting was to have the CHS determine the reason for CD's overseas travel, this was CD's first international trip since being dismissed from the Trump campaign. The FBI had recently received information from another CHS that CD may have a "handling agent" in London, U.K., the FBI's goal was to determine if CD was meeting with anyone that would be of interest in furtherance of the CD investigation.

the past, and was greeted by the CHS Source ID . The CHS had been instructed to have a private meeting with CD Source ID . The FBI hoped the intimate nature of the private meeting may relax CD and CD may elicit information about CD's recent interactions with the campaign and possibly any connections with the Russian

(5//00/NP) When asked about CD's trips, CD mentioned that he was staying in Bromley, a suburb of London and that he has stayed in an area of Johannesburg called Sandton in the past. CD informed the CHS that he was going to be on a television show on Channel 4 on Monday 10/24/2016 with John Snow, discussing the U.S. election.

George Kennan, the author of containing the Soviet Union during the Cold War. CD stated he wanted to start a think tank. When asked by the CHS, CD said "...I don't want to say there'd [SIC] be an open checkbook, but the Russians would definitely..." The CHS said "They would fund it-yeah you could do alright there." and CD responded "Yeah, but that has its pros and cons, right?" The exact language is attached. CD intimated that he may be visiting with potential backers of his proposed think tank when he was overseas, however, there was no further information.

(5//oc/NF) CD departed Source ID shortly after lunch and promised to be in touch with the CHS.

SECRET/ ONCON/NOTON

SECRET/ ORCON/ NOFORM

Title: (S//OC/NF) CD Meeting with FBI CHS Source ID Re: 97F-NY-2067747, 11/16/2016

(5//OC/NF) Specific excerpts of the meeting is attached.

SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN

(1) PLANS TO DEVELOP RESEARCH INSTITUTE

11:30:02 – There's a guy George Kennan... there's an interesting overlap between his predicament and the things he's dealt with and today... and well I'm the Kennan equivalent. Again, cause he kind of put out the idea of containment or a perceived idea of containment... and he spent 50 years arguing against this...

11:31:19 – So here's my kind of thought on... you know, like I've always said... in terms of personal ambitions... I think this beltway... this is one of the dirtiest places in the world and I've never had any ambitions to go into government regardless of who won... the analogy I always make is like... Biden when he's not doing political stuff, his big ambition is to fight cancer... I'm the same thing, fighting the cancerous foreign policy that's leading to so many deaths, so this is kind of my mission if you will. So I'm sort of thinking about if Kennan found his Institute of Advanced Study, I'd love to you... [analyst note: create something similar]

11:48:25 – There's a lot of similarities between what – although I've been much more in the public light than he ever was back in those years, cause you know there was the old school diplomacy of working discreetly backstage, but you know, here's a guy who... he came out with these concepts related to containment and et cetera... and people built up on these containment ideas and became much more hawkish and aggressive in a lot of ways against the Russians. And he spent the next fifty years of his life fighting against this... but what we're talking about... it's being a rare voice that talks against this consensus, this hawkish... it's also getting out some ideas and working on some research that will kind of state this in a more you know, instead of these sound bites on CNN

12:28:54 (Russians will fund his development of a research institute akin to Kennan Institute and some of his work in London may be related to this)

CHS:

So you're in London for a couple of days...

DRAGON:

I really appreciate that, that was a great idea I need to think about that though... I like the entrepreneurial approach. The only big question obviously like most things, is the funding

for it, but I need to...

CHS:

I imagine you could probably find funds because people are distressed with U.S. foreign

policy

DRAGON:

Well I know... the interesting thing – and I've got a growing... [break in conversation]... well

the only interesting question, on your point, is I don't want to say there'd be an open

checkbook, but the Russians would definitely [laughs]...

CHS:

They would fund it - yeah you could do alright there

DRAGON:

Yeah but that has its pros and cons right?

CHS:

Well, nobody needs to know exactly where it's from

DRAGON:

Yeah that was my letter to Comey right? Everyone is so interested that I owned a couple of

American depository receipts of Gazprom.

(2) OTHER RUSSIAN CONNECTIONS

11:08:20 – Look, when I first moved to Moscow, people say to me, "the key is to develop relationships... this place is all about relationships". And you know, you're never going to be in a situation where everyone likes you. You gotta' find a couple of companies, executives that really trust you. You know, it's a typical banker term: trusted relationship. It's all about trusted relationships.

11:37:08 – this is extremely off the record, I've been talking to – I forwarded you that Sputnik news article, they were – some of the journalists I've been talking to there, which is the Russian state media organization...

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12:00:19 – The same thing in Russia, so just as he [Bill Clinton] received more work from Monica [Lewinsky]... you know she's more attractive than Hillary... but you know so, the exact same thing with me and Russia. The Russians really, you know CHS and I were talking about relationships, I have a longstanding constructive relationship with the Russians going back throughout my life. This is so annoying to them, that you know...

12:01:06 – She [Hillary Clinton] doesn't care about lacking love and respect from her husband, but Russia is a strategically important country and, you know, love/hate, Bill/Hillary, who cares about that? But Russia is really important, and that goes back to my point of the op-ed I wrote last week

(3) IDEOLOGY/DEFENSE OF WIKILEAKS

10:48:33 – I think there's been this vicious downward circle of relations where each side – particularly in the west – antagonizes the other and then they're surprised when people, you know reciprocate the bad-will. You know, there's zero good will left. And a lot of it actually... I was talking with someone from one of the think tanks in town here and they were saying particularly in Eastern Europe, with the NATO commitment mutual defense, it's a lot of risk for our military as well if some of these border countries – the Baltics et cetera – start antagonizing, and also not only antagonizing, but also false information. There's so much false information... you know, referring to something that happens that might be an overstatement.

10:55:26 (DRAGON's views on WIKILEAKS' release of the DNC emails and discussion of what happened to the GOP platform at the RNC)

CHS:

guess what they're trying to do is work out the link between the Russians and Wikileaks,

what do we know about that?

DRAGON:

You know, I-I-I've made clear in a lot of you know, subsequent discussions/interviews that I've been part of... I know nothing about that – on a personal level, you know no one's ever said one word to me. But it's interesting, you know, off the record between us – if the only source of transparency and the truth is an external source, you know, c'est la vie right? I mean, that's Podesta's and Clinton's main argument right? This is tainted information because it came from the Russians, it's sort of that downward cycle and that's you know, when we were source ID in mid-July there was starting to be these conspiracy theories and started to spin up – but then it wasn't until Cleveland and things percolated a little... the following week is when it really got out of control cause of Philadelphia – Debbie

Wasserman Schultz... Let's distract from all the bad information – the damning information

that's in these documents - and talk about the source, or the purported source.

CHS:

You mentioned Cleveland – you stopped by in Cleveland didn't you? So what about the

platform committee? Did you chat with them at all?

DRAGON:

[laughs] I stayed clear of that - there was a lot of conspiracy theories that I was one of them,

yeah.

CHS:

Cause I would've thought the platform committee would be a place where there'd be an opportunity to clarify our relationship with the Russians or others, and you could've been

very helpful.

DRAGON:

Well again, totally off the record, but I – members of our team were working on that, and you know, again, in retrospect it's way better off that I, you know remained at arms length.

But again, our team was working on that.

10:59:13 (DRAGON mentions a relationship with the PM of a NATO ally country and shoes his disdain for current policies regarding Russia/sanctions)

CHS:

Your point is well taken, you can provoke the hell out of the Russians and you can get a reaction, and that then is very costly

SECRET//NOFORN

<u>DRAGON</u>: But there's more to it... here's my fear – it's less of a fear for myself – a NATO ally, Prime

Minister of a NATO ally said to me – and you know, they've been hurt by sanctions... that's the interesting thing for the Americans, it doesn't have any impact on us. We can kind of put all of these restrictions. But for Europeans it's hard, it's a hardship on both sides. So – and his economy has been significantly negative impact given the whole sanctions thing – but then he says to me when all these lies started coming out on me over the summer: 'Well

what do you think? Do you fear for your life?'

CHS: What? What country is this?

DRAGON: W-w-well [laughs] we're very off the record already but...

CHS: Why would he be thinking such a thing?!

<u>DRAGON</u>: But it's true! And what I told him is I don't fear for my life, I fear for the lives of service

members and other people in government who if these ridiculous approaches and these

failed policies continue next January, you know... we're on the brink of war.

11:40:39 – Let me tell you something, we could talk for the next 5 hours about all these sneaky little approaches that the USG has been taking against Russia – going back you know a couple decades. Perfect example is this Victoria Nuland... her infamous thing is – we talk about Russia interfering in our elections – you compare her level of interference in Ukraine, the democratic processes in Ukraine, to some Wikileaks – which is essentially on par with listening in on Merkel's phone calls. So she's recorded – she had this leaked [laughs] phone call where she's talking to the U.S. Ambassador to Kiev deciding who the next government leader should be.

(4) DEFENSE OF MEDIA ACCUSATIONS (SECHIN/DIVEYKIN & LAWYERS)

10:51:32 - it's beyond rumor though, a lie is a lie.

10:51:49 – (In discussing the Yahoo! News claim about meetings with Sechin and Diveykin in Moscow July 2016, DRAGON referenced advice from lawyers)

CHS: What's the core argument they're making?

<u>DRAGON</u>: Well the core argument – one of the core lies – and this is also the irony of it right? The core

lie is that I met with these sanctioned Russian officials, several of which I've never even met

in my entire life, but they said that I met them in July, right?

CHS: This is uh.. S..s..s...

<u>DRAGON</u>: Sechin is the main guy, the head of Roseneft... there's another guy I had never even heard

of, you know he's like, in the inner circle...

CHS: What's his name again?

DRAGON: I can't even remember, it's just so outrageous

CHS: He's in the inner circle; he works in the Kremlin or something

<u>DRAGON</u>: But he's you know not someone again, I was asking, I wanted to double check, because I did

meet, you know, I wanted to make sure, that at the graduation, I called up people that were, you know when I was a commencement speaker, did I happen to shake hands? This guy, this is just completely...they didn't even know of him, I know it's like, for example a senior

director on the NSC, right they're not household names.

CHS: They're hardly known and they may have never met the president

<u>DRAGON</u>: They're hardly known and they may not...it's just so outrageous, it defies any logic

whatsoever.

CHS: But so they said that you met with these people?

<u>DRAGON</u>: But you know this is the irony of it, there's no law against meeting with sanctioned officials...

DRAGON: ...And I have lawyers, you know I talk to lawyers about... the lawyer said as long as you don't

take gifts or have any sort of business dealings

CECNET//NOFORN

CHS: No tangible exchange...

<u>DRAGON</u>: The tangible exchange – the lawyer quote was "don't even take a pen", you know don't

even take a gift of a pen, you know just to kind of keep everything completely clean and so...

10:55:03 (DRAGON denied meeting with Sechin/Diveykin and referenced legal advice again)

CHS: So they're claiming you met with these two guys – and you're saying it's perfectly legal to do

<u>DRAGON</u>: Even if I had – which I didn't do by the way – but you know, so...

CHS: And that is supposed to prove what?

DRAGON: Well you know, I'm in bed with the Russians. And everyone hates the Russians, right, you

know.

11:15:20 (In discussing whether he could help facilitate invitations to Sechin and Diveykin to speak at a seminar in Cambridge, DRAGON immediately responded with advice from his lawyers, but did not deny knowing them)

CHS: It may be that the two people you mentioned – you mentioned the Rosneft guy...

DRAGON: Yeah, Sechin

CHS: And the other one who I can't remember, he was part of the administration, it would be

very interesting to have them at Source ID and to have – if you wish – for you to come, and

I could invite them, and...

DRAGON: [laughs]

<u>CHS:</u> ...it would be a very productive conversation. They'd enjoy it.

<u>DRAGON</u>: [laughs] My lawyers would probably advise me to... [laughs]

CHS: Not to come?

<u>DRAGON</u>: To well, again, Harry Reid's letter to Director Comey – 'please look into Carter Page's

connections to these people!' [laughs and conversation topic changes]

11:18:10 (CHS asked him again – DRAGON brought up lawyer again; said he didn't have contact info, but never denied knowing them)

CHS: It occurred to me when I was thinking about all of this, what a wonderful event that would

be, cause it would be an opportunity for a Moscow-based senior person to present the argument for reduction of tensions and sort of clean slate type idea, and it could be done so that there were Brits or even Americans - I hadn't thought of any in particular – Brits who might enter that conversation with a measure of skepticism but could be neutralized

DRAGON: [laughs] my, you know...here's...

CHS: Your lawyers?

DRAGON: Again, I'm thinking, you know lawyers are always cautious... and you know I think this would

be setting off such big alarm bells [laughs] just for my personal - you know - it might be a

great idea... here let me just kind of...

CHS: Maybe you could put me in touch with them?

DRAGON: Again, I don't have their contact details

CHS: Oh okay – well I could find them

<u>DRAGON</u>: Yeah, it's better, you know [laughs], again... there's this great quote... [switches topic to

Politico article]

(5) SOUTH AFRICA TRIP

10:43:56 (CHS asks DRAGON about travel plans and he omits his travel plans to South Africa)

CHS: Where are you off to? You said you were going someplace?

JECKET//NOPOKN

DRAGON: Yeah, I'm uh, I actually have a couple days in Chicago at the tail end of this week and then I

fly straight to Heathrow over the weekend and spend some time there in London and then

uh... I was going to ask you about this guy...

11:46:02 (DRAGON is asked about travel plans by UF and changes topic immediately)

UF.

I think you need a nice long vacation, do you have travel plans?

DRAGON:

Well, we were talking, so this is a strategy question, so...

UF:

Yeah I think a nice warm...

DRAGON:

Well, no, but here's my thing... [changes topic back to PM/fear discussion]

UF:

...but are you going to take a little break? Someplace warm?

DRAGON:

Well, uh, well this is uh strategy sessions, again, as agreed with, we are completely off the record... [switches topic and brings up George Kennan then mentions his trip to London]

11:52:39 (DRAGON changes topic again when asked about travel plans)

UF:

That's why I say that you must need a vacation, like I would say someplace warm that's very

far away from...

DRAGON:

Well I-I-I go back to my Chris Stevens quote, I'm not concerned about protecting my own skin, I'm more concerned about trying to come out with some more ideas that help counter

these crazy arguments

12:14:25 (DRAGON appears to get uncomfortable answering questions about South Africa – there is a clear difference in his tone compared to other discussion topics)

UF:

...stay in London for a while - are you going to come back after your interview?

DRAGON:

I got a, well, I got a what do you call it, I'm going to Johannesurg for a couple of days

UF:

Oh! Well there's your vacation! You were hiding the best place! Ah, well, it's alright. Cape Town is a vacation...

DRAGON: CHS:

...where are you staying down in Jo-burg?

DRAGON:

I haven't pick-...I-l.......I'm like... this is like... you know I was telling him uh... I can't remember if I mentioned to you, breaking my iPhone, I mean I've been running one thing after the other, I haven't even... uh, figured it out yet. I usually stay at Sandton – it's called the richest mile in Africa, it's like a little business community, and they've got some nice

hotels. There's a Marriot I typically stay at.

12:34:34 (DRAGON appears to get uncomfortable answering questions about South Africa – there is a clear difference in his tone compared to other discussion topics)

CHS:

So I just want to ask you, are you going to be in South Africa for a while?

DRAGON:

Maybe five days, but I uh...

CHS:

So maybe you could get over to Durban then?

DRAGON:

I'm not gonna... I've got... there's a couple of companies I'm doing some work with, so

CHS:

Are you making some investments there?

DRAGON:

Uh we're looking at - we're thinking... no uh, we're looking at some possibilities, nothing

imminent so, you know, anyway, to be continued though

(6) CLINTON INVESTIGATORS IN LONDON

10:50:29 – And then they [Clinton campaign] put out a press release – oh, Yahoo! News reveals that Carter Page did X, Y, Z, and look, the other journalists – the ones that are closer to me – will say specifically that they were told this by the Clinton team in Brooklyn.

SECRET//NOTOKIN

11:56:34 – This is also, you know I've never discussed this with anyone, and this is very deep off the record, but they've hired investigators to come after me, including some in London.

12:02:20 – They hired investigators to look into these women [Hillary Clinton re: Bill Clinton's accusers of sexual assault], so it's the same, it's the very same concept... it's well documented according to unofficial sources that the US government [holding that against me?]... but also the Clinton campaign, at somewhat arms length, they're careful about having this too well-documented. I have very good sources, I know the names of the investigators as well.

(7) CONTINUING TO ACT AS SURROGATE FOR TRUMP CAMPAIGN

11:51:22 – Here's the question list [for an upcoming interview he's giving in London on 10/24]... topics covered will be your views in Russian involvement in Syria, how a Trump presidency would change U.S. involvement in Syria and what the U.S. relationship with Russia would be like, and your thoughts of British criticism of Putin